Beyond Education

Perspectives of rural graduate Filipinas on labor market participation

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Abstract

The Republic of the Philippines is an example country when it comes to gender equality within education. However, this trend does not persist when it comes to female labor market participation. Current research shows that a mere 53.4% of all Filipinas are currently employed in the labor market against 81% of their male counterparts, indicating a wide engendered gap. This study investigates why so few of the highly educated female population find gainful employment by studying the perspectives of university graduate students in the rural province of Antique through the use of a wide range, quantitative survey across three universities, and 9 qualitative in-depth interviews.

By using Nussbaum and Sen’s capability approach, an inventory of both known and new barriers is made, which are organized in the following categories: barriers on the supply side of the labor market, barriers on the demand side of the labor market, and other barriers. Revealing those barriers that have not been researched before contributes to the existing body of knowledge on impediments that hinder graduating Antiqueñas to enter the labor market.

The hindrances as described and discussed in this thesis can be used to improve gender sensitive policies that have the ability to expand freedoms, capabilities, and functioning for Antiqueñas, but also for Filipinas in general, since the barriers; lack of good and productive vacancies, (early) motherhood, a wide gender wage gap, unpaid family work, patriarchic views on traditional female roles, and a divide in male and female jobs are all barriers that hinder Filipinas on a national level.
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List of abbreviations

CHED Commission on Higher Education
DepEd Department of Education
DOH Department of Health
GDP Gross Domestic Product
HEIs Higher Education Institutions
OECD Organization for Economic Corporation and Development
OFW Overseas Filipino Worker
OJT On the Job Training
SAC Saint Anthony’s College
TESDA Technical Education and Skills Development Authority
UA University of Antique
UAH University of Antique Hamtic
UAS University of Antique Sibalom
UAT University of Antique Tibiao
UN United Nations
UP University of the Philippines
UPV University of the Philippines Visayas
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1. Introduction

The Philippines has received international praise for its efforts in minimizing gender inequality. The republic was ranked place number 7 in the annual Global Gender Gap Index of 2016 (World Economic Forum, 2016), ranking higher on the achievement of closing the gender gap than most industrialized countries such as the Netherlands and Canada, and ranking highest within the South-East Asia region. This is mainly due to its equal enrolment and graduation rates up until tertiary education (Philippine Commission on Women, 2014), the fact that most licensed professionals are female (Philippine Commission on Women, 2013), and women not only account for 45% of all researchers (UNESCO, 2012), but also lead 39% of all higher educational institutions (Gooch, 2012).

However, this national gender equality trend has not yet fully developed when it comes to female labor market participation. A mere 53.4% of all Filipinas is currently employed in the formal or informal labor market against 81% of their male counterparts, indicating a wide engendered gap (World Bank, 2014). This means that while girls are outperforming boys up until tertiary education (Philippine Commission on Women, 2014), their prospects on finding gainful employment are severely limited. Engagement in gainful employment is highly influential on the overall quality of life women are able to enjoy, and increases their “health, nutrition, self-worth, control of one’s own environment, political participation and overall life expectancy and survival” (van den Bosch, 2016: p. 14).

Therefore, it is extremely important to find out why so many Filipinas are not yet able to find a job. While Yap & Melchior (2015) point to two reasons for Filipinas’ lack of employment, I assume that there are many more barriers in place that hinder these bright young women to enter the labor market, yet so far no further research on this topic has been conducted. Hence, a significant gap in the body of knowledge concerning Filipinas’ labor market participation exists, to which I would like to make a contribution through this study.

This thesis aims to explore these barriers from the perspective of rural, female, university graduate students to gain understanding of their reasons for refraining from gainful employment. As Yap & Melchior (2015) point out, women are more often engaged in unpaid family work than men. Because families that rely on unpaid labor are more prevalent in rural areas, I have chosen the province of Antique as my area for fieldwork because of the rural and indigent character of the area. Moreover, so far no research has been conducted that gives these rural women a voice. By taking their perspectives and opinions into account, an inventory of barriers is made within this study, to make apparent those hindrances that impede graduating Antiqueñas to find gainful employment, and ultimately hinder them to lead the lives that they desire, and have reason to desire.

1.1 Aim and objectives

The aim of this study is to understand why only half (53.4%) of the generally highly educated Filipinas find a job by studying rural graduating Filipinas’ perspectives and comparing those with national data on the subject of female labor market participation.

The aim is supported by the following objectives:
- To understand in what context this gender gap in labor market participation is embedded by presenting an overview of national data and earlier research on the topic
- To explore the barriers that graduating Antiqueñas expect to experience while entering the labor market by presenting an inventory deducted from mixed methods research
- To understand how national data relate to the perspectives of graduating Antiqueñas.

The objectives above are guided by the following research questions:

1. Why do only half (53,4%) of the highly educated female population in the Philippines find a job after their studies?
2. Do graduating Antiqueñas want to join the labor market, and why?
3. In what ways are graduating Antiqueñas hindered to enter the labor market and how does this compare to national data?

1.2 Limitations and delimitations
The following chapter explains the factors that limited this study, and delimiting factors that were installed for compensation. These limitations and delimitations are discussed below.

It would be very difficult to find enough Filipinas that were either already working, or did not join the labor market for participation in a relevant survey sample. Obviously it would be more relevant to also include this population, but due to time constraints this was not possible. However, including Filipinas that are about to join the labor market (or choose not to) did enable me to include a great deal of information on the role of education on labor market participation, which is in line with the relevance of this study for the field of International and Comparative Education, as discussed in chapter 1.3.

Because this cross-sectional study only takes place in the rural province of the Philippines, it is not possible to generalize the findings of the research project to the entire republic of the Philippines. Nevertheless, Antique is a textbook example of a Philippine rural and indigent province, and thus this research can be used as an example for other rural areas within the Philippines.

It would have been very interesting to include perspectives of other stakeholders within the topic of female labor market participation in the Philippines in the sample of the mixed methods research project. Unfortunately, this was not possible on a large scale due to time constraints, although 33% of the informants within the qualitative interviews were other stakeholders. Among them were a doctor, a Gender and Development officer at one of the universities, and an instructor on one of the universities. It would have been even more interesting if a survey could have been conducted amongst other stakeholders.

Although English is the formal language of instruction on all Philippine schools, starting as early as primary education, the fact remains that both the researcher/interviewer and informants speak a different mother tongue that is not English. For 2 out of 9 participants in the qualitative interviews a translator was used.
The translator I used is an Antiqueña living in a poor neighborhood herself, so she is able to truly empathize with the informants. She is used to translating for Dutch people like myself, because she sometimes works for a Dutch non-governmental organization in the province, and is a fluent English speaker. Therefore, this translator was a great asset in my research project. Nevertheless, the possibility remains that my Dutch expression of English is different from the Philippine expression of English, so that it might influence my understanding of the answers that were given to me, or the informant’s understanding of the questions they were asked.

Unfortunately, I did not succeed in finding interview participants that did not wish to enter the labor market. Although they are represented in the survey results, these students are not represented in the interview results.

The data collection and the interpretation of the data have only been performed by one researcher, which implies that this study strongly relies on the perspectives and biases of the researcher.

Due to the structure of the hospitality and tourism programs of the universities I conducted my research on, the respective students were on internships in well-developed tourist areas. These locations were not located in the same region and therefore, the hospitality and tourism students are excluded from the research sample.

1.3 Relevance to the field of International and Comparative Education

Education is an institution that is used for many different objectives. This study explores engagement in the labor market as the ultimate goal for education. The research project aims to understand how the gap between education and the labor market has developed and why it is that girls outperform boys up until tertiary education, but are underrepresented in the work field.

This paper is written through a universalist and essentialist epistemology (chapter 5), indicating the constant comparison of the freedoms females are able to enjoy in the Philippines, compared to universal standards of the ability to live a ‘fully human life’, as is the essence of the important work on the capability approach by Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum.

Furthermore, an international feminist approach is used to assess the freedoms and barriers that graduating Antiqueñas experience while attempting to find gainful employment. A number of different universities, their respective idiosyncratic student populations and their departments are studied and compared in order to provide a comprehensive overview of graduating Filipinas’ perspectives on labor market participation.

2. Settings of the study

This chapter is created to provide an overview of important phenomena that influenced the research project for this thesis. First I will discuss the environment in which the study took place, the rural province of Antique. Thereafter I will describe
important phenomena that were either considered before arrival in the Philippines, or came up during the data collection phase, namely: female labor market participation; overseas Filipino worker (OFW); and teenage pregnancy.

2.1 The province of Antique

This cross-sectional study has taken place within the province of Antique, located on the island of Panay, situated in region VI: Western Visayas, as illustrated by the regional map in appendix I. This particular province has been chosen due to its rural and indigent character (Luo, 2009), which I will explain further along this chapter. Although there are many facts and figures available on rural provinces (French, 2017; Philippines Statistics Authority & USAID, 2014; the Provincial Information Office of the Province of Antique, 2006), I have found no research that explores the perspectives and experiences of its people. Rural, indigent provinces were therefore of great interest to me, since we never seem to hear the voices of those people that live in these vast areas. Furthermore, many national statistics on female labor market participation are available (Canlas, 2016; Philippine Statistics Authority, 2016; Albert, Dumagan & Martinez, 2015; Philippine Commission on Women, 2013; Cabegin, 2012; Luo, 2009) yet a wide gap in research on female perspectives on labor market participation and the education that is supposed to prepare them exists. This inspired me to choose the province of Antique as the area for fieldwork, since it is both rural and indigent, but also the home of four different universities, which implies that a college degree is available to its inhabitants.

Yap & Melchior (2015) point to two main barriers Filipinas encounter while entering the job market, namely: a significant gender wage gap (Asian Development Bank, 2013), and a high amount of unpaid female work in family (agricultural) businesses (Philippine Commission on Women, 2013). Unpaid family work offers the least opportunities in landing productive jobs (Asian Development Bank, 2013). Women in rural and remote areas are considered to be especially vulnerable to these barriers, as a result of the respective prevalence of agricultural labor and poverty in these areas (Yap & Melchior, 2015). Hence, this study attempts to make a humble contribution in filling this particular gap in the existing body of knowledge.

Antique is known to be a highly rural and remote province, very much like the rest of the island, with the city of Iloilo and the small town of Borocay as its exception. The former hosts the capital city of the Western Visayas region, while the latter is a renowned tourist destination (Philippines Statistics Authority, 2004). Even the capital of Antique: San José de Buenavista, is a small town with one main square and two market squares.

The main livelihood in Antique still consists of farming and fisheries (the Provincial Information Office of the Province of Antique, 2006) and the official local language is Kiray-A, which is also taught in grade 1 and 2 in primary school.
The province has quite an indigent character (figure 2) and although their labor market participation rate is slightly higher than the average within the Philippines (figure 1), Antique mainly offers what the World Bank (2016) specifies as “bad jobs”, with very few productive jobs available (Albert, Dumagan & Martinez, 2015; Luo, 2009; Philippine Statistics Authority, 2004). “Bad jobs” represent those jobs in the informal labor market which are not covered by government legislation, provide a low wage and require a bare minimum level of skills. Jobs are deemed “bad” if they are involuntarily part-time, casual, temporary, or in any other way linked to a relatively high risk to poverty. Conversely, “good jobs” or “decent jobs” as the Asian Development Bank (2013) calls them, are associated with a low risk of poverty and a high level of productivity (World Bank, 2016).

2.2 Female labor market participation
Within this study, female labor market participation is defined as any gainful labor activity within both the formal and informal labor market. Hence, this does not
include unpaid household or caregiving jobs, nor does it include unremunerated employment for the family of the woman in question.

“As it happens, the rejection of the freedom to participate in the labor market is one of the ways of keeping people in bondage and captivity (...). The crucial challenges of development in many developing countries today include the need for the freeing of labor from explicit or implicit bondage that denies access to the open labor market.” (Sen, 1999: 4)

The capability to engage in the labor market is not only a constitutional right and virtue in itself, as Sen describes in the quote above, it is also linked with instrumental advantages that influence the quality of people’s life in general (Nussbaum, 1999; Sen, 1999; Chen, 1995). Engagement in gainful employment is highly influential on the overall quality of life women are able to enjoy, and increases their “health, nutrition, self-worth, control of one’s own environment, political participation and overall life expectancy and survival” (van den Bosch, 2016: p. 14).

Sen and Drèze (1989) specify involvement in gainful employment as a vital factor in the level of socio-economic status females are able to enjoy. Enabling women to contribute to the family income by finding employment outside the home not only generates a higher level of bargaining power within the family, but also positively influences a woman’s status within her community. Hence, this strongly contributes to a woman’s overall level of independence, adding to her freedom to choose and therefore increasing her possibilities to control her own environment both in- and outside her home (Nussbaum, 1999).

2.3 Overseas Filipino Worker
An Overseas Filipino Worker (OFW) is a person of Philippine nationality that migrates to another country in order to engage in remunerated work, mostly to support their families at home. As Parreñas puts it “Work abroad, spend at home” (Parreñas, 2008: p. 14). Women account for 60% of all Philippine migrants (DTUC-IDC, 2014). As stated in chapter 3.1, there is a high demand in predominantly “female labor” such as care and domestic work abroad, and Filipinas engaged in these careers are extremely vulnerable to the risks of exploitation, abuse, and both mental and physical impediments on their health, amongst others (Lasimbang, Tong & Low, 2016; Liat, 2009; Parreñas, 2008; Parreñas, 2001). Female OFWs continue to work under these conditions simply because there is a lack of domestic vacancies, and mouths need to be fed (Semyonov & Gorodzeisky, 2005).

As Parreñas describes so very eloquently, a great paradox is visible when it comes to the identity of many female OFWs:

“The process of labor migration pushes women outside the home at the same time that it reaffirms the belief that women belong inside the home. The work that migrant women perform outside the home – work that sustains and provides the Philippine economy with one of its largest sources of foreign currency – usually maintains the notion of women’s domesticity.” (Parreñas, 2008: p. 4)
Therefore, the Philippines’ reliance on female OFW remittances to the domestic economy poses a challenge to its traditional patriarchal labor division, wherein men are represented as “pillar of the home” – as breadwinners; and women are “the light of the home” – as home makers, confined to the homestead (Medina, 2015). Thus, many female OFWs leave their life of domesticity only to be confined to the homestead of a stranger in return (Parreñas, 2008). Nevertheless, migrant Filipinas reportedly experience many benefits from their participation in foreign labor markets, regardless of the nature of their careers, such as higher levels of bargaining power, and the authority to make choices without consulting men (Oishi, 2005). Thus, despite the many risks and their large involvement in domestic careers, a certain level of aggregated independence is reached.

2.4 Teenage pregnancy
During the data collection phase in Antique, I discovered that teenage pregnancy was a hot item in the province because the entire Western Visayas region experienced a sudden surge in teenage pregnancies (French, 2016). As can be seen in appendix II, some villages even hit percentages as high as 29%, indicating that 29% of all births in 2015 involved teenage mothers between the ages of 10 and 19. The overall teenage pregnancy rate increased from 8% in 2013 to 9% of all pregnancies in 2015 in the province of Antique alone (Province of Antique Provincial Population Office, 2016). Although the Western Visayas teenage pregnancy rates are considered to be exceptionally high, the national percentage of teenage girls who became a mother – as percentage from all teenage girls between 15 and 19 – rose as well, at an alarming rate from 6.5% in 1993 to 10.1% in 2012 (World Bank, 2013).

The topic of teenage pregnancy is a big taboo amongst most Filipinos, and many blame social media for the far-reaching consequences of ‘pre-marital sex’ (French, 2016). Within the Philippine culture teenagers, and especially girls are expected to commit to abstinence until their marriage. The traditionally proud and pure Filipina waits for her husband (Medina, 2015; Parreñas, 2008). This traditional virtue is still stimulated by the age limit that makes it illegal for anyone younger than 18 years old to buy contraceptives such as condoms or birth control pills. Recent initiatives of the Department of Health (2012) call for sexual education and the distribution of condoms by the school nurse to reduce the number of teenage pregnancies. These policies are sometimes met with skeptic reactions from parents who are afraid this new information will only encourage youngsters even more to engage in ‘pre-marital’ sex. This leads to reluctant attitudes amongst some school nurses, who do not want to gain a ‘pro-pre-marital sex’ reputation, as became apparent during the data collection phase of this thesis.

Furthermore, as can be read in the findings chapter, becoming pregnant has extensive consequences for teenage or adolescent girls. Depending on the finances and ethics of the family, it is not uncommon to pull a pregnant girl out of school, so that another sibling can take her place in college. Some families go as far as pulling their daughters out when they are engaged in any romantic relationships. Until five years ago, schools even suspended pregnant girls until they married the father of their child, according to the Gender and Development Officer at one of Antique’s
universities. Teenage fathers however, do not face any consequences; it usually remains the duty of the girls’ family to take care of mother and child (Medina, 2015).

3. Study background

Filipinas outperform their male counterparts within every single level of education, while this particular trend is far from visible in the national labor force (Philippines Statistics Authority, 2016; Yap & Melchior, 2015; World Bank, 2016; DTUC-IDC, 2014, Asian Development Bank, 2013). As figure 3 illustrates, women represent only 38.7% of the labor force and a striking 70.2% of all unemployed people, as can be seen in figure 4. Conversely, the majority of job opportunities abroad are those for caregivers and domestic helpers, resulting in females representing 60% of all overseas Filipino workers (DTUC-IDC, 2014). These jobs are specifically at risk for (sexual) harassment and abuse, mainly due to the fact that these women mostly work in the informal labor market (Lasimbang, Tong & Low, 2016; World Bank, 2016; Parreñas, 2008; Parreñas, 2001). Furthermore, the Philippines has seen a steep increase (150% in 2012) in reported national gender-based violence cases (Santos, 2012). However, due to national government programs that educate women about harassment and abuse, women are more likely to report abuse (DTUC-IDC, 2014), which can explain (part of) this sudden increase.

Figure 3: Distribution of employed persons by sex and age group: April 2016
Most women partaking in the Filipino labor force work in agriculture (62%), 30% work in the service sector, and 8% have found a job in the industry sector (DTUC-IDC, 2014). Within these sectors a significant wage gap continues to persist, mostly within jobs that require secondary and tertiary educated employees (Yap & Melchior, 2015; Cabegin, 2012), which restricts gender equality within these predominantly female employment areas (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2013; Philippine Commission on Women, 2014).

Females are calculated to earn a mere 60% of male average wages (Asian Development Bank, 2013). Furthermore, gender equality within the labor market is impeded by a high adolescent fertility rate (46.5%) and a generally high fertility rate of 3.10 births per woman. Because the lion’s share of childcare chores at home are executed by mothers (Asian Development Bank, 2013), starting a large family at a relatively young age has negative implications for women’s chances in the labor market. The following chapter discusses the problematic context in which female labor market participation is embedded, particularly for the province of Antique, through a brief elaboration on the general labor market and education system.

