

# SILLIMAN JOURNAL



*Evelyn Fuentes-Masculiana on*  
The Speech Act of Apology and its  
Associated Socio-Cultural Factors

*Peter A. Sy on*  
Doing Bioethics in the Philippines:  
Challenges and Intersections  
of Cultures and Medicines

*Enrique G. Oracion on the*  
Exchange Transactions of Apo Island  
with the Mainland from the Perspective of Wives  
Involved in Fish Trading

*Earl Jude Paul L. Cleope on*  
Negros Oriental in the Context  
of the Philippine Revolution

*Douglas J. Elwood on* Servant Leadership

*Wayne A. Brown on*  
A New Species of Chigger in the Genus *CHIROPTELLA*  
(ACARI: TROMBICULIDAE) from a Bat Host in the  
Philippines Collection of the B. P. Bishop Museum

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## NOTICE TO AUTHORS

The SILLIMAN JOURNAL welcomes contributions in all fields from both Philippine and foreign scholars, but papers should preferably have some relevance to the Philippines, Asia, or the Pacific. All submissions are refereed.

Articles should be products of research, taken in its broadest sense; a scientific paper should make an original contribution to its field. Authors are advised to keep in mind that SILLIMAN JOURNAL has a general and international readership, and to structure their papers accordingly.

SILLIMAN JOURNAL also welcomes the submission of "Notes," which generally are briefer and more tentative than full-length articles. Reports on work in progress, queries, updates, reports of impressions rather than of research, responses to the works of others, even reminiscences are appropriate here. Book reviews and review articles will also be considered for publication.

Manuscripts should conform to the conventions of format and style exemplified in this issue. Whenever possible, citations should appear in the body of the paper, holding footnotes to a minimum. Pictures or illustrations will be accepted only when absolutely necessary. Scientific papers should be accompanied by an abstract. All authors must submit their manuscripts in duplicate, typewritten double-spaced on good quality paper. If possible, a diskette copy of the paper formatted in MSWord 6.0 should accompany the submitted hard copy.

The Editorial Board will endeavor to acknowledge all submissions, consider them promptly, and notify authors of its decision as soon as possible. Each author of a full-length article is entitled to 25 offprint copies of his/her submitted paper. Additional copies are available by arrangement with the Editor before the issue goes to press.

## EDITOR'S NOTES

IN THIS ISSUE, *Silliman Journal* highlights diversity, multiplicity, and intersections as a thematic backdrop against which varied perspectives on issues that are germane to our lives may be more fruitfully examined or challenged. Chosen for their thematically rich diversity of viewpoints and depth of perceptions, articles in this issue interrogate or validate equally diverse issues of culture as a way of rethinking familiar questions and provoke important responses.

Written by authors representing a range of academic disciplines—anthropology, sociology, language, philosophy, women's studies, economics, history, health, theology, music, and natural science—these articles convey how the experience of living in a particular culture shapes ideas and creates a context for human lives.

The lead article by Evelyn F. Mascuñana explores the interconnections between language and social life in the context of a given culture, specifically the way speech situations, in this case, the speech-act of apology, can reveal social roles, status, and the social structure of a community. In this fascinating study, the author begins her analysis of speech behavior and its linguistic forms by clarifying the distinction between speech situation, speech event, and speech act and uses a cross-cultural approach as an analytical tool in order to reveal the underlying sociocultural rules of speech behavior as well as the prevailing social norms that define smooth interaction within a society.

The next article by Peter Sy confronts the issue of bioethics in the Philippines in a provocative discussion of challenges that result when cultural traditions and medical views and practices intersect. In particular, the author examines the differences in medical and philosophical categories underlying the practices of biomedicine and Filipino traditional medicine, juxtaposing the nature of each, including the biases latent in each practice, in order to provide understanding as well as "invite a serious rethinking and reevaluation of the categories used in doing bioethics" within the cultural climate of the Philippines.

An outgrowth of a research project conducted in Apo Island, Dauin, Negros Oriental, the third paper by Enrique G. Oration provides an instance of the intersection of gender and eco-

nomics as it focuses on the often underrated contribution of women in the fishing industry. In examining the involvement of Apo Island wives in the exchange transactions between the island and the mainland, the author highlights the active participation of wives in the social and economic activities of their respective families despite the demands of their biological and traditional roles. As this study has shown, women are not merely invisible resources but are significant contributors to the rural economy.

Another product of research, this time of a doctoral dissertation in progress, the fourth paper by Earl Jude Paul Cleope examines the historical developments that marked the Revolution in Negros Oriental in 1898. Using Michel Foucault's concept that historical events are shaped by "the acquisition of and negotiations for power," the author contends that in negotiating with the Occidental leaders and the Americans in order to acquire power for their own interests, Negros Oriental leaders abandoned the ideals of the Philippine Revolution. Yet, the author believes, such negotiations created opportunities for power sharing which in turn gave birth to new forces and alliances.

The fifth paper by Douglas J. Elwood addresses the paradoxical concept of "servant-leadership" whose basic principles are the priority of service to others and the sharing of power in decision-making. In this thought-provoking article, the author begins by clarifying a major distinction between servanthood as a freely chosen life style and servitude which is a condition of forced labor. The author's assertion that the greatest leader is first of all a servant whose first desire is to serve rather than to lead provides a timely critique of the way the present-day understanding and practice of leadership has been perverted and reversed.

The final paper by Wayne A. Brown reconnects us to our link with our natural environment with his introduction of "A New Species of Chigger in the Genus *CHIROPTELLA* (ACARI: TROMBICULIDAE)" taken from a bat host in the Philippines. This paper continues Dr. Brown's research work on the chiggers earlier published in *Silliman Journal* 38: 3&4, 1997.

In this issue, too, are three shorter articles included in "Notes." The first one by Rolando V. Mascuñana is an anthropological account of the Carolanons of Negros Island. A preliminary study, this article attempts to authenticate the identity of Carolanons as indigenous people

The next article by Susan Vista-Zamar critiques the quality of music education in the Philippines. Based on the author's field work experience in a number of schools in the Visayas and Mindanao, the article decries the dearth of music in schools in the country and points to the lack of institutional support by the country's educational system, among others, as the main cause of the dismal situation of music education in the Philippines.

The last article on "Perspectives on Public Health" by Jeffrey L. Lennon is an overview of Silliman University's Master of Public Health Program which began in November 1996. The article provides an informative profile of the program including its present set-up and future directions.

CEP



*Acknowledgements:* A journal like this needs to be a collaborative effort among the authors, the reviewers and readers, the editors, the members of the Editorial Board, colleagues and friends—their expertise and vision inform and breathe life to the articles in this issue. To all of them we owe an immense debt of gratitude.

On the production end of things, Dr. Christian K. Schales has once again generously donated the use of his equipment for the processing of illustrations which appear in this issue. We are grateful for that contribution.

CEP  
NSdV

## AN EXPLORATORY ANALYSIS OF THE SPEECH ACT OF APOLOGY AND ITS ASSOCIATED SOCIOCULTURAL FACTORS

Evelyn Fuentes-Mascuñana

LANGUAGE is part of social life; in fact, they are interdependent. Through language, culture becomes part of individual and group experience. Through daily social interaction, linguistic aspects of social structure, cultural values and beliefs in turn become internalized. One important means of studying the social roles, status, structure of a community, therefore, would be to study its speech behavior (Hymes 1964: 215).

To efficiently describe speech behavior and its linguistic forms one needs to have a restricted focus. Hymes's (1972) proposed distinction of *speech situation*, *speech event*, and *speech act* is a useful framework for such a purpose. His framework provides a hierarchy with the speech situation at the top and speech act at the bottom. (See also Olshtain and Cohen 1983: 19).

The *speech situation* has the broadest scope and Hymes posits that one finds many speech situations within a speech community such as meals, parties, conferences, and auctions which in themselves are not governed by consistent rules. The *speech event* takes place within the speech situation and, unlike it, is restricted to activities that are directly governed by rules of speech—e.g., lectures, introductions, advertising, and two or more party conversations. The *speech act* has the narrowest scope and is the minimal term on the scale. It refers to the acts we perform when we speak. As such, it is defined in terms of discourse *function*.

Speech acts can still be further restricted. The Speech Act Theory of John Searle is valuable in delimiting the study of speech behavior suggested at the beginning of the paper. It is also useful in coming up with a narrower and more efficient theoretical framework within which to describe and analyze it. A brief background of the theory can give us a picture of the topic under discussion.

Austin (1962, 1971) asserts that an utterance is also the *doing* of some action, that speech is *accomplishing* something with words. In uttering "The courtroom is quiet," one *describes*, but in saying "I promise to come," one is *doing* the act of promising. Such utterances are called *performative utterances* and their verbs *performatives* (See also Malmkjær 1991: 416).

John Searle, one of Austin's students, extended Austin's ideas in his work *Speech Acts* in 1969. His fundamental assumption is that all utterances constitute acts, not just those containing performative verbs. According to his Speech Act theory, every time we direct language at some audience we perform three simultaneous acts. The *locutionary act* is the act of *simply uttering* a sentence from a language. It is a description of what the speaker says and is composed of a *referring* expression (e.g., a noun phrase) and a *predicating* expression (e.g., a verb phrase or adjective). "The vacation is over" has the referring expression *the vacation* and the predicating expression *is over*.

The *illocutionary act* is what the speaker *intends to do* by an utterance. They include requesting, apologizing, promising, predicting, ordering, threatening, and stating. "Submit your work at the end of the week" spoken by a teacher to her student is an act of ordering. The intent associated with an illocutionary act is called the *illocutionary force*.

The *perlocutionary act* is the *effect* on the hearer of what a speaker says. They include inspiring, irritating, persuading, embarrassing, intimidating, or boring the hearer. The *illocutionary act* of "You'd better study for the exam" might be one of *urging* but when spoken by a teacher to a student in front of the entire class, the *perlocutionary act* is one of *threatening* or *embarrassing* (Searle 1971; Parker 1986).

### Significance of the Study of Speech Acts

The speech act theory has stimulated research focussing on speech events and speech acts. Results of this research have contributed to the growing body of knowledge of the interplay of situational, sociolinguistic, and linguistic factors. The study of speech act has provided us with new and fresh insights into the interdependence of *linguistic forms* and *sociocultural contexts*. As mentioned earlier, what one says reflects sociocultural values. Speech acts are thus highly informative. An analysis of the forms people use spontaneously with different interlocutors as well as the rights, obligations, privileges of speakers vis-a-vis one another can yield information about speakers' roles and expectations, how relationships are formed and reaffirmed. Thus, their social behavior, the social

structure of their society, and the dynamics of social interaction which prevail within it are revealed (Wolfson 1989: 128-129).

### Focus of the Study

Speech acts can occur in various speech events. Moreover, there are innumerable instances of speech acts since speakers can do a great number of things with their utterances. Because of this, the study of speech acts can be formidable unless one clearly defines his focus. Using Searle's (1976) criterion of *purpose* of speech act, or *illocutionary point*, the investigator can decide which from among the following five classifications of illocutionary acts he wishes to concentrate on. (See also Bautista 1979.)

1. **Representatives:** The speaker conveys his belief in the truth of the expressed proposition in uttering a representative. *Assert, suggest, hypothesize, swear, hint* are thus all representatives.
2. **Directives:** The speaker attempts to get the hearer to do something in uttering a directive. *Order, command, beg, plead, pray, invite, permit, advise* are thus all directives.
3. **Commissives:** The speaker commits himself to some future course of action in uttering a commissive. *Promise, vow, pledge, guarantee* are thus all commissives.
4. **Expressives:** The speaker expresses his psychological state about something—his good or bad feeling about some event—in uttering an expressive. *Thank, congratulate, apologize, condole, deplore, welcome* are thus all expressives.
5. **Declarations:** The speaker brings about a correspondence between the propositional content of his utterance and reality in uttering a declaration. Thus, if he successfully performs the act of declaring a couple as man and wife, then they are married.

To an investigator wanting to restrict his focus some more, the speech act of *apology* classified as an *expressive* above can be an interesting *unit of analysis* since apology involves sociolinguistic and cultural norms, their infringement and remedy—sociolinguistic interchanges that can reveal sociocultural structure. As such, the study of the linguistic formulas of apology can help reveal insights

into the interdependence between language and culture posited at the beginning of this paper.

Apologies are *postevents*—that is, they refer back to events which constitute norm infringements. Bergman and Kasper define apologies as “compensatory action to an offense in the doing of which S, the speaker, was causally involved and which is costly to H, the hearer” (1991: 140). They can also be viewed as remedial interchanges, remedial work serving to reestablish social harmony after a real or virtual offense (Goffman 1971). Thus, the speech act of apology involves two parties or participants: an *apologizer* as having the responsibility for causing the offense and a *recipient* as perceiving himself/herself as deserving an apology. A speech act of apologizing exists only if the person who caused the infraction perceives himself/herself as an apologizer (Olshtain and Cohen 1983: 20-21).

Bautista (1979) asserts that the study of apologies can be rewarding as an entry point to the study of Filipino culture. With this in mind, this exploratory study was conducted in order to discover some *patterns* of apologizing which in turn could reveal some underlying linguistic and social rules of speaking among members of the Tagalog speech community.

### Procedures Used in the Study

Guided in part by certain conventions in the study of language and literature, I employed the methodological approach of analyzing texts, literary texts in particular. Also, influenced by my previous training in anthropology and subscribing to the idea that literature has a high cultural load, I attempted to find out how such texts reflect social life. With these tools and assumptions, I analyzed apologies found in a corpus of Tagalog short stories written by Filipino authors. The data were drawn from 20 stories and the instances of the speech act of apology were recorded and analyzed for patterns.

The speech act of apology has a *composite structure* as observed in studies such as those of Bautista (1979), Olshtain and Cohen (1983), and Bergman and Kasper (1991). Bergman and Kasper suggest an efficient coding system which facilitates the analysis of the composite structure of apologies (1991: 157-158).

Henceforth, these codes will be adopted for the rest of the discussion in this paper.

<b>IFID</b>	<p><b>Illocutionary Force Indicating Device</b> Specifies the force of the apology Examples: I'm sorry...               I'm afraid...</p>
<b>UP</b>	<p><b>Upgrader</b> Element that increases the apologetic force Examples: I'm terribly sorry.               I really didn't mean to hurt you.</p>
<b>TR</b>	<p><b>Taking on Responsibility</b> By admitting the offense: e.g., I did it. By self-blame: e.g., How stupid of me. By lack of intent: e.g., I didn't mean to do this. By admission of fact: e.g., I haven't done it yet.</p>
<b>DG</b>	<p><b>Downgrading Responsibility or Severity of Offense</b> Utterance that reduces the speaker's accountability for the offense By an excuse: e.g., My watch has stopped. By a justification: e.g., I was suddenly called to a meeting. By claiming ignorance: e.g., I didn't know you were expecting me. By problematizing a situation: e.g., We weren't sup- posed to meet before twelve. Utterance that reduces the severity of the offense: e.g., I'm only 10 minutes late.</p>
<b>RE</b>	<p><b>Offer of Repair</b> Speaker offers to remedy damage inflicted on of- fended party by an action to restitute his/her entitlements. Examples: I'll pay for the damage.               I'll have it done tomorrow.</p>

**VR Verbal Redress**

By showing concern for the offended party: e.g., I hope you weren't offended.

By efforts to appease: e.g., Let me buy you a drink.

By a promise of forbearance: e.g., It won't happen again.

It must be noted that in some cases, an expression of apology (IFID) is sufficient; in other cases, two or three subformulas are combined.

As mentioned earlier, apologies involve two participants—the *apologizer* and the *recipient*. Besides determining *who* gives the apology to *whom*, we also need to find out whether there are situational differences between *when* a speaker uses *which* formulas of apologizing. This way we can see the interplay of linguistic formulas with social-cultural factors as posited at the beginning of this paper. To arrive at some picture of the sociocultural aspects that underlie the choice of a linguistic formula, this study analyzed the following four factors in relation to the apology formula used.

Kind of speech situation

Degree of severity of the offense

Kind of compensatory action to the offense

Social distance between apologizer and recipient

The first three are, to use Bergman and Kasper's terms, *context-internal* factors and the last one, is a *context-external* factor. (For a discussion of a different use of these terms see above study 1991: 147). For purposes of this study, *context-internal* factors are defined as those which are intrinsic and which arise from the speech situations. *Context-external* factors are those which are extrinsic that act upon the speech situation. *Context-internal* factors included in this study are the kinds of speech situations (e.g., teacher conference, business transaction, conversations in a canteen and during a picnic, and others), the degree of severity of the offense (e.g., slight or severe), and the kind of compensatory action to the offense (e.g., ritual or substantive).

Goffman (1971) gives two distinctions of compensatory actions which are adopted in this study—the *ritual* and *substantive* compensation. *Ritual* apologies are those "redressing virtual offenses which are remedied by the *sole offering* of an apologetic formula,"

while *substantive* apologies are those “*supplying redress for actual damage* inflicted on the addressee, sometimes including an offer of material compensation” [italics mine].

The *context-external* factor of social distance between the apologizer and the recipient considered in this exploratory study was analyzed on the basis of the degree of intimacy of the relationship (e.g., intimate and nonintimate). An attempt was made to include age and sex as the other context-external factors that bear upon the speech situation. For sex, the data showed some pattern. For age, they did not since the short stories studied had no explicit indication as to the ages of the participants in the apology speech-act situation. An experiment using broader categories like “older” and “younger” was attempted—apologies from a “younger” apologizer to an “older” recipient and vice-versa.

However, in some cases this could not be determined. A larger corpus can perhaps reveal a clear pattern for sex, and a study design that explicitly elicits information about the ages of the participants can give a reliable basis for judgment regarding the relationship between age and the speech act of apology.

Twenty-two instances of the speech act of apology were noted in the 20 Tagalog short stories. They occurred in varied situations as shown in the random list of speech situations below.

- Parent-children conversations
- Employer-employee discussion
- Confrontations regarding illicit affairs
- Quarrels regarding infidelities
- Conversation in a picnic
- Lovers' talk
- Letter correspondence
- Bumping into somebody in a school hallway and in a crowded market place
- Conversation in a canteen
- Business transaction/deal
- Reminiscence about a dead loved one
- Asking and giving information at a Police precinct and at an information desk in a home for the aged
- Conversation between a parent and her child's friends
- Welcoming a visitor to one's home
- Men's talk

### Small-group teacher conference

The above listing runs the gamut of speech situations from those involving lovers' talk, quarrels or confrontations, to parent-children conversations, to business transaction/deal, and others.

Of the 22 instances of the speech-act of apology noted, two major linguistic formulas used for apologies emerged—the *Patawarin mo ako* “Please forgive me” group (10) and the *I'm sorry* group (6). A third group (6) comprised miscellaneous forms of *Ikinalulungkot ko* “I'm sorry” (2), *Pasensya ka na* “Please put up with...” (2), *Dinaramdam ko* “I'm sorry” (1), and Excuse me (1). It is interesting to note that, of the three groups of apology formulas, the *Patawarin...* group has the clearest and most definite pattern that immediately emerged even at the initial part of the analysis which is as interesting as it is revealing of the important sociocultural factors associated with it as will be shown later. It is also interesting to note that Bautista (1979) in her study of apologies analyzing scripts in Pilipino radio dramas observed similar findings. More varied observations were noted in the two other groups but some patterns are also discernible which reveal some interesting sociocultural insights.

### The Linguistic Formulas of Apology Used in Tagalog Short Stories

#### The Patawarin Group

An analysis was made of the kinds of speech situations when the apology formula *Patawarin mo ako* or *Patawad* was used, the severity of the offense committed, the kind of compensatory action to the offense, and the social distance between the apologizer and the recipient.

The analysis showed that in 7 of the 10 cases, the apology formula *Patawarin mo ako* was used for serious offenses in intimate relationships in the home involving infidelities, illicit affairs, or parent-children problems which needed compensatory actions of the substantive kind. Some representative cases can show this.

One case of infidelity involved a husband who, after having abandoned his wife for another woman, begged his wife for forgiveness and reconciliation in the following apology structure:



*Patawarin mo ako, Aida* "Please forgive me, Aida." (IFID)  
*Patawarin mo ako sa aking pagkakasala.* "Please forgive me for what I have done." (TR—taking responsibility with an admission of the offense)

One illicit affair concerned a married man who, after having been found out by his real wife and threatened, begged forgiveness from his other woman saying:

*Patawarin mo ako.* "Please forgive me." (IFID)  
*Hindi ako makalilimot, Lucila.* "I cannot forget, Lucila."  
 (VR—a verbal redress trying to appease)  
*Hindi ko pababayaan ang bata...kahit na tuluyan tayong magkalayo.* "I will not abandon the child even when we have to separate." (RE—offer of repair by a promise of support)

One parent-child problem involved a father who, after losing his job, signed up for volunteer work in Vietnam to earn for his family. He asked forgiveness rather belatedly from his son who was slain rather ironically in a rally while decrying "American imperialism" and the Vietnam War. He exclaimed:

*Patawad.* "Forgive me." (IFID)  
*Kasalanan ko.* "It's my fault." (TR—taking responsibility by self-blame).

