

## **Farmer-Led Agroecology and Peasant Women Empowerment: Stories from the Masipag Network in the Philippines**

---

**Maria Corazon Jimenez-Tan**

### **ABSTRACT**

Through a Participatory Action Research, the peasant women of the MASIPAG network collectively analyzed and drew insights from their involvement in farmer-led agroecology. Their analyses focused on how agroecology helped empower peasant women, how agroecology benefitted their families and communities, the factors or conditions that facilitated or hindered the active participation of the peasant women in agroecology, and strategies to help promote peasant women empowerment in farmer-led agroecology. This study discussed the prevailing gender issues in the agriculture sector and recommended strategies for peasant women empowerment that must be integrated into the programs and policies of organizations promoting and practicing farmer-led agroecology for food sovereignty and social justice. This study is part of the continuing efforts of MASIPAG to strengthen its program for organizing, capacity building, and leadership development among peasant women, which will, in turn, also strengthen the movement for farmer-led agroecology.

*Keywords: farmer-led agroecology, peasant women empowerment, food sovereignty, social justice, participatory action research*

*“Today, we unite to stand for just, equitable, healthy, and sustainable food systems. We resist all deceptive schemes done in our name to consolidate corporate control over agriculture. We firmly believe that food systems must change and be anchored on women peasant’s rights to land, water and resources, women and community-led agroecology, people’s food sovereignty and the right to adequate, safe, nutritious, and culturally-appropriate food.”*

*The Rural Women’s Unity Statement of the 2021 Global People’s Summit on Food Systems*

## **Introduction**

All throughout history, women have played key roles as food producers, seedkeepers, resource managers, and stewards of the environment. According to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (UN FAO), peasant women produce about 60-80% of food in developing countries, and about 50% of the world’s food production (Davies, 2023). In Asia, Africa, and Latin America, women provide food for 50-75% of households (Khadse, 2017).

In recent years, there has been growing recognition of the critical roles of peasant women in agroecology touted as an alternative to the industrial, corporate-controlled, profit driven, environmentally destructive, fossil-fuel dependent farming that exploits the labor of small food producers, including peasant women. The *Cooperation Internationale pour le Developpement et la Solidarite* (CIDSE) Task force on Agroecology explains the four dimensions of agroecology (CIDSE, 2018):

- **Economic dimension:** harnessing the power of local producers, local markets and consumers in providing sustainable livelihoods for peasant families.
- **Political dimension:** prioritizing the needs and strategic interests of small-scale food producers, and transforming power relations by asserting the decisive involvement and leadership of local food producers in the control of agricultural resources, in decision-making and governance of food and agricultural systems;

- **Socio-cultural dimension:** rootedness in the culture, identity, Indigenous knowledge, innovation of local communities; promoting horizontal (farmer-to-farmer) sharing of knowledge and skills; building solidarity across people and communities while also pushing for diversity; building a people's movement supportive of women's rights, inclusive and appreciative of women's roles and participation in agriculture; and
- **Environmental dimension:** building resilient, accessible, efficient, self-sufficient, healthy, safe, pollution-free food systems by building and protecting biodiversity and natural agro-ecosystems.

In the global south, the dominant farming mode is monocropping. This model is highly dependent on chemical inputs and is mostly market-oriented and corporate-controlled. Worse, this farming mode has caused extreme poverty among farmers. In response to the adverse effects of conventional farming models, many farmers shifted to sustainable agriculture practices and agroecology. In this model, farmers work towards people-led/farmer-led social transformation (Khadse, 2017). Farmer-led agroecology aims to radically transform prevailing power relations within the global agriculture and food systems, and work towards achieving food sovereignty and social justice (CIDSE, 2018; Khadse, 2017; People's Coalition for Food Sovereignty, n.d.).

### **MASIPAG, Farmer-led Agroecology and Peasant Women**

MASIPAG is one of the pioneering organizations promoting agroecology in the Philippines. MASIPAG, which stands for *Magsasaka at Siyentista para sa Pagpapaunlad ng Agrikultura* (Farmers and Scientists for the Development of Agriculture) is a national network of small scale farmers' organizations, nongovernmental organizations (NGO) and scientists promoting agroecology and farmers' rights. Its membership includes approximately 50,000

small-scale farmers organized into 670 farmers or rural women’s organizations, 20 NGOs and scientists (agriculturists, veterinarians, social scientists) from all over the country (Global Alliance for the Future of Food, 2021). MASIPAG’s core programs may be seen in Table 1.

**Table 1**

*MASIPAG Programs for Farmer-led Agroecology*

<b>MASIPAG Programs</b>	<b>Program strategies</b>
Technical	CIMME: Collection, preservation, management of indigenous grain varieties Breeding (DSAE) Diversified and sustainable agroecological systems (FDAT) Farmers’ development of appropriate technology Education and training
Local marketing and food processing systems	Production, processing, local marketing, fair/socialized pricing of agricultural products
Advocacy and networking	Main advocacy themes: farmers’ rights to land, seeds, technology, knowledge, and markets
Organizational Development and Network building	Strong and organized farmers/people’s organizations Shared leadership Expansion and consolidation of the network
Climate change resiliency	Resiliency, risk mitigation, adaptation of communities to climate change, emergency response and recovery

*Note.* Adapted from “Peasant Science: Science by and for the people,” presentation by MASIPAG, as cited in Tan, 2024.

MASIPAG supports the farmers’ struggle for land, which remains the most fundamental cause of underdevelopment of agriculture, and of the poverty among farmers in the Philippines (Tan, 2024). According to the Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KMP) about seven out of 10 farmers do not own their land; majority of those who have land have no more than two hectares (Tan, 2024). MASIPAG farmers’ organizations undertake local and national advocacy campaigns to assert farmers’ right to land and the implementation of a genuine agrarian reform. The network also supports the *bungkalan*—the farmers’ collective and militant occupation and cultivation of idle lands, degraded areas in the

countrysides, or portions of corporate plantations or *haciendas* (UMA, 2017). Bungkalan is a struggle against land monopoly, and privatization and commercialization of land (Tariman-Acosta, 2017). In many bungkalan areas, agroecology is also now being practiced. This includes the preservation, protection, and promotion of Indigenous/traditional rice varieties and Indigenous farming systems such as organic and diversified farming. These practices are a direct challenge to corporate control of agricultural resources and monocropping systems of industrial corporate farming (Tariman-Acosta, 2017).

Within the last decade, MASIPAG's program for organizational development and network strengthening (ODNS) gave more emphasis on building the capacities for organizing, consciousness raising, and leadership development among the peasant women in MASIPAG (Tan, 2021). In recent years, there has been a noticeable increase of women leaders in the working committees of the MASIPAG people's organizations (PO), and in various leadership positions at the local, provincial, regional, and national level of the network's organizational structure. There are more women rice breeders, peasant women practitioners of Diversified and integrated Farming Systems (DIFS), and women Farmer-Trainors (FTs).

