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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 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. Documentation of sources should be discipline-based. Pictures or illustrations will be accepted only when absolutely necessary. All articles must be accompanied by an abstract. All authors must submit their manuscripts in duplicate, word-processed double-space 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 off-print copies of his/her submitted paper. Additional copies are available by arrangement with the Editor or Business Manager before the issue goes to press.

EDITOR'S NOTES

But I do not propose it as a variety and stock of knowledge, but as a variety and freedom of thinking; as an increase of the powers and activities of the mind, not as an enlargement of its possessions.

-- John Locke, On the Conduct of the Understanding

More than a cosmetic makeover for the new face of SILLIMAN JOURNAL, this quotation from John Locke provides the philosophical underpinnings for the journal's abiding commitment to the promotion of scholarship in all disciplines and for its interest in the qualitative life, that aspect of human activity that is the source of attitudes and values, emotions, and deeply rooted convictions.

The articles in this volume reflect the pluralism of contemporary scholarship as well as the diversity of motivation, method, and experience of their individual authors which are the source of vitality of this issue. At the same time, they point up the interrelatedness of the disciplines—history, sociology, gender studies, cultural studies, religion, and natural science. Readers will come to see the disciplines both as perspectives (ways of seeing) and

as methodologies (ways of dealing with). The various theoretical stances authors use in analyzing their subjects emphasize SILLIMAN JOURNAL's theory that the continual reframing of a subject creates complex discussions which eventually lead to heightened understanding. As the convergence of social, historical, and political forces becomes more evident in everyday life, the movement for closer integration of all the branches of study that are related to man takes on the status not merely of a desirable goal but of an unquestionable necessity. In this movement, SILLIMAN JOURNAL plays a major role.

Despite their varying disciplinary orientations, the articles in this issue highlight the area of concern common to all, namely, the multifaceted dimensions of human existence. In articulating this concern,

their authors are explicit about the position from which they speak and exhibit a progressive outlook that seeks to engage past texts in fruitful dialogue with the present by examining different interpretations on the subject and offering alternative points of view and new ways of looking at old issues. This progressive outlook has its roots in the social, cultural, and technological developments of the recent decades which have given rise to a vast intellectual industry of competing factions as new fields of received and evolving wisdom, different critical vocabularies, and interpretive methods proliferated. The vastly expanded contemporary scholarship now includes long-neglected areas of study—for example, women, the environment, and non-western traditions—whose examination require radical, unconventional interpretive approaches. This process of challenging the old and the established notions, of unsettling conventional theories and wisdom, and decentering traditions, cultures, and practices has in recent years come to be

loosely described as a paradigm shift. In the Kuhnian sense, paradigm shift refers to a break with tradition, with old ways of thinking, with old paradigms. For Thomas S. Kuhn, scientific revolutions inspired by landmark inventions or “unexpected discoveries” are paradigm shifts. In his influential book, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Kuhn argues that every significant breakthrough in the field of scientific endeavor was a result of “tradition-shattering complements to the tradition-bound activity of normal science....” These scientific revolutions “necessitated the community’s rejection of one-time honored scientific theory in favor of another incompatible with it.”

Although Kuhn was describing a specifically scientific paradigmatic shift which transformed the imagination on a world-wide scale, scholars from a wide range of fields have borrowed from his theories to describe their subjects in the same way. In academic/scholarly studies, the influence of this kind of thinking has been profound. Thus, a thematic thread

running through the articles in this issue is the self-consciousness of their authors in their assertion that old issues and debates need to be challenged. This overtly progressive outlook is perhaps the single most distinguishing feature of this collection.

The lead article by Earl Jude Paul Cleope on “Revisiting the Trail of the Dios Buhawi Movement: Its Impact on the Revolutionary Struggle in Southern Negros Oriental (1888-1898),” takes issue with conventional historical interpretation of the Revolution in Negros Oriental which tended to valorize the role of the elite while denigrating to insignificance the contributions of scattered rebel groups. Using New Historicism as an analytical framework, Cleope questions the conventional understanding of “history” as a narrative of indisputable past events and examines the multiple discourses and texts surrounding the Revolution to reveal little known facts about the “insignificant rebellions” traditionally represented in history books as pure banditry. Specifi-

cally, Cleope focuses on the Dios Buhawi Rebellion in Southern Negros, assesses its impact on the succeeding revolutionary movements in the province, and concludes that the Dios Buhawi Rebellion was a legitimate nationalist movement whose leader, albeit infamously represented as a bandit in the pages of history books, remained a hero in the eyes of the masses who were his followers.

In taking as its subject women’s experience under patriarchy and questioning the long tradition of male rule in society which has silenced women’s voices, distorted their lives, and regarded their concern as peripheral, the women’s movement is responsible for initiating some of the most revolutionary paradigm shifts in history. In the academe, this paradigm shift manifests itself not only in the proliferation of Women’s Studies in a growing number of institutions, but in the increasingly interdisciplinary nature of such programs. As it engages with critiques both within and without, feminist criticism’s encounters with

Marxism, psychoanalysis, post-structuralism, ethnic studies, postcolonial, and lesbian and gay studies have produced a proliferation of works in such fields as sociology, anthropology, history, religion, psychology, political science, law, and communication. Despite the multiplicity of their approaches and the diversity of their perspectives, persuasions, methods, and backgrounds, feminist academics take as their central problematic the history of women's oppression.

In this issue, feminist paradigms underpin the discussions in two articles by Enrique G. Oracion and Lester Edwin J. Ruiz. That two male academics should write about women's experiences from a decidedly feminist perspective speaks eloquently of a paradigm shift that needs neither a justification nor a clarification.

In the first of these, one of the most prolific researchers in Silliman at present, Enrique G. Oracion, comes up once again with another product of research conducted among fishing households in Apo Island. In this article entitled

"Household Cycles and Task Management: Valuing the Productive Involvement of Wives in a Visayan Island Fishing Community," Oracion presents a case study of wives and reinterprets their stories in various stages of the household cycles as they work side by side with their husbands to break the constraints imposed upon them by the island's cultural and natural environment. Oracion calls for a reinterpretation, reconstruction and reanalyses of existing data which will show women's position in the center stage of family struggle for a decent living. This reinterpretation, Oracion argues, must include a holistic view of the fishing activities, one which examines the involvement of both husbands and wives and the extent of their participation in every aspect of the activity including those done before, during, after, and by whom. Given the traditional perception of fishing as a male-dominated economic activity where only the actual catching of fish is emphasized, the proposal for a more encompassing view of

fishing thus constitutes a paradigm shift.

Moving, rather abruptly, from a local to a global context, but keeping the same trajectory on women's experience, the next article by Lester Edwin J. Ruiz draws insights from his richly varied interests in cultural studies, theology, politics, sociology, contemporary feminism and from his extensive overseas teaching experience in a number of international academic institutions. In an erudite essay, "The Master's Tools will Never Dismantle the Master's House," which he modestly subtitles as a meditation on women, culture, and politics, Ruiz posits a sophisticated argument that "feminist struggles are illustrative of what 'becoming a people' entails." He sees feminist struggles both as a theory and practice capable of challenging conventional notions of political identity as well as of interrogating "the historically-specific, and often invisible, male-centric accounts of political identity." Such struggles, according to Ruiz, constitute "cultures of resistance and soli-

arity" which can deconstruct male-centric discourses as well as articulate alternative visions of possible futures in which, one hopes, women will have a place. Moreover, as practices of cultural transformation aimed at dismantling oppressive structures and practices while articulating the full range of women's experiences, feminist struggles, in Ruiz's view, can "transform the male-centric, hierarchical, often misogynistic practices in social and political life."

It sometimes helps to look at one's country—its problems, its achievements, its opportunities—from a distance. As Associate Professor of Sociology and Director of the Filipino Studies Center at California State University-Hayward, Efren Padilla, one of the contributors in this issue, has the privilege of that experience. From that vantage point, Padilla, in the article entitled "The Story of Bagumbayan and the Emerging Filipino Identity," traces the roots of the Filipino identity from the establishment of the Filipino nation-state to the current wide-

spread scattering of Filipinos overseas. Explicitly Kuhnian in his perspective, Padilla vigorously argues for a reinterpretation of the traditional Filipino story, one that will account for the diasporic experience of Filipinos which he claims now "supplies us both with the language and discourse of who we are, how we see ourselves, how we reproduce our communities, how we reclaim ourselves, and how we reconstruct our communities." As one speaking from the perspective of an "exile," Padilla brings to his essay the poignant personal touch of one acutely aware of his diasporic condition and lives it.

The next article by Douglas J. Elwood, "The Miracle of Dialogue: Its Role in Conflict Resolution," examines the subject of dialogue, in particular the face-to-face dialogue, as a tool in conflict resolution. Invoking Buber's concept of the "I-Thou" relationship, Elwood elucidates on two conditions required for dialogue to take place—it must proceed from both sides, and the parties to the dialogue must persist re-

lentlessly. For Elwood, resolving a conflict through dialogue requires that each party recognizes and affirms the humanity of the other. Taking a definitively theological standpoint, Elwood, a former theology professor, rejects the use of power tactics as a way to force a solution. Instead, he argues that the almost forgotten art of dialogue is not only an option but a moral principle.

The final article in this collection by Christian K. Schales entitled "An Interview Survey on Species Protection Aspects among Residents of Three Communities in the Mt. Talinis Area, Negros Oriental, Philippines," addresses the issue of species conservation, specifically the role of the community in the protection of endangered species. Environmentalism's concern for "ecosocietal restoration," informs both the content and the method of the study to highlight human society's relationship with the natural system. The survey proceeds from the premise that understanding the fundamental connections both within the natural system and with social

and economic concerns is the key to balancing the destruction and repair of ecosystems. Schales' own professional career, straddling a variety of wide-ranging, oftentimes disparate, academic interests from veterinary medicine specializing in avian medicine to parasitology, species conservation, information technology, photography to arts and music, provides a concrete instance of a paradigm shift. Schales implicitly brings all these interests into a persuasive argument for an alternative policy initiative which gives primacy to environmental literacy and the need to educate the public in order to change attitudes and behaviors that are destructive to natural systems. This shift from the natural aspects of the environment to the human plane without losing their essential connections is one of the landmark developments in species conservation. This focus provides a formal closure to the thematic framework of this issue.

As illustrated by the collection of articles in this issue, the concept of paradigmatic

shift is germane to an exploration of many areas of knowledge including the sciences, communication, history, the arts, political development, cultural studies, feminism, and many other fields as well as human activities. Although they can only be recognized retrospectively and from a perspective of the new space, paradigm shifts, whether in the sciences, social sciences, or the humanities, have been responsible for innumerable innovations capable of effecting drastic change. Needless to say, the advancements in these fields similarly have a qualitative effect on the condition of human existence. As Kuhn insists, human experience will qualitatively evolve under the influence of a new invention.

A final comment about the new look of this journal. Although perhaps not so "tradition shattering" in the Kuhnian sense, the revised lay-out and format of this issue is only coincidentally significant to the thematic frame of this collection. Yet, without self-consciously contriving it, this new

look complements, by a happy chance, just such a theme. Unlike the thematic arrangement of the articles which evolved subtly and at the start, unexpectedly, the new face of the journal has been the product of months and months of creative agitation and cogitation among us members of the Editorial Board who felt that this much-overdue physical transformation must serve as an objective correlative to the quality of scholarship we have committed ourselves to promote. The transformation, however, was a slow and painstaking process that began with a series of debates surrounding the change in the frequency of the journal from a quarterly to a biannual. That initial difficulty overcome, the first of the biannual issues came out as volume 39:1 (1998). At that time, we also managed to give the journal literally more color by changing the traditional white cover page to red to make it more attractive and redesigning the lay-out to make it visually appealing. Because the results were not as pleasing as we had hoped, we decided to take

bolder steps and introduce major innovations both in form and in content. Stylistically, the face of this present volume is the result of that daring. Qualitatively, the depth and diversity of the subjects covered in this issue attest to the journal's commitment to excellence. But perhaps the most noteworthy innovation in the history of *SILLIMAN JOURNAL* is the inclusion for the first time of a set of overseas Editorial Board Members, each one representing a particular academic specialization and institutional affiliation. Their membership in this Board is a recognition of their intellectual achievements and range of knowledge; their acceptance of this membership gives honor to *SILLIMAN JOURNAL*.

As Chair of the Editorial Board of *SILLIMAN JOURNAL*, I take great pleasure in announcing and welcoming in this issue the overseas members of the Editorial Board. They are Prof. Eberhard Curio, Ph.D. (University of Ruhr-Bochum, Federal Republic of Germany) in the area of species conservation; Prof. Ernani

Meñez, Ph.D. (National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C.) for the sciences; Associate Professor Efren N. Padilla, Ph.D. (California State University-Hayward) for urban sociology and Filipino Studies; Prof. Lester Edwin J. Ruiz, Ph.D. (New York Theological Seminary) for theology, cultural studies, and contemporary feminism; and Prof. M. William Steele, Ph.D. (Institute of Asian Cultural Studies, International Christian University, Tokyo) for Asian Studies/Asian History. My grateful thanks to all of them for graciously accepting this invitation.

Acknowledgments are an inadequate expression of how much this issue of *SILLIMAN JOURNAL*, like the rest, is the product of many minds. Working on this issue would have been far more difficult and certainly far less fun without, first and foremost, our authors whose intellectual vigor, matched only by the intellectual rigors of their subjects, informs the collection of essays in

this volume. My main debt is to them whose works I have learned from and whose wisdom I seek to pass on.

Several people read and reviewed the manuscripts. Their valuable suggestions have clarified and enlightened every page and affected my own work during the manuscript preparation. For this contribution, their names are appropriately acknowledged in the list of reviewers.

Nino de Veyra, my production editor, cannot be thanked enough for the rigor and efficiency of his work in designing the fine layout of this journal, especially the tricky side of technical editing. He is also a meticulous co-editor who provided the creative impulse as well as the encouragement and good humor despite being himself under pressure from thesis writing. His insights and suggestions are so woven up in the fabric of this volume that it would be impossible to imagine it without them.

Drawing the ring somewhat tighter, I have a number of colleagues who have influenced me in ways too numer-

ous and subtle to describe.

Dr. Christian K. Schales deserves special appreciation for his continuing support of *SILLIMAN JOURNAL* through the generous loan of his equipment to make the manuscripts camera-ready for the press and for his gentle and not-so gentle proddings when other duties interfered with my work on the journal.

Mrs. Naty T. Sojor, the journal's Circulation Manager, coordinated the seemingly endless production process and the onerous task of managing our meager budget with speed, patience, and attention to detail.

The fine illustration that decks the cover and provides the visual expression for the lead article in this issue is the artistic impulse of Prof. Enrique G. Oracion who, besides being a competent researcher, is also a fine artist.

I am also grateful to my colleagues in the Editorial Board who shared my vision of an internationally-acknowledged journal and enthusiastically supported my creative agitations to introduce changes to both the form and content of the journal.

The rest that I cannot mention here know as well how much they have contributed and how much I appreciate their insights.

It is a humbling experience to edit a journal, to put in several months of diligent, often painful, labor, and then to look back over the completed work and realize how little of it, finally is one's own, how little one can claim credit for. It seem to me a journal editor is like a merchandiser, whose only credit lies in delivering the wares of others, complete, intact, and decently packaged. I hope I have done so here.

Ceres E. Pioquinto, Ph.D.

REVISITING THE TRAIL OF THE DIOS BUHAWI MOVEMENT: ITS IMPACT ON THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN NEGROS ORIENTAL (1888-1898)

Earl Jude Paul L. Cleope

ABSTRACT

This paper deviates from the traditional and common practice of Cognitive History towards the call of modern historians to view history from the perspective of New Historicism. From this vantage point, this paper briefly presents the rebellion in southern Negros Oriental spearheaded by Dios Buhawi. Specifically, this paper will examine the popularly-held notions that the so-called insignificant rebellions were led by remontados, bandidos, and tulisanes and thus were plain banditry. Hence their activities were considered unimportant to the revolutionary struggle.

This paper maintains that the movement spearheaded by Buhawi a decade prior to the liberation of Negros initiated, influenced, and contributed significantly to the dynamic processes that culminated in the liberation of the island from Spain. Its greatest impact was manifested in the subsequent revolutionary activities of Leon Kilat in Cebu, Felipe Tayko in southern Negros Oriental, and Papa Isio in Negros Occidental, not to mention the numerous other personages who continued his cause but did not live to see the liberation.

A recent school of scholarship, called New Historicism, insists that there is no "history" in the sense of a narrative of indisputable past events. In this view, each age projects its own preconceptions on the past and historians do not reveal the past but only their own historical situation and their personal preferences. Given these new possibilities for interpretation provided by New Historicism, revisiting the Revolution and examining the multiple discourses and texts surrounding it, including class distinctions and their regional, provincial and local variations, provide not just a challenging project but an oppor-

tunity to view history from a different light.

Using New Historicism as an analytical framework, this study will attempt to reinterpret what has been traditionally offered as historical facts about the Revolution in Negros. Specifically, it will examine the little known facts about the so-called "insignificant rebellions" prior to the revolution in 1896 that culminated in 1898. The choice of this subject for a historical scrutiny is justified by the fact that these "insignificant rebellions" have found so little space in the pages of historical accounts about the Revolution in the province.

Many local uprisings against the Spaniards especially in the last decade of the 19th century have been considered irrelevant to the Philippine Revolution. Spanish accounts pictured these uprisings as pure and simple banditry and their leaders as bandits or thieves. Moreover, most official accounts of this period, including the Philippine-American War, tend to focus only on the role of the

elite who are generally portrayed as heroes by conventional interpretation of the whole context of the revolution. However, continuing serious studies about the revolution in various localities and the reexamination of the role played by these revolutionary leaders have begun to cast doubt on their heroism. As new evidence are found and newer perspectives are used to examine them, the traditional picture of the Revolution changes as these elite leaders begin to look like traitors of the Philippine Revolution.¹

This paper will reexamine the Dios Buhawi rebellion and its impact on the Revolution in Southern Negros. In particular, this paper will focus on the influence of Dios Buhawi on the succeeding struggles led by Leon Kilat in Cebu, Papa Isio in Negros Occidental, and on the march to Dumaguete organized by Felipe Tayko to join Gen. Diego de la Viña in the liberation of Negros Oriental. This paper maintains that the reconstruction of these early

revolts and religio-political protests in the various localities is vital in understanding the revolutionary struggle.

The Roots of Rebellion: Economic Progress vs. Dislocation

The establishment and growth of the Iloilo port in 1850 hastened trade and commerce in the Visayas and led to the development of the Islands of Panay and Negros. However, this economic prosperity led to the drastic dislocation of small farmers who, having no titles of ownership to their lands, were easily dispossessed by the expanding agricultural enterprise. The influx of thousands of migrant workers attracted by the prosperity of Negros added to the growing social unrest which inevitably erupted in the 1870s into an uprising against the authority and the populace. Considered lawless elements, these groups were called by various names, such as, among others, *tulisanes*, *kawatan*,

bandido, *monteses*, *ladrones*, *remontados*, *civil-civil*, and *babailanes*. Because of the growing agitation and lawlessness, the Guardia Civil was established in Negros in 1879² and the abovementioned elements were driven to the mountains.

The American anthropologist, Donn Hart, classified them into three groups. In the first group were the *tulisanes*, *kawatan*, *ladrones*, and *bandidos*. Literally, this group included plain thieves, bandits, and robbers. The second included those who posed as patriots and revolutionists but were actually bandits who claimed that their unlawful activities were in line with the revolutionary struggle. Thus collectively they were sometimes referred to as the *monteses* and *remontados*.³ The last category which was the largest and best organized was the *babaylanes* (*babailanes*), also known as *civil-civil*.⁴ This group has been compared to the *Pulabanes* of Samar, the *Colorum* of Batangas and Tayabas (Quezon) provinces, and the

Guardia de Honor of Pangasinan and Ilokos provinces because of their shared similarities.⁵ In this last category Hart included the Buhawi rebellion.⁶

Ponciano Elope, a.k.a. Dios Buhawi and Haring Kanoy

As mentioned earlier, economic dislocation and injustices ushered in the proliferation of lawless elements in the island of Negros. In 1887, the southern tip of Negros Island was rocked by an uprising headed by Ponciano Elope, better known as Buhawi (Buhawi) and Haring (King) Kanoy. Elope earned his nickname "Buhawi" supposedly from his ability to make rain at will.⁷ Hart's ethnohistorical study conducted between 1951 to 1965 also showed that Buhawi was born in 1850 in Sitio Kaladias, Barangay Nahandig of the town of Zamboanguita. He was married to Flaviana Tubigan, but they were childless. He seemed to be a person of some means and importance because he

became the *cabeza* of the said barangay. Moreover, he was described as having a long nose and fair complexion.⁸ Good natured and generous, he was also a devout Catholic and formed a close relationship with the parish priest.

Owing to the distance of his place from the *poblacion*, Buhawi formed a religious assembly in his village and introduced elaborate religious ceremonies that attracted many people from nearby villages every Saturday. These gatherings were marked by dancing, cockfighting, and trading. Meanwhile, Buhawi was gaining popularity as a *mananambal* and a miraculous healer.⁹ As news about his gift of healing and his claim as the "Living God" spread to other towns, more and more people came to Nahandig, some out of curiosity. His teachings and prophecies earned him the title of "*manluluwas*."¹⁰ His prediction about the end of the world included a threat of punishment to those who would not give tribute¹¹ to him. Subsequently, a chapel was built through cooperative labor to accommo-

date his growing number of followers who flocked to Nahandig.

Given the political climate of that time, gatherings and movements like Buhawi's elicited suspicion and alarm among the authorities who considered Buhawi a threat to the established order. Oral accounts from informants claim that he urged his followers not to pay their taxes and denounced the corrupt practices of the Spanish tax collector, Manuel Bugarin.¹² As his movement grew, his relationship with the authorities inevitably soured. The growing popularity of his movement alarmed not only the Spaniards who were relatively few, but also the local Zamboanguita officials.

