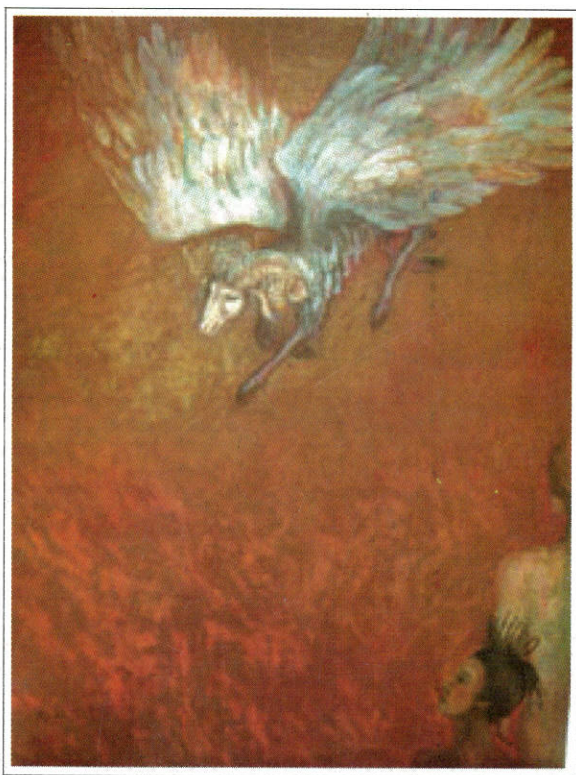


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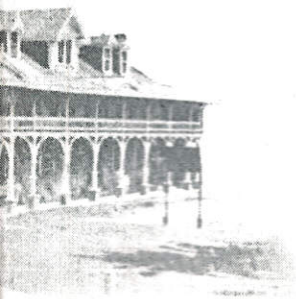
A Journal, Published Twice Yearly, Devoted to Discussion and  
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Muriel Orevillo-Montenegro Michael Hawkins Enrique G. Oracion  
Jose Edwin C. Cubelo Anke Siegert Eberhard Curio  
Abner Bucol Efren N. Padilla Salvador B. Vista

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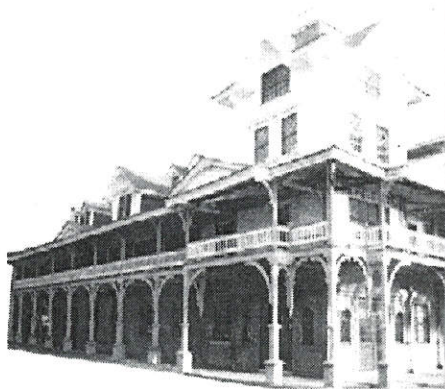
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## NOTICE TO AUTHORS

### PUBLICATION GUIDELINES

SILLIMAN JOURNAL welcomes submission of scholarly papers, research studies, brief reports in all fields from both Philippine and foreign scholars, but papers must have some relevance to the Philippines, Asia, or the Pacific. All submissions are refereed.

SILLIMAN JOURNAL is especially receptive to the work of new authors. Articles should be products of research taken in its broadest sense and should make an original contribution to their respective fields. Authors are advised to keep in mind that SILLIMAN JOURNAL has a general and international readership, and to structure their papers accordingly.

SILLIMAN JOURNAL does not accept papers which are currently under consideration by other journals or which have been previously published elsewhere. The submission of an article implies that, if accepted, the author agrees that the paper can be published exclusively by the journal concerned.

Manuscripts of up to 20 pages, including tables and references, should conform to the conventions of format and style exemplified in a typical issue of SILLIMAN JOURNAL. Documentation of sources should be disciplined-based. Whenever possible, citations should appear in the body of the paper, holding footnotes to a minimum. Pictures or illustrations will be accepted only when absolutely necessary. All articles must be accompanied by an abstract and must use gender-fair language.

SILLIMAN JOURNAL likewise welcomes submissions 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.

SILLIMAN JOURNAL also accepts for publication book reviews and review articles.

Manuscripts should be submitted electronically in one Microsoft Word file (including title page, figures, tables, etc. in the file), preferably in RTF (.rtf). Please send one copy of the manuscript as an e-mail attachment, with a covering message addressed to the Editor: [sillimanjournal@yahoo.com](mailto:sillimanjournal@yahoo.com).

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"... we must not merely change the narratives of our histories, but transform our sense of what it means to live, to be, in other times and different spaces, both human and historical."

**Homi Bhabha**

*The Location of Culture*

We must never be afraid to go too far,  
for truth lies beyond.

**Marcel Proust**

I am an instrument in the shape  
of a woman trying to translate pulsations  
into images for the relief of the body  
and the reconstruction of the mind.

**Adrienne Rich**

*The Planetarium*



## EDITORIAL NOTES

**I**n this issue. Welcome to this issue of *Silliman Journal*. In keeping with the journal's mandate to encourage dialogues and debates which transcend the boundaries of customary theoretical approaches to culture, religion, history, politics, or science, this issue gathers a collection of articles addressing the material and discursive realities of life in this age. Employing the methods and insights of multiple disciplines and equally diverse and mutually supporting forms of approaches and analysis, these articles consider multiple views and connections across a range of subjects. As a forum for in-depth reflection, they stage discussions and academic debate spanning a broad spectrum of disciplinary, cultural locations, and theoretical interests.

On this note, this issue opens with an intriguing and provocative interrogation of the traditional doctrine of incarnation. Muriel Orevillo-Montenegro boldly argues in "Re-thinking Incarnation: An Asian Woman's Perspective" that the doctrine indeed needs



rethinking not only because it privileges the story of one people and provides a romanticized justification for the violence of the cross, but especially because it conveys androcentric concepts that privilege men and marginalize women. In her radical assertions that the doctrine discriminates the female body and sexuality by associating it with sin, Orevillo-Montenegro takes to task the way this notion, according to her, removes Mary from her femaleness and humanity and makes maleness an ontological necessity for incarnation. In doing so, Orevillo-Montenegro dismantles some of the most tenacious patriarchal monomyths that underlie contemporary religious beliefs and practices.