While this is seen as a positive trend, it is important to account for the experiences of peasant women as they practice agroecology and situate it in the broader struggle of peasants against neoliberalism, specifically the corporate control of agricultural resources. By looking into their experiences, the study aims to shed light on the gendered and structural challenges of agroecology practice in the Philippines, while also highlighting and celebrating their victories in terms of the empowering effects of their practice on them and their families. Undertaking a Participatory Action Research (PAR), the study enjoined the peasant women to reflect on:

1. How have their engagements in agroecology contributed to their empowerment in terms of the economic, political, socio-cultural aspects of their lives, and to their efforts in protecting and sustaining their environment?
2. How have their families, organizations, and communities benefited from their agroecological practices?
3. What factors facilitated or hindered their active involvement and full implementation of agroecology?
4. What social development policies and programs should be recommended to: (a) help strengthen farmer-led agroecology in the Philippines; (b) help further empower peasant women through agroecology?

The PAR undertaken for this study involved the author and a research team from MASIPAG. The study employed a critical and qualitative research design that largely drew inspiration from the bottom-up, farmer-to-farmer learning approaches of farmer-led agroecology. Specifically, PAR facilitated the creation of spaces and undertaking participatory processes that are conducive to the collective and critical analysis of the experiences of the MASIPAG peasant women's engagement in agroecology. Besides this, PAR also facilitated the processes of promoting critical consciousness by allowing women to critically examine and draw lessons from their lived experiences and life stories.

The collective reflection and critical analysis of the experiences of the MASIPAG peasant women directly fed into the 'action' component of the research; specifically, the ODNs efforts by MASIPAG. According to AMIHAN (2024, as cited in Tan, 2024), raising consciousness, organizing, and mobilizing women belonging to the biggest and one of the most oppressed sectors in Philippine society is critical and integral to the promotion of equality and their empowerment. This process builds the confidence and capacities of peasant women to fight for their rights and development agenda, which include promoting sustainable

and people-led, people-centered agriculture practices, and struggling against social and gender-based forms of inequality and the structures that support it (i.e. neoliberalism and patriarchy) (Mpofu, 2018; Prasad, 2021; AMIHAN, 2020, as cited in Tan, 2024).

The conduct of the study entailed facilitating several activities including four regional women's workshops, six focused group discussions (FGD), five key-informant interviews, and participating in various MASIPAG activities. The four regional women's workshops (one in Luzon, two in Visayas, and one in Mindanao) were whole-day workshops wherein leaders and members of selected MASIPAG farmers' or women's organizations exchanged experiences and their analyses of the gains and benefits from their agroecology practices, as well as issues and challenges they faced as peasants and as women engaged in agroecology. The FGDs (two for each region) focused on more detailed individual and collective life stories on how agroecology impacted them as peasant women, on the transformations they experienced within their families, their organizations, and communities as they engaged in agroecology. Five key informant interviews were also conducted with experts on agroecology and rural women within MASIPAG and from outside the network, and three validation sessions. A total of 248 MASIPAG farmers, mostly peasant women, were involved in this PAR.

### **Integrating Gender in Farmer-led Agroecology**

The following section focused on: (a) the critical roles of peasant women in agroecology, (b) the positive impact of agroecology on peasant women, on their families, organizations, and communities, (c) the historical and prevailing class and gender issues in agriculture, which has intensified due to neoliberalism in agriculture, and (d) strategies for integrating a gender perspective into agroecology.

Worldwide, there has been growing recognition of the critical roles of peasant women in agroecology. Peasant women have been at the forefront of efforts to preserve Indigenous/traditional seeds and community-based seed systems, which is the foundation of local biodiversity (Mpofu, 2018; Tan, 2024). In Malawi, for instance, peasant women comprise more than half of the farmer-research team members of the Soils, Food and Health Communities program in 209 villages (Global Alliance for the Future of Food, 2021). As co-creators of Indigenous farming knowledge and practices, and as stewards of the environment, peasant women have been active in lobbying work and policy advocacy for programs and policies that protect their local environments and promote Indigenous knowledge (Khadse, 2017; Mpofu, 2018). Stories from *La Via Campesina* and other national and international rural women's organizations show that peasant women are among the most active participants and leaders in struggles against corporations and landowners that take away land from farmers and indigenous communities, and in struggles against development projects that destroy the environment (Mpofu, 2018).

Likewise, there are increasing accounts of the positive impact of agroecology on peasant women, on their families, and communities. In Cuba, Brazil and Uruguay, organizations of peasant women share about how agroecological practices have resulted in better family nutrition, diversification of income sources, and even the redistribution of roles and responsibilities within the households (Zaremba et al., 2021). Stories of peasant women in Lao PDR, Cambodia and Vietnam show that as environmental health improved, so did the quality and quantity of their agricultural produce, their family's health, livelihood, and income (Khadse, 2017; Towards a Non-Toxic Southeast Asia, 2016).

Agroecological practices such as collective learning and the promotion of connectivity among peasant women have helped bring them out of their isolation and into organizations, even into leadership positions (Zaremba et al., 2021). Members of *La Via*

Campesina share about the struggles they have had with the men within their organizations and their movements through which they have gained equal participation in debates, decision-making, and in representation in leadership (Mpofu, 2018). Critical education that promotes critical consciousness and self-reflexivity, capacity building, and leadership development among peasant women is indispensable for a just agroecological transformation (Zaremba et al., 2017).

At the same time, women rights activists have observed that there are many agroecology movements globally wherein women are present in high numbers, but are hidden as wives of farmers, and are not present in decision-making and leadership positions in their organizations and communities (Khadse, 2017). Furthermore, even as they become more active in agroecological farming and in their farmers' or rural women's organizations where they learn about agroecology, peasant women have to bear with intensifying multiple burdens as they remain in charge of care work/reproductive work in the home.

Historically, social reproduction has been taken on largely by women in the confines of their homes and communities and are part of women's unpaid labor. Ossome and Naidu (2021) explain that the privatization of social reproduction—the relegation of care work to households, especially to the women, has intensified as a result of neoliberalism. This is because within the global neoliberal economic regime, capitalist markets are relying more on women's reproductive work which does not only reproduce labor but human life itself, with much of the reproductive work being done within non-capitalist realms of production, such as household work and subsistence farming (Ossome & Naidu, 2021).

Katz (2001) explains that even as states abdicate their responsibility for social reproduction, it will be accomplished at any cost by women. As states continue to reduce national budgets for basic social services, as the climate crisis destroys natural food, medicine

and water sources, women's care work or social reproduction has become even more difficult. Ossome and Naidu (2021), drawing from a research of Deere (1976) explain that:

The reproduction and maintenance of labour power only results from the super-exploitation of familial labor in the unit of subsistence reproduction. Here then, the division of labour is key in the extraction of surplus: women and children are mobilized to produce the means of subsistence for the production and reproduction of labour power for the labour market. (Deere, 1976, as cited in Ossome & Naidu, 2021, p. 78)

The chronic crisis resulting from neoliberalism has caused the increasing number of unemployed or underemployed. Much of the production for the survival needs of this growing 'global surplus population' as Marx called it (Prasad & Yeros, 2024) is now being shifted to the home (Ossome & Naidu, 2021). These include subsistence farming and petty commodity production for the family as a source of income (Ossome & Naidu, 2021). And women bear the brunt of these multiple tasks and responsibilities. Women's subsistence farming has become even more difficult due to the privatization of agricultural land for commercial purposes, and the destruction of the environment, which is the natural resource base for subsistence farming (Tan, 2024). To quote Luxemburg (1951, as cited in Ossome & Naidu, 2021, p. 68), "Non-capitalist social formations of household and family labour shoulder a large proportion of the burden of meeting minimum consumption levels essential for daily and generational reproduction, and continues to subsidize capital accumulation."