The turning point of Buhawi's movement happened on Good Friday of 1887. Following the traditional Lenten practice of devotees, his parents came to the *poblacion* to attend the religious ceremonies and services in the church.¹³ While in town, his father got sick of fever and Buhawi hurried to the *poblacion* to treat him. His

presence in the town became known to the authorities who immediately dispatched a platoon of Guardia Civil to arrest him. Shortly after, four Filipino soldiers entered the house where Buhawi's parents were staying and demanded to know where Buhawi was hiding.¹⁴

According to accounts, Buhawi's father not only denied any knowledge of his son's whereabouts but also defended the latter's innocence of all accusations leveled against him. Infuriated, the soldiers struck him with their guns and bayoneted him through the throat. It was said that at this point Buhawi suddenly appeared and told the soldiers that he was going to exact vengeance against the Spaniards. For this reason, he asked to be taken to the *casa tribunal*. However, he was arrested, tied to a post, and lashed mercilessly in the presence of his mother who was herself roughly treated. Stories spread that, enraged, Buhawi broke his shackles and killed three soldiers and two onlookers before escaping. Along the way, he reportedly told his nephew Belto and Jose Entac,

who were both *cabezas*, that he would return to kill the Spaniards.¹⁵

Thus, what began as a religious movement eventually developed into a rebellion when Buhawi was declared an outlaw. His hatred against the authorities grew as they pursued his friends and relatives and punished them brutally.¹⁶ To elude capture from frequent patrols which were sent to arrest him, Buhawi and his brother-in-law, Valentin Tubigan, together with some loyal followers, moved their headquarters to the interior mountains in the neighboring town of Siaton. His ability to elude arrest added to his mysterious aura and won for him a number of followers who strongly believed that he had supernatural powers. Employing pseudo-religious doctrines and prophecies, he was able to win more followers to join his crusade to put an end to the forced payment of taxes.¹⁷ On the one hand, his exploits of moving with ease from one town to another, eluding arrest, and holding the Guardia Civil at bay damaged the im-

age of Spain. On the other, these feats convinced the masses that he was indeed their liberator from Spanish oppression.

The power of his movement to attract a great multitude from all the coastal towns from Tanjay to Tolong has been well described in various sources.¹⁸ According to one account, he led the raids on towns that refused to submit to his movement. At other times, he charged one of his trusted deputies, Camartin de la Cruz (Kamalting), to raid other towns as well.¹⁹ Despite these raids, it was clearly evident that Buhawi was not a common criminal as authorities made him out to be. As the historian, Angel Cuesta, puts it:

His own enemies did not consider him a criminal for the accusations against him were of a general character. Thus he was accused of protecting criminal elements, of persuading people not to pay their taxes and in general of raiding the towns that did not submit to him.²⁰

A vivid description of how it was like to live in that

era is found in a manuscript describing the life in Siaton at the height of the Buhawi rebellion:

The condition of the poblacion was like that of a cave because when the sun set nobody would walk the streets. When one talked, it would be in a whisper because there might be soldiers or followers of Buhawi listening under the house. If you talked against the soldiers, they would take you to their headquarters. If you said anything against Buhawi, his men might hear you and take you to face him in the mountains. There was continual stealing in the nearby areas and continual shooting in the mountains. You would hear the rattle of guns and of the machitas [*sic*]. You would hear the sorrowful howling of the dogs.²¹

Buhawi's end came when he decided to raid the town of Siaton in 1888.²² How his death came about is variously described in different accounts. A version reported to Hart narrates that in one skirmish he was prevailed upon by women and children who begged him to surrender for fear of their own lives. It was told that the authorities had threatened to

massacre them if Buhawi tried to escape. According to this account, Buhawi surrendered to a group of soldiers who were astonished to find in his body not a single trace of wounds despite the heavy firing. Recovering from their initial surprise, the soldiers then tied him to a tree and bayoneted him to death.²³

The Cebuano text of Buhawi's death by Juan Gadiane deserves to be quoted here in full for its picturesque narration:

Sa diha nga ang mga Guardias Civiles nag padayon sa pagpabuto sa ilang fusil sa walay humong, ilang nakita usa ka tawo nga Daku ug tambok nga ang iyang (bisti) sapot guinasokgusokan sa puti ug pula, kay itum man ang iyang sinina nga ingon sa camisa chino apan piit kaayo. Ug ang iyang calsonis itom usab nga binutangan sa pula sa masig ka kilid nga naga angat sa bakilid nga ang distansia kapin sa usa ka gatos ka dupa nga ang iyang camot nga too kanunay nagabupot sa pulo-an sa iyang pinuti. Guituboan sa mga Guardia Civiles ug sa uban pa nga wala makakita nga wala nay lain kun dili mao kini si Buhawi, wala man magdalagan ni maglagsik, ang iyang linaktan

natural sa maga-angat sa bakilid, ang maong bakilid tulotindog, ang iyang kabintang sa tuon tuon na nilang fusil kay gapuot man ang abo, wala na nila makita si Buhawi kay gakanunay man sa pag-lakaw, gui-agpas sa mga soldados civiles, sa pag-hisalpong nila sa maong bakilid nakita nila nga gatabok sa sapa nga may hawan (binlo) nga diyotay, usa ka tawo linuhod ang usa ka tiil, ang usa gabaka-ang ug ang kamot nagahupot sa pulo-an sa iyang pinuti (accion guibapon sapagso-kol), gibanatan sa pagfusil hangtod ka pila wala guibapon matumba ang iyang lawas nga patay (kay patay naman diay). Sa pagduol sa mga guardias civiles, ilang guitumba (hayang), nakita nila nga naga gowa ang daghang dugo sa iyang baba, ug nakita nila nga usa ra ang samad nga guikamatyan guikan sa usa ka bala nga diba omagui sa lubot ug migowa sa alimpolo sa olo (tingali diba maigo sa iyang pag-angat sa bakilid).

The brief free translation of the above story goes:

On the day Buhawi was captured, he was walking in a normal pace up a hill while the soldiers were firing at him. When he disappeared, the soldiers went up after him and saw him at the opposite bank of the river kneel-

ing on one knee while holding a bolo. They continued to fire at him but as he did not fall, they went near him and pushed the body. They soon realized that a bullet had passed through his anus exiting through his head.²⁴

In Ruiz and Cuesta's account, Buhawi's capture was attributed to a spy who informed Lt. Domenech of Buhawi's arrival.²⁵ It was claimed, however, that Buhawi was warned of this imminent arrest. He crossed the Siaton river and chose to make a stand in a place called Nabais. Nevertheless, he was killed in the encounter and his followers immediately fled and abandoned his cause.

Buhawi's Legacy

With his death, the Spanish authorities thought that the rebellion was over and outlawed the repetition of any stories about this "living god." Little did they know that most of his followers continued to believe that he was alive. They were convinced that the body that was brought to Zam-

boanguita was just a banana stalk. However, they dared not tell the officials for fear that the Spaniards would continue to look for Buhawi.²⁶ Nor did the movement he started end with his death. His wife, Flaviana Tubigan, and brothers-in-law, Valentin and Higinio, took over and continued the activity. Flaviana became the "Reyna" (Queen), Valentin became the successor of Buhawi, and Higinio became known as "Dios Talisic."²⁷ At the same time, a certain Juana Gaitera also claimed to be another successor to the movement. However, Valentin and Higinio were ambushed and killed and Juana Gaitera was later captured and exiled in Jolo.

At the deaths of Buhawi's brothers in-law, Camartin de la Cruz (Kamalting), his most trusted deputy, took over the leadership of this movement. He and Buhawi's wife, Flaviana, joined forces and together waged a reign of terror in the area while at the same time preaching Buhawi's doctrines. As Camartin continued to raid the southern towns, reports about disturbances were

common.²⁸ These uprisings were happening when the American anthropologist, Dean C. Worcester was visiting Dumaguete and the neighboring towns in 1888. In his report, he wrote,

...we found that the guardia civil had been having a hard time trying to run down a famous *tulisan* leader, one Ca Martin.... The officer who was after him in Negros had a hard problem to solve. The bandit was believed to have *anting-anting*, having earned the reputation by escaping the fire of six native soldiers, at a range of a dozen yards. They reported that their bullets had glanced from his body, and their tale was believed. The story lost nothing in the telling, and at the time I mention the hero of it was believed to have a new charm by virtue of which he could step from one mountain peak to another, or precipitate a rushing stream of ice-cold water on any one hardy enough to pursue him. *These child's tales were implicitly believed, not only by the natives but even by intelligent mestizos. I heard them from the gobernadorcillo of Bais, who vouched for their truth* [emphasis added]....²⁹ It is to be hoped that he has long since been captured, and that the officer who took him

had executive ability; but when we left Negros Camartin was still at large and his name was one to conjure by.³⁰

Some time later Camartin was killed reportedly in a trap laid by his mistress, Alfonsa Alaidan, on September 11, 1893.³¹ Yet his death did not destroy the Buhawi movement because the followers, now labeled as pure bandits, continued to preach that Buhawi would soon return. Various sources consulted by Angel Cuesta about the reports in the southern towns during this period were unanimous in reporting that the "remnants continued to sow terror." In fact, one account described that "things became so serious that the townspeople did not dare to go three hundred meters beyond the border of the town [*sic*]."³² In almost all areas, Buhawi's followers, such as Lorenzo and his lieutenants, Pastor and Manuel, continued their activities and told the people to leave the town.³³ To complicate the situation, a certain Francisco Malga of Bonawon, in the town of Siaton started publicly pre-

sending himself as Buhawi.³⁴

While these uprisings and anarchy were rocking the southern towns of Negros Oriental,³⁵ a former religious leader who used to take refuge in one of Buhawi's camps in the mountains emerged in the Occidental side of Negros Island. Dionisio Seguela, popularly known as Papa Isio, was earlier involved with Buhawi and his followers, notably Camartin, when he hid in the mountains prior to his leading the *babaylan* movement. Accounts showed that Papa Isio later recruited the remnants of Buhawi's followers to join his own movement. At the height of his own exploits, he raided the southern towns of Negros Occidental and attacked mainly the haciendas and the Chinese stores.³⁶

While Papa Isio and his band continued their raids in southern Negros Occidental, a native of Bacong, one of the towns of southern Negros Oriental, emerged as one of the prominent leaders of the KKK in the island of Cebu. He was Pantaleon Villegas, more popularly known as Leon Kilat

(lightning). A close examination of his exploits revealed some links with the Buhawi movement. For instance, accounts of his early years in Negros Oriental showed that his family went to Tolong where Buhawi and Camartin operated.³⁷ Rather interestingly, his biography revealed no account of his early years.³⁸ According to stories, he disappeared when he was twelve years old but reappeared briefly in Bacong in 1892 only to disappear again. Resurfacing in 1895, he left soon after for Manila and Cebu where he established the KKK.³⁹ The mystery surrounding his whereabouts helped to fuel speculations that he was involved with the Buhawi movement at the time of his disappearance.⁴⁰

This speculation finds some basis in the fact that Leon Kilat came from the area where the Buhawi movement was popular. Furthermore, widespread rumors associated with his owning an amulet (*anting-anting*) and a magic handkerchief which enabled him to travel the islands with ease

bore similarities with the tales about Buhawi's own exploits.⁴¹ As his influence grew, Pantaleon Villegas eventually spearheaded the revolution in Cebu on April 3, 1898. Unfortunately, this was a short-lived leadership. On April 8, 1898, he was murdered by his fellow revolutionists.⁴²

To the authorities, Buhawi's movement was plain and simple banditry.⁴³ To the ordinary masses, however, it promised liberation. After Buhawi's death, people still invoked his name and some even embarked to continue his movement. His teachings were still fresh in the people's minds when the revolution broke out in Luzon in 1896. Interestingly, although many of his followers were either captured or killed, there was always one individual who would emerge to continue his exploits, albeit on a different plane.

One of the later local leaders to emerge in his shadows was Don Felipe Tayko, the son of a *governadorcillo* and a son-in-law of a priest. Unlike the other rebels, Felipe Tayko was a member of the ruling

elite family in Siaton. As early as 1891, the people of Siaton had anointed him as the second Buhawi after he allegedly led the bandits in the mountain. To escape this rumor, he left for Manila.⁴⁴ Ironically, it was in Manila that he came in close contact with the revolutionists. When he returned to Siaton after the outbreak of the revolution in 1897, he brought with him a helper named Lorenzo, who was himself a rebel and an escapee from the Bilibid prison.

While Felipe was in Manila, his brother Santiago Tayko succeeded his father as the *gobernadorcillo*. Upon his return to Siaton, Felipe was appointed as the town's chief of police. In this capacity, Felipe Tayko led a group from the southern towns and marched to Dumaguete to join Diego de la Viña's⁴⁵ forces in the liberation of the capital. Earlier, news reached them that Gen. Juan Araneta's forces had liberated Negros Occidental on the first week of November 1898.⁴⁶

In the wake of the Spanish defeat in the later part of 1898, members of the elite

started to join the rebellion initiated by Buhawi. However, they relegated to the periphery the pseudo-political and religious undertones of Buhawi's movement which did not appeal to them. By the time revolution broke out in the province, many of them were in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle.

Concluding Notes

New Historicism stems from the emergence of the postmodern theory. It is a way of looking at history from the point of view of the different events that formed it. Thus, a major historical event is broken down to different historical studies inspired by relevant questions regarding the past. In addition, it looks into the motive of the study and the interpretation of the facts. It asks whose history gets told? In whose name? For what purpose? It delves into historical texts and discourses as though they were never studied. It directs one's attention to histories that are forgotten, hidden, invisible, considered unimpor-

tant, changed, and eradicated.

An analysis of the Buhawi movement from this perspective has brought to light the fact that it was not plain and simple banditry and fanaticism. Attempts by the authorities to portray this movement as such in the pages of historical accounts have succeeded in imbuing it with a negative image rather than being considered as a legitimate nationalist movement dramatizing the refusal of the masses to submit to the foreign colonizers. However, the simple folks who joined Buhawi and who continued to talk about him even after his death certainly understood what the movement meant for them. Yet, because they were only simple folks considered insignificant by the authorities, their feelings and views on the Buhawi movement were not taken seriously even by early historians who tended to focus their attention on the role of the elite.

Viewed from the perspective of relevance to the Philippine Revolution, the Buhawi movement was a product of the growing national discontent

experienced by the dispossessed masses under the prevailing socio-political system of the whole archipelago. Their struggle and their subsequent adoption of the concepts of "freedom from taxation" and "liberation" placed Buhawi's movement at par with other similar movements in the country, recently the focus of serious studies and reinterpretation.

As the above discussion shows, the movement spearheaded by Buhawi a decade prior to the liberation of Negros initiated, influenced, and contributed significantly to the dynamic processes that culminated in the liberation of the island from Spain. Its greatest impact was manifested in the subsequent revolutionary activities of Leon Kilat in Cebu, Felipe Tayko in southern Negros Oriental, and Papa Isio in Negros Occidental, not to mention the numerous other personages who continued his cause but did not live to see the liberation.

In the context of the revolutionary struggle of the Negrenses against the Spanish

regime, Buhawi undoubtedly deserves to be remembered for his fight and his personal conviction which enabled the people to achieve their dream of freedom. Alone, he was able to form a group who remained loyal to him and his doctrines and continued his cause even after his death. A man who shook the foundation of the Spanish rule over the island, he became the inspiration and hope of the oppressed Negrenses. Although outlawed by the Spanish authorities, he remained enshrined in the hearts of the exploited masses as *their hero*.

Notes

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1. Remarks of Modesto Sa-onoy during the 12th Regional Seminar Workshop on Oral and Local History held at Buenos Aires Resort in Bago City last August 20-21, 1993. A similar observation is shared in my article, "Negros Oriental in the Context of the Philippine Revolution," published in *Silliman Journal* 39:1 (1998).
2. Jose Y. Marco, *Reseña Historica de la Isla de Negros* (Manila: La Vanguardia, 1912).
3. This term is derived from the word "remount" or to take to the hills. See James L. Leroy, *Philippine Life in the Town and Country* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905), pp. 29-30. This is especially the term used to refer to the bandits during the American occupation.
4. So-called because they wore uniforms similar to those of the Guardia Civil.
5. All these movements had a tone of religious ritual with crusading popes, self-appointed "Messiahs," distinctive costumes, bottles of holy oil, prayer books, and vari-

- ous amulets believed to protect the members from harm. See Vic Hurley, *Jungle Patrol: The Story of the Philippine Constabulary* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1938), pp. 130-132; and Donn V. Hart, "Buhawi of the Visayas: The Revitalization Process and Legend Making in the Philippines," in *Studies in Philippine Anthropology* (Mario Zamora, ed.; Quezon City: Alemar Phoenix, 1967), p. 370.
6. However, Angel Cuesta O.A.R. argues that Hart's classification is overly arbitrary and that all these groups actually often coexisted. See Angel Martinez Cuesta, *History of Negros* (trans. Alfonso Felix Jr. and Sor Caritas Sevilla; Manila: C. P. Garcia Publishing Co., 1980), pp. 430-431.
 7. Donn Hart translates Buhawi as "waterspout" (in Hart, pp. 371-378). Modesto Sa-onoy translates Buhawi as "whirlwind" and hence the God of the Four Winds. See Modesto Sa-onoy, *A History of Negros Occidental* (Bacolod: Today Printers and Publishers, 1992), p. 111. The above translations are correct but in this context, "tornado" or "twister" is a more appropriate translation.
 8. But Hart insists that he is a Filipino [*sic*] (in Hart, p. 373).
 9. Hart, p. 374.
 10. Cebuano word for Redeemer (Liberator?).
 11. They were told to bring a candle, five cents, chicken and egg. See Licinio Ruiz, *Sinopsis Historica de la Provincia de San Nicolas de Tolentino de las Islas Filipinas de la Orden de Agustinos Des Calzos* (unauthorized trans. by Juan Mesquida; Manila: Tip. Pont. De la Univ. de Sto. Tomas, 1925), pp. 148-152.
 12. Juan Gadiane, "Halandumong Kaagi sa Lungsod sa Siaton" (unpublished manuscript in Cebuano, 1951), p. 25.
 13. One informant claimed that Buhawi's father, Oris Elope, was visiting a nephew to facilitate Buhawi's surrender to the local officials to avoid fur-

- ther conflict (see Hart, p. 382).
14. Legendary accounts relate that Buhawi knew that the civil guards were coming because his dagger, that he alone could draw from its scabbard, began to bleed. Seeing this, his father pleaded for him to flee. When the soldiers entered, he became invisible (Hart, p. 382).
 15. Hart, p. 383.
 16. Jose and his wife Braulia, who had just delivered a baby, and Belto were imprisoned. Also, his brother Sebastian was arrested and mysteriously disappeared.
 17. Sa-onoy, p. 109.
 18. Cuesta (p. 433), as cited from *Libro Cosas Notables Siaton*. The priest of Tolong puts it at 2,000 and Juan Gadiane (primary source in Cebuano) said that his followers numbered around 15,000. As he puts it: "the *poblaciones* of Negros Oriental were almost deserted since young and old, father and son were joining him" (see Gadiane, p. 27).
 19. Surprisingly, all sources do not mention in detail how these raids were done (see Cuesta's endnotes 30-38). Cuesta got all the information about these raids from the *Libro Cosas Notables of Siaton, Tolong, and Pamplona*.
 20. Cuesta (p. 434); as cited from *Libro Cosas Notables Tolong*. Although, understandably enough, Fr. Cuesta is critical of the Buhawi movement in his book, his constructive comments and corrections on Donn Hart's study and Gadiane's manuscript are well appreciated and enlightening.
 21. This was the English translation of the Juan Gadiane's manuscript in Cebuano by Donn V. Hart with the assistance of Mr. Vitorio Concepcion (in Gadiane, pp. 17-18; and Hart, p. 386). Although Angel Cuesta in his notes stressed that "it is impossible to accept them at face value and extreme care and caution should be observed in reading the manuscript" (see Cuesta, 464, no. 29).

- Indeed, his corrections on some of the dates are impressive but he also accepted that there are clerical errors of his Spanish source, i.e., Fr. Lorenzo Cordon's *Libro Cosas Notables Siaton*, which placed Buhawi's death on August 1887 which he dismissed as a mere clerical error. However, it is unclear whether he had read the original Gadiane Cebuano manuscript.
22. Various dates are given. Gadiane and Hart pegged it on 1889; Licinio Ruiz puts it in 1887, same with Lorenzo Cordon. But Sa-onoy and Cuesta agree on 1888. This seems to be logically correct since Buhawi only became an outlaw in the Holy Week of 1887.
 23. Hart, p. 387.
 24. Gadiane, p. 20.
 25. This spy was identified as Manuel Ege, the son of Cabeza Francisco Ege who reported to Lt. Domenech also known as "Sota" because one half of his body had a black birthmark (see Gadiane, p. 11).
 26. Hart, p. 388. It was obvious that the Spaniards had difficulty in identifying him because they displayed the body in the tribunal for the people of Siaton to confirm that the cadaver was indeed Buhawi's. Moreover, rumors ran wild that the body did not decompose and he would soon return.
 27. There is no known "talistic" in the Cebuano dialect in this part of the province. Hart even invented "God Talistic." The more appropriate word seems to be "taligsik" which connotes drizzle.
 28. A report of March 15, 1889 stated that seven patrols were sent from Tolong to pursue him. See Guardia Civil Reports 1880-1897; Expediente 60 ff. 391-392 N.A., as cited in Evelyn Cullamar, *Babaylanism in Negros, 1896-1907* (Manila: New Day Publishers, 1986), p. 30.
 29. In a photograph in his book, the person identified as the *gobernadorcillo* of Bais

was Serio Guzman Singco who eventually would become a member of Diego de la Viña's party when they liberated Negros Oriental and one of those who initially resisted the American occupation of Bais.

30. Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippine Islands and Their People* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1899), pp. 269-273.
31. Gadiane has a vivid account of the incident in pp. 21-23.
32. Perhaps *poblacion*. See *Libro Cosas Notables de Tanjay* (as cited in Cuesta, p. 466).
33. Cuesta, p. 435.
34. Gadiane, p. 21.
35. Negros Oriental was proclaimed a separate province on January 1, 1890.
36. Modesto Sa-onoy in his paper entitled "The Reexamination of the Negros Revolution" during the 12th Regional Seminar Workshop on Oral and Local History held at Buenos Aires Resort in Bago City last August 20-21, 1993. See Sa-onoy, p. 112; and Cullamar, pp. 30-37. For

lack of space, Papa Isio's exploit will not be discussed in this paper.