An attempt was made to find out if severity of the offense, compensatory action, and social distance as well as age and sex influenced the use or choice of *solely* the apologetic formula IFID or its *combination* with one subformula (e.g., IFID + UP, etc.) or two subformulas (e.g., IFID + DG + RE, etc.). This was based on a speculation that perhaps the degree of severity of the offense would motivate the choice of a longer apology structure, or perhaps intimacy, substantive compensatory action would influence its choice, or perhaps a younger or female apologizer would similarly choose such a structure. However, these speculations were not borne out by the data analyzed for no clear pattern emerged except for some pattern on sex. A larger corpus is needed to support or negate these assumptions, and to further validate the finding on sex.

At first no pattern for sex emerged when the data was analyzed separately in the corpus of the *Patawarin mo ako* group, in the *I'm sorry* group and in the miscellaneous group. But when all the data were combined some pattern emerged. In the corpus of 22 speech acts of apology more men (15) made apologies than women (7), and that men made twice as many apologies to women (10) than to other men (5). The apologies made by women (7) were more than half of the time made to men (4) (and 1 was made to another female and 2 to a male-female audience).

Regarding the choice of apology structure, there appears to be no tendency for men to prefer a specific structure—6 men using just the IFID, 7 men using IFID with a combination of one other subformula, and 2 using IFID with a combination of two other subformulas. On the other hand, the females appear to prefer longer structures—only 1 using solely the IFID, 3 using the IFID with a combination of one other subformula, and 3 using IFID with a combination of two other subformulas.

The comparatively few instances (3) when *Patawarin mo ako* was used were when the offenses were slight (such as a waiter eating left-over food), were between nonintimates (like the waiter and his irate employer), and were of the ritualistic kind of compensatory action where there was no actual damage inflicted and where a sole offering of an apologetic formula was sufficient.

On the whole, it appears that the sociolinguistic motivation behind the choice of the apology formula *Patawarin mo ako* were serious infractions perhaps rendered more serious because of the intimacy of the relationship (marred by betrayal, loss of trust, renegeing on a vow or promise—violation of cultural norms that are held sacrosanct) and which required substantive compensatory action.

### *The I'm sorry Group*

A marked difference can be observed between the *Patawarin* and the *I'm sorry* groups of apology formulas. Whereas the *Patawarin* formula was often used for severe offenses that required a substantive compensatory action to intimates, the 6 instances of the *Sorry* group were used for slight offenses (6), mostly to nonintimates (5), and which were mostly ritualistic (5). The following are illustrative of these cases.

A conversation in a canteen where a young man was trying hard but not succeeding in recalling a lady's name and where they had met before; he said:

Sorry, *ha?* (IFID) *Hindi ko talaga maalala...ang ngalan mo.* "I really can't recall ...your name." (TR—an admission of fact)

A conversation where a prospective client was refusing an insurance agent:

I'm sorry. (IFID) *Wala 'kong beneficiaries, wala pa.* "I have no beneficiaries, I still don't have any." (DG—downgrading the severity of the offense by a justification)

A woman reminiscing about a dead loved one and asking forbearance from those who were willing to listen to her tale to forgive her for being emotional; she explained:

Sorry... (IFID) *...medyo humina "guards" ko,* "...it seems my guards are down," (DG—downgrading the offense by a justification)

Let me pause *baka mapaiyak ako.* "Let me pause or I'll cry." (VR—verbal redress asking for forbearance)

An information desk personnel apologizing for a visitor's inconvenience in coming to the office and not finding the manager; she expressed regret:

Sorry, (IFID) *wala siya,* "he's not here," (TR—taking/assuming responsibility for boss's absence) *may dinaluhang "conference."* "he's attending a conference." (DG—downgrading the inconvenience caused with a justification) *Pero hindi bale, 'yong impormasyong kailangan mo'y puwede ko namang ibigay sa iyo.* "But don't worry, I can give you the information you need." (RE—offer of repairing the situation by giving the desired information)

A hotel guest who, receiving her order for food, mistook the hotel-owner's nephew for a bellboy, apologized for her mistake and for the embarrassment caused.

Sorry, (IFID) *hindi ko alam.* "I don't know." (DG—downgrading severity of the offense by claiming ignorance) *Ikaw ang naghatid ng order, siyempre'y iisipin ko na boy ka rito.* "You're the one bringing in the order, so I presumed you're a bellboy here." (DG—downgrading severity of the offense by reducing speaker's accountability with a justification).

Compared to the *Patawarin* group, the *I'm sorry* group was used for comparatively minor offenses unlike the *Patawarin* group which was motivated by serious infractions especially in situations where a breach of social and cultural norms had been committed (infidelities, illicit affairs, etc.). The *I'm sorry* group was also used for different reasons other than those for the regular apology. In the above cases, it was used for causing embarrassment, turning down an offer, causing some confusion or inconvenience. On the whole, the choice of the apology formula *I'm sorry* appears to be motivated by slight offenses made mostly toward nonintimates and which were mostly ritualistic.

The choice of the linguistic form, *I'm sorry*, a loan phrase adopted from another language—English—is an interesting case in point here. It appears that, aside from the factors just mentioned, e.g., slight offenses, nonintimate relationships, ritualistic, there are other factors that bear on its use. The *physical context* of the utterances (e.g. canteen, office, hotel), the *linguistic content* of the discourse (e.g. mixed language or code switching—Tagalog and English—"Sorry," *medyo humina ang "guards" ko...* "let me pause" *baka mapaiyak ako*), and the *context-external discourse function* (e.g., refusing an insurance agent) are all factors/instances reflecting borrowing or adopting culture traits from another culture. It seems that, for such instances or situations, an adopted or borrowed linguistic form would also be more appropriate. Besides, the nonintimacy of most of the relationships, the lack of severity of the offenses and their mostly ritualistic nature would require a more casual-sounding utterance that is offhanded and mechanical than one which sounds more formal and earnest, apologetic as well as re-

pentant—*Patawarin mo ako*—and which appears to be symbolic of native values or traits.

This appears to be an interesting case of *linguistic change*. At present, it seems that generally, each formula, e.g. *Patawarin mo ako* and *I'm sorry*, has its *separate domains* where each can be appropriately used. It would be interesting to observe when *one form* serves the *same function* as the *other*, thus reaching a *stage of variability*. In John Fischer's work *Social Influence in the Choice of a Linguistic Variant*, he mentions that many linguists have recognized *variability* as a logically necessary stage in most linguistic change. It seems that what we have here is a case of *synchronic* processes of change at work—sociolinguistic factors operating in a speech community (e.g., Tagalog) and an adopted language (e.g., English), as well as *diachronic* processes that bring in some linguistic changes through time. The above are rather large claims for a small study; therefore, more data must be provided to validate them. However, it can not be ignored that even in such a small corpus some pattern, as far as the *Patawarin...* and the *I'm sorry* groups of apology are concerned, can be discerned.

### The Miscellaneous Group

Compared with the other 2 groups of apology formulas, this one is a miscellany of formulaic expressions each of which has too few instances found in the corpus to be the bases of any reliable analysis.

Only the *Pasensya...* group has some uniform observations. As far as the data show, the *Pasensya...* formula was ritualistic and given to nonintimates for a slight offense and for an instance where no offense was even made. One case was that of a boy who accidentally bumped into a woman in a crowded marketplace. He apologized:

*Pasensya ka na, ale.* "I'm sorry, ma'am." (IFID) *Hindi ko, ho, sinasadya.* "I didn't mean to do it." (TR—taking responsibility but stating offender's lack of intent)

The other case was that of a poor farmer welcoming a city dweller, a friend of his daughter, to his humble home. Since there was actually no offense made, *Pasensya ka na...* takes on an added

meaning to "I'm sorry" as in the above case—that is, "putting up with..." The farmer said:

*Pasensya ka na, ineng, kung ganito lang ang aming bahay.*  
"Young lady, please put up with the poverty of our home." (IFID—*pasensiya ka na*—followed by VR—Verbal redress showing concern for the comfort and convenience of the other person by a plea of forbearance)

In the *Ikinalulungkot ko* group the instances observed are not only too few but also reveal different observations: slight and severe offenses made to an intimate recipient and a nonintimate one, one of which is ritualistic, the other semi-substantive. One case was that of a mother denying the request of his son's friends to allow him to remain and stay with them. She refused:

*Ikinalulungkot ko.* "I'm sorry." (IFID) *Hindi maaring maiwan siya.* "We can't leave him here." (TR—taking responsibility for the refusal) *Pero magkita rin kayo ng aking anak.* "But you'll see each other again." (VR—verbal redress by trying to appease) *Dadalaw kami sa amin; tapos balik uli.* "We're going to visit our place; after that we'll be back." (DG—reducing the effect of the refusal by giving a justification) *Babalik kami. Huwag ninyong kalimutan ang aking anak.* "We'll be back. Don't forget my son." (VR—verbal redress trying to appease).

The other instance of *Ikinalulungkot ko* was that of a policeman apologizing to a mother for not having any information about her son's mysterious death. Though no actual, physical damage was done, the context of the utterance made the offense severe. The police offered a semi-substantive compensatory action which was more of a verbal appeasement phrased in a promise than actual substantive remedial action. He said:

*Ikinalulungkot, ho, namin.* "We are very sorry." (IFID) *Gayunma'y gagawin pa rin namin ang aming magagawa.* "But we'll do what we can." (TR—taking responsi-

bility for the offense but DG—downgrading or reducing the apologizer's personal accountability by using the impersonal plural pronoun *namin* "we"; also (VR—verbal redress trying to appease with a promise) *Kung sakali, patalastasan na lang namin kayo*. "Just in case (we get some information), we'll inform you." (RE—offer of repair phrased in another promise)

The single case recorded about the speaker using the apology formula *Dinaramdam ko* was made by a man to his close friends refusing to get involved in their plans. Having made no actual damage, the apology was ritualistic than substantive. *The Excuse me* case, was uttered by a teacher in a small group conference where she interrupted a speaker (a minor breach of etiquette) by giving a trivial comment correcting a misinformation. As such there was no injury done, the apology was ritualistic, and was made to nonintimates.

As mentioned earlier, this miscellaneous group consists of different apology formulas each of which has very few cases. The paucity of information makes arriving at any pattern, difficult, unproductive, and unreliable.

### Summary and Conclusion

Working within a broad theoretical framework that language is a part of social life, this study hypothesizes that, as such, one important means of studying the social roles, status, and social structure of a community would be to study its language. Within a narrow theoretical framework, it hypothesizes that language, specifically the speech act of apology in Tagalog short stories, can reveal some dynamics of social interaction within a speech community—the Tagalog speech community.

Raven McDavid, Jr., in his study *Postvocalic -r in South Carolina: A Social Analysis*, states:

...language is primarily a vehicle of social intercommunication, and linguistic formula must always be examined for their correlation with other cultural phenomena...." (1964: 480)

This exploratory study reveals that linguistic formulas of apology appear to be correlated with sociocultural factors such as social distance, the degree of severity of an offense committed in the social speech situation, and the type of compensatory action needed to repair the situation. It appears that these factors motivate the choice of these formulas of apology: three groups of apology formulas found in 22 instances of apologies in a corpus of 20 Tagalog short stories.

The first group, the *Patawad* group, shows the clearest pattern of observations compared to the other two groups. Its use was motivated by severe infractions against social and cultural norms (e.g., infidelities, illicit affairs) rendered more serious by the intimacy of the relationship between the offender and the recipient requiring a substantive compensatory action to remedy the situation.

The second group, the *I'm sorry* group, is an interesting case in point. It is interesting not only for the sociocultural factors that influence its use but also for its being a borrowed or loan phrase—from English—used for a Tagalog speech situation. Unlike the *Patawarin* group which is a Tagalog phrase, the choice of *I'm sorry* was influenced by relatively minor offenses mostly against nonintimates and was ritualistic in nature. It was suggested that the use of this borrowed phrase was an interesting instance of *linguistic change* indicating *synchronic* and *diachronic* processes of change at work.

The third group, the miscellaneous group, consists of different apology formulas, three in Tagalog (*Pasensya ka na*, *Ikinalulungkot ko*, *Dinaramdam ko*) and one in English (*Excuse me*). Instances observed for each were too few and the observations quite varied to reveal some clear pattern which made any analysis unproductive and unreliable. A larger corpus of these formulas is needed to see some pattern and to come up with reliable observations.

This exploratory analysis has shown that a study of the speech act of apology appears to be a promising investigation that can yield insights into the underlying sociocultural rules of speech behavior as well as the prevailing cultural norms that are held inviolate, social norms that are needed to be observed to make possible smooth interaction within a society. Apologies are

linguistic formulas [that serve] to create and maintain public order in remedial interchanges to remedy potentially unpleasant social situation by offering an explanation or an apology. (Goffman 1971).

## Recommendations

It is interesting to note that this study has corroborated many of the findings of Bautista (1979) in her study of apology in scripts of Pilipino radio dramas. This study and that of Bautista's show that speaker's choice of an apology formula is patterned. Since these studies are exploratory and based on a small corpus, it is suggested that studies be conducted based on a larger corpus. And since these are based on radio dramas and short stories, an ethnographic study is also suggested that will record *naturally* occurring utterances. More empirical evidence would establish Filipino features of the speech-act of apology.

It is also suggested that contrastive studies be made on apologies in other cultures to find out if apology is *language universal* and *language specific*. This study made on short stories reveal that the use of an apology formula is *situation specific*—that is, its choice is motivated by the nature of the speech situation. With the study of apologies in other cultures, it would therefore be interesting to find out if apology is *language universal*, that is, if *all* apology acts contain some form of an “expression of responsibility” on the part of the apologizer who has caused some infraction, and *language specific*, that is, if the expression of responsibility varies from culture to culture because notions of offense and obligation are culture-specific. Situations which elicit apologies in one language could easily fail to do so in another language. Extending the scope of study from Western languages and cultures to non-Western ones can advance the fundamental issue in cross-cultural pragmatics, viz the universality and culture-specificity of linguistic action. Also, extending the scope of study from the speech act of apology to other speech acts, e.g. requests, offers, invitations, compliments, thanks, politeness, complaints, and others, would serve to establish features of speech acts and be part of the theory building or language as interdependent with social life. That there are shared similarities in speech act realization between languages and cultures—*language universals*—as well as distinct international styles—

*culture specific* ones—have been observed in studies of British, American, and European speech acts—Swedish, Norwegian, Italian, Greek, Danish, German, Portuguese, French, Spanish (Harlow 1990, Mir 1993, Oliveira 1994, Cenoz 1995), in Japanese (White 1993, Christianson 1994, Spees 1994), in Korean (Kim 1995), in Persian (Eslamirasekh 1992).

Lastly, from the perspective of language teaching, it is suggested that studies be made on the nature of *pragmatic transfer* involving speech acts (see Kasper 1992). These studies can discover what rules of speaking of the *nonnative* is transferred into the *target* language. Employing a cross-cultural approach, these studies can answer such questions as, for instance, how a *nonnative* speaker apologizes in his own culture and how a *native* speaker of English apologizes in his own culture. A study mentions that in some cultures apology is nonlinguistic (Wolfson 1989). This would create some misunderstanding with other cultures which express apology explicitly like speakers of English. Thus, the study of *pragmatic transfer* has important implications for the teaching of English as a second language since it involves the issue of *communicative competence* posited by Dell Hymes (1971)—the use of the right linguistic forms *in English* by the *nonnative* in socially *appropriate* situations (See also Thomas 1983, Blum-Kulka 1991, Bardovi-Harlig 1996). Olshtain and Cohen (1983) succinctly explains this by stating that:

Sociocultural competence...refers to the speaker's *ability* to determine the *pragmatic appropriateness* of a particular speech act in a *given context*. At the production level, it involves the *selection of one of several* grammatically acceptable forms according to the...situation and of the available forms. Therefore, communicative competence needs to be translated into the *choice and preferences* which the [speaker] *will have to be able to make* in order to *perform* speech acts in the *new language*. (Italics mine.)

Our modern world is marked by cultures in contact as a consequence of great social geographic mobility. The success in social interaction rests largely on effective communication—which is LANGUAGE—and understanding other people's way of life—which is CULTURE.

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DOING BIOETHICS IN THE PHILIPPINES:  
PHILIPPINE BIOETHICS AND THE CHALLENGE  
OF CROSS-CULTURAL MEDICINE\*

Peter Sy

THE INTENT OF THIS PAPER is to briefly outline three major concerns: the culture of bioethics as it bears on the thematization of health and illness in the Philippines; the challenge that Filipino traditional medical views pose on bioethical discourse; and the prospects of doing bioethics in the country.

Limited in space and scope, the discussion restricts "bioethics" to include only philosophical-ethical as well as cultural concerns related to medicine. Issues attendant on other spheres of "bios," like the environment, are excluded. At the core of this paper is the importance of understanding the differences in medical and philosophical categories used by biomedicine and Filipino traditional medicine. Recognition of the medical or philosophical-ethical gap between the two medical traditions is crucial in the attempt to forge workable paradigms for a genuine cultural dialogue in the Philippines.

### The Culture and Discourse of Bioethics

Bioethics deals with the ethical implications of both biological research and its applications. A contraction of "bio" and "medicine," biomedicine, on the other hand, refers to applications of research in biological and physiological sciences to clinical medicine. The large-scale introduction of medical technologies beginning in the 1960s raised the need for sustained inquiry into issues like the definition of death and the withdrawal of life-sustaining medical treatment, genetic engineering, the use of human embryos for research and treatment, transplantation, etc. The relationship between biomedicine and bioethics is definitive: biomedicine helps shape the contours and conceptual limits of bioethics.

At risk of oversimplification, bioethics may be viewed largely as the ethics of biomedicine—an institution also known as

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"western allopathic medicine" usually distinguished from personalistic and naturalistic approaches to health and medicine (Owen 1987). Although the term "biomedicine" has its own limitation and inadequacy, it is, nonetheless, used to emphasize the institutional structures of the dominant medical profession which invoke the primacy of certain scientific, philosophical, and ethical commitments not necessarily shared by Filipinos and other peoples of the world (Kleinman 1995).

Biomedicine is anchored on allopathic "germ theory" that tends to regard illnesses exclusively as enemies (Owen 1987). It is difficult, if not impossible, to just label biomedicine "western," since it is already practiced worldwide and likely has nonwestern sources. Already a global institution, it is certainly the dominant practice in the Philippines. Biomedicine, which tends to be identified with biological thinking (itself far from being monolithic), forms the foundation of the country's formal health care system. From government policies to vaccination in the *barangay*, from court rulings to the conduct of rural health workers, from textbook writing to family planning, it is the basis of mainstream medical interpretations and interventions. In short, biomedicine is hegemonic, and so is the discourse of bioethics.

Biomedicine, furthermore, reflects a cultural system—"a system of symbolic meanings on a particular arrangement of social institutions and patterns of interpersonal interaction" (Kleinman 1995). It can be seen as a system of social control. Biomedicine, as Kleinman asserts, is a leading institution of industrialized society's management of social reality. Biomedical constructions of the various forms of human misery as health problems are reinforced by societal regulations that can influence all sectors of experience. This process of medicalization is responsible for certain of medicine's most controversial attributes.

Biomedicine's sector of influence continues to grow as more and more life problems are brought under its aegis (Kleinman 1995). Biomedicine tends to be part of the overall societal system of regulatory techniques and technological powers conditioning human choices and actions through the medical regimen (Williams and Calnan 1996). In this light, bioethics (as we know it) is severely limited by the purview of biomedicine. Medicocentric, bioethical discourse privileges certain ethical principles in ways different from Filipino ethical constructions. "[T]he canonical

works [of bioethics]...assume an individuated self, set off from the collective—single, unchanging, self-defining. Thereby, *inter alia*, autonomy of the person is claimed to be a paramount value along with ideas of justice and beneficence" (Kleinman 1995). Some western values like autonomy of persons, however, appear not as privileged as values like solidarity in Philippine society.

### The Challenge of Traditional Medical Practices

"Traditional Filipino medicine" refers not to a single medical system. There are actually many Filipino medical systems (Tan 1987)—owing largely to the diversity of the country's ethnic groupings (about 70) and the various colonial or foreign influences, especially European and Chinese. It can rarely be equated with "indigenous medicine," since there is no way to identify which medical practices and beliefs are purely local. Traditional Filipino medical practices are dynamic, popular nonbiomedical systems in the Philippines. It includes a wide range of practices of *manghihilot* (traditional bone setter), *albulario* (medicine man), acupuncturists, religious healers, etc. The obvious strength of traditional medicine is number. There are more practitioners of traditional medicine than practitioners of biomedicine. As Michael Tan, a noted Filipino medical anthropologist, pointed out, the Philippines has at least 40,000 traditional birth attendants and 100,000 herbalists (Tan 1992), in addition to other thousands of *manghihilot*, acupuncturists, etc. who are mostly concentrated in the rural areas.