3.1 Labor market: facts and figures
The Republic of the Philippines has made impressive economic progress in the past decade, boasting stellar growth rates of the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) averaging
7%, and doubling their GNI (General National Income) per capita PPP (Purchase Power Parity) from a mere 3962 USD in 1990 to 8395 USD in 2015 (UNDP, 2015). Nevertheless, this new found wealth is not shared with everyone, and while the government of the Philippines has waited for a decade for the trickle-down system to work its magic, income poverty has remained at the same level as it was before the Philippines experienced this economic surge (Albert, Dumagan & Martinez, 2015).

Although the minimum wage has been increased by the government to 205 – 466 PP a day (4.8 – 11 USD), depending on the region, the real wage has remained the same the past decade, with average and median wages slightly falling, while wages in neighboring countries have significantly increased (World Bank, 2016). The Philippines remains one of the largest diaspora countries in the world. The amount of Filipino Workers (OFW) however, has decreased significantly since 2002. Nonetheless, it is still one of the countries with the largest remittances to their GDP globally (DTUC-IDC, 2014; Parreñas, 2008).

3.1.1 Formal and informal employment

The unemployment rate in the Philippines is calculated as 6.7% of the labor force (UNDP, 2015). Youth unemployment however, comprises of 15.7%, while 24.8% of Philippine youths are neither in school nor employed (World Bank, 2016). 18.3% of all Filipinos currently in the work force expressed the desire to work more hours at their current job, or find an additional job (Philippines Statistics Authority, 2016). 43% of the work force is employed in the informal labor market (DTUC-IDC, 2014), which is actually expanding despite the unprotected character of informal labor. While the economic growth of the past decade has created jobs, it has not improved the quality of these jobs, resulting in a high demand for employees in “bad jobs” and very little opportunities to find “good jobs”.

The World Bank (2016) specifies in-work poverty as one of the main constraints that hinder poverty reduction in the Philippines. Currently there is a lack of vacancies that require high-skilled employees, resulting in part of the well-educated work force taking on bad jobs, in order to provide for themselves and their families. This leads to low incentives for people to invest time and money in the expansion of their knowledge and capabilities, which might give way to a negative downward circle wherein less people are motivated to achieve a diploma of a Higher Education Institute (HEI), and thus less productive jobs are created. Females are especially at a higher risk of unemployment or underemployment when a lack of good jobs continues, since more women graduate from HEIs and count for a stunning 63.7% of all licensed professionals (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2013; Asian Development Bank, 2013; Philippine Commission on Women, 2014). Moreover, a patriarchic traditional divide between male and female jobs persists especially in rural communities where male jobs are specified as more risky and physical work, such as construction worker, driver, and agricultural worker; and female jobs are characterized by safe, and caring jobs such as caregiver, teacher, and shop attendant (Parreñas, 2008; Asian Development Bank, 2013). There is simply more demand in rural areas for “male jobs” than “female jobs”.

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3.2 Education system
The Filipino education system has been characterized by a capricious tendency. By hitting universal primary enrolment by 1970, which is relatively early in comparison to other Asian countries (United Nations, 2006), the Philippines gained global respect for their quick fix of the educational attainment problem. However, the system could not keep up with the sudden titanic influx of new students, which resulted in a long-term deterioration of education quality (Clark, 2015). While UNESCO (2013) reports that the most recent enrolment rate in primary education is 96%, the enrolment rate has fluctuated heavily since 1970, dropping as low as 87% in 2006 (UNESCO, 2012). Moreover, the 2008 dropout rate was calculated at 24% for primary education (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2006), indicating great difficulty in keeping students in school. Nevertheless, the 2013 primary completion rate boasts an impressive percentage of 101%, with even 105% for females, as opposed to 97% for their male counterparts (UNESCO, 2012). Pupils who took a longer time to complete their studies or returned to school after dropping out explain the percentage above 100%. Women are currently outperforming men in all levels of education, as well as in the labor market as licensed professionals, where women count for a total of 63.7%, against 36.3% for male licensed professionals (Philippine Commission on Women, 2014).

3.2.1 Key reforms
The Department of Education (DepEd) is the primary government office managing formal and non-formal education up until secondary level (basic education), as well as the integration of culture and sports. The inclusion of culture and sports within DepEd’s field of responsibility stems from its name prior to 2001: Department of Education Culture and Sports (DECS). The Governance of Basic Education Act of 2001 (GOVPH, 2001) however, transformed DECS to DepEd, aiming to increase both transparency and local accountability through decentralization. The Act of 2001 created a major influx in DepEd offices around the country, in order to better address local education needs and improve evaluation and quality control. Currently DepEd offices are present in every single province, working hierarchically in order of community size. The DepEd office of Antique, situated in its capital San José de Buenavista, answers to the main island office of Iloilo (capital of the island of Panay), but is responsible for two smaller offices in the province.

In order to address the fluctuations in quality and attainment as described at the beginning of this chapter even further, two other major educational reforms have recently been implemented to improve both structure and curriculum: the Kindergarten Act of 2012 (GOVPH, 2012); and the Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2013 (GOVPH, 2013). The former introduced a compulsory year of Kindergarten instead of optional pre-school, where the latter adds 2 years of senior high school to the years of basic education, resulting in a total of 13 years of basic education, of which 7 are mandatory. The Kindergarten Act aims to prepare pupils for primary education, while the Enhanced Basic Education Act is implemented to prepare high school graduates better for higher education or direct entrance in the labor market.

3.2.2 The Filipino education system
Apart from DepEd, two other government agencies are responsible for the education system: 1) the Commission on Higher Education (CHED) administers higher education; and 2) the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA) is accountable for vocational, post-secondary education (EP-Nuffic, 2015).

The school year starts in June and ends in March, because April and May are plagued by extremely hot weather, with temperatures rising over 40°C. Under the Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2013, compulsory education is now expanded to 12 years in the K-12 program, starting at age 5 (GOVPH, 2013).

**Basic education**

Compulsory basic education now starts at the age of 5, and ends in senior high school at age 18. Both primary and secondary education consist of 6 years of schooling. Prior to primary education, one year of Kindergarten is mandatory, yet 2 years are recommended (starting at the age of 4). This results in a basic education formula of 1 (2) + 6 + 6 (EP-Nuffic, 2015). Basic education is free of charge for public schools. Private schools however, impose fees. 91% of all elementary pupils are enrolled in public schools, as opposed to 80% of the students in secondary education (Department of Education, 2013).

The language of instruction starts with the local language (Kiray-A in the case of Antique), from Kindergarten until grade 4, after which the language of instruction gradually becomes English or Filipino (Tagalog), depending on the subject. In elementary and high school the children take Filipino classes, as well as ‘makabaya’, teaching the pupils Filipino and local culture, values and norms, among other things (Clark, 2015).

Recent changes in the structure of secondary education divide high school in junior high (4 years) and senior high (2 years). The school year of 2017-2018 will deliver the first senior high school graduates. Elementary graduates can enroll in general secondary school, vocational secondary school, or science secondary school for those with a particular talent for STEM subjects. The former two schools do not involve any entrance requirements, while the latter makes use of a competitive examination entrance system (EP-Nuffic, 2015). Over 8200 public and private senior high schools have recently been built to accommodate the new senior high students. The curriculum for senior high school is geared towards students’ preferred specialization, as opposed to the set curriculum for junior high school. Also, the senior high school curriculum includes research, problem solving and critical thinking skills within its subjects, increasing chances for the education system to compete on a global scale (GOVPH, 2013).

**Higher education**

In the higher education sector 71% of all institutions are private, comprising of both secular and religious schools. 57% of all enrolments in higher education are in private institutions (Commission on Higher Education, 2013). In 2014 the higher education sector comprised of 1643 private higher education institutions (HEIs), and 656 public institutions of which 547 are state institutions, and 95 are local institutions (Commission on Higher Education, 2015). The University of Antique (UA) is an example of a local university funded by the state. For more specific information on UA, I reference to the methodology chapter.
CHED administers both private and public HEIs’ establishment, curricula, administration and building specifications. A select few institutions are rated as ‘Centers of Development’ after displaying significant potential for superiority, or ‘Centers of Excellence’ for presenting a consistent level of excellence. These institutions are either highly deregulated or totally autonomous (Commission on Higher Education, 2015). The University of Antique is currently aiming to become a Center of Development in 2022, by expanding their research team to investigate possibilities for innovation in the province itself, mainly on educational and agricultural level (University of Antique, 2015).

Higher education institutions’ accreditation is based on a voluntary system per program. CHED stimulates HEIs to receive accreditation for their programs by incentives such as deregulation, grants, and subsidies for institutions with accredited programs (EP-Nuffic, 2015).

**Universities**

Universities are organized through three levels similar to the European system: Bachelor (Undergraduate), Master (Graduate), and Ph. D (Doctoral). Admission requirements for most universities comprise of a high school diploma, a benchmark score on the National Secondary Achievement Test, and a benchmark score on the specific university’s admission test, but requirements vary among different universities.

A Bachelor’s degree takes up 4 years, of which the first 2 years consist of a general phase, whereas the last 2 years are geared towards a specific major. EP-Nuffic (2015) states that a Filipino Bachelor’s degree is comparable to half a European Bachelor, due to the fact that the general phase of the Philippine Bachelor program is included in most European high schools. However, CHED expects this to change after the full implementation of the Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2013, which aims to transfer the general phase of the Bachelor program to the senior high school curriculum (GOVPH, 2013).

Master’s degrees usually cover two academic years and require a Bachelor’s degree from a relevant field of study, with a minimum average grade of a B or 85% (EP-Nuffic, 2015). Ph. D programs mostly require a Master’s degree in an appropriate field of study. The Ph D. programs can be taken with or without a thesis (Manasan & Parel, 2015).

4. Earlier research

This chapter starts with an overview that describes research investigating the female advantage in university, after which the limited pool of research on female labor market participation in the Philippines is discussed.

As emphasized in chapter 3.2, females achieve higher enrolment rates, higher completion rates, and generally higher grades in the Philippine education system up until tertiary education, as compared to their male counterparts (Philippine Commission on Women, 2014). This is not just a Philippine trend, but it is tangible in education systems worldwide: in the United States (Snyder & Dillow, 2007), and
among all members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development except for the following four: Switzerland, Korea, Turkey and Japan (OECD, 2006).

Buchmann, DiPrete & McDaniel (2008) point to the following factors that have caused female educational performance to accelerate: individual-level factors, family resources, academic performance, incentives and returns to college, institutional factors, gender-role attitudes, labor markets, educational institutions, and military service. I will discuss academic performance, labor markets, and gender-role attitudes further below. These three factors are deemed most relevant to my research since they match my own findings, as can be read in chapter 7.

Females’ higher academic performance is fueled by better test scores on all subjects in general, and the female tendency to spend more time on homework and avoid disciplinary problems (Jacob, 2002). Buchmann & DiPrete (2006) also state that gender differences in high school behavior result in advantages for women’s academic performance in the United States.

Between 1970 and 1990 women in the United States and Western Europe have seen a steep rise in their wages, narrowing the gender wage gap. Furthermore, occupational sex segregation on the work floor fell in that same time period (Morris & Western, 1999), making it possible for women to enter high-status and high-paying jobs. These are two incentives that stimulated (young) women to gain a university degree with which they could actually start a wide range of careers.

Within the United States, there has been a change from patriarchic sentiments concerning gender roles, towards a more egalitarian view (Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004), which is related to the increase of female college enrolment in Northern America (DiPrete & Buchmann, 2006). Goldin, Katz & Kuziemko (2006) additionally point to the increase of the average age for women’s first marriage. This increase made it possible for women to complete a college degree, take their studies seriously, and form their own identity before starting a family. The increase was just as much caused by the influx of female enrolment and graduation in colleges as well as it was encouraging women to enroll in post-secondary education. Finally, the introduction of contraceptives have had a great impact on American women’s post-secondary enrolment and graduation (Goldin et al., 2006; Goldin & Katz, 2002).

The pool of knowledge considering female labor market participation is quite small and scattered, but does not fail to encompass relevant and recent research on the topic. Although the government of the Philippines has published a handsome number of reports on gender equality and female labor market participation (Canlas, 2016; Republic of the Philippines Statistics Authority, 2016; Albert, Martinez & Dumagan, 2015; Philippine Commision on Women, 2014; Cabegin, 2012; Santiago, 1999, amongst others), gender equality is not acknowledged as a “normative macro-economic goal in the Philippines’ national development plan” (Asian Development Bank, 2013: p. xi).

This indicates that despite its high ranking in the Global Gender Gap Index (World Economic Forum, 2016) gender equality is not a current path in which the Republic of the Philippines is pursuing its economic development, while Filipinas in general, and Antiqueñas especially, remain significantly more vulnerable in the following economic areas: general labor market participation, segregation between male and female jobs, unpaid domestic and care work, unpaid employment in family businesses, involvement in informal “bad jobs”, involvement in overseas jobs that
carry with them significant risks of abuse and exploitation, a significant wage gap, lack of social support, and a lack of productive “good jobs”, as outlined in this chapter (Republic of the Philippines Statistics Authority, 2016; UNDP, 2016; World Bank, 2016; Albert, Dumagan & Martinez, 2015; Yap & Melchior, 2015; DTUC-IDC, 2014; Philippine Commission on Women, 2014; Asian Development Bank, 2013; Philippine Commission on Women, 2013; Cabegin, 2012; Santos, 2012; Luo, 2009; Parreñas, 2008; Parreñas, 2001; Santiago, 1999; Floro & Schaeffer, 1998).

The body of existing research on Filipina labor market participation mainly revolves around the risks and perils many Filipinas encounter while working abroad. Overseas Filipinas are at a significantly high risk to be involved in abuse, harassment, physical and mental work-related health problems, and (sexual) exploitation due to their engagement in informal labor markets (Liat, 2009; Parreñas, 2008). However, even when employed through the formal labor market within hosting countries, these risks persist and Filipinas are not only unprotected by a lack of national legislation on the topic of migrant workers, but also specifically excluded from general protection by national laws in countries such as Malaysia (Lasimbang, Tong & Low, 2016). With the rise of foreign migrant recruitment agencies that cater employers in need of migrant employees, even the poorest Filipinas can afford to be employed abroad, because all initial costs are covered by the agency. Yet, recruitment by these agencies often leads to accruing debts for these vulnerable women, limiting choices of leaving their jobs, and therefore impeding their overall bargaining power on the work floor and beyond (Liat, 2009; Parreñas, 2008).

Yap & Melchior (2015) draw attention to two other main constraints that limit female labor market opportunities: a significant wage gap, and unpaid family work. Filipinas’ average wage is calculated to confine to a shocking 60% of the average wage of their male counterparts (Asian Development Bank, 2013; Philippine Commission on Women, 2013). Furthermore, females count for 56,7% of all unpaid family workers in (agricultural) family businesses (Philippine Commission on Women, 2013). Yet, females in general only represent 38,7% of the labor force, indicating the impact of such a high rate of unpaid labor in the business sector alone (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2016).

Finally, the Asian Development Bank (2013) indicates that a traditional patriarchal gendered division of household and care work perseveres to permeate Filipino culture and customs, resulting in 84% of the total domestic time allocated to child care being executed by women. Filipinas still have far greater responsibility for household and unpaid care work, despite their increased participation and responsibility for paid labor. Due to a lack of childcare services and a persistently high fertility rate, the demand for unpaid care work is just as high as it has ever been, hindering Filipinas to fully develop, or even start their careers (Asian Development Bank, 2013).

**5. Conceptual and theoretical framework**

This chapter elaborates on the concepts and theories that provide an outline for both the collection and analysis of the data involved in this study.
5.1. Conceptual framework
Within this chapter the concept of cooperative conflicts, as discussed by Nussbaum (1995) and Sen (1995) is discussed.

5.1.1 Cooperative conflicts
The concept of cooperative conflicts as described by Nussbaum (1995) and Sen (1995) contradicts Becker’s (1981) theory of the altruistic head of the household. Within this economic theory based on rationalism, Becker argues that each family’s head of the household is intrinsically inclined to distribute the family means according to the needs of every member of the family. Reasoning from a rational, economic perspective, this altruistic characteristic of the head of the family indeed seems the most effective manner of distribution of the family’s collective means. Yet, even if we lived in a utopic world in which we could trust every family’s head to reason in perfect rational and altruistic thought, we simply cannot trust that the head of the family knows and understands exactly what every member of the family needs.

As a response to this theory, Nussbaum (1995) and Sen (1995) argue that the reliance on altruism does not originate from the head of the household, but from minorities within the family that sacrifice their own (conflicting) needs to accommodate the needs of the family. Thus, in most cases, these minority family members do not only agree on their oppression, they also actively cooperate in altruistic decisions that minimize their freedoms as a result of cultural customs, habit, or (lack of) education. This leads to dominant members of the family faring well at the expense of minoritized members.

One of my main expectations for the causes of a lack of female labor market participation in the Philippines, is that Filipino culture feeds into the concept of cooperative conflicts by stimulating girls to be educated and find employment on the one hand, and by holding up the traditional patriarchic culture of women as homemakers, on the other. As can be read in the Study Background of this thesis, Filipinas still account for 84% of all caregiving tasks at home, while also being more and more involved in gainful employment outside the home (Asian Development Bank, 2013). This makes it very difficult for Filipinas to focus on their careers, as they are also expected to account for more than 80% of the tasks involving the reeling and dealing of children.

5.2 Theoretical Framework
Amartya Sen’s and Martha Nussbaum’s separate and combined theories on the capability approach represent the focal point of the theoretical framework that guides this study. Within the following chapter I will discuss their views on the key terms that are used within the capability approach, and the place feminism holds within the capability approach.

5.2.1 Key concepts
There are 3 basic terms that lie at the very heart of the capability approach, namely: capability, functioning, and agency. Although Sen and Nussbaum have developed the capability approach in cooperation and have greatly influenced each other, some
slight, yet significant differences remain, which I elaborately discussed in the literature review that preceded this thesis (van den Bosch, 2016). This chapter aims to give a brief, comprehensive overview of the theories discussed in said paper. First, the three key terms will be discussed separately, after which a section on the categorization of capabilities concludes this chapter.

**Capability**

Sen’s (1999) intention with the capability approach is to expand the true capabilities a person possesses, in order to enable people to live the life they desire, and have reason to desire. A capability then, can be defined as the ability to reach that goal of fulfillment. Capabilities are unquintessentially linked with freedom, and Sen (1999) envisages the expansion of human freedom, and thus capability, as the essence of development and therefore top priority of governments.

In writing this thesis, I aim to expand the capability of women to participate within the labor market, in order to expand their freedom and therefore contribute to a higher quality of life.