37. In 1884, the family decided to transfer to Tolong and Pantaleon was employed as a servant of Friar Angel Maestro. See Jose R. Quisumbing and Caridad Rodriguez, *Leon Kilat (1878-1898) and the Cebu Revolution of 1898* (Cebu City: S & G Printers, 1991), p. 1.
38. See Manuel Enriquez de la Calzada, *Ang Kagubot sa Sugbo* (Sugbo: Rotary Press, 1951), p. 52.
39. One reason why he did not establish the KKK in his home province was the fact that there was no organized army in Negros Oriental. See T. Valentin Sitoy, "The Making of Negros: A Brief History," in *Kabilin: Legacies of a Hundred Years of Negros Oriental*, p. 12.
40. Hart wrote that Buhawi gave his magical silk handkerchief to Leon Kilat (in Hart, p. 380). But Cuesta disagreed stating that the "Kilat" referred to was Miguel Paero who was a

good friend of Juana Gaitera.

41. Quisumbing, p. 14 (as cited in de la Calzada, p. 52).
42. Dionisio Sy, *A Short History of Cebu 1500-1890s and The Anti-Spanish Revolution in Cebu* (Cebu City: Bathalad Inc., 1996), pp. 104-107.
43. Rodriguez labeled it as brigandage. See Caridad Aldecoa Rodriguez, *Negros Oriental and the Philippine Revolution* (Dumaguete City: Provincial Govt. Of Negros Oriental, 1983), pp. 31-32.
44. Felipe Tayko was married to Margarita Lajato, the daughter of Friar Julian Adan (the parish priest of Siaton at that time), on Dec. 8, 1888. From an interview with Mauro Tayko Jr., grandson of Felipe Tayko, on August 16, 1998.
45. He was the acknowledged leader of the revolutionaries in Negros Oriental. Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo conferred on him the title: *General de Brigada, Commandante del Ejercito Filipino, Provincia de Negros*

Oriental. See Caridad A. Rodriguez, p. 84; as quoted in "A Brief Biography of Diego de la Vina," by Woodrow Serion (1954). (This writer also had the opportunity to interview Mr. Serion.)

46. In response, de la Viña immediately dispatched an order to the various towns enjoining the leaders to liberate their towns and subsequently march and converge all forces in Dumaguete. Consequently, Negros Oriental was liberated on Nov. 24, 1898, the day before the fiesta of Dumaguete. Yet just like what happened in the Occidental side, there were no bloody skirmishes because the Spaniards left the towns before the arrival of the revolutionists. Rodriguez has a detailed account of these events (in Rodriguez, pp. 81-88).

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HOUSEHOLD CYCLES AND TASK MANAGEMENT: VALUING THE PRODUCTIVE INVOLVEMENT OF WIVES IN A VISAYAN ISLAND FISHING COMMUNITY

Enrique G. Oracion

Abstract

In the feminist tradition of recognizing the potentials of women as human beings capable of managing their own affairs, this case study will reinterpret the stories of the wives in various stages of the household cycles in Apo Island as they work side by side with their husbands to break the constraints imposed upon them by the island's cultural and natural environment. This paper argues that although their reproductive tasks have limited their involvement in the productive domain of their husbands, wives at the height of child bearing and rearing have nevertheless successfully utilized some social mechanisms to help them cope with demands of reproductive tasks in order to find time to participate in productive activities. Meanwhile, those who have already completed their reproductive years are now able to devote more time in fish trading and other economic activities.

The roles of men and women are differentiated and made more distinct by biological justification which may sound logical but not necessarily true. Biological determinists believe that the anatomy of men and women is responsible for what they could do respectively. The unquestioned persistence of this belief over time had ultimately made it culturally accepted as well (Nolasco 1991, Sobritchea 1991, Showdon 1997). The practice of people and the reinforcing social norms have perpetuated the idea that there are indeed domains which specific gender should manage and specialize. Performance of tasks becomes "gendered" and crossing boundaries is discouraged and even socially criticized.

Meanwhile, the stratification by gender has created some kind of inequality that subordinates

women in the process. Certain tasks performed by women are categorically underrated compared to those carried out by men. Domestic tasks which are said to be biologically based have kept women in the home. Even though women, either because of necessity or opportunity, have intruded into the productive domain of men, their efforts are undervalued in terms of monetary and social reward because by tradition this is not their assigned place (e.g., Eviota 1986; UNICEF 1987; Wallace *et al.* 1987; Sobritchea 1991, 1994). These situations illustrate some of the obvious manifestations of the ideology of patriarchy that has taken root in society. In order to achieve the liberation of women, this ideology needs to be deconstructed. What needs to be done toward this end is to challenge and interrogate in literature and in practice the prevailing notions about the domesticity of women in order that women's role will be fully valued.

Paradigm Shift: Women in the Center

This paper maintains that women's capabilities are not to be underestimated. Women may be constrained by their biological na-

ture in performing certain specific tasks but this does not mean that they are not capable of being equally productive as men when given the opportunity. Similarly, what they produce should also be valued by society particularly as the present economic condition demands from both the husband and the wife equal efforts to sustain their families. This kind of paradigm shift, according to Nielsen (1990), requires "reinterpretations, reconstructions and re-analyses of existing data from a new perspective" where "women are seen, rather than just the men, in center stage" of family struggle for a decent living. In the Visayas, the visible participation of women, particularly in fishing households experiencing economic changes and resource degeneration, is well documented by numerous studies, such as those by Sobritchea (1994) in Bohol; Shields, Flora, Slayter and Buenavista (1996) in Siquijor and Leyte; and Oracion (1998) in Apo Island of Negros Oriental.

A holistic view of the fishing activities which examines the involvement of both husbands and wives and the extent of their participation in every aspect of the activity including those done before,

during, after, and by whom constitutes a paradigmatic shift from the traditional perception of fishing as a male-dominated economic activity where only the actual catching of fish is given emphasis. This approach offers an opportunity to assess the extent of women's participation in the fishing industry and argues that if pre- and postfishing activities are examined, the contributions of women become more visible. Only then can subsistence fishing be aptly described as a conjugal enterprise (see Oracion 1998: 40-47, for a detailed analysis of how the wives and husbands in households studied complement each other in doing domestic and non-domestic tasks).

In the feminist tradition of recognizing the potentials of women as human beings capable of managing their own affairs, this case study will reinterpret the stories of the wives in various stages of the household cycles in Apo Island as they work side by side with their husbands to break the constraints imposed upon them by the island's cultural and natural environment. This study will use the data gathered through observations during the fieldwork and those narrated by key informants

during in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. Operating within the framework of the paradigm shift, this study will focus on the way the wives manage to get out from their given "natural" domain, that is, the home, to complement their husbands' activity at sea and maintain an equal place with them in the family and the community.

In particular, this paper argues that although their reproductive tasks have limited their involvement in the productive domain of their husbands, wives at the height of child bearing and rearing have nevertheless successfully utilized some social mechanisms to help them cope with the demands of reproductive tasks in order to find time to participate in productive activities. Meanwhile, those who have already completed their reproductive years are now able to devote more time in fish trading and other economic activities.

The Wives of Apo Island

Apo Island, where the study was conducted, measures about 74 hectares. It is located five kilometers off the southeastern coast of Malatapay, Maluay in the

town of Zamboanguita, about 25 kilometers south of Dumaguete City. Malatapay holds the regular Wednesday *tabu* (market). It is also here where people take off for Apo Island which is about 30 to 40 minutes ride by a pumpboat. Apo Island is popular among tourists and environmentalists because of its marine reserve and fish sanctuary managed by the island residents (see Oracion 1998: 38, for description of the island).

Twelve wives constituted the key informants of this case study. Their ages range from 22 to 64 years old while their husbands are, on the average, three years older. The average number of children is four, with ten the highest number. Generally, the wives and their husbands have reached only the elementary level of education. What is apparent also in these households is the patrilocal pattern of residence—Apo Island men who marry women from other places bring home their wives to the island to settle there. A majority of the wives interviewed came to the island when they married.

The husbands of the respondents are all primarily engaged in small scale or subsistence fishing using hook and line, net, and *baroto*

(nonmotorized outrigger). The wives claim that they are also involved in the fishing activities of their husbands in one way or another. Together with their household responsibilities, they perform major productive activities such as mat weaving, fish trading, operating a *sari-sari* store, selling souvenir T-shirts to island visitors, dress-making, and manicuring. They likewise consider themselves, particularly the older respondents, as active members of various community organizations found in Apo Island, notably the Development through Active Women Networking (DAWN), a local NGO which is possibly instrumental in making them aware of their rights as women.

One of the most pressing problems encountered by the wives in Apo Island is the absence of potable water (which has to be fetched from the mainland at a cost of about four to five pesos per gallon). Equally serious is the scarcity of fish catch during typhoon months. The wives also pointed to environmental problems caused by poor sanitation, deforestation, and the damage caused by tourist divers in the coral reefs as pressing concerns. Other problems experienced

by the wives are interhousehold conflicts which are usually economic and political in nature, limited sources of income outside of fishing, and poor medical services.

The research noted that among households engaged in subsistence fishing in Apo Island, the sex-based division of labor exists between husband and wife without creating tensions and frustrations between them. However, this sex-based division of labor is not a rigid arrangement because time availability, expertise, and willingness to do a task also determine household task assignment. This situation is reflected in the responses of key informants to questions such as who usually takes over homemaking tasks when the wife is out of the island trading, or what the wife does when the husband is fishing. Moreover, there are tasks that either of the genders could perform which Sobritchea (1994: 294) in her study of another fishing community described as "nongendered" roles to differentiate them from "gendered" roles which are exclusively performed by only one of the genders. Nongendered roles in fishing activities, such as fishing with torch and traps, repairing of fish nets, and processing of

fish for sun-drying, allow wives plenty of opportunities for participation. To some extent, some wives assist their husbands when they go out to fish by carrying the *baroto* into the water and again help them pull it off to shore when they arrive. There are also exceptional women among the participants of the focus group discussion who go out to sea with their husbands. They paddle the *baroto* while their husbands maneuver the fishing net or hook and line. On the other hand, the data also indicate that husbands perform domestic tasks when their wives are either away from home, pregnant, or nursing an infant.

Variations Across Household Cycle in Task Management

This section will examine closely the degree and nature of involvement of wives in the household cycle where they are categorized in order to determine whether reproductive and domestic tasks uniformly influence the extent of their participation in their productive activities. As operationalized in this paper, the household developmental cycle is determined by the presence and the ages of children

the couples have.

Household cycle one includes couples who are either childless or have only one child. It also includes couples in which the wife is either pregnant or has a nursing child. In cycle two are included couples who have children of working age. Cycle three have couples whose children are already married, while couples in cycle four have children who are practically all married and the couples are of retirement age. The average ages of wives in the four household cycles interviewed are 23, 26, 50 and 61 years respectively (see Table 1). In this analysis, only the stories of wives which show unique features relative to the rest are presented here for purposes of comparison and illustration.

Household cycle one

At the time of the study, Leonora and her husband had just arrived in Apo Island three months before from Siquijor Island where her family of orientation resides. Leonora was then pregnant and eventually delivered her firstborn. She claimed that during her pregnancy she was economically unproductive since her husband did not allow her to do strenuous tasks because he was anxious about their

firstborn. For the same reason, they temporarily resided with her parents-in-law for the duration of her pregnancy. Leonora's husband is also engaged in fishing, and during his wife's pregnancy, his mother sold the catch for them. At present, all the other household tasks are shared by Leonora's husband and her in-laws, especially since Leonora is nursing their baby. However, this situation is temporary until the couple are able to manage their own domestic affairs and live separately from the husband's parents.

The story of Leonora can be examined further in relation to the case of Doris who has a nursing child. Doris and her husband live separately from the husband's parents but within the same community. Doris's 12-year old sister lives with them and assists in homemaking, particularly in looking after the four-month old baby. During the interview, Doris's sister was tending the baby while Doris was washing clothes.

Before her marriage, Doris used to work as a sales representative for a small cosmetic company based in Tanjay (northern mainland town). She met her husband when she was promoting the beauty

Table 1. Some demographic characteristics of the twelve wives by household cycle included in the study.

Household Cycle	Mean Age	Mean Years in Schooling	Mean Years Residence (as family) in the Island	Mean Number of Children
1	23.33	8.67	3.79	0.33
2	26.00	8.67	2.00	1.67
3	50.33	6.00	32.00	5.67
4	61.00	4.00	39.67	7.00
Mean	40.17	6.84	19.37	3.67
Range	22-64	0-12	3 mos.-43	0-10

products in the island. When she married, she stopped working in the cosmetic company and came with her husband to Apo where she earns extra income by occasionally giving manicure services in the island. She used to do home manicure service but has since minimized this activity because of her nursing child. Before she had a child, she also used to deliver fish to her former coworkers in Tanjay. Nowadays, however, she can hardly manage to go to the mainland to sell fish; instead she requests her

mother-in-law to trade for her as well as buy their household needs in the mainland. For most of their household needs, Doris buys from the stores in the island.

By observing her husband, mother-in-law, and the other women in the island, Doris learned the process of drying fish. Realizing that they would soon need more money, she convinced her husband to buy their own fishing net instead of using the net owned by her in-laws. Occasionally, Doris and her husband receive some cash

gifts and rice from her own parents.

The situation of the wives in this cycle demonstrates how their reproductive obligations limit their productive mobility. And since their households are still developing, economic and labor supports are provided by their family networks, especially from women relatives or maternal parents. These wives, however, realized that sooner or later they have to contribute directly or indirectly to household earnings.

Household cycle two

As wives in this cycle are still in the height of their reproductive years, they expect their household to grow with the coming of more children. But the need to augment household income and build up the economic status of their respective households impels these wives to engage in economic activities. However, those who still have small children (below 4 years old) to attend to remain partly constrained by their reproductive and domestic tasks and are only minimally involved with their husbands' fishing activities. As a result, they redirect their own activities toward those that allow more flexibility in time.

For example, Edna and Susan consider mat weaving as their major economic activity, while Sylvia is involved in fish trading. Edna also runs a *sari-sari* store in her house to augment her family's income. Because their husbands are into fishing, Edna, Susan and Sylvia are all engaged in fish drying. They are also actively involved in economic decision making within their respective households. For example, it was Sylvia who convinced her husband to buy their own *baroto* rather than borrow from her father-in-law. On the other hand, Susan discussed with her husband the possibility of buying a piglet which she could raise and later sell.

It is also in this cycle that borrowing of money from parents or nonrelatives to buy medicine and other household needs is more pronounced. The attachment of parents to these households is recognizable in the financial support, either in cash or in kind, which they provide their children. This dependence on parental support is also manifested in the practice of borrowing the fishing equipment owned by parents or in getting a ride with them in their parents' boat when they go to the mainland to trade. When they themselves

have no opportunity to leave their households or are in urgent need of cash, Sylvia and Susan usually sell their fish catch to their respective parents and parents-in-law, who are themselves fish buyers in the island.

Household cycle three

Meanwhile, the wives in cycle three belong to established households with grown-up children. These wives have enough time to pursue economic activities because they are no longer burdened by their reproductive and domestic tasks. Some of their children are already married while the unmarried ones assist them in household chores. They are now more focused on managing their time and productive resources to maximize household income. Celia buys fish in the island and sells them in the mainland. She also supplements what she earns by weaving mats which she also sells during market day in Malatapay. Delia manages a *sari-sari* store bigger than that owned and managed by Edna in cycle two. She is also a barangay council member from which she receives a monthly hono-

rarium. Meanwhile, Francisca only sells fresh fish caught by her husband to the local buyer; the dried ones she sells in the mainland during market day.

That these wives spend the highest number of days trading in the mainland shows further that they have more time for activities outside of homemaking. For example, Celia goes to the mainland almost daily to sell the fish she buys in the island when supply is available and the weather condition is good. Even then, bad weather rarely stops some of them from leaving the island to trade in the mainland. A woman fish trader, for instance, claimed that she is not daunted by bad weather as long as she can find a pump boat operator who will take her across the sea. For her, this makes good business sense to take advantage of the high price of fish because of low supply in the market during this time.

On the average, all the wives in this cycle spend three to four days a week trading in the mainland during which household needs are purchased. All the wives said that they have likewise established their own *suki* (regular customers) considering the number of years

Household cycle four

In this cycle couples have children who are mostly married, have established their own families, and are expected to give their parents some form of support. Theoretically, the needs of households in this cycle have decreased and couples in this category have no need to exert effort to earn except only to sustain themselves.

However, Magdalena, one of the wives in this cycle, still dries fish and weaves mat for sale in the mainland while her husband remains actively involved with fishing. She sells the fish her husband catches to the local fish buyer. The dried fish she sells in the mainland every market day. This is also the occasion when she buys their household needs.

Magdalena sells not only finished mats but likewise fresh and dried *pandan* leaves both in the island and in the mainland. She also supplies mainland weavers with *pandan* leaves from which she receives a 25 percent share of the total number of mats they have woven, which she also sells. Despite her age, Magdalena is still physically able to dry fish, weave mats, and trade.

that they have traded in the mainland. This is particularly true among the wives who regularly attend the weekly market day in Malatapay. Like the women in the first two cycles, the wives in this category have *suki* comprising of people who are not intimately related to them. They establish a *suki* relationship with anyone who gives fair price, especially in buying their goods, as well as with store owners who are willing to extend credit or loan on certain merchandise. This relationship facilitates their transactions and allows them time to buy their needs with little loss of time, especially as they have to go back to the island in the afternoon of the same day.

The apparent economic stability of households in cycle three enables these families to support their newly married children (e.g., Illo and Polo 1990). This condition is observed in Apo Island particularly among couples who are economically productive. Households in which wives participate in economic activities enjoy greater economic advantage compared to households in which only the husbands are productive and the wives are saddled with reproductive and domestic responsibilities.

The case of Anselma is quite different. Although her husband still goes fishing, Anselma has stopped weaving mats because of worsening back pains. The income of the household comes solely from the sale of fish caught by her husband which they sell mainly in the island. An unmarried daughter, who used to stay with a brother in Manila, has come home to live with her parents. Anselma's married children in Manila send money occasionally. At the time of the study, her husband was visiting their children in Manila and was expected to bring home some money from them. Anselma and her husband also look after the three children of one of their sons who is separated from his wife. Although this son regularly sends money, this is intended mainly for the support of his children.

Towards Alternative Configurations of Gender Roles

The preceding stories of wives in the fishing community of Apo Island have shown the reality that women are in varying degrees involved in productive activities while simultaneously managing

their reproductive and domestic tasks. Since subsistence fishing households are considered one of the five most impoverished sectors of Philippine society (UNICEF 1977: 28), the contribution of these women to the survival of their respective families in the midst of increasing economic difficulty both caused by natural phenomenon and human competition cannot be underestimated.

Interestingly, their stories are no different from the experiences of other Philippine rural women. Such stories support the view that the efforts women expend to provide the necessary material requirements of the family are equal to those of men. However, the patricentric cultural norms that dominate gender relationship in the family attribute to the husband the economic status of the family while undervaluing the economic contributions of the wife. Despite the fact that the number of women who are in the labor force has been increasing through these years (UNICEF 1977: 90), wives continue to be seen as playing only supporting roles. This is so since the domain of the wife is expected to be limited to home management which includes child care and

housework. Any economic contribution she makes is always regarded as insignificant despite pervasive evidence to the contrary. According to Wallace, *et al.* (1987), viewing women as invisible resources perpetuates their subordination in the labor market, which is a sad reality in capitalist-oriented economies like the Philippines (Eviota 1986).

Even on the household level, patricentric cultural norms operate to judge the practice of role sharing or swapping as a form of deviation. Situations in which husbands choose to stay home to take care of housekeeping tasks and look after the children while their wives work, for instance, in better-paying jobs or have better opportunities for more gainful employment, are often viewed in a negative light by the community (e.g., Illo and Polo 1990: 106; Nolasco 1991: 100). These culturally imposed gender role expectations prevent other couples from trying alternative task arrangements. As a result, valuable human resources are wasted. According to Illo (1977: 47), "couple-sharing tasks and other family responsibilities provide another incentive for female market participation," which

would mean additional household earnings if practised. When the perception that gender role sharing is productive becomes popular, the wife's economic contribution and participation in household decision-making (Alcantara 1994, David 1994) will finally be valued and considered as significant as the husband's role in providing the basic needs of the family (e.g., Cohen 1993). To achieve this end, society must first acknowledge the oppressive role of patriarchal norms, challenge their power to warp individual lives, and accept alternative cultural arrangement of gender roles.

Summary

The situation among the wives of Apo Island shows that, although childbearing, rearing, and domestic tasks put limits to their productive involvement in the local fishing economy, such factors are considered to be temporary relative to the stage of the respective household developmental cycle in which they presently belong. It is obvious that caring for and breastfeeding an infant are special maternal responsibilities a wife cannot just delegate to her husband

(e.g., Illo 1977: 37). In the Philippines as a whole, the proportion of mothers who breastfeed is higher in rural areas (90%) than among the urban poor (85%). Specifically, there is a bigger number of breastfeeding mothers in the Visayas, in which Apo Island is a part, than in other regions (UNICEF 1987: 88-89). The figures suggest that rural wives spend more time with reproductive tasks than their urban counterparts.

One of the interesting findings of this case study is the value a husband gives to his wife who is pregnant or has just delivered a child, in the case of a newly formed household. This supports the observation of Alcantara (1994: 106) that having a child increases the wife's domestic powers and worth compared to when the wife could not give a child or is not able to bear a child at all. The wives in cycle one and two in this case study demonstrated that the prospect of additional children helped them successfully convince their husbands to acquire their own fishing equipment and other productive resources. Equally concerned for the economic well-being of their families, husbands willingly took up their wives' suggestions.