Now pending in the Congress of the Philippines are bills seeking to institutionalize traditional medicine and alternative health care (House Bills Nos. 2324, 4464, 7469, 7949, 7716, and 8145, n.p.). These bills recognize the urgent need to incorporate traditional medicine into the "conventional" medicine. They point out the government's inability to meet the health care needs of the Filipino people and the country's over-dependence on foreign drugs which are not accessible to the poor who comprise 70% of the population. Some of these legislative measures propose the creation of a regulative body that will "oversee" the practice of traditional and alternative medical practices. This move in the Philippine legislature, unfortunately, invites tension, not only because it divides policy makers and even biomedical practitioners into endorsers of the bills and their rabid opponents, but also because the govern-



ment is trying to institutionalize practices which are essentially nonformalizable. The roles of traditional medical practitioners are broadly defined and informally assumed. There is little (if at all) professionalization in the field. Nor is there any strong institutional distinction between *manghihilot*, shamans, herbalists, and other practitioners of traditional medicine who tend to be constitutive of a harmonious confluence of medical traditions.

The deeper challenge, however, lies in the cultural, philosophical, and ethical views that inform traditional Filipino medicine. The deficiencies in the delivery of primary health care in the country are partly due to the biomedical practitioner's fundamental misunderstanding of Filipino concepts of health and illness (Tan 1987). Even attempts at classifying traditional, indigenous, and popular medical practices founder on "western" dichotomies between the natural and the supernatural, the metaphysical and the scientific, the spiritual and the bodily. Recalcitrant to classification are the inherent ambiguities of traditional Filipino medical, philosophical, and ethical categories. A study on acute respiratory illness, for instance, asserts that "the folk epidemiology of respiratory illness is far removed from models of biomedical epidemiology. While the former focuses on factors rendering one vulnerable to illness, the latter investigates illness-specific pathogen-host-environment relationships" (Nichter and Nichter 1996).

In a larger picture, many illnesses in the Philippines cannot be appropriated into biomedical pathology. Biomedicine fails not only because local ailments escape biomedical categories but also because the treatments that go with biomedical disease labeling tend to undermine certain philosophical-ethical persuasions of Filipinos. Many biomedical practitioners are too quick to label as medical problems what essentially are philosophical problems or differences in worldviews (Tan 1987). Bioethicists need to probe into ethical and philosophical underpinnings of Filipino traditional medical practices to understand how bioethical discourse can be truly informed about the Filipino cultural ethos.

The abortion debate that proved to be very divisive in Europe and in the US can have a different spin in the Philippines if certain local practices and beliefs are highlighted. Some observers note the abundance of so-called "abortifacients" which, in Cebu (a major Philippine island) alone, are close to forty (Yu and Tiu 1980). As a term, however, "abortifacient" may be semantically, if

not ethically, misleading because these concoctions are taken by many locals as *pamparigla* (restoration of menstrual flow). The fetus (a biomedical category which appeared to have no indigenous equivalent before the coming of 'imperial' medicine) or *dugo* (roughly "mass of blood") will come to life if it is really meant to be *buhay* (meaning "life" or "to survive"); hence, a phenomenon biomedicine may readily describe as "abortion" need not be morally controversial at all. Undeniably, this underscores the importance of looking at the very categories bioethicists use. Without sifting through certain cultural and ethical biases latent in biomedicine, suffice it to say, that discussions of sensitive issues like abortion can be counterproductive.

For brevity's sake, an account of other traditional medical views and practices is excluded in this paper. But the most popular ones include *pasma* (described roughly as profuse sweating, shaking of hands, exhaustion, or headache as a result of wrong interplay of "hot" and "cold"), *kuyap* (a Cebuano term to describe pulsations in the diaphragm accompanied by nausea), *sumpung* (loosely translated as passing phase or mood) to which some ailments like asthma are attributed, and *hiyang* (literally meaning "what fits") sometimes used to describe medical interventions that are suited to individual needs and temperaments (Tan 1987).

The purpose of this paper is obviously not to provide a systematic account of these traditional medical views and practices. It is to invite serious rethinking and reevaluation of the categories used in doing bioethics in the Philippines.

### The Prospects of Doing Bioethics in the Philippines

The challenge that traditional medicine poses to biomedicine and consequently to bioethics is not just the avoidance of what Kleinman calls "category fallacy"—i.e., "imposition of a classification scheme onto members of societies for whom it holds no validity" (Kleinman 1995)—but also the sheer philosophical space these forms of medicine open up. The fact that Filipinos can pragmatically switch between paradigms in their pursuit of good health suggests intersections of cultural systems and logics. A viable ethics, therefore, can be formulated at the intersection of social logics of symbolic systems (like traditional medicine and biomedicine) and historical events. The Philippines' unique history and culture

offer a complex of opportunities and challenges to the theory and practice of bioethics. Its long colonial history has brought about assimilation, among others, of so-called "western" ethical values which, rather than being fetters, may provide some flexibility in philosophical-ethical negotiations vis-a-vis technological encroachments and biomedicine.

Already recurrent in Filipino culture are themes of pluralism and pragmatism contrasting the exclusivism and dogmatism of biomedicine. It is, for instance, not uncommon for Filipinos to consult both the biomedical doctor and the *mananambal/albulario* (medicine man) or even for some doctors to prescribe drugs and advise their clients to seek supplementary attention from the *hilot* (traditional bonesetter or masseur). Reportedly, an eminent pediatrician sends her grandchildren to the *hilot* for *pilay* (a traditional Filipino notion of bony, nervous or vascular dislocation). Some biomedical doctors recognize that popular belief in *init-lamig* ("hot and cold" principles) as causative factors in cough should be considered in the formulation of an effective and comprehensive ARI (acute respiratory infection) eradication program (Cueto 1990).

Needed, therefore, are ethical systems that respect this kind medical pluralism. Forcing the bioethical discourse into the Filipino culture may do more harm than good. Some academics call for the integration of biomedicine and traditional/alternative medicine. But, more often than not, integration turns out to be a subsumption of the weak by the strong, of traditional medical practices by biomedicine. The alternative to the integration model is "osmosis"—the mutual absorption of good qualities of both biomedicine and traditional forms of medicine as well as their concomitant ethical discourses. Let bioethics learn the vocabulary of Filipino ethics and Filipino ethics be nourished by biomedical experiences. Let forms of medicine and ethical discourses flourish. This prospect is easier imagined than put to practice, but the choices are not that many and time is running out. There are millions of suffering Filipinos.

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EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS OF APO ISLAND  
WITH THE MAINLAND: FROM THE PERSPECTIVE  
OF WIVES INVOLVED IN FISH TRADING<sup>1</sup>

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IN COMPARISON to the position of men in the Philippine fisheries sector, the role of women in many aspects of this trade has been widely perceived as secondary. Studies on wives' fish production activities, for instance, have shown that women's earnings is considered only as additional income to that of their husbands' (Israel 1991). Furthermore, in community organizations not specifically organized for women, they are merely members and are seldom elected or chosen as officers. Although they also attend meetings on behalf of their husbands, they do not make major decisions without prior consultation with them (Abregana 1997). Moreover, compared to their husbands' fishing activities, the wives' marketing and processing activities are deemed as only small scale. This situation underlies the pervasive perception in the country that the fishing industry is dominated by men. Women's reproductive as well as domestic responsibilities have been singled out as the major factor limiting not only their participation in community, social and economic development, but their mobility and opportunities to engage in large scale trading activities as well (Israel 1991: 2). Abregana has pointed that these traditional role expectations attached to women have consequently deprived women of many opportunities for community involvement and other undertakings (1997).

Recent studies, however, have shown that the roles wives actually play are more diverse than those of their husbands'. They combine their major tasks in homemaking with actual fishing, fish trading, and some home-based productive activities such as livestock raising and vegetable gardening, and even acquiring a credit line (Abregana 1991, 1997; Illo and Polo 1991; Ybañez 1991). These studies contend that women's participation in the community is more significant than it is usually thought to be.

Following this thesis, this present study will examine in greater detail the actual role of women in community development, in particular the wives' involvement in the fishing industry. It also highlights the observation that the wives' role in the local fishing

industry especially in fish trading further gives them the responsibility for facilitating the movement of economic goods, social supports, and information from the mainland communities of Negros Oriental to Apo Island. This study likewise explores the social networks that have been established and the extent to which these have facilitated the exchange relationship.

### Problem and Methodology of the Study

Wives representing the various stages of household developmental cycle were the respondents of the study. They were identified with the help of the Development and Women Network (DAWN), an organization of women in the island. As purposive sample, twelve wives were chosen as key informants in the in-depth. Apart from the 12 respondents, a focus group discussion composed of six wives further reinforced the data and helped to determine common points and clarify conflicting opinions on their trading activities with the mainland. The respondents were asked questions not only about their personal experiences and other related matters, but likewise about their general observation of other wives' activities in Apo Island. In addition to the in-depth interview conducted in the island, a follow-up interview and observations were carried out in the regular Wednesday *tabu* (market day) in Malatapay,<sup>3</sup> in order to document the actual trading involvement of the respondents.

Additional data on the economic and ecological conditions of the island were also derived using secondary sources particularly from the Center of Excellence in Coastal Resources Management (COE-CRM) at Silliman University as well as from ocular survey through photo documentation.

### Brief Profile of Apo Island

Apo Island is located five kilometers off the southeastern coast of Malatapay, Maluay in the town of Zamboanguita, about 25 kilometers south of Dumaguete City. The island, however, is under the political jurisdiction of Dauin, a town before Zamboanguita. It is from Malatapay that people take-off for the island, which is about 30 to 40 minutes ride by a pump boat (see Fig. 1). Malatapay is known for its regular Wednesday market day where buyers and

sellers from the island and from the different towns of the mainland converge to trade their goods. Residents of the island refer to the mainland as *piliw* in the local dialect.

Apo Island is volcanic, of elongated shape, with a north-south orientation which measures about 74 hectares. The island ecosystem is comprised of three fishing communities, five sandy white beaches, two lagoons,<sup>4</sup> patches of mangroves, and extensive fringing reefs. In the southwest part of the island are located most of the houses, a public elementary school, a Catholic chapel, a *barangay* hall, private resorts, and the field office of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR).

Based on the 1995 census, the total population of Apo Island was 495 with a total of 101 households and an average household size of five. The most recent (1997) figure available from the *barangay* secretary of the island shows a total household count of 120 indicating an increase of 19 households in a span of two years. Dug well provides water for washing and bathing. There are also rainwater collectors built by the government in buildings with galvanized iron roofing. However, drinking water have to brought from the mainland and costs Apo residents about PhP8 to PhP10 per container (about 4 to 5 gallons) when it reaches the island. The amount covers the expenses in hauling the water from the source and transporting it through a pump boat.

Coconut trees dominate the vegetation of the plainer areas, while *ipil-ipil* trees thrive in the slopes. Residents also plant corn and cassava in flat and sloping areas of the elevated portion of the island, but are faced with problems of poor soil condition, scarcity of water, and limited arable areas. In the southeastern side of the island, a marine reserve covering an area of 284 hectares to 500 meters offshore, and bordering 450 meters of shoreline was established in 1982 (Alcala 1997). The reserve comprised about 10 percent of the total reefs of the island. A fish sanctuary with an area of 11.2 hectares to 250 meters offshore is located within the reserve and is maintained by the local marine management committee. With the establishment of the marine reserve in the island, dynamite fishing, *muro-ami* type of fishing, or related methods using weighted scare lines or poles, spear fishing using scuba, cyanide fishing, and use of very fine meshed nets, have become prohibited within the marine habitat around the island from the high tide mark to a distance of 300 meters offshore. Moreover, fishing, col-

lecting of marine organisms, and anchoring of boats are strictly prohibited inside the fish sanctuary area. Although pollution and human-induced changes in the island have been observed by marine biologists of Silliman University to be minimal, the increasing diving activities of foreign tourists organized by both local and Cebu-based resort operators have caused alarm for the possible disturbance of the fragile coral reefs.

Cogon Point, located on the northeastern side of the island, is one of the rich fishing grounds for local fisherfolks. The most common fishing method used by fishermen is hook and line, but other fishing gears such as *pukot* (gill net), *bubo* (bamboo fish trap), *pana* (home-made spear gun), and *sulo* (torch) have also been observed among fisherfolks. During the field survey in the first two weeks of June 1997, the use of hook and line was commonly observed and the species caught were *bagis* (*Naso sp.*), *indangan* (*Acanthurus bleekeri*), *banculisan* (*Elegatis bipinnulata*), *tangigue* (*Scomberomorus commerson*) and *mamsa* (*Caranx papurensis*). It also coincided with the appearance of *bukya* (from the family of jellyfish) which is used as bait for hook and line fishing. The use of *bukya* as a bait was introduced by a fisher in the mainland who came to fish in the island. Like other fishing communities along the coast of the mainland, fishing in Apo Island is seasonal and dependent on weather condition, lunar position, and the appearance of certain species of fish.

No regular passenger boat crosses between points and as majority of the fisherfolk only own *baroto* (nonmotorized banca) for fishing, commuters from the island often have to wait when pumpboat owners make the trip. Local commuters pay pumpboat owners PhP5 to PhP10 for the ride. However, a number of pumpboats are available for rent to visitors to the island at PhP500 to PhP1000 for a two-way trip depending on the number of passengers and the size of the pump boat. Resort owners usually bring tourists and guests to the island using their own pump boats.

Two diesel generators owned by two competing businessmen from the mainland provide the major source of light in the island. These generators provide electricity to the subscribers from 6 P.M. to 12 midnight. Electric consumers pay a fixed monthly rate of PhP50 per 30 watts of bulb or lamp used and an additional amount of PhP20 for every convenience outlet installed to power

*karaoke*, cassette recorder, video player and television set. Only eight households use solar energy.

About 35 households in Apo Island own television sets. Although signals of radio stations from the cities of Dumaguete, Cebu, Zamboanga, and Iligan are received in the island, only the programs of ABS-CBN television station is clearly received by television owners. This indicates that residents of the island are generally well informed about show business and political personalities, as well as about happenings in the province, the nation, and even around the world. Houses in the island are generally made of light materials like bamboo, coconut lumber, and *nipa*, or coconut leaves for roofing. However, a good number are also built of cement, hollow blocks, and galvanized iron sheets and owned by those usually engaged in fish trading, or *sari-sari* store business. Most of them have household members (either the husband or the children) who work in Manila and who usually come home especially during the *fiesta* of the island every April 4-5. This is in honor of San Vicente Ferrer who, incidentally, is also the patron saint of fisherfolk.

### Profile of Respondents

The 12 wives who were the subjects of the in-depth interview have ages ranging from 22 to 64 years old with an average age of 40.17 years old. Their husbands are usually three years older or an average age of 43.50 years old. Ten of these wives are Catholic and the remaining two are members of Jehovah's Witness and the Aglipay Church respectively. Most of the wives and their husbands have elementary education. Two wives have finished high school while one had reached college. One husband is a nautical graduate and presently works in a commercial fishing outfit based in Manila. The oldest respondents in the household cases interviewed was a couple who both had no schooling at all. On the average, the wives interviewed have had more years in schooling than the husbands (6.84 and 6.58 years, respectively).

While a majority of husbands are from Apo Island, six of the wives originated from other provinces. Two of the wives came from the mainland province of Negros Oriental and the others from Negros Occidental, Siquijor, Bohol, Leyte, Solinog Island in Mindanao, and Palawan who were brought there by their husbands when they got married. This suggests the patrilocal pattern of resi-

dence of the households interviewed. Only four wives were born in Apo Island and eventually got married there. On the average, the household members interviewed have been residents of the island for about 19.37 years after marriage. Newly married couples have been observed to live within the community or stay temporarily with the husband's parents. The participants in this study have an average number of four children and a maximum of ten.

The husbands of the respondents are all engaged in small scale or subsistence fishing as their primary means of livelihood. Five of them supplement their income by making hollow blocks, trading animals in the mainland, and farming. During the interview, the wives claimed that they are involved not only in the fishing activities of their husbands, but also in mat weaving, fish trading, operating a *sari-sari* store, selling souvenir T-shirts, dress-making, and manicuring as major economic activities. It was observed, however, that what one wife considers a primary economic activity may be secondary to another, and vice versa.

The wives interviewed are members of community organizations in Apo Island which include a consumer's cooperative, the Apo Weavers Association (AWA), Development and Women Network (DAWN), Marine Management Committee (MMC), and the Couples for Christ (CFC). Wives who had been residents of the island for many years now are members of these organizations and the older among them (about 40 years old) hold official positions. On the average, all wives interviewed have been members of community organizations for 8.54 years ranging in length of membership from 2 months to 12 years.

During the interview, the wives enumerated a number of problems facing the residents of Apo Island. Of these problems, the most urgent is the absence of potable water in the island when then has to be bought from the mainland and transported by pump boat. Another serious problem is the conflict involving legal rights over the use of the lagoon which has been converted into a fishpond. According to the wives, this problem has already mired the families involved in legal battles as they filed charges and counter-charges against each other before the court. During the time of the study, the court has yet to decide the case. Another problem mentioned by the wives is the scarcity of fish catch during typhoon months. Of equal concern to the wives is sanitation problem caused by the absence of toilets in some households. Some wives also pointed out

the damage caused by tourist divers in the coral reefs as a serious problem. Other problems the wives reported are political factionalism in the island, deforestation, limited opportunities for work, and lack of medical services.

### Subsistence Fishing as a Conjugal Enterprise

For so long, fishing has been traditionally viewed as a male-dominated economic activity. This perception has been largely due to the emphasis given to the actual activity of catching fish, especially involving deep-sea fishing. However, when this traditional definition is changed to include activities before, during, and after fishing, the contribution of women to the fishing activities of their husbands becomes more readily apparent. From this perspectives subsistence fishing can be considered as a conjugal enterprise.

All wives interviewed said that they cook the food and sort the things their husbands will bring with them to sea to fish. Some wives also help carry (*dahik*) the *baroto* to the water. When it is time for the husbands to arrive, usually early evening or dawn, the wives, together with some of their children, wait along the shores and again help carry the *baroto* offshore to dry. Although they might sometimes help their wives, husbands are generally allowed to take a much-needed rest after a long fishing trip. It then becomes the wives' responsibility to sort the catch and determine which are to be dried, disposed fresh, cooked for meals, or to be given away to a neighbor or relative who had not gone fishing for some reason. After sorting, the women slice those that have to be dried, then wash and salt them for sun drying the following day. They also deliver the fresh fish to the local buyer in the neighborhood who could also be their *suki* (regular customer).

While the husbands spend more time at sea, wives who have no employment outside of the home tend to domestic duties in their respective households. Unfortunately, the widespread penchant for comparing the domestic activities of women with the fishing tasks of their husbands tends to underrate the work of women. Yet, it was observed that after cooking the morning meal, many wives would wash the fish that have been soaked with salt overnight and lay them out for sun drying in elevated platforms lining up the shoreline. Afterwards, they go back to homemaking activities like washing clothes, feeding the pigs, or cleaning the

house oftentimes assisted by children who are old enough to help with household chores. When domestic tasks are dispensed with, some wives weave mats below or near the platforms while keeping watch over the dried fish.

Furthermore, it was likewise observed that husbands often delegate to their wives the task of selling dried or fresh fish to the mainland. Even if they accompany their wives during market day, the wives do the actual selling while the husbands assist, watch nearby, or chat with acquaintances. In this connection, some wives even revealed that their husbands prefer to give them the task of dealing with prospective customers out of a sense of shame (*maulaw*). On the other hand, the wives in the focus group discussion claimed that they feel a sense of pride for their skill in dealing with customers. Although they recognize their husbands' skill in fishing, they also realize their own worth and actually feel "much better" than their husbands along this area. Other wives commented that unless their husbands have important business in the mainland, they just go with them to the *tabu* to enjoy and relax after fishing.

As can be gleaned from the following observations, division of labor in a fishing household is operational and involves an arrangement between husband and wife that proceeds without creating tensions and frustrations between them. Time availability, expertise, and willingness to do a task are factors determining the division of labor in the household.

The responses to questions related to who usually takes over homemaking tasks when the wife is trading outside the island reveal interesting insights. When the wives are out trading, husbands are generally able to perform homemaking tasks and take-over chores like cooking, washing clothes, fetching water, and feeding the baby. However, whether they are willing to do the task or happy to perform them is another matter. The description of some wives of their husbands' activity as *limpio-limpio* or *silhig-silhig* (literally means to appear to be cleaning or sweeping) suggests that although husbands do not feel too comfortable doing some household tasks, they try to learn and carry out the tasks that their wives usually do. Some wives, however, claimed that they do house-keeping only when they arrive home from a business trip. Otherwise, they either assign a child, particularly a daughter, to do the chores or request a mother or mother-in-law who lives nearby to

look after the house and the small children if the husbands are pre-occupied with other tasks.