Mies and Shiva (2014) and Spear (2021) also argued that monopoly capitalism, imperialism, and neoliberalism benefit from the promotion of feudal patriarchy as it benefits from the undervalued, unpaid, flexible labor of women in performing both productive and reproductive work. The devaluation, invisibilization, marginalization of women, the exploitation of their labor, and violence against women are systematically perpetuated as

these are also mechanisms for profit extraction, control of labor, and pacification and regulation of dissent (Eviota, 1992, as cited in Gaddi, 2013; Khadse, 2017).

In the Philippines, peasant women are also at the forefront of efforts to promote safe, more sustainable farming practices, which they call *likas kayang pagsasaka*, or *organikong pagsasaka* (sustainable agriculture or organic farming). However, their active and sustained engagement in agroecology is challenged by the many issues they have to deal with as farmers and as women.

AMIHAN, the national federation of peasant women's organizations in the Philippines, and the Center for Women's Resources (CWR) explain that in the Philippines, peasant women experience oppression and exploitation as farmers, and added forms of exploitation and oppression as women (Tan, 2024). The historical and structural roots of women's oppression in the Philippines is referred to as the *feudal patriarchal* system (CWR, 2020; CWR, 1998; Sison, 1998, as cited in Tan, 2024). The feudal patriarchal culture resulted from the feudal culture of subservience perpetuated by the Roman Catholic church and landlord class during Spanish colonization, combined with the consumerist, individualist and bourgeois culture perpetuated by American colonization (Taguiwalo, 2015).

The strongest expression of the feudal culture is experienced in the rural areas, especially by peasant women (AMIHAN, 2024, as cited in Tan, 2024). Peasant women have been socialized into becoming subservient, dominated and controlled by their fathers or husbands (CWR, 1998). They have accepted that their place is in the home and that their primary role is being mothers and wives, and being the primary caregivers of their family. They accept their inferior or secondary status in the home and in the community, and hence their farming work or income generating activities are seen as only supplementary to the income of the husbands who are traditionally the main breadwinners (CWR, 1998; AMIHAN, 2024, as cited in Tan, 2024).

Furthermore, the control and ownership of women—manifested in the prevalence and normalization of violence and abuse of women in the home and community—persists within the feudal patriarchal system (CWR, 1998). Mies and Shiva (2014) and Spear (2021) argued that monopoly capitalism, imperialism, and neoliberalism have benefitted from patriarchy.

Given the continued pervasiveness of gender issues in the agriculture sector, Zaremba et al. (2021) argued the need to integrate a gender perspective into the principles and practice of agroecology. Using a gender lens, they studied the principles and dimensions of agroecology formulated by the High level Panel of Experts (HLPE) on Food security and Nutrition, adviser to the UN FAO. These dimensions are also reflected in the CIDSE framework on the four domains of agroecology. Zaremba et al. (2021) identified gender issues that may arise if gender is not deliberately and systematically integrated into the principles, goals, and practice of agroecology. These included the following:

- Adding to women's multiple burden if prevailing gender/sexual division of labor is not challenged, or if fair division of labor or collective work is not practiced when undertaking labor intensive tasks such as the collective use of natural, organic, and renewable resources, which are often part of women's domestic chores.
- Continued undervaluation and non-support for backyard gardening, care of farm animals, collection of water and firewood for the home, which are traditionally part of women's domestic chores perpetuates the exploitation of women's labor.
- Non-recognition, undervaluation, and limited support for women's income generating activities such as food processing, marketing of vegetables and other homemade foodstuff, even as these contribute much to the food security of their family and community.

- Non-recognition of women's knowledge, traditional or Indigenous resource management systems as legitimate knowledge systems.
- Peasant women's limited access and control over agricultural resources (such as land, technology) makes her agroecology practice more difficult.

Eviota, a Filipina feminist scholar explains why reproductive work, often part of women's undervalued work, is necessary for sustaining productive work:

Both productive and reproductive work are part of the process of survival and renewal. Productive work is done to fulfill people's basic needs for food, shelter and clothing while reproductive work produces and maintains the next generation of humanity. Reproductive work does not aim to simply populate but to develop people to become useful members of society. (Eviota, 1992, p. 174)

Eviota (1992, p. 174) asserted that "as long as family life takes up most of women's time, women cannot participate in the public sphere in the same way as men." To challenge the prevailing sexual/gender division of labor, it is imperative that women and men should be "equally responsible for both reproductive and productive work and that women and men have equal rights to productive work" (Eviota, 1992, p. 174). Ultimately, the state, as the primary duty bearer to its citizens' welfare and well-being, should be primarily responsible for care work and social reproduction (Tan, 2024).

Indian economist, Bina Agarwal (2012) stressed the pivotal role of peasant women in agroecology as they are farmers, consumers, and household food managers. Their access to food has an impact on the food security and health of their family, the health of farmers and local food producers, and on intergenerational health and nutrition. Agarwal (2012) asserts the importance of recognizing women as farmers and not simply as farm helpers, of improving women's direct access to land and tenure security, to production credit, agricultural inputs, technology, and information. Furthermore, Agarwal (2012) underscores

the importance of undertaking more agricultural research and development of crops that women cultivate based on a better understanding of women's farming systems, and of promoting institutional innovations that help in harnessing the collective strength and collective agency of women, such as the group approach to farm investment and cultivation.

From the foregoing discussion, it can be seen that farmer-led agroecology provides a more sustainable and people-centered food production model where farmers are decisive agents. But given the pervasive and deeply ingrained class and gender inequities in the agriculture sector, practitioners and advocates of agroecology must purposively and systematically integrate into the vision, principles, and practices of farmer-led agroecology strategies that address both class and gender-based oppression and exploitation. As peasant women bear these gender issues the most, it is critical that they become aware, empowered, and organized into decisive collective change agents, in their peasant women's organizations and/or in their farmers' organizations in challenging and transforming prevailing class and gender-based inequities in agriculture. The promotion of agroecology alone is not sufficient to achieve food sovereignty and social justice. Agroecology needs to be undertaken alongside collective efforts towards structural (economic, political, socio-cultural) transformation.

### **The Experiences of MASIPAG Peasant Women in Farmer-led Agroecology**

This PAR undertaken with the MASIPAG women are stories about their individual and collective efforts to become leaders of their organizations, peasant scientists, practitioners of diversified and organic farming, breeders of locally adapted rice varieties, frontliners of advocacy campaigns against large dams, open pit mining, the red-tagging, harassment of their organizations and militarization of their communities, and leaders of the peasant struggle for land. There are also heartwarming stories about how women have transformed themselves, their relationships with their spouses and children such that they have become active partners

in the movement for farmer-led agroecology. The succeeding section provides a glimpse of those stories and lessons derived from MASIPAG peasant women's engagements in farmer-led agroecology.<sup>1</sup>

### ***Empowering Women and Promoting Sustainable Food Production***

The peasant women of MASIPAG, through their individual and collective practice of agroecology, have experienced transformation and empowerment in the economic, political, and socio-cultural aspects of their lives. These include the following:

1. Gaining collective control over agricultural resources, food production and marketing processes:

Now we have our own seeds from our PO's trial farm. From the 50 traditional seeds given to us by MASIPAG, we have been able to select and mass produce 10 varieties which we distributed to our members. We do not need to buy seeds because now we can produce our own seeds. (MAKISAMA-Tinang, as cited in Tan, 2024).