The stories of the wives in cycle three show evidence of their ability to maximize their productive activities. This suggests that the reproductive role of the wife no longer impinges on her productive activities. When the wife completes her childbearing years and her children are already able to look after themselves, the economic opportunities of the wife broaden. These wives are also able to allocate productive resources, either in cash or in kind, among themselves which they can use to start a small enterprise like mat weaving, pig raising, selling souvenir T-shirts or buying fish in the island which they sell to the mainland. In their study on gender and resource management in the Visayas, Shields, Flora, Slayter and Buenavista (1996) describe this economic transaction as being facilitated through networks of relationship either affinal or consanguinal which are considered as social capital. In Apo Island, these social networks become mechanisms by which the women are able to develop an informal arrangement in resource exchange (see Oracion 1998 for details). For example, a wife in cycle four provided *pandan* leaves to weavers and received, in return, a share in the

sale of total mat woven. The same is true with a woman who bought souvenir T-shirts in Dumaguete and allowed some women she could trust to sell them in the island. She received a fixed amount for every T-shirt sold while the seller has to add an amount on top of this price in order to earn. All of these, together with the establishment of *suki* relationship which assures fair price, credit, and other forms of arrangement involving other kinds of resources enabled the wives to negotiate a productive role in their households rather than be totally dependent upon the earnings of their husbands.

It should be noted, however, that old age often limits the active involvement of couples in economic activities and slows down their movements around the island as well as to the mainland. This is the stage when the financial support from adult children is more noticeable. However, one wife in this cycle showed that old age has not hindered her active involvement in economic activities; for this wife, old age does not always mean economic retirement, especially as she still feels physically able. As in many rural households, older women in Apo Island who are still

able to work do not let old age keep them from contributing to the family income.

As their stories illustrate in this study, women in a rural community are not only wives and homemakers but also important economic providers along with their husbands, a role society has not truly valued.

Note

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"THE MASTER'S TOOLS WILL NEVER DISMANTLE THE MASTER'S HOUSE":¹ SOME MEDITATIONS ON WOMEN, CULTURE, AND POLITICS

Lester Edwin J. Ruiz

ABSTRACT

Feminist struggles are illustrative of what "becoming a people" entails. As theory and practice, they problematize conventional notions of political identity in the modern world, providing the grounds for challenging the historically-specific, and often invisible, male-centric accounts of political identity. They are cultures of resistance and solidarity, deconstructing, on the one hand, male-centric, technostrategic discourses, militarized and decontextualized rationalities, and on the other hand, articulating compelling alternative visions of possible futures including alternative conceptions of rationality and imagination. Finally, they are practices of cultural transformation that are aimed at eradicating structures and processes of domination, articulating different understandings of community and identity, describing and delineating, the full range of women's experiences—which can shape and transform the male-centric, hierarchical, often misogynist practices in social and political life.

There is no single feminist perspective. The vast discourse that has emerged around contemporary feminism, matched only by the irruption into world historical consciousness of the importance of women's experiences, includes impressive and discriminating systems of classification: socialist, liberal and radical; essentialist and historicist; empiricist standpoint and postmodernist. These classifications are necessary, though undoubtedly insufficient, guides to a complex terrain. At the same time, they are evidence of the profusion of possibilities, as well as of the discursive rituals through which critique—which feminist discourses are—is often domesticated and coopted.

In this context, it is difficult to orient one's self within, let alone understand, the diverse experiences and struggles of women. Most, if not all, contemporary theories and practices of politics, including revolution, systematically render invisible these experiences and struggles—what one might philosophically call "women's time, space, and place." Additionally, they discipline, to borrow Michel Foucault's terminology, these very experiences and struggles. By way of explanation, my choice of the rather ambiguous phrase ("women's time, space, and place") is intentional, though by no means unproblematic. Indeed, one needs to take seriously the differences between sex (women as biological female), the sexual division of labor (women's work), and gender (women as social beings). My goal in these meditations is not to be denotative but referential, i.e., to refer to the broadest range of women's experiences—liberating or otherwise. Thus, when I deploy the term "gendered practice" or the phrase "women's and feminist struggles as

gendered practice," I mean only to specify the terrain of discourse that emphasizes sex, the sexual division of labor, and gender—but which is not exhausted by these categories. My own perspective gravitates toward what might be called, poststructuralist, postempiricist, postpositivist "corporeal feminism."

Rendering the Invisible Visible

Of course, women's experiences—particularly in a male-centric world—are quite specific: women are patronized, if not excluded, from decision-making processes; women's experiences and consciousness, in contrast to men's, are valued less—often by design, if not by intention, in the shaping of public policy; women are relegated to the so-called private sphere; women are discriminated against in the workplace; women are exploited in the home. *In fact, the world is profoundly dangerous for women.* For example, the 1988 and 1990 "Draft Program of the National Democratic Front," two documents which

are emblematic not only of revolutionary politics in the Philippines, but of politics in general—regardless of their historical limitations, state:

Whether in the workplace, in the fields or at home, women suffer distinct forms of hardship and discrimination. Rural women perform myriad unpaid tasks; or, when hired as field hands, they get lower wages than men. Young peasant girls are sent to work as servants in order to pay off the family debts, denied the right to continue schooling, and married against their will. Many are forced to become prostitutes. Working women, on the other hand, receive lower wages and salaries than men and fall victim to sexual harassment by their male superiors. They are penalized in various ways for bearing and rearing their children. Even when they possess superior capabilities, they are discriminated against in terms of promotion and appointments. On top of this, women are expected to do the household chores and take care of the children. In the political sphere, women are discouraged (if not outrightly excluded) from exercising their right to participate in decision-making, since they are expected merely to echo the views of their

male partners.

Sunny Lansang in an important essay entitled "Gender Issues in Revolutionary Praxis,"² has noted the methodological and philosophical obstacles that women *kasamas*, in particular, face in their attempts to get the revolutionary movement in general, and the CPP and the NDF in particular, to be accountable for the way it is "confronting the practical and theoretical challenges posed by the local and international women's movement," despite the fact that women's oppression—gender injustice and inequality—are so pervasive, if not self-evident, in contemporary life. Because the oppression of women "is rooted not just in what has been defined as the public sphere of production, but in the more intimate and personal sphere that has been assigned to reproduction...because women experience oppression in the most intimate spaces of their lives, in areas not traditionally accepted as being part of public concern," the struggle to articulate and theorize

the experience, both within the movement and without, is profoundly difficult. I shall return to this point later.

Whatever may be said about the difficulties of understanding, let alone of accepting, the challenges of "women's time, space, and place," what cannot be evaded is that the many forms of feminism, as theory and practice, are struggles not only to render visible the fact that politics and revolution are *gendered practices*, but that feminist practices are struggles that problematize conventional, i.e., taken for granted, notions of political identity in the modern world. In so doing they not only open the possibility of adding certain excluded voices to revolutionary theory and practice as they are presently understood, but they provide the grounds for challenging the historically specific, and often invisible, accounts of political identity within a spatially bounded community (state sovereignty)—an account that governs the theory and practice of politics and revolution, and indeed, is the constitutive prin-

ciple of modern life.³ Put somewhat differently, women's and feminist struggles reveal the inadequate, often pretentious and exclusionary claims about production, reproduction, and distribution and/or consumption of the self-proclaimed pundits of modernity and multinational capital: Jeffrey Sachs, Francis Fukuyama, Michael Novak, and George Soros, to name only the most (in)famous. One need only contrast their writings to those authors such as Maria Mies (patriarchy and accumulation on a world scale), Nancy Hartsock (feminist historical materialism), Elisabeth Grosz (corporeal feminism), and Jean Baudrillard (a critique of the political economy of the sign), to realize that production is not limited to its public form, that reproduction does not refer exclusively to procreation (Friedrich Engels notwithstanding), and that distribution is not simply market exchange.

Feminist practices, in fact, are multi-faceted struggles that reflect the breadth and depth of women's experience. Thus, Lansang concludes her

essay by noting that, "through their own experiences in revolutionary struggle against feudalism, imperialism and patriarchy, women have brought to our movement new ways of analysis that imply the need for a change in our theories, our ethics and our praxis." Echoing Lansang's conclusion, bell hooks, the feminist theorist, defines feminism as "a struggle to end sexist oppression. Therefore, it is necessarily a struggle to eradicate the ideology of domination that permeates western culture on various levels as well as a commitment to reorganize society so that the self-development of people can take precedence over imperialism, economic expansion, and material desires."⁴ Gloria Hull, Patricia Scott, and Barbara Smith, from another perspective, define feminism as "the political theory and practice that struggles to free all women: women of color, working-class women, poor women, disabled women, lesbians, old women—as well as white women, economically privileged, heterosexual women. Anything less than

this vision of total freedom is not feminism but merely female self-aggrandizement."⁵

Cultures of Resistance and Solidarity

Feminist practices are cultures of resistance and solidarity. As a politics of resistance, they are both deconstructive and reconstructive. The former involves, among many things, the dismantling of male-centric, techno-strategic discourses, e.g., militarized masculinity and decontextualized rationality; the latter involves the articulation of compelling alternative visions of possible futures including alternative conceptions of rationality, and imaginative and diverse voices, particularly those of women. As a politics of solidarity affirming plurality and difference, they "force[s] us to question the categories of experience that order the world and the truths we have come to know, even the truths of our radical politics, by confronting us with the truths of other women and men, differently acculturated, fighting against

specific threats to their particular lands and bodies." It is not surprising that international solidarity plays an especially important role in the women's and feminist movement. Moreover, it is not an accident that women's and feminist discourses draw on a multiplicity of "women's texts" to articulate their theories and practices. For, in the voice of Lee Quinby,

listening to all voices of subjugation and hearing their insurrectionary truths make us better able to question our own political and personal practices.... And if another term and a different politics emerge from this questioning, it will be in the service of new local actions, new creative energies, and new alliances against power.⁶

Such a politics of resistance and solidarity are at once intensely personal and political. As Lansang noted above, women experience oppression in the most intimate spaces of their lives, in areas not traditionally accepted as being part of public concern. Consequently, feminists who struggle to overcome this oppres-

sion, these gendered practices of injustice and inequality, have rallied around the cry "The personal is political!" For most feminists, what is at stake is the reality that because we are not equally oppressed, speaking in the voice of bell hooks, "we must speak from within us, our own experiences, our own oppressions...we should never speak for that which we have not felt."⁷ Moreover, as Emma Goldman, the turn of the century revolutionary and anarchist, points out, "it requires something more than personal experience to gain a philosophy or point of view from any specific event. It is the quality of our response to the event and our capacity to enter into the lives of others that help us to make their lives and experiences our own."⁸

Needless to say, "the personal is political" is more than an affirmation of the importance of the individual. It is true that an emphasis on the "personal" may obscure, if not trivialize, the profound exclusion, marginalization and exploitation of women in the home, in politics and in the

economy. Equally insidious is the practice of rendering invisible, erasing, if you will, women's experience and contributions to political, cultural, economic production, reproduction, and distribution and/or consumption. Feminists have warned, often inveighed against, these exclusionary logics. But, the "personal" in this understanding is not identical to the "individual." In fact, in contrast to the liberal, bourgeois construal of "personal" as "individual" (and a monadic individual at that) the "personal is political" comprehends, i.e., draws into itself, the reality of human community including political integrity, moral agency, and the individual and collective, as well as social status and roles—or, to borrow from Karl Marx, of "concrete sensuous reality." The personal is not, in the first instance, a "thing-in-itself;" it is a *relation*—a gendered practice which embraces what Marx, especially in his early writings, called the "subjective" and "objective." To affirm "the personal is political," or perhaps, more accurately, "the

political is personal," is to undermine the commanding masculinist ideology of liberalism and modernity especially with respect to their claims that the social totality is best understood in terms of such dichotomous categories as: inside vs. outside, public vs. private, base vs. superstructure, freedom vs. necessity, (linearist) progress vs. retrogression.

Thus, resistance and solidarity embrace. Each becomes the constitutive margin of the other that simultaneously limits and affirms social and political transformation.

Issues of Life and Death

Like no other movement to end oppression, women's and feminist struggles have been successful in articulating the connections between issues of family and economy (and of property), of reproductive rights and violence, of health, political identity, and governance. Women, more than men, have jobs rather than careers in order to be able to manage a household. Not only has the feminization of poverty been

well documented (in the Southern countries, for example, women bear the brunt of unpaid, underpaid or uncounted agricultural and industrial labor), but the subordination of women through the "patriarchal" family has been institutionalized. Infanticide, domestic abuse, sexual abuse and/or harassment, and rape are not only increasing, but women are being forced to sacrifice their reproductive rights in the name of "family" and "faith." While reproductive rights, i.e., individual choice, safe contraceptive methods, as well as abortions when necessary, are a fundamental prerequisite for the emancipation of women, many cultural norms—in fact, many legal regimes—remain misogynist and male-centric. Women still must struggle for identities and privileges long taken for granted by men; they still have to defend actions or choices which fall outside male-centric social and cultural expectations. Prostitution, not to mention sex trafficking and mail order brides, is still demanded by men, at the same time that they insist that vir-

ginity be a prerequisite for (single) female integrity.

Within the Philippine revolutionary movement, at least through 1992, Lansang has pointed out, feminist claims about sexuality, sexual relations, reproductive rights, women's rights, as well as questions about production and reproduction, of gender and class, armed struggle and child-bearing and rearing, are raising fundamental questions about the nature of the revolution itself and the conduct of the organizations within the revolutionary movement. Even as she establishes herself firmly within the socialist tradition by interpreting, for example, childbearing and sexuality primarily as questions of history (as opposed to "nature"), and therefore, an arena of class struggle, Lansang pushes the boundaries of the national democratic revolution (and its gender bias) from the perspective of socialist feminist liberation by suggesting, correctly in my view, that

the idea of reproductive rights, i.e., the right of a woman to con-

control her own body must be seen as a strategic call that will extend through the course of the national democratic revolution and the early stages of socialism. Until such time as social relations of reproduction are democratized women will be tasked with the care and rearing of children. Until such time as the individual is gendered as a social construction, then pregnancy will occur within women's bodies. As such, the right to decide if, how many, when, how and with whom to have children regardless of age, disability, sexual orientation, civil status, religious and political affiliation will remain essential to the liberation of women.

What Lansang may be suggesting is that feminist and women's struggles, while part of the struggle for national liberation, a point affirmed even by the NDF, cannot be subsumed under the latter. Indeed, feminist and women's struggles have their own trajectories (both origins and destinations) that often coincide with other struggles though they do not surrender to the logics of these struggles. They often converge, but they are not the same. This is not to be lamented, however.

For what makes "feminist" movements far more compelling alternatives to the present system are their implicit affirmation *in theory if not in practice* of the play of differences, the multiplicity of insurrectionary practices, if you will, articulated by struggles within the larger struggle which challenges the hegemonic pretensions of the present "ruling class." Nina Conception (pseudonym) states this issue somewhat more straightforwardly, though ironically reminiscent of some of the more linearist formulations of the NDF: "The national democratic revolution," she comments, "lays down/initiates the requisites for the *first phase of the emancipation of women*—by confronting class/national oppression *and* providing the opportunity and means by which gender oppression may be addressed" [my emphasis].

It is this insight, I suspect, which allows women in the revolutionary movement to affirm their participation in a movement which has "imbibed [the culture of patriarchy] into our own conscious-

ness...and...our own organizations." As a *Makibaka* statement once reflected with both frustration and hope, "When women assume a decisive and significant part in the struggle to change society, the revolutionary struggle will have reached a qualitative leap...we assert that the revolution has yet to attain that stage...."

Here the analogy with contemporary politics must not be lost. Indeed, despite the fact that many eminent women are in fact involved in the political arena—and have been for a long time now—the fact remains, Philippine politics remains patriarchal and masculinist. Until women assume and maintain decisive and significant roles in the shaping of the fundamental assumptions and practices of Philippine politics—they will remain part of the "decorative"—to which women have historically been relegated by the patriarchal rituals of power. To say this, of course, is not to belittle or ignore the profound ways that women have shaped Philippine life and politics. No doubt, women have. It is only

to remind us that "the revolution has yet to attain that stage of equity, justice, and solidarity where "womens' space, time, and place" are concerned.

Rather than viewing difference as something to be overcome, feminist *kasamas* as well as men *kasamas*, who understand both the world-changing significance, in Martin Heidegger's meaning of "world," of women's experience and of the gendered character of the social totality, argue that difference should be viewed as a theoretical, ethical, and practical challenge to the entire revolutionary movement. Indeed, men and women are not equally oppressed. And while this does not imply that one oppression is more fundamental than another, but rather that all oppressions are "interstructured," to borrow Beverly Harrison's notion of the connections between race, class, and gender, it certainly means that we—men in particular—need to acknowledge at the very least our complicity in the perpetuation of gender injustice and inequality. In somewhat conventional terms,

men need to accept the necessity of "affirmative action" in both the public and private spheres, and to affirm, even defend, the consequences or implications of "affirmative action" which gender justice requires. This includes the fact that "affirmative action" is not, in the first instance, about preferential treatment, but the "leveling of the playing field" to provide a context and opportunity for women to "compete" equally. Of course, as Nina Concepcion correctly warns, "there are attendant dangers to affirmative action whose parameters are designed by men—only certain male-approved 'types' of women get to be 'affirmed.' It should be stressed that all decisions pertinent to women's participation should be made by women." Indeed, it is critical, even necessary, that women decide on all matters affecting their lives. It is also important that the implications of gendered history are uncovered. This requires that we be vigilant about and attentive to what Chandra Mohanty called "relations of ruling," that is, that

power-as-domination is always and already implicated in the structures and processes of political life—even without visible police power.

Shaping and Transforming Gendered Histories

Women's and feminist struggles, then, far from being adaptive or remedial mechanisms within an otherwise flawed, though generally acceptable polity, are practices of fundamental cultural transformation that are aimed at uprooting and eradicating structures and processes of domination. In the process of moving from a "class in itself" to a "class for itself," to borrow the often quoted idea of *klass an sich* to *klass fur sich*, they embody compelling alternative ways of organizing production, reproduction, and distribution and/or consumption. They articulate different understandings of community and identity; and of accumulation and property relations. They describe and delineate, indeed, celebrate, the full range of women's experiences: mother, sister, theo-

rist, wife, lover, comrade, artist, worker, companion, peasant, warrior—which can shape and transform the male-centric, hierarchical, often misogynist practices in social and political life (in Ernesto Laclau's meaning of the terms "social" and "political"). Feminist struggles problematize the full range of commanding (often dominating) gendered ways of thinking, feeling, and acting: from the exploitation of women in the home to the feminization of poverty worldwide, from the inequality between the sexes to the subordination of women through male-defined social roles, from the marginalization and/or exclusion of women to their being rendered invisible or dispensable ("standing reserve" in Martin Heidegger's terminology).

For those men who accept the claims of women's and feminist struggles, not only do they open up qualitatively new space for reflection, they underscore the profoundly contested character of gendered histories thereby presenting new possibilities for transformative (i.e., practical-critical) activity. From

this perspective, which itself is a *gendered* political practice, one can affirm the multiplicity of subject positions (race, class, gender) which moves theory and practice in the direction of articulating a different understanding of the nature of the social totality—and the tactics and strategies they call forth for navigating through these differences as well as for transforming them.

Put in the contested discourses of the revolutionary movement, this perspective affirms Marx's own methodological posture of taking seriously "concrete sensuous reality" through "practical-critical activity," moves with the Gramscian instinct that refuses to interpret culture, politics, and economy exclusively from within the categories of "base" and "superstructure," and, follows the post-structuralist insight of an Ernesto Laclau or Chantal Mouffe that the social totality is overdetermined. Women's and feminist struggles, in fact, deepen these insights, particularly, as men seek to discover whether or not their politics, if not revolution-

ary practice, has unthinkingly capitulated to an empiricist (and ironically, an idealist) ideology and therefore, has lost touch with the "this-sidedness" (*Diesseitigkeit*) of its own thinking, compromising, thereby, the very revolutionary efficacy it claims for itself. (Interestingly, Marx played with the notion of *Diesseitigkeit* in his "Theses on Feuerbach," noting the distinction between abstract thinking and sensuous contemplation, and between sensuous contemplation and practical, human sensuous activity. We need to attend to the practical-critical significance of Marx's insight. But the exploration of this pathway must await another time.)

In fact, women's and feminist struggles articulate women's history, i.e., "women's time, space, and place," even as they invite communities of women and men to shape and transform their gendered histories in the direction of justice, equity, and community.

Notes

1. The expression is Audré Lorde's.

2. S. Lansang, "Gender Issues in Revolutionary Praxis." In *Debate*, pp. 41-52.
3. R. B. J. Walker and Saul Mendlovitz, *Contending Sovereignities: Redefining Political Community* (1990).
4. bell hooks, *Feminist Theory*, p.25.
5. Hull et al., *All the Women are White, All the Blacks are Men, But Some of Us are Brave: Black Women's Studies* (1982), p. 49.
6. I. Diamond and Gloria Orenstein (eds.), *Reweaving the World: The Emergence of Eco-feminism* (1990), pp. 126ff.
7. Emma Goldman, "Red Emma Speaks," p. 388.
8. Goldman, p. 388.

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THE STORY OF BAGUMBAYAN AND THE EMERGING FILIPINO IDENTITY

Efren N. Padilla

ABSTRACT

This paper asks a simple question: Does the traditional understanding of the Filipino story possess the imagination to help us face the challenges of the new millennium? In order to answer this question, this essay will examine the prospect of the contemporary Filipino story against the story of Bagumbayan. This Filipino word come from the phrase Bagong Bayan which literally means 'New Country' or 'New Town.' As a metaphor for our own story as a people, it can be interpreted in two ways: One is the road to Bagumbayan which represents the nationalistic story and is the fulfillment of our yearning to be an independent nation-state. The other is the road from Bagumbayan which represents the diasporic story, the current scattering of Filipinos all over the world.

This paper argues that the latter now supplies us both with the language and discourse of who we are, how we see ourselves, how we reproduce our communities, how we reclaim ourselves, and how we reconstruct our communities. In short, how we live.

A lot has been written about the Filipino Story, that is, the "national" version in the past one hundred years or so. To today's generation, much of it seems irrelevant or obscure, often because it is based upon tacit assumptions of a paradigm. I use the term paradigm in a Kuhnian sense, that is, a body of theoretical ideas that serves to define how we view the Filipino national story, how we go about studying it, and how we interpret research findings. One of Kuhn's concerns is to examine any paradigm as having a structure—the social, institutional, and historical conditions underlying the basis of knowledge. His other concern is to challenge the common belief that a paradigm advances incrementally and cumulatively (Kuhn, 1962). To Kuhn, any reigning paradigm will eventually be overthrown and replaced by a

new paradigm, hence, a "paradigm shift." Thus, my goal for this essay is to attempt a critical review of the traditional interpretation of the Filipino Story and to put forward an alternative interpretation which represents a paradigmatic shift in the way we view the Filipino Story.