In the matter of family finances, it is the responsibility of the wives to do the budgeting and purchasing of household items. Since wives hold the money they earn from trading and are familiar with their household needs, they do the shopping for household necessities. Some wives even purchase the fishing gears for their husbands who just give them the list indicating the quality and quantity to be bought and where to buy them. Their trading activities in the mainland allow them the opportunity to perform this duty.

Meanwhile, decision making is shared by the couple. For instance, two of the wives who just started their families revealed that they persuaded their husbands to buy their own net and a fishing boat rather than use their parents' equipment. They financed this venture by borrowing money from relatives. Another wife convinced her husband to save money and buy a piglet which she could raise, thus supplementing the income of the household. Five of the wives, claimed that they usually suggest to their husbands what fish species to sell fresh or dry, and even to eat. Although this kind of influence exerted by wives may be viewed as minor, the implication that wives are also "heard" by their husbands already suggests the importance of the women's roles in household affairs. After all, wives as much as husbands are concerned with the economic welfare and security of the family.

### Marketing of Island Economic Goods

This section discusses in detail how the wives manage the marketing of their goods to the mainland and consequently the purchasing of household needs. The social networks they have established and maintained relative to their trading activities and familial connections are also examined.

As mentioned earlier, fresh and dried fish are the major economic goods that Apo Island, being a fishing community, trades with the mainland. Mats woven by wives from the island are also sold in the mainland. Residents of the island only occasionally sell domesticated pigs and chicken when really in need of cash. Of the full time fish traders in Apo, four are women who are on the average about 40 years old. They buy fish directly from the local fisher-

folk and bring the fish to the mainland daily when supply is available. They own pump boats and their husbands are also into fishing. They buy the fish in the island at a price about PhP10 per kilo lower than their selling price in the mainland. Despite the peculiar geographical location of Apo Island, these women fish traders could not be discouraged by rough seas or strong wind. When asked whether she would continue with her business during a typhoon, one woman fish trader said she would if the wind and waves were not too strong, and if the pump boat operator was willing to cross the sea. For this woman, bad weather also brings her some advantage despite the risk. Fish commands a higher price at this time due to limited supply as only few fisherfolks go out to fish when the weather is stormy. According to her, "*mas maayo kun may bagyo kay momahal ang presyo sa isda. Gamay ra may panguha ug daghan ang mamalit.*"

When catch is abundant, fish traders of Apo Island bring and sell the fish directly to Zamboanguita or Dauin rather than to the fish traders in Malatapay. Only occasionally when they have business to do in Dumaguete do they sell their fish in the city where the buying price is higher than in Malatapay. Some wives are involved in selling only dried fish in the Wednesday *tabu* of Malatapay. They display the dried fish either on the covered ground or on permanent stalls they had built. Most buyers of dried fish come from the hinterlands of Zamboanguita or visitors from other towns. Dried fish is sold by piece with prices ranging from PhP50 to PhP75 depending on the size.

Seven of the twelve wives interviewed sell mats during the *tabu*. Some of the mats are ordered ahead of time by residents from the mainland who also give specific designs. Aside from selling mats, one wife also sells fresh or dried *pandan* leaves at PhP25 per hundred. Her buyers come from Zamboanguita and Siaton. Wives who also weave in the island but do not have the materials buy leaves from her at PhP15 per hundred. The weaving wives, however, explained that the intensity of mat weaving in the island has presently decreased because of competition from weavers in the mainland. Mats made in Tayasan, Guihulngan and other northern towns of Negros Oriental have found their way into the regular Wednesday *tabu* and have since then posed a stiff competition to island-woven mats.

Although no quantitative data are yet available, it was reported that Apo island also provides the mainland with human labor. Because of their expertise in fishing, a number of adult males have been reportedly been working with commercial fishing outfits based in Manila and other commercial fishing firms operating in other places. Women who cannot find fishing-related activities for themselves work outside of the island as domestic helpers or sales ladies in department stores in the mainland and in other big cities.

### Purchasing of and Access to Goods from the Mainland

Although there is a consumer cooperative store and *sari-sari* stores in the island, some residents buy their household needs in larger quantity from the mainland. The occasion that wives sell fresh or dried fish is also taken as an opportunity to purchase needed goods in the household. Common items bought from the mainland include clothing materials, cereals, bread, food seasoning, vegetables, salt, canned goods, cigarettes, beverages, laundry and bath soaps, among others. Souvenir T-shirts with Apo Island designs sold in the island are bought particularly in Dumaguete. Because of the scarcity of coconut trees in the island, coconut lumber used for house construction is purchased from the mainland.

Nylon and hooks are also purchased in Dumaguete usually by women when their husbands do not have the time to do the buying themselves. The husbands specify the quality and quantity to be bought as well as the store from where these items are for sale. In some instances, husbands also asked their wives to buy in Malatipay fish baits which are not available in the water surrounding the island. Such fish baits which include species like *ihalason* (*Rastrelliger chrysozomes*), *bangsi* (*Cypselurus sinius*) and *tamban* (*Serdinell longiceps*) are used to catch bigger fish using hook and line.

Ice used to keep the fish fresh for trading in the mainland is bought in blocks from the mainland. Salt used in drying fish is also bought in large quantity from the mainland. However, securing salt sometimes becomes a problem when catch is abundant and everyone engages in drying fish. As well, gasoline and oil used to run the pump boats come from the mainland. The task of purchasing them was observed to the responsibility of Apo Island male residents who usually bought them before going home. At the time of the study,

gasoline was not available for retail in the island. Residents borrowed from each other when they run out of supply to be repaid later. *Sari-sari* stores keep a supply of kerosene used to light lamps at night in houses without electricity and during fishing. As mentioned earlier, the electric generators presently operating in the island are not owned by the residents, but are provided by businessmen from the mainland. These generators are only managed by individuals residing in the island who are closely related to the owners and are given compensation for the job.

Although there are a few carpenters in the island, some families hire workers from the mainland especially when constructing concrete houses. Since husbands are usually out fishing, it was often the job of the wives to look for hired labor from the mainland. Wives who manage their farms in the absence of their husbands hire farm workers among male family members or mainland relations who visit the island. Unlike the local residents, visiting relatives from the mainland generally do not engage themselves in fishing for lack of expertise. On the other hand, majority of the males in the island, according to the wives, do not engage in hired labor like house construction or farm clearing because their skills lie in fishing, an occupation considered more profitable particularly especially during the summer months.

### Other Forms of Socioeconomic Transactions and Networking

Other forms of exchange transactions between Apo Island and the mainland do not always involve money as an immediate medium of exchange. However, access to respective resources is facilitated by social networks established because of blood, affinal, and *suki* relationships or even by long family acquaintance. Transactions in the form of barter, gift giving, credit and loan which the wives interviewed engage in are basically socioeconomic in dynamics and content as the situations that follow illustrate.

In one of the interview sessions, a wife narrated that barter exist between corn farmers in the hinterlands of Dauin and the fishing households of Apo Island particularly during times when there is abundance in both ends. It is usually the fishing household of Apo Island that goes to the mainland. Relatives and family friends often exchange dried fish worth PhP100 with two sacks of corn on cobs with each other. On the other hand, one of the wives



who is engaged in mat weaving narrated how she started to plant *pandan*. She used to get *pandan* leaves from an aunt in Solinog Island until her aunt suggested that she grew her own plants in Apo. She has at present about 150 to 200 *pandan* plants in their small farm with seedlings from her aunt.

Some wives said that they sometimes receive some cash amount as gift or assistance from visiting parents or relatives, or when they visit them in the mainland. The practice of gift-giving is viewed as a gesture to strengthen relationship among kin. Giving, according to the wives, is likewise an expression of concern toward a relative in need, particularly for children who have just married and are starting life on their own.

Eight of the twelve women interviewed reported that they have incurred loans for various reasons from individuals in the mainland with whom they are consanguinally and affinally related. Foremost of the reasons was to secure capital to be used for purchasing souvenir T-shirts that they sell in the island to visitors and tourists. They also use the money for buy their own fishing net or *banca*, clothing materials for sale in the island, and other materials for mat weaving, among others. Others use the money for household needs as well as for medicine for a sick or hospitalized family member. One wife mentioned that she had borrowed money from a local politician residing in the mainland to post bail for her husband who was accused of stealing fish together with other men in the lagoon converted into a fishpond.

The wives also mentioned that they maintain open credit lines with storeowners and fish buyers in the mainland with whom they have established a *suki* relationship. The wives maintained that they take advantage of the open credit lines when they run out of cash for important household items while still in the mainland. Because of the peculiar geographical position of the island, women fish traders prefer to secure all necessary household items while they are in the mainland rather than wait for the next trip when they have the money. For their part, storeowners, allow Apo Island fish traders' to buy on credit because they trust their capacity to pay when they bring in the fish to sell the next time they meet. This arrangement has proved beneficial to both parties. While the storeowner is assured of a steady supply of fish from the island, the fish traders can purchase household necessities on credit when they run short of cash.

This relationship underlies the reason why fish traders buy from one storeowner or that fish traders sell fish to the same buyer. Unwritten rules regulate this relationship as well as define the privileges that could be enjoyed by the parties involved. For example, the idea that credit is allowed develops a sense of *utang na loob* and makes one obligated to transact with a *suki* (cf. Szanton 1979). Their relationship is also cordial and the other party from the mainland is often accommodating. The price of goods at a *suki* storeowner has been reportedly lower than at non-*suki*-stores. Moreover, the wives interviewed also defined the qualities of the person with whom to transact credit or loan. For example, according to them, the source must be dependable, helpful, and approachable particularly when the need is really serious and urgent.

### Sourcing of Information

The exposure of wives to the activities in the mainland and their interaction with other people give them access to information either directly solicited or observed from different sources. For example, their experiences in marketing island goods and purchasing of mainland goods have likewise made them realize that the increase in the price of oil will create a corresponding increase in the prices of goods and a decrease in the purchasing power of the peso ("*gamay na ug bili ang piso*"). They are aware that existing market price determines the buying price of fish in the island which in turn affects their decision whether to sell the fish in Malatapay or in Dumaguete and the nearby towns, or sell it fresh or dry whichever commands better economic return (Ybañez 1991).

The buying behavior of customers could provide wives involved in trading some vital information about their business. For example, wives engaged in mat weaving acquire information about color and design from customers who order mats ahead of time and give specific instructions regarding their preferences. From these buyers weavers also derive some insights about new designs that would sell well in the mainland. In striving to satisfy their customers by meeting their preferences, mat weavers are assured of their customers' continued patronage. On the other hand, a wife who is engaged in dressmaking in the island revealed that she derives some ideas about dress styles from watching other women in the mainland during market day.

Public transport constitutes one of the best contexts for social interactions. Passengers often exchange valuable information while riding together in buses to their places of destination. For instance, a wife narrated that while riding a passenger *jeepney* one day, she learned from the other women passengers about the immunization schedule for children which she, in turn, relayed to other mothers in the island. Usually, women fish traders are the carriers of notices such as those about training on fish and fruit processing technology conducted by the local government unit. Similarly, job opportunities outside often reach people in the island through friends and relatives who come home during *fiesta* or for a visit.

The first woman to realize the economic prospects of selling souvenir T-shirts learned about it from somebody coming from the mainland. The business prospered and started attracting the interest of other wives who followed suit. At present, the wife who pioneered the business has stopped but remains involved, albeit indirectly, by financing other wives. A wife who financed two women discovered that buying plain T-shirts and having them printed with her chosen design is more profitable than buying previously printed T-shirts. Depending on the quality and color, T-shirts sell from PhP130 to PhP150 in the island. The seller gets about PhP15 per T-shirt sold. Presently, seven women peddle souvenir T-shirts to visitors and tourists in the island. Some wives fear that the business will inevitably become unprofitable if more and more women will engage in it.

### Analysis and Implications of the Exchange Transactions for Apo Island Ecosystem

The exchange transactions of Apo Island with the mainland particularly those carried out by the wives will continue as long as the resources they are presently trading are still available. Such resources, however, are not inexhaustible. Unregulated fishing could inevitably prove disastrous to marine and eventually to human life. Thus, one of the problems facing the fisherfolks of Apo Island is the possible depletion of fish supply. It is common knowledge that fish supply in the island will not remain abundant if the factors contributing to their depletion are not checked during their symptomatic stage. The marine reserve and fish sanctuary estab-

lished mainly to protect marine life will ensure a steady supply of fish so long as it is not drastically disturbed. (Alcala 1997: 165). Although as yet no illegal fishing activities have been observed in the island, there is a need for the *barangay* government to continually monitor the activities within the sanctuary and strictly implement the promulgated rules. Furthermore, the implementation of such rules should be undertaken by the empowered people themselves. Legal sanction must be meted out to any person found violating sanctuary rules and initiating destructive activities. If left unchecked such violations will only motivate others to do the same, particularly when economic needs prevail over ecological considerations.

More than overfishing, however, unregulated diving activities in the reefs pose an even more serious threat to the sanctuary. Although they make money out of divers and tourists who are their potential customers of souvenir T-shirts, the wives interviewed said that they fear the drastic effects of unregulated diving activities in the sanctuary by these visitors. They have observed that despite the existence of a *barangay* ordinance regulating diving activities, the frequency of diving tours in the island appears unchecked, while the number of tourists and dives made in the sanctuary continue to increase especially during summer months. Pump boats carrying tourists and visitors have been seen traversing freely inside the fish sanctuary. During the study, a pump boat owned by a local resort was seen anchored to a buoy within the sanctuary, its engine left running while the crew was refilling oxygen tanks. It has been established that oil leaks and the vibrating sound produced by the engine can cause disturbance on marine organisms. The wives believe that these activities will eventually scare away the fishes. As they claimed, "*mangahadlok ang mga isda ug tingali mangawala sila.*" Alarmed by the present developments in the island such as the arrival of more tourist divers and the establishment of resorts, the wives are calling for an urgent review of existing rules regulating the activities within the marine reserve.

The wives are keenly aware of the far-reaching negative consequences to their lives of environmental destruction. For instance, they realize that when fish supply in the surrounding waters of the island will become depleted because of detrimental human activities, residents will have to fish farther away from the island. Given the limited land area of the island, the marginal condition of

the soil, and the growing population, island residents will be forced to leave home and their families to find work outside the island. Meanwhile, those who do not have the opportunity to work outside because of limited skills have to eke out a living from the steadily dwindling resources of the island.

In the face of these grim prospects, the role of wives in the protection and preservation of their natural resources cannot be underestimated. Among themselves, wives realized that they have to remain constantly vigilant of potential destruction to the environment. Similarly, they know that they need to constantly remind their husbands of the dim scenario destructive fishing could bring to the island. Aware of these potentially tragic consequences, wives continue to strive to look for alternative means of helping the economic well being not only of their own selves and their families, but of the entire island as well. For instance, wives engaged in mat weaving have begun to realize that despite the abundance of *pan-dan* plants in the island, competition with other weavers in the mainland poses a threat to their business. Consequently, it has become imperative for them as an association to develop a marketing strategy where they themselves would not be competing with each other. At the time of the study, the weavers association was planning to pool their products and exploring the possibility of establishing a ready market for these products in Dumaguete City.

### Summary

Although Apo Island and the mainland are viewed in this study as different ecosystems, they are not politically and culturally distinct. Residents of the island are generally subsistence or small-scale fisherfolks, while those in the mainland are diversified in their economic pursuits which give them wider resource bases to exchange with the island people. It has been observed that the major resources found in Apo Island such as fresh and dried fish, and mats are also available in some coastal communities in the mainland. In this sense, island products have to compete with mainland products in the market. Furthermore, people in the island are dependent on certain products or resources available only in the mainland. For this reason, mainland people are not always able to appreciate the significance of their exchange relationship with the island. Moreover, unlike island residents, mainland people have

more alternative sources available to them, a situation which actually creates a one-sided exchange relationship. This means that if the people of Apo Island wanted to sell their products, they have to take the initiative to bring these products to the mainland. And as the men are preoccupied with fishing, this task is primarily the responsibility of women, particularly the wives. This task constitutes an extension of the wives' involvement in the fishing industry of the island.

Although this study is basically exploratory and descriptive, the information gathered provides some knowledge on the dynamics of how wives are able to make themselves actively part of the social and economic activities of their respective families despite the demands of their biological and traditional roles. As this study has shown, women are not merely invisible resources but are significant contributors to the rural economy. But their involvement, as well as those of the rest of the people in the island in the efforts to secure the fishing environment of Apo Island from wanton destruction, needs to be fully harnessed in different aspects of coastal resource management such as managing resources, monitoring resources utilization, apprehending illegal activities on the environment, and developing appropriate alternative economic activities which are ecologically viable. In this endeavor, the support of both government and non-government organizations in educating and empowering the island people in coastal resources management programs cannot be overstressed.

### Acknowledgments

I wish to acknowledge Prof. Ester C. Delfin of the Department of Social Work of Silliman University and the Development and Women Network (DAWN) in the gathering and initial processing of the data; Prof. Rolando V. Mascuñana, chairperson of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, for his comments and suggestions on the draft; Clifford P. Electona, a graduate student of Sociology, for encoding the report; and Ms. Ma. Cecilia M. Genove for editing the manuscript. The full participation of the wives of Apo Island during the study, and the accommodation provided by Nang Elvira, president of Apo-DAWN, have made our stay in Apo Island an extremely productive encounter with them. Needless to say, the shortcomings of this paper are solely mine.

1. This study was conducted under the auspices of Silliman University Center of Excellence in Coastal Resources Management through a grant from the United States Agency for International Development. The opinions expressed herein, however, are not necessarily those of the USAID.
2. The author is an assistant professor of Sociology and a research associate at the Interdisciplinary Research Unit of the College of Arts and Sciences, Silliman University, Dumaguete City.
3. A coastal community in Zamboanguita, directly facing Apo Island.
4. One of these lagoons has been converted into a fishpond by local residents.

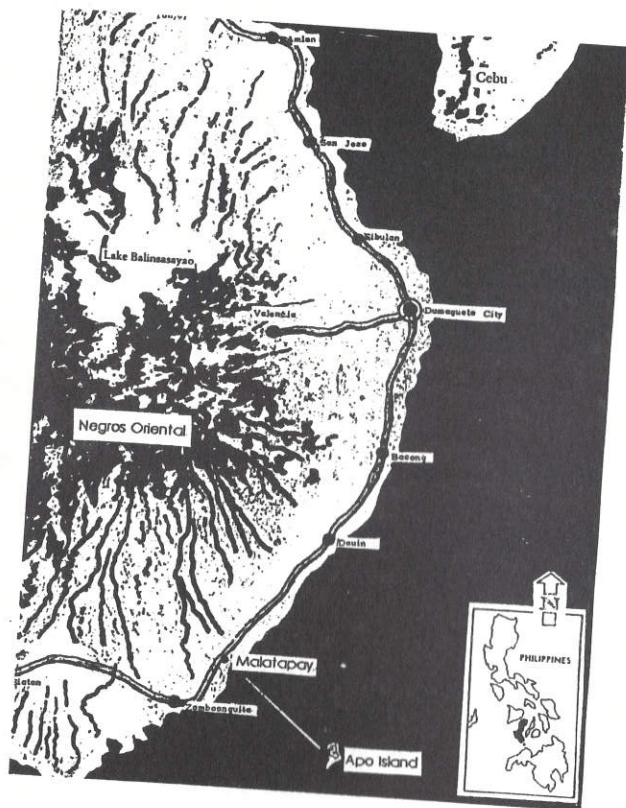


Figure 1. Apo Island in relation to the southeastern coastal towns of Negros Oriental showing travel routes.

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Earl Jude Paul Lirazan Cleope

AS THE NATION commemorated the centennial of the Philippine Revolution this year, many projects and activities were undertaken in order to make this event truly momentous and relevant. It is noteworthy to mention, that as we Filipinos try to reminisce and understand the deeds and actions of our ancestors in this important period of our nation, we should also endeavor to examine the history of our locality and its contributions to the making of our national history. In particular, there is a need to examine the discourses surrounding the Philippine Revolution and locate them in their regional, provincial, and local contexts so that their historical significance, specifically to the province of Negros Oriental, can be better understood. This present study proceeds from this critical framework.

The analysis of the events in Negros Oriental in this paper is based on the new historicism's perspective on the discourses of history and is framed on Michel Foucault's concept of power which views historical events as always shaped by the acquisition of and negotiations for power. These theoretical perspectives provide the framework for the investigation of three historical developments which I believe have bearing on the outcome of the Revolution in the province: (1) the process underlying the spread of Revolution throughout the province; (2) the response of the local government to it; and, (3) the language used to articulate the sentiments and ideals of the revolution and convey its ideologies.