With the help of MASIPAG trainings, we learned to create natural concoctions to manage the pests and improve the fertility of our farms. As we are now able to create our own fertilizers, pesticides and other farm inputs, and with seeds from MASIPAG, our farming expenses have decreased (North Cotabato PO, as cited in Tan, 2024).

---

<sup>1</sup> The complete stories of the MASIPAG peasant women's engagement in farmer-led agroecology are in Tan, M.C.J. (2024). Farmer-led agroecology, Land Struggles and Peasant Women Empowerment: Stories of the MASIPAG Peasant Women. [Unpublished dissertation for the Doctor of Social Development Program. College of Social Work and Community Development, University of the Philippines Diliman].



Figure 1. MASIPAG Peasant Women involved in rice breeding and local marketing (Source: Global Alliance for the Future of Food, 2021).

The Lem Bulul Farmers' Association (LFA) of Lake Sebu, an organization of T'Boli farmers, mostly women, is an organization that protects and collectively manages their local seed system. The entry and expansion of commercial farms in Lake Sebu and the aggressive promotion of genetically modified rice varieties in the area has affected the Indigenous culture farming systems of the T'Bolis. But the LFA are determined to protect their Indigenous seeds, crops, and farming systems and continue to resist planting hybrid and genetically modified (GM) rice varieties (Tan, 2024). They have maintained a one-hectare communal seedbank and trial farm through which they study the various Indigenous rice varieties they have and select which ones they will mass produce/propagate for their own individual farms (Tan, 2024).

As part of their effort to recover, preserve and promote their upland rice varieties and Indigenous crops, they conducted a seed expedition with MASIPAG in 2022.

Our PO's seed expedition, in partnership with MASIPAG, recovered 16 indigenous varieties of palay seeds, four corn varieties, and eight Indigenous

varieties of squash (*basuk*) in barangays around Lake Sebu. These are now being preserved and maintained in our communal trial farm (LFA in South Cotabato, as cited in Tan, 2024.)

Many peasant women of MASIPAG are also actively engaged in collective marketing. For instance, The Kababaihang Nagtataglay ng Bihirang Lakas (KNBL) (Women with Unique Strength) is a MASIPAG-affiliated federation of rural women organizations in Davao province who, through the help of METSA, a Davao-based NGO-member of MASIPAG, collectively market the organic vegetables they grow in their backyards.

In 2004, KNBL in partnership with METSA, started marketing the organic produce of peasant women in Davao City. Since then, peasant women have been able to sell their organic produce in Rizal Park in Davao city and in other local markets around the province. METSA and KNBL's experience in food processing and collective marketing actually paved the way for the collective local marketing and food processing program (LMPS) of MASIPAG (Tan, 2024).

KNBL and METSA, in partnership with Go Organic Davao City, helped strengthen the organic farming movement in Davao and the establishment of the Participatory Guarantee System (PGS) in the Philippines in 2014 (MASIPAG National Office, 2023). PGS is a certification mechanism for and by small farmers organizations and like-minded Civil Society Organizations (CSOs).

2. Strengthening collective work, collective leadership, and the principle of the commons: In their farmers' or women's organization, the peasant women learn to practice collective work, collective leadership, collective responsibility, and the principle of the commons—common stewardship of the land, seeds, and collective benefits from the fruits of their labor. They learn that collectivism is beneficial as it

helps distribute work and responsibility, promotes democratic and participatory decision-making, leadership and governance, and sharing of the fruits of their collective work (Tan, 2024). The *bayanihan spirit* has been revived and is thriving within the MASIPAG POs and partner communities.

Bayanihan is a system for labor exchange for farming activities and food processing. It has also become a support system for our organizational and community activities. “In bayanihan, we practice collective work, collective responsibility, collective decision-making and leadership” (MASIPAG Visayas regional women’s workshop, as cited in Tan, 2024).

Collective responsibility and leadership is further honed through the committee system promoted and practiced among the MASIPAG POs. Through the committee system, each member of the PO must become part of any of the POs’ working committees, such as committees on sustainable agriculture, health, organizational development, advocacy and networking, climate change resiliency, and for some POs, the women’s committee. Each committee prepares its own work plans, schedules, and targets in accordance with their PO’s objectives, goals and work plans agreed upon during their annual planning. In the past, the women of MASIPAG would only join the committees on health, food processing, or marketing. In recent years, they have become active members, even leaders of the other committees as well.

Collective work is also practiced in the bungkalan areas of many MASIPAG organizations especially in Negros, Bicol, and parts of Mindanao. In Kabankalan, Negros Occidental, the peasant women actively enforce the work point systems in their bungkalan. The *work points systems*, which is developed and agreed upon by each PO, is a system that promotes fair sharing of income among those who

participated in the bayanihan in their bungkalan areas. A portion of the income or harvest from the bungkalan is also allocated for the organization's operational fund and emergency fund which members can avail of when needed (Tan, 2024).

3. Developing their capacities as organizers, leaders, as farmer-trainers, as scientists: An increasing number of MASIPAG peasant women are becoming leaders in their organization's committees, in the provincial or regional management teams, and in the Board of Trustees of MASIPAG. Many have also become leaders of their barangays. One of the male farmer-leader from a MASIPAG PO in Bohol (as cited in Tan, 2024) shared:

At the height of the pandemic, it was our women members who would patiently visit all our PO members to sustain regular communication and coordination. Our women members are the ones diligently attending our PO meetings and training. They are also more patient, creative and meticulous when it comes to innovating natural inputs for our farms, also in planning programs and activities, and the overall management of the organization. They are more persistent, unlike the men who are easily discouraged by challenges. Our PO would be crippled if the women members are not around.

Likewise, one of the MAKISAMA-Tinang members said:

The women in our organization are usually the ones taking care of our trial farm. They are patient enough to monitor the growth of the rice stalks—regularly measuring how much it has grown, counting the grains, and recording all these in the logbook. The men are usually outside of the farm or community, finding alternative sources of income (MAKISAMA-Tinang, as cited in Tan, 2024).

The peasant women have also been active in developing Farmer-developed Appropriate Technology (FDAT) and in enriching what MASIPAG calls *peasant science*.

In their practice of sustainable agriculture, the peasant women realize that they are the scientists in their farms. In conventional farming, the farmers just purchase and apply the chemical fertilizers and pesticides onto their farms. In agroecology, they study and research about their crops. They innovate better ways of growing and taking care of their crops using natural resources they find in their backyard or farms. Their minds are actively involved in problem solving and in addressing the challenges in farming. They really feel that they are the ones in charge of their farms (MASIPAG Visayas NGO Partner in Bohol, as cited in Tan, 2024).