To begin, this essay asks the questions: Does the traditional understanding of the Filipino Story hold the capacity to lead us into the next millennium? Does it still possess the imagination to help us confront the challenges of a new dispensation? We all know enough from recent years that we have become increasingly aware of the rapid transformation overtaking the world. As we approach the new millennium, old ideas and assumptions about our individual as well as collective relationships and experiences seem less and less useful. With accelerating global migration of both population and capital engendered by changes in communication and information technology, notions about ourselves and our identities in "old world" as

well as "new world" are similarly under scrutiny.

Curiously enough, in order to understand these questions, I wish to argue that if the Filipino Story is to maintain its vitality in the future, we must chart new directions and develop the critical constructs necessary to face the world that now confronts us or risk the fate of becoming an official paradigm legitimating the ancient regime (old order). Of course, there is nothing new to the constant challenge of "housecleaning," of throwing some and keeping some; this is a central problematic in the study of society. What is new, however, is the understanding of the dynamics of identity breakdown and formation as individuals and groups create new identities as they are caught in a maelstrom of social change where old institutions are rendered irrelevant and obsolete. And yet, these dynamics must not be construed as outright rejection of traditional thinking. It is, rather, an acknowledgment of the value of traditions that invites us to reflect on what hap-

pened to us, more so, what lies ahead of us.

Faced with these difficult questions, I wish to adopt a particular terrain, a particular vocabulary, which will allow us to narrate a distinctive story and hence, an identity. I wish to argue that to understand the contemporary Filipino story is to understand the story of Bagumbayan. The term comes from the Filipino word "Bagong Bayan" which literally means New Country or New Town. It came to be known as Bagumbayan because of the inability of the Spaniards to pronounce the *ng* and hence, "Bagum" rather than "Bagong." But most importantly, Bagumbayan is the location where Jose Rizal, the national hero, was executed before a firing squad for alleged treason against the Spanish rule. Bagumbayan provided us a martyr, an icon who composed to us both in life and in death a paradigm of our national struggle which structured our distinct political and national identity.

There are two ways of interpreting Bagumbayan. One,

is the road *to* Bagumbayan which leads us to the establishment of our Filipino nationhood. According to this view, Bagumbayan represents the "arrival," the epitome of our yearning to forge an independent Filipino nation-state. It answers the question: What happened to us? The other, is the road *from* Bagumbayan which leads to more roads ahead, perhaps, uncharted waters that Filipino travelers navigate. According to this view, Bagumbayan represents the "departure," or paradigm shift that allows us to reconstruct a more open and flexible identity. It answers the question: What lies ahead of us?

The Road to Bagumbayan

A close reading of the origins of the Filipino modern state reveals a European mold, a system of thought articulated by Enlightenment *philosophes* like Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Condorcet. They held firmly to the conviction that the mind can comprehend the universe and subordinate it to

human needs. The ideas of the *philosophes* dominated the intellectual movement of pre-Revolutionary France. However, it was the French Revolution in 1789 that signaled the culmination of the *philosophes'* ideas and put them into action. The revolution represented the challenge to the legitimacy of the theocratic and aristocratic state based on the ideals of scientific progress, freedom, and human reason. Thus, in place of the *ancien regime*, a new order can now be constructed by a politicized and an enlightened individual. In the case of the Philippines, Cesar Majul's *Mabini and the Philippine Revolution* (1960) evaluates the impact of the enlightenment's ideals among Filipino thinkers of the revolution especially those who studied in Europe. Now we know why our intellectuals of the revolution were called *ilustrados* (which literally means the enlightened ones).

And yet, far from undertaking the enlightenment's overhaul of society and the human condition, the *ilustrados* held fast to scholastic philosophizing in which, in the final

analysis, religious faith and the reign of God, rather than human reason and the ideals of scientific progress, prevailed. The anachronism of such philosophizing is highlighted even more by the fact that by the time the *ilustrados* expressed the ideals of the enlightenment, they were articulating an intellectual movement that was in vogue in France about a hundred years earlier.

In light of this, consider Rizal's inspiring "Mi Ultimo Adios" (My Last Farewell) expressed in a religious metaphor.

*Adios, Patria adorada, region del
sol querida,
perla del mar de Oriente, nuestro
perdido Eden!
A darte voy alegre, la triste,
mustia vida:
si fuera mas brillante, mas fresca,
mas florida,
tambien por ti la diera por tu
bien...*

*Mi Patria idolatrada, dolor de
mis dolores,
querida Filipinas, oye el postrer
adios!
Abi te dejo todo: mis amores,
voy a do no hay esclavos, verdugos
ni opresores;*

*donde la fe no mata, donde el que
reina es Dios...*

Fare thee well, motherland I
adore, region the sun holds
dear

Pearl of the sea oriental, our
paradise come to grief;

I go with gladness to give thee
my life all withered and
drear;

Though it were more brilliant,
more fresh with flowery
cheer,

Even then for thee would I
give it, would give it for thy
relief...

My idolized motherland,
whose grieving makes me
grieve,

Dearest Filipinas, hear my last
farewell again!

I now leave all to thee, my
parents, my loved ones I
leave.

I go where there are no slaves,
a brute's lash to receive;

Where faith does not kill, and
where it is God who doth
reign...

(Laubach, 1936)

Here, the greatest Filipino *ilustrado* emerges as the "Tagalog Christ" (a term used by the famous 19th century Spanish philosopher Miguel de

Unamuno to describe Rizal) of the Spanish religious *Zeitgeist*. The discontinuity between Rizal's rhetoric of rationality and religion can be explained not only by the tenacity of his (as well as that of other *ilustrados*) Catholic socialization in the system of medieval scholastics, particularly Thomistic theology, but also by reference to the essentialization of the "one-size-fits-all" Pan-Filipino Project—that is, our inherent birthright to be also called Filipinos after the name of the Crown Prince of Spain, Felipe II, who later became King of Spain. A birthright that I believe must be reexamined and contested.

It is against this backdrop that the road to Bagumbayan bears the imperial imprimatur of the Spanish principle of *Transference of Sanctity*. This principle is premised on the Spanish practice of constructing their Christian churches, government buildings, and plaza complexes on sites previously occupied by the native religious or village structures. By using this principle, *the sacredness of the indigenous places was*

transferred to their Christian successors and the power of the "old order" was usurped by the "new order" (Brunn and Williams, 1993).

Moreover, with the defeat of Spain in the Spanish-American War of 1898, the road to Bagumbayan also took the American ideology of the Manifest Destiny, that American idea of providential and historical chosenness. In contradiction to their political and social principles, the Americans debated the morality of the conquest and possession of the Philippines. Nonetheless, in the end, their once pacific ideal succumbed to the force of what John Fiske (1885) called "Manifest Destiny." He writes:

The work which the English race began when it colonized North America is destined to go on until every land on the earth's surface that is not already the seat of an old civilization shall become English in its language, in its political habits and traditions, and to a predominant extent in the blood of its people.

The colonizers found themselves bound by an un-

precedented drive to take possession of a territory. Their history was the history of uncontrollable men and women who grabbed the forest and skinned it, who turned rice fields into sugarcane fields; it was a history in which many soldiers prospected with priests and missionaries, and, sometimes stupidly, tortured and massacred the natives in the mad scramble to pacify and control them.

Devoid of sacred sentiments, the colonizers imposed a secular and calculating superordination-subordination relations which replaced the "way of the folks." Both Spanish and American systems of colonialism transformed traditional solidarity and consecrated the worst form of alienated "individualism" and "collectivism" without the spirit of community. Particularly, two general conditions emerged on our way to Bagumbayan—the emergence of the Filipino Elite and Filipino Nationalism.

Filipino Elite

The Filipino elite emerged through the old no-

bility in native society. The Spaniards institutionalized these people as the *principalia* class. During the Spanish regime, the *datu* (chieftain) of the *barangay* (a small village of ten to one hundred houses) was transformed into the *cabeza de barangay* who collectively formed the *principales* (principal men) of the Spanish *pueblo* (town). The *principales* were charged by the Spanish authorities to implement their policies and orders as well as bring to their attention the problems of the people. By strengthening the position of the old nobility, the Spanish authorities provided a system of continuity between the old tradition of personal leadership and the new order of political leadership.

As a result, the *principalia* now embodied a new conservative power, a new way of life manifested by caciquism where the *barangay* chiefs became the native elite who collaborated with and were coopted by the colonial masters. They also bossed their way over their own people. The chieftain became the cacique/boss-incarnate. But

as a colonial subject, he was mainly an intermediary, (oftentimes, an unwilling mouthpiece) of the colonial masters. Cesar Majul's essay on "*Principales, Ilustrados, Intellectuals and the Original Concept of a Filipino National Community*" (1977), lends greater clarity to the evolution of the Filipino elite under the Spanish rule.

Generally, Philippine society was stratified with Spanish bureaucrats, Spanish clergy, and Filipinos (Spanish born on the island) on top; with Chinese merchants in the middle; and *Naturales* (included the *Indios* or the Christianized natives, and the *Infieles* or the pagan tribes) at the bottom. The Spaniards were given the right to collect tributes, taxes, and land grants from the non-*principalia* natives and impose on them the *polo* system (forced labor) which reduced them literally to the condition of servants. The non-*principalia* class composed of *mabarlika* (freemen) and *alipin* (slaves) existed under the *datu* system. The former paid no tribute to the *datu* but served him in his

house or on trips, while the latter served the *datu* or *mabarlika* as debt peons.

The caste-like system that the Spaniards imposed on native society transformed the *barangay* system. When the traditional chief's authority declined, the ways of the folks embedded in the *barangay* also declined. And yet, the chief's new authority inclined as the *barangays* were integrated as political sub-units of the Spanish *pueblo*. The result is clear. In due time, the *barangay* system evolved into caciquism and eventually into bossism. Today, the Philippines is a bossist society that owes its life to the colonial fathers. Benedict Anderson's "Cacique Democracy in the Philippines: Origins and Dreams" (1988) is instructive. In this essay, he discusses how the Filipino elite stifled the revolution from below to protect their narrow class interests.

Interestingly, within the context of Spanish feudalistic colonialism, the folkloric obligation to the strong man simply found a congenial niche in the *pueblo* system and in the notion of Christian servant-

hood to God and total allegiance to the Spanish Crown as the distinguishing virtue of a saved *alipin*. In effect, Spanish colonialism became the strong man from the inside.

Unfortunately, after independence, the *principalia* did not fare well. Within the context of American colonialism, the Filipino leaders and elite reinvented their obligation to the strong man in terms of mendicancy. Unlike the congeniality of Spanish feudalistic colonialism, America's colonialism (Calvinistic style) imposed a brand of outdoor colonialism, that is, the individual pursuit of financiers and industrialists supported by military officers, proselytizers, and bureaucrats to secure profitable investments and markets for quick accumulation of capital in the islands.

With the promotion of their businesses and foreign trade, Americans found a "taproot" for the commodification as well as the territorial possession of the islands. Underlying this enterprise is, of course, the idea of "specialness" and "altruism" of America to the Philip-

pines (an interesting affair which four decades later was self-fulfilled by General Douglas MacArthur in his well-known "I Shall Return" promise to Filipinos fighting the Japanese in World War II) and the consequent obsessive veneration of that idea by many Filipinos. With General MacArthur liberating the Philippines from the Japanese occupation, Americans displayed and enjoyed themselves as the "Uncle Sam"—the strong man from the outside with lots of toys, goodies, and canned goods.

Today, many Filipinos have a fetish not only for America's alleged benevolence but also for the so-called American things (especially for "Made in the USA" labels). Due to this, the Protestant Ethics of individualism, hardwork, and savings were displaced and did not permeate the Filipino consciousness. But most importantly, it did not permeate our consciousness because of the incongeniality of our Catholic's hierarchical and authoritarian upbringing to the Protestant's liberal doctrine of rugged in-

dividualism and the drive to self-direction and self-determination as distinguishing virtues of a saved soul.

Within the context of this displacement and incongeniality, it is not therefore inconsequential that the political relationship between the Philippines and the United States was dictated by mendicancy, bluffs, and blackmails. For example, as political strategies, they were employed by former dictator Ferdinand Marcos and his "Cold War" warriors to perfection and successfully against the various American leaderships. The same strategies, however, backfired when the Ramos Administration employed them in the U.S. bases negotiations. Reminiscent of the old caciques, Filipino leaders beholden to their American colonial master for monetary support, resorted to panhandling. An interesting childhood memory which remains indelibly etched in my imagination was reciting before my father's friends a poem about Rizal's statue located in the town:

*Ako si Rizal.
Tungtung sa bato,
ulanan, initan,
tagai ako singko.*

I am Rizal.
And upon this rock,
rain or shine,
spare me a dime.

Filipino mendicancy had produced an effect of what one American diplomat calls "a neurotic, manipulative, psychically crippling form of dependence" (Underhill, 1977). H. W. Brand's *Bound to Empire* (1992) chronicles this dependence under American colonialism which failed to foster a genuine democracy in the Philippines.

And yet, despite this limited vision of mendicancy, many Filipinos did not forget the "ways of the folks." Despite the internal or external polemics against Filipino culture, the numerous news and articles on Philippine corruption, and the attempts to evaluate Filipino politics in terms of thievery, greed, and selfishness, many Filipinos have kept their pride and their will intact to redeem and recover themselves. In-

deed, there is much more, however, to the Philippines than her destitute state. It is my thinking that from the subsequent wreckage of our culture and people is the continual emergence of our presence, which will bear the unmistakable marks of the folkloric parent.

Filipino Nationalism

Many will argue that the emergence of Filipino nationalism is anti-colonial. Once it was institutionalized, the claim for the right to self-government was defined as an expression of independence and decolonization, and no further questions were asked about the basis on which the new nation had been constructed. However, I reject that view because it fails to recognize the fact that the articulation of Filipino nationalism really embodies the legitimation and reign of the Spanish colonial principle of *Transference of Sanctity*. Interestingly, the Ilongo popular mind has a way of explaining this: *Maski ano kalawig sang prosesyon, simbaban ang balik sa gihapon* (No matter how long is the

procession, it always returns to the church).

Today, the Philippines is 90 percent Catholic and stands as more purist, more conservative, and more devout in religious beliefs and practices compared to Spain. The anachronism of it all is that while her former colonial master (Spain) is moving forward, Philippine society stands still in a sort of time warp—of live crucifixion, of bloody flagellants, of *pasyon*, etc.

Anticolonial or not, the metaphor and vocabulary of Filipino national identity is enchantingly inspired by Spanish Catholicism. For example, is not the current conflict between Muslims and Christians in Mindanao simply a reenactment of the Christian *moro-moro* play? Cesar Adib Majul's essay on "The Moros of the Philippines" (1988) provides us with the needed background to comprehend the current conflict. What about the *sacadas* (sugarcane workers) in Negros or Tarlac? Isn't this a replay of the feudalistic landlord-tenant relationship of the Spanish "hacienda system"? One of the

most engaging books ever written on this feudalistic legacy is Alan Berlow's *Dead Season* (1996) which is an investigation of murder and revenge in Negros Island. This book exposes a system where the abuses and guilt of the economic and military elite are whitewashed by *noblesse oblige* and where the poor *tao* (common person) without power to be abusive but pronounced guilty, is blamed for his/her victimization. What about the national amnesia towards "revolving door" politicians or what Dolphy, the Philippine premier comedian, calls "balimbing" or "transformers"? Do these conditions arouse a sense of *deja vu*?

If they do, *it is because Philippine social and political life is a feudal throwback, a "warrior state," where strategic alliances and power-grab rather than truth and justice dictate the condition of the national life.* Today, despite the decline of feudalism in Western Europe, we are still practicing outmoded feudalistic values that belong to the sixteenth century. Sadly enough, we are still haunted by

its effects within the readily available idioms of "warlordism," "nepotism," "cronyism," or religious ideology of the "little tradition" of millennialistic movements or "great tradition" of the Opus Dei and charismatic movements.

And for these reasons, *what Spanish colonialism did not achieve militarily, it achieved historically.* Spanish colonialism has come full circle, so to speak. One of the most important work that describes this historical matrix is Iletto's *Pasyon and Revolution* which was written in 1979. In it, he systematically developed his thesis on how popular movements in the Philippines assumed the *Pasyon* (nativistic account of Christ's life, death, and resurrection) as the framework for social change. As he aptly puts it:

To paraphrase Calosa (a follower of Felipe Salvador, leader of Santa Iglesia, a religio-political movement which flourished around 1894 to 1910 in Central Luzon), Salvador did not die because his "personality" lived on others. It makes little difference whether we speak of a De la Cruz

or a Sakay, a Rios or a Caneo, a Bonifacio or a De Guzman, a Labios or a Salvador. All of these leaders and their movements are, to use Calosa's phrase, "part of the same tree." We can include among the martyrs Gomez, Burgos, Zamora and Rizal—all educated men whose mode of dying was nevertheless perceived as signs of the *pasyon's* reenactment in the Philippine landscape.

And yet, until today, the dominant nationalistic view has not kept pace with the consequences of global restructuring animated by changes in information and communication technology. The overall effect of this restructuring is to bring about a new diasporic outlook in lieu of a nationalistic outlook. In the nationalist mode of development the main source of increasing surplus lies in the persistent utilization of proletarian, agricultural, and industrial energies as a key source to productivity. In the diasporic mode of development, the main source of increasing surplus lies in the generation of knowledge and information as a key source to productivity.

With the world tied together in a network of communication systems that allows individuals and corporations the freedom to reorganize, re-deploy, and relocate their resources, the nationalist agenda are rendered obsolete by the flow of goods and services across boundaries that once separated those with different ideologies and economies. Furthermore, they are rendered obsolete by business competitions and decision making made in corporate offices in North America, Asia, or Europe that affect the destinies and environments of countries and regions around the world.

In the end, this global restructuring results in the development of a new system of competition in the marketplace based on one's preparation, education, skill, and talent and not on one's national or ethnic identity. Nations will quickly realize that to maintain their competitive advantage, they have to engage the world rather than simply dabble in the theatrics and inanities of nationalistic life and politics.

This is not to say that the

nation-state will disappear. The nation-state will be with us for a long time. However, in its classical state, it is not fit to face the challenges that globalization poses. For example, the polarization of Philippine nationalism still rests on the unbridgeable gap between the "patriotism of the right" and the "revolution of the left." The view from the "right" still interprets the question of national political values and identity in terms of its confrontation with the Marxist ideological threat. On the other hand, the view from the "left" still invokes the role of a politically conscious proletariat whose collective oppression compels them toward a revolutionary change that will bequeath to us the freedom in the political order.

What is interesting about this condition is that we are about to realize that both points-of-view have not only sapped our energies and prevented us from engaging in serious, productive activities of entrepreneurial, managerial, and economic development or cultural renewal. They have

also thrown us into a sort of retrogression which marks the maintenance of a feudalistic memory and those religious, social, and political institutions that support it.

The anachronism of Philippine nationalism could not be further belabored. Our mental horizon has been shaped by just that—an outcome of reflex rather than reflection. What we have been doing in the last 100 years or so is simply trying to "mash the same potato" or revive a "mummified" nation-state idea whose end decidedly began in the French Revolution of 1789. Jean-Marie Guehenno's "The End of the Nation-State" (1995) and Walter B. Wriston's "The Twilight of Sovereignty" (1992) are brilliant essays that contest the notion of the classical nation-state.

But most importantly, we are about to see the fundamental and scary truth that throughout our years of street fights and fistfights, the real enemy is nowhere to be found. After all these years of riding the highways and byways of national struggle we realize

that we have been riding the wrong horses. This may sound to some as almost irreverent and nihilistic, but that is not my point. The point is not so much that we are wrong as the realization that we are wrong.

Take for example, the patriotism of the right, whose military junta's passion for *coups d'état*, and the Schwarzenegger-like fantasy of extirpating evil through force and violence inspire us to dutifully murder one another in the name of building a better world. What about the revolution of the left? They insist on bringing the masses to their "La-La Land" riding the doddering Marxist horse and whistling anti-American jingles along the way. Such vision is not only jingoistic, but also, too dishonest to be serious—short of cultivating a mood of spite or envy for our two million or so kith and kin in America who quietly and regularly support millions of family members and relatives back home. It is projected by the U.S. Census that by the year 2000, the Filipino population in the United States will reach two million, half of

which will live in California.

However, equally important to our critique of *The Road to Bagumbayan* is the care to be taken to avoid the rendering of our political and economic journey into the ritualistic celebration of the nationalistic procession year after year. In short, we are now confronted with a road sign, unlike the old one, that leads us to a new and different road which we will now consider.

The Road from Bagumbayan

The road from Bagumbayan provides us with the basic metaphor and vocabulary for our contemporary individual and communal experiences, and these, in turn, supply both the language of discourse and the rationale for our very existence. It provides us the structure of discourse of who we are, how we see ourselves, how we reproduce our communities, how we reclaim ourselves, and how we reconstruct our society. In short, how we live.

The road from Bagum-

bayan is the road of the diaspora. There are two aspects to the diaspora. *The first aspect is the scattering of Filipinos all over the world.* According to N. V. M. Gonzalez, long considered the dean of modern Philippine literature:

It is a myth we live by unknowingly as individuals, and more so, as a people. In the Filipino imagination it has been seeded for generations in the *Ibon Adarna* story about an ailing father with three sons. They must set out into the world and return with the cure for their suffering parent.

Today, many Filipinos can be found working or living in Asia, Oceania, Africa, Middle East, Latin America, Europe, and North America. It is estimated that there are some six million Filipinos abroad of which 4.24 million are migrant workers and 1.76 million are emigrants. In view of this experience, we are now identified as guest workers, expatriates, residents, or citizens of many nations. To some extent, these emerging identities undermine

our national group identity; at the same time, they allow us to construct ourselves with new identities for ourselves.

Diaspora comes from the word *dia* (through) *speirein* (spores). In biology, the diaspores carried by various media like heat, water or wind, are scattered to regenerate life where they fall, perhaps resembling a new colony, a *Bagong Bayan*. It is from this context that Filipino diaspora results in the possibility of recovery. When one looks for the possibility of recovery in the diaspora, one necessarily must look at the abject dispossession of Filipinos, particularly the non-*principalia* class. Needless to say, from the very beginning of Filipino migration, particularly to the U.S., one thing has stood out—the Philippines has never been a socially and economically viable place for many of us.

