RESEARCH REPORT

COPING STRATEGIES OF FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS IN URBAN POOR COMMUNITIES OF THE PHILIPPINES*

Amaryllis T. Torres

INTRODUCTION

The Family and the Household

The *family* is considered the basic building block of Philippine society. Culturally, the Filipino family is defined through kinship, and identifies as its members those persons who are related to one another through consanguinity, affiliation or adoption. The reckoning of kinship in Philippine culture is bilateral and includes relations arising from both the maternal and paternal genealogical lines (Torres 1989). A common residence is typical of families, but is not necessary to identify it. Families which reside under one roof and share common arrangements for the preparation and consumption of food are *households* (NCSO 1970).

Many studies of the Filipino family focus on the household, with the assumption that most families indeed share a common

---

*Paper presented at the Fourth Women in Asia Conference, University of Melbourne, Melbourne Australia, October 1-3, 1993.

abode. The household is also perceived to be the best setting for the analysis of family relationships (Castillo 1979).

The headship of the household is usually identified with the person who has the greatest power and authority in the family or household. Power and authority, in turn, may be vested in the member who has control over the general affairs of the family unit, including decision making concerning its economic, social and political affairs. To a great extent, headship in the traditional Filipino family is vested in the oldest male member (usually the husband-father), whose counsel and consent for major family decisions are sought to legitimize economic and social transactions (Medina 1991). This control over family affairs carries with it the implicit assumption that the male household head enjoys economic and social dominance, as defined by property rights as well as ritual culture.

In its present-day form, the household head in the Philippines is the member who contributes the most to its coffers. The National Statistics Office (1970) defines the household head as "that person who provides the chief source of income for the household unit; he (sic) is the eldest person, male or female, who is responsible for the organization of the household or who is regarded as such by the members."

While females are admitted as potential household heads, the reality is that, in data collection, men are most often ascribed the headship position. This notion subscribes to the patriarchal view that men provide for the family while women nurture it. Thus, headship is assigned without due regard for the actual economic contributions of female members (Illo 1989). In fact, women may themselves deny their "power". In the Philippines, it is not uncommon to find economically active female family members considering themselves as "plain housewives," who relegate their work to invisibility or categorize these as inconsequential to the household.

Changing Perspectives on the Household

Recent scholarship reveals that the traditional notion of a male household head is *passé* (Buvinic et al. 1978). Changing economic

and cultural patterns contribute to the increase in the number of female-headed households. In developing countries, for instance, it is impossible to sustain a family on a single-income basis. In the Philippines, the legislated minimum wage for workers is insufficient to meet an average family's needs (a family of 6 members). Hence, it is an accepted fact that, for it to survive, a family needs multiple income earners. This has brought more women into the productive sphere, who now share the economic power of their male kin in the family or household. In many instances, economic recession has rendered male workers in poor families jobless, and it is the earnings of women and children from informal sector activities which sustain the family. Headship, if it is defined in terms of economic contribution, therefore, has shifted from the males to the females of the households. In some instances, responsibility for the family's survival even shifts to the children (Torres 1991).

There is also a stereotyped notion that non-Western families continue to provide sufficient psychological, legal and economic protection to its kin, especially women (Buvinic et al. 1978). Women and minors, in particular, are assumed to be in need of extended care and protection at all times, regardless of civil status and age. Again, real experiences show that this expectation can no longer be met. Especially in poor families, the notion that women and children should be spared from work is impossible. Even in indigenous cultures which may traditionally provide for elderly widowed women, we find that ritual practices for their sustenance have been disrupted by migration, poverty and changing individual values among tribal members (Dulnuan 1992).

The dynamics of the family and household, therefore, are changing in the face of economic, cultural and even sociopolitical events. In a recent study of the author, it was determined that at least four types of households exist in urban poor families with working children. There are (1) the typical *nuclear or extended family* unit, with both parents present; (2) a household with *one parent present,* either the father or the mother only; (3) a household with *both parents absent but with another adult head*; and (4) a *household composed solely of children* (Torres 1991:40).

FAMILY DYNAMICS IN FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS OF THE URBAN POOR

Research Problem

This paper intends to describe some of the features of urban poor families headed by women. The information to be analyzed comes from a larger data set generated for a study of the Urban Child and Family in Especially Difficult Circumstances (Torres 1992).*

The purposes of this research paper are as follows:

- *First,* to determine the incidence of female-headed households (FHH) in a sample of urban-poor families residing in six (6) cities of the Philippines;
- *Second,* to describe the household features of FHH, and to compare these with the usual characteristics of male-headed households (MHH); and
- *Third,* to describe the nature of family interactions in urban poor families with working children.