While this paper's stance is bound to stir controversies and debate—not least of all, anger— or serious reflection particularly among theologically conservative circles, its greatest strength is its author's courage to problematize belief systems that demand unquestioning belief and acceptance of a body of dogma. As she navigates her way through the arguments, the author walks her readers literally through a minefield, urging them to break from externally imposed mindsets and to think and question things for themselves. Whatever position one takes on the exclusivity of religions, the church, or the theological doctrines, it is time, in the words of the celebrated American poet of conscience, Adrienne Rich, to be "a passionate skeptic."

Perhaps it is the power of this article or the boldness of Orevillo-Montenegro's stance that leads me to make an exception in these editorial notes to reflect instead not only on the place of women in a largely patriarchal society, but on our present world where people continue to die from poverty and disease, from natural and man-made devastations, many of these in the name of religion. In reflecting on the questions raised by this article, I am drawn to Adrienne Rich once more:

I long to create something  
that can't be used to keep us passive:  
I want to write  
a script about plumbing, how every pipe  
is joined  
to every other.<sup>1</sup>

In these lines Adrienne Rich is concerned with the oppression that women experience in their lives and the means by which they resist such oppression. Even more importantly, she wants to remind us that the walls of our lives have infinite horizons. As the above poem suggests, Rich's concerns have always been with connections and interdependencies of our inner lives and seemingly unrelated events of history, of our intensely personal as well as public lives. Various described by critics as "unappeased, resolutely discontent, bold, revolutionary," Rich has given courage a shape, a face, and a name in her constant

<sup>1</sup> Adrienne Rich (b. 1929), U.S. poet and feminist. "Essential Resources," lines 17-22 (1973).



call for the need for reconsideration of positions, of history, of political engagement.

Although Rich proceeds from her experiences as a female writer overwhelmed by the patriarchy in the masculine world of the academy, her commitment to challenging received ideals, changing lives, and giving voice to the disinfranchised resonates with the concerns of Orevillo-Montenegro as a feminist theologian in a conservative, mainly male-dominated theological community. For Orevillo-Montenegro's article is simultaneously an exercise in reflection and critique, as well as a social and cultural diagnosis. The clear-eyed depth and visionary stretch of her ideas reflects an irresistible, prophetic intelligence and a huge heart wrestling with the transformative power of faith against the needs of a tumultuous world. Orevillo-Montenegro has come to the problem of religion from her primary work in diverse areas as feminist theologian, academic, and social activist. Many of the intellectual questions raised by Orevillo-Montenegro in her paper have not yet been asked; or if they had, they had been posed in relative isolation. In addressing the place of religion in an era seething with change and challenge and traumatized by daily violence of unimaginable scale, she compels us to consider not only new approaches to theological studies, but also a network of relationships and resources that will continue to develop into a widening and deepening conversation on these urgent themes.

To give some closure to this reflection, one might ask: Is there a possibility for happiness in a world devastated by global turmoil, senseless deaths, and individual suffering? I turn to Adrienne Rich again: "I don't know how to measure happiness. The issue is happiness, there is no other issue one has a right to think about for other people, to think about politically, but I don't know how to measure happiness." And as if in afterthought, but with unqualified optimism, she declares: "Why measure? In itself it's the measure—at the end of the day of great happiness if there be such a day drawn by love's unprovable pull...."<sup>2</sup>

To get back to the contents of this issue, the next article is a provocative analysis of the concept of power and domination, this time involving a colonizing power and how it had territorialized an entire country by establishing and emphasizing the permanent and irreconcilable differences that define the colonizers as superior physically, spiritually, and morally to the colonized subjects. In this article entitled "Imperialism and the Notions of Indigenous Inadequacy in the Philippines," Michael Hawkins of the University of Northern Illinois revisits the discursive history of cross-cultural relations between the Philippines and America to argue that the American ideology carefully

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<sup>2</sup> From poetry and prose collections by Adrienne Rich, published by W.W. Norton & Company, New York. In Carol Bere, "The Road Taken: Adrienne Rich in the 1990s – Poem". *Literary Review*, Summer 2000.

packaged its imperialistic policy in the Philippines in the language of the "historic mission of the United States" first articulated by the "founding fathers." Hawkins contends that in presenting itself as benign and promoting the notion that progress rests on moral scruples and democratic practice, this imperialist ideology shrewdly constructed notions of indigenous inadequacy in order to justify its civilizing colonial mission in the country. The unfortunate reality, according to Hawkins, is not only that the social, civic, and economic gaps engendered by this policy continue to this day, but that the shifting notions of modernity continue to reinforce the colonized peoples' feelings of inferiority. In concluding that "US rule has proven to be the most detrimental era of Philippine colonial history," Hawkins confirms what every Filipino already knows.

In the next article, Enrique G. Oracion engages the question "Are the Children Willing?: Intergenerational Support For Marine Protected Area Sustainability." In this study, Oracion gathered the perceptions of grandparents, parents, and children of Apo Island in order to assess the impact of their attitudes on the future of the island's Marine Protected Area. Using four parameters: (1) enforcement, (2) compliance, (3) biophysical conditions, and (4) benefits as benchmarks for rating intergenerational support of the MPA, Oracion concludes that knowledge sharing among adults and between the older and younger generations can help ensure, among other factors, the future sustainability of the protected areas. However, Oracion cautions that the actualization of this necessary support depends on whether the MPA will still be in effect, whether it will be spared by the vagaries of political turnovers, or remain untouched by legislative amendments. The lingering question whether the MPA will have the same meaning for the children in the future as it does for the present generation ends this article in a sobering note.