As can be found in appendix VII, Nussbaum (1999) created a list of central human capabilities, which can be used as a benchmark to assess the quality of any human life, by itself or in comparison to others. This list is firmly embedded within her universalist and essentialist epistemology, in which she emphasizes (but not excludes her view to) ‘sameness’ over ‘otherness’. Nussbaum’s comprehensive list of requirements of a fully human life is based on Aristotle’s list of central human capabilities (Nussbaum, 1993). Just as Aristotle argued that there are a number of essential experiences every human comes across in their life time, Nussbaum (1993) argues that her list includes those capabilities that make a life decisively human, and that a human life that lacks any of these capabilities can not be identified as a “good human life” (Nussbaum, 1999: p. 42). Absence of any one of these capabilities cannot be compensated simply by adding more of another capability. For, “a life that lacks any one of these capabilities, no matter what else it has, will fall short of being a good human life.” (Nussbaum, 1999: p. 42).

While Sen places a capability outside of a person; as an ability that one can obtain, a choice that can be made, or an opportunity that can be taken, Nussbaum sees capabilities as internal to human beings, like motors waiting for ignition. Nussbaum (1999) identifies three types of capabilities: basic, internal and combined capabilities.

“Basic capabilities, she argues, are best described as the “innate equipment” (Nussbaum, 1999: 44) making up the necessary foundation from which potential capabilities can sprout. This phase represents the dormant phase, in which all the ingredients are there, but the dish still needs to be prepared.

Internal capabilities can be defined as a state of readiness, through maturation and experience, to use the functioning that is in correlation with the capability. A baby for instance, has the basic capability to speak. This becomes an internal capability once she starts using her voice, producing actual words she can connect with their meanings.

Combined capabilities can be explained as internal capabilities, combined with appropriate external conditions that enable the exercise of a function. A young child
has developed the internal capability to speak, and develops the combined capability of having a conversation if she matures in an environment where people speak with her on a regular basis” (van den Bosch, 2016: p. 18).

Nussbaum (1999) even goes so far as to argue that the basic capabilities included in her list need to be developed, for undeveloped capabilities are a clear sign of a malfunctioning adult life. It is not surprising then, that Nussbaum includes the capability to engage in gainful employment as a basic capability in her list, as illustrated by appendix VII, indicating that those who are not able to participate in the labor market are deprived of a fully human life worth leading. Thus, by identifying (hidden) barriers that hinder Filipinas to enter the labor market, this thesis can make a humble contribution in the pool of knowledge that has the potential of expanding essential freedoms of these Filipinas, and therefore raising the quality of their lives.

**Functioning**

“Their [capabilities] very being makes reference to functioning; so without the possibility of functioning, they are only in a shadowy way even themselves” (Nussbaum, 1987: 169)

Functioning can be defined as an achievement, or an actualization of a capability (Sen, 1987). As stated both in the capability section and in Nussbaum's quote at the beginning of this section, capabilities depend very heavily on the state of their functioning. The capability to be properly nourished for example, depends on a number of functionings in order to reach its full potential: being educated about healthy nutrition, developing the skill of properly preparing food that is safe and healthy, being able to buy ingredients, budgeting and calculating one’s expenses, and many more.

The responsibility to execute and develop these functionings is the responsibility of each individual. Governments should aim to expand the freedoms and reduce barriers to develop basic capabilities, but it is up to the people themselves to actualize these capabilities through functionings. Assessing the extent to which freedoms and capabilities can be developed however, can be analyzed by making an inventory of functionings, since people cannot fully develop their capabilities if certain functionings cannot be generated. This does not suggest that within the capability approach governments are the sole creators of policies. Conversely, both Sen and Nussbaum envisage an important role for people themselves to influence policy making through the concept of agency, as discussed below.

The government of the Philippines has dedicated itself to promoting gender equality (Department of Health, 2013) and has launched several policies to increase female labor market participation, such as the implementation of female employment quotas within state organizations. Yet, only 53% of all Filipinas find employment, while it becomes apparent in my research that the lion’s share of graduating girls of Antique want, and plan for a professional career. This indicates a hiatus between the capability of finding employment, which is provided for all by the Filipino government, and the lack of functioning women are able to actualize from
that capability by entering the labor market. It is precisely this hiatus between capability and functioning that is the focus of this thesis.

**Agency**

Within the capability approach the term agency encompasses the capability to be responsible for one’s own actions, and with these actions bring about change, either for oneself or for someone else. The actions of the individual can be judged by the individual’s own beliefs, norms, and values, but can also be assessed through external norms (Sen, 1999). The capability to act through agency is central to the capability approach and therefore permeates the entire theory, or as Sen so eloquently phrases:

“This work [the capability approach] is particularly concerned with the agency role of the individual as a member of the public and as a participant in economic, social and political actions (varying from taking part in the market to being involved, directly or indirectly, in individual or joint activities in political and other spheres).”

(Sen, 1999: p. 19)

Sen conceives agency to be of vital importance for people to influence their environment, and therefore as an essential instrument to assess development in general.

**Categorization of capabilities**

Both Sen (1987) and Nussbaum (1999) agree that capabilities can and should be ranked from the trivial to the vital. The capability to function well is perceived by Sen as the primary capability within the approach. Nussbaum makes this definition more profound by defining the capability to function well as: “to live a rich and fully human life, up to the limit permitted by natural possibilities” (1990: 217 – Aristotelian Social Democracy).

While Sen’s (1990) argument for primary capabilities mostly revolves around his agency concept (van den Bosch, 2016), Nussbaum (1993) provides us with a more comprehensive view that is based on the overarching capability to choose as conditional to all capabilities. In her view, the capability to choose is strongly interrelated with practical reasoning, and human well-being is restricted to those functionings that are both chosen and valued. Additionally, individuals do not only pursue their own well-being, but can also strive for the well-being of others. Nussbaum explains this through two definitions of ‘good functioning’ that give direction to human well-being, namely: 1) social attachments – acting with others; and 2) social affiliation – acting towards others. She then argues that the capability to choose – or practical reason in general - together with social affiliation, represent the two pillars all valuable functionings rest on.

As elaborated in the concepts chapter, the capability - and its corresponding functionings - to enter the labor market has strong implications for the capability to choose and level of social affiliation of women. A general increase of independence for instance, has direct influence on the capability to choose, and therefore on practical reason, while the improvement of a woman’s bargaining power is a social
affiliation functioning of female labor market participation. Hence, labor market participation contributes greatly to the overall quality of life and ‘good functioning’ of females.

5.2.2 The feminist capability approach

The construction of Sen and Nussbaum’s capability approach is inherently feminist because it aims to assess the well-being of a person through the distribution of freedoms and opportunities one is able to enjoy. Essentially, this is done by comparing the capabilities and corresponding functionings that two people face. The capability approach focuses on the equal distribution of freedoms amongst all people, irrespective of gender, class, culture or race. Within the comparison of freedoms between two (groups of) people, these classifications such as gender, obviously do come forward, in order to assess one cultural group’s advantage over another. The essence of this comparison is then to make any discrepancies between two groups apparent, in order to address them accordingly and expand freedoms for all people.

From Nussbaum’s point of view this sprouts from her universalist and essentialist epistemology, her universal list of human capabilities is thus a good starting point for the evaluation and expansion of freedom. In assessing the freedoms Filipinas have to find gainful employment we can compare their employment rate (53%) to the employment rate of men, which is 80% (Yap & Melchior, 2015). Hence, in comparison to males, females have lower chances of entering the labor market, and therefore enjoy less freedom than their male counterparts, with far-reaching consequences for the quality of their lives. Identifying the barriers that hinder these women is therefore essential in order to guarantee an equal distribution of freedoms and opportunities.

Gender equity

From a feminist perspective, the capability approach aims to distribute equal opportunities and freedoms for both sexes. This can be measured by assessing the functionings females are able to actualize through the capabilities they have, as opposed to their male counterparts. It may very well become apparent that although men and women are essentially given access to the same capabilities, men are able to actualize more functioning through them than women. This implies that extra measures need to be taken for females, in order to make the same level of capability and functioning available for both sexes. Simply catering everyone with the exact same policies will not eliminate inequalities, just as providing everyone with the exact same amount of food will not fully nourish everyone equally. It is obvious that a pregnant woman requires more nourishment than a woman that is of the same age and weight, but not with child.

Thus, the question that remains is: ‘how equal is equal?’ Nussbaum (1999) has given a clear view on her stance in this matter by discussing it through two popular positions within the current discourse on gender equity. Position A argues that men and women essentially share the same capabilities, but they are expected to perform these capabilities within separate spheres. This results in a pre-dominantly male environment, most often represented by the world of work outside; and a female environment mostly characterized as confined to the world inside the home.
Position B assigns completely different capabilities and characteristics to the two sexes altogether. Male capabilities then, are those capabilities that include practical reason, work and political engagement in society while female capabilities are those that include social affiliation, home making and childcare, amongst others.

Despite the fact that position A does recognize that both sexes have the same needs for the development of their capabilities, it fails to see that assigning different spheres for both sexes inevitably leads to a society based on patriarchic hierarchy and therefore to the eminent subordination of women, which negatively affects the development of basic capabilities they are able to enjoy (Nussbaum, 1999).

“Simply pointing to the female ability of childbearing does not require women to live their entire lives locked away behind private doors. If anything, it merely points to a faulty system lacking of childcare support by the state, the employer and most importantly, the male partner” (van den Bosch, 2016: p. 13).

Position B suggests that both sexes have need of different capabilities. The list of universal human capabilities included in appendix VII however, indicates that a human life that lacks any one of these capabilities cannot be perceived as a fully human life worth living (Nussbaum, 1999). Taking the two primary capabilities of practical reason and social affiliation – as described above – in account, position B claims that women would lack the capability of practical reason in general, and men would have very little need for social affiliation or attachment. Surely, a male life that is deprived of meaningful and loving relationships with others cannot be but a sad and unfulfilling life. Similarly, a female life robbed of practical reason and political engagement represents an empty, inhumane life, suggesting that both sexes would miss out on many functionings that make a human life worth living. Consequently, each and every human has the same needs for development and freedom through the basic human capabilities included in Nussbaum’s list (1999). Hence, making these basic capabilities available to all is the essence of development (Sen, 1999).

Before embarking on my journey to the Philippines, I expected that because of recent policy changes the Philippines has moved away from policies that support position B. However, I suspect that the Republic has moved from position B, to position A because it still promotes the domesticity of females through a separation between male and female jobs at home, and especially the nature of Filipinas’ careers abroad. Furthermore, I expect that rural areas are still plagued by prejudice concerning both positions, because these areas tend to be more traditional and patriarchic than urban areas (Yap & Melchior, 2015).

6. Methodology

This thesis aims to reveal (concealed) barriers that female graduate students are expecting to experience while entering the labor market in Antique, the Philippines. The research is set up in a manner that first allows for a large group of female graduate students to make their voices heard, after which a small group of graduate students is selected to elaborate on their perspectives to provide the study with
more depth and detail. This chapter will expand on the methodology that guides the research.

6.1 Research Design
The research has been designed as an inductive cross-sectional study. A cross-sectional design comprises of more than one case, approached at a single point in time to enable the collection of quantitative or quantifiable data, connected to at least two variables (Bryman, 2012). Within this thesis, three universities within the same province represent the different cases that have been researched, attempting to generate as large a sample as possible at first, enabling me to zoom in on relevant participants’ perspectives in the second phase of the research. The quantitative part or the survey part of this thesis involves 369 female graduate students, of which 6 students are selected for qualitative semi-structured interviews, plus 3 external interviewees, resulting in a total of 372 participants. Both quantitative and qualitative data collecting methods have been used in this study. All survey participants have been subject to 15 variables. As the interview guide in appendix III illustrates, the qualitative semi-structured interviews were all carried out in a unique manner, depending on the person that was being interviewed. During the data collection, certain themes emerged from the data that were investigated further in later interviews. However, it was only after the completion of the data collection that set themes were generated and analyzed, as is true to an inductive approach (Bryman, 2012).

This study is based on mixed methods research, where the quantitative data functions mostly as a background for the qualitative part. The qualitative part is aimed to give rich and deep context to the quantitative data, whereas the quantitative data provide the study with an extensive and wider outlook on female labor market participation in Antique.

6.2 Mixed methods research
Mixed methods research combines both qualitative and quantitative research strategies to incorporate different research dimensions within a single study (Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007). In this study I prioritize the qualitative part over the quantitative part, indicating that the qualitative study is the focal point of the thesis. Nevertheless, the data collection starts with the quantitative part, which shapes the content of the qualitative data collection.

6.2.1 Triangulation
Mixed methods research is also often referred to as triangulation, which is a different term in itself. Triangulation is in fact a desired effect of mixed methods research wherein the two research strategies complement each other, and mutually improve the quality of the strategy. Webb et al (1966) describe it as the enhancement of confidence in a study’s findings by using more than one strategy. In this thesis a triangulation of using different data collection methods is used, because the quantitative data validate that many graduating girls want and plan to enter the labor market, while the qualitative data explain why this is not happening at large. Thus, the qualitative and quantitative data complement and complete each other, while adding both width and depth to the study.
6.3 Quantitative research
The data collection for this thesis started with a quantitative research data collection method through a survey. In order to answer the research questions, I developed a self-completion questionnaire that aimed to answer the two research questions below, as well as to cover ground to develop a qualitative instrument. This was done by analyzing the answers that were given in the survey, generating relevant themes and incorporating these themes in the qualitative interview guide as can be viewed in appendix III. The self-completion questionnaire can be found in appendix V, and aims to explore the following research questions:

1. Why do only half (53.4%) of the highly educated female population in the Philippines find a job after their studies?
2. In what ways are Filipinas hindered to enter the labor market?

6.3.1 Concept and indicators
The concept that is measured through the self-completion questionnaire is outlined as female labor market participation. Female labor market participation is defined as: the opportunities for university graduate Filipinas from the province of Antique, the Philippines to enter the labor market. The indicators for female labor market participation are as follows: desired labor market participation, planned labor market participation, and expected difficulties hindering female labor market participation. These indicators are deemed vital components of the opportunities for labor market participation for rural Filipinas, because they allow me to paint a more nuanced picture of the concept. Certainly, before we can judge if a person has difficulties to enter the labor market, we must find out whether this person even wants to enter the labor market, and why. These indicators are interconnected and the collected data performs as a framework for the qualitative part of the study. The self-completion questionnaire addresses these indicators through 12 questions, as is illustrated by appendix V.

6.3.2 Pilot study
A pilot study was conducted amongst 50 students of Saint Anthony’s College (SAC), the only private university in the province of Antique, because this university was the first to grant me access to their student body, and I only had a restricted amount of time to conduct the field research in Antique. The first version of the questionnaire is included in appendix IV. Comparison of the first version and the final version (appendix V) of the questionnaire shows the following alterations: First, the language of the instrument has been simplified, in order to enhance respondent’s understanding. Any interference by the researcher during the completion of the questionnaire is obviously undesirable since this can influence the answers of the respondent (Bryman, 2012).

Secondly, an extra question (question 9) was added to better indicate expected barriers to entering the labor market.

Furthermore, ‘maybe’ was added as an answering option to add nuance to the possibilities to answer the questionnaire. During my internship at the local department of education (DepEd) I also contributed to evaluation research of their trainings through self-completion questionnaires. These questionnaires often used a
Likert-scale divided in 5 possibilities: strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, and strongly disagree. All respondents used the answer ‘strongly agree’ when they agreed with something, and ‘agree’ when they did not agree with something. This became clear after group evaluations wherein the respondents could indicate measures of improvement for future trainings. The questions that they answered with ‘agree’ were always the topics of their proposed measures of improvement. Respondents refrained from answering any question ‘lower’ than agree. Hence, I added ‘maybe’ as an answering option for students who usually refrained from a negative answer such as ‘no’, as a safer option. After adding ‘maybe’ the results of the survey significantly changed to a more negative view on labor market participation.

6.4 Qualitative research
As stated above, the use of the qualitative data collection method using semi-structured and open-ended interviews followed the quantitative data collection, from which additional questions from the initial research questions arose. These are questions that I regarded could not be explored using only quantitative data collection methods. A semi-structured interview guide, included as appendix III, was designed to investigate the following research questions:

1. Why do only half (53,4%) of the highly educated female population in the Philippines find a job after their studies?
2. Do rural girls want to enter the labor market, and why?
3. In what ways are Filipinas hindered to enter the labor market and how does this compare to national data?

As appendix III reveals, the interview guide is under no circumstance meant to be used as a rigid instrument. The interviewees are numbered because there is a sequence in the data collection. The first interviews were conducted according to themes that arose within the quantitative data analysis; later interviews were also based on themes that became apparent through initial analysis of the first interviews, and so on. All in all the interviews were carried out in 4 sequences, where each sequence’s interview questions were dependent on the sequences before but even more so on the respective interviewee. Therefore, the order of the interviews is of importance. The following themes were aggregated during the data collection: teenage pregnancies, family planning, romantic relationships, overseas Filipino workers (OFW), and parental influence. This however, does not mean that all these themes recurred in each and every following interview, but were investigated when deemed relevant. The notes that have been made during initial analysis are organized in a special folder and can be made available upon request.

6.4.1 Concepts
In the section on quantitative research the concept of female labor market participation is described. This main concept is defined in a rather general way to enable other (sub-) concepts to emerge from the data within qualitative data collection. For the quantitative part, three indicators that are addressed within the survey further develop the concept. These indicators are not used within the
qualitative phase of the study to enable flexibility and refrain from further bias. The themes or concepts that arose from the data are described in chapter 7. The questions within the interview guide included in appendix III, indicate that a small range of questions cover quite a vast range of possibilities within the interviews concerning female labor market participation. During the interviews with the three non-students, the guide was hardly used at all.

6.5 Sample
The aim of the study is to uncover hidden barriers for female university graduate students that are about to enter the labor market in the province of Antique, Philippines. Hence, the sampling of context consists of all university units in the rural province of Antique. The province consists of two universities: the University of Antique (UA), which is a state funded university; and Saint Anthony’s College (SAC), which is a privately funded university. UA however consists of three dependences: UA Sibalom (UAS), which is the main campus and offers most programs; UA Hamtic (UAH) which is a small rural university consisting mainly of agriculture programs; and UA Tibiao (UAT), also a small rural university that mainly offers agricultural programs.

In order to complete a criterion sample, wherein all units that meet the criterion ‘university in Antique’ would be sampled (Bryman, 2012), all four university campuses as described above were initially included in the sample. Gaining access to the universities took significantly more time than expected, which resulted in the exclusion of UAT for two reasons:

1) UAT offers the same programs as UAH and consists of roughly the same student body, since the towns of Hamtic and Tibiao are culturally and economically very similar. Therefore, including UAT would not add to the diversity of the student body.