National Profile of Female-Headed Households

According to census data, only 11.3% of the total households in the Philippines in 1990 were headed by women (NCRFW 1992). This proportion has steadily decreased over a five-year period, from 14% FHH in 1985, and 13.7% in 1988. In 1985, of 1.4 million FHH, a majority were widowed, a fourth married, a tenth were never-married, while only 6% were either separated or divorced. In contrast, among MHH totalling 8.5 million in 1985, 95% were married, 3.3% were widowers, 1.5% were single (never married), and less than 1% were separated.

---

*The study formed part of a cross-national research on the "Urban Child and Family in Especially Difficult Circumstances." It was conducted under the auspices of the UNICEF's International Child Development Center, based at Florence, Italy.

Hence, from national surveys, female headship of households is closely associated with loss of husband through natural causes. This situation is followed by one where the woman assumes headship even while legally married. In such cases, headship may have been passed on to the female due to temporary separation from the husband, as resulting from his labor migration, military service or imprisonment. In the case of males, headship is ascribed to them in intact nuclear families more than in any other situation.

When headship is viewed in terms of type of households, it was observed that there were more FHH in extended-family than in single-family households. More specifically, in 1985, 77.9% of MHH were of single families while only 59.3% of FHH were in this category. Among the extended family households, however, males headed 22% of households in this category, against 40.4% of FHH. The same comparative proportions are again seen in 1988 data (NCFRW 1992).

Differences are observed between MHH and FHH in terms of their educational attainment, household size, and age of household members. Female heads tend to be less educated than the males. In 1985, about 14% of female heads had not entered school at all, compared to 6.2% of males. More of the women failed to complete the elementary grades also, although there were more women who had finished college (9.3%) in comparison with the men (7.1%). These results are comparable with national literacy and education data.

MHH tend to be larger, with a modal size of five, against the modal size of four among FHH. There were also more single-person households categorized as FHH (8.8%), compared to only 1.2% among MHH. MHH are younger, with a predominance of male heads in the age group 20-49, while the greatest proportion of FHH is the age category of 60 and over. Both differences may be traced to the fact that a majority of FHH refer to widowed women. They are, therefore, older than their male counterparts and may have also lost other members of their families aside from their spouses (NCFRW 1992).

More FHH are found in urban than in rural areas: 47% compared to 36% of MHH. Their living conditions also appear

better than that of the MHH. More of them use piped water, have sealed toilets, and spend more for housing (NCRFW 1992).

Micro-Profile of Female-Headed Households: Generating the Data-Set

The original data file on the urban child and family was compiled to provide a situational analysis of street children in the Philippines. The file represents interviews from two general sets of respondents: (1) 454 working children and youth, below the age of 18, and (2) 122 adult respondents belonging to the street children (SC) households.

These respondents were systematically sampled from the following cities and satellite towns: (a) the four cities of Metropolitan Manila (i.e. Manila, Quezon City, Pasay and Caloocan); (b) Davao City, the Philippines' largest city located on the southern island of Mindanao; (c) Olongapo City in Central Luzon, which at the time of the study was the site of the largest US naval base outside the USA; and (d) four towns of Metro Manila (Makati, Pasig, Marikina and Mandaluyong).

For purposes of the present monograph, the raw data were programmed to generate information on the following categories of urban poor households:

(a) households wherein the mother/father of the respondent SC is absent from the abode on a long-term basis;
(b) households where the oldest, income-earning adult is a female; and
(c) households where the oldest income-earning adult is male.

Households composed of nuclear families are classified under male-headed households.

By using the above-mentioned operations, the meaning of *household head* in this report is confined to identifying the *adult family member who has the greatest economic responsibility for the household.* In cases where more than one adult is economically active, the variable generation (oldest adult in HH) interacts with economic power (adult with largest monthly income) to define

household headship. Female- or male-headed households, therefore, include those where an adult is present with these characteristics, regardless of whether or not these individuals are the parents of the original respondents of streetchildren.

Using the Child Questionnaires, a total of 83 households headed by women were identified, along with 29 households headed by males. In this particular data set, headship was based on whether the child was living with both parents, or with one of them only. Thus, FHH *from the child's viewpoint are those where the father is absent from the abode, while MHH are those situations where it is the mother who is absent. The* obtained data illustrate the greater probability that fathers were absent from the urban poor child's household.