As a former colony, we lived lives redefined and rendered by the colonial masters in terms of paternalistic arrogance. We were the “savages” and the “people sitting in darkness,” and for that reason de-

served to be ruled as wards. As wards, we were led, muted, and sometimes betrayed with the cooperation of our own leaders to satisfy the master's ambitions and self-interests. Dispossessed of our name and birthright, many hard working Filipinos emigrated or revolted and eked out an existence to survive, while many elite collaborated to protect and perpetuate their privileged positions. Today, Philippine society shamefully stands as a caste-like and highly stratified society of scandalous affluence and conspicuous poverty.

And yet, through the diaspora we have come to realize the possibility of our opportunity and recovery. This is not to say, however, that the diaspora does not have its share of problems. Indeed, it is a very difficult road to travel. Still, the diaspora has come to represent our different prospect where the “old world” now sees samples of its great potential through the immigrants in the “new world.” An interesting sample is the overseas remittances. It is estimated that in the U.S. alone, Filipinos remit

more or less two billion dollars a year to the Philippines (excluding undocumented remittances or parcels and cargoes). Philippine Overseas Contract Workers (OCWs) remit close to three billion dollars a year. Joaquin L. Gonzalez's article on "The Philippine Labour Diaspora" (1996) seeks to provide an overview of the relative size and distribution of Filipino diaspora, while Cecilia Tacoli's analysis on "Migrating 'For the Sake of the Family'? Gender, Life Course and Intra-Household Relations Among Filipino Migrants in Rome" (1996), and Maruja M.B. Asis's "Family Ties in a World Without Borders" (1994) point to the overall positive impact of Filipino diaspora to family life and social mobility.

The second aspect of diaspora is even more fascinating because it refers to the persistent construction of Philippine society as a "tradewind culture" and a place of diaspora. Historically, the Philippines has always been a strategic location for global trade and diaspora—Arabs, Indians, Chinese, Spanish, British, Americans, and others.

This phenomenon makes the Filipino national identity inevitably a diasporic identity. What is interesting about this identity is that it simply reaffirms our *baranganic* origins. That is, the idea that the *barangay* is more of a metaphor for journey rather than settlement. Consider, for example, how we ritually greet our familiar friends with "Where are you going?" ("*Saan ka pupunta?*" in Tagalog, "*Diin ka makadto?*" in Ilongo, or "*Asa ka paingon?*" in Cebuano). What does this tell us about how we think and behave? I think, it tells us how our social life sensitizes us to perceive our diasporic condition. In the simplest sense, this particular greeting perfectly makes sense within the context of diaspora.

Currently, Philippine society is indispensable to Chinese diaspora and vice-versa. What is most intriguing about this condition is that it emerged without fanfare and almost imperceptibly. By the mid-16th century, the manifestations of this identity were in place. Lynn Pan's *Sons of the Yellow Emperor: A History of the*

Chinese Diaspora (1994) gives an excellent account of the stretches of Chinese Diaspora globally and how it intertwined with Western imperialism.

Today, more important than the impact of Western imperialism, is the impact of Chinese diaspora in the Philippines. From hindsight, there is nothing unique about this phenomenon. Historically, it was the bourgeoisie—a notable, yet secondary element of a predominantly agrarian, medieval society—who embodied a new world-view of economic and social arrangement that undermined the traditional foundations of the clerico-feudal system. Through their wealth and business acumen, the bourgeoisie sapped the traditional basis of theocratic and aristocratic domination of land, religion, and warfare but at the same time, pauperized the peasants since their great enterprises employed them as laborers and wage workers.

In Philippine society, the Chinese was the middleman, the true bourgeoisie who eventually replaced the Spaniards

with their feudalistic system and the Americans with their outdoor colonialism. It was the Chinese businessperson who saw the archaism of the feudal "warrior-state" and outdoor colonialism. Through capital and entrepreneurial spirit, the Chinese undermined the fundamental basis of these systems and replaced them with capitalism (Confucius-style). But more significant than their capitalistic activities was their quiet and creative solitude in the midst of prejudice and discrimination. Despite their sufferings and persecutions, *they stayed and intermarried.* Growing up in the Philippines, I learned my Sociology 101 in prejudice and discrimination by making fun of the Chinaman as "*intsik bebo*" (the old and decrepit Chinese) or "*tulo laway*" (the drooling retard). Such derogatory socialization by my peers as well as by the adult members of the community was done by mimicking "Chinese talk and song." Soon, I found out that this malady not only infected my town, but also the general Philippine society. Worse, it has now gradu-

ated to murder, kidnapping, and extortion of Chinese-Filipino citizens.

Still, the Chinese bourgeoisie prevailed because their movement was not only a movement of capital but also a movement of population, of a natural system of family, clan, and people—of conjugal colonialism founded on strong Confucian ethics and great capitalistic tradition. *Forbes* magazine (1996) reports that the majority of the nine known billionaires in the Philippines are Chinese. Tan Yu whose estimated net worth is \$7 billion is at the top; followed by Jaime Zobel de Ayala and family, \$2.6 billion; George Ty, \$2.6 billion; Andrew Gotaniun, \$2.4 billion; Lucio Tan, \$2.2 billion; John Gokongwei Jr., \$2.0 billion; Henry Sy and family, \$2.0 billion; Manuel Villar and family, \$2.0 billion; and Eugenio Lopez and family, \$1.0 billion.

Today, as we are slowly and unawaresly stripped of our colonial and nationalistic skins, a new Filipino Story is emerging. In the main, it is a decentered story because its center has collapsed. And yet,

it is a story of a new center, a new road, a *Bagong Bayan*. As such, it is now a story of Jose Rizal, a Chinese mestizo who is the best contribution of China to the Philippines. It is now the story of the Sons of the Yellow Emperor in diaspora visiting in "silken robes" their ancestral homes. It is now a story of Muslims who, despite the prejudice and dominance of Christians, continue to live "The Way of Islam." It is now a story of overseas workers who religiously sustain their families, despite the indignities they suffer and the minimal support they get from the national government. It is now a story of "manongs" who, despite their being exploited and oppressed in California's agricultural fields, refuse to live like victims. It is now a story of an Ilongo, a Cebuano, an Ilocano, an Aklanon, a Tausug, or a Tiruray who resists the ethnocentric and monolingual reading of their stories. It is now the story of Filipino immigrants building permanent communities in the New World. In short, it is now a story of the flowering of ideas,

cultures, and ways of life, and truthful and honest cultural pluralism—of languages, of natives, and of immigrants recovering and reconstructing themselves a new story in *Bagong Bayan*.

The Basis of the Emerging Filipino Identity

To understand the basis of the emerging Filipino identity is to find the source from which the cultural expression of much of our inner consciousness and behavior as a people flows. To explain that source of our truest expression is to reveal the structure of folk mind and feeling. Here, we must bear down straight away upon the most pressing of our problems—the recovery of our primary identity, that is, our language, our vocabulary, our center, and our roots. In other words, our folkloric identity.

This identity is conceived in precolonial times; its symbol is the social and moral world of the *barangay* (village) and the respected *datu* (chieftain)—of familism, kinship,

community, and obligation. Nourished by devotion and hospitality, it is still found among family, distant relatives, old acquaintances, honored friends, and hometown friends. It is a way of life embedded in our various languages. But most importantly, it is our way of life based on moral relation—of consideration, tolerance, and openness.

The Ilongos understand the value of consideration as *patugsiling*. However, more than mere consideration, *patugsiling* is a moral relation based on personal and civic value that enables the Ilongos to understand each other by including themselves in the same framework through which they grasp the conditions of others. When one is *wala* (no/without) *patugsiling*, it does not only mean "no consideration" for others but also no deeper regard for one's self. Such moral self-assessment nourishes us to cultivate an individual identity that represents a totality of beliefs and sentiments—a "socialized feeling" of a face-to-face and spontaneous relationship embedded

in mutualism, collective-orientation, and "we feeling" of the "village life." Charles Horton Cooley (1918), an American sociologist, suggests that:

Such groups are primary...in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual. The result of intimate association, psychologically, is a certain fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one's very self, for many purposes at least, is the common life and purpose of the group. Perhaps the simplest way of describing this wholeness is by saying that it is a "we"; it involves the sort of sympathy and mutual identification for which "we" is the natural expression. One lives in the feeling of the whole and finds the chief aims of his will in that feeling.

On the other hand, the Cebuanos have a beautiful way of expressing tolerance. It is the practice of acknowledging an individual's or stranger's presence by extending the modest question of: "*Tabi, unsay ato*?" Literally, it means: "Pardon me, what is our pleasure, need, or concern?" Thereafter, it can be

understood as: "If there is anything that we can be of help, let us help you." What is interesting about this expression is that it is unlike the third person reference and mercantilistic tone of the Tagalog's: "*Ano po ang kailangan nila*?" That is, "What is it that they need or want?" Its parallel expression is the Ilongo's "*Ano kuntani ang aton*?" That is, "If I may say, what is our pleasure, need, or concern?" Through this expression, the Cebuanos and Ilongos can lay the ground of mutual recognition where the interests of individuals or strangers are set higher than theirs yet set within the collective's interests. Francis Fukuyama's *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992) is relevant to our understanding of this particular value because it engages us to revisit Plato's notion of *thymos*, the primordial struggle for mutual recognition and dignity as the foundation of our individual or collective life.

In doing this, the Cebuanos or Ilongos construct a moral world that is inclusive and tolerant of others and strangers. A far better world

than the Hobbesian Leviathan necessitated by continual fear, danger of violent death, and the life of man: solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short (Hobbes, 1651).

Finally, our openness as a value suggests that our primary identity is not romantic but rather diasporic. It is diasporic in the sense that our primary identity is reconstituted by historical, geographical, and global influences that affected our lives as a people over time. Sometimes narrated as the resiliency of a "bamboo that bends with the wind," openness projects us as the "great imitator" or a "*halo-halo*" (mix-mix) culture with no distinct belief and value system and suffering from inferiority complex. And yet, our openness is not synonymous with resiliency. While it may entail the necessity of resiliency, it does not entail complete resiliency. In fact, openness is closest to the Cebuanos notion of *baruganan* or one's personal and moral position towards private or public issues or social change. Its meaning is close to but deeper than the Tagalog's

paninindigan (one's belief or civic position on private and public issues or social change). When one is called *walay* (no/without) *baruganan*, it means, not only that one does not have a personal or civic position about a private or public matter, but that one is personally and morally bankrupt with almost no meaning or existence in relation to others.

Nourished by a trade-wind culture, openness is no stranger to us. In fact, it is our constant companion because it represents to us the willingness to struggle with change and to take position on issues that affect our individual as well as collective lives. Robustiano Echaus's *Sketches of the Island of Negros* (1894) presents one of the most moving accounts of our openness, dramatically demonstrated by our curiosity to welcome new ideas and strangers, and yet, defend even to death when our *baruganan* is at stake.

Overall, folkloric identity persists because it grapples with change and situates itself in time and space. Take for example, the issue of the search

for identity—the process of discovery and learning of valuable lessons and events from our past that help shape our future. This for me, provides us the frame through which we see how our primary identity is socially negotiated and reinvented in time and space. As a process of self-definition and self-identification, it grants individuals an origin, a past, a sense of belonging, values, and traditions. So that when one calls himself/herself Filipino, Filipino-American, Cebuano, Bicolano, Pampango, Ilongo, Aklanon, Waray, Ilocano, *Manong*, *Pinoy*, or a combination of these, in effect, one appropriates to one's self not only a name, but also a consciousness of one's primary identity and history.

What is interesting about our condition is that we come from different islands, and because of that, we are fortunate enough to have lived in and be protected by the islands. Thanks to that, our geography saved us. The scattered islands which have been maligned for our so-called disunity and regionalism, in reality, provided

us the “elbow room” to maintain our languages and to resist the unrelenting internal as well as external hegemonies that homogenize us into the wholesale reading of our social and cultural histories as peoples. Foremost of these is the indiscriminate bombardment of our people by nationalistic and metropolitan initiatives and programs towards the “monolingualization” of our languages.

I appreciate the hard work and effort but not necessarily the intention. For me, the intention is too high on emotion but too low in introspection. I say this because the national language movement exacts sameness and represents the marginalization of our languages. Why should we accept a movement that only speaks of a Tagalog notion of language or national life? Why should we accept a movement that does not embrace our diversity? Why can't we build a nation-state on the basis of diversity? Furthermore, why should we subject ourselves to the pubescent and pidgin construction of “Taglish” or “Engalog” (mix of

English and Tagalog) when our languages with their attendant creative arts and imagination cry out to be spoken, sung, heard, or written?

I raise these questions because it is not only disrespectful but also immoral. It is immoral because when one marginalizes a language, one marginalizes a culture. And when one marginalizes a culture, one marginalizes the power of a people to evolve in their own distinct way. I also raise these questions because I believe that we do not have to be the same to be together. A man and a woman are different, and yet, can be united. Perhaps, our nationalistic or metropolitan effort must be redirected towards the study, research, and advocacy of our various languages and literatures so that we can thrive with the treasure of a healthy, beautiful, and strong multicultural life.

Interestingly, despite the unrelenting homogenization of our varied and multifaceted lives, our languages survived. In fact, not only did they survive but they persisted in the

colonial experience and are still persisting in diaspora. If the greatest crime of colonialism is cultural disintegration, the greatest contribution of folk-thought is languages, creative arts, and imagination *persisting*. In diaspora, it persists through our impulses to extend our way of life, our personal, civic, and moral relations of consideration, tolerance, and openness. These are vocabularies and values of our languages that will enable us to live and work peacefully with others, especially strangers, while at the same time, recovering and reconstructing our search for “home” within the place of relocation. Undeniably, our folkloric roots are deep and our trees grow in the “new world.”

Today, our primary identity and way of life are reinvigorated and reinvented through the creation of urban villages in North America—permanent ethnic enclaves where we can anchor ourselves. Sociologically, one significant view behind this phenomenon is the assumption that the dominant, formal, and rationalistic political and economic

institutions operating throughout the place of destination have little significance to many "urban villagers" compared to their identification and participation to a specific residential locale. Numerous studies have shown that the most enduring commitments of many urban dwellers are to the kinship and associational solidarities of their communities and to the long standing cultural patterns organizing their daily lives over the yearly cycle (Firey, 1947; Gans, 1962, 1967; Liebow, 1967; Suttles, 1968, 1972; and Whyte, 1943).

To many of us in the diaspora, especially parents and children, the question of folkloric identity lies at the root of a great many cultural as well as practical questions. Our attitude to it constitutes the majority of our questions because it reliably defines our energy and essence as a people. It is the unconscious recovery of our dignity born out of our humility and will to rediscover the primordial idealisms and realities we have forgotten and continue to neglect in the course of our journey as peoples.

Unlike the old story conceived through colonial and nationalistic discourses of dominance and ethnocentrism, the new story is a more inclusive and mutualistic process of continual recovery of materials drawn from the past and located in the present; thereafter, it becomes a practice of everyday life, production, and reproduction toward a reconstructed community.

We know enough from reading our Filipino story to accept that our narrations and narrators had imperialistic as well as nationalistic flaws. Yet, we continue to live with those flaws in order to draw from the wells of our primal metaphor and vocabularies to bring out our muted and silent voices and flaws that tend to come with the "breaking out" of wisdom that our multicultural people represent.

This is a view that N. V. M. Gonzalez has been alluding to for a long time. Take for example Gonzalez's "A Warm Hand" (1950). Many of my friends have asked who do you think fondled Elay? To their amusement or puzzlement, I

have always answered this question with "you." Of course, I also hope to invoke a sort of self-examination from my curious friends. Unbeknownst to many, this allegorical rendering of our experience is represented by the notion that scarcely a corner of our lives is untouched by the "hands" of colonialism and its genealogy. And yet, like Elay, we find comfort and affinity with our "Obreganos"—of moral relations, of self-sufficiency, of *patugsiling*, and all.

N. V. M. Gonzalez's works also do not settle well with popular or imperial thinking especially for those who prefer to relegate his ideas and works in the dustbin of archaism. As one Filipino narrator said: "N. V. M. is old and done." This form of social or literary criticism displays poor manners—it is nothing but the practice of *gerontophagy*, the primitive ritual of eating one's elders. Besides, it is simply foolish impoverishment for some Filipino narrators to eat the popular or imperial crumbs when Tiyay Dolores offers us boiled bananas and hot *suman*.

For how can one haphazardly ignore one's soul? How can one casually dismiss *patugsiling* or ignore *baruganan*? How can one deny fate?

Particularly, unless one rediscovers the vocabulary of N. V. M. Gonzalez as a ritual speaker, any critique is bound to fail. In an era of voguish and bookish scholarship, seeking a popular or imperial explanation to our story conceived in diverse mythical and folkloric terms is destined to be futile. To know the soul of a people is to find the source from which the expression of folk-thought flows. To explain the truest expression of the structure of folk mind and feeling is to reveal much of the inner consciousness of a people. This seems invisible to the popular and imperial mind.

Our task then is to encourage every generation in any time and place to work its own particular image of recovery and reconstruction. No hero or heroine worship, only one's integrity and self and *desponibilit e*, that is, the ability to share one's language, culture, imagination, and intellect

to others. However interpreted and accounted for, whether as an exemplary mode of economic development, as a model of political experience, or as an object of scholarly and literary research, our "diverse" primal metaphors and vocabularies embedded in our languages remain our essence and structure of our existence and well being. *Considerate, tolerant, and open* is our life, is our fate.

Notes

References to N. V. M. Gonzalez's personal thoughts are based on my conversation with him during one of our weekly discussions at Southland Mall, Hayward, California, 1995.

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THE MIRACLE OF DIALOGUE: ITS ROLE IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Douglas J. Elwood

ABSTRACT

As the world faces the frightening prospect of extinction brought about by political controversy, racial bitterness, religious tension, economic disorder, and the whole disarray of international institutions, the almost forgotten art of dialogue becomes not only an option but a moral principle, and a necessary first step in resolving conflicts, large or small, at the interpersonal and societal level.

This paper examines the subject of dialogue in relation to conflict resolution, in particular, the face-to-face dialogue that opens the way and make resolution possible and, in the end, effective. But two conditions are required for dialogue to take place—it must proceed from both sides, and the parties to the dialogue must persist relentlessly. Resolving a conflict through dialogue requires that each party recognizes and affirms the humanity of the other. More than face-to-face encounter, dialogue involves the spirit of conviction with openness in which each party is sensitive to the needs of the other, and willing to negotiate openly rather than force a solution by using power tactics. In the face of daily unfolding conflicts of varying magnitudes which threaten to annihilate the human race, the need for a real dialogical encounter in the spirit of genuine give and take cannot be overstressed.

An observation many would share is that genuine dialogue is often a neglected option, especially among people in positions of power, but sometimes even among those seriously concerned with issues of peace and justice. We immediately think of the long-standing conflicts between Israelis and Palestinians, Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland, and that between North and South Korea, not to mention others like the conflict between India and Pakistan over Kashmir.

At the village level, it is common for people with a grievance to file a legal suit against another party without first hearing the other side of the issue. People often press their demands before making their request. They often use coercive force and bypass

persuasive power. So, what should be a last resort becomes the first retort. Important issues may be at stake, to be sure, but few of these same persons would use such an abrasive approach to get what they want in their interpersonal relations.

Some would say it is all part of the spirit of our times. If so, it would seem that the time is ripe to reintroduce the almost forgotten art of dialogue. Perhaps it is not too much to say, in view of the conflict situations we face today on a local and global scale, that dialogue appears more and more not as an option but as a human imperative. This is true, for example, in the areas of political controversy, racial bitterness, religious tension, economic disorder, and the whole disarray of international institutions. It has been said that "the quest for peace leads through the maze of conflict." But the outcome depends on how we respond to the conflict. The main purpose of this paper is to challenge the reader to consider dialogue not merely as an option but as a moral principle and a necessary first

step in resolving conflicts, large or small, at the interpersonal or societal level.

The Meaning of Dialogue

The word "dialogue" in its root form means "talking together," in contrast to "monologue" which is just "talking alone." More precisely, dialogue is "talking and listening to one another." It was a classical form of literature in ancient Greece. The Greek verb *dialégesthai*, from which our word "dialogue" comes, meant examining fundamental convictions and giving positive arguments for them in the form of conversation. This style was used in the famous *Dialogues* of Plato. The running conversations in Greek plays were also called "dialogues," and still are in modern scripts.

But dialogue is much more than conversation. At a deep personal level it is communication—verbal and non-verbal. Here we are thinking of a dialogue not only as an art to be cultivated, as the Greeks

understood it, but also as a moral principle to live by. We may define the dialogical principle, in the words of Reuel Howe, as "the serious address and response" between two or more persons or groups, in which "the being and truth of each is confronted by the being and truth of the other."¹ The "truth" of a person, in this context, refers to his/her integrity and uniqueness as a human being. This definition is based on the thought of Martin Buber, the distinguished Jewish philosopher of this century whose writings have profoundly influenced a number of leading Christian thinkers of our time. Buber's philosophical poem, *I and Thou*, and its sequel, *Between Man and Man*, are modern classics in the study of dialogue-in-depth.²

To think of dialogue as the being of one person encountering the being of another suggests that it is not easy to achieve—a fact which may explain why it occurs so rarely, and its rare occurrence accounts for the frequent absence of its benefits in our communication with one another. In this

day of mass communication we need more than ever to study the nature of communication-as-dialogue. For, with technical aids that surpass the wildest imaginings of yesterday's science fiction, man can bombard the mind of his fellow human beings with a subtlety and effectiveness that is frightening. As Reuel Howe expresses it, "Man becomes the victim of communication rather than communication being a means by which he finds himself in his relation with others in a community of mutual criticism and helpfulness."³

Dialogue is basic to all mature human relationship. It is more than a method of communication, says Howe; it is communication itself. Then he adds reflectively: "It is imperative that a Christian be a dialogical person through whom the word that gives life is spoken."⁴ Through dialogue we can "let God into our world," because "in dialogue we open ourselves to one another, and in so doing we open ourselves to God."⁵ When we are open to both human and

God, miracles have to happen. The miracle of dialogue is needed in all relationships: individual and social, educational and religious, economic and political, national and international. Buber's theology of dialogue, which Howe embraces as a pastoral psychologist, shows that God is to be found "between" two or more persons whenever they are related as an "I" to a "Thou." We are reminded of the promise of Christ to his disciples: "Where two or three persons come together in my name, I am there in the midst of them"—that is, between one human being and another.