One unique feature of this analysis is its sources such as those representing the scholarly efforts to reconstruct the history of Negros Oriental by Negros-based scholars. I refer to the pioneering four-volume work of Prof. Caridad Rodriguez on *Negros Oriental and the Philippine Revolution* and the article by Dr. T. Valentin Sitoy in the *Kabilin: Legacies of a Hundred Years of Negros Oriental*. Using these historical works, I will try to examine critically the events that surrounded the history of the province during the period spanning the twilight of the Spanish reign in 1898 and the dawning of the American rule.

## Negros Oriental at the Outbreak of the Revolution

It must be established that when the Revolution against Spain began in August 1896, Negros Oriental, by then a relatively new province (established January 1, 1890), did not immediately feel the impact of the revolution. The same situation had been observed in other areas of the Visayas and Mindanao which, like this province, did not play a very significant economic or political role in the Spanish government. This situation seems to suggest that the revolution against the Spaniards, notably in its early stage, was late, if not absent, in many parts of the country.

It is possible to speculate a number of reasons why the participation of the province in the revolution came rather late. First, the peculiar geographic condition of the country separated the province from the national capital. Physical distance and the poor state of transportation and communication facilities which connected the disparate islands of the archipelago at that time combined to isolate the province from the events unfolding in other parts of the country.

Second, the leadership profile of the province at that time was composed mostly, if not all, by political leaders who were generally mestizo—a mix breed of Filipino and Spanish or Filipino-Spanish and Chinese. The elite, as they have been called, had *vested interests* that somehow influenced their actions. As T. Valentin Sitoy contends "...the rest of the Negros elites [sic] were disinterested, if not in fact, hostile to the revolution."<sup>2</sup>

Third, the inhabitants were widely perceived to be peace-loving people who preferred to stay out of trouble. The common expression "*walay tay labot*"<sup>3</sup> has been pointed out as the verbal manifestation of such behavior. This view is supported by the comments of Negros Oriental Governor Ferrer included in a letter to the Governor General in which he described the inhabitants of this province as "...peaceful in character, that no association, whether authorized or secret, existed and that no person, who because of their [sic] past conduct, deserved to be watched."<sup>4</sup>

Fourth, there was no revolutionary army in the province. The absence of this army in Negros Oriental is supported by the fact that Pantaleon Villegas, popularly known as "Leon Kilat," led the revolutionary forces in Cebu, although he himself was a native of Bacong (Sitoy 1990: 12). Nevertheless, Caridad Rodriguez in her

book, *Negros Oriental and the Philippine Revolution*, pointed out that about this time Pedro Baguio of Guihulngan and Diego de la Viña of Vallehermoso were already organizing some revolutionary activities.<sup>5</sup> However, considering the distance of these two towns from Dumaguete and other towns, their activities were indeed an exception.

### The Language Barrier

During the outbreak of the revolution, Tagalog words like *kapatid*, *kalayaan*, *lahi*, and *laban* were part of the philosophical and ideological context of the revolution. However, it is possible to speculate that the people in Negros Oriental did not grasp the significance of the concepts because the meanings of these words in the Cebuano context were different. For instance, the word *patid* in Cebuano means "to kick," obviously a far cry from the notion of brotherhood embodied in *kapatid*. Similarly, the Cebuano word *laya* is an adjective describing a dry or withered state as in dried leaf. For Cebuano speakers, then, *kalayaan* evokes a condition of dryness rather than freedom as the Tagalog equivalent signifies.<sup>6</sup> As well, the word *lahi* in Cebuano literally means different while its Tagalog equivalent means race. Moreover, in Cebuano the word *laban* which means "to be with" or "to defend" or "to fight with," is a direct antonym of the Tagalog *laban* which means to "fight" or "fight against." The Tagalog equivalent of the Cebuano *laban*, however, is *kampi*. Given the varying semantic implications of these words in their specific linguistic contexts, it remains unclear whether the Cebuano speaking inhabitants of this province fully understood the meaning of these words or grasped the nationalistic sentiments with which they were endowed by the leaders of the Revolution. Predictably, this had an effect on the people's loyalty to the cause and sympathy with the struggle. Not surprising, even at the present time, the language issue remains a contentious problem in Philippine society especially as regional pride and politics have entered the picture.

### The "Revolution"

It is interesting to note that when Manila fell to the Americans in that "infamous" mock battle of Manila on August 13, 1898,

the province was peaceful and remained quite even two months after this event took place. It is apparent at this time that both the leaders of this province and the people were closely watching the developments in the national front and carefully calculating their next moves.

Surprisingly, when the revolutionary leaders of this province did decide to join the revolution, they took the cue from Negros Occidental. After the liberation of Bacolod by the forces of General Juan Araneta on the first week of November 1898, Don Diego de la Viña immediately dispatched his son, Jose, to see the General "for instructions on what actions to take in Negros Oriental."<sup>7</sup> As a result, Diego de la Viña was commissioned as General de Brigada, Comandante del Ejercito Filipino, Provincia de Negros Oriental, by Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo who instructed him to "immediately rid Negros Oriental of Spanish forces garrisoned in said province, and hereafter, to organize a Provisional Revolutionary Government" (Rodriguez 1989: 84).

### The March for Liberation

A close examination of the events surrounding the march for the liberation of the province could shed light on the fundamental question whether driving the Spaniards away was indeed the core of the revolutionary events in the province. As recorded by historians, the march for the liberation of the province started on November 17, 1898 after Gen. Diego de la Viña informed all the *capitanes municipales* in the towns of the strategy to converge all forces from the northern and southern towns and join forces to attack the capital town of Dumaguete.<sup>8</sup> Contrary to expectations, however, the march to Dumaguete<sup>9</sup> turned out to be no more than a parade. Although imbued with the spirit to fight and the will to defend the province, the revolutionary forces which began their march from Vallehermoso in the north and from Siaton in the south found no opportunities for fighting on the way. As reported by Fr. Juan Lorenzo of Hiligaon and Fr. Lorenzo Cordon of Siaton, "there was no fighting nor any losses of lives and property. Neither were there any outrages nor retributions."<sup>10</sup> This is in reference to the southern towns liberated by forces headed by Major Felipe Tayko.

Apparently, at the time of the scheduled march, most of the Spanish civil guards, friars, and officials had already left the towns earlier for fear of their lives. With the declaration of independence by Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo on June 12, 1898, the Spaniards also saw their situation worsening. When the American reinforcements arrived after the defeat of the Spanish fleet by Commodore George Dewey's fleet on May 1, 1898, Spanish authorities realized that the Americans were now in control. On November 23, 1898, most of the Spaniards in the province left for Cebu. Gen. Diego de la Viña entered Dumaguete on November 24, 1899, the day after the departure of the Spaniards. As a result, the revolutionary forces entered the capital without the slightest resistance. November 24 was the *bisperas*<sup>11</sup> of the town fiesta and many people from the neighboring towns and places were in the capital to celebrate the feast of the patron saint of Dumaguete. Indeed the fiesta celebration on November 25, 1898 was a joyous occasion since, except for a few like Fray Pedro Bengoa who decided to join the rebels and who officiated the mass of the liberated Dumaguete, the Spaniards were no longer around.

As far as the timing for the siege of Dumaguete was concerned, the choice of the date, November 24, 1898 (Rodriguez 1989: 93), to enter the capital remains historically controversial. On the one hand, the deliberate avoidance of a military confrontation by the revolutionary forces pointed to a lack of guts or might and tended to becloud the revolutionary spirit. On the other hand, the manipulation was considered a brilliant idea for it averted the needless loss of lives and property. Moreover, from the perspective of Foucault's concept of negotiations for power, this deliberate avoidance of conflict assured the leaders of the revolution a certain number of advantages, foremost of which was keeping intact the structures of power over which they had vested interests. From the events that took place then, it would be difficult to insist that driving the Spaniards away was the core of the revolutionary events in the province.

### The Liberation

After the liberation of the province, the officials were faced with the task of organizing the local government, the most urgent of which was deciding the kind and form of government to establish.

This was a tall order for a young province still trying to put its acts together. On the one hand, while Negros Oriental leaders still considered themselves under the Malolos government of President Emilio Aguinaldo, the leaders of the neighboring province of Negros Occidental, who all belonged to the "landed aristocracy" (Rodriguez 1989: 107) created on November 27, 1898 a Cantonal Government for the entire island of Negros.<sup>12</sup> Among others, this system proposed the independence of Negros from the rest of the islands (Rodriguez 1989: 107). As well, this proposal was aimed at winning the support of the United States in the event of a Spanish invasion. Interestingly, although Negros Oriental leaders were not represented when this system was introduced, they followed orders from their counterparts in the Occidental. As Prof. Rodriguez puts it, "there was no question about the loyalty of the Negros Oriental leaders to President Aguinaldo's government, but at the same time they found themselves following directives from Negros Occidental" (Rodriguez 1989: 107). From the outset, it was readily apparent that some conflicts of interest were bound to arise. This apprehension became a reality when the United States and Spain finally agreed to sign the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898 in which the Philippines, without the knowledge of the Filipinos, was ceded to the U.S. in the amount of \$20,000,000.

### The American Occupation

The Filipinos were not allowed to enter Manila after the surrender of the Spaniards. On February 4, 1899, an American sentry shot a Filipino soldier at San Juan Bridge. Known as the "San Juan bridge incident," this tragic event triggered the Filipino-American war. Without even attempting to determine the real cause of the incident, Gen. Arthur McArthur issued on the following day an order to advance against the Filipino troops (Agoncillo 1975: 217). While the war in Manila raged on, a different event was taking place in Negros Occidental. On February 12, 1899, the Occidental leaders raised the American flag with a 21 gun salute although no American was around at the time.<sup>13</sup> The Occidental leaders explained that in taking this action, they were only trying to avert the same fate that befell Iloilo when it was bombarded by the Americans into surrender.

The day the Occidental leaders raised the American flag, a different scenario was unfolding in Negros Oriental. President Demetrio Larena circularized a letter to the local *presidentes* asking them to be vigilant and to tell the people not to be afraid of the Americans because, according to him, "even if they were powerful on sea because they have navies, [but] we are more powerful on land because of our sharp bolos and lances."<sup>14</sup> By February 18, 1899 Gen. De la Viña reiterated the instructions of Pres. Larena to the local military chiefs by telling them "to wait for the arrival of the Americans after which he will tell them what to do next" (Rodriguez 1989: 138). It is clear by their response that at the time they were closely monitoring the events, the leaders of Negros Oriental were still very loyal to the Malolos Republic.

While these developments were taking place, the province was busy preparing for the inauguration of the new government and the first meeting of the newly elected Congress of Deputies of Negros Oriental scheduled on Feb. 19, 1899. However, just a day before the celebration, a letter from the Negros Occidental Cantonal Government arrived which urged the Negros Oriental towns to raise the American flag.<sup>15</sup> The letter was read by Chairman Vicente Ozoa before the Congress (Rodriguez 1989: 139) on February 19, 1899. The order to fly another foreign flag just as they were celebrating their newly-won independence outraged the people of the province. As Sitoy writes "...the initial reaction of eastern Negrenses to these events was—understandably enough—shock, consternation, and anger" (Sitoy 1990: 13).

Initially, this turn of events caught the leaders of the province in a dilemma. The Malolos Republic to whom they had remained loyal up to this time had just waged war with the Americans. To decide to support President Aguinaldo could bring Negros Oriental into open conflict with their comrades in Negros Occidental. Although short-lived, the decision of the Negros Oriental leaders not to raise the American flag and maintain the integrity and independence of the province was considered by many people in the province to be an admirable act. By February 25, 1899, Gen. De La Viña told his local military chiefs that the Negros Occidental and American troops "have no right to interfere in our province, much more to disturb the public order... If they enter our towns, we shall be obliged to throw them out by force."<sup>16</sup> Thus

saying, he instructed his officers to be ready for war. Hence, Negros Oriental did not raise the American flag.

However, as the feeling of Anti-Americanism and Anti-Occidentalism worsened in the Oriental side, the Occidental leaders felt compelled to convince the Oriental leaders to join with them. This was necessary since a Congress of Deputies composed of representatives from both provinces had earlier been scheduled in order to draft a constitution. Consequently, General Araneta came to Dumaguete on April 9, 1899 purposely to convince the leaders to join them. After his private talks with Pres. Larena and Gen. De La Viña, he convened a general meeting of provincial and town officials on April 11, 1899 during which he emphasized to the officials the advantages of "being under the American protection and the futility of fighting against a far more superior power" (Rodriguez 1989: 142). The persuasive power of Gen. Araneta obviously worked since the Oriental leaders agreed to send a Commission to Bacolod headed by Pres. Larena to "discuss and revise the constitution for the Federal Republic of Negros."<sup>17</sup>

The next day, Pres. Larena and the other commissioners left for Bacolod with Gen. Araneta on board an American ship. The following day, April 13, Gen. De la Viña ordered his military chiefs not to raise any flag while the commissioners were still in Bacolod since, as he said: "our flag is not yet recognized by other nations."<sup>18</sup> He further added that "if military chiefs from the other side [Occidental] accompanied by columns of native soldiers and Americans will come to our province by the order of Philippine authorities, you should treat them as real friends" (Rodriguez 1989: 142). This turn of events indicated that the loyalty of the leaders of Negros Oriental was slowly sliding in favor of the new colonizer. It is not surprising then that when Pres. Larena arrived on April 30, 1899, although the congress ended on May 3, the American flag was raised with the 21-gun salute (Rodriguez 1989: 142). The American flag was raised without the knowledge of the people that their leaders had by then accepted American rule.

By May 1st, Interim Pres. Herminigildo Villanueva sent letters to the towns enjoining them to raise the American flag as they did in the capital and convincing them that they really needed the protection of the Americans. In the same letter, he told them that with the Americans the "future will be brighter and stronger."<sup>19</sup> It is not surprising that the other towns immediately



followed like in the previous times. With the exception of Bais and Tanjay in the north and Bayawan, Tolong, and Siaton in the south, the rest of the towns in Negros Oriental heeded Villanueva's letter. The refusal of the northern towns to raise the American flag was understandable because of their strong links to the Malolos government. The revolutionists headed by Serio Guzman Singco hauled down the American flags without any objection from the residents.<sup>20</sup> Meanwhile, the uprising in the southern towns was spearheaded by the *Babaylanes*.<sup>21</sup> In vain, Pres. Larena dispatched a commission to convince the leaders of the advantages of being under the American rule. Failing to convince the leaders of the province, especially those in the northern towns, Pres. Larena went back to Bacolod to report the matter to Gen. James Smith.<sup>22</sup> In his absence, Gen. De la Viña, citing failing health as the reason, resigned and appointed Herminigildo Villanueva to replace him as the delegate of War.<sup>23</sup>

Following the president's trip, a battalion of American troops arrived in Dumaguete on May 27, 1899. The next day, the Americans, accompanied by some Filipino troops, proceeded to Bais and Tanjay. However, they found no form of resistance because the insurgents had left the towns earlier. Eventually, the rebels surrendered on June 5, 1899 and were given amnesty.<sup>24</sup> Afterwards, the Americans proceeded to the southern towns which were under the influence of the *babaylanes*, but as in the northern towns, the rebels were nowhere to be found.

On July 22, 1899, the Americans issued Gen. Order no. 30 which installed a "military-civil government under an appointed American military Governor with absolute veto powers and a popularly elected native civil Governor and an advisory council."<sup>25</sup> This order put to rest the struggles of the people of Negros Oriental. Unfortunately, the proposed federal constitution promised to them never materialized.

### Concluding Notes

Strictly speaking, revolution means to "revolve." Epistemologically, it implies that there is a change in the structure from below to the upper level and vice versa. In this sense, there is a power shift in the structure which could enable the people in the lower level to move up. Moreover, although revolution usually im-

plies a bitter and bloody struggle, some events have been "bloodless revolts or glorious ones."

The circumstances that shaped the history of the province from 1898 to 1899 could be considered a unique revolutionary event. As can be seen in the turn of events, the revolution in the province involved no kind of change or movement in the structure as the power spots remained filled either by the people from the same level or by the same people who were originally in the power structure. Despite the people's will to fight for the liberation of the province, they simply had no opportunity to dramatize this urge. The famous "march for the liberation" of Dumaguete in 1898 was no more than a parade<sup>26</sup> and the American liberation in 1899 was simply like a pass in review. As mentioned earlier, it was clear that there was evidence of massive aggression or burning desire to fight the Spaniards. However, much of this sentiment remained at the level of the emotion rather than action since the planned attacks were timed after the Spaniards had already left.<sup>27</sup> Leaders of the revolution claimed that this move was designed to avert the loss of lives and possible destruction of the province. If this were so, it is possible to conclude then that the leaders had calculated their potential loss and opted to negotiate to their advantage. Similarly, the leaders of the province responded to the coming of the Americans in a pragmatic way. Realizing the grim scenario and effects of a Quixotic resistance, they opted to negotiate.

Consequently, what happened in the province exemplifies the postmodern theory which propounds that "historical events are marked by negotiations" (Hornedo 1996). This paper argues that Negros Oriental leaders negotiated and dealt with the Occidental leaders and the Americans in order to acquire power for their own interests. Although these deals and negotiations forced the leaders of the province to abandon the ideals of the Philippine Revolution, they created opportunities for power sharing which in turn gave birth to new forces and alliances. These negotiations clearly placed the province in a much better position than those places whose leaders resisted the American colonization. To illustrate, the establishment of Silliman Institute, later to become Silliman University, by American missionaries, in Dumaguete has continued to this day to exert a tremendous impact on the province and the nation in general.

Finally, as a general framework in the study of the Revolution, there is a need to subject to more critical scrutiny the supposed "Revolt of the Masses." As can be seen from the events mentioned earlier, the elite, who were mainly the landowners, occupied the leadership positions during the revolution. These positions of privilege assured not only the essential continuity of power established during the Spanish and the Revolutionary periods into the new order, but also allowed the elite to retain their power and influence in the new order (Guerrero 169-73). Meanwhile, their tenants constituted the mass of low ranking members of the revolutionary forces whose participation in the revolution took place in the context of patron-client relationship similar to that existing between tenants and their landlords, as well as between the *principales* and *caciques* and their subjects and followers.<sup>28</sup> In effect, this relationship suggests that as in normal life, the masses during the revolution remained in a subordinate position to their master-landlords and took orders from them. That the revolution in the province involved no radical change or movement in the structure is, therefore, not at all surprising.

Revolution is the product of many circumstances, conditions, peoples, and personalities involving their actions and motivations, discourses, and finally the unforeseen consequences of intended actions. Therefore, there is a need to look at revolution from different perspectives and examine multiple discourses and textualities especially those focusing on class distinctions, as well as regional, provincial, and local versions. Because every perspective has something to contribute, it is no longer possible to claim a final narrative of the events. One must go beyond them to recreate a rich landscape and kaleidoscope of the historical fact.

## Notes

1. This is a revised version of the paper delivered during the Conference on "The Revolution and the Southern Provinces" held last April 2-3, 1998 at the Social Hall of the Provincial Capitol of Cebu. The conference was sponsored by the National Commission for Culture and the Arts and the Historical Association of Cebu, Inc. This paper was also presented during the 7<sup>th</sup> Regional Seminar Workshop in Oral and Local History

- sponsored by the National Historical Institute held last May 21-22, 1998 at the Multipurpose Hall of Silliman University.
2. T. Valentin Sitoy "The Making of Negros: A Brief History." *Kabilin: Legacies of a Hundred Years of Negros Oriental*, 12. On the contrary, Prof. Rodriguez commented that in her research, she found no evidence of hostility towards the revolution among the elite. (Interviewed Aug. 24, 1998).
3. Cebuano term for "none of our business." Perhaps due to the ignorance of the people about the revolution; believed to be an outgrowth of the Spanish policy of "*divide et empera* (Divide and rule tactic of the Spaniards).
4. Caridad A. Rodriguez. *Negros Oriental and the Philippine Revolution*, 81 as quoted in the report of Governor P. M. Antonio Ferrer on April 5, 1898 entitled *Costa Oriental de las Isla de Negros*.
5. They were supposed to be providing safe houses for the training of their men.
6. Although "laya" in the Tagalog context refers to the "elbow room" of the weavers, no Cebuano word exists with the same meaning.
7. Caridad A. Rodriguez, 84 as quoted in *A Brief Biography of Diego de la Vina* by Woodrow Serion in 1954. (I had the opportunity to interview Mr. Serion).
8. Apparently, most of the marchers were farm laborers of Don Diego de la Viña. See Rodriguez, 86.
9. Prof. Rodriguez has a very vivid account of the march in her book on pp. 88 to 95.
10. Juan Gadiane. *Pahayag* (an unpublished manuscript in Cebuano, 1950).
11. The day before the fiesta celebration. But Prof. Rodriguez stressed that Dumaguete was a deserted town as people fled in fear of the shootings if de la Viña arrived. See Rodriguez, 94.
12. Rodriguez, 106 and Sitoy, 13 as quoted in S.D. ,P.I.R., 77.3, Box 256-9, Microfilm section, Filipiniana Division, National Library.
13. Rodriguez, 137 and Sitoy, 13. as quoted from Ma. Fe H. Romero's *Negros Occidental Between two Foreign powers*, 134; and the Noble Collection, vol. xxv p. 4201 of the P.R. Collections at the National Library.