4. Building their capacity for alliance work, partnership-building and advocacy for people-centered development policies and programs: The peasant women have also become active in establishing and strengthening partnerships with various stakeholders of agroecology. For instance, the Kiday Community Farmers' Association (KCFA) in Quezon, composed mostly of peasant women, works closely with the Gender and Development (GAD) office and the Mayor's Office of General Nakar in implementing projects of rural women. In Real, the MASIPAG POs work with the Municipal Agriculture Office (MAO) to promote organic farming. In Kabankalan, the MASIPAG POs work with public schools to promote organic vegetable gardening.

We have had campaigns against selling junk food in schools, against the use of glyphosate and other pesticides in the farms and against the construction of large dams. We have partnership with public schools in our barangays to teach

our youth about organic gardening and other activities to protect the environment (MASIPAG Visayas Regional Women's Workshop, as cited in Tan, 2024).

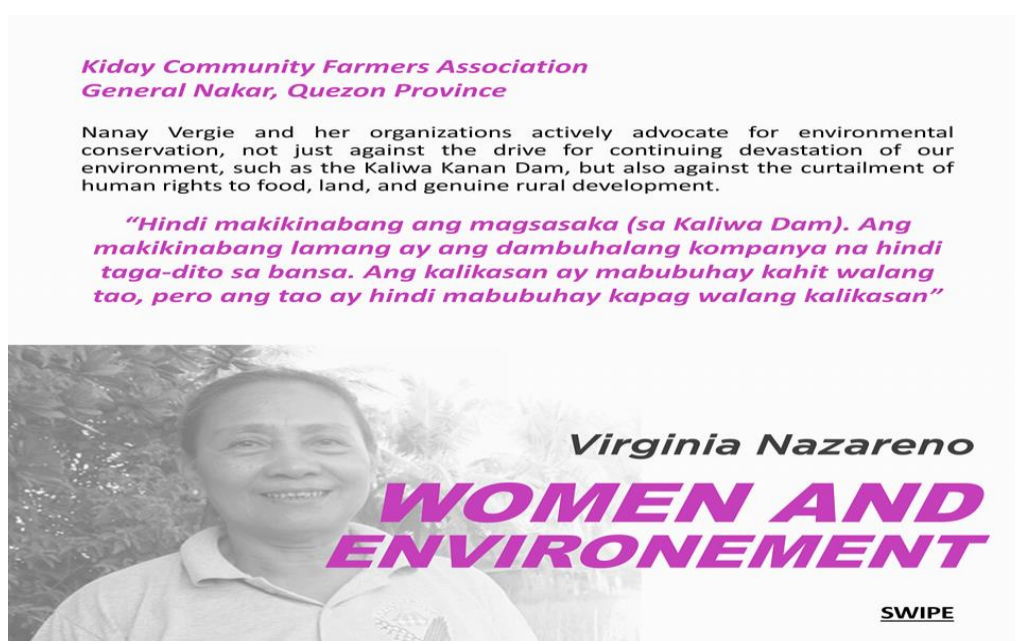
MASIPAG peasant women are also active in campaigns and lobbying work to institute local ordinances that will declare their municipality or province as fully organic or GMO free. For instance, MASIPAG POs in Kabankalan (2013), in Patnongon (2017), and in Leyte (2022) successfully lobbied for local ordinances that promote organic farming and the banning of GMOs. As METSA and KNBL (as cited in Tan, 2024) narrated :

In 2007, METSA, KNBL and other like-minded NGOs and civil organizations formed the Mamayang Ayaw sa Aerial Spray (MAAS) which lobbied for an ordinance banning the use of chemical aerial sprays in plantations Davao City. Within the same period, METSA, KNBL, along with a broad network of organic agriculture advocates, successfully lobbied for an organic agriculture ordinance in Davao which became the first of its kind in the Philippines. This inspired the crafting of the National Organic Agriculture law in 2010.

This ordinance banning aerial spraying was signed into law during Rodrigo Duterte's time as city mayor. Unfortunately, several banana plantation owners questioned the legality of this ordinance and filed a case against the city government.

The MASIPAG peasant women also played important roles in pushing for important policies at the national level. For instance, they were active in campaigns that brought about the passing of the Organic Agriculture Act of 2010 (RA 10068), and the Amendments to Organic Agriculture Act (RA 11511) in 2020 which highlighted the role of small scale farmers in promoting organic agriculture in the

Philippines and the PGS (Tan, 2024). In April 2024, the Philippine Court of Appeals issued an order to cease the commercial propagation and conduct of activities related to BT Eggplant and Golden Rice until concerned respondent government agencies can submit proof of safety of both. This is in response to the years of lobbying and campaigning of farmers' organizations, environmental activists, scientists and civil society organizations, including MASIPAG. One of the petitioners in this case is Nanay Virgie Nazareno, Chairperson of the MASIPAG Board of Trustees and founder and active member of the KCFA in Quezon (MASIPAG National Office, 2024).



*Figure 2.* MASIPAG Peasant Women leaders as frontliners in advocacy campaigns. (Source: Global Alliance for the Future of Food, 2021).

5. Becoming active leaders in the peasant's struggle for their rights and for their land: An increasing number of MASIPAG member POs are experiencing red-tagging, harassment and political persecution as they continue to assert their rights as farmers, and challenge government policies that destroy the environment and livelihood of farmers. In recent years, the peasant women have become more active in ensuring the

safety of their families, organizations, and communities, as shared by a MASIPAG Visayas Partner in Bohol:

The women would usually take on the responsibility of protecting the security of their families and communities, especially communities that are red-tagged by the military. They would plan alarm systems, community monitoring and safeguarding systems. In one case, the women successfully campaigned against the unnecessary presence of a military detachment in their community.

According to the women from Negros during the regional women's workshop:

When there are confrontations with the police or military during protest actions, or when we engage in bungkalan, the women are better than the men in dealing with the military. This is because the men get angry easily and confrontations with the police or military may lead to fistfights.

For almost three decades, the farmers of MAKISAMA-Tinang in Tarlac have been struggling to claim their right as Agrarian Reform Beneficiaries (ARB) of a 200-hectare sugarland tilled by their ancestors for many decades. Finally, on May 2024, they were officially granted their right to the land, and will be installed into the 68 hectares out of the 200 hectares. They have resolved to continue to till their lands collectively, to practice agroecology, and to fight for the 132 hectares they have not yet been able to claim.

One of the women leaders of MAKISAMA-Tinang said:

The women are also the ones persistent in our land struggle even if the names of the ARBs in the CLOAs are our fathers. In our farm hut, only 10% are men, because most of them are working outside the farm as construction workers and the like. Majority of those in the farm hut are women, even the older women keep watch with us at our farm hut. And so the majority of those who

got arrested and incarcerated and had cases filed against them were the women of MAKISAMA-Tinang. And even up to now, when the military or police come to question our activities, the women from the composite/negotiation team have to dialogue with the police or military. We also think that it is best that the women do the negotiations with the police or military as we are calmer, have better control of our emotions, than the men.