2) Traveling to UAT would take approximately 4 hours. Due to the average amount of 5 visits per university in order to be provided with a list of female graduate students, and the fact that it takes several visits to complete the sample at each university, including UAT in the survey would simply take up too much time.

Thus, the sample is spread across 3 university campuses: Saint Anthony’s College, University of Antique Sibalom, and University of Antique Hamtic. The criterion sample is completed because both universities in Antique are included in the sample. Since the campuses of Hamtic and Tibiao are very similar, the loss of population diversity is minimized and the sample has the potential of being representative for the entire female university graduate student population of Antique.

As illustrated below in table 1, I attempted to complete a stratified sample to increase the possibility to generalize for the province of Antique. Although the samples within each faculty are designed as stratified samples, I have chosen to draw more sizable samples at SAC and UAH due to the programs they offer. Programs such as agriculture, nursing, and criminology are of special interest to me as they represent an entire different student body, whose students otherwise
remain barely represented, because these courses are not provided by UAS. To compensate for this modification, a stratified sample has been drawn across all faculties within each university to increase validity. Furthermore, a random sample has been drawn per faculty to expand both reliability and the ability to replicate the research. A random sample is drawn by allotting every student within each faculty a subsequent number. These numbers were then entered in the ‘Random Number Generator’ at www.psychicscience.org. The generated numbers were then reconnected with the respective students, which results in a list of randomly chosen names within each faculty. The results of the generator for SAC can be found in appendix VI as an example.

Both SAC and UAS offer hospitality and tourism programs, however none of the students were in the province of Antique, nor on the island of Panay, because they were on their On the Job Trainings (OJTs). These internships are all located in well-developed tourist areas. As the island of Panay is not popular amongst tourists, hospitality interns are sent to Manila and the islands of Cebu and Palawan. Unfortunately it was not feasible for me to contact these students as their internships start in January and they do not return until June. Hence, these students are not represented in the sample and all generalizations for the province of Antique from this point on, will not account for students of hospitality and tourism. If we refrain from including these students from the sample, the prospected sample is completed with 100,3%. The 0,3% can be explained by the addition of 20% of non-respondents in each sample.

6.5.1 Saint Anthony’s College
SAC is a private university and therefore decidedly more expensive than UA. However, many students choose to study at SAC because of its Catholic identity and the proximity to home, since SAC is located in the capital of Antique: San Jose de Buenavista. The sample for SAC is construed by dividing the population of graduating females (286) by two, which results in a sample of 143. An extra 20% is calculated in the sample to compensate for non-respondents, resulting in a sample of 173. I employed a minimum sample of 10 respondents per faculty to ensure a diverse sample, which results in 2 extra respondents for the faculty of nursing, which makes the final sample quota 175. The only faculty that did not reach its quota is the department of Business. These students were also engaged in their OJTs. Fortunately, some of the internships were located within the province of Antique, which made it possible to organize a meeting. This resulted in a sizable sample of 90,6% of the sampled students, considering this impediment. All in all, the quota was reached by 105,4% when hospitality is excluded from the sample.
Table 1: Construction of the survey sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of University</th>
<th>Name of Faculty</th>
<th>Number of graduating females</th>
<th>Sample prospect</th>
<th>Sample plus 20% non-respondents</th>
<th>Sample reached</th>
<th>Reached sample as percentage of prospected sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saint Anthony’s College</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>116%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Business</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>90.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hospitality</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Engineering and Technology</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nursing</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10*</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>114.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Criminal Justice</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>125%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>175*</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>95.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total minus hospitality</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>105.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UA Sibalom</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>98.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Engineering and Technology</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>46.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hospitality and Tourism</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Open Learning</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10*</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>250%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Business and Economics</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>119.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>841</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>245*</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>91.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total minus hospitality</td>
<td>763</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>101.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UA Hamtic</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19*</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>78.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25*</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>88.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Engineering and Technology</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13*</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>92.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>58*</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>86.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total amount of female graduates</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1180</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total minus hospitality</td>
<td>1075</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>100.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own creation, 2017

*This figure is affected by a discrepancy between the actual sample and the set minimum sample of 10 respondents

6.5.2 University of Antique, Sibalom

UAS is both the largest of all UA campuses, as well as the largest university in Antique. Its population of female graduate students comprises of 841; a significant difference compared to UAH and SAC. Although they offer by far the biggest variety of programs, the faculties do not come close to reflecting the diversity amongst the Antiqueño student body. Thus I chose to sample 1 in every 4,2 students (200), which still represents a considerable amount of students, without making the difference between the universities overtly large. I added an extra 20% for non-respondent compensation for this university as well which results in a sample quota of 240 students. The minimum student amount as described above has also been employed for the faculty of Open Learning, resulting in a final sample quota of 245 students.
The students of the faculty of Engineering and Technology were also engaged in their On the Job Trainings. However, quite a few students were located in the province of Antique, which enabled me to set up a meeting and still include 15 respondents in the sample. Although this means that a meagre 47% of the engineering students of UAS were included in the sample, the engineering students are also represented in samples of both SAC and UAH, which completed 100% and 92% respectively. This means the engineering students are slightly underrepresented. If the faculty of hospitality is not considered in the sample quota, a total of 101% is reached.

6.5.3 University of Antique, Hamtic
The small campus of UAH is situated in a very rural area, amidst meadows and nurseries. It mostly caters the southern half of the province of Antique with several programs for agriculture, specialized in crops and cattle. It only comprises of three faculties: Education, Engineering and Technology, and Agriculture. Due to the low number of female graduates, I decided to draw a census sample, including all female graduate students. Agriculture is the main livelihood for Antiqueños. Visiting the campus of Hamtic also takes approximately an hour from San Jose de Buenavista, and an hour and a half from the town of Sibalom. This indicates that the Hamtic campus caters the more remote students, which are of special interest to me to ensure the diversity of the drawn sample. Due to the nature of the census, there was no possibility of adding 20% of non-respondents. Also, since the amount of students per faculty is rather low, the percentages seem to indicate that the sample quota was not reached, while the actual number of respondents is fairly high, considering the fact that 1 in every 1,2 female graduate students has been included in the sample, and all faculties exceed the minimum of 10 students per faculty.

6.5.4 Sample for qualitative interviews
Purposive sampling – the strategic selection of individual cases (Bryman, 2012) - of the interviewees was carried out in response to the results of the quantitative survey, functioning as a sampling frame. As table 2 illustrates, the sample was drawn across the three university units that were also used for the survey. The ambition was to accomplish what Bryman (2012) calls a ‘maximum variety sample’ indicating a sample that boasts the highest possible level of diversity amongst its respondents. This sampling approach is chosen in order to bring as many perspectives to the table as possible, aiming to uncover hidden barriers Antqueñas experience while entering the labor market.

As appendix IV confirms, students that filled out the survey were, amongst other things, asked to give some general background information, and whether they expected difficulties when entering the labor market. These two aspects were of vital importance to the selection of interviewees, as table 2 elucidates. As opposed to the fixed sample for the self-completion questionnaire, the sample for the in-depth interviews was construed as a ‘sequential sample’. Teddlie and Yu (2007) describe this sampling approach as an evolving process of sampling, which usually starts with a fairly small sample (2 respondents in my case). New respondents were then selected in response to the data collected from the first interviewees, in order
to complete a maximum variety sample based on content, more than anything else. This sequential approach to sampling also allowed for a contingent approach, where the criteria for the selection of interviewees evolve over the course of the research (Hood, 2007). The respondents in table 2 are organized by date of interview, and were selected in 4 phases, in which the criteria for sampling depended on the formerly collected data. The second phase comprises of respondents 3 through 5; the third phase consists of respondents 6 and 7 and respondents 8 and 9 make up the last phase of the sampling and data collection.

All interviewees were equally spread across the three universities and answered differently to the question whether they expected any difficulties while entering the labor market. Also, respondent number 1 is a mother that returned to college, and interviewee number 6 has recently returned to school, after a break of 3 years. Hence, this sample demonstrates a great variety of people whose perspectives are very valuable in investigating hidden impediments experienced by graduating Filipinas who are entering the labor market. Unfortunately, respondents from the faculties of Nursing, Engineering, Criminology and Open Learning were not willing to participate in an in-depth interview. This decreases the diversity of the sample. Nevertheless, due to the variety in all other aspects, the sample still represents a wide variety of respondents. Furthermore, table 2 illustrates that 3 out of 9 respondents were not students, but professionals with abundant experience in female labor market participation and its impediments. These perspectives contributed significantly to the understanding of the cause of barriers for young women to start their career.

Table 2: Construction of the qualitative sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee nr.</th>
<th>Name university</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Faculty</th>
<th>Profession mother</th>
<th>Profession father</th>
<th>Marital state</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Will it be difficult to find a job?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>SAC</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Agriculturist</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Maybe: I have children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>UAS</td>
<td>Part-time instructor</td>
<td>Business and Economics</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>OFW</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>No survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>UAH</td>
<td>Gender and Development Officer</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>No survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>UAH</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Agriculturist</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>SAC</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Business and Economics</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>OFW</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Yes: there are not many vacancies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>UAS</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Au-pair</td>
<td>Stay at home dad</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>UAH</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Agriculturist</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Maybe: my family expects me to work for them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>UAS</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Prison guard</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Maybe: there are not many vacancies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own creation, 2017
6.6 Issues of quality

Bryman (2012) states that the quality of the research can be determined through 3 ‘prominent criteria’, namely: reliability, replicability and validity. The quality of the research of this thesis will thus be discussed in relation to these criteria below.

6.6.1 Reliability

The measure of reliability is mostly concerned with whether roughly the same results would be accomplished if the research would be carried out again at a later point in time, which will prove the quality of the measure. Although it is definitely possible to replicate the research due to the detailed research design stipulated above, it was not feasible for me to apply the test-retest method, due to the high costs of traveling to the Philippines, and the time constraints that would involve. Therefore the stability of the measure is not proven. Nevertheless, all collected data can be made available upon request, including all filled out questionnaires, interview audio files, interview transcripts, and coding notes. This information has not been made available online due to ethical constraints. Moreover, many appendices that explain and illustrate the steps I took within this research are included within this thesis, which improves the transparency of the study. Because I have carried out the research single-handedly, there are no possible discrepancies between several observers within data collection and analysis. However, within two in-depth interviews, the respondent asked for a translator. Although the translator was mainly there as a ‘safety measure’ for the respondents, as the level of English of Filipinas is generally very good, she did translate some snippets of information within both interviews. This indicates that the comprehension of these fragments totally relied on the translator. Nevertheless, the translator was both an indigenous member of the community and experienced with working with Dutch volunteers, which made her an ideal candidate for translation. The concept of female labor market participation and its indicators is ratified by my supervisor, who is an expert in the field of gender studies. This contributes to the face validity of reliability, which is perceived as the minimum standard of ratifying the quality of a concept in quantitative research (Bryman, 2012).

6.6.2 Replicability

As stated above, the survey part of the research is easily replicated, due to the detailed research design above. The semi-structured interviews are not as easily replicated because of the nature of qualitative research. Qualitative research always involves the personal norms, values and beliefs of the researcher, hence the interviews are not likely to be carried out in the exact same manner as the initial researcher would have done. Furthermore, it is impossible to gain access to the exact same social setting, since all social settings are subject to constant change. The transcripts however, are available via a secured link, and the process of coding is registered carefully and described comprehensively. The data has been analyzed in such a way that enabled me to discover barriers that hinder female graduate students to enter the labor market. Therefore, the data are coded and analyzed in order to reveal as many barriers as possible and mainly includes codes and themes that support this objective. Because the coding is exclusively done by one researcher
it may very well be possible that other, more experienced researchers would have found different themes within the same data set.

6.6.3 Validity
I will discuss the validity of this research through 3 components of validity, namely: measurement validity; internal validity; and external validity. Ecological validity is also a popular component to discuss, but because my research design did not include any experiments, ecological validity is deemed irrelevant.

Measurement validity
Measurement validity is best described as the measurement of whether the concept that is outlined in the research is accurately reflected in the research; measuring what it set out to measure. The concept of female labor market participation is based on former research on this topic (chapters 2 and 4). The aim and the objectives of the study are clearly reflected in both qualitative and quantitative phases of the study.

Internal validity
Internal validity evaluates whether researchers’ findings match the theoretical ideas that they develop. The general aim of the study is to uncover hidden barriers that hinder rural graduating Filipinas from entering the labor market. It is not the purpose of the researcher to make any claims of causality, but merely to make an inventory of such hidden barriers, in order to contribute to the expansion of the freedom of these young women. Said inventory is constructed in relation to both quantitative and qualitative data. Because of my simultaneous internship at the Department of Education in Antique, my relatively long stay and the location of my home in an indigent neighborhood, I can truly say I immersed myself within the Antiqueno culture. Le Compte and Goetz (1982) judge this aspect of the study to be of special value to internal validity, because the longitudinal participation in Antiqueno culture enabled me to achieve a high level of congruence between findings and theory.

External validity
External validity is concerned with whether the results of the study in question can be generalized to a larger public. The large sample of the survey and the stratified, randomized nature of the sample all contribute to the chances of generalizability to the entire graduating population of Antique.

6.7 Ethical consideration
Bryman (2012) describes four primary categories concerning ethical consideration: 1 harming of participants, 2 informed consent, 3 invasion of privacy, and 4 involvement in deception. These themes will be discussed below.

Due to the character of research based on survey and interviews, none of the participants in this study have been physically harmed. Names of participants have not been noted down anywhere; instead pseudonyms were given to all participants, making it impossible to identify any of the participants.
An information leaflet has been spread amongst all participants informing them about the aim, objectives and methods of the study. Participants in the interviews signed a form of informed consent, which made clear that they could stop the interview at any time, did not have to answer questions that were uncomfortable to them, and were not in any way obliged to take part in the interview. All participants were e-mailed the transcripts and were allowed to take out those parts of data they did not feel comfortable with.

The survey participants were completely anonymous because they did not leave their name or other personal contact information on the survey form. Because I supervised all survey moments myself, I made sure that the room wherein the survey took place was completely silent and stressed the importance of keeping information to oneself. However, it is sheer impossible for me to control what the participants told each other outside of the survey room. This contributes to the invasion of privacy of the participants. Following Holmes’ (2004) advice, the personal information of the participants is not stored on any hard drive, but the hard copies are put into a folder, which is locked away in a safe space.

Finally I have not withheld any information from any participant at any time on purpose. Participants were very interested in my background since it is not often that they meet someone from a foreign country, let alone one that is so far away. I have been asked numerous questions which I have always answered truthfully, and with great joy.

7. Analysis and findings

The research project as performed for this thesis makes use of mixed methods data collection and analysis. As the quantitative survey part is used as a background for the qualitative part, I will start with the former analysis, so that the qualitative phase can be firmly embedded into the quantitative analysis.

7.1 Quantitative analysis of data collection by survey

This first phase of analysis is concerned with answering the following research questions: 1) Why do only 53% of Filipinas find a job; 2) Do graduating Filipinas want to find a job, and why?

As stated in the methodology chapter, a probability sample of 369 female graduating students is completed. The analysis is performed through the usage of 11 variables derived from the 12 questions of the survey that can be found in appendix V. The respondents only answered 10 or 11 questions, depending on their answer to question 8 and 10. If the respondent’s answer to question 8: “Do you think you could find a job after your studies?” is no or maybe, they also answered question 9. If their answer is yes, they did not answer question 9 and proceeded to question 10 immediately. Similarly, if the respondent’s answer to question 10: “Do you plan on finding a job after your studies?” is no or maybe, they only answered question 11. If their answer is yes, they only answered question 12. This results in different response rates to these questions, which will be displayed within the sections of the corresponding variables below. The first 6 variables consider useful background
information such as university name, name of enrolled department, age, marital state, and the professions of both parents to provide the answers of these graduating Filipinas with relevant context. The concluding 5 variables are concerned with planned and desired labor market participation.

7.1.1. Contingency tables
Within this analysis chapter a number of contingency tables are included. A contingency table is a table that compares two different variables (other than number or percentage) with each other, such as age and perspectives on the labor market. I have used these tables to analyze whether certain background information has an impact on the perspectives of rural graduating Filipinas’ perspectives on the labor market. To be relatively certain that the inferences I am drawing between background information and perspectives on the labor market are valid, I use a test of statistical significance that assesses whether it is likely that relations can be drawn from the collected data. Within this study I use the chi-square test: a test that produces a number based on the respective data that reflects what the chances are that a relation depicted from these specific data sets is likely to be wrongly inferred. I only use contingency tables that are calculated with a chi-square $p$ of less than 0,05, which means that the chance of drawing an incorrect conclusion is 5 out of 100. I have chosen this particular benchmark for the usage of a chi-square $p$ of 0,05 or less because it is conventional amongst most social researchers (Bryman, 2012).

7.1.2. Name of the university
This variable describes the name of the university each respondent was enrolled in. This is concerned useful information as all three universities have distinct differences such as religion, location and tuition, and therefore attract different student populations. These differences are described in more detail in chapter 6.5, which also discusses the process that led to the completion of a probability sample, visualized in table 3 below. All tables and figures in this chapter are created with the use of IBM SPSS Statistics version 24. The table shows that nearly half of all surveyed students were enrolled in UAS, 37% were enrolled in SAC and 13,6% in UAH.

Table 3: Students per university in percentage and number

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the university</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>University of Antique Sibatolm</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>49,6</td>
<td>49,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>University of Antique Hamilton</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>13,6</td>
<td>63,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saint Anthony’s College</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>36,9</td>
<td>100,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>100,0</td>
<td>100,0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own creation, 2017
7.1.3 Name of the department
The sample is organized in such a way that it comprises of roughly the same percentage of students per department as the total amount of students per department in each university. However, some adjustments for the betterment of the study were made, as can be read in chapter 6.5.

Table 4: Students per department in percentage and number

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the department</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Department of Education</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>39.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Economics and Business</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>56.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Engineering and Technology</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>86.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Nursing</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>88.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Criminology</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>91.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Open Learning</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>93.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Agriculture</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own creation, 2017

Most students (39.6%) in the three universities, and thus in my sample, are studying education. The education students can major in general, primary, secondary or special education. The department that hosts the second largest female student body (29.5% of all surveyed students) in Antique is the department of Engineering and Technology, which includes Bachelors such as Computer Engineering, Food Technology, and Architecture. The fact that the department of Engineering and Technology caters so many females is quite surprising considering the traditional, rural character of Antique and its apparent distinction between male and female jobs (Parreñas, 2008; Asian Development Bank, 2013), and the traditionally masculine reputation of this department. It would be very interesting to conduct research concerning this paradox. 17.1% of all surveyed female graduates were studying Economics and Business including programs in Business Administration and Entrepreneurship. The lowest amount of surveyed students comprise of the departments of Agriculture (6.7%); Criminology (2.7%); Open Learning (2.7%) and Nursing (2.2%). This is in congruence with the real amount of graduates per university as is visualized in table 1.