14. Rodriguez, 138 as quoted from P.R. 91. Letter of Pres. D. Larena to the local presidents.
15. Rodriguez, 139. As quoted in Romero.
16. Rodriguez, 140 and Sitoy, 13 as quoted from P.R. 91. Feb. 25, 1899 order.
17. Rodriguez, 142. Also found in Sitoy, 14. as quoted from the James Smith Report to the Adjutant of the Visayan Military District. p. 34.
18. Rodriguez, 142 as quoted from P.R. 91. Gen. De la Vina's order of April 13, 1899.
19. Rodriguez, 147 as quoted from P.R. 91. Letter of Interim Pres. H. Villanueva. Dumaguete, May 1, 1899 in Spanish.
20. A letter of Sergio Singco to Gen. Vicente Lukban. June 12, 1899 taken from the United States National Archives, Military Reference Branch (NNRM), R. G. 395, entry 2943, 2937, 2940 on "Philippine Islands, Bacolod, Negros," Box no. 1, through the kindness of Fr. Roman Sagun who did his research on Sept. 1992 at Washington D.C.
21. A pseudo-religious group with nationalistic aspirations. See Evelyn Cullamar, *Babaylanism in Negros, 1896-1907* (Manila: New Day Publishers, 1986).
22. James Smith Report, 342.
23. For the exact details see Rodriguez, 148-154.
24. Rodriguez, 56 as quoted from S.D. Box 2 Folder 29. Document no. S.D. 29.8 pp.6-9.
25. Rodriguez, 158 as quoted in Marion Wilcox (ed.) *Harper's History of the War in the Philippines*, 232-236.
26. This is similar with the observation of Francisco Varona regarding the Revolution in Negros Occidental on November 6-7, 1998. See Francisco Varona, *Negros historia anecdotica de su riqueza y de sus hombres* (Manila: General Printing Press, 1921), 162.
27. This is understandable because General Diego de Los Rios ordered all troops under his command in Mindanao and the Visayas to Iloilo where he established the seat of Government obviously to protect him.
28. Schumacher, John. *The making of a nation* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1991), 184. In this sense, Cornelio Fuentes also pointed out that from the haciendas were recruited the men who made up the revolutionary army. See

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Douglas J. Elwood

RECENTLY I was reading an article on leadership in which the author says that today we are living in a "postponed generation," meaning that we are living with a younger generation that tends to postpone or avoid taking responsibility, reluctant to take leadership. If this is so, what will the educational system be like in the future with so few leaders? I do not know if this problem exists in the Philippines, but in the United States it has already become a serious problem. The leadership vacuum is most noticeable in the academic world. Gordon Fee of the University of Colorado reports in an issue of *U.S. News and World Report* that in the 1980s the proportion of faculty members under age 35 decreased from 20.3% to 6.3%. The Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education has estimated that by the year 2000, at the present trend, professors over age 46 will constitute 65% of all faculty members. Fee concludes by asking, "Where are the young people who will lead in the academic world?" This adds a new twist to the once-popular song, "Where Have All the Young Folks Gone?" Add to this the fact that those who aspire to lead often seem to be lacking in quality leadership, and we may be faced with a leadership crisis at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### A New Concept of Leadership

In this article I want to commend to you a new and potentially revolutionary concept of leadership. It originated at the Center for Applied Ethics in Indianapolis, Indiana, founded by the late Robert K. Greenleaf who was Director of Management Research for AT&T and later a professor in the Sloan School of Management at MIT and at the Harvard Business School, concurrently.

The new concept emphasizes two basic principles: the priority of service to others and the sharing of power in decision-making. The concept has been applied successfully in a number of leading corporations and foundations, such as General Electric and AT&T, and Ford, Mellon, and Lilly Foundations. Greenleaf believed that institutions will be those that are predominantly ser-

vant-led. In other words, a new moral principle seems to be emerging in our time which holds that the only authority deserving of one's allegiance is that which is freely and knowingly granted by the followers to the leader whose "servant stature" is clearly evident. It is anticipated that people will increasingly respond only to leaders who have been proven and trusted as servants. "We tend to criticize the impersonal system," writes Greenleaf, "but it is our attitude and our level of caring, not the 'system,' that needs criticism and improvement" (1991: 10 and 53).

This means, for instance, that a university is distinctive only as it is servant-lead and as it encourages its faculty and students to become servant-leaders. And I believe that this is especially true of an institution that claims to be a Christian university. I must confess that in my later years as a teacher at Silliman I became somewhat disillusioned because it seemed to me that the service motive, which graduates of Silliman were known for in earlier years, had diminished in importance and influence among both students and faculty, while other motives seemed to be taking its place. For instance, more and more students were applying for an emigration visa just after receiving their diploma. And those who remained to serve their country wanted to work only in the big cities, leaving the countryside deprived of leadership. I remember that this was a major concern of former Health Secretary Juan Flavier in the area of public health, when he wrote the popular book, *Doctor to the Barrio*. Perhaps this is not true any longer at Silliman. If so, I am greatly encouraged.

### The Servant-As-Leader

You may well ask, who in the world would want to be a servant? On first hearing, the concept "servant leadership" sounds like a contradiction in terms. As commonly understood, a "servant" and a "leader" would seem to be at opposite ends of a continuum. As Greenleaf states the question in one of a number of essays, "Can these two roles be fused in one real person, in all levels of status or calling? If so, can that person live and be productive in the real world of the present?" And he responds with an emphatic "yes" to both questions (Hesse 1991: 1).

True, nobody would want to be a servant, if by that is meant a slave, or even a domestic helper who is forced to work at

that job. Most servants in biblical times were slaves, owned by their master and therefore forced to do hard manual labor. Domestic helpers, as here in the Philippines, are several notches above the slave in that they are not literally "owned" by their master. Still, many are forced by circumstance of poverty to work long hours for very little pay—sometimes only board and room. For these reasons, the term "servant" does not sound like something any of us would ever aspire to be.

Obviously, the term "servant" is used by the Center for Applied Ethics as a metaphor, or figure of speech, to represent someone who cares deeply about the needs of others, and is willing to give priority to those needs—especially the needs of the poor. Jesus often used the term "servant" to describe the authentic disciple. He encouraged "servanthood," not "servitude"—a very important distinction. Servanthood is a freely chosen life style, whereas servitude is a condition of forced labor. Nor did Jesus mean that we should all leave our positions and do the work of a household servant. Mao Ze Dung had the wrong idea when he closed the universities during the Cultural Revolution and sent both students and faculty out to the fields to work as laborers. This did not encourage servant leadership or intellectual achievement.

What is a servant-leader? We may find an answer in Herman Hesse's book, *Journey to the East*, where he tells the remarkable story of a group of men who went on a mythical journey. The central figure in the story is Leo who is the servant assigned to all the menial chores. But Leo is no ordinary servant. In fact, he is a person of extraordinary presence who sustains the men on their journey with his spirit and his song. All goes well until one day Leo disappears. Strangely, the group falls into disarray and the journey is abandoned. They cannot go on without Leo. The narrator of the story, one of the travelling party (probably Hesse himself), after some years of wandering, finds Leo and is taken into the Order that had sponsored the journey. There he discovers that Leo, whom he had known first as servant, was in fact the head of the Order, its guiding spirit, a great and noble leader (Hesse 1991: 7f).

If we may assume that Herman Hesse is the narrator, at the end of the story he establishes his identity. His final confrontation at the close of his initiation into the Order is with a small transparent sculpture of two figures joined together. One is Leo, the other is the narrator. The narrator notes that a movement of substance is

taking place within the transparent sculpture. He writes: "...I perceived that my image was in the process of adding to and flowing into Leo's nourishing and strengthening it. It seemed that, in time...only one would remain: Leo. He must grow, I must disappear" (Hesse 1991: 37).

The moral lesson of the story is the world-changing idea that the greatest leader is first of all a servant. Only after adopting the role of a servant-leader aspire to lead. A servant-leader does not begin with the desire to lead, but with the desire to serve. The problem with much leadership today is that this order has been reversed. The one who is leader first is not likely ever to become a public servant—that is, without a radical change of heart. For example, a person may aspire to lead simply because of a felt need to satisfy his desire for power, position, privilege, prestige, possessions, or all of the above. He may run for public office just to satisfy his ego or to build his public image. This may be why so few elected officials see themselves, or are seen by others, as genuine public servants. As one of your own Supreme Court justices has said (Justice Puno, I believe), in words to this effect, "Public office is a public service, and public service is a public trust." The service motive marks the difference between a statesman and a politician. George Washington, first president of the United States, always signed his letters with these words: "Your most humble and obedient servant." He saw himself as a servant of the people who elected him. He was a statesman.

A good leader, indeed a potentially a great leader, is first of all a servant. In other words, servant leadership begins with the natural feeling that one wants to serve, to serve first of all, which I believe is latent in every young person but somehow diminishes in time as they grow to adulthood and are influenced by some other adults. The formula is: desire to serve; aspire to lead. The difference manifests itself in the care taken by the servant-leader, first to make sure that other people's highest priority needs are being served—especially the needs of those who are victims of poverty.

The difference can be seen in a conversation I had recently with a college sophomore. I happened to ask, "What do you want to do with your life?" He answered, to my surprise, "I want to be a politician and become a senator." "I admire your self-confidence," I said. "How did you come to make that choice?" He answered something like this: "I just want to be a public figures, and I know I

can make it." You see, his ambition was to be a leader, not a public servant. It is doubtful if he would ever become a servant-leader because his first desire was to lead, not to serve. The question is: knowing this, how many of us would vote for him if one day he should run for the senate? The Greenleaf center challenges followers as well as leaders, for there are no leaders where there are no followers, as Jose Rizal once said in a very different context. Those who follow the servant-first principle will not casually accept the authority of existing leaders or institutions. Rather, they will respond to individuals who are chosen as leaders because they are first proven and trusted as servants. Here the formula is: more servants should emerge as leaders, and more followers should follow only servant-leaders. That could transform a whole society.

### The True Meaning of Greatness

Service is but one side of the coin. Greatness is the other side. Jesus said on more than one occasion: "The greatest among you is the servant of all." Who among us would not wish to be great? Mohammed Ali used to call himself "the greatest." This was intended to scare his opponents, and it did. He said it often enough that he began to believe it himself, and maybe that is why he did become the greatest boxer of his time. This was officially recognized when he was invited to light the torch at the 1996 Summer Olympics in Atlanta, Georgia. He as a leader in his field. But that kind of greatness can be merely self-serving. Jesus was talking about a different kind of greatness—the kind that comes from service to the most needy.

The "leader first" concept and the "servant first" concept represent two extreme types of leadership. Perhaps most of us are on the continuum, somewhere between the two poles. The great leader is one who begins with the desire to serve. That simple fact distinguishes her or him and is the key to their greatness. Leo was leader all the while, but he was servant first because that was what he was at heart. His servant nature was the real man. We need to identify the real servants among us and place them in positions of leadership.

This, of course, sharply challenges our popular understanding of greatness, or what we usually think it takes to become great. We often associate greatness with fame and fortune; power,

privilege, position, and prestige. We do not normally think of dedicated service as the standard of greatness. Yet, when we see it in others we all readily recognize it and praise it, especially in exceptional people like Mother Teresa, who receive a State funeral in India, and Mohandas Gandhi, whom Einstein called the greatest political thinker of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Obviously, they did not start out to seek fame, fortune, or influence. They only wanted to help those whom Jesus called "the least" of his brothers and sisters. Martin Luther King, another great servant-leader of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, once said, in a statement we have posted above our copy machine at the headquarters of Little Children of the Philippines, "Everybody can be great. Because anybody can serve.... You only need a heart full of grace. A soul generated by love." All three—Mother Teresa, Gandhi, and King—were inspired by Jesus, the pioneer of servant leadership. Gandhi's biographer, Louis Fisher, noting that he was inspired by Jesus, once asked him why he never became a Christian. He replied, "Because the Christians I know do not follow the teaching of Jesus." Gandhi was an anonymous Christian.

Albert Schweitzer is another 20<sup>th</sup> century servant-leader. He had earned three doctorates from German universities: an M.D., a Doctor of Music, and a Doctor of Philosophy of Civilization. In theology he is best known for his book *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*—a work that is still in discussion among New Testament scholars.

Earlier in my own career I was curious as to why he left Germany, and spent the rest of his life in the heart of Africa. In his homeland he could have had anything he wanted or been anything he wanted to be. I found the answer in his autobiography, *Out of My Life and Thought*, where he said he came to the realization that those of us who are privileged with good health and a good education owe something to humanity. "It is not enough," he wrote in words to this effect, "just to make a good living for ourselves and our families. Each of us must do something more; each of us must do something to lessen the sum total of the world's misery and thereby add to the sum total of its happiness." Schweitzer was truly a servant-leader.

Jesus was the pioneer of a radically different understanding of human greatness. His teaching on great leadership appears in his response to other people's questions. For example, one day a dis-

pute arose among the first disciples as to which one of them was considered "the greatest." In other words, "Who's who in the kingdom of God?" Jesus must have shocked them when he said, "The greatest among you must become like the youngest, and the leader like one who serves." He then goes on to tell a parable. "Who is greater," he asks, "the one who is at the table or the one who serves? Is it not the one at the table? (Or so most people would think). "But I am among you," he said, "as one who serves" (Lk.22:24:24-27). Here Jesus sees himself as the waiter rather than the one who is waited upon. "For the least among all of you," he said, "is the greatest" (Lk. 9:48). And there is no doubt that when Jesus said "the least" he was referring to the poor. That was Luke's account. Mark's account of the same parable adds these words of Jesus: "Whoever wants to be first must be last of all and servant of all" (Mk. 9:35). I believe this important topic has been overlooked or minimized, even by New Testament scholars, as a major theme in Jesus' teaching: service above self.

On another occasion two brothers, James and John, who were among the first men Jesus called to be his disciples, came to Jesus with a request. According to Matthew's account, their mother brought them and asked a special favor for her sons, kneeling before Jesus as she made the request. "Please grant that my sons will sit, one at your right hand and one at your left, in your kingdom." Here we go again: Who's Who in God's kingdom? They too must have been shocked when Jesus replied: "Whoever wishes to become great among you must be your servant, and whoever wishes to be first among you must be slave of all. For the son of man [referring to himself] came not to be served but to serve...." More than once Jesus said, "Many who are first now will one day be last, and the last now will one day be first" (Matt.19:30).

It is clear that in saying that the least among us is the greatest and that the last among us shall be first, Jesus was consciously turning the value system of his world upside down, standing it on its head. In this sense, his teaching was truly revolutionary. Those at the top of the ladder, now, will one day be at the bottom, and those at the bottom, now, will one day be at the top! However, there is no indication that he was planning to topple the leaders by force; he sought rather to convert them to a new way of thinking to a new style of leadership, namely, servant-first leadership. For, Jesus did not view society as simply a power struggle; he saw it as a

system of shared values. The value he was teaching here was servant-leadership.

One of the pamphlets from the Center for Applied Ethics raises the question as to who is the enemy. In other words, where is the obstacle; who is holding back more rapid movement toward a better society? "Who is responsible for the mediocre performance of so many of our institutions? Who is standing in the way of a larger consensus on the definition of the better society and paths to reaching it?" (Hesse 1991: 34 and 45). It is not evil people, not even apathetic people. "The real enemy," they suggest, is "fuzzy thinking on the part of good, intelligent, vital people, and their failure to lead, and to follow servants as leaders. Too many settle for being critics and experts.... There is too little disposition to see 'the problem' as residing *in here* and not *out there*." In short, the enemy is within us (Greenleaf 1991: 71).

### The Servant-Led Institution

It is possible for an entire institution to become a "servant"—that is, to adopt the servant-leadership role. A servant-led institution is one that is consciously led by committed servant-leaders. How can Silliman be more like a servant-led institution? For one thing, it could give more scholarships to worthy students who come from the barrios. The different departments and teachers could give more emphasis to exposure trips and service projects in the ten or more poverty-stricken *barangays* of Dumaguete City. The reality must be faced that, although Silliman has been here almost a century, the university has not made much of an impact on its immediate surroundings. Barangay Lo-oc is a case in point. Only a few steps from the seaside gate of Silliman, it has been used over the years for baseline studies in sociology and anthropology, and yet it remains for many families a destitute and disease-ridden place, virtually unchanged until a few months ago when Little Children of the Philippines was instrumental in bringing the City Government, the Port Authority, and Alger Foundation together to plan a resettlement project.

A servant-led institution is necessarily an egalitarian type of institution where the important decisions are made by a "council of equals" rather than by a lone chief. The autocratic type of institution is a top-down organization, with one person, a CEO, on top of

a pyramid. The egalitarian type is a bottom-up organization with a leadership team that functions with a chairperson who is one among equals. There are no ranks; only different functions. It is authoritative without being authoritarian. Its leadership is not by coercion but by persuasion. The abuse of power is curbed because the holder of power is surrounded by equals who are strong and capable.

The key principle is that no one person has unchecked power, but all the leaders are both restrained and encouraged by their peers. Servant-leaders will always look for the servant-potential in the people they serve. No individual is complete, and therefore no one should be entrusted with all authority or all tasks. Completeness is to be found only in the complementary talents of several capable people who relate as equals. This view of the people challenges the time-honored assumption that authority can only be delegated to an individual. Every institution should produce leadership out of its own ranks. A good university should train capable youth, while in college, for responsible roles as servant-leaders in their society. The principle of shared leadership is applicable to all institutions. The only justification for institutions, anyhow, is that people in them grow to greater stature than if they stood alone.

The basic truth here is that there is more wisdom in group consensus than in the decisions of a lone chief. This is what social-psychologists call "synergy." We begin by recognizing that we all have our strengths and our weaknesses. But we do not waste our energy criticizing one another's weaknesses, since nobody is without weaknesses, as we are all finite. As Jesus once said, "You must first remove the log in your own eye before you can see clearly to remove the speck in your brother's eye!" So, then, we combine our strengths and thereby achieve a superior wisdom, superior to what any of us could achieve individually or even as an aggregate of individuals. For example, a chairperson is like a coach. Her or his role is to facilitate consensus—achieving one mind. We can learn a lot from the sports world. France could not have won the World Cup soccer championship this year if they had not played as a team with one mind. The Chicago Bulls could not have won their sixth world championship in basketball if they had not achieved consensus. Likewise, the chairperson is not merely one who hears all the arguments and then brings the issue to a vote. S/he strives to reach

a consensus—a group judgment that will be accepted as superior wisdom.

An important aspect of shared leadership in a servant-led institution is the matter of delegating authority. As organizations grow, they become more complex. No longer can one leader make all the decisions; nor should s/he. People in positions of responsibility sometimes feel they are the only ones who can do necessary tasks. There is a common saying that "If you want something done right, do it yourself." But the principle of shared leadership challenges that self-centered notion. We should look for ways to share the load so that others may exercise their God-given gifts and abilities. In our work at Little Children of the Philippines we have seen the importance of recognizing the talents of barrio people and training them for positions of responsibility in the organization, thereby empowering them for servant leadership. We have a Parents Empowerment Program (PEP) and a Youth Empowerment Program (YEP). Wise delegation of authority and of tasks can multiply the leader's effectiveness while giving others a chance to grow. Supervision and administration are team efforts.

### An Inward Journey

How does one recognize the servant? Herman Hesse in his idealized portrayal of the servant Leo sheds light on this question, as Leo's servanthood is revealed through his leadership. He was servant on the journey and did the work of a servant. Little did they know that back home he was the chief executive officer of his company. Adopting a servant-type of leadership, in whatever field of endeavor, must be, for all of us, an inward journey. Servant-leaders, as I said at the beginning, are people who care deeply about the needs of others, are willing to give priority to those needs, and who are determined to make their caring count—determined to make a difference wherever they are involved.

Earlier I stated that Jesus was the first to advocate servant leadership. The strongest words he used urging us to undertake such a journey are in his Parable of the Last Judgment (Matt. 25:31-46). If and when we care for those who are in need—specifically the hungry, the sick, the naked, the imprisoned, the strangers in our midst—we are in reality serving him. To those who refused to help, the king in the parable said, "I tell you, whenever you re-



fused to help one of these least privileged ones, you refused to help me." To those who offered to help he said, "I tell you, whenever you did this for one of these least privileged ones, you did it for me." The point of the parable is that in the end we will all be evaluated not according to the fame or fortune or influence we may have amassed, or even how well we may have provided for our family, but by the degree to which we have been willing to serve the needs of others—especially the needs of the most needy in our community and society.

What is even more amazing is that those who were singled out for honors because they offered their help were not aware that they had done anything significant or even worthy of mention. They asked, "When did we ever see you hungry and feed you, or thirsty and give you a drink...etc.?" In other words, they did not do it for acclaim or fame, power or prestige, but simply because it was the right thing to do. They were servants first, and therefore servant-leaders. In the last analysis, it is an inward journey. Servant leadership cannot be legislated. It must come from within, but it is never too late to start the journey.