The article that follows explores the "Perceptions on the Importance, Adoptability, and Extent of Integration of Sustainable Agriculture in Extension Programs In Oriental Negros, Philippines." The author, Jose Edwin C. Cubelo, reports on the results of a study he conducted involving the agricultural technicians from the local government units of the province. In this study, Cubelo had two goals: first, to examine the views of these agricultural technicians on the importance, practicability, and adoptability of sustainable agriculture; and second, to assess the extent of integration of sustainable agriculture practices into agricultural extension programs in Oriental Negros. Cubelo's findings reveal that the responding agricultural technicians believe in the importance of extension programs that promote sustainable agriculture. Another notable finding points out that unless sustainable agriculture practices prove to be both profitable and economically viable, their integration into local farming practices will have at best only a lukewarm reception. According to the study, sustainable agriculture principles and practices, such as organic farming and integrated pest management, have gained inroads in the local agricultural extension programs of the province.

In the following article, "Pitfall Traps Misrepresent the Terricoline Fauna in a Tropical Forest: A Novel Evaluation," Anke Siegert and Eberhard Curio



present a critical evaluation of trapping efficiency in two rainforest biomes (primary vs. secondary forest), using a new combination of direct observation of events at widely used Barber pitfall traps, dry (= live) trapping, and the deployment of a trap funnel ensuring maximum retaining efficiency. Conducted in the NW Panay Peninsula, the study is among the first critical pitfall assessments in a tropical setting. Although the authors concede that the method is inadequate in assessing true species abundances, they nevertheless believe that it has some usefulness in obtaining a picture of the species composition of a terricoline community. However, they caution that such a method needs to be applied "very judiciously."

In this edition's final article, "Notes on the Biology of the Streak-breasted Bulbul *Ixos siquijorensis* (Steere 1890), Abner A. Bucol describes the results of the investigation he conducted on some aspects of the ecology of the Streak-breasted Bulbul (*Ixos siquijorensis*), using opportunistic field observations on Siquijor Island. In this article, he describes and documents the species' nest and eggs as well as its vocalizations. Bucol's conclusion that hunting as well as habitat destruction as a result of farming and firewood extraction remain this species' major threats is an urgent appeal for more concerned stewardship of the environment.

In the Notes section of this issue is a short essay delivered as part of the alumni Balik Talent Lecture Program during Silliman University's 105th Founders Day in August 2006. Efren N. Padilla's "Globalization 3.0: Profile of the Future" expands on Thomas L. Friedman's insights on globalization and the continuing trends and forces behind the process. In Friedman's metaphor of a "flat world," the world has become flat mainly as a consequence, among other "flatteners," of radical developments in information technology and the global, web-enabled platform for multiple forms of sharing knowledge and work that breach the boundaries of time, distance, geography, and language. More significantly, however, the lecture explores the prospect of turning around and harnessing the possibilities of globalization to make developing countries like the Philippines not just sources of cheap labor and materials but to transform them into economic powerhouses of the future.

In the Book Review section of this issue, Salvador Vista offers an insightful critique of Douglas J. Elwood's *Living by Faith or Fate: God's Will and Man's Option* published by New Day Publishers.

This issue of *Silliman Journal* covers a great deal of different terrain and illustrates the geographical as well as the subject-matter range of our contributors. In addition to their diverse subjects, the articles demonstrate diverse organizational and rhetorical approaches, and diverse theoretical frameworks. I hope that gathering together these articles and commentaries have increased understanding of the lived commonalities that have shaped knowledge as well as the diversities that enrich it. I hope that our readers enjoy the new format, but most importantly, I hope that they enjoy the articles and the ideas they stimulate,

.....  
 \*From [www.expasy.ch/proteomics\\_def.html](http://www.expasy.ch/proteomics_def.html)

and find at least one that is relevant and useful.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This issue would not exist without its various contributors, and so I would like to express my sincere thanks to all our authors who have written for this edition, importantly for keeping intellectual, forward-thinking debate alive and vibrant with their interesting and provocative pieces. To them the ultimate credit is due for the shape, breadth, and depth this issue has taken. In particular, I am grateful to them for their patience with the editing process and the interminably long time it has taken us to breath life to this issue.

I wish to make a special mention of the generosity of our reviewers, who put in countless hours of uncompensated time reading and rereading manuscripts and then writing reviews and recommendations always with the intention of helping an author make a great paper. Their skills, critical insights, constructive comments, and hugely supportive efforts animate the pages of these issue.

I would like to thank our readership, and our local and international Editorial Board members for their continued support of the journal.

An enormous thank you goes to my colleagues, Sherro Lee Lagrimas and Ian Casocot, for constituting our production staff starting with this issue, thereby consenting, graciously, to take one more responsibility on top of their already dense professional and personal commitments. Especially, I thank them for sharing my passion for making every issue of *Silliman Journal* shine. Their important contributions to *Silliman Journal* are already evident in the new look of this issue.

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Gina Fontejon-Bonior for rising to the challenge of chairing the Editorial Board and beginning her term with plenty of housekeeping chores so that *Silliman Journal* will continue to be the forum for intellectual debates and dialogues I have always envisioned it to be—one that will bring together thinkers, writers, scholars, educators in a venue that reflects the spaces *Silliman Journal* occupies and the ways I would like to see these spaces shift and adjust in the future. As I prepare to leave *Silliman Journal*, I am confident that her stewardship will further strengthen the journal's commitment to excellence as a learned publication, one in which both revelling and rebelling have a place.

On a personal note, I cannot thank Gina enough for giving me the reason to continue working on this issue when I had lost the impulse to do so. Because of her, I have kept my faith that despite the imminent end of my involvement with *Silliman Journal*, history is not over yet. Despite the countless, and oftentimes devastating disillusionments, stunning betrayals, personal hurts, and threats of invalidation of the past year, life is not over. Working on this issue has been at once an unspeakable, indescribable struggle and a tremendous learning experience. For this reason, I continue to have hope. I continue to be-



Believe in the future.