In the bungkalan area near their *kubol* (hut), the women plant vegetables and other crops to produce food for the mainstays of the kubol. Sometimes, they sell these vegetables or engage in food processing to supplement their organization's funds. The ongoing struggle for land, and continuing efforts to practice agroecology are how the farmers of MAKISAMA-Tinang collectively assert their rights.

6. Becoming empowered as individuals, as women: The peasant women are discovering and harnessing their collective power, as well as their power as individuals, as women. During the MasMin regional women's workshop, they have shared:

We have become empowered as members and leaders of our PO. We gained self-confidence, learned to speak in front of an audience, and learned to assert. As leaders, we learned to listen effectively to our members, learned to be more patient and understanding, to be more conscientious about fulfilling their responsibilities, and becoming a model to our members. We learned how to better manage their POs.

According to the women leaders of Makisama-Tinang:

I learned to fight for our rights. And I realized that I can be strong and courageous when I know that I am fighting for what is right. Before, I used to be shy. Now I can speak up and be assertive. My sense of responsibility for

myself and for others was strengthened. Every day, when I wake up, I have a sense of purpose. I wake up early knowing that there is work to be done in our farm, in our kubol. I always tell our members that my strength and courage comes from you. We are strong individually because we are strong collectively.

### ***Benefits of Agroecology on Families, Organizations and Communities of Peasant Women***

Diversified farming systems, which is a key principle and practice in agroecology has been beneficial to the families of the peasant women in terms of the following:

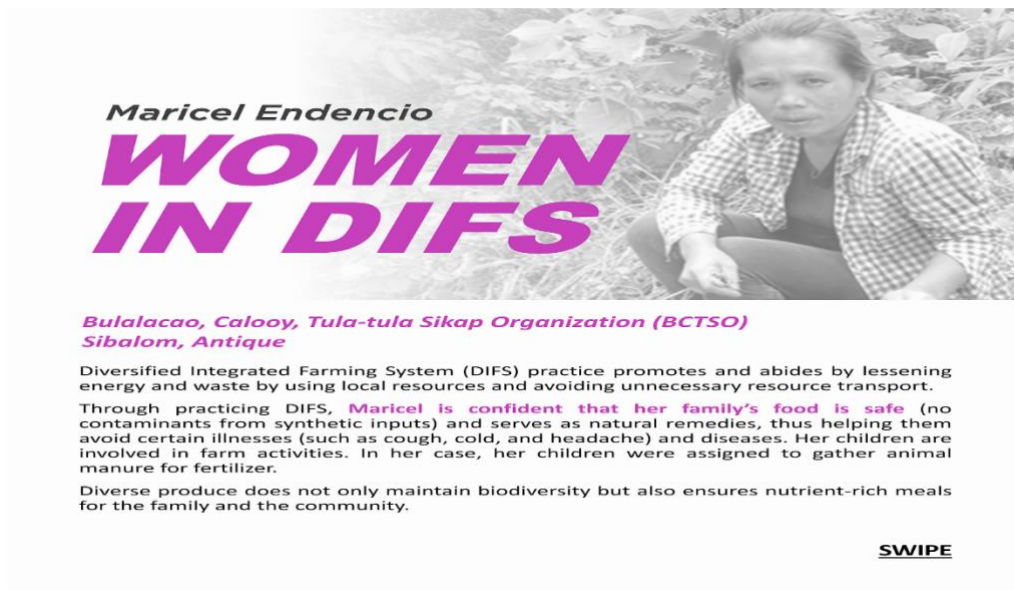
1. Attaining some level of food security, good health and nutrition of their families. For them food security means the following: “[We] No longer [have] to buy rice or vegetables for our daily consumption as we have enough supply of rice from our harvest, and vegetables and fruits from our backyard garden” (Masipag Visayas Regional Workshop, as cited in Tan, 2024).

When we used to practice conventional farming, the rice from our harvest would be consumed after only a few months. Now in organic farming, we have enough supply of rice from one harvest season until the next one. We are also assured that what we eat is safe and our family is healthier (Bohol PCB, as cited in Tan, 2024).

“Food is now more accessible because we can get them from our backyard garden. Because we have diverse crops now (not just rice), when disaster strikes, we still have some crops for food and some income” (MASIPAG LUZON Regional Women’s workshop, as cited in Tan, 2024).

2. Developing diversified sources of income for the family and less farming expenses: They are able to develop diverse sources of income from selling their surplus organic vegetables and fruits (bananas and the like), processed foods (e.g. *kalabasa*, noodles,

fruit jams, turmeric powder, organic coffee, candied pili nuts, cassava chips, to name a few), which they market collectively (Tan, 2024). Furthermore, they are also able to reduce their farming expenses as they can breed and preserve their own seeds and community seed systems, they can create their fertilizers, natural pesticides and other agricultural inputs. Labor costs have been reduced because of their bayanihan or labor exchange systems.



*Figure 3. MASIPAG Peasant Women practicing and promoting Diversified and Integrated Farming Systems (DIFS) (Source: Global Alliance for the Future of Food, 2021).*

1. Practicing collective responsibility, decision making and leadership in their homes:

The MASIPAG Peasant women noticed that when both the wife and husband are active members of their POs and are actively engaged in agroecology, they also learn to practice collective planning, collective work, collective decision-making and shared responsibility in the farm and in the home. Some of the women during the PCB FGD in Bohol stated:

Before, my husband and I used to fight a lot about our increasing debt due to rising prices of chemical fertilizers and pesticides. My husband never consulted me before about the farm—he decided what to do and we had to

follow. Now that we are both involved in our organic farming, we actively discuss how we can improve our farming practices. Before, he would get mad when I would go out of the house and be active in the community. Now, we are both active in our organization because this is where we learn about agroecology. He even reminds me to attend our meetings and trainings.

Now that I am more active in our farm and in our organization, my husband and my children have also learned to take on household chores so that I can attend trainings and other activities of our organization. Now, when I come home from our trainings, my husband has already prepared our meals, fed our farm animals, filled up our water containers, and fetched our children from school, things that I was relied upon to do on my own every day. My children are also now involved in our organic farming. We sometimes bring them to trainings and seminars on agroecology. And so our agroecological practices created opportunities for us to bond with our children and to teach them about hard work and teamwork.

### ***Persistent Class and Gender Issues***

Landlessness, corporate control of agriculture, the import-dependent and export oriented agriculture has impacted the livelihoods of small-scale farmers. These issues arising from neoliberalism in agriculture are the main hindering factors to the active participation of peasant women in agroecology, and the full promotion and scaling up of farmer-led agroecology. But as women, they also experience the following gender-based oppression and exploitation as a result of the intensification of neoliberalism in agriculture:

1. Intensifying multiple burdens: Women are now taking more roles in agricultural production, in their organizations, and in their communities. Yet, they are still in

charge of taking care of the home, the children, the elderly and the sick (Tan, 2024).

Members of the METSA and KNBL shared:

Women are now equally engaged in farming like the men, in income generating activities and livelihood projects to add to their family income, in farmers' organizations. And yet, they are still mainly in charge of reproductive work—taking care of the children and/or grandchildren, managing the home, caring for sick family members, aging parents and parents-in-law. This has intensified the multiple burdens experienced by women. When the family is in debt, the women are expected to loan money or line up for government subsidies.