From the Family Questionnaire, only 12 FHH were identified, along with 104 MHH. Headship using this file was determined along the categories of age and *principal adult income earner.* Using these as filter variables, it is seen that male headship of urban poor households is more likely than female headship.

Features of Selected Urban Poor Households

Our description of family dynamics in urban poor households begins with a characterization of their households. The information on the FHH and MHH were derived from the Family Questionnaire-Data File.

1. Socio-demographic Profile

The average age of female heads was 36.9 years old, while that of male heads was 37.6 years old. Unlike the general population of female heads, those in our sample set were mostly married (41.7%, or 5 respondents), relatively young, with 2 each who were either single, widowed or separated. The profile of male heads, however, conforms with the national profile: a majority were married (78%), 10.6% were single, and 5% each were respectively widowed or separated. The modal educational attainment of either group was the sixth grade.

The female heads in our data subset were usually the mothers of street children we were studying. In a few cases, however, she was an aunt, or an elder sister. Among the MHH, male heads were typically fathers of the children.

2. Household Size and Composition

Families of the urban poor usually numbered six members. However the household size of female-headed households was smaller in range than those of MHH (a maximum of 11 members in the sample, compared to 15 in male-headed households). The slight difference was similar to that found in the national census. Members of either MHH or FHH often include the following: the male or female head, grandparents, and unmarried children below 18 years. Unmarried siblings of female heads, as well as other relatives (nieces/nephews), were among the other members of their households. Their presence in FHH was more frequently observed than in MHH. Again, this profile is consistent with national data, which describes FHH to be more typically extended in nature than MHH.

The ages of household members in FHH range from 3 to 50 years, while those in MHH is from less than a year to 74 years.

3. Occupation, Income and Work Intensity in Urban Poor Households

The nature of work undertaken by members of FHH was seen to be predominantly related with sales work. In male-headed urban poor households, however, more individuals worked in service occupations, although a sizable proportion also worked in sales.

A gender differentiation appears in this data set on occupations. Sales in the Philippines was generally associated with female work (e.g. vending or retailing), while service occupations (e.g., driving, construction, labor) belonged to males. The nature of work engaged in by the household head probably influenced the work patterns of other household members. (More data will be presented on this later.)

About half of the members of FHH at work were self-employed. Others worked on piece wages, or received daily wages. A few were seasonal workers (probably in agriculture), and some were categorized as temporary workers in formal settings. Slightly fewer individuals in MHH were reportedly self-employed (about a third) while more were classified as temporary employees. Payments on daily wages and piece wages were also common in MHH.

According to the household reports, those in the MHH tended to work longer hours in a day (as long as 12 hours) especially when the workers were juveniles or children. The opposite trend emerges from the data of FHH: adults worked an average of 8 hours while minors worked an average of 5 hours only. Further research should be undertaken to determine the interaction between these variations in work intensity and the participation of FHH or MHH in occupations related to either sales or services.

There were more household members in MHH who were unemployed at the time of the survey, including many adults. About a third of young workers (15-18 years) in these households were also classified by family respondents as unemployed, rather than as students. Among the FHH, unemployment was also a predominant feature, although more minors were classified as students rather than out-of-work.

Despite their shorter working hours, occupations of members of FHH were more lucrative. Adults reported average monthly earnings of P2,787 (approx. US$161 in 1990), while the equivalent average earning of MHH was P1,553 (US$65). In both groups, however, the highest reported earning was P4,500 (US$187), slightly above the poverty threshold of P3,500 in those years.

4. The Abode of Urban Poor Households

Given the size, composition and occupational profile, what do the physical households of FHH and MHH look like?

According to our data, the dwelling units of female headed households tended to be better in most respects than those of the male-headed households.

For one, about 40% of the living quarters of FHH were built of strong material (e.g. wood and concrete), while only 20% of the residences of MHH were of the same nature. Instead, a greater majority of the latter's houses were built from mixed materials (e.g., wood and nipa, nipa and cement). Nonetheless, houses in both groups usually numbered only 1-2, with a floor area of probably 30 sq.m., on the average.

Then, all of the FHH reportedly had electrical connections, compared to only 59% of those in MHH. More FHH than MHH had water sealed toilets and enjoyed garbage collection services. As a result, the surroundings of FHH were generally rated 'clean' by the surveyors, while litter and open garbage were observed around the dwellings of MHH.