*I have wished I could rest among the beautiful and common weeds I can name, both here and in other tracts of the globe. But there is no finite knowing, no such rest. Innocent birds, deserts, morning-glories, point to choices, leading away from the familiar. When I speak of an end to suffering I don't mean anesthesia. I mean knowing the world, and my place in it, not in order to stare with bitterness or detachment, but as a powerful and womanly series of choices: and here I write the words, in their fullness.*

Adrienne Rich, *Sources* (381-389)

Ceres E. Pioquinto



Muriel Orevillo-Montenegro  
**Re-thinking Incarnation:  
An Asian Woman's Perspective**

---

Incarnation is the Christian doctrine that articulates the belief that God became flesh in Jesus of Nazareth, the Christ. This paper argues that the doctrine needs rethinking not only because it has provided a romanticized justification for the violence of the cross, but because it conveys androcentric concepts that privilege the men and marginalize women and discriminate the female body and sexuality by associating it with sin. Consequently, it removes Mary from her femaleness and humanity and makes maleness ontologically necessary for incarnation. Moreover, the traditional doctrine of incarnation is exclusivist and privileges the story of only one people. Yet, God is incarnate in many forms and ways. In dismantling the grand narratives of Christianity that have fixed God's revelation in Jesus, Asian feminist theologians have argued that while Jesus is recognized as the epiphany of God, He may not be the sole embodiment of God's revelation. Incarnation is not even limited to a human figure. Women also experience God as Christ embodied in other ecological forms. Therefore, believers need to understand that incarnation is the continuous flow of the relationship between God and human beings, and other created beings on Earth.

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INTRODUCTION: THE "LINK BETWEEN NATIVITY AND GOOD FRIDAY"

*A voice is heard in Ramah, mourning and great weeping,  
Rachel weeping for her children and refusing to be comforted,  
because her children are no more.*

Jeremiah 31: 15

**W**hen I was a young college student, Christmas would always bring me some feelings of sadness. As I grew older, I began to connect that feeling of sadness with the other end of the Christmas story—the crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth, especially after college, when I spent some good years working with women and children in the urban poor area and saw their suffering. It dawned upon me that the melancholic feeling that suffused me every Christmas had some connection to Rachel's lament.

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The daughter of Laban and sister of Leah, the biblical Rachel is the favored wife of Jacob, mother of Joseph and Benjamin, grandmother of Ephraim and Manasseh, and the foremother of the northern tribes of Israel. The story of her lament is first heard in Jeremiah, but her memory continues, from Genesis to Matthew, in Jewish and Christian tradition, in theology and church, in literature and culture. Centuries after her death, Rachel is depicted by the prophet Jeremiah weeping for the children of Israel as they are led away to Babylon: "A voice is heard in Ramah, lamentation and bitter weeping. Rachel is grieving for her children; she refuses to be comforted because her children are no more" (Jer. 31:15). In Jeremiah, Rachel cries out from her grave in a time of spiritual and moral turmoil, giving voice to God's own anguish at the loss of his children to sinfulness.

As the spiritual mother of God's people, Rachel follows her children in their journeys through time—inconsolable until they are safe. In the gospel of Matthew, centuries later, the writer depicts Rachel crying out again, personifying the pain felt by the mothers of the babies murdered by Herod's soldiers in their quest to kill the baby Jesus (Matt. 2:18). In 4 B.C.E., about the time Jesus was born in Bethlehem, Herod became insecure about a rumor that a child who will rise to be king was born in Bethlehem. That child grew up to outright rejection, rage, and hate that culminated in destruction and execution. Immediately after his appearance in this world came a massacre of the holy innocents, those caught in the net of politics and economics and the fear of the poor who might grow up to change the order of things. According to the gospel story, the baby Jesus survived because Mary and Joseph fled to Egypt and came back to Palestine only after the death of Herod in the same year. However, Herod's sons who succeeded him were just as brutal as their father. Collaborating with the Roman Empire, Herod's successors devised different ways of killing the children of Israel who were suspected of rebellion. Thirty-three years later, on a Friday, one more descendant of Rachel was crucified on the hill outside Jerusalem. His name was Yeshua – Jesus of Nazareth. The story of Jesus' birth in Bethlehem and his death on the cross on a hill outside Jerusalem are inseparable segments of the gospel story.

#### THE CHALLENGE TO REVISIT THEOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTS

The connected themes of the Christmas-Lenten seasons of the Christian calendar can move towards different trajectories. One trajectory leads to a re-thinking of the meaning of what happened on Good Friday and the salvific value of the cross. Another trajectory leads us to re-examine the notion of incarnation. In the gospel according to John, *Logos* or the Eternal Wisdom became flesh and lived among human beings. What the fourth gospel expressed in poetic style, the writers of the synoptic gospels tell us the story of Jesus' birth and death. The gospel writers attempted to articulate their reflection that God was present in the human life of Jesus of Nazareth. This God-presence in the life of the human Jesus is what theologians call "incarnation."

In reality, Christians should not separate the main themes of the Christmas and Lenten season for they, like the two elements of the *yin-yang*, comprise the whole of the Christ-story. The birth-story and the story of Jesus' death in the hands of the powers-that-be are inseparable and point to the reality that Jesus, in flesh and blood, was fully God-conscious. Many books have been written about these themes, mostly from the Eurocentric perspective. Yet, it does not mean that one could not take a look at these themes in a different light. After all, theologies, just like doctrines and articles of faith, are not timeless truths. Rather, theology is a timely reflection of the Gospel in a particular time and space.

Theology is simply an attempt to intelligently articulate one's faith and understanding of the Divine, and as such, it makes an appeal to truth. Once again, we are reminded that human knowledge of truth is always partial. The creeds formulated by the councils from Nicaea to Chalcedon and the theological treatises that emerged in the past centuries were products of human reflections set in particular contexts. Moreover, no particular person or group of persons can claim monopoly of the truth. Theologies and doctrines are shaped by the believers' contexts and cultures. Indeed, scriptures, revelation, tradition, and reason inform theology and doctrines. Yet, these sources have proven to be inadequate in making theology address the human condition. Today, one can no longer ignore the categories of social location, gender, culture, ethnicity, and race that always play significant roles in giving a theology its shape and content. Theologies are therefore bound to be reformulated.