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## A NEW SPECIES OF CHIGGER IN THE GENUS *CHIROPTELLA* (ACARI: TROMBICULIDAE) FROM A BAT HOST IN THE PHILIPPINES COLLECTION OF THE B. P. BISHOP MUSEUM

Wayne A. Brown

### Abstract

A new species of chigger is described from specimens collected from a bat host on Mindanao, Philippines during the 1960s. Comments on the genus are provided.

*Key Words:* New species, chiggers, Philippines, Bishop Museum.

DURING THE 1960s workers for the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii, and the Silliman University Natural History Museum, Dumaguete City, Negros Oriental, Republic of the Philippines collected ectoparasites from mammals, birds, and lizards on several islands in the Philippine Archipelago. These collections have revealed a new chigger species in the Genus *Chiroptella* subgenus (*Neosomia*), from a bat host.

Holotypes and paratypes are, as listed below, in the collections of the B. P. Bishop Museum (BPBM), Honolulu, Hawaii, USA, in the Philippine National Acarology Collection (PNAC), Visayas State College of Agriculture, Baybay, Leyte, Philippines, and the U. S. National Museum of Natural History/Smithsonian Institution (USNM) (chigger collection currently housed in the Acarology Laboratory, University of Hawaii at Manoa).

Terminology follows Goff *et al.* (1982). All measurements are in micrometers.

### Genus

*Chiroptella* Vercammen-Grandjean, 1960: 469.

### Type Species

*Trombicula insolli* Philip and Traub, 1950: 32.

## Subgenus

*Neosomia* Vercammen-Grandjean and Nadchatram, 1965: 317.

## Subgenus Type

*Riedlinia* (*Neosomia*) *audyi* Vercammen-Grandjean and Nadchatram, 1965: 317.

*Chiroptella* (*Neosomia*) *nudusetosa* Brown, n. sp. Figures 1 and 2.

## Description of Species

Larvae. Idiosoma. Measuring 862X500 in partially engorged specimen. Eyes 2/2, anterior 22 diam., posterior 13 diam., on ocular plate. One pair of humeral setae measuring 56-61; 40-42 dorsal idiosomal setae, measuring 57-63, arranged 8.8.8.6 + 10-12 in irregular rows; 2 pairs of sternal setae, anterior 32-36, posterior 32-46; 14 preanal setae, 39-44; 14-16 postanal setae 38-47; total idiosomal setae 74-78. Gnathosoma. Palpal setal formula N/N/NNN/7N; palpal claw 3-pronged, 31-34 long; galeala N; cheliceral blade (30-34), broad at base with tricuspid cap; gnathobase punctate, bearing 2 branched setae. Scutum. Punctate with anterior margin sinuous; posterior margin straight with slight concavity; concave lateral margins; AM base slightly posterior to AL bases; SB slightly anterior to level of PL bases; PL > AM > AL; PW/SD = 1.11-1.18; sensillae filiform with branches on distal one-third. Scutal measurements of holotype followed by the mean and ranges of ten paratypes in parentheses: AW 54 (58, 54-62); PW 68 (74, 68-79); SB 23 (23, 21-25); ASB 41 (41, 40-42); PSB 18 (18, 18-20); AP 43 (43, 40-47); AM 48 (51, 48-55); AL 40 (37, 35-40); PL 76 (65-80); sens. 54 (53, 50-54). Legs. All 7-segmented terminating in a pair of claws and a claw like empodium. Onychotriches absent. IP = 903-1059: Leg I: 307-362; coxa with 1 branched seta (1B); trochanter 1B; basifemur 1B; telefemur 5B; genu 4 B, 2 genualae, microgenuala; tibia 6B, 2 tibialae; tarsus (78X23), tarsala (33), microtarsala, subterminala, parsubterminala, pretarsala. Leg II: 280-316; coxa 1B; trochanter 1B; basifemur 2B; telefemur 4B; genu 3B, genuala; tibia 6B, 2 tibialae; tarsus (68X20), 16B, tarsala (22), microtarsala,

pretarsala. Leg III: 316-351; coxa 1B; trochanter 1B; basifemur 2B; telefemur 3B; genu 3B, genuala; tibia 6B; tarsus (88X18), 15B.

## Type Data

Holotype and 10 paratypes, BBM unnumbered, Mindanao Island, Philippines, 1963. ex unidentified bat. The holotype is in the collection of the BPBM, paratypes are there and in the PNAC and USNM.

## Remarks

*Chiroptella* (*Neosomia*) *nudusetosa* can be separated from *C. (N.) revelae*, and *C. (N.) heidemani*, the other species in the subgenus with PL setae on the scutum, by the palpal tarsus setation and differing standard data measurements [*C. (N.) revelae* 7B, AW 45-54, PW 59-68, SB 19-22, SD 32-39, and AP 21-26 and in *C. (N.) heidemani* 2N5B, AW 57-58, PW 70-72, SB 25-27, SD 47-49, AP 41-42]. The species name refers to the unique nude palpal tarsal setae.

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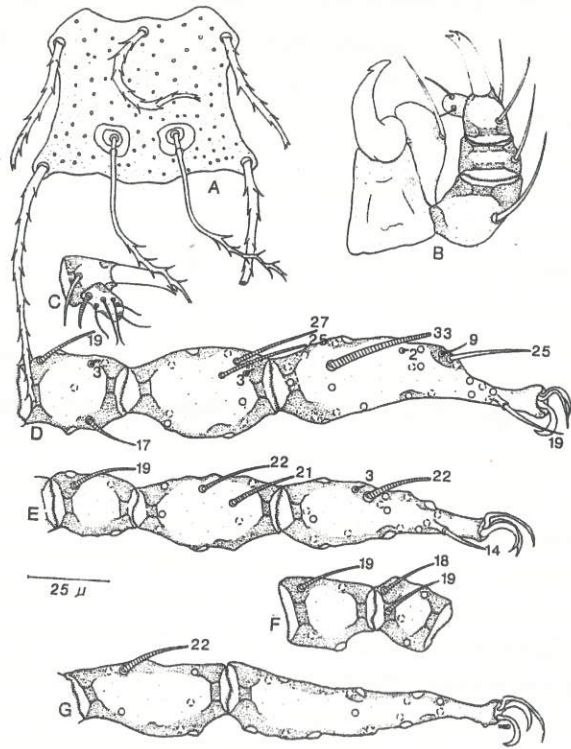


Figure 1. *Chiroptella* (*Neosomia*) *nudusetosa* Brown, n. sp. A, scutum; B, dorsal aspect of gnathosoma; C, ventral aspect of palpal tibia and tarsus; D, femur of leg I; E, leg I showing specialized setae (measurements in micrometers) and bases of branched setae; F, leg II as above; G, leg III as above.

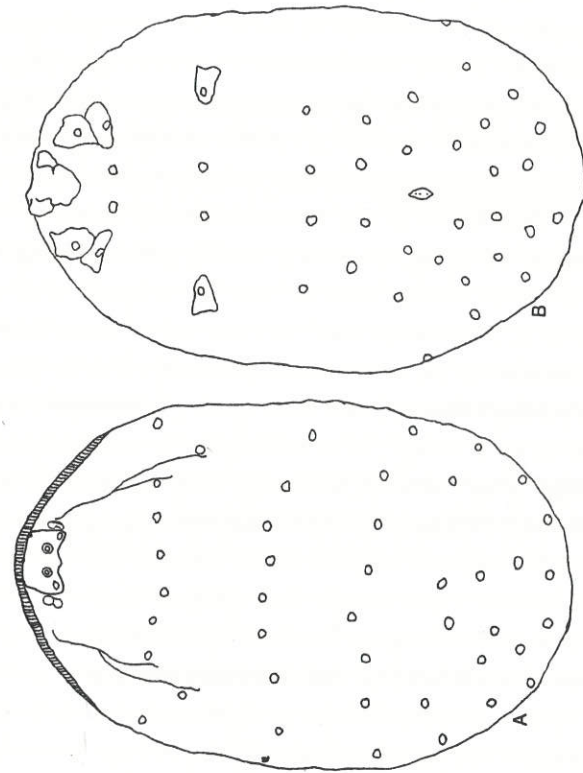


Figure 2. *Chiroptella* (*Neosomia*) *nudusetosa* Brown, n. sp. A, Dorsal aspect of idiosoma showing neosomal layer at anterior edge, scutum and placement of dorsal setae. B. Ventral aspect of idiosoma showing setal bases, coxae, and gnathosomal base.

## NOTES

THE CAROLANON OF NEGROS ISLAND AS INDIGENOUS:  
A QUESTION OF AUTHENTICITY  
(SOME PRELIMINARY NOTES)<sup>1</sup>

*Rolando V. Mascuñana*

THIS STUDY is part of the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) project funded by National Power Corporation (NPC) for the Proposed Mini-Hydro Electric Power Plant on Selected Rivers in Negros Island. The areas identified by the NPC as potential sites for the development of a hydro-power source include Lower Carolan in Kabankalan, Negros Occidental; and Pacuan and Mandapaton, La Libertad; Balogo, Guihulngan; and Avocado and Cakha, Sta. Catalina, all in Negros Oriental. Any government or private agency wishing to set up a development project in a particular area is required by law to conduct an environmental impact assessment to evaluate the possible effects of such an undertaking on the life, culture, and environment of the people living in the project site. An important component of this assessment is an evaluation of the target beneficiaries' perception of the proposed project to determine its acceptability by community. This study then is crucial for the inhabitants of Lower Carolan who will be significantly affected by the NPC mini-hydro electric/development project in the area.

The EIA project was carried out in April 1997 by a team of researchers from Silliman University, the Institute of Environmental Science and Management (IESAM) of the University of the Philippines at Los Baños (UPLB), Orient Integrated Development Consultants, Inc. (OIDCI-ENR), and the Bureau of Soils. The members of the team have been variously involved in ecological (physical setting, land use, flora, fauna, soil physical and chemical properties, aquatic, air), limnological (water characteristics), health, economic, and sociocultural studies (concerns of indigenous peoples).

One of the tasks assigned to me by the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) team was to authenticate the identity of Carolanons as indigenous people. The Carolanons live in what is presently known as Lower Carolan located in the upland regions of Kabankalan City, Negros Occidental. Although the existence of

this ethno-linguistic group is confirmed, their identity as indigenous people has remained an unsettled issue.<sup>2</sup> The anthropological investigation on which this paper is based is a preliminary attempt to address this controversy. Much of the information in this paper was gathered during a field research conducted on March 13 (consultation meeting/scoping session), April 4-6, and August 29-30, 1997 through personal interviews and observations with present-day local residents of Lower Carolan.

The controversy surrounding the identity of the Carolanons as indigenous has been due mainly to a number of varying accounts, the oldest of which date back to Spanish historical records. Local legends and previous anthropological observations have done little more than add questions rather than offer answers to an already muddled issue.

### Historical Accounts<sup>3</sup>

According to the Socio-Economic Profile of the Municipality of Kabankalan, "there was no ancient Kabankalan as a settlement, but the territory of the present town was inhabited by numerous hill tribes scattered along the Hilabangan River stretching from the mountain ranges toward the settlement of the lowlanders in Ilog" (1992: 1; 1997: 1). Historical and anthropological records do not show or mention when and how this place, which is known today as Kabankalan, was first inhabited by two different cultural groups—the hill tribes known as Aetas/Negritos and the Bukidnons (Mascuñana 1997: 23). The Aetas/Negritos were traditionally non-sedentary hunters-gatherers or forest-oriented people while the Bukidnons, purportedly descended from Indonesians who came in various periodic time sequence (Beyer 1917), practised hillside swidden and carried on, in conjunction with hillside cultivation, fishing, hunting and collecting of edible forest products. In the course of time, both groups were displaced from their ancestral lands by migrant settlers from the nearby towns and provinces primarily, Panay Island. At that time, the area adequately provided enough land to cultivate for a growing population and the forest and rivers nearby were a rich source of fish and animal protein and other forest products. Consequently, the economic prosperity offered by the place lured migrants to come one after another.

Available Spanish historical accounts bring us to a once thriving and self-contained Carolanon upland settlement. As described by Father Angel Martinez Cuesta, O.A.R., the pre-Spanish Carol-an (or "Cadul-an" in the phonetic Visayan dialect) was a place with fertile soil, abundant population and gentle, industrious people (Cuesta 1980: 228). Evangelization campaigns in 1838 to 1855 in the island of Negros reached this upland settlement-valley which was then headed by the legendary Bukidnon chieftain, Manyabog. Unfortunately, the Spanish attempts to convert Manyabog and his people ended in the infamous historically recorded tragedy—the massacre of the Carolanons. In Echaus' accounts (in Hart's 1978: 71-75 and cited in Hutterer 1982:35), the wholesale massacre of upland community by the Spanish military was "an ill-conceived and over-zealous attempt of implementing a policy of *reduccion* (resettlement)". The account states that the tribe was massacred during the Spanish evangelization and political campaigns of Don Emilio Saravia, the Spanish politico-military governor of Negros (1855-1857). The *Socio-Economic Profile* also tells of Manyabog's death in the hands of 500 well-armed Spanish soldiers including two artilleries which attacked the wooden fort of Manyabog (1992: 4).

### Local Legends

Local legend, however, says that during the battle Manyabog and his surviving people committed mass suicide by jumping over the cliff when Spanish troops defeated them (*Socio-Economic Profile* 1992: 4). Another local legend says that during the encounter, Manyabog, with the help of his talisman (*anting-anting*), just disappeared in Puting Bato, his lookout cliff in Mansabol. The place is believed by the local folks to be an abode of *engkantos* and spirits.

### Anthropological Accounts

The name "Cerolanos" [Carolanos] appeared in Blumentritt's manuscript in 1882 written in German in 1882. Dr. Blumentritt, who never had the opportunity to visit and do anthropological field work in the Philippines, based his accounts mainly on the collected reports of missionaries, travelers, and other sources avail-

able to him. He put together these bits and pieces of scattered reports to produce an anthropological monograph about the pre- and Spanish Filipino ethnic groups. This original armchair ethnological scholarly work of Blumentritt was translated to English by Maceda in 1979. In this work, Blumentritt cites an earlier manuscript by Arenas (1850) which referred to these people found in the island of Negros as Cerolanos. In Blumentritt's account, Arenas estimated that about 2,322 Cerolanos lived in the mountain ranges of Negros. However, Arenas speculated that the term Cerolanos might just be "another name for several groups of Visayan pagans" (Arenas 1850 in Blumentritt 1882: 119). Blumentritt's additional information about the Bukidnon and Carolanons contained in a later work (1916) remains uncertain whether the Bukidnons and the Carolanons were one and the same group of people. In the 1916 manuscript, he cites:

Buquitnon [Bukidnon] is a "race" [*sic*] by this name, on the island of Negros, until recently unknown (used in La Oceaña Española, Manila August 9, 1889, copied from the Provenir de Visayas). The Buquitnon are said to be a heathen tribe of about 40,000 souls that have their *home* on the mountains of Negros, not massed together and not to be distinguished from the Visayas living on the coast. Whether the *Carolanos* are identical with them is hard to say. The name Buquitnon and also Buquidnon in Mindanao means mountaineers, upland forest dwellers.... (Blumentritt 1916: 108) (Underscoring supplied).

In his translator's footnote to Blumentritt's manuscript (No. 180, p. 194), Maceda, however, claims that the "there is a great possibility that these [the Carolanons] are the reported Bukidnons in the interior of the island of Negros." Similarly, he speculated that these people were to a large extent still pagans. Maceda based his comments on a 1954 field expedition he and Rahmann undertook in northern Negros. According to his account, their party met many Bukidnon families during this fieldwork. A number of Bukidnon men even worked for them either as guides or porters (Maceda 1980: 194; see also Rahmann and Maceda 1955: 810-836, Beyer 1917: 60-63).

Similarly, Larkin (1978: xviii in Hutterer 1982: 33) said that, "...There are a number of vague references in the earlier literature to a[n]...ethnic group, [in Negros island], variously called...Bukidnons, Carolanos...or Magahat..." Citing Beyer 1917 and Blumentritt 1889, Hutterer (1982: 33) mentioned further that "tangible ethnographic information about this group did not appear until the late 19th and early 20th centuries."

During World War II, while serving as a Supply Officer of the 75th Guerrilla Infantry Regiment in the interior mountain ranges between Kabankalan and Ayungon, the late Silliman University anthropologist, Dr. Timoteo S. Oracion, reported meeting Carolanons living in this area. In this unpublished report, Dr. Oracion described Carolanon males as going around half-naked in loin cloths. Although, he speculated that these people were possibly Bukidnons living in the Negros Oriental side, Dr. Oracion left no published ethnographic accounts on the Carolanons.

On the other hand, a map of the Philippines in the center-fold of a PANAMIN (Presidential Assistance for National Minorities) pamphlet showing the geographical distribution of "Philippine Minority Communities" included the "Karolanos" (marked 50b) on the map of Negros, Bisayan Islands (pp. 12-14). Such inclusion was possibly made on the basis of Dr. Oracion's observation and also on his review of related anthropological accounts<sup>4</sup> on this Negros island mountain tribe. At that time, Dr. Oracion acted as a PANAMIN consultant of the province.

### Personal Interviews and Observations

My interviews with and observations of present-day local residents showed<sup>5</sup> that two groups of Carolanons are living in the area. In the first group belong the present-day descendants of the indigenous Carolanons. However, they have lost their distinct identity due to pressures associated with social change. One such pressure may have come from the influence of new religions such as the Seventh Day Adventist, Iglesia ni Kristo, Jehovah's Witnesses, Baptist and other groups. For instance, some members of this group claimed that their church discouraged them from practising some of their traditional rituals such as *dulot*, *halad*, *buhat* or *pamuhon-puhon* (ritual offerings for the spirits).

Likewise, by exposing them to developments outside their community, the media (radio and video), and the school (education) have exerted no small influence on this people making them and their children lose interest in carrying on their ancestral ways and practices. This process has inevitably led to the marginalization of their indigenous lifestyle. For example, they no longer possess distinctly indigenous dances, songs, costumes or personal adornment. Indigenous crafts, and weapon implements are similarly nonexistent as are rituals and practices associated with production activities (fishing, cutting of trees, hunting, and the like). Unlike established indigenous communities, the Carolanons have no identified sacred and ritual sites; nor have they retained indigenous political systems such as the council of tribal elders headed by a chieftain, or a leader.

The consequent loss of indigenous identity could also be traced to inter-ethnic marriages and social intercourse with recent migrant settlers from Negros Oriental, Negros Occidental, and Panay Island. Among present-day Carolanons, for instance, distinct physical characteristics are no longer observable. The absence of all these is markedly noticeable when considered in comparison to the Negrito ethnic/indigenous group in this island whose members exhibit not only an identifiable social boundary, but distinct physical features as well.

Meanwhile, the Carolanons in the second group do not refer to a separate, distinct ethnic/indigenous group but are descendants of Cebuano migrants who originally came from the province of Negros Oriental and settled in the area before World War II. As these descendants were born and later married and raised families in Carol-an, they also claim to be *tumandok* ("natives" of Carol-an). This claim is understandable by right of being born in the area.

### The Findings

Results of this present investigation point to the definition of what constitutes an indigenous people as the cause of the controversy. As defined by the DENR Department Administrative Order No. 02, Series of 1993, Section 3, Article 1, Indigenous Cultural Communities (ICCs), also called Indigenous Peoples (IPs), refer to

...a homogenous society identified by self-ascription and ascription by others, who have continuously lived as community on communally bounded and defined territory, sharing common bonds of language, customs, traditions and other distinctive cultural traits, and who, through resistance to the political, social and cultural inroads of colonization, became historically differentiated from the majority of Filipinos.

Using this definition as basis for examining the historical as well as anthropological data, legends, and personal interview and observations presented in this paper, it is possible to conclude that the Carolanons belonging to the first group presently living in the Lower Carolan area is an indigenous community. They are descendants of the original inhabitants who survived the infamous massacre carried out by the Spanish military governor during the evangelization campaign led by Father Fernando Cuenca (Genova 1896; Cuesta 1980); they belong to a homogenous society; they are identified as Carolanons by self-ascription and ascription of others (i.e., historians and anthropologists); and that they have continuously lived as a community on a communally bounded and defined territory.

However, as mentioned earlier, they no longer manifest distinctive cultural traits; nor do they have a defined social boundary because of sociological changes that have been taking place in the area. Absorbed into the mainstream culture of the new migrants, these Carolanons have inevitably lost their indigenous cultural characteristics. That neither "wealth of knowledge" (Bennagen 1996: 5) nor indigenous culture has survived in the group's "collective memory" (Bennagen 1996: 5) is another inevitable consequence of social change.