In general, therefore, families/households headed by females did not necessarily suffer from severe disadvantage when compared to MHH in terms of overall household characteristics. Deeper analysis of family relationships and dependencies in such families may provide additional information.

The Children of Female-Headed Households

After determining the overall household characteristics of FHH and MHH, let us now examine the situation of the working children from these families. The Child Questionnaire of the original study describes in detail the circumstances of individual children found working on the streets of the cities and satellite towns of the National Capital. We may recall that a total of 83 children from mother-only households and 29 from father-only households are included in this file.

Prior to a detailed description of the children's personal circumstances, however, it is important to note the reasons for 'solo parenting'. For the FHH, marital separation from the spouse was the reason for not having a male-parent in the household. Another reason was overseas employment: the husband/father is at work abroad. Among MHH, the child was most often separated

from the mother because he/she ran away from home, or because the mother was working elsewhere.

It is obvious that urban poor mothers are expected to continue the nurture of their children in cases of dissolution of marital ties, in accordance with traditional gender role definitions. This explains why there were considerably more SC in FHH than MHH.

1. Sex, Age and Educational Status

Work opportunities on the streets is biased for males. This is a result of the cultural notion that girls should not wander around in public places. If girls from urban poor households do work, oftentimes it is in covered places or in domiciles. Thus, it is not surprising to note that three-fourth of the children in our child-sample were males.

The SC from FHH were slightly younger, with modal ages of 11 to 13 years, while those from MHH had an average age of 14 years. Three-fifths of SC from FHH were currently enrolled at the time of the survey, compared with only a fourth of those in mother-absent families (or MHH). The children from FHH also had higher educational attainments despite their being younger. The average grade level of these children were Grade 5 or 6, while many of the SC from MHH reached only Grade 4.

On a rating scale with a maximum of 100 points and 75 percent as passing grade, the SC in the two groups of households did rather poorly in school. Their last recorded school grades averaged 79-80, close to the cutoff for passing.

When compared to the overall profile of SC (using the larger data file), the characteristics of children from FHH were more like those of the total sample. Children from MHH appeared to be at a greater educational disadvantage, compared to those either from FHH or families with both parents present.

SC from both household groups have experienced dropping-out from school at some time, usually for 1-2 years. Nonetheless, this was experienced by almost 80% of those from MHH, against only half of the children from FHH. Poverty has been the principal culprit in dropping-out.

Although tuition in Philippine public schools is free, transportation, uniforms, and school materials have to be shouldered by the families. Given their household incomes, it is not surprising that these urban poor families find difficulty in spending for the children's school needs. In fact, other portions of the questionnaire indicate that the children work in order to finance their schooling. When the households are in more impoverished situations, then the children stop their schooling but continue to work. This time, their earnings principally finance the households' subsistence needs. The data show that this happens more frequently in MHH than FHH households.

2. Basic Health and Nutrition Indicators

The SC from the FHH or MHH tended to be underweight and stunted, in relation to standard height and weight measures for their cohorts. In-school children had been absent due to illness, which often means being afflicted with fevers, diarrhea or influenza. However, the children averred that they get at least 8 hours of sleep nightly, with those from FHH reporting sounder sleeping patterns than the SC from MHH. The children usually got three meals daily, consisting of simple meals — rice and fish or vegetables. Meats were a luxury for them, as they were all from poor families.

3. Residential Mobility

Many of the families classified as "urban poor" came from slums and did not enjoy land tenure. In some instances, the neighborhoods of these families were part of the inner cities, characterized by small tightly-packed houses in densely-populated areas of the city. These dwelling units were rented by low-income households. Thus, whether as squatter or tenant, the urban poor families rarely own their residences. As an indicator of the economic difficulties faced by them, their residential mobility was determined.

Many of the families in the survey had experienced residential movements, often within the same cities they occupied in 1990. Others were migrants from provinces or cities within the same

island, or even from other islands of the country. Average length of stay at these addresses was two to five years for the FHH and 28 months for MHH. The most common reasons given for movements were: inability to pay the rent, demolition of squatter colonies, and being driven away from a family home by relatives. When the movements of the families are further examined, one notes that these were usually in the direction of cheaper, therefore more physically degraded, neighborhoods.

4. Work Activities of SC

Although engaged in economic activities, the SC of both FHH and MHH were expected to attend to household chores. Girls were also expected to help their mothers care for younger siblings, while boys were asked to care for domestic and/or backyard animals. In FHH, children and mothers often interacted to accomplish housework. In MHH, shared activities between children and the fathers center on fetching water.