With this understanding, it is imperative to revisit doctrines in order to give them a fresh interpretation that is liberating and meaningful to the Filipino faithfuls in contemporary times. This compels me to take up the challenge to re-think the doctrine of incarnation, though this could not be exhaustive given the limits of space. I hope, however, that this will stimulate others to open their eyes, minds, and hearts so that we can journey together in faith and find deeper meaning in our existence. Re-thinking the doctrine of incarnation is necessary for several reasons, and I will cite only two here.

First, the idea of incarnation is not a monopoly of Christianity. Other Asian religions also believe in the revelation of the divine in an embodied and this-worldly form, usually human. Through incarnation, the nature and will of the Divine becomes "recognizable and intelligible to humans."<sup>1</sup> In Hindu tradition, an *avatara* is the incarnation of a deity. The Bhagavad-Gita tells us that Krishna is the ninth incarnation of Vishnu, the supreme God, the "all pervasive one." Krishna became human to teach the believers and enable them to see the path to liberation.<sup>2</sup> Philosophy, as represented by G.W.F. Hegel, also theorized that humanity may incarnate the divine Absolute or the Spirit. In the Christian tradition, incarnation is about the belief that God had once for all become flesh – in human form. This revelation became possible in Jesus Christ, the Son, as one of the persons of the Triune God.

Second, the discourse of the church fathers and their followers on incarnation appears to romanticize the death of Jesus on the cross, the very in-



strument of religious and state violence. Their discourses gloss over the violence of the cross and associate the instrument of violence with the symbol of salvation. Indeed, they provide a justification for the connection between violence and the sacred as they invoke the notion of the scapegoat. On the other hand, I argue that the discourse on the nexus of incarnation and atonement almost always provides a justification for the violence of the cross. Is violence truly a pre-requisite for Christ's work of redemption? To me, the notion of necessary evil suggests an image of an unjust God who predestines people to do evil. From this perspective, Judas became powerless to break free from the role of the villain that the scriptwriter has assigned him, if only to provide the tension and arouse hope for the resurrection. Is evil in the form of the violence of the cross necessary to attain salvation? Is the violence of the cross indispensable as necessary evil just so humanity will understand that Jesus, whom we take as the Christ, offers hope for an abundant life?

I argue that violence is not necessary for redemption; instead, redemptive work demands from the believers of Jesus Christ the commitment to resist violence. Salvation is located in Jesus' redemptive, liberating praxis. Jesus' death is not the locus of salvation and should not be detached from his life and ministry. He confronted the forces of evil — of discrimination, of sickness, hunger, brokenness, patriarchy, corruption and other forms of violence that the people of his time experienced in their daily lives. He died because the powers-that-be were threatened by Jesus' embodiment and incarnation of God's love made concrete in his prophetic and redemptive work of resisting evil. In doing so, Jesus worked for the fullness of life. His crucifixion was the highest form of state violence at that time.

I do not believe that evil is necessary in this matter. However, I recognize that evil arises when humanity abuses the abundance of God's love and abandons the call to live as bearers of God's image. It is not necessary for women, children, and the oppressed poor to experience violence and suffering in order to gain awareness of their dignity and humanity. I believe that when we continue to think that the cross is the locus of salvation, rather than looking at the cross as an instrument that stopped Jesus from doing his empowering and liberating ministry, Rachel will continue to refuse to be comforted.

This paper engages the question that continues to provoke diverse reactions, particularly among feminist theologians. What is the impact, especially on women, of the belief that God became incarnate in a male human being? To understand the feminist reactions to this question, it is instructive to begin by examining the highlights of some formulations of the concept of incarnation by the church fathers.

#### INCARNATION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE CHURCH FATHERS

The doctrine of incarnation was formulated by the male leaders of the ancient church, aptly called the "church fathers" to argue against the prevailing heresy



of the time—the dualistic view of the Gnostics. The adherents of Gnosticism claimed that Christ was divine and was never a historical human being. To counter this view, the doctrine of incarnation was formulated to argue that Jesus is the divine Christ and at the same time a truly historical human being. According to this doctrine, divinity and humanity converged in the person of Jesus Christ. Generations of thinkers hence have built upon the works of the early church fathers and formulated their views of incarnation, attempting to explain the reason and mystery of God becoming flesh in Jesus. Starting with Paul's interpretation that revolves around the concept of disobedience and sin, Christian thinkers constructed the idea of ransom and recapitulation (Ireneaus of Lyons), and of payment of debts and satisfaction of God's wounded pride (Anselm of Canterbury). Irenaeus argued that God became flesh in Jesus Christ to recapitulate the creative and redemptive purpose of God: "Christ became what we are so that we could become as he is."<sup>3</sup> Thus, the doctrine of incarnation is always intertwined with the doctrine of redemption.

Origen's thoughts and language found their way into the conciliar debate on christology. One may find a thread that connects his view of incarnation with the notion that the betrayal and death of Jesus on the cross was necessary evil to highlight Christ's victory in the resurrection.<sup>4</sup> Athanasius followed this line of thinking and asserted that the death of Jesus the Christ was a payment for humanity's debt to God and penalty for their sins.<sup>5</sup> Why did God become human? What is the rationale of incarnation? Anselm of Canterbury answered these questions by offering his theory of satisfaction. This theory reflects a feudal, honor-oriented male God who demands payment from humanity for wounding his honor. According to this view, humanity sinned and dishonored God by yielding to the devil's deception. Death is the only penalty for this sin. Someone who is also fully divine that the devil cannot lure into its lair must offer the satisfactory payment. This someone must die on the cross to pay for humanity's sin to fulfill the satisfactory payment. To solve the problem, Anselm employed Origen's view of *deus-homo*,<sup>6</sup> and argued that only a "God-Man" — one who is both a perfect God and a perfect human — could be the substitute of humanity to die on the cross. This "God-Man" serves as a bait to deceive the devil, and to provide a satisfactory payment to the dishonored God. Thus, says Anselm, God must become human.<sup>7</sup>

In Anselm's time, this idea worked for sometime until Abelard of France contested the idea of a sulking God who demands a payment to satisfy his wounded honor. Yet, even Abelard's view is more problematic. This masculine God seeks to express a love that sets humanity free from sin. As God's son, Jesus must die as a necessary sacrifice to express God's love for humanity. Jesus' death was intended to stir up in humanity a loving response to God and to repent in true freedom. Following Augustine, Abelard insisted that the one who truly loves God "should not hold back from suffering anything for his sake."<sup>8</sup> One should not complain in the face of suffering, even one that is imposed by powers-that-be.