Buber's main point is that when we know a person merely as an "object," he is nothing more than an "It"—that is, a thing to be controlled and manipulated, exploited or abused. But to know the other as a "subject" is to know him through a direct personal encounter. It is to know him as a "Thou"—that is, as a person. The same can be said of one group's relation to another group. The transition from an "I-It" relation to an "I-Thou"

relation is, in Buber's words, "a change from communication to communion." At the deepest level, therefore, dialogue is more than conversation and even more than communication; it is communion. It is a mystical relationship, for this is primarily where God is to be found—"between thee and me." Whenever we stand in the relation of an I to a Thou, the "Eternal Thou" speaks to us through that moment of truth.⁶

The Nature of Conflict

As the title indicates, this paper treats the subject of dialogue in relation to conflict resolution. A conflict exists when two or more persons or groups pursue incompatible goals or activities, so that gains are made on one side at the expense of the other. Incompatible goals or activities may originate within the same person, between two or more persons, or between two or more groups. If, for example, you decide to spend Saturday after-

noon both sleeping and studying, then you are in conflict with yourself. If you want to cross the street and someone else decides to prevent you, you are involved in an interpersonal conflict. If the College of Arts and Sciences decides to hold a meeting in the Multipurpose Room and the College of Engineering decides it also wants to hold a meeting there at the same time, we have an intergroup conflict on our hands. Emphasis in this paper falls on inter-group conflict.

Philosophically, there are two obvious characteristics inherent in the created world which are major sources of conflict; namely, diversity and change. One reason conflict arises is the simple fact that people are different. They have different values, desires, and needs that can be incompatible with those of other people. Change is another source of conflict. Life does not stay the same; it changes, as we all know so well. We live in a world that is characterized by transition. The old is perpetually passing away and the new is taking its place. Why is it

that when people get embroiled in conflict they tend to overlook these two simple and obvious truths about life? They tend to expect other people to think and feel the same way they do, and they treat the situation as though it were fixed and unchanging. The rediscovery that diversity and change are the root sources of conflict can help us to view conflict as a natural and normal part of human community.⁷ It can enable us to focus attention not only on the dangers inherent in conflict but also on the possibilities for growth and enrichment which conflicts contain. The challenge is to find ways to deal with conflict creatively so that growth, unity, and health are produced rather than disunity and harm. Conflict is a mark of our freedom to differ, to dissent, and to dream. But conflict can also become the perversion of freedom. It can cripple the mind, corrupt the spirit, and become the destroyer of life itself.

There are two extreme reactions to conflict which we would all do well to reject. One is the violent reaction and the

other is avoidance of conflict. Both are often the result of a basic mistrust that is rooted in the fear of meeting one another in dialogue. In the words of Ronald Arnett, "Violence denies the other's humanity and right to live. Avoidance of conflict does not recognize that life is by nature sometimes conflict-generating."⁸ Social psychologists tell us that conflicts are inevitable among human beings. Only in the cemetery will we be completely free of conflicts! Of course, they vary in intensity, and they usually pass through various stages. Some conflicts become violent, as we know, and others remain non-violent. Some are positive and constructive in their consequences and others are negative and destructive. Conflicts are negative when they result from hostile or impulsive drives to destroy. They are positive when they result from the desire and will to heal, unite, and improve. To paraphrase David and Frank Johnson in their once popular social psychology textbook, a conflict among group members or between groups is a crisis that can

weaken or strengthen the group, a critical event that may either bring creative insight and better relationships or lasting resentment, smoldering hostility, and psychological scars.⁹ In other words, conflicts are neither moral nor immoral in themselves, but become so according to the way we manage and finally resolve them. They have the potential for producing either highly constructive or highly destructive consequences for group functioning.

Popular discussions often assume that conflicts are themselves the cause of such problems as divorce, psychological distress, social disorder, and violence. The truth is, it is not the mere presence of conflicts that causes all these disastrous problems; rather, it is the ineffective management of conflicts.¹⁰ As we have seen, conflicts can have positive results. However, just because this is so does not mean that we should deliberately foment conflict so as to achieve our goals, for conflict also tends to breed more and worse conflict, if not violence, and we have all seen how

violent conflict can become an instrument of intimidation and terror. In summary, therefore, we may affirm on the one hand the inevitability and even the potential conflict and at the same time recognize its destructive possibilities.

In addition to the two root sources of conflict mentioned earlier, there are at least three specific causes: personal differences, poor communication, and structural differences. Personal differences often involve emotional factors such as insecurity and prejudice. Poor communication is the inability to understand how others think and feel. Usually miscommunication results from false assumptions, one of which is that other people ought to think and feel exactly as we do. Miscommunication contributes to what have been called "cycles of retaliation." For example, when we say something to others, based on inaccurate notions of their feelings, they may be hurt by what we say. They strike back, perhaps, out of their own inaccurate perceptions of our feelings. So, now we are the ones hurt, and we

strike again, and so they are hurt again, and so on and on. These cycles of retaliation can be broken only by effective communication which takes patience, persistence, and the skill of empathetic listening. But in the end of it "makes possible those workable compromises and that respect for the other and oneself that are essential to healthy human relationships."¹¹ Jaime Bulatao, in his popular booklet on group discussion, points out that the key to understanding is "to enter into the other person's world of meaning."¹² In the words of the lawyer in the novel, and movie, *To Kill a Mockingbird*, in order to understand another person "one has to put on his *skin* and walk around in it for several days." The third specific cause of conflict mentioned above is structural differences. These are often power struggles in which two or more individuals or groups strive for dominance. This will be discussed more fully in later sections of this paper.

Reuel Howe defines conflict as "interrupted dia-

logue.”¹³ An amusing example of interrupted dialogue occurred one day when Dagwood, the popular cartoon character, decided to engage his boss in dialogue, hoping to get a raise in salary. He began like this: “Hey, boss, have you noticed how everything is going up?” “Oh, not everything,” replied his boss. “Well,” said Dagwood, “you just tell me one thing that is not going up.” “Your salary,” said the boss. Psychoanalyzing conflict as a “dialogical crisis,” Howe points out that there exists within all of us a battle between the forces which seem to affirm us and the forces that seem to threaten to destroy us. “Each of us, intent on achieving what he believes to be his own fulfillment, faces the temptation of using others as a quick means of reassurance and affirmation rather than receiving our fulfillment through honest give-and-take. This exploitation of others, however, is always self-defeating and self-destructing, and in such a conflict both participants lose.”¹⁴ There are at least four elements involved in a crisis of inter-

rupted dialogue: (1) the drive on the part of each to affirm himself; (2) the threat that each feels from the other with respect to himself; (3) the need on the part of each to sacrifice the other person in order to save himself.¹⁵

Admittedly, it takes courage to resume dialogue once it has been interrupted, but Jesus’ teaching on gain and loss states for us the underlying principle: “He who seeks to save himself will lose himself, but he who is willing to lose himself... will save himself.” In other words, broadly interpreted, “He who tries to win all will lose all, but he who is willing to lose something for the sake of the other will win in the end.” It means that we enter into a dialogical relationship not just for the purpose of gaining, but also for the purpose of giving, with the prayer that we may lose something—for instance, our pretensions, our defensive need to justify ourselves—and that we may gain a reassurance of life by having it affirmed in relation to another.¹⁶ “If Christians would be like Christ,” Howe

concludes, “they must expect to become dialogical persons to and through whom he may speak. The incarnation in us of the spirit of dialogue would... prepare... us for participation in God’s saving work in the world.”¹⁷

Conflict Science: A New Discipline

Unfortunately, much more energy is invested in creating new methods of waging conflict than in regulating and resolving it. It is only in the last thirty years that social scientists have turned serious attention to the problems of conflict. In fact, a new academic discipline has emerged in recent years—actually an interdisciplinary field—that goes by the name “conflict science” (also called “peace science” or “peace research”). Walter Isard of Cornell University has done the most thorough study, to date, in a recent book entitled, *Conflict Analysis and Practical Conflict Management Procedures: An Introduction to Peace Science*.¹⁸ Graduate students should be encouraged to enter this excit-

ing new field of research.

Coping with Conflict

The central thesis of this paper is that dialogue can work miracles even in the difficult area of conflict resolution. Here, in fact, is where dialogue can come to the rescue not only as a moral principle of mutuality but also as a technique for settling disputes, effecting change, or facing our common crises. In the interdisciplinary studies in Conflict Science a considerable amount of energy has already gone into the study of conflict resolution, especially by specialists in organizational behavior and group dynamics. Emphasis has been given, for example, to the psychological factors which affect the strategies that people use when faced with conflict or crisis. Some people, as we have noted already, just avoid conflict or ignore it. Others assume that they are going to lose and consequently give up before they start to solve the problem. Some try to win at all costs, even if it means the opponent loses all. Still others, if they see

they cannot win, will try to force the other party to lose, too, so that in the end nobody wins. Recently there was a tragic event in Dumaguete City, in which a suitor killed the very girl he loved because her parents did not approve of their relationship. Nobody won! If conflict is not skillfully managed and ultimately resolved to the satisfaction of all concerned, it can break out into open warfare. We can be equally certain, however, that almost any conflict can be satisfactorily resolved if approached with the proper attitude on the part of both parties to the conflict. Robert Owens, in his book on organizational behavior, confidently states the position of most contemporary behavioral scientists as regards conflict: "...with diagnostic and management approaches now available, it is possible not only to minimize the destructiveness of conflict but also, in many cases, to deal with it productively."¹⁹

There are two main approaches to the resolution of conflict: the "win/lose" and the "win/win" strategy. The win/

lose approach results in one side winning all and the other side losing all. It is known also as the "forced" solution because in this approach the person with the power uses it to force the other party out of the arena. It is also appropriately called "adversarial confrontation" because the opponent is regarded as an enemy to be conquered or defeated. This is a tempting strategy in view of the fact that defeating an opponent is one of the most widely recognized forms of interaction. The very language of business, politics, athletics, and even education is filled with win/lose terminology. For instance, one "wins" a promotion or a raise in salary; one "beats" the opposition; one basketball team "crushes" the other. Athletes are bent on winning, of course. Lawyers are trained in the art of winning their cases. This is natural and appropriate. The problem is that, in an environment that places such a premium on winning, competitive behavior often persists in relationships where it is not appropriate—that is, where conflict tends to divide, polar-

ize, and destroy. It is not unusual for rival groups to form power blocks in support of their position against proponents of another position. In a win/lose situation every action of other group members, or of the other group, is seen in terms of one person or group dominating the other. The contesting parties see their interests to be mutually incompatible. No compromise is even considered possible. One side must fail at the price of the other's success. Any hope of being able to appeal to each other on the basis of reason is abandoned or not even entertained. The parties to the conflict come to believe that the issues can be settled only by a power struggle. It should be evident that the win/lose approach is the least productive.

The second main approach to resolving conflict is known as the win/win strategy, also called "participatory problem-solving." It is considered to be the most productive because both parties win, though not necessarily equally. This strategy is also appropriately called "nonadversarial confronta-

tion." The two parties meet in face-to-face dialogue to find a solution that will satisfy the goals and objectives of both sides. They tend to recognize the legitimacy of one another's interests and seek to meet the needs of all concerned. They seek to influence one another, if possible, through persuasion and appeal rather than pressure or coercion. David and Frank Johnson enumerate the advantages of the win/win approach for an organized group. Among these are the following: (1) it lessens hostility while increasing amiability among group members; (2) it requires no enforcement from the outside to implement group decisions; (3) it cuts out the need for power to be exercised; (4) it extends trust and promotes full and accurate communication; and (5) it results in everyone treating everyone else with respect.²⁰ This is a cooperative, problem-solving orientation rather than a competitive, win/lose orientation.

As we have seen, conflicts are constructive or destructive, depending on the human response. In the destructive con-

flict, the other's self-esteem and values are threatened, and he is forced to give far more than he receives in the resolution. In constructive conflict, which the win/win strategy permits, the other is affirmed, his values acknowledged, and the benefits of the resolution do not outweigh the costs for either party.²¹ Broadly stated, there are four simple steps in resolving any conflict, large or small: (1) clearly define the problem; (2) gather accurate information; (3) explore alternative solutions together; and (4) choose the alternative that is the most mutually satisfactory and best meets the demands of social justice.

The most careful thought should be given to the appropriateness of the techniques used to resolve conflict or to affect change. Rational persuasion, of which dialogue is the primary instrument, obviously should precede harsher coercive techniques, not least because coercion tends to incite negative emotions and create a climate of irrational fear. We should always be reluctant to move from persuasive force to

coercive force, and should not until we are reasonably sure that persistent persuasion will not bring the desired result. Why? Simply because we are morally obligated to respect absolutely the humanity of others. There is something of God in every person, for each one is an image of God, and God is to be found between one human being and another (Buber). Even when the injustice of a situation requires us to move from persuasion to coercion, we should never close the door to possible face-to-face dialogue, nor should we ever regard the opponent as an adversary. The chief purpose of dialogue is to convince and persuade. Democracy is the political expression of "persuasion by argument." Democracy is government by consent, consent depends on consensus, and consensus arises out of dialogue in which the issues are clarified. Thus, dialogue is integral to the democratic process.

The Role of Dialogue in Conflict Resolution

We will now consider the crucial role of dialogue in re-

solving conflict; or how to move from monologue to dialogue, and from diatribe to dialogue. Whether dialogue is used to affect change or to resolve conflict, it is usually accompanied by other methods of persuasion, and sometimes coercion, but it is face-to-face dialogue that opens the way and makes resolution possible and, in the end, effective. It would not be difficult to establish the proposition that all other means for change or conflict resolution should be preceded by dialogue and accompanied by dialogue, to ensure their success. Looking back, Gandhi considered this to be the great strength of his movement. When asked what he thought was his greatest achievement, he said, "The fact that when the British finally left, we parted as friends." Reuel Howe points out that every person and every group is a potential adversary, even those whom we love. "Only through dialogue are we saved from this enmity toward one another. Dialogue is to love what blood is to the body. When the flow of blood stops,

the body dies. When dialogue stops, love dies and instead resentment and hate are born."²² But dialogue can restore a dead relationship. This is the miracle of dialogue: it can bring relationship into being, and it can bring to life again a relationship that has died. There are only two conditions required to let this miracle happen: It must proceed from both sides, and the parties to the dialogue must persist relentlessly. When the dialogical word is spoken by one side but evaded or ignored by the other, the miracle may not happen. But when two persons or groups undertake it with openness and accept the risk of doing so, then the miracle-working power of dialogue may be released. Earlier we defined the dialogical principle philosophically as "the being and truth of one person or group encountering the being and truth of another." We may now define it methodologically as "a reciprocal relationship in which each party 'experiences the other side,' so that their communication becomes a true address and response in which each in-

forms and each learns."²³

The "I-It" relation is potentially destructive as a conflict strategy in that the opponent is viewed as an object that must be manipulated and overcome. In other words, the "I-It" orientation is a monological relation with the other instead of a dialogical one. In fact, it leads to diatribe rather than to dialogue. It presses demands before making requests, and it presses its demands in a self-righteous and arrogant manner that leads to rigid opposition and polarization. What the opponent believes is regarded only as an obstacle to be overcome in order to fulfill one's own desires. The "I-It" relation ignores the other's human significance, whereas the "I-Thou" encounter recognizes and affirms the other's humanity.

In Buber's dialogical view of conflict both parties meet in a relation in which the result of the encounter does not reside in either party. The ontological reality of "that which lies between" one human being and another is the significant element, in his view. The

answer to a conflict, then, is something that emerges between the parties to the conflict. In practice this means that, as a result of standing one's ground in a spirit of openness, changes in one or both of the viewpoints may occur. Many of us experience this mystery by discovering that the full truth in any issue often lies somewhere in between two extreme and rigid points of view. Unfortunately, we discover it more often through hindsight than foresight! A dialogical meeting with an opponent recognizes the importance of both parties, and this promotes the possibility of an answer emerging *between* them. It means that the final resolution will incorporate some—but not necessarily equal elements of each opposing position and yet go beyond them, since what emerges will be something different from what either party envisioned at the start. This is the miracle of dialogue: it comes from between and goes beyond. Although there are more obstacles in the way of dialogue than any of us like to admit, it is nevertheless true

that words need not be spoken in vain. Barriers to communication can be broken through. Meeting of minds can occur and through such meeting relationships can be established, even raised from the dead.²⁴ When such barriers are broken through, it is indeed a miracle, for the results often defy a purely rational explanation. In this general sense, a "miracle" may be defined as a surprise happening—something amazingly good that happens to us, and between us, in spite of ourselves, in spite of the barriers we have erected and even though we were unwilling in the first place to let it happen.

Buber suggests that there is a dual movement in dialogue, as intimated earlier. It involves standing one's own ground, yet being open to the other's view of the situation. This is the spirit of conviction with openness. Each party is sensitive to the needs of the other, and this requires a willingness to negotiate openly rather than to force a solution by using power tactics. A non-violent peacemaker, which a Christian is called to be, must

reject the temptation to use domination of another person or group as a means of conflict resolution. As we saw earlier, resolving a conflict through dialogue requires that each party recognizes and affirms the humanity of the other.

Adversarial or Nonadversarial?

In one of his columns in *Manila Bulletin*, Senator Edgardo Angara, once president of the University of the Philippines, called for an end to "confrontational tactics" in favor of what he called "a more Asian approach." In support of this he said that "confrontation is seldom the way Asians meet interpersonal differences. The more Asian mode would stress, instead, conciliation." His observation is borne out by a U.P. study which shows a far higher incidence of success in the use of conciliatory approaches to conflict resolution in labor cases. Sometimes confrontation becomes necessary, but it should always be nonadversarial. In the popular mind, however, confrontation is asso-

ciated with an adversarial approach. The mode of adversarial confrontation suggests to Angara's mind a Marxist's theory of class conflict leading to class struggle and warfare, based on the presumed irreconcilability of the interests of labor and management. Angara advocates that we should instead explore the possibilities of the nonadversarial strategy—which he equates with conciliation—wherein both parties approach the table with a view to seeking a common way out rather than scoring a victory. This, it may be added, is both more Asian and more Christian, because reconciliation is the goal to be achieved. It is clearly the win/win strategy. Adversarial confrontation tends to produce a diatribe rather than dialogue, as happened a few years ago in one leading Philippine university. (The faculty group seeking dialogue had legitimate grievances, but their abrasive approach and combative tactics turned off the president of the institution. Being ignored by both the president and the Board of Trustees, they felt in-

sulted and thus, in order to gain power, they organized a labor union among teachers, backed of course by the Department of Labor. Here is an example of an incident in which the immediate cause of the conflict was the adversarial stance of the group seeking dialogue. Even where no harsh words are spoken, sometimes nonverbal gestures can obstruct the flow of dialogue. What is it they say? "Your actions speak so loudly I cannot hear what you are saying."

There is a desperate need for the dialogical spirit and action in the area of politics. In any country, national parties or coalitions are often pitted against each other solely in the interest of their own success and sometimes at the cost of the nation they are professing to serve. At the international level, frequently nations look toward themselves alone and not toward each other, thus threatening the welfare of the whole planet. The human race stands in danger of being destroyed because of the deliberate effort of parties and nations to advance to their own cause

by falsifying the aims and character of their opponents. This is precisely what happened for many years between the two superpowers. The abuse of dialogue has gone on so long that politicians and statesmen find it difficult to break out of their monological fantasies and move toward a real dialogical encounter. If these same persons would speak with one another in a spirit of genuine give and take, the sphere of public life and geopolitics could be transformed by the miracle of dialogue. At one point near the end of his dialogue with Mr. Gorbachev, President Reagan said, "We have raised expectations simply by meeting, and we have raised hopes. We need to stand up and say the world can go on hoping, because we will go on meeting." Just before their last appearance together, Mr. Reagan joked with Mr. Gorbachev: "I bet the hardliners in both our countries are bleeding when we shake hands." Gorbachev nodded in apparent agreement. Then they walked onstage from opposite sides and shook hands warmly in the middle of the

stage. This was the beginning of a continuing and fruitful dialogue that led to a new era of peace.

Reconciliation: The Goal of Dialogue

The religious equivalent of the win/win conflict-resolution strategy is reconciliation. This is the Christian's ultimate goal in every dialogue. To reconcile means literally to "reconciliate"—that is, to restore broken friendship, to re-unite those who are separated, to move together in a spirit of conciliation rather than adversarial confrontation. This does not imply an easy solution, an over-accommodation, or a compromise with evil, as some suppose. It is not to be identified with a desire for appeasement. As a former editor of the *Christian Century* expresses it, "Reconciliation is engagement with the world at precisely the places where the tensions are most unbearable and most dangerous."²⁵ This is our Christian vocation. Writing to the Christians in Corinth, St. Paul says: "God, in Christ, was

reconciling the world to himself...and he has entrusted to us the message of reconciliation" (II Cor. 5:19). Reconciliation is both vertical and horizontal—that is, it refers to our relationship both to God and to our fellow humans. The Christians, unlike the Marxist, cannot be content to intensify and perpetuate conflict while dreaming of a utopia where there will be no more conflict. For the Christian, there is an important difference: conflict and struggle can only be stages on the way toward the ultimate goal of reconciliation. Conflict must give way to reconciliation, separation to reunion, enmity to harmony. "Christ himself has brought us peace by making us one," says the letter to the Ephesians; "he has broken down the wall that separates us and that keeps us enemies"(2:14). Jan Lochman, the Czech theologian who has engaged in dialogue with Marxists, says that the Christian ethic is clearly "an ethic of reconciliation. The readiness for reconciliation and the service of reconciliation are what determine whether a life, a

movement, a programme, a party are 'Christian' or not."²⁶

The letter to the Ephesians gives us a working formula for creative dialogue: "Let us speak the truth in a spirit of love, that we may grow to the full maturity of Christ..."(4:15). One might call it communication-in-love. In the first place, we should be sure that what we speak is indeed the truth and nothing but the truth, for much conflict becomes destructive because of lies and half-truth exaggerations. In the second place, let us be sure, if it is stated in the familiar Rotary Four-Way Test of the things we think, say, or do: "Is it the truth? Is it fair to all concerned? Will it build goodwill and better friendships? Will it be beneficial to all concerned?" The basic rule is: never allow yourself to become an enemy to your opponent. Most of us learn very well how to do this in the sports arena, and audiences are quick to register their disapproval at the slightest sign of ill will or uncontrolled temper on the part of players or fans. The rules of "fair play" are well

understood. If someone gets hurt, we usually say, "It's all part of the game." When one player happens to hit another with the ball in tennis, for example, Cebuano-Visayans raise an open hand toward the opponent in a gesture of apology. They say that it means "no malice." The question is, why can we not learn as readily to do this in facing our differences in group meetings and intergroup encounters? Why is it that we allow ourselves to build up such resentment and animosity toward those who differ from us that we sometimes even refuse to meet them face to face? When we are offended, why does our desire for revenge lead us into irrational behavior, including violent reaction—if not lethal violence, then character assassination? One psychologist says that "vengeful people are actually afraid they will lose in a face-to-face encounter. They are fearful that if they abandon overkill and adjust their anger to a proportionate level, the other side will win the fight, and so they accelerate their vengefulness in order to drive the other party

out of the arena."²⁷ Our problem, then, if we are this kind of person or belong to this kind of a group, is to determine what makes us so sure we would lose in a face-to-face encounter. As long as we have won something, we have not lost all; and in the process we will have regained our capacity to respect the humanity of others, and this may be the greatest gain of all.