Climate change has an added impact on peasant women because of their socially determined roles and gender division of labor. When food and water sources are destroyed or contaminated, the family's food security and health are at risk. This impacts women more, as traditionally they are the homemakers, backyard vegetable gardeners, caretakers of their chickens, pigs and other farm animals, water managers, subsistence farmers and stewards of the environment. When extreme drought causes wells and rivers to dry up, women have to walk longer distances to fetch water for her family, farm animals and vegetable gardens.

2. Patriarchal norms and beliefs limit women to the traditional roles of being housewives and mothers: Some of the MASIPAG peasant women said that for some of their members, their *bana* (husband) is the hindering factor in their active participation in their organization and community. When the husbands are not active members of their farmer's organization and/or are not agroecology practitioners, the husbands prevent the women from going out or from joining farmers' or women's organizations.

We have learned to adjust and manage our time. There is so much additional work to do when practicing sustainable agriculture, but we have no choice but to do it. Otherwise, our families will go hungry. And so we just learn to adjust and manage our time. But it really helps when you are a member of an organization because of the bayanihan practices, and because the members support each other (MASIPAG Visayas Validation Session, as cited in Tan, 2024).

Women from the Mindanao Validation Sessions shared, “We have to include the men in our families and organizations in seminars on women so that they will understand the issues and conditions we face as women.”

As the men are still seen as the breadwinner of the family, when the women try to earn some income as hired farm workers or agricultural workers in plantations, they get paid less than the men. There are some farm owners who do not hire women because they are seen to be not as strong or fast as the men.

3. Added impact of political persecution on peasant women: Some of the MASIPAG organizations, especially those that are actively engaged in land struggles or protest movements against development aggression, are red-tagged or experience political persecution by the military or police. More and more, peasant women are relied upon to deal with these issues as oftentimes, they are left behind in their communities as the men have to migrate to other areas in search of other sources of income. Peasant women suffer from gender-based harassment and violence from the military or police.

## **Conclusion: Linking Farmer-led Agroecology to the Over-all People's Struggle for Social Transformation**

This study is an urgent call to ensure that people's right to food and food sovereignty, that women's empowerment and gender equality remain a priority agenda for social development and key to the vision of social transformation. While national laws and international covenants, such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), articulate these as priority development goals, in reality, these themes are marginalized and remain secondary to the goals of economic development, power and wealth accumulation for a few.

This study showed how farmer-led agroecology, founded on strong organizations of farmers, rural women, on the promotion of indigenous knowledge and practices, on genuine agrarian reform, on the promotion of the principle of the commons—collective stewardship of land and natural resources, collective leadership and governance, fair sharing of benefits of the fruits of production—can help achieve food sovereignty and social justice. The experience of the MASIPAG peasant women showed how affirmative action that leads to capacity building and leadership development of peasant women can empower women such that they are decisive partners in sustainable, people-centered, and people-led development. At the same time, their experiences have also shown how continued discrimination against women, devaluation of women's work and worth, privatized social reproduction leading to multiple burdens, are key gender issues they continue to deal with on a daily basis within the home, organizations, and community.

Towards this end, farmer-led agroecology as a movement working towards sovereignty and social justice must also work towards the creation of policies, programs and strategies that deliberately, consciously, and systematically promote peasant women empowerment to achieve the following:

- Assertion of peasant women's access and control of land and other agricultural resources.
- Fair valuation of women's indigenous knowledge and contribution to farmer-developed appropriate technology and peasant science, drawing from her multiple roles as subsistence farmers, from herbal medicines, water managers, and stewards of the environment.
- Fair valuation of women's care work or reproductive work as an important aspect of sustaining productive work. Immediate responses include the need to promote shared responsibility of care work within the home and the community to help eliminate the heavy burden of social reproduction on women. But a more strategic and long-term response would be asserting state responsibility for social reproduction. The nurturance of a country's labor force and the succeeding generations must be a priority component of social development.
- Challenging and transforming prevailing gender division of labor into fair division of labor and shared responsibility, and leadership in the home, organization and community.
- Capacity building and leadership development among peasant women.

Key to integrating gender in agroecology is institutionalizing participatory and collective processes, and spaces within rural organizations wherein women (and men) are able to share and analyze their experiences and lessons from their engagement in agroecology. Being able to systematize these analyses and lessons becomes a strategy to expose, deconstruct, and address the prevailing inequities so that more transformative social relations and social orders can come to light (Lopes & Jomalinis, 2011). Class and gender analysis must be integrated into the organizational processes of social investigation and issue analyses, program planning,

monitoring, evaluation, in strategies for education, capacity building and organizational development.

The experiences of the MASIPAG peasant women also shed light on the critical link between promoting agroecology, the struggle for land and people's sovereignty, and the struggle to assert farmer's rights. This is true in the Philippines and many developing countries where the fundamental cause of underdevelopment of the agriculture sector, the poverty among farmers, and intensifying food insecurity is land monopoly and corporate control of the agriculture sector. Therefore, the struggle to promote farmer-led agroecology must be linked to the struggle for genuine agrarian reform and nationalist industrialization. Sovereignty and social justice, especially among the farmers and local food producers, can only be achieved through a Genuine Agrarian Reform that will ensure the free distribution of land to all farmers, eliminate land monopoly and corporate control over agricultural lands and resources, invest in agricultural infrastructure and provide subsidies and other forms of support to farmers (Anakpawis Party List, n.d.). Nationalist industrialization will ensure majority Filipino ownership and control of vital and strategic industrial sectors and enterprises that will provide adequate, affordable and quality services and products to the Filipino people (IBON Foundation, 2016).

The link between the struggle for land and promoting agroecology is clear for the peasant women of MASIPAG. They know that agroecology cannot be sustained without the farmers' collective assertion of their rights as farmers, rights as women, their right to development, including their right to land. As the peasant women of MAKISAMA-Tinang said, "How can we implement agroecology without our own land? And what is the use of our farmlands if we cannot implement agroecology to produce safe, healthy, nutritious food for all."

The prevalent and deeply ingrained social structures of neoliberalism and patriarchy continue to challenge our collective struggle to achieve food sovereignty and social justice.

Hence, social development scholars, practitioners and activists must critically study, draw inspiration and write about the lessons from how peasant women and farmers, in their daily engagements in agroecology, in organizing and movement building, are challenging and transforming power relations and creating safer, healthier, sustainable modes of agriculture and food production, asserting our sovereignty over our development processes. As stakeholders of social development, it is necessary that we are also truly in solidarity with the struggles of the peasant women for food sovereignty and social justice.