## PROBLEMATIZING THE PATRIARCHAL PERSPECTIVE ON INCARNATION

When I was young, I used to listen to a radio program whose signature statement was, "*Ang mabuo't nga panghunahuna nagagikan sa pangutana.*" (A good idea emerges from a well-thought question.) Indeed, great ideas do not fall from the skies. These ideas are great because they spring from critical thinking about the human condition and experiences, and because they are liberating. Along the same vein, Paulo Freire noted that critical thinking entails asking questions and problematizing.<sup>9</sup> Deconstructionists also suggest that language is a temporal process, and the meaning of words and sentences "will never stay quite the same from context to context."<sup>10</sup> Thus, truth are merely assertions or claims that we make about things; reality is neither one nor objective but subjective and many, and meanings are unstable. This could very well be applied to the theological discourses and traditions about the incarnation. I do not find this thinking far from Anselm of Canterbury's famous view of theology as *fides quaerens intellectum*. Faith must seek understanding, and along this line, I see that in my context, the church fathers' view of incarnation stands inadequate or has even ceased to be meaningful. Yet, I do not delete the word "incarnation" from my memory because, although it is inadequate, it is a necessary aspect of my christology. Instead, I problematize it to find new meaning that I can hold on to.

As a Filipina theologian, I problematize these understandings of incarnation for a number of reasons. First, these concepts of incarnation were formulated centuries ago by church "fathers" whose time and geographical location are distant from my Philippine context. If these incarnation theories provided meaning in the ancient times, do they make sense to us in the twenty-first century? Moreover, because these concepts were conveyed to us through the androcentric (male-centered) language and patriarchal culture of the church "fathers", these formulations privilege the male and patriarchal views about the Divine in relation to the human being.

Second, the concept of incarnation that is rooted in the church fathers' narrow view about woman and woman's body needs to be dismantled. Athanasius discriminates women by associating his view of sin with sexuality, particularly female sexuality. It is possible that the church fathers, Athanasius included, were influenced by the early Greek philosophy that viewed woman as inferior, misbegotten, a defective copy of man who is the true human, and, therefore, has no capacity for spiritual discernments.<sup>11</sup> Arguing for the true humanity of Jesus, Athanasius insisted that Jesus the Christ must come from a woman's body that is "in very truth pure from intercourse of men."<sup>12</sup> By insisting on the value of hymen virginity, Athanasius removed Mary from her true humanity and from her femaleness.

Along the same vein, Gregory of Nazianzus asserted that the Logos must become flesh to save a defective humanity. Like Athanasius, he used Mary to argue for the humanity of the Logos, but he blurred the image of Mary by removing her from her context and from her powerful Magnificat in Luke 1:46-



55. In effect, these church fathers have portrayed Mary as alien to the nitty-gritty of women's experience as human beings. Instead, they have reduced Mary to a mythical virgin baby-maker, a womb for rent, or a *ci-baji*<sup>13</sup>, whose body was useful only to satisfy male desire for power—be it sexual, political, economic, religious, or intellectual power. Ironically, this view leads to the denial of the full humanity of the man Jesus. Logically, a human being cannot come from a woman who is not quite a normal human and was denied of her female sexuality. In effect, these church fathers have mystified Mary. As a consequence, this mystification has disempowered women as subjects of their own lives.

A third aspect of incarnation I want to scrutinize is the notion so rooted in the church tradition that maleness is ontologically necessary for the incarnation of Logos. Although Gregory of Nazianzus may not have explicitly meant to argue for maleness as an ontological necessity for incarnation, his understanding that the Son came to save defective humanity is also congruent with Greek philosophy's view of woman as frail and as a defective copy of man, who is the true human. His view that the Son has "assumed manhood for our salvation"<sup>14</sup> and his soteriological explanation of incarnation, "that which he has not assumed he has not healed,"<sup>15</sup> has helped to reinforce this view of male role in incarnation. Although some male theologians have begun to refute such claim as a distortion of Jesus' humanity, the church tradition that has perpetuated such understanding is still stuck in such claim. Until now, the Roman Catholic church and some Protestant denominations do not ordain women. This view also provides the underpinnings—both implicit and explicit—for the churches' argument against the ordination of gay men and lesbian women into the ministry. Some years ago, a friend and radio broadcaster, Paciencia "Nene" Parawan, interviewed a Cebuano cardinal aired over the radio station DYRC. In that interview, the cardinal categorically said: "Our Lord Jesus had no female disciple; that is why women cannot be ordained." Although some Protestant churches have conceded to women's ordination, in practice, however, this is still treated as a sub-ordination. While serving as chair of a United Church of Christ in the Philippines conference committee that examines candidates for licensure and ordination, I discovered the irony that although there are women who seek ordination in order to gain equal status with the male clergy, many of them do not consciously shed off the patriarchal perspective.

A fourth view of incarnation that I seek to problematize in this paper is the belief that the traditional doctrine of incarnation comes to us through the vehicle of the history of one people from the Mediterranean basin. This doctrine privileges only the story of Israel over other peoples' stories. While God indeed became incarnate in Jesus the Christ, in religiously pluralistic Asian contexts, the claim that Jesus of Nazareth is the only incarnation of God needs rethinking. I recognize that the Jewish faith, and then the Christian faith, is a vehicle for understanding incarnation as a way for God "[to] express in human form God's nature and will for our salvation."<sup>16</sup> To us, Christians, this is revelation. However, we can no longer say that we have the monopoly of God's revelation. We also need to reflect and answer these questions: In what ways and

forms do we experience God's incarnation in our midst today? If God's incarnation is stuck with Jesus of Nazareth, are we saying that people of other faiths do not and could not encounter God anymore? If we say they do through the work of the Holy Spirit, is it not possible that the Holy Spirit stirs new bodies to incarnate God? Furthermore, we need to rethink the meaning of the cross and the resurrection. How do we discern more deeply the ways God is present and the ways God is involved in our lives and struggles in the midst of death-dealing realities? A Christian's responses to God's self-revelation will be determined by one's understanding of incarnation. The traditional view of incarnation that numbs many Christian spirits therefore needs to be revisited.