7.1.4 Age and age groups
It is deemed interesting to investigate to which extent age influenced graduates’ perspectives on labor market participation as the age of participants ranged from 19 to 32, indicating that the sample included teenagers, adolescents and adults. Age was later reorganized in age groups to simplify overall analysis, as can be seen in the histogram below.
The largest group of surveyed students (71%) was 19 to 21 years of age, a considerable percentage of 22.4% of all surveyed graduating Bachelor students was 22 to 24 years of age, while both eldest age groups made up 4.3% of the total amount of surveyed students.

7.1.5. Marital state

Marriage is still considered as an important part of most Filipino lives and it is not uncommon for adolescents and even teenagers to marry at a relatively early stage in their lives (Parreñas, 2008). Married women are often expected to stay at home (Parreñas, 2008) or engage in work for their (new) family (Yap & Melchior, 2015). Therefore I thought it interesting to include students’ marital state in the survey, to investigate whether this would have any influence on their perspectives on the labor market.

The table below illustrates that only 5.7% of all students state that they are married, and another 5.7% refrained from answering the question altogether. Because the percentage of students that stated to be married is this small, I will not draw any conclusions on the influence of marriage on labor market participation.
Table 5: Marital state of students in number and percentage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital State</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>88.6</td>
<td>94.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing .00</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own creation, 2017

7.1.6 Profession of respondents’ mother

In order to investigate whether a student’s background in terms of the employment of her parents bore any influence on graduates’ perspectives on female labor market participation, respondents were asked to provide the profession of their parents. With regards to the size of the tables considering students’ mothers and fathers’ occupation, both tables can be found in appendix VIII and IX respectively.

As illustrated by table 7, 58.3% of all surveyed students stated that their mother was a housewife. The second largest occupation of surveyed students’ mothers is unemployment (5.7%), third place comprises of mothers that work in the service sector (5.1%), and the fourth largest occupation amongst surveyed students’ mothers is teacher (4.6%). As few as 1.4% of all mothers has been reported as OFW, which is very little compared to national data that depict that in 2013 as many as 6.12 million Filipinas worked and/or lived abroad (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2013). However, it is possible that a number of girls stated the profession of their mother while working abroad, without mentioning whether their mothers occupied this profession at home or abroad. 21 female graduates (5.7%) refrained from specifying their mothers’ occupation.

7.1.7 Profession of respondents’ father

Table 8 shows that the most common occupation amongst respondents’ fathers is agricultural worker (35.2%), which is in line with the rural character of the province of Antique. A shocking 11.7% of all respondents’ reported that their fathers were deceased, second place of most common ‘occupations’. This is not only a rampantly high percentage on it’s own, but is even more peculiar when compared to the mere 2.4% of student’s mothers that were reported deceased. It would be interesting to investigate how it is possible that so many of this group’s fathers have passed away and if this is representative of a national trend in further research.

Drivers account for 9.5% while respondents’ fathers occupations stated as ‘unemployed’ and ‘unknown’ take up places 4 and 5 of most common occupations, supported by percentages of 5.4% and 4.9% respectively. Other popular occupations are: manager (2.7%); government official (2.4%); seafarer (2.4%); carpenter (2.2%) and mechanic (2.2%).
7.1.8. **Perspectives on opportunities in the labor market**

This variable refers to the following survey question: “Do you think there will be opportunities for you in the labor market?” The question is related to research question 1: Why do only 53% of all Filipinas find a job? This variable aims to answer whether these girls think that there are opportunities for them at all. If they think there will be opportunities, then the amount of opportunities – or vacancies – is not considered as a barrier through their perspective. Conversely, if they do not think there are many opportunities for them, the sheer lack of vacancies is a (overarching) barrier in itself. 69.6% of all respondents think that there are opportunities for them in the labor market, while 29.1% states that they are not sure by answering ‘maybe’. A mere 1.4% is not optimistic about her opportunities at all.

The contingency table below shows a relation between the university a respondent is enrolled at, and their perspective on their opportunities within the labor market. As the chi-square \( \chi^2 \) is calculated at 0.03, the chance that I am depicting a relationship that is not there is only 3 in 100. Unfortunately, I cannot be certain about the influence of any of the other background variables, since they did not pass the test of statistical significance.

The table below shows that students that are enrolled in SAC are most confident of their chances in the job market with a stunning 77.9%, almost 10% higher than the average of all respondents. Students of UAS are the second most confident with a significant lower percentage of 67.6%, which is 2% lower than the average. Only 54% of all UAH’s female graduates are positive about their chances in the labor market, which represents a distinct difference between the three universities.

**Table 8: Name of university compared with perspectives on opportunities in the labor market**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the university</th>
<th>Opportunities in the job market Crosstabulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Opportunities in the job market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Antique</td>
<td>Count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stablon</td>
<td>% within Name of the university</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>33.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Antique</td>
<td>Count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harbo</td>
<td>% within Name of the university</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Anthony’s College</td>
<td>Count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Name of the</td>
<td>university</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>university</td>
<td>% of Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Name of the</td>
<td>university</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>university</td>
<td>% of Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chi-Square Tests**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.689</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.030</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Author’s own creation, 2017*
7.1.9. **Family support**
The variable of family support aims to measure whether rural Filipinas feel supported by their family to enter the labor market, because (the lack of) family support might represent an important barrier for these women to find a job. Indicating whether these graduating women experience this barrier therefore contributes to answering research question 1: why do only 53.4% of all Filipinas find a job? However, as table 9 illustrates, 92.7% of all respondents states to feel supported by their families. Only 1 respondent failed to answer this particular question, and 3 respondents said they did not feel supported by their family members at all. 6.5% is not sure of their family’s support.

**Table 9: Students’ perception on family support, in number and percentage**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family support</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid Yes</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>92.4</td>
<td>92.7</td>
<td>92.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>93.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maybe</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>99.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Author’s own creation, 2017*

7.1.10. **Community support**
Just as variable 8 measures the extent to which family support might be a barrier that hampers the collective participation of Filipinas in the labor market, community support can form a barrier as well and is thus relevant to measure. This variable too, contributes into answering why only half of Filipinas succeed in entering the labor market.

**Table 10: Students’ perception on community support, in number and percentage**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community support</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid Yes</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>35.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maybe</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Author’s own creation, 2017*

35.8% of all respondents feels supported by their community, while 58% is not sure whether they would be supported in finding a job. 6.2% does not feel supported by her community at all. Hence, this indicates that the majority of the respondents is not sure whether her community is supportive of her entering the labor market.
7.1.11 Perspectives on the possibility to enter the labor market

Variable number 10 is very similar to variable 7: perspectives on opportunities in the labor market. However, variable number 10 is phrased in a more direct manner: “Do you think you could find a job after your studies?” While variable 7’s question is phrased in a more general and encompassing manner, variable 10 is very specific and unambiguous. Both questions are included to cater both styles of questioning, and therefore make sure all respondents can respond accordingly. Variable 10 answers two research questions, namely: 1) Why do only 53,4% of Filipinas find a job? 3) How are graduating Antiqueñas hindered to enter the labor market and how does this compare to national data?

For this variable, I was able to depict two relations with the following background variables: 1) university; 2) department. A similar trend in the ranking of confidence in finding a job per university is illustrated in table 11 as was visible in table 8, although respondents are slightly more negative when it comes to the act of finding a job, than they were when concerning opportunities in the labor market. 64,8% (5% lower than variable 7) of all respondents is confident that they can find a job after their studies, while 32% is not sure and a mere 3,3% is very pessimistic on the matter. Similarly, students at SAC are most confident that they will find a job with a percentage of 73,5% which is, again, almost 10% higher than the average level of confidence in Antique. 62,3% of UAS’s students is certain that they will find a job, while only half of UAH’s students think they will find a job.

Table 11: Students’ university compared with perspectives on finding a job after studies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the university</th>
<th>Can you find a job</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University of Antique</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibaltan</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Name of the</td>
<td>62,3%</td>
<td>2,7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>university</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Antique</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harcic</td>
<td>% within Name of the</td>
<td>50,0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>university</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Anthony’s College</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Name of the</td>
<td>73,5%</td>
<td>3,7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>university</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Name of the</td>
<td>64,8%</td>
<td>3,3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>university</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square Tests

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>10,956*</td>
<td>.027</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own creation, 2017

A similar cross-variable analysis can be made between rural Filipinas’ perspectives on finding a job and the departments they study at. Since different departments educate graduates that will apply for very different jobs, it is quite interesting to find out whether the program a student chose, and her education in the department in general influences her perspectives on the probability that she will find a job after
her studies. Table 12 shows that all students enrolled in the Bachelor’s program in Nursing are confident that they can find a job. Criminology students are also very confident they will find a job with 90% of all respondents indicating that they can find a job. Within the departments of Education, Economics and Business, and Engineering and Technology a majority is confident that they can find a job after their studies, while the department of Agriculture is not that optimistic, with a mere 39,1% indicating they are sure to find a job. This is quite surprising as Antique is a rural province that boasts farming and fisheries as its main livelihood.

Table 12: Students’ department compared with perspectives on finding a job after studies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Can you find a job</th>
<th>Name of the department</th>
<th>Crosstabulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dept of Education</td>
<td>Dept of Economics and Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Name of the department</td>
<td>67,1%</td>
<td>65,1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Name of the department</td>
<td>5,1%</td>
<td>0,0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maybe</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Name of the department</td>
<td>27,4%</td>
<td>34,9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Name of the department</td>
<td>100,0%</td>
<td>100,0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chi-Square Tests**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>24.038*</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Author’s own creation, 2017*

Since the aim of this study is to uncover hidden barriers that hinder young rural Filipinas to enter the labor market, I was especially interested in those respondents that were not confident that they could find employment after their graduation. These respondents were asked to answer a follow-up question where they could indicate why they thought it would be hard for them to enter the labor market. 29,8% of all respondents answered this question. Figure 6 illustrates why these bright young women are not confident they can enter the labor market.

Most female graduates that are not certain of their chances in the labor market, state that the biggest barrier they expect to encounter is that there are not enough vacancies within their profession (21,82%), or in general (20,91%). Another large barrier (20,91%) is formed by the fact that they do not feel prepared by their education to enter the labor market. 15,45% of all respondents to this question feel obliged to work for their families, as predicted by Yap & Melchior (2015). 2,73% of respondents to this question answered that they have children to take care of, this is obscured by the organization of the chart.
7.1.12 Desired labor market participation

Variable 11 is related to the following survey question: “Do you plan on finding a job after your studies?” and aims to answer whether rural graduating Filipinas want to enter the labor market and why. None of the cross-variable analyses I attempted passed the test of statistical significance. Therefore, no inferences are made between rural Filipinas’ desired labor market participation and background variables.

Table 13: Respondents’ planned labor market participation in percentage and number

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Planned labour market participation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>89.4</td>
<td>90.2</td>
<td>90.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>94.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maybe</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>99.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own creation, 2017

The table above shows that 330 out of 369 respondents plan to enter the labor market. Compared to the 53.4% of all Filipinas that actually find employment, this is a very high amount. The two pie charts below illustrate their reasons for entering the labor market, and the reasons of the 9.8% that is not sure if they want to find a job, or does not want to engage in gainful employment at all.
Figure 7 shows that 66.2% of respondents that indicated planning on entering the labor market are doing so because they want to provide for their family. 15.2% specified that a career will help them lead a fulfilling life, while 7.9% intend to use labor market participation as a vehicle to gain independency. Answering option: “to be able to provide for myself” is obscured by the organization of the chart. The percentage representing this option is 1.83%, accounting for 6 respondents.

**Figure 7: Reasons for labor market participation in percentage and number**

![Figure 7: Reasons for labor market participation in percentage and number](image)

*Source: Author’s own creation, 2017*

Figure 7 specifies that - as noted before - the major reason for graduating Antiqueñas to refrain from entering the labor market is because they will work for their families. 29.7% plans on starting their own business, and 10.8% simply thinks it will be too difficult for them to find employment at all. All 5 respondents that answered this question with ‘other’ stated that they will take the boarding exam first, which then leads to a job or not. More on the boarding exam can be read in the qualitative analysis.

The two options: “I will start a family soon” and “I will be too uncomfortable” are both chosen by one respondent respectively, accounting for 2.7%. This is obscured by the organization of the chart.
7.13 Summary
Most students are enrolled in UAS, followed by SAC and lastly UAH. The most popular program amongst Antiqueñas is education, followed by engineering & technology, economics & business, agriculture, open learning, criminology and finally nursing. Hospitality is excluded from the sample. The majority of students is between 19 and 21 years old (71%), followed by 22 to 24 years old (22%). 5,7% of all students indicated to be married, therefore this variable is not taken into account. 58,2% of all mothers are housewives, followed by unemployment (5,7%) and work in the service sector (5,1%). 35,2% of all fathers are employed in the agricultural sector, 11,7% are deceased and 9,5% account for drivers.
69,6% of respondents expect that there will be opportunities for them in the labor market, while 65% stated to be certain they could find employment. Students within the department of nursing are most certain they will find employment (100%), followed by criminology (90%), education (67%), economics & business (65%), engineering & technology (62%), open learning (60%) and finally agriculture (39%). Students from SAC are most confident about their chances in the labor market, followed by UAS and finally UAH. 93% of graduating Antiqueñas feels supported by their families to seek employment, while only 37% of them feels supported by their communities. 89% of graduating Antiqueñas plans on entering the labor market, mostly because they want to provide for their families (66%), lead a fulfilling life (15%), or want to gain independency (8%). The primary reason for female graduates
to refrain from entering the labor market is because they will work for their families (35%), they will start their own business (30%), or because they will take the high-stakes boarding exam first (14%).

7.2 Qualitative analysis of data collection by in-depth interviews

An inductive approach to the in-depth interviews is used that allowed for themes to emerge from the data. In contrast to the survey analysis, variables were not predetermined in order to explore themes that might have otherwise remained untouched. Coding already took place during the data collection phase to support further sampling as described in chapter 6.5, and to allow for new themes that could be included in the in-depth interviews themselves. One of these themes for instance, was teenage pregnancy as a barrier since earlier interviews pointed to this hindrance for rural graduating girls. The theme of teenage pregnancy has also inspired me to collect data by interviewing a gynecologist who also works for the Department of Health.

This phase of analysis aims at answering the following research questions:
1. Why do only half (53%) of Filipinas find a job?
2. Do graduating girls want to enter the labor market, and why?
3. In what ways are graduating Antiqueñas hindered to enter the labor market and how does this compare to national data?

The figure below illustrates how the themes were detected and organized later on. In the last phase 4 themes were selected: 1) Background information 2) Barriers on the supply side 3) Barriers on the demand side, and 4) Other barriers. These themes together with their respective sub-themes are described below.

I initially also coded three other themes, namely: outlook on life, resilience, and dreams for the future. Although these themes were very interesting in a broader spectrum, they did not fit this thesis because they did not directly contribute to the inventory of barriers for entering the labor market as experienced by female graduate students. Thus, by including these themes, my argument would be more diffuse and less easy to follow.

I organized the sub-themes in 4 primary themes in order to create a better overview by categorizing every barrier in one of three barrier categories. The barrier categories ‘on the demand side’ and ‘on the supply side’ were chosen because they are relevant to the labor market and are comprehensive. ‘Other barriers’ was added to group all of the institutional and cultural barriers that I found. This categorization made it easier for me to keep focused on the bigger picture and my aim, while also being able to go into depth within each barrier. I only included barriers that came up with two participants or more, to keep the barriers relevant and applicable to a wider population.

Whenever an interviewee is quoted within a conversation with me, I: indicates interviewer; R: indicates respondent; T: indicates translator (only 2 interviews made use of a translator).
7.2.1. Background information

Most interviewees (6 out of 9) were selected through the surveys they filled out and thus I already had some relevant background information about these interviewees. This background information was checked and added to within the interviews. The numbers behind each student interviewee indicate their respective numbers within the quantitative research. As for the 3 non-student interviewees, their respective background information was inquired during the interview. Interviewee 9: Doctor, did not provide me with many background information because this was not deemed relevant, as his personal background was not applicable for the study.

Source: Author’s own creation, 2017
Table 14: Background information in-depth interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intervieuee</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Program/occupation</th>
<th>Ge</th>
<th>Marital state</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Profession mother</th>
<th>Profession father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. SAC ED #99</td>
<td>SAC</td>
<td>Bachelor in Elementary Education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Agricultural laborer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. UAS instructor</td>
<td>UAS</td>
<td>Program instructor in economics and logic; saleslady</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>OFW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. SAC Bus #14</td>
<td>SAC</td>
<td>Bachelor in Business Administration</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>OFW (seafarer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. UAH GAD officer</td>
<td>UAH</td>
<td>Gender and Development Officer; Extension Coordinator</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. UAH Agri #353</td>
<td>UAH</td>
<td>Bachelor in Agricultural Science</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0 (8 siblings)</td>
<td>Vendor/housewife</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. UAS Sped #266</td>
<td>UAS</td>
<td>Bachelor in Special Education</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Retired carpenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. UAH Agri #354</td>
<td>UAH</td>
<td>Bachelor in Agricultural Science</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0 (9 siblings)</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. UAS Eled #307</td>
<td>UAS</td>
<td>Bachelor in Elementary Education</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0 (4 full siblings)</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Retired prison guard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Gynecologist State Hospital Antique</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>DOH</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As already discussed in chapter 6.5 I succeeded in drawing a maximum variation sample by including as many different background phenomena as possible.

7.2.2. Barriers on the supply side
This theme aims to identify barriers that graduating Antiqueñas experience within the supply side of the labor market. These are factors that influence how the choices and limitations of Antiqueñas shape employment outcomes. Barriers on the supply side include lacks of financial means to invest in education, lack of education and/or skills, lack of work experience, family obligations, and health, which are discussed below.

This theme is included in order to contribute to answering why only half of all Filipinas can find a job, and in what ways graduating Antiqueñas are hindered to enter the labor market. Making an inventory of barriers that hinder young rural Antiqueñas to find gainful employment allows me to understand why so many Filipinas want to enter the labor market, yet so few succeed. It will also help to shine
a light on the perspectives these young women themselves have on their chances on the labor market.

*Lack of financial means*

All 9 interviewees mentioned the barrier of financial means that hinders graduation from college. As universities are not free of charge it is very costly to graduate from college and thus to expand your chances to find a ‘good’ or ‘decent job’ that does not lead to income poverty.