We also have the clear mandate of Jesus: "Love your enemies and do good to those who hate you....Bless those who curse you, and pray for those who ill-treat you" (Mtt. 5). Anything less, by intention, is not the Christian way of coping with conflict. It is the expression of goodwill and concern for the well-being of the opponent—be he enemy or not—that keeps the door open to fruitful dialogue. As we have seen, this approach is not an idealistic or impractical solution to the alienations which continue to embitter human life. Even the specialists in group dynamics and organizational behavior say that it works, and they say this not

from religious conviction but on the basis of hard data. As Martin Luther King said so well: "Far from being the pious injunction of a utopian dreamer, the command to love one's enemy... is the key to the solution of the problems of our world. Jesus is not an impractical idealist; he is the practical realist."²⁸ This is the true spirit of dialogue, and it can work miracles even in the difficult area of human conflict resolution.

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15. Howe, p. 95.
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17. Howe, p. 102.
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19. Robert G. Owens, *Organizational Behavior in Education* (2nd edition; Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1981); p. 277.
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AN INTERVIEW SURVEY ON SPECIES PROTECTION ASPECTS AMONG RESIDENTS OF THREE COMMUNITIES IN THE MT. TALINIS AREA, NEGROS ORIENTAL

Christian K. Schales

ABSTRACT

Residents living close to the residuals of virgin rain forest in the research area were interviewed about sightings, nesting places, and potential hunting and trapping of the two bird species *Aceros waldeni* and *Penelopides panini*. The results show that *Aceros waldeni* is very rare and that *Penelopides panini* occurs more frequently. Hunting and trapping of *Aceros waldeni* and *Penelopides panini* possibly still takes place. The paper also includes data about various other, partly endangered, species seen and hunted in the research area. All respondents claimed that they have a positive attitude towards protecting *Aceros waldeni* and *Penelopides panini*.

The study was conducted to find answers to the following questions: (1) How frequently do residents of the study area see the two bird species *Aceros*

waldeni (English name: Writhed-billed Hornbill, local name: "kalaw") and *Penelopides panini* (English name: Visayan Tarictic Hornbill, local name: "talusi"), and what reports about sightings have they heard from other people? (2) Do the respondents know of any nesting places of *Aceros waldeni* and *Penelopides panini*, and how large do they estimate the population size of the two bird species? (3) How threatened are *Aceros waldeni* and *Penelopides panini* by hunting and trapping? (4) What is the attitude of the respondents towards protecting *Aceros waldeni* and *Penelopides panini*? (5) Which other animal species are seen and hunted in the study area?

The survey was conducted on May 8, 1998 in the three communities of Magsaysay, Mag-Aso, and Baslay, Negros Oriental, Philippines. These communities are located on the slopes of Mt. Talinis, an inactive volcano. The higher elevations of Mt. Talinis are one of the few remaining areas with virgin tropical rain forest on the island of Negros.

The Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR), the Philippine National Oil Corporation (PNOC), and several other Governmental Organizations (GOs), and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have been conducting reforestation projects close to the existing primary and secondary forest around Mt. Talinis, as well as environmental awareness projects in the surrounding communities.

Scientific species names are italicized. Native species names are set in quotation marks.

Methodology

Twenty-two respondents, seven female and 15 male, be-

tween the ages of 17 and 68 years were interviewed using a questionnaire. Criteria used for selecting the respondents were proximity of their houses to the mountain forest and willingness to participate in the survey. Table 1 shows the age and sex distribution of the respondents.

The research team consisted of four faculty members from different departments of the College of Arts and Sciences of Silliman University as well as three students from different colleges of Silliman University. To ensure the authenticity of individual responses, the interviews involved only two interviewers and one respondent at a time without a third party whose presence could possibly influence the respondents.

The questionnaire contained 37 questions in English. The interviews were conducted in Cebuano, the local dialect in Negros Oriental. The respondents answered mostly in Cebuano. The answers were generally written down in English. Only in case of uncertainty, the Cebuano answers were recorded and analyzed

Table 1: Age and Sex Distribution of Respondents

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
15-24	2	2	4
25-34	3	1	4
35-44	3	3	6
45-54	2	1	3
55-64	2	0	2
above 65	3	0	3
Sums	15	7	22

later on.

The term "kalaw" used in the interviews to refer to *Aceros waldeni* is problematic because it can refer either to any hornbill or to specific hornbill species. In Mindanao, *Buceros hydrocorax* and *Aceros leucocephalus* are called "kalaw," while in Negros Oriental, this expression refers usually to *Aceros waldeni*. To avoid confusion, the respondents were shown black-and-white pictures of *Aceros waldeni* and *Penelopides panini* printed on the

back of the questionnaires.

After the interview, the respondents were given a copy of a flyer written in both English and Cebuano enjoining them to actively participate in protecting the "kalaw" and other animal species in the area (see Appendix). The flyer had been adapted from bilingual hornbill flyers produced and distributed by the Philippine Endemic Species Conservation Project (PESCP) on the island of Panay and in the province of Negros Occidental.

Results

Reported sightings of Aceros waldeni and Penelopides panini

Results of the interviews show that only one respondent, a 27-year-old man, claimed to have recently seen a "kalaw" in the study area. However, this respondent did not give a reliable impression in the course of the interview. Three of the respondents had seen a "kalaw" in Mindanao, but they can only mean *Buceros hydrocorax* or *Aceros leucocephalus* since *Aceros waldeni* does not occur in Mindanao. A 58-year-old man from Magsaysay had last seen a "kalaw" in 1988. Nobody knew of a recent sighting of a "kalaw" by other persons.

Seventeen persons had seen one or more "talusi" during the years 1998 and 1997, sometimes several individuals at the same time. Moreover, a number of these respondents claimed that these sightings took place in the proximity of their homes. Eight respondents reported hearing other people claim having seen "talusi" recently.

Reported nesting places and population size

Although four men claimed to know about a "kalaw" nesting place, three of them had never seen a "kalaw" or heard of a recent "kalaw" sighting. Therefore, their claim is questionable. The fourth man gave contradictory answers so that it remains uncertain whether he really knew about a nesting place. Eleven of the respondents knew of a "talusi" nesting place but the exact location could not be ascertained by them.

Most of the respondents had no knowledge of the "kalaw" population size in their area. A 27-year-old man who had earlier given contradictory answers estimated their number at 50; another man stated "more than ten." Both men lived in the same community.

The responses concerning the "talusi" population were rather divergent. Seven persons were not able to give an answer. Most of the answers indicated one to ten individuals in the respective area.

**Hunting and trapping of
Aceros waldeni and
*Penelopides panini***

None of the respondents reported ever having shot or caught a "kalaw." On the other hand, three of the male respondents admitted having shot or caught a "talusi" in the past. The 27-year-old man mentioned above had shot a "talusi" with a gun in the past. A 41-year-old man had caught a "talusi" in a trap "a long time ago" and kept it as a pet. A 64-year-old man reported catching a "talusi" in the past with his bare hands but released it immediately afterwards.

One respondent reported having heard of rumors that "other" people were hunting "kalaw." A woman and two men claimed that they knew of people who hunted or caught "talusi." One "talusi" was allegedly caught for a school project in May 1998 but this statement was not further investigated.

None of the respondents knew about a "kalaw" or "talusi" being kept as a pet. Only one person answered why anybody could be interested in

keeping a "kalaw" or "talusi": for selling or bartering.

Nine respondents mentioned that people from other towns in Negros Oriental and other Philippine islands, as well as from other countries had been coming to hunt in their area.

**Respondents' attitude
towards species
protection**

According to the respondents, none of them would harm a "kalaw" or "talusi" if he or she saw one. Five respondents would only watch them, nine would leave them alone, six would not do anything (some of them not being interested in these birds), and two respondents had other reasons.

A 52-year-old man who claimed to be a hunter and who kept an "alimokon" (*Phapitreron leucotis*) and a "kulansi" (*Loriculus philippensis*) at the time of the interview said that he had no interest in catching "kalaw" and "talusi" because these birds were "difficult to catch". This is not likely, especially in the case of the "talusi,"

whose curious nature makes it an easy prey.

Six persons did not specify why they would not harm "kalaw" or "talusi" if they saw one, but others either gave sentimental reasons, or considered the birds harmless, or part of the natural environment.

A 34-year-old woman mentioned that she had been influenced by PNOC seminars. PNOC runs the geothermal power plant in Palimpinon in the Mt. Talinis area. As part of environmental compensation measures, PNOC conducts reforestation and species conservation projects.

Apart from one woman who did not answer the particular question, all respondents said that hunting "kalaw" or "talusi" is bad. The reasons they gave included sentimental attitudes, the harmlessness or usefulness of the hornbills, awareness of the dwindling population of these species, and knowledge of legal restrictions against hunting.

The respective answers were so telling that an English translation of 19 answers is provided here:

Answers referring to the harmlessness of "kalaw" and "talusi":

"Because they are harmless to man."

"They are not harmful."

"They are harmless and it is forbidden [to hunt them]."

"They are harmless and I like to watch them."

"They are harmless."

"It is not necessary to kill them."

Answers referring to the small population size of "kalaw" and "talusi":

"They will be extinct."

"They would die out."

"Because the population is so small."

"It is not good to catch them."

Answers referring to the usefulness of "kalaw" and "talusi":

"Birds are helpful."

"They are helpful."

"They eat worms."

"They help to spread seeds."

"They are useful because they eat worms and the forest would be lonely and unharmonious [without them]."

"They help to reduce the pests in our fields."

Sentimental answers:

"I pity them and it is a waste [to

kill them].”

“Because you would miss the call of the birds in the forest.”

“There wouldn’t be anything left to watch.”

Reports on sightings and hunting of other species

The following mammals, birds (apart from “kalaw” and “talusi”), and reptiles were reported by the respondents to live in the survey area (Table 2 on page 125). Some of the local terms are general expressions, like “unggoy” (monkey) but in every case only one specific species to which the expression fits can be found in the area.

Sixteen persons said that they did not hunt any of the species mentioned by them. Six men admitted that they hunted or trapped one or several of the species mentioned by them or that they used to do so in the past.

Discussion of the Results

As usual, results of an interview survey have to be in-

terpreted carefully. Given the fact that the residents around Mt. Talinis have been made aware of species protection and conservation by several GOs and NGOs, the respondents might have given answers which reflect more how things should be rather than how they really are.

Results of the research indicated that the “kalaw” is extremely rare in the research area proper. Since only one of the respondents claimed to have seen a “kalaw” recently and the validity of his claim could not be fully verified, it is possible to conclude that no more “kalaw” is left in the specified research area.

As the results also show, the “talusi” is considerably more frequent than the “kalaw.” Most likely, there are breeding pairs in the research area. Yet, the population is small and probably does not exceed an estimated 10-20 pairs in the whole research area.

The populations of “kalaw” and “talusi” might be additionally threatened by hunting and trapping by out-

siders who are not under the social control of the barangays included in the research area. Hunters from the research area might still not be able to resist “hunting fever” when they really encounter a “kalaw” or “talusi.”

Almost all respondents are aware that hunting and trapping “kalaw” and “talusi” pose a serious threat to the dwindling “kalaw” and “talusi” populations.

That some respondents are aware of the usefulness of “kalaw” and “talusi” or have a positive sentimental relation to their environment is promising as far as species conservation is concerned. Still, no less than a massive educational campaign is needed—and urgently—in order to stall the radically dwindling number of bird species. The results of the investigation confirmed the bleak prognosis of the author. (See also: Diesmos, A. C. & M. D. Pedregosa (1995), unpublished Hornbill & Bleeding-heart report.)

However, an encouraging development is the positive attitude of the respondents to-

wards protecting “kalaw” and “talusi.” Of course, the discrepancy between the respondents’ statements in an interview and their actual behavior in reality should be considered.

Afterword

Around 300 copies of the abovementioned flyer were distributed to residents of the research area and other communities in the Mt. Talinis area. The Barangay Captains of the respective communities were given plastic-laminated copies which were meant to be displayed in a location accessible to the inhabitants of their communities.

During the “Ecological Festival” in Valencia, Negros Oriental, in May 1998, the flyers were given to some participants of a mountain climbing tour which led the hikers to the summit of Mt. Talinis. When they returned from the trip, one of the participants reported two independent “kalaw” sightings in the proximity of the lakes below the summits of Mt. Talinis. The author investigated details which the person could not have seen on the

black-and-white picture of a "kalaw." The hiker had never seen a "kalaw" before but he described the two individuals (or two sightings of the same individual) quite accurately. The locations where he saw the birds are far from the study area.

Acknowledgments

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Table 2: Scientific, English, and Local Names of the Animal Species Reported and Hunted by the Respondents

Scientific Name	English Name	Local Name	M	H	R
MAMMALIA					
<i>Macaca fascicularis</i>	Crab-eating (or Long-tailed Macaque)	unggoy	5	1	-
<i>Prionailurus bengalensis</i> (= <i>Felis bengalensis</i>)	Leopard Cat	maral	7	3	(a) (b)
<i>Paradoxurus hermaphroditus</i>	Common Palm Civet	milô	9	3	(a) (b)
<i>Viverra zangalunga</i>	Malayan (or Malay, Oriental, Ground) Civet	singalong	2	1	(a)
<i>Sus cebifrons</i>	Visayan Warty Pig	baboy ihalas	7	2	(a)
<i>Cervus alfredi</i>	Philippine (or Visayan) Spotted Deer	lagsaw	6	3	(a) (b)

Column M: contains the number of respondents who mentioned the respective species

Column H: contains the number of respondents who admitted hunting the respective species, or who used to do so

Column R: specifies the reason why a species (or group of species) is hunted or used to be hunted by the respondents: (a) protection of poultry and crops, (b) for food, (c) to keep the animals as pets, (d) to sell them for profit, (e) to use them to make amulets

Table 2 (cont'd.)

Scientific Name	English Name	Local Name	M	H	R
AVES					
<i>Gallus gallus</i>	Red Junglefowl	manok ihalas	2	-	-
<i>Halcyon chloris</i>	White-collared Kingfisher	tikarol	1	-	-
<i>Loriculus philippensis</i>	Colasisi	kulansi	3	2	(b)
<i>Otus megalotis</i>	Philippine Scops-Owl	bukaw	1	-	-
<i>Columba vitiensis</i>	Metallic Pigeon	balod	3	1	(b)
<i>Macropygia phasianella</i>	Brown Cuckoo-Dove	tukgaw	2	-	-
<i>Ptilinopus leucotis</i>	White-eared Brown-Dove	limokon	5	3	(b) (c) (d)
<i>Ducula poliocephala</i>	Pink-bellied Imperial Pigeon	hagumhom	1	-	-
<i>Accipiter trivirgatus</i>	Crested Goshawk	banog	1	1	(e)
<i>Zosterops nigrorum</i>	Golden-yellow White-eye	bulay-og	2	1	-
<i>Corvus macrorhynchos</i>	Large-billed Crow	uwak	1	-	-
<i>Oriolus chinensis</i>	Black-naped Oriole	antolihaw	2	1	(b) (c)
<i>Dicurus balicassius</i>	Balicassiao	balicassiao	1	-	-
<i>Pycnonotus goiavier</i>	Yellow-vented Bulbul	tangol-ol	3	1	(b) (c)
<i>Hypsipetes philippensis</i>	Philippine Bulbul	tagbaya	2	2	(b) (c)
<i>Lonchura malacca</i>	Black-headed Munia	maya	1	1	(b)
birds in general		langgam	1	-	-

Table 2 (cont'd.)

Scientific Name	English Name	Local Name	M	H	R
REPTILIA					
<i>Hydrosaurus pustulatus</i>	Philippine Sailfin Lizard	ibid	1	-	-
<i>Varanus salvator</i>	Malayan Water Monitor	halô	3	1	(b) (c)
<i>Python reticulatus</i>	Reticulated Python	sawa	3	1	-
<i>Elaphe erythrura</i>	Reddish Rat Snake	bahe	1	-	-
snakes in general		halas	8	-	(b)

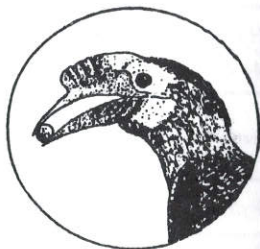
Column M: contains the number of respondents who mentioned the respective species

Column H: contains the number of respondents who admitted hunting the respective species, or who used to do so

Column R: specifies the reason why a species (or group of species) is hunted or used to be hunted by the respondents: (a) protection of poultry and crops, (b) for food, (c) to keep the animals as pets, (d) to sell them for profit, (e) to use them to make amulets

Philippine Endemic Species Conservation Project (PESCP)
of the Frankfurt Zoological Society

LUWASA ANG LANGGAM NGA KALAW!



Usa ka paghangyo sa mga lumulupyo sa Negros:

Ang langgam nga Kalaw nga mapalغان lamang sa Kasadpang Kabisay-an, namiligro nga mahanaw sa dayon. Gibana-bana nga pagkakaran, mga 50 hangtod sa 60 kabuok na lamang niini ang nahibilin sa mga bukid sa Panay. Mas diyutay pa gani niini ang nahibilin sa kabukiran sa Negros.

Gani, gituhoan nga basin ug kining nahibilin nga mga Kalaw dili na paigo para makasanay sila ug mabuhi pa. Tungod niini, haron mapanalipdan ang mga Kalaw gikan sa dayon nga pagkahanaw, gihangyo ang mga lumulupyo nga nagpuyo duol sa mga bukid, sa gilayon:

Ang padayon nga pagkabuhi sa mga Kalaw ania sa atong mga kamot. Dili nato tugutan nga mawala lamang sa dayon kining mga maanindot ug mapuslanon nga mga langgam. Likayan ang pagputol sa mga kahoy, ang pagpusil o pagpanamastamas sa mga langgam, ug ang pagkuha sa mga itlog o kuyabog sa ilang mga salag.

Ang pagkabuhi sa mga mahimsog nga lasang nag-agad sa gidaghanon sa mga Kalaw tungod kay kini sila mao ang makadala ug makasabwag sa mga liso sa kahoy. Ang maayong pagkaamping sa atong mga lasang makahatag kanato ug limpiyong tubig nga ilimnon, igo nga tubig para sa irigasyon, ug makatabang usab sa panginabuhi sa katawhan.

✽ E. Curio ✽

Alang sa dugang nga kahibalo
bahin sa langgam nga Kalaw, paliहुg
pangutana lamang sa CenTrop,
Silliman University o ni Dr. Ely Alcalá o ni
Prof. Renee Paalan!



ALARM ... ALARM ... ALARM

Be it known to all people living in or near the Negros mountain range:

The Visayan Kalaw (Wreathed-billed Hornbill, *Aceros waldeni*) is in immediate danger of dying out. According to our most recent research, there may be as few as 25-30 pairs of Dulungan, as the Wreathed-billed Hornbill is called in Ilongo, in the Panay mountains. The Kalaw on Negros, the only other island of its occurrence, is even more rare, i.e., perhaps functionally already extinct.

Only a total ban on hunting and nest-robbing

may bring back the Kalaw to safer numbers and - hopefully - its continuing survival.

We therefore solicit the support of all people living in or near areas with this magnificent bird. Support is easy and cheap: Please refrain from hunting or destroying nest trees or from taking live birds from the wild. It is in YOUR hands that the Kalaw has a last chance of survival!

If you want to know more about this bird and others inhabiting the Negros forests, e.g., the Talusi (*Penelopides panini*), please contact us at the Center for Tropical Conservation Studies (CenTrop) of Silliman University, Dumaguete City.

More information can be obtained from:

- THE PROTECTED AREAS AND WILDLIFE BUREAU (PAWB) of the DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENT AND NATURAL RESOURCES (DENR), Ninoy Aquino Nature Center, Quezon Avenue, Diliman, Quezon City (or regional DENR and PENR Offices of the DENR)
- THE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY (CAF, Lamburno) of the WEST VISAYAS STATE UNIVERSITY (WVSU), La Paz, Iloilo City 5000
- THE NEGROS FOREST AND ECOLOGICAL FOUNDATION, Inc. (NFEFI), South Capitol Road, Bacolod City 6100
- THE ZOOLOGY DIVISION, PHILIPPINE NATIONAL MUSEUM, Old Congress Building, Rizal Park, Manila
- THE WILDLIFE CONSERVATION SOCIETY OF THE PHILIPPINES (WCSP), c/o WILDLIFE BIOLOGY LABORATORY, Institute of Biological Sciences, University of the Philippines at Los Baños College, Laguna
- FAUNA & FLORA INTERNATIONAL, Great Eastern House, Tenison Rd., Cambridge CB1 2DT, U.K.



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