#### DISSENTING VOICES: DISMANTLING CHRISTIANITY'S GRAND NARRATIVES

The Divine reveals the Godself in many ways. Even the reformer, John Calvin, in a rarely mentioned position, admitted "there are innumerable evidences both in heaven and on earth that declare [God's] wonderful wisdom."<sup>17</sup> Feminists continue to tread along this path. They have re-examined and contested a good deal of the claims of traditional doctrine of incarnation. Among those contested views was the issue of Jesus' maleness as an ontological requirement for the incarnation. A Catholic theologian, Rosemary Radford Ruether, wrestled with the question, "how can a male Christ save women?"<sup>18</sup> Leonard Swidler, also a Catholic, asserted that Jesus, though male, is a feminist. However, in her groundbreaking work, philosopher and theologian Mary Daly insisted that a feminist Jesus would not make any difference for women because the church teachings and interpretation about the *imitatio Christi* continue to be oppressive and make women accept imposed suffering.<sup>19</sup>

Bringing into the discussion her experience as a Black woman and the memory of her ancestors' experience of slavery, womanist theologian Delores Williams lifted up the issue of race and class in the discourse on incarnation. Williams' concerns resonate with the African-American theologian James H. Cone's view that Jesus is the Black Christ. Jesus is Black both in literal and metaphorical sense as Christ becomes *one with* the oppressed Blacks.<sup>20</sup> However, Williams goes beyond Cone's christology and beyond the white feminist preoccupation with Jesus' maleness. She shifts the focus of the discussion to Black women's experience of surrogacy. She asks: "Does a surrogate Jesus have salvific power for black women who bear the suffering that surrogacy and exploitation bring?"<sup>21</sup> In making the doctrine of incarnation crucial in her theology, Williams situates Jesus' ministerial vision of making relationships right at its center. In the works of other womanists, the Christ can be male or female. What is decisive for them is the fact that the face of Christ is manifest in anyone who works for the freedom of the Black community from oppression.

Like the womanist theologians, most Asian women do not see the maleness of Jesus as the primary problem. Roman Catholic theologians Virginia Fabella and Mary John Mananzan of the Philippines assert that Jesus' maleness "was not essential but functional."<sup>22</sup> To Asian women, the notion of incarna-



tion is relevant and significant because they see Jesus the Christ as one who accompanies them in their struggles for a full life. In liberationist theologies, the believer sees Jesus to be incarnate in the lives of the Dalits, the Tribals, the laborers, the Minjung, the Burakumins, and the Indigenous Peoples who continue to resist against oppressive systems of society. There are Asian women, such as Kwok Pui Lan of Hong Kong/U.S., who move towards an organic christology and draws inspiration especially from the Johannine materials. Organic christology contests and relativizes the notion that God's revelation is fixed in a "finite, historically specific human form."<sup>23</sup> Kwok dismantles the grand narrative of Christianity that has fixed God's revelation in Jesus as the Logos. She asserts the need to understand that Jesus appeared to us "once and for all" in flesh and blood and became the prototype of humanity that points to the signs that God is truly with us. Although Jesus is the epiphany of God, Jesus is not the sole embodiment of the revelation of God. Incarnation is not limited to human form. Indeed, Asian women who experience hunger and pain in the midst of massive poverty and religious plurality see Jesus as the gruel, the grain, as mother, and as a shaman who works for the healing of wounded spirits and bodies.<sup>24</sup>

Another challenging reflection on the incarnation also comes from the Queer communities. Jesus is incarnate in the lives of people who experience homophobia but are acting up to resist such attitudes of "othering." Jesus is incarnate in Queer people who transgress heterosexist boundaries that limit the possibilities of life. Marcella Althaus-Reid of Argentina deconstructs and challenges the imperial view of incarnation that controls the "spiritual production of meaning"<sup>25</sup> and suppresses the rise of subjugated knowledge by labeling their source as "heretics." Jesus the Queer loves life and that is why He came out from the dark tomb of death to embrace life. For the Queer, coming out from the dark closet and embracing life to the fullest is a resurrection experience.

Indeed, Christ is incarnate in a multiplicity of forms and ways as Christ's salvific power is realized in the concrete lives of those who have been oppressed and marginalized – for example, of African-Americans in their experience of slavery and exploitation, and of the Queer community for whom Jesus' coming out of the tomb to be resurrected back to life becomes a metaphor for liberation.<sup>26</sup>

#### THE CARING COMMUNITY AS EMBODIMENT OF THE CHRIST

In Israelitic communities, Rachel is a powerful symbol for mothers in every generation whose pain will not let them rest, mothers who refuse to be comforted, who refuse to sit stoically while things are not right with their children. Her grief speaks to mothers across the ages, reminding them to be inconsolable as long as their children suffer. In our time she continues to inspire because she will not be placated. She moves us to feel, to grieve. She provokes us to action. And we are at a moment when we should listen again to the voice of her la-

ment. Rachel wept for her children, 'for they were no more.' Through Rachel, the story of Jesus' birth meets the story of the Lenten season. As my former professor Christopher Morse puts it, "[in] Rachel, the gospel's link between the Nativity and Good Friday"<sup>27</sup> is clear. Today, Rachel still weeps. How does incarnation impact the life of the Christians? What does incarnation mean to our daily life as Filipinos?