Participant 3 indicates that her parents chose SAC, a privately funded university which is very expensive, because the quality of the education is known to be better than the state funded universities. This results in inequality in the level of educational quality different students are able to enjoy. A diploma from SAC is worth more than a diploma from a UA university when entering the labor market.

8: UAS Eled #307: "Because... when you say that you graduated in a fabulous, fabulous universities and I graduated on a public universities there will always be unfairness because that... that famous university always ahead of us." (x. 486)

Participants 1, 5, 6, 7, and 8 have parents that could not afford any university tuition, this means that 5 out of 6 students that I interviewed would not have been able to enroll in university without alternative financial means. Informant 1 has worked for 10 years, but is now supported by her brother and husband to graduate from college. Interviewees 5, 6, 7, and 8 all have scholarships that partly pay for their education, their allowances are mostly paid for by other family members such as nieces and siblings, and informants 6 and 8 indicate that they were also partly financed by friends and teachers at their schools. Additionally, participant number 8 has several jobs to support herself and her siblings.

1: SAC Ed #99: “Before when I was graduated in high school, ehm... My, I had, my brothers and my sisters are, they are still studying in college also so my mother cannot afford and my father cannot afford for us to sent to school so that’s why I, I... I choose to stop. I go work for a baby sitter almost ten years.” (x. 71)

Interviewee 9 also links teenage pregnancy to deterring financial means, as it puts pressure on the family income. Not only does the pregnant student need more medical assistance and simple things as more nutrition, the extra expenses a baby brings with her can lead to problems when it comes to the payment of tuition fees.

*Quality of education and skills*

8: UAS Sped #266: "Does my school really prepare me? In this field? Because I don’t think so. I don’t... I don’t feel it. I don’t... feel the pre-preparedness. I don’t know. And yeah, yeah, I must agree that it doesn’t prepare me well. In my c- in my chosen career. Yeah." (x. 534)
As stated in the quantitative analysis, the major reason why graduating Antiqueñas do not feel certain they can find employment, is because they think their education does not prepare them well enough for the labor market.

Participants 2, 5 and 8 indicate that it matters from which university you graduate. A diploma from SAC is worth more than one from UA, as stated above. However, the public University of the Philippines (UP) has a very good reputation as well. The closest dependence of UP is in Iloilo, a different province on the island of Antique, a 5 hour drive from San José. Still, UP is very popular amongst students and every year the university receives far more applications than there are available spots. Respondent number 2 does however explain that UP educates their students to be ‘critical thinkers’. Therefore, there are many companies and organizations that are reluctant to hire UP graduates because they are known to be stubborn and critical, which does not suit all business cultures. Informant number 2, who is a UP graduate herself experienced – since she already successfully entered the labor market - that she does not have more opportunities in the labor market than graduates from other universities due the reputation of UP.

Participants 4, 5 and 6 studying or working at UA, state that their university lacks teaching materials such as proper technology, proper rest rooms, and text books. Because of this they do not feel well prepared to enter the labor market.

5. UAH Agri #353: “My teachers eh they don’t have any technology our school didn’t have any technology to prepare us for the eh... globalization of our country. Example: Other country have eh... lot of technology to share with the students, while us we don’t have. We have but eh... little.”
I: “What do you mean like computers or...”
R: “Hmm... computers eh... ang... *speaks Kiray-A*”
T: “The materials needed for the farming so that they can get experience.”
I: “Like the machines or the tractors and-“
T: “Yeah yeah yeah.”
R: *speaks Kiray-A*
T: “Lack of also the books.”
I: “No books?”
R: “No.” (x. 274)

Participant number 6 indicates that her teacher is unmotivated to teach her and that she left her alone with her class on the first day of her internship in special education. Participant number 7, 8, and 9 mention that the content of education is not very applicable in the labor market, indicating a lack of relevant, recent, and practical information.

Ultimately, the informants’ answers as stated above identify the following barriers within their education: 1) inequality in reputation and educational quality between private and public universities, 2) lack of proper and relevant teaching materials, 3) unmotivated teachers, 4) irrelevant, unpractical curriculum.

Work experience

1. SAC Ed #99: “If you don’t have experiences you can’t get a job.” (x. 305)
The sub-theme of work experience describes the barriers that hinder those graduating Antiqueñas without a great deal of work experience while attempting to land their first job. Respondents 1 and 5 imply that employers rather hire the person with the largest amount of experience, which creates a barrier for females that recently graduated and did not have a chance to enter the labor market yet.

**Family obligations**

2. UA Instructor: “I really don’t want to leave my mom. I don’t want that if I leave whatever happens to her would be blamed to me. Or like I would feel the greatest guilt because I could’ve been there. Why did I leave her? Things like that. Eh, you should know that kinship system is really, really strong in the Philippines. Kinship system is really strong.” (x. 275)

Interviewees number 2, 5, and 6 specify that their decisions are based on either what their parents have visualized for them – respondent 5 –, or that they feel responsible for the well-being of family members – 2 and 6. This implicates that these interviewees are restricted in choosing the career, and even the life they have reason to desire, which results in big barriers for their overall level of freedom.

**Health**

8. UAS Eled #307: "My father, stro- ehm, had a stroke 3 times. And, he got loan here, loan there, to provide for all the mes- medications." (x. 31)

Since there is a lack of social security in the Philippines, maintaining a good health is not only important for one’s own longevity, but also for those of the family members that rely on their income. Participants 6 and 8 both have parents that became sick and unable to be employed. This had serious implications for their family income. Participant 6 was forced to quit her studies to find a job in the distant capital of Manila to pay for her mother’s operation. Informant number 8’s father drained the entire family income as a result of the medication he needs to prevent him of suffering from yet another stroke, let alone the costs of being taken into the hospital every time this occurs. Interviewee 8 receives a scholarship and is supported by her older brother, who also quit college to put his siblings through university.

8: UAS Eled #307: "So my second brother and I we have- having a difficult time in studying because we need to... we need to budget our- our money. So... he work- he stop and work." (x. 24)

7.2.3. **Barriers on the demand side**

Similar to barriers on the supply side, this theme explores which barriers on the demand side of the labor market graduating Antiqueñas expect to encounter when they will attempt finding gainful employment. As chapter 7.1 made apparent, almost 90% of all survey respondents are planning to enter the labor market. The theme of barriers on the demand side aims to make an inventory of those barriers that are
posed by organizations and companies that search for new employees. The following sub-themes are included: education; lack of vacancies; insufficient salary; age limit; and proximity.

**Education**

1. SAC Ed #99: “If you don’t finish your study it is hard here in the Philippines to find a job.” (x. 104)

Interviewees number 1 and 7 worry that mainly those with a university diploma can find a job. As discussed in the education barrier on the supply side, university is very expensive for most Antiqueños, and only those with very high grades are eligible for scholarships. This means that university is not for everyone. Therefore, those who cannot afford university tuition have significantly lower chances of finding “good” productive work that will lift them out of poverty.

**Lack of vacancies**

3. SAC Bus #14: “Because I said that there are- there are millions of unemployed here in the Philippines. So it is really hard to... look for job vacancies for the job that is available.” (x. 134)

Participants 1, 3, 6, and 8 all mention that there is a lack of vacancies in the Philippines, leading to high levels of competition between university graduates, which is in congruence with the opinion of the survey respondents that implicated they were not sure if they could find employment. 42.7% of those survey respondents answered that there was a lack of general vacancies, or a lack of vacancies within their desired profession.

Informant number 6 studies Special Education and noticed there are many children in Antique that need special education. However, only one school in special education in the whole province of Antique exists, which also leads to a scarcity of vacancies while many children in need of special education are not properly educated, or do not enter the education system at all.

Participant number 8 indicates that in Antique it is especially difficult to find a job because of the lack of vacancies in the province. Participant number 3 who lived in Manila, agrees that there are more vacancies in Manila however, she also mentions that there are also more people seeking employment. She remains unsure whether it would be easier to find a job in Antique or in Manila.

**Insufficient salary**

2. UAS Instructor: “Working as a part-time eh instructor in this university has a very little compensation that only goes to the, eh what do you call this eh... The maintenance of the car, bills maybe food. Doesn’t give me spare for savings. So how can I invest for my future?” (x. 68)
Interviewee number 2 is concerned with the salary she is able to receive by teaching. She still lives at home with her mother, but is not able to save from just the salary from her job as a part-time instructor. Moreover, she only gets paid for the 21 hours she is actually teaching. All extra hours she spends as an instructor (grading, preparing, attending meetings) are not included in her salary.

Age limit

8. UAS Eled #307: "And that my second brother is- is- he finishes- his course, in criminology and until now, he can't find a job. Because... because he- he can't pass the board exam. They said that: he is too old." (x. 27)

Interviewees number 3 and 8 specify that employers rather hire younger employees, than older ones. This means that people like respondent 8’s brother have slimmer chances to find a job because they have spent more time on passing the boarding exam, which will be discussed further in chapter 7.2.5. Also, respondent number 1, who is already 32 years of age upon graduation will have slimmer chances to find gainful employment because of her age. This puts young Filipinas under great pressure to graduate as early as possible, in order to increase their chances on the labor market.

Proximity

4. UAH GAD officer: “When there is that opportunity to- to apply, especially in teaching, in teaching, especially in far flawn barangays, so they have really to assign... men, because it’s too far. It’s also very hard for the women, just like that, that mentality you know? (x. 616)

Interviewees 6 and 8 indicate that they, or their family members have gone as far as Manila to find employment, because of higher salaries and more opportunities. Interviewee number 4 states that employers in the mountainous areas of Antique do not hire women because of safety reasons.

7.2.4. Other barriers

Other barriers identifies those impediments on the labor market that originate from larger cultural, structural or institutional constructions in the Antiqueño and Filipino society. This theme includes the following sub-themes: patriarchic positions A and B, (early) motherhood, nepotism, boarding exam, romantic relationships divide in male and female jobs, and OFWs.

Patriarchic position A

“Because Philippines is a patriarchal country, we still practice that, or we still have that value that eh, man is the leader of the family. So mostly the man works for the family and the women would stay at home, become housewives, become home makers, rather, they are the one who is in charge at home, they are the boss at home. (2. UA Instructor: x. 411)
This sub-theme identifies those signals of gender inequality that are characterized by the sentiment that men and women both have the same set of capabilities, but perform these capabilities in separate spheres, as explained in chapter 7.2.2. In the Filipino case the sphere inside the homestead is specified as distinctively female, while the sphere outside the home is characterized as distinctively male.

There is one question I asked all interviewees: “National data suggest that only 53% of all Filipinas find a job. Why do you think that is?” Every single interviewee then answered similar to the quote above, indicating that Antiqueño society is still permeated by a traditional patriarchic structure wherein women are homemakers and men are breadwinners.

Interviewees 2, 3, 5, and 7 all want to find jobs, but also want to remain responsible for the household and child care in the future. They either want to quit working once they have children and a stable income (2 and 5) or they want to apply ‘time-management’ to attend both responsibilities at home and at work (1, 3, 5). Respondents 1 and 8 mentioned that they want to share household and childcare responsibilities in the future. Respondent 1 is already doing this, while respondent 8 has the desire to split household responsibilities with a future partner. However, she does mention that ‘male pride’ might hinder her ambitions of sharing household and childcare responsibilities. Interviewee 8 implies that women either choose family or career, and that many women that do not choose family end up with successful careers but also as old spinsters. Interviewee number 4 has already has older children and was both supported by a wet nurse and her family in-law when her children were young. She has always worked full time.

In conclusion: all respondents mention that separate male and female spheres are still very apparent in Antiqueño society, that is why they all think only 53% of all Filipinas engage in the labor market. 5 respondents implied they want to maintain this patriarchic structure by taking full responsibility for childcare and household chores, while 3 respondents want to split these responsibilities, or attract others to do it for them.

**Patriarchic position B**

“I: Do you think, ehm… women are treated differently eh… from men, at- at their jobs? R: Ehm… actually since… we have also different personalities and then different expectation when it comes to men, they are also powerful no? And they are, eh… for us our concept of… we see men as more intelligent no?” (UAH GAD officer: x. 273)

Where position A explains gender inequality through the male and the female sphere, position B assigns males and females with different capabilities altogether. Within the Antiqueño sentiment that was exhibited in the in-depth interviews, males are perceived as powerful, rational, intelligent and natural leaders. Women then, are perceived as emotional, submissive, social and practical.

“Because in teaching field women are more, more emotional attached? I don't know if that is an advantage or a disadvantage because if you're emotionally attached to your students you will get to know them more, than men who- who choose to be a
Interviewees 4, 6, 8, and 9 see this division in male and female capabilities as natural. Respondent number 4 speaks about how new policies and the modernization of the Philippines has brought about more gender equality, which she fully supports. However, she cannot totally accept this new reality where males and females share the same capabilities and the same opportunities.

Interviewees 6 and 8 elaborate on the male characteristic of having multiple lovers and families. This is something that is common and tolerated for men, but not for women. Interviewee 8 also speaks of being physically abused by her father. She then says she understands because for men this is natural behavior. Interviewee number 9 believes that the responsibility for preventing teenage pregnancy lies with the girls. He indicates that if these girls are properly informed: “they think twice about getting pregnant as early” (x. 109)

(Early) motherhood

“When girls engage pre-marital sex, they have a, the higher percentage, higher probability of giving birth. Become early mothers, become eh young mothers. When they become young mothers they will be eh nurturing their children at a very young age, and engage in housewife duties at a very young age while the boy or the one that impregnated her, would still be able to find a job because he does not need to feed the children, breast feed, change the diapers.” (UAS Instructor: x. 421)

This sub-theme is concerned with the barrier of motherhood in general, but especially with early motherhood, since teenage pregnancy rates are surging in the Philippines and even more so in Antique, as the Settings of the study chapter discusses.

Interviewee number 1 is already a mother and experiences great challenges in balancing her studies and the care of her daughter. She also expects she has lesser chances on the labor market, not only because in her opinion employers rather hire single women without children, but also because she will not be available on a fulltime basis. Additionally, she needs her job to be in close proximity of her home, because of her daughter. Participant number 5’s two older sisters were not able to graduate from university because they already started a family at a young age. As a result, they did not enter the labor market and are fulltime housewives.

Informants 2, 5, 8, and 9 talk about the stringent effects teenage pregnancy has on the education of these bright young women. First of all, informant 2, 8, and 9 discuss the financial implications this has on already small family incomes in an indigent province such as the Philippines. They indicate that often it is very difficult for families to afford both tuition and the expenses a baby brings with her. In this case the girl is pulled out of school, significantly lowering her chances of finding “good” productive employment.

Secondly, participant 8 speaks of impediments on the young mother’s mental and physical health that prohibit her from returning to university. She stated that her friend - who recently became a mother - had a very difficult time in keeping up
with the lectures because she was often tired and had a hard time focusing on her studies. This also decreases young Antiqueñas chances of graduating and afterwards finding employment.

R: "Ehm... the, the family planning, planning program is, is a national”  
I: “National? Oh.”  
R: “National. But the acceptance varies” (9. Doctor: x. 134)

Although participant number 4 - who is the Gender And Development (GAD) officer at UAH - states that national policies aim at introducing sexual education or family planning, as they call it, the school nurse that is trained by the Department of Health to give this education and distribute condoms is ashamed to do so because she does not want to gain the reputation that she is supporting ‘pre-marital sex’, and thus refrains from any lecturing on the topic. On the other hand, sex is still prohibited for minors by national law, making it illegal for them to buy any contraceptives before the age of 18, and more difficult for teenagers to prevent pregnancies and diseases.

In conclusion: motherhood in general represents a barrier for females that want to find employment because employers rather not hire mothers. Also some mothers do not want to work fulltime and they are likely to limit themselves to jobs that are close to their homes. Teenage pregnancy has strong negative implications on the likelihood a girl graduates from university, because of the financial, time, and health barriers this poses. National policies that stimulate sexual education are not implemented by the school nurse of UAH because this will hurt her reputation in the village. Additionally, it is illegal for anyone under the age of 18 to buy contraceptives and protect themselves against diseases and pregnancy.

Nepotism

“ You know in here I think, if you have- eh... what they call ‘the backer’ (giggles) a backer in the- in the organization you can easily- easily go to that organization, you’re employed.” (SAC Bus #14: x. 24)

This sub-theme is defined as the barrier wherein companies will hire people because they have family members on the inside, which is called a ‘backer’ in Antique. This makes the already strong competition unequal for those who come from indigent backgrounds where they are the first to seek ‘good’ employment and therefore do not have these contacts within companies or government organizations.

Interviewees 1, 3, 6, 7, and 8 all state that you will only be eligible for many jobs when you have passed the extremely high-stakes boarding exam, or know someone on the inside. They specify that when you have a backer, your credentials are not important anymore. Participant number 6 however, took faith in her own hands by taking on all kinds of jobs in the university during her studies. This expanded her network and now she is almost certain she will find a job as she has ensured herself of many backers at UAS.
**Boarding exam**

I: “So why don't they have a job yet?”
R: “Cause, they don't have eh... any money to... ai no” *speaks Kiray-A*
T: “Persisting to taking the boarding exam, financial means.” (5. UAH Agri #353: x. 190)

This sub-theme discusses the influence of the boarding exam on the chances Antiqueñas have on finding gainful employment. The boarding exam is a high-stakes test that is provided by the government after graduation. It is program-specific and known to be very difficult to pass because it encompasses a very wide body of knowledge and it is therefore difficult to study all subjects that have potential to be included. Those who pass with at least 80% are most likely to be hired, either by government organizations or by corporate companies. Taking the boarding exam is extremely time consuming, and is therefore often too costly for graduates to attempt more than once.

Respondents 1, 5, and 8 indicate that the boarding exam is their ticket to the labor market. On the one hand they are very nervous about it and see it as a barrier (since the chances they pass it are not very high), but on the other hand it provides the ideal opportunity of a stable job.

**Romantic relationships**

I: “So what would have happened if you had a boyfriend before?”
R: “Eh... they don't want to pursue my school.”
I: “They would pull you out of school?”
R: “Yes” (5: UAH Agri #353: x. 135)

This sub-theme identifies barriers that girls experience when engaging in romantic relationships.