The differentiation of work along gender is again apparent in the reported economic activities of the SC. Among children from FHH, 39.4% were engaged in selling/vending, 19% in scavenging and another 19% in service trades. For the SC in MHH, scavenging was the more common activity (32%), followed by vending (24%), and services. Further research should be undertaken to explain this observation.

More specifically, *selling* activities of the children involve street or market vending of foods, selling lottery tickets and flowers. *Scavenging* is actually the collection of reusable garbage items for recycling purposes. It is called scavenging because the children oftentimes go through an assortment of wet and dry garbage to isolate plastics, cans and other non-biodegradable products. The usual sites of this work are garbage dumps, neighborhoods trash heaps, and garbage bins of wet markets. *Services* offered by children tend to be unique: such as carrying groceries/market bags for shoppers, washing cars and public transport, fetching/selling water to waterless dwellers, and calling-out for passengers in commuter stops. The traditional 'bootblack' is another category of child work in services.

Earnings from work in informal economic activities are usually small. According to SC from FHH, they earned an average of P163.00 (US$7) a month, with a maximum potential income of P300. The children from MHH earned P240 (US$10) on the average. Despite these pittances, the children used the money to buy food, to help support their families, and to spend for school. Certainly, $7-10 representing the SC contribution to household income is significant when added to the household coffer, which averages $65-160 per month.

5. Attitudes of Parents and Children Toward Children's Work

Children from FHH had a more positive assessment of their work on the streets than did the SC from MHH. The former group believed that their families, friends and neighbors looked positively at their economic activities. However, children from MHH perceived only their friends as having positive perceptions of their work. Families and neighbors, in their minds, looked negatively at their work. These opinions may be related to the nature of the children's work. As was noted earlier, more of the SC from FHH engaged in selling while many more of those from MHH worked as scavengers, a physically 'dirty' and strenuous job. It is not farfetched to imagine, therefore, that the children think this type of work is frowned upon by others, especially adults.

Both sets agree, however, that they would like to continue studying in the next five years. Afterwards, they dream of working at more desirable occupations. Moreover, a situation of work-and-study is perceived to be more realistic than a study-only situation.

More than half of the adult respondents in both household groups shared the children's negative perceptions of their work. If possible, they would rather the children spent their time studying full-time, or in combination only with light work, as in performing household duties. It is also significant to note that, most often, the children started to work because of peer influence, rather than because the parents asked them to work. Both children and household respondents stated this independently. Adult respondents also placed the ideal working age of children between 16 and 18 years, about 10-11 years later than the ages at which the children in fact started to work.

Household heads also expressed particular apprehension about girls working in the streets. Girls, they stated, "are more vulnerable" (can easily be broken), even while they think girls are more dependable workers. On the other hand, boys are considered more flexible in getting work, although they tend to loaf on the job more than girls.

General Findings: Female-Headed Households

One would think that an "atypical" family or household, such as that where only one parent is present, is marginalized and disadvantaged. A social unit where it is the female rather than the male who heads the household may also be considered in distress, since females are supposedly unused to the role of leadership or headship. The national data, as well as preliminary runs from a datafile on urban poor families, tempt us to conclude otherwise.

A. Economic Advantage

The economic position of female-headed households is apparently not inferior to that of male-headed units, including those where both parents are present. Work opportunities for unskilled/lowly skilled members of urban poor female-headed households are channelled to sales and services, and these activities provide sustenance for the family/household and the working children in the short-run.

However, viewed through "gender lenses," this advantage should be questioned on two counts. *First,* it may lead to the complacency that since informal work in sales and services provide income for women, albeit at survival level, development programs should continue to foster assistance in this direction. *Larger scale work activities,* even within sales or services, will *generate larger incomes for the households.* Skills upgrading and credit schemes moving in this direction will potentially provide greater prospects for household self-sufficiency than will the present state of selling, vending or servicing. There is no reason to perpetuate micro-enterprise activities that merely burden women with physical labor while failing to relieve their financial constraints.

Second, if *Filipino* women are to compete equally for jobs with men, they *should be skilled in work other than those traditionally associated with women's work,* such as food preparation, domestic work, and selling. The survey data indicate that male-headed households have greater flexibility in getting jobs, with some even at work in temporary positions within the formal sector. This implies that they possess skills which are more competitive in the labor market, but which are presently untapped because of recession in the economy. In an economy on the upswing, they are more likely than women to get jobs with tenure and social security.