## References

- Agarwal, B. (2014). Food sovereignty, food security and democratic choice: critical contradictions, difficult conciliations. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 2014. Vol 41, No. 6 1247-1268. Routledge (Taylor and Francis Group).
- Altieri, M. A. (2015). *Agroecology: key concepts, principles and practices*. Penang, Malaysia. SOCLA. Berkeley, Calif, USA: Third World Network.
- Asian Rural Women's Coalition and People's Coalition for Food Sovereignty. (2021). *International Rural Women's Day 2021: Defend Peasant Women Who Feed the World*. <https://foodsov.org/intl-rural-womens-day-2021-defend-peasant-women-who-feed-the-world/>.
- Bonzo, L. (2023). Tboli group works to restore indigenous crops, methods in Soccskarsarge. *Rappler*. <https://www.rappler.com/nation/mindanao/tboli-indigenous-crops-methods-soccskarsarge-august-2023/>). Accessed on February 3, 2024.
- Center for Women's Resources. (1998). *Basic Women's Orientation (BWO)*.
- Center for Women's Resources. (2020). *Filipino Women in Agriculture: The Hands that Feed*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Center for Women's Resources. (2023). *Ulat Lila 2023*.
- Coopération Internationale pour le Developpement et la Solidarite (CIDSE). (2018). *The principles of agroecology: Towards just, resilient and sustainable food systems*. Brussels, Belgium: CIDS.

Davies, V. (2023). Women produce up to eighty percent of food in developing countries.

*Slow Food*. <https://fooddigital.com/articles/women-produce-up-to-80-of-food-in-Developing-countries>.

Deere, C. D. (1976). Rural Women's Subsistence Production in Capitalist Periphery.

*Review of Radical Political Economy*. 8(1), 9-17.

Eviota, E. U. (1992). *The Political Economy of Gender: Women and Sexual Division of*

*Labor In the Philippines*. Zed Books.

Gaddi, R. S. (2013). Gendered Work Relations Systems in Agriculture: Implications to

Women's Participation, Good Governance and Sustainable Development. *Philippine Journal of Social Development*, Vol 5. 2013. Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines: College of Social Work and Community Development.

Global Alliance for the Future of Food. (2021). *True Value: Revealing the Positive Impact of Food Systems Transformation*. Global Alliance for the Future of Food.

<https://futureoffood.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/GA-True-Value-Revealing-Positive-Impacts.pdf>.

Global People's Summit on Food Systems. (2021). *The Rural Women's Unity Statement of the 2021*. Global People's Summit on Food Systems.

Guerrero, A. (1979). *Philippine Society and Revolution* (14th Edition). International Association of Filipinos.

IBON Foundation. (2016, May 12). *Promote National Industrialization for National Development*. <https://www.ibong.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/IBON-NI-for-people's-summit-Jun16-v.2.pdf>.

Katz, C. (2001). Vagabond capitalism and the necessity of social reproduction. *Antipode* 33 (4), 707-28.DOL/10.1111/1467-8330.00207.

Khadse, A. (2017). *Women, Agroecology & Gender Equality*. Focus on the Global South, India.

Lopes, A. P. & Jomalinis, E. (2011). *Agroecology: Exploring opportunities for women's empowerment based on experiences from Brazil*. The Association for Women's Rights and Development (AWID). <http://www.observatoriodegenero.gov.br/menu/noticias/2fpttec-agroecology-eng1.pdf>.

Luxemburg, R. (1951). *The Accumulation of Capital*. London: Routledge.

MASIPAG. (n.d.). *Peasant Science: Science by and for the people* [PowerPoint slides].

MASIPAG National Office. (2023). *Women Farmers at the frontline of boosting local economies in Davao*. <https://masipag.org/2023/10/women-farmers-at-the-frontline-of-boosting-local-economies-in-davao/>.

MASIPAG National Office. (2024). *Farmers and People Victorious in cast against Golden Rice and BT Corn*.

[https://www.facebook.com/story.php?story\\_fbid=819724140189618&id=100064561191369&rdid=O0lRviTWowzJeDoT](https://www.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=819724140189618&id=100064561191369&rdid=O0lRviTWowzJeDoT)

Mies, M. & Shiva, V. (2014). *Ecofeminism*. Zed Books, New York.

Mpofu, E. (2018). Keeping the struggles of peasant women alive. *Fair Climate, Fair Food* Issue 17. Voices of Fair Trade. Fair World Project.

<https://fairworldproject.org/keeping-the-struggles-of-peasant-women-alive/>.

- Ossome, L. & Naidu, S. (2021). The Agrarian Question of Gendered Labour. In Jha, P., Chambati, W., & Ossome, L. (Eds.), *Labour Questions in the Global South*. Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-33-4635-2\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-33-4635-2_4).
- People's Coalition for Food Sovereignty. (n.d.). People's Food Sovereignty. <https://pcfs.global/peoples-food-sovereignty/>.
- Prasad, A. (2021). Women's Liberation and the Agrarian Question: Insights from Peasant Movements in India. *Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy* 10(1).
- Prasad, A. & Yeros, P. (2024). Patriarchy and the contradictions of late neocolonialism. In D. Tsikata, A. Prasad & Yeros, P. (Eds.), *Gender in Agrarian Transitions*. New Delhi: Tulika Books.
- Sison, J. M. (1998). Mensahe sa MAKIBAKA Hinggil sa Kilusan sa Pagpapalaya ng Kababaihan in *Makibaka Para sa Pambansang Demokrasya* (Ikatlong Edisyon).
- Spear, J. (2021). Women and Nature: Towards an Eco Socialist Feminism. *Rupture: Eco-socialist Quarterly*. <https://rupture.ie/articles/women-and-nature>.
- Taguiwalo, J. (Ed.). (2015). The Philippine Women's Movement: Current gains, challenges, and next steps. *Women's Movement Building in the Philippines: A Journey of meeting challenges, drawing lessons, and strengthening resolve to advance women's emancipation and empowerment*. JASS Network Philippines.
- Tan, M. C. J. (2021). Seeds of hope in the midst of the covid-19 pandemic. Collective responses and social solidarity building of the MASIPAG small farmers organization. Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines. *Philippine Journal of Social Development*, 2021 Vol 14. College of Social Work and Community Development. University of the Philippines Diliman.

Tan, M. C. J. (2024). Farmer-led agroecology, Land Struggles and and Peasant Women Empowerment: Stories of the MASIPAG Peasant Women. [Unpublished dissertation for the Doctor of Social Development Program. College of Social Work and Community Development, University of the Philippines Diliman].

Tariman-Acosta, K. T. (2017). Bungkalan: Mga Aral mula sa Hacienda Luisita at Negros. *Bulatlat*. <https://www.bulatlat.com/2017/11/12/bungkalan-mga-aral-mula-sa-hacienda-luisita-negros/>.

Towards a Non-Toxic Southeast Asia. (2016). *Stories from the Field. Working Towards a Non-toxic Environment*. SIDA. FAO, PAN AP. TFA. Penang, Jutaprint.

Unyon ng mga Manggagawa sa Agrikultura. (2017). *Bungkalan: Ang karanasan ng mga manggagawang bukid ng hacienda Luisita sa organikong pagsasaka at pakikibaka para sa tunay na reporma sa lupa. Manwal sa organikong pagsasaka*. Quezon City: Sentro ng Wikang Filipino, Unibersidad ng Pilipinas.

Zaremba, H., Elias, M., Reitveld, A., & Bergamini, N. (2021). Towards a Feminist Agroecology. *Sustainability* 13, 11244.  
<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Toward-a-Feminist-Agroecology-Zaremba-Elias/560e3d5050bebdb75c9d5f4595ce8d8ae46e6f7>.