Participants 3, 5, 6, 7, and 8 indicate that romantic relationships can have negative effects on your chances on the labor market. While participant 5 indicates that she would be pulled out of university when her parents would have caught her to be romantically related to someone else, informants 6, 7, and 8 explain that it is not very wise to have romantic relationships because it will keep them from achieving their goals. They are warned by family members that being romantically engaged with someone can have big implications on their futures, such as early marriage and motherhood, that lead to slimmer chances in the search for gainful employment. Participant 8 has been warned repeatedly by her brother that they could not afford it if she became pregnant, and therefore she should refrain even from flirting with anyone. Interviewee number 3 has a boyfriend, but immediately states that it is not serious and he has no influence on her future. These respondents seem to imply that engaging in romantic relationships is bad for their future and so 4 out of 6 participants refrain from it altogether.
**Divide between male and female jobs**

“Hm maybe eh... work of the women here is not so in demand like eh... we cannot eh... I don't know- it's eh very hard to find a job because of... lack of also of opportunity to work here. Because eh... men can work in like a factories, like a heavy works, but then girls can- couldn't. That's why many of the girls went abroad working as domestic helpers or au-pairs. Many... people I know many people who graduated colleges but then they work eh... domestic helpers in other countries because lack of op- lack of opportunity to work, here.” (UAH Agri #353: x. 222)

This sub-theme describes factors that hinder graduating Antiqueñas to find gainful employment which stem from the divide between male and female labor. Male labor is characterized by physical strength and higher risks than female labor, which mostly takes place in offices, shops or schools. In a rural province like Antique, female jobs are scarce and therefore it is more difficult for women to find employment. Informants 1, 4, 6, and 8 recognize the division between male and female labor as a barrier. They state that there are simply more male jobs available than female jobs. Participant 1 also specifies that male jobs often generate a small income compared to female jobs.

**Overseas Filipino Worker**

“But right now there are lot’s of women working abroad. Yes! Here in the Philippines more women go abroad. Because eh... women can certainly apply even if you are only a high school graduate you can apply to the agencies, you can be a DH or a domestic helper from the other country. But for the men, it’s hard they need to have a certificate like that, to find a job to leave the country that’s why.” (SAC Ed #99: x. 139)

This sub-theme is concerned with the barriers for predominantly females seeking and finding employment abroad. As discussed in the Settings of the study chapter, female OFWs are at a higher risk of severe impediments to their health and freedom. This sub-theme discusses the perspectives of graduating Antiqueñas on OFWs.

Participant number 3 and 5 indicated that they worry for the families of the women that are OFWs. They both explain that it is sad to be away from their families for such a long time. Participant number 1, 2, 3, and 8 mentioned that they would like to be an OFW someday, if the opportunity presents itself. Informants 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, and 8 all have family members that are OFWs and support them financially. All these respondents talk about how much these family members are doing for them and for the country, supporting the Philippine economy. None of the respondents talk about the risks that are linked with working abroad.

**7.2.5 Summary**

During the research, it became apparent that resilience and a positive outlook on life are important characteristics of the students that are interviewed. They believe that if they work hard and stay focused, God will provide them with what they need. There are a number of barriers on the supply side of the labor market. A lack of
financial means is an important barrier for the ability to either graduate from a (good) university, or take the high-stakes boarding exam more than once, which is a golden ticket to job security.

Financial means can be negatively affected by (teenage) pregnancy and health problems. One of the major reasons students are unsure of their chances on the labor market is that they do not feel prepared by their education. The following educational problems came up in the interviews: 1) inequality in reputation and educational quality between private and public universities, 2) lack of proper and relevant teaching materials, 3) unmotivated teachers, 4) irrelevant, unpractical curriculum.

A lack of work experience is the third barrier on the supply side, followed by family obligations. Within the interviews the participants kept on stressing how important the kinship system was in the Philippines. This means they feel great responsibility to take care of their parents and siblings, or other family members. These obligations hinder young women that seek opportunities far from home, or to choose the career of their preference.

The fourth theme; barriers on the demand side of the labor market, starts with a barrier for those women who could not afford to graduate from college. Predominantly female jobs almost always require some sort of tertiary education. Conversely, male jobs do not necessarily require college diplomas. Secondly, there is a lack of vacancies in the Philippines in general. Participants also indicated that a slightly older age can propose a severe impediment in finding employment. Furthermore, insufficient salary can lead to the need of more than one job to be able to provide for oneself or one’s family. Finally, some employees do not hire females because the position is too remote. It is then deemed dangerous to hire a female and thus only men can apply.

‘Other barriers’ is the last theme. Patriarchy in both positions plays an important part in impeding women to enter the labor market. All respondents mention that separate male and female spheres are still very apparent in Antiqueño society, that is why they all think only 53% of all Filipinas engage in the labor market. Within the Antiqueño sentiment that was exhibited in the in-depth interviews, males are perceived as powerful, rational, intelligent and natural leaders. Women then, are perceived as emotional, submissive, social and practical.

Motherhood in general represents a barrier for females that want to find employment because employers rather not hire mothers. Also some mothers do not want to work fulltime and they are likely to limit themselves to jobs that are close to their homes. Teenage pregnancy has strong negative implications on the likelihood a girl graduates from university, because of the financial, time, and health barriers this poses. National policies that stimulate sexual education are not implemented by the school nurse of UAH because this will hurt her reputation in the village. Additionally, it is illegal for anyone under the age of 18 to buy contraceptives and protect themselves against diseases and pregnancy. Job security in Antique is provided through two channels: nepotism, and passing the government provided boarding exam with high grades (85% or up). This provides more hindrances for those who are not well connected within organizations and companies, and those who do not have the time or financial resources to keep on taking the boarding exam.
Girls are strongly discouraged to allow themselves any form of romance, because it is perceived that this will obstruct their chances to finish university or find a job. Only when they have found a stable job, they are supposed to be welcoming of romantic relationships of any kind. Because of the lack of vacancies, many females work abroad to generate family income. This has strong implications for their personal lives. On the other hand, the Filipino economy heavily relies on these OFWs and participants indicated that they were able to graduate from college because of the financial contributions of their OFW family members.

8. Discussion and conclusion

This thesis aims to understand why only half of the generally highly educated Filipinas finds gainful employment. The perspectives of rural female graduate students were specifically interesting to me, as these bright young women are experiencing a very important moment in their lives, where they are about to kick start their careers. Out of the 89% that plan on entering the labor market, only 53% will find an occupation. I am very interested in female students’ views on female labor market participation and the barriers that they expect to experience, both because their voices are not heard at all in the current discourse, let alone those voices of rural and remote women. By using both a wide scale survey and in-depth interviews I was able to generate an overview of barriers that impede Antiqueñas to enter the labor market, which is not in any way meant to be exhaustive. However, such a detailed inventory has not been made before and therefore contributes to the body of research on female labor market participation on a local, but also on a national level. Additionally this overview of barriers – when researched further - has the possibility to contribute to education and labor market policies and structures that can close the gender gap.

The following chapter explores the aim through the use of the three research questions that supported this aim throughout the entire study.

8.1 Do graduating Antiqueñas want to join the labor market, and why?
89% of graduating Antiqueñas indicated that they are planning to find a job. This is much more than I expected, since I assumed many university-educated Antiqueñas rather wanted to become housewives and mothers. This is also a much higher rate than the 53% that actually succeed in joining the labor market in their homeland (World Bank, 2014). Most graduating Antiqueñas (66%) want to find gainful employment in order to be able to provide for their families. As the in-depth interviews revealed, the kinship system in the Philippines is of great importance. Being able to help your family is perceived as the greatest good within Filipino culture, as Medina (2015) points out in her work. However, the third most important reason for Antiqueñas to find a job is to gain independency so that they do not longer have to rely on anyone but themselves. Participants pointed out that family members have certain expectations of them, which are not always in congruence with their own desires for the future. The kinship system represents a strong base of support, but can also limit young women to lead the life they desire, and have reason to desire, which is of the upmost importance in the capability approach (Sen,
1999). Therefore, this kinship system provides both enabling factors and barriers for women to enter the labor market. 15% of Antiqueñas plan on finding employment with the main reason to lead a fulfilling life in general. The interviews pointed out that because of recent government policy changes (World Bank, 2014; Asian Development Bank, 2013), gender equality has become an issue of importance and women feel more empowered on the work floor. They reportedly feel inspired to start fulfilling careers by other women in high positions such as the governor of the province of Antique, who is also a female.

As Yap & Melchior (2015) predicted, the main reason for the 11% of graduating Antiqueñas to refrain from entering the labor market, is because they are expected to work for their families on unremunerated basis. Women account for 57% of all unpaid family workers (Philippine Commission on Women, 2013) Here again, the kinship system poses an important barrier for the freedom of Antiqueñas to lead the lives they desire. The capability to find fulfilling and gainful employment is thus impeded by expectations of dominant family members. These girls will most likely be trapped in cooperative conflicts wherein they agree to work for their families and sacrifice their freedom to choose for the greater good of the family. The dominant family members will thus fare well at the expense of these minoritized girls (Nussbaum, 1995; Sen, 1995). 30% of Antiqueñas indicated that they would like to start a business instead of entering the labor market themselves. The interviews made clear that some girls want to start a business because that is perceived to be a good way to be able to manage working life and household and caregiving chores.

The third reason graduating women refrain from entering the job market is because they will study for the boarding exam first, and will take it as many times as possible to pass with grades high enough (85% and up) to enjoy job security. However, this is a time and money consuming practice that is not for every Antiqueña, given the rural and indigent character of the province (Luo, 2009). Those who are from poor backgrounds are forced to find a job as soon as possible to contribute to the family income, as the interviews made clear.

8.2 In what ways are graduating Antiqueñas hindered to enter the labor market and how does this compare to national data?

Three main barriers became apparent during this study, namely: barriers on the supply side of the labor market, barriers on the demand side of the labor market, and other barriers.

8.2.1 Barriers on the supply side of the labor market

Barriers on the supply side of the labor market include those impediments that influence how the choices and limitations of Antiqueñas shape employment outcomes: lacks of financial means to invest in education, lack of education and/or skills, lack of work experience, family obligations, and health.

The Antiqueñas that were interviewed all experienced struggles to be able to afford tuition fees of (good) universities. They were very creative when it came to paying for tuition: being helped by other family members, scholarships, supporting themselves through multiple side jobs and receiving funds from family members, most of them working as OFWs. Note that in this area the kinship system has very positive implications on girls’ futures. Nevertheless, the girls that were interviewed
were those that managed to be enrolled in the final year of college. In this study, it was not possible to investigate the perspectives of those girls that the education system’s financial burden left behind, resulting in a limitation for this study. Moreover, students of private SAC were perceived as more likely to find a job, both by themselves as by students who were not enrolled in SAC. This indicates that quality education, and the chances on the labor market that come with it, are only for the elite, which poses an important barrier for graduating Antiqueñas’ capability to find gainful employment.

The second barrier on the demand side; lack of education and/or skills, also accounts for the second largest reason why graduating Antiqueñas think it will be difficult to find employment: 21% feels their education does not prepare them well enough for the labor market. The interview participants pointed out that they lacked motivated teachers, relevant teaching materials and textbooks, and a relevant and practical curriculum. These are severe problems that need to be addressed not only because they will expand the freedoms of Antiqueñas in college, but also because they will increase the quality of the human capital of the Philippines, and can contribute to maintain its recent economic progress (Albert, Dumagan & Martinez, 2015). Increasing the quality of tertiary education will also contribute to the chances for both male and female Antiqueños to find good and productive jobs that will pull them out of in-work poverty, the main constraint that hinders poverty reduction in the Philippines (World Bank, 2016).

The third hindrance within the theme of barriers on the supply side discusses how interview informants perceive a lack of experience to be a problem when entering the labor market. Because the competition is extremely high (Albert, Dumagan & Martinez, 2015), employers have the luxury of selecting those students that are young, well-educated, and experienced.

As discussed in chapter 8.1, the kinship system generates family obligations that hinder graduating Antiqueñas in their capability to choose where they want to work, what kind of work they want to do, and how many hours they are able to spend working. The interviews show examples of several girls who are trapped in these cooperative conflicts where they sacrifice their own desires and needs for the wellbeing of dominant family members. The interviewed Antiqueñas expressed feelings of guilt and loyalty to their parents (in-law) or husbands that resulted in unbeficial results for them when it came to labor market participation. According to Medina (2015), these feelings are engrained in the traditional upbringing of Filipino children and thus this poses a national barrier to Filipinas.

Since there is no system of social security in the Philippines, maintaining a good health is of the upmost importance. When one of the prominent generators of family income becomes sick, this has far-reaching consequences for the family income, and therefore for the chances of young women to be able to pay for their university tuition. The interview results pointed out that girls are sometimes pulled out of school to find a job to contribute to the family income. Seeing that 12% of all graduating Antiqueñas’ fathers are reported deceased, this puts a huge strain on family income and chances on the labor market of young females on both local and national levels.
8.2.2 Barriers on the demand side of the labor market

Barriers on the demand side aims to make an inventory of those impediments that are posed by organizations and companies that search for new employees. The following sub-themes are included: education; lack of vacancies; insufficient salary; age limit; and proximity.

As discussed in chapter 8.2.1, the differences in the quality of education girls are able to afford affect their chances on the labor market. Those who attend expensive private colleges are more likely to find a job than those who attend public universities. Moreover, Antiqueñas that cannot afford university education are seriously hindered to find gainful employment, as pre-dominantly female jobs often require a university degree, as opposed to male jobs (Asian Development Bank, 2013; Parreñas, 2008).

Due to a serious lack of opportunities to engage in (productive) jobs (World Bank, 2016; Albert, Dumagan & Martinez, 2015; Asian Development Bank, 2013) chances for graduating Antiqueñas are severely limited. Interview informants point out that especially in an indigent and rural province such as Antique, there are few chances to engage in productive jobs, or any jobs at all. Also, agricultural work is still mainly perceived as pre-dominantly male work (Medina, 2015), which reduces the chances for Filipinas even more, especially in a rural area such as Antique. This however, is not only applicable to the case of Antique, since the lack of vacancies is a national problem, leading to many Filipinas seeking employment abroad (Parreñas, 2001), as further discussed in chapter 8.2.3.

Yap & Melchior (2015) point to a second main reason for problematic female labor market participation in the Philippines: the gender wage gap. Filipinas only earn 60% of an average male salary (Asian Development Bank, 2013), while they are generally higher educated, and account for 64% of licensed professionals (Philippine Education on Women, 2014). One of the interview participants is working two jobs to be able to provide for her self. This gender wage gap is not only persistent within the Antiqueño community, but represents a national trend. Filipinas already take care of 84% of the household and caregiving chores (Asian Development Bank, 2013), adding a heavy burden to those who work fulltime. The gender gap also has the ability to keep Filipinas from the labor market full- or part-time: when the male partner earns a significantly higher wage, it is only logical that it is the female partner that will work part-time or quit working altogether when children need to be taken care of. This poses a serious threat to Filipinas’ capability to engage in gainful employment.

Interview participants pointed out that because of the high competition on the labor market, an age limit hinders those (female) Filipinos that graduate at an older age. This has strong implications for those who cannot afford to immediately start their education after high school.

Finally, vacancies that are in remote or unsafe areas are only filled by male employees because employers cannot guarantee women’s safety on the way to and from work. This limits Antiqueñas possibilities to find employment to vacancies that are marked as ‘safe’ areas.
8.2.3 Other barriers

Other barriers identifies those impediments on the labor market that originate from larger cultural, structural or institutional constructions in the Antiqueño and Filipino society. This theme includes the following sub-themes: patriarchic positions A and B, (early) motherhood, nepotism, boarding exam, romantic relationships, divide in male and female jobs, and OFWs.

Patriarchy in both positions plays an important part in impeding women to enter the labor market. All interview participants mention that separate male and female spheres are still very apparent in Antiqueño society. This is in congruence with the work of Medina (2015) that describes on a national level how the Filipino is perceived as the “pillar of the home” – the breadwinner, while the Filipina is “the light of the home” – the homemaker. Also, this might partly explain why so few (36%) of the survey participants felt supported by their communities. Within the Antiqueño sentiment that was exhibited in the in-depth interviews, males are perceived as powerful, rational, intelligent and natural leaders. Women then, are perceived as emotional, submissive, social and practical. Both patriarchic positions confine women to the homestead and assign household and caregiving chores to females. As pointed out in chapter 8.2.2, Filipinas still take care of 84% of the household and caregiving chores at home (Asian Development Bank, 2013), which puts extra pressure on their responsibilities and there chances to engage in fulltime work. Moreover it has severe effects on women’s self-esteem as multiple interviewees perceived themselves as less capable than their male counterparts to engage in the labor market. Cooperative conflicts again play an important part within this barrier, for several interview participants mentioned the importance of submission to male dominance, and their duty to adhere to male visions. This indicates that Filipinas actively participate in their own oppression, for the greater good of the family. According to Parreñas (2008) and Medina (2015) these patriarchic sentiments permeate the Filipino culture in general, but are more apparent in rural areas, indicating that rural Filipinas suffer more from this barrier than urban Filipinas.

Motherhood in general represents a barrier for graduating Antiqueñas that want to find employment because interview participants indicated that employers rather not hire mothers. Also some mothers do not want to work fulltime and they are likely to limit themselves to jobs that are close to their homes. High national adolescent fertility rates (Asian Development Bank, 2013) burden Filipinas with childcare chores at a very young age, lowering their chances on the job market, making this a national concern.

Although earlier research spoke of high adolescent fertility rates (Asian Development Bank, 2013), I had not considered teenage pregnancy to be so apparent in Antique, and I have found no current research that considers teenage pregnancy within female labor market participation in the Philippines. In 2015, no less than 9% of all births in Antique were performed by girls between 12 and 19 years old (Province of Antique Provincial Population Office, 2016). Teenage pregnancy has strong negative implications on the likelihood Antiqueñas graduate from university, because of the financial, time, and health constraints this poses, as all informants agreed on. Additionally, Goldin & Katz (2002) describe the important impact of contraceptives on the academic achievement of American women,
indicating that making contraceptives available to teenagers has the potential of not only increasing the post-secondary graduation rate amongst Filipinas, but also increasing their chances on the labor market. As of now, the teenage pregnancy rate in Antique is considered extremely high in the Philippines (French, 2016) however, this is concerned a national problem (World Bank, 2013). The government responded by installing national policies that stimulate sexual education (Department of Health, 2012). However, as one interview participant pointed out, these are not always implemented by the Antiqueña school nurses because this will hurt their reputation in the village. Additionally, it is illegal for anyone under the age of 18 to buy contraceptives and protect themselves against diseases and pregnancy in the Republic of the Philippines. Medina (2015) relates this to the traditional Filipina virtue of abstinence and pride. All in all, (teenage) motherhood forms a barrier for Filipinas and their chances on the labor market. All girls I interviewed became very stressed by the idea of being pregnant at a young age, some indicating this would be the worst that could happen to them.

Nepotism came up very often in the interviews, both as an enabling factor (for the lucky ones with contacts within certain organizations), but mainly as a barrier for those who do not have any contacts in any company or organization. This barrier is especially apparent for those Antiqueñas who come from indigent backgrounds and are the first to seek productive employment. This barrier results in a gap between indigent and elite Antiqueñas, making it even more difficult for indigent Antiqueñas to find employment.