B. Social Class and Headship in a Changing Society

The primary data evaluated for this paper indicate that women become heads of urban poor households principally because of marital dissolution or separation, and also because of the husband's labor migration. In other instances, the FHH are composed of women in their prime, who are principal economic earners in an extended family.

This is somewhat unlike the information from the general population, where a majority of female-heads are elderly widows with substantial money to spend for their household needs. The difference between the census survey and the specific data sets indicate that *factors responsible for female headship in poor families may be different from those in other socioeconomic groups* of the Philippines. More concretely, in poor families, male heads have no resources to share with families which they have abandoned. Whatever is earned is barely sufficient to support their present families, therefore, nothing is left to spare for the previous one.

Hence, women in these situations become *de facto* heads of their households, usually with small children to support. They engage in activities which offer no job security, are remunerated through piece or daily wage rates, and are affected by seasonal demands for their labor. The 'double burden' becomes heavier, since headship connotes more direct responsibilities for the sustenance of the family. To lighten the load of these women, children and young adults participate in income generation for

the family/household, but to the detriment of their health, safety and education.

Insights from this preliminary research indicate that *closer attention should be paid to the conditions of female-headed poor households.* The risks faced by, and potential disadvantages of, women in these circumstances must be evaluated more carefully.

At the same time, it is heartening to note that FHH tend to fare better in terms of living arrangements, educational participation of minors, and income generation, more than do MHH. While the differences noted may be a function of unequal sample sizes (i.e. there is greater variability in larger samples, in this case the MHH), it may also be an accurate reflection of gender differences.

For one, in mother-absent households, the role of housekeeper may have disappeared. Hence, these households fall into disarray. In FHH, however, mothers retain this role while they train their daughters to do the housework as well. Also, having been forced into a novel situation, female heads may feel more compelled to show society that they can cope with their atypical situations, thus overcompensating for their reproductive roles while striving to do splendid productive outputs. Finally, the extended family-units of FHH, where there are numerous income earners — both adult and juvenile — provide numerous sources of human and material support for the maintenance of the households.

C. Gender, Generation and Work

Finally, it is important to note the emerging parallelisms in the nature of work pursued by members of FHH and MHH. These *similarities in the types of work pursued by 2 or 3 generations* of a household may be traced to socialization principles. Role modeling, imitation and identification with significant family members (the household heads) may well account for the parallelisms in the work of adults and minors. Opportunities may also be more accessible when a youth enters the same occupational genre as his/her adult counterparts. As stated in an earlier section, however, this should be the subject of a more focused research.

Conclusion

The analysis of the situation of female-headed households is double-edged. On the one hand, it shows that female heads in urban poor households of the Philippines are able to cope with their new roles. However, coping also involves tremendous cost — to their development as individuals as well as that of their children.

Policy and advocacy efforts should pay greater attention to these chain effects. The family and household should also be reexamined from a gender perspective, so that role differentiations and changing role definitions can surface. The evolution of nontraditional notions concerning this ever-important social unit should also be developed, especially by social scientists engaged in scholarly and practical work on the family and its attendant gender issues.

Bibliography

Buvinic, Mayra, N. Youssef & B. Von Elm. *Women-Headed Households: The Ignored Factor in Development Planning.* Washington: International Center for Research on Women, 1978.

Castillo, Gelia. *Beyond Manila: Philippine Rural Problems in Perspectives.* Ottawa: IDRC, 1979.

Dulnuan, Juline. "Indigenous Women and Work: The Life Stories of Three Ifugao Women." Unpublished paper for WD 230, University of the Philippines, 1992.

Illo, Jeanne. "Who heads the households in the Philippines?" In Torres, A.T. et al (eds.). *The Filipino Woman in Focus: A Book of Readings.* Bangkok, UNESCO, 1989.

Medina, Belen. *The Filipino Family.* Quezon City: UP Press, 1991.

National Census and Statistics Office. *Census of Population and Housing.* Philippines: NEDA, 1970.

National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women. *Statistics on the Filipino Women.* Office of the President, Manila: 1992.

Torres, Amaryllis T. *The Urban Filipino Worker in an Industrializing Society.* Quezon City: UP Press, 1989.

Torres, Amaryllis T. "The Urban Child and Family in Especially Difficult Circumstances: Philippine Case Study." Research report submitted to ICDC-UNICEF, 1991.