The Carolanons belonging to the second group are not descendants of chieftain Manyabog but those of Cebuano-speaking settlers who migrated in the area from Upper Carolan (Ayungon). Later, they crossed Carol-an River and settled in Lower Carolan in Kabankalan. Thus, most of the present-day Carolanons in the Kabankalan area are the descendants of the non-indigenous migrant people from Ayungon who had crossed over the river boundary.

I would like to state here that the above findings are not yet definitive and are meant to stimulate further inquiry into the sub-

ject. Questions that this discussion may have raised can be subjects of more extensive anthropological investigation.

## Notes

1. Paper read during the Centennial Seminar-Workshop on Oral and Local History on the theme "Bringing History to the Barrios" at the Multimedia Center, Silliman University, Dumaguete City on May 21-22, 1998.
2. Legend says that the name "Carol-an" is associated with the distinct sound or noise created by human skulls and bones (ver. tul-an), "ga carol carol" as they bumped against each other when washed and carried downstream every river flooding. The early Carol-an-Bukidnon settlers practised cave burial in the nearby Binangkilan cave located along the Carol-an riverbank. The same cave was also used for burial even before World War II by migrant settlers. The corpses were buried and piled in the crevices of this burial cave according to Filemon Perequin (71 yrs. old), an old-timer in the place whose parents came from Ayungon. Every river flooding the water level would reach the entrance of the cave and carry away the bones and skulls downstream. The "carol carol" sound of the skulls and bones became associated with the place and since then the place has been called Carol-an.
3. Beyer (1917, 1921); Beyer and de Veyra (1947); Blumentritt (1882, 1916); Foreman (1892); Keane (1901); Krieger (1945); Kroeber (1943; Spencer (1952); Worcester 1944)
4. On a separate occasion, I had the opportunity to visit the Negros Oriental Carol-an side (i.e. Barangay Upper Carol-an, Ayungon) last December 6, 1997. I was able to personally interview its Barangay Captain to cross-check with him the earlier data which I gathered during the field research, the dates previously mentioned, from the resident-informants of the Lower Carol-an, Kabankalan, Negros Occidental. In this interview, the barangay captain claimed that he has never heard of the existence of an indigenous group today in his area although he was familiar with the Manyabog story. The initial plan to get the resident Carolanons to present themselves as indigenous people was allegedly introduced by some officials connected with a government office in charge of ethnic affairs on the

promise of government assistance through the Ancestral Domain Management Project of the DENR (Department Order No. 02, Series of 1993). However, for some reasons, this plan received little support and never materialized.

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AN OVERVIEW OF MUSIC EDUCATION IN THE PHILIPPINES:  
A CRITIQUE BASED ON THE STUDY OF HOW MUSIC TEACHERS  
TEACH MUSIC IN THE PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS  
IN THE VISAYAS AND MINDANAO

*Elizabeth Susan Vista-Zamar*

MUSIC, as explicated by many, is the "essence of being human" and is the "food for the soul." Its sheer importance cannot be denied. The Greek philosophers like Aristotle and Plato believed that music was an important aspect of human existence. In his *Republic III*, Plato wrote that music (and the arts) has a great influence on the human character. Its aim, he wrote, was to inculcate rhythm, harmony, and temperance to the soul. Similarly, Aristotle believed that music can imitate the passions and the states of the soul. Thus, if for over a long period of time one listens habitually to music of a certain passion, one will be imbued with that certain passion. In the opposite scale, if a person listens constantly to the kind of music that arouses ignoble passions, he will also become an ignoble person (Abeles, et al., 1994: 4). During the Middle Ages, music constituted the fourth in the division of higher liberal arts (which included arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy) in the educational system of the period. Also, in Maslow's "hierarchy of needs, it is found together with other art forms at the top of the pyramid of needs to make satisfactory man's becoming a "total" human being (Robinson & Winold, n.d.: 3). For one to be a "concrete" individual then, one must have proper music education (Abeles, et al., 1994: 4).

For so long, music has been taught as a "regular" subject in the primary and secondary schools in the Philippines—first as an equal of mathematics and science. Then, singing constituted a bigger part of the music being taught. Together with the teaching of singing came the reading of musical signs and symbols and solfege. As an important part of music, singing teaches listening, blending, and rhythm. These three elements of music alone are important aspects of human existence. In the supreme ideal, the ability to listen, to hear, to blend, and to walk in rhythm with others constitutes an essential aspect of man's social life and generally contributes to the enhancement of the quality of life in this world. However, the positive effect of music is not only caused by singing. The

teaching of the music itself, in part through *notation*, and in full by *listening*, plays an equally important part. As has been observed, a musical piece, no matter how good, has only a passing interest if its composer could not notate it. On the other hand, the music of Mozart, Beethoven, or Bach continue to affect people's lives long after their composers' deaths because they have been written down and have become for the succeeding generations immortal creations of art. Consequently, music education must include these very basic fundamentals such as melody, rhythm, harmony, pitch, intensity, duration, timbre not only to enable individuals to learn the notes, but also to allow them a creative medium for expression.

Unfortunately, the state of music instruction in the Philippines leaves little to be desired mainly because the educational system in the country has failed to recognize the immense significance of music in the curricular offerings of academic institutions nationwide. As a result, there is a dearth of music in the schools. For instance, music, as a subject in the primary and secondary schools, is taught for an average of *forty minutes three times every other week* and begins on the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade. Other subjects like mathematics and science, on the other hand, are taught *every day*. Even more lamentable, the Department of Education has decided to shorten the time for music by integrating it with Physical Education and Art in the primary schools, and with Physical Education and Health in the secondary schools. Given the universally-recognized importance of music to the total development of a person, this unfortunate marginalization of music in the school curriculum could only have negative impact, at the very least, by diminishing the chances among children of developing character and self-expression through creativity.

At the root of this problem seems to be that higher learning institutions in this country turn out extremely small number of properly-trained music graduates who can handle the course in the schools. Compounding this regrettable situation is the fact that the college education curriculum of teaching institutions in the country includes no more than six units of music studies both in the BSE and BEED degrees. And yet, because of the shortage of qualified music teachers, it is the graduates of such programs, with their woefully inadequate musical backgrounds, who end up teaching music to young people at many schools around the country.

As a personal response to the depressing situation of music instruction in the country, I have been doing seminars on training teachers how to teach music in private and public schools around the Visayas and Mindanao for the past three years. Almost all the teachers who attended these seminars apologized for their lack of qualification to teach music. Many of them have tried to use the MAPE books but have found them not only too difficult to understand, but also to impart to their students. I have seen these books myself, and these are my comments.

First, the quality of printing is usually poor and the text faulty. Consequently, it is often difficult to decipher the kinds of notes supposed to be imprinted on the page. This is unfortunate since in music, a tiny slash on a note or shade could change the entire meaning of a piece.

Second, a major difficulty singled out by teachers who teach these books is the use of Filipino as medium of instruction. The translation of the signs and symbols into Filipino makes it more difficult both for students to understand and for the teachers to teach. For example, instead of simply saying "G clef," the teacher would have to say "sofado hangga." And instead of saying "eighth note," children would have to take into mind the term "walohing nota." For the instructor then to say, "put the eighth note on the staff," he/she would have to take a longish route and say, "ilagay ang walohing nota sa limguhit." Does this not leave a lot of work for the student who is not only trying to figure out the name of the symbol and getting familiar with the symbol itself, but also grappling with a different set of vocabulary? Given the multilingual backgrounds of teachers in the Philippines and their often inadequate pedagogical training in music studies, teaching music in Filipino has become for many teachers the greatest challenge of their teaching career.

Third, there is no semblance of progression in the learning of what the signs and symbols do and how they are put together to create music. The songs that are written have probably been taken out from a common chord book or from a jingle, and some of the chordal accompaniments are not correct.

During a 1997 seminar in Davao on training teachers how to teach music, I presented the *Worktexts on Music Fundamentals for Beginners*, a set of progressive music books designed for particular levels, from preparatory school to grade six. These books were

written specifically to address most of the problems I have earlier cited. After the seminar, the teacher-delegates were given a chance to test the books in their respective schools. A year later, I returned to Davao to conduct the same seminar on how best to teach music with a different batch of delegates. Among the participants was a group of five young girls who appeared to know about music more than the other delegates who were already teaching in grades one to six. These young girls were students of one of the teacher-participants in last year's seminar. They were sent there by their teacher who taught them using the *Worktexts on Music Fundamentals* in order to show me the effectiveness of these books. As further proof of how much they have learned from these books, the young girls performed for the delegates by singing a song from the book while one of them accompanied on the piano. That incident illustrates that if children are taught properly, they *will* learn. But they should be taught in an easy and fun way so that learning is positive. Music, and the learning of it, does not mean that a child will become a professional musician. The important point is to have the heart touched by melodies of great depth, taught properly. There is so much that we have left behind that music can teach.

The negative consequences of the absence of a proper music education on the development of young minds are too obvious to ignore. Children have not been taught the ability to listen. Although it is the duty of the educational system to make sure that children are taught the ability to listen, the reality in the Philippine educational system is, unfortunately, the opposite. Children have not been taught in class the beauty of just listening because, alas, the teachers do not know themselves. No one can teach what he/she does not know. Listening, after all, is the beginning of understanding. Small wonder that commercial music has taken over the listening habits of children; its prevalence and easy availability have deafened young people and impaired their capacity to appreciate other kinds of music.

So what are we really promoting in our music education system? Are we willing to just let the status quo continue? Moreover, if music is taught to form good character, what kind of character is being developed if the current trend continues? Or have the years already left behind the teaching of music? Are we now willing to admit that there is a problem in the teaching of music subjects? Are we willing to let Filipinos walk around like the Tin

Man in "The Wizard of Oz," robotic, and in an eternal search of a heart, instead of being a real living person with an understanding core and a listening ear willing to express himself (which he can surely find through music)? Are we willing to let music die within a people so talented and musically-endowed as the Filipino? I ask these questions to serve as an eye opener to the academic communities—the administrators, the policy-makers, the Department of Education, Culture, and Sports (DECS), and all those who care to educate the young to become a "whole" person, in the real sense of the word.

### Notes

1. Field study done with the following schools: Seventh Day Adventist Elementary Schools in Bajada and Lapu-lapu, Davao, UCCP Elementary Schools in Toril and Pag-asa, Davao, Angelicum in Davao, Montessori, Davao, Cagayan College, Dumaguete Christian Academy, and Silliman University.
2. *Music, art, and physical education*. (Halina't Umawit, Proded Instructional Music Books, a project of the Department of Education, Culture and Sports, 1985-88 from Grade 3-6).

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- Robinson and Winold. *The choral experience*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.
- Samonte, S. 1985. *Halina't umawit: Ikatlong baitang*. Marikina, Metro Manila: J.C. Palabay Enterprises.

### Research Studies Done in the following Schools

UCCP Christian School, General Santos City  
 UCCP Polomolok, Cor. F.Perido St., Polomolok, S. Cotabato

New Era University, Porok Malakas, Gen. Santos City  
 International Christian School, Bangkal, Davao City  
 St. Francis Learning Center, Catalunan Grande, Davao City  
 Lamb of God (SPED), CM Recto, Davao City  
 Rizal Special Education, Quimpo Bldg. Cor. Arellano, Davao City  
 Holy Child School, Jacinto St., Davao City  
 Assumption School, Agdao, Davao City  
 Doña Pilar Learning Center, Sasa, Davao City  
 AMA College, Sandawa Rd., Davao City  
 Our Lady of Mt. Carmel School, Mamay Rd. Lanang, Davao City  
 United Methodist Church, 416 Venzon St., Davao City  
 Central Baptist School, Sandawa, Davao City  
 Mandog Christian School, Tropical St., DBP Village, DC  
 UCCP Learning Center, Toril, Davao City  
 Progressive Learning Center, JP Cabaguio Ave., Davao City  
 Paaralan Kaunlaran ng Nayon, Mandog, Davao City  
 Digos Central Seventh Day Adventist, Rizal Ave., Digos, Davao  
 del Sur  
 Seventh Day Adventist Central School, Lapu-Lapu Ext., Digos,  
 Davao del Sur  
 Sacred Heart Montessori, CM Recto, Cagayan de Oro City  
 Holy Trinity Montessori, 94-11<sup>th</sup> St. Nazareth Subd, Cagayan de  
 Oro City  
 Delmar Seventh Day Adventist, Pacana St., Cagayan de Oro City  
 Immanuel Christian School, Dagong, Carmen, Cagayan de Oro  
 City  
 St. Francis, Carmen, Cagayan de Oro City  
 Lourdes College, Capistrano St., Cagayan de Oro City  
 Corpus Christi, Macasandig, Cagayan de Oro City  
 Southern De Oro College, Julio Pacana, Cagayan de Oro City  
 Divine Mercy College, Kauswagan, Cagayan de Oro City  
 Roseville School, Macasandig, Cagayan de Oro City  
 Bugo Christian School, Carmen, Cagayan de Oro City  
 Cagayan De Oro College, Carmen, Cagayan de Oro City  
 Southfield School, Bugo, Cagayan de Oro City  
 Angelicum Learning Center, Carmen, Cagayan de Oro City  
 Xavier University, Cagayan de Oro City  
 Kong Hua School, Kauswagan, Cagayan De Oro City

## PERSPECTIVES ON PUBLIC HEALTH

*Jeffrey L. Lennon*

THE MASTER OF PUBLIC HEALTH PROGRAM is one of latest graduate programs at Silliman University. The first Master of Public Health students (M.P.H.) entered in November 1996. The two current classes of M.P.H. students numbered 25. One student from Democratic Republic of Congo is included among these students. It is anticipated that the first M.P.H. students will graduate in March 1998.

### Why Public Health?

The initial discussions about the proposed public health program at Silliman spans from this author's international public health experiences and observations. It was observed that there was a lack of formal public health training programs in many countries. Terris (1983) stated, "the world suffers from a crippling shortage of schools of public health". In the United States medical schools outnumber public health schools by a ratio of four to one. In the United Kingdom and other European countries the ration is greater. Terris further stated, "in the non-industrialized countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, where the development of public health is an overwhelming urgent necessity, there are practically no schools of public health." In the Philippines there is currently one school of public health (University of the Philippines) with two other M.P.H. programs in Metro Manila. Silliman's program is currently the first M.P.H. program for the Visayas and Mindanao.

Silliman University has been blessed with various exemplary programs such as the health related projects of the Index-Extension program and the public health nursing program to name a few. Many departments and colleges at Silliman University offer courses related to health in their discipline. The M.P.H. program however offers a unique opportunity to have an integrated course of study "under one roof."

## What Health Is

An understanding of health and the history of public health give a glimpse of the importance of public health today. Defining health is often illusive. More often it is easy to describe what health is not (illness) rather than what health is. A typical way of viewing health is to think that it is a synonymous with medicine. Some hospitals have even changed their names to "health centers." Yet, Shaffer refers to the cure-centered center as a "disease recycling center." Such a system rarely deals with the root cause of disease, let alone disease prevention nor health promotion. The World Health Organizations charter however states: "health is a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity."

## A Brief History of Public Health

The last 200 years of international public health history follow the eras of epidemiology (often called the queen science of public health). The era of sanitary statistics of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century was typified by such approaches as drainage, sewage control and sanitation. The infectious disease era covered the later part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. This era's paradigm was the single agent germ theory. Key approaches in the infectious disease era were vaccine and antibiotic development, quarantine and the rise of hospitals. Louis Pasteur and John Snow were significant personalities of this era. The second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is known as the Chronic disease era. The control of risk factors by modifying lifestyle or environment have been dominant approaches to this era. Battles against heart disease and cancer have been at the forefront of this era. We are now entering the ecological era of health. Applications of technology across multiple levels from molecular to the population are stressed. The control of HIV/AIDS is a key example in this era.

In the area of mortality rates Negros Oriental exemplifies the epidemiological transition from infectious to chronic disease causes over time (see Table 1). Infectious diseases, however currently predominate Negros Oriental in the area of morbidity rates (see Table 2). Many of these health problems could be further reduced by preventive measures. These preventive measures may be

facilitated by effective public health. Terris affirmed that "the major health problems of Britain (and for that matter the Philippines) today—heart disease, cancer, stroke, accidents, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, etc.—cannot be solved by therapeutically oriented medical practitioners...this requires interdisciplinary public health research and public health practice."

At the same time countries around the world are now being challenged by emerging diseases. Some of these new emerging diseases such as hantavirus infection and new strains of cholera may be influenced by the El Niño phenomena of climate change. The Hantavirus for example has been known to kill up to 48% of the people in its path in the Southwestern United States. Other forms of these viruses have been known to Korea and East Asia. The viral disease Ebola of Democratic Congo, Africa has been known to kill more than 90% of infected individuals. A similar type of virus called Ebola-Reston has been found to kill monkeys in the Philippines. Continued destruction of tropical forest habitats may hasten the spread of emerging diseases. At this point in time, Ebola-Reston has not demonstrated disease in humans. However, proper public health measures are essential to keep such potential health problems like this in check.

Also, some countries are experiencing the re-emergence of older illnesses. Dengue fever is an example of such an illness. An example of this is the case of dengue fever in Dumaguete City. A decade ago dengue fever was virtually unknown in Dumaguete. However, in the early 1990s dengue in Dumaguete had risen to one of the highest morbidity rates for any Philippine city. Public health strategies are key to tackling such problems.

## The Discipline of Public Health

Public health is an interdisciplinary profession. Terris stated, "only a school of public health can provide the broad background in epidemiology and biostatistics, the pertinent natural and social sciences, and public health organization and administration which is necessary to train the members of the public health profession."

Even in the program's infancy at Silliman there has been a rich diversity among the professional/academic backgrounds of its faculty and also its students. The faculty come from the back-

grounds of administration, arts and sciences (including sociology, psychology, biology, chemistry and physics), education, nursing, medicine and of course public health. This first promotion of M.P.H. students at Silliman has included those from the backgrounds of medical technology, physical therapy, nursing, nutrition, medicine, veterinary medicine, biology and administration. It is not uncommon for public health programs to also have students from such backgrounds as social work, arts/humanities, divinity, law and engineering. This rich diversity of professional and academic backgrounds permits what Terris calls the "cross-fertilization necessary among the sciences of public health, among the various areas of public health practice, and between theory and practice."

### The M.P.H. Program and Activities at Silliman

Current concentrations in the M.P.H. program include the areas of health education, environmental health, and health administration. Additional concentrations such as epidemiology/biostatistics, health sociology, public health nutrition and public health microbiology/parasitology will be considered as the degree program progresses. In time, perhaps the M.P.H. program may develop into a full school of its own within the university structure.

Assignments and projects during the M.P.H. course have been designed to address real situations. Some of these activities have included: environmental surveys of schools for control of mosquito vectors/dengue, sanitary surveys of municipal waste facilities, a proposed school programs on alcohol abuse, a proposed program on teenage pregnancy prevention, studies on the epidemiology of women's health, malaria, rabies, and accidents in Negros Oriental.

### Student Practicum Action Projects for 1997-98

- Bacterial Coliform Quality of the Banica River: A Baseline Study for Banica River Rehabilitation
- Health Education for the Control and Prevention of Diarrhea among Market Vendors of Bacong, Negros Oriental:
  - I. Proper Disposal of Solid Waste

### II. Proper Food Handling

- Solid and Liquid Waste Disposal Systems in the Dumaguete Public Market: Its Impact on Public Health
- The Health Impact of Setback Distance from Septic Tanks/Privies' Effluents to a Drinking Water Source in Barangay Masaplud, Dauin, Negros Oriental.

### Closing Thoughts

Public health students often enter the program from different discipline. They finish the course of study to do further diverse activities. The one common thread through all of this is the following theme: to positively impact the public's health.

TABLE 1

Mortality Rates, Negros Oriental 1910 and 1996  
per 100,000 population:

1910		1996	
CAUSE:	RATE:	CAUSE:	RATE:
1. Malaria	620	1. Cardiovascular Diseases	90.9
2. Cholera	248	2. Pneumonia	46.6
3. Diarrhea	156	3. Cancer	24.0
4. Tuberculosis	92	4. Tuberculosis	16.5
5. Dysentery	83	5. Accidents	15.4
6. Beri-Beri	75	6. Septicemia	13.2
7. Small Pox	8	7. Hemorrhage/Wounds	12.9

Sources: 1910 Statistics—Aldecoa-Rodriguez, C., p. 111; 1996 Statistics—Integrated Provincial Health Office (Negros Oriental), n.p.

TABLE 2

Morbidity Rates, Negros Oriental 1996  
per 100,000 population:

CAUSE:	RATE:
1. Acute Respiratory Infection	5982
2. Influenza	4951
3. Diarrheas	3716
4. Pneumonia	3304
5. Malnutrition/Vitamin Deficiency	1951
6. Wounds/Injuries	1656
7. Urinary Tract Infection	350
8. Respiratory Tuberculosis	231
9. Typhoid Fever	83
10. Measles	80

Source: Integrated Provincial Health Office (Negros Oriental), n.p.

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