The high-stakes boarding exam provides immediate job security for those who pass it with excellent grades. On the outside, this seems like a fair opportunity for all sexes and social classes. However, the boarding exam is so difficult that interview participants indicated they would need a long time preparing for it. It is said in the interviews that some Antiqueñas who can afford it, keep on taking the boarding exam until they pass. This however, is very time consuming, time that otherwise could be spent earning money. Hence, the boarding exam too, results in a gap between indigent and elite Antiqueñas.

Young Filipinas are strongly discouraged to allow themselves any form of romance, because it is perceived that this will obstruct their chances to finish university or find a job (Medina, 2015). Only when they have found a stable job, they are supposed to welcome romantic relationships of any kind. Apart from the fact that men are assigned the power to ruin a girl’s life by being romantically involved with her, it also restricts these young girls to lead a fulfilling life by being in love or experiment with their sexuality. Being prohibited to engage in any romantic relationships, even a small fling, imposes serious barriers for girls’ freedom to live the life they have reason to value.

Parreñas (2008) argues that a strong divide between male jobs and female jobs persists to exist within the national Filipino labor market, especially in rural communities where male jobs are specified as more risky and physical work, such as construction worker, driver, and agricultural worker; and female jobs are characterized by safe, and caring jobs such as caregiver, teacher, and shop attendant (Asian Development Bank, 2013). There is simply more demand in rural areas for “male jobs” than “female jobs”. This is not only posing a grave barrier for graduating
Antiqueñas, but especially for all women seeking employment in rural or remote areas.

60% of OFWs are women (DTUC-IDC, 2014) and they are at a significantly high risk to be involved in abuse, harassment, physical and mental work-related health problems, and (sexual) exploitation due to their primary engagement in informal labor markets (Liat, 2009; Parreñas, 2008). Additionally, their children are often raised by other family members, which might hinder them to lead the lives they desire, and have reason to desire. Moreover, most interview participants were very willing to become OFWs and had a very positive, almost romantic outlook on their prospected lives as workers abroad. Sadly, I did not think of asking these girls if they were aware of the risks that becoming an OFW instigates. They did not come across as informed to me, but that is merely speculating. It would be very interesting to find out to which extent graduating Filipinas are informed about the risks of becoming an OFW, knowing that the Filipino economy strongly relies on these female OFWs (Parreñas, 2008).

8.3 Why do only half of the generally highly educated Filipinas find a job after their studies?
All interview participants were asked this exact question and they all gave the same answer: men are the ones that are obliged to find employment and provide for the family, while women should stay home and take care of the house and the children, as is in congruence with the depictions of Filipino culture by Medina (2015) and Parreñas (2001; 2008). However, none of the informants agreed with this patriarchic vision on life completely. Some were more traditional than others, but all female participants indicated that they wanted to work at least part-time and were not willing to give up all their free time for family purposes. During the data collection phase, I actively tried to include students that were not willing to enter the labor market, but unfortunately I could not find any participants that were reluctant to find a job. This poses a limitation since I only included the 89% of girls that are trying to enter the labor market as I write this thesis.

As pointed out in chapter 4, Brooks & Bolzendahl (2004) relate a shift from patriarchic sentiments to more egalitarian views in the American culture to higher enrolment and completion rates in post-secondary education. The Philippines is also slowly moving away from these patriarchic sentiments, which could also be related to the female advantage in higher education. However, Filipinas are still relatively young when they bare their first child, and (adolescent) fertility rates are high (Asian Development Bank, 2013. Goldin et al. (2006) point to the accelerating effect of an increase of the median age of the first marriage on female academic achievement, after which women are likely to start a family. Encouraging women in the United States to finish a post-secondary degree however, also influenced the increase of the average age of the first marriage, suggesting that the high graduation rates in the Philippines might be able to increase the age of child bearing and marriage, which would be favorable for female students.

Almost half (42%) of graduating Antiqueñas state that there are either no available jobs in general, or no available jobs within their profession. As stated in the chapter above, sadly, this is a national trend (World Bank, 2016; Albert, Dumagan &
Martinez, 2015). The third largest reason Antiqueñas expect difficulties when entering the labor market is because they do not feel prepared by their education to enter the labor market, as discussed in chapter 8.2.1. 15% of graduating Antiqueñas states that they are expected to work for their families. Once more, the kinship system within this area provides an extra barrier for Antiqueñas, since more than half of all unpaid family workers are female, while Filipinas represent a mere 39% of the labor force (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2016), which only goes to indicate how large the national population of female unpaid workers is, especially in rural and remote areas (Yap & Melchior, 2015).

The reasons for refraining to participate in the labor market should be combined with the barriers on the supply and demand side, and other barriers that are stated above. The national trends I have found that contribute in explaining why so little Filipinas join the labor market are the following: lack of good and productive vacancies, (early) motherhood, a wide gender wage gap, unpaid family work, patriarchic views on traditional female roles, and a divide between male and female jobs. The other barriers I have generated from this mixed methods research are only applicable for Antiqueñas, as I have not found any academic resources to support these impediments with. However, I do assume similarities between other rural and indigent areas in the Philippines can be found.

8.4 Suggestions for further research
First of all, it would be very interesting to investigate whether the barriers that are specifically assigned to Antiqueñas, can be found elsewhere. I think it is highly likely that barriers such as a lack of quality education, nepotism, and the boarding exam would come up in rural and even urban areas. It would also be fascinating to compare different regions with one another when it comes to graduating girls and the barriers they expect to experience while seeking gainful employment.

Furthermore, it would be very interesting to study the perspectives of those Antiqueñas that already joined the labor market, or did not enter it. Were the expectations of these graduating girls realistic?

Additionally, it would be quite illuminating to interview graduating Filipinas that do not plan on entering the labor market.

Also, it became apparent within my research that I did not know whether Filipinas are informed about the great risks and perils that being an Overseas Filipino Worker bring about. Research should be conducted in finding out to what extent these women are informed by the government, or other organizations.

Moreover, a large number of graduating Antiqueñas’ fathers are deceased. Is this a coincidence for this particular group, or is it a regional or even national trend?

Since teenage pregnancy poses such an extinct and important barrier for graduating Antiqueñas, especially now that the rates are increasing, research should be conducted to investigate the national implications this has on teenage Filipinas’ lives and their chances on the labor market.

8.5 Conclusion
Graduating Antiqueñas are plagued by a great number of hindrances when entering the labor market, which can be organized through the following categories: barriers on the supply side of the labor market, barriers on the demand side of the labor
market, and other barriers. These girls however display great amounts of resilience and a positive outlook on their chances to find gainful employment at a first glance, while only 53% of all Filipinas is currently able to find gainful employment. However, when discussed in greater detail, their worries become more apparent, which led to the inventory of the barriers described above.

Revealing those barriers that have not been researched before, such as nepotism, teenage pregnancy, and the boarding exam, contributes to the existing body of knowledge on impediments that hinder graduating Filipinas to enter the labor market. The hindrances as described and discussed in this thesis can be used to improve gender sensitive policies that have the ability to expand freedoms, capabilities, and functioning for Antiqueñas, but also for Filipinas in general, since the barriers; lack of good and productive vacancies, (early) motherhood, a wide gender wage gap, unpaid family work, patriarchic views on traditional female roles, and a divide in male and female jobs are all barriers that hinder Filipinas on a national level. By conducting further research, the barriers that are indicated above might be discovered in other areas of the Philippines as well.

Addressing these hindrances is of great importance to the capability to find gainful employment, which has far-reaching implications on the well being of Filipinas. It is therefore my hope that the barriers as presented and discussed in this thesis can make a contribution to the expansion of the freedoms of Filipinas, and Antiqueñas in particular.
List of references


World Bank. (2013). Teenage mothers (% women ages 15-19 who have had children or are currently pregnant). World Bank.


Appendix I Regional map of the Philippines

Source: World Bank, 2009
### Appendix II Teenage pregnancy rates in Antique

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUNICIPALITY</th>
<th>POPULATION 2010</th>
<th>POPULATION 2015</th>
<th>PGR</th>
<th>DOUBLING TIME (YEARS)</th>
<th>LAND AREA</th>
<th>POPULATION DENSITY</th>
<th>NO. of HOUSEHOLDS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Siquiman</td>
<td>20,349</td>
<td>21,201</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>48.80</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibajay</td>
<td>21,775</td>
<td>22,704</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>154.36</td>
<td>141</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jasaon</td>
<td>12,807</td>
<td>13,539</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>20.26</td>
<td>632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahas</td>
<td>32,264</td>
<td>33,642</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>203.71</td>
<td>158</td>
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<tr>
<td>Laya</td>
<td>30,046</td>
<td>35,496</td>
<td>4.54</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>136.81</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jasa</td>
<td>39,086</td>
<td>41,228</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>228.56</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jambore</td>
<td>45,983</td>
<td>48,392</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>124.32</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagoan</td>
<td>25,211</td>
<td>26,072</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>100.72</td>
<td>250</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jatao</td>
<td>15,669</td>
<td>16,429</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>97.00</td>
<td>161</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jauan</td>
<td>32,494</td>
<td>34,333</td>
<td>2.65</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>163.72</td>
<td>198</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jongsan</td>
<td>35,102</td>
<td>37,176</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>167.92</td>
<td>209</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joco</td>
<td>57,847</td>
<td>62,534</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>48.56</td>
<td>1,191</td>
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<td>Remigio</td>
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<td>31,935</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>406.98</td>
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<td>Baste</td>
<td>17,270</td>
<td>17,907</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>111.64</td>
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<td>Jalamo</td>
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<td>60,306</td>
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<td>1.40</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>207.69</td>
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<td>195</td>
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(Updated: [Date])

Certified Correct: [Signature]

PRIMO C. OCATG (JR.)
Appendix III Semi-structured interview guide

This guide is based on the research questions posed by the study. However, this guide is used as a general format and can and should be adjusted at any time during the interview when necessary. It is designed as an overview of questions to choose from when the interviewer hits a dead end with the interviewee, or feels like a certain topic has not been touched upon. It is in no way exhaustive nor meant to be a rigid guide. Additionally, this guide is written for graduate students and may not be applicable to other respondents.

1. Your questionnaire indicated that you think it will be difficult to find a job because of … Can you tell me more about your concerns?

2. National data suggest that only 52% of all Filipinas find a job, as opposed to 81% of Filipinos. Why do you think that is?

3. Do you think you will be treated differently from men at your future job? Why (not)?

4. How will you balance your working life and your family life?

5. Do you have any friends that are currently applying for jobs? Could you tell me a little bit about their experience?

6. If you could change anything about the labor market, what would that be?

7. How did your study prepare you for the labor market?

8. What will your future look like?

9. What are your dreams for the future?
Appendix IV First version self-completion questionnaire

Self-completion questionnaire concerning planned labor market participation

General information

1. Age: ____________________

2. Marital state (please circle the correct status): Married/single

3. Profession mother:______________________________________________________

4. Profession father:________________________________________________________

Questionnaire

Please circle the correct answer

5. Do you think there will be opportunities for you in the job market? Yes/no

6. Would your family support you if you wanted to find a job? Yes/no

7. Would your community support you if you wanted to find a job? Yes/no

8. Do you plan on finding a job after your studies? Yes/no

   If your answer to question 8 is yes, please proceed to question 10; If your answer is no, please proceed to question 9

9. Circle one letter corresponding to the main reason for not participating in the labor market:
   a) I would like to start a family
   b) I have children to take care of
   c) I will work for my family
   d) I will start my own business
   e) It is too difficult to find a job
   f) My salary will be too low to support myself
   g) I will not feel comfortable at a job
   h) My family will not like it if I found a job
   i) It is not necessary for me too find a job because: __________________________
   j) Other namely: __________________________

10. Circle one letter corresponding to the main reason for participating in the labor market:
a) To provide for myself
b) To provide for my family
c) To pursue a career in: ______________________
d) To become independent
e) To contribute to society
f) To lead a fulfilling life
g) Other namely: _______________________________

Please make sure you answered 9 questions: 1 – 8 and either 9 or 10.

Would you like to be interviewed about your answers? Please write down your telephone number and/or e-mail address so I can contact you. Your contact information is stored in a safe space and will be destroyed after the interview, to guarantee your complete anonymity.

Telephone number: _______________________________

E-mail address: _______________________________

Thank you for your participation!
Appendix V  Final version of self-completion questionnaire
Self-completion questionnaire concerning planned labor market participation

General information

1. Age: ____________________

2. Marital state (please circle the correct status): Married/single

3. Profession mother:_____________________________________________________

4. Profession father:_____________________________________________________

Questionnaire
Please circle the correct answer

5. Do you think there will be opportunities for you in the job market? Yes/no/maybe

6. Would your family support you if you wanted to find a job? Yes/no/maybe

7. Would your community support you if you wanted to find a job? Yes/no/maybe

8. Do you think you could find a job after your studies? Yes/no/maybe

If your answer to question 8 is no or maybe, please answer question 9. If your answer is yes, please proceed to question 10.

9. Circle only one letter corresponding for the main reason why finding a job might be difficult:

a) There are not many jobs in general
b) There are not many jobs within my profession
c) Employers rather hire men
d) My family expects me to work for them
e) My family and/or husband would not like it if I found a job
f) I have children
g) I will start a family soon
h) My education does not prepare me well enough to find a job
i) Other namely:________________________________________________________
10. Do you plan on finding a job after your studies?

Yes/no/maybe

If your answer to question 10 is yes, please proceed to question 12; If your answer is no or maybe, please answer question 11.

11. Circle only one letter corresponding to the main reason for (maybe) not participating in the labor market:

a) I would like to start a family
b) I have children to take care of
c) I will work for my family
d) I will start my own business
e) It is too difficult to find a job
f) My salary will be too low to support myself
g) I will not feel comfortable at a job
h) My family will not like it if I found a job
i) It is not necessary for me too find a job because: ___________________________
j) Other namely: __________________________

12. Circle only one letter corresponding to the main reason for participating in the labor market:

a) To provide (be able to pay) for myself
b) To provide (be able to pay) for my family
c) To pursue (build) a career in: __________________________
d) To become independent
e) To contribute to (play a valuable part in) society
f) To lead a fulfilling life
g) Other namely: __________________________

Would you like to be interviewed about your answers? Please write down your telephone number and/or e-mail address so I can contact you. Your contact information is stored in a safe space and will be destroyed after the interview, to guarantee your complete anonymity.

Telephone number: __________________________

E-mail address: __________________________

Thank you for your participation!
Appendix VI Randomized survey respondents per faculty
Randomized numbers St. Anthony’s College by department

Teacher Education:
82 14 30 38 66 91 8 96 6 40 24 4 74 7 94 90 71 93 55 51 45 56 20 52 100 61 59
26 1 99 54 2 31 46 9 17 62 27 48 80 79 97 88 73 3 69 85 37 23 22 35 44 81 98 75 33
43 11 83 64

Random numbers generated Jan 12 2017 at 14:12:52 by www.psychicscience.org
Free educational resources for parapsychology and psychical research.

Business Education:
98 70 85 14 66 79 65 19 82 17 22 105 54 30 43 41 6 46 37 64 15 48 58 3 51 38 95
55 74 102 93 87 21 18 32 98 8 25 35 62 44 77 24 91 1 67 84 34 29 71 10 4 72 11 57
23 68 86 60 101 31 94 7

Random numbers generated Jan 12 2017 at 15:14:49 by www.psychicscience.org
Free educational resources for parapsychology and psychical research.

Hospitality:
14 4 13 1 18 3 22 27 23 10 11 19 7 15 2 6

Random numbers generated Jan 12 2017 at 15:28:5 by www.psychicscience.org
Free educational resources for parapsychology and psychical research.

Engineering and Technology
6 3 8 15 17 7 11 19 9 1 13 21 5 18

Random numbers generated Jan 12 2017 at 15:37:2 by www.psychicscience.org
Free educational resources for parapsychology and psychical research.

Nursing
13 6 9 5 8 2 12 4 1 3

Random numbers generated Jan 12 2017 at 15:38:36 by www.psychicscience.org
Free educational resources for parapsychology and psychical research.

Criminal Justice
9 3 13 8 10 2 5 6 11 14

Random numbers generated Jan 12 2017 at 15:39:26 by www.psychicscience.org
Free educational resources for parapsychology and psychical research.
Appendix VII List of central human capabilities

List of central human functional capabilities

1. Life: being able to live a life to the end of a normal human life without dying prematurely.

2. Bodily health and integrity: being able to live a healthy, well-nourished life and the ability to have adequate shelter.

3. Bodily integrity: being able to move freely between places and to be secure against violent assault.

4. Senses, imagination, thought: The ability to use the senses, think freely, and to reason. To do these things in a ‘truly human way’ through quality education, cultivation, and being well informed. Being able to choose.

5. Emotions: being able to love, grieve, long, be grateful, and be angry. Not being deprived of emotional development through anxiety or fear.

6. Practical reason: “Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one’s own life. (This entails protection for the liberty of conscience.)” (Nussbaum, 1999: p. 41)

7. Affiliation: being able to have relationships with others and engage in social interaction. The ability of emphasis, compassion, justice, friendship, self-respect, equal treatment.

8. Other species: the ability to live in harmony with one’s environment: plants, nature and animals.

9. Play: the capability of laughter and engagement in recreational activities.

10. Control over one’s political and material environment: the capability of freedom of speech, political participation, freedom of association, the holding of property, and the right to seek and engage in remunerate employment on an equal basis with others (Nussbaum, 1993; Nussbaum, 1995; Nussbaum, 1999).
Appendix VIII: Table 7 profession of students’ mother in number and percentage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession mother</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>housewife</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>61.8</td>
<td>61.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>administrative assistant, cashier</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>67.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medical assistant</td>
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<td>.3</td>
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<td>factory worker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>67.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>72.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manager</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>75.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deceased</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>78.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entrepreneur</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>79.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>80.5</td>
</tr>
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<td>5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>81.9</td>
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<td>.3</td>
<td>89.9</td>
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<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
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<td>1.1</td>
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<td>1.1</td>
<td>93.7</td>
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<td>church official</td>
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<td>1.1</td>
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<td>3.7</td>
<td>98.6</td>
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<td>.6</td>
<td>99.1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>.3</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>99.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>care taker</td>
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<td>.3</td>
<td>.3</td>
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Source: Author’s own creation, 2017
Appendix IX: Table 8 profession of students’ father in number and percentage

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Profession father</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
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</thead>
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<td>5.8</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
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<td>1.2</td>
<td>7.0</td>
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<td>37.8</td>
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<td>0.3</td>
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<td>1.2</td>
<td>90.1</td>
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<td>0.6</td>
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<td>0.6</td>
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<td>0.3</td>
<td>98.5</td>
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<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>98.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>99.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>99.7</td>
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Source: Author’s own creation, 2017