Just by reading the front page of a newspaper, one may draw some conclusions that the Philippine society is undeniably very sick. It is a broken-hearted society in which Rachel's story continues to resonate. Rachel continues to weep not only in Ramah, but also here in the Philippines, the so-called "pearl of the orient seas." She refuses to be consoled as massive numbers of Filipinos suffer in abject poverty and more and more trade union activists, journalists, church workers, and peace activists have been killed since the day Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo sat in Malacañang. Even the schooled—nurses, doctors, caregivers, engineers, teachers, and a host of professionals—infected with the malaise of hopelessness, flee from their motherland. In the midst of this brokenhearted society, many succumb to heartlessness. The Philippine society is becoming a heartless, cruel society. The indifference and greed of the few have infected the many and bring so much misery and suffering to the vulnerable, the poor, and the innocent. That this is happening to a country in which ninety-eight per cent of the population are Christians, people who are supposed to embody the teachings of Jesus Christ in their lives, is mind-boggling. Whatever their denomination, they all belong to the church that claims to be the body of Christ. If the church is the incarnation of the Christ at this time and in this place, why is it that a Christian who is supposedly part of Christ's body does not, or hardly makes a difference in this Christian society? Indeed, why is it that leaders of other countries who claim to be Christians build oppressive empires, instead of caring communities?

This malaise affects the Philippines, so-called "Christian" country because in reality, Christians would rather practice piety than take their faith seriously and live it. After all, spirituality means practicing and reflecting the faith in God as demonstrated by Jesus in one's lifestyle. Because catechism and Sunday school classes continue to spiritualize the concept of incarnation, people easily romanticize the suffering and death of Jesus on the cross. In this way, Christianity is turned into a security blanket. Most "Christians" tend to turn their gaze away from the historical reality of the cross. Many forms of crucifixions are going on in our time, yet many of us who publicly claim to be Christians refuse to see our complicity in the tragedy of the cross. Christians tend to spiritualize and exalt this symbol of violence by saying it is necessary and salvific. This spiritualization is a manifestation of a kind of passive helplessness, if not utter smugness. This passive helplessness and complacency, according to Rita Nakashima Brock, manifests the "alterego of the egocentric, destructive masculine self . . . [and] balances the sins of hubris but finds no path to empower the heart."<sup>28</sup> Consequently, the "Christian" hardly exerts any effort, or not at all, to celebrate the resurrection and to bring down the powers of darkness mani-



fested in various forms of oppression. Many "Christians" would rather enjoy hiding behind this darkness.

At a time such as this, Christians need to remember Rachel's story and pay attention to her reasons for refusing to be consoled, despite God's assurance that "There is hope for your future" (Jer. 31:15). The lament of Rachel in the midst of the brokenhearted people reaches God's ears. Indeed, Rachel's refusal "becomes a witness pointing to the Resurrection."<sup>29</sup> However, this hope for the resurrection does not simply fall from the sky. Rachel's lament is a finger pointing at the church, challenging the church to incarnate the Christ in the midst of a brokenhearted people. In the twenty-first century, people may encounter and experience Jesus the Christ in a caring community, one that embodies the power of love that connects hearts and prompts them to resist and defeat evil. This community directs its vision to the path Jesus of Nazareth had taken. This community may not necessarily call itself "Christian." After all Jesus affirmed that anyone who embodies the love of God for all peoples and creation is actually working for the christic cause. This is a community that embodies the power to connect the hearts of people into a chain of mutuality and reciprocity. Like the Episcopal woman priest Carter Heyward, Rita Nakashima Brock describes this primal power of interrelatedness as the erotic power. This erotic power enables us to be sensitive to the needs of others, to be open, and to be in touch with our own selves. It is "sensuous, transformative whole-making wisdom"<sup>30</sup> that arise from the involvement of the heart in relationships.

#### TAKING THE RISK OF THE CHALLENGE TO RE-THINK INCARNATION

Rethinking theology is always a challenge because many people still believe that doctrines are like pills to be swallowed without chewing them. I understand the apprehensions of the reviewers of this paper about my discourse. I am aware that some people may find my views here as overwhelming; at worse, "blasphemous" or "approaching" heresy. As one of the reviewers correctly understood it, I do not intend to impose my interpretation on people. However, I want my readers to consider my thoughts. My position in this paper may spark a debate or a controversy. Nevertheless, I will take it as an indicator of my success in stimulating Christians and even those who belong to other faith traditions to think critically, and try to make sense of the theology of incarnation in our own time and space. Although this paper may probably appear as a discourse intended for academics and theologians, yet, since I consider each Christian to be a theologian in his or her own right, it is my earnest desire that each believer should know where these concepts of incarnation came from and how these thoughts developed. Besides, Christians need not be afraid to acknowledge that the Holy Spirit works to inspire new ways of interpreting incarnation. Christians must recognize that the Holy Spirit works in many ways to show new possibilities of incarnation. Human beings – even Christians – could not stifle the Holy Spirit from encouraging people to think out of the box of theological smugness.

the seminaries, formation centers, and local churches. These are the venues where pastors, preachers, Christian religious educators, church school curriculum writers and teachers, facilitators, liturgists, hymn writers, and church leaders are supposed to give shape to their experiences of walking with God, or "God-walk", and transform these experiences into a coherent reflection as God-talk. A patriarchal and androcentric approach to pastoral ministry ignores the church's complicity to the perpetuation of "teachings and rituals that are detrimental to the psyche and wellbeing of people, especially women and other oppressed beings."<sup>32</sup> The church, as partner of the seminaries, is especially accountable for the nurturance of the people in the pew. As a teaching community, the church must also care and dare to examine the soundness and relevance of the doctrines and creeds in people's lives in particular contexts.

Because it requires a lot of openness to discern the work of God through the Holy Spirit, the church needs a lot of will and courage to carry on its task. On the one hand, there are indeed situations where people fall off the pew. When this happens, it is either because their emotional needs are not met or the contents of the imported "theological package" no longer speak to them. On the other hand, there are also situations when certain individuals grab power not only by holding on to the pew but also by controlling the pulpit to "sanitize" the theologies and biblical interpretations that threaten their vested interests. Rethinking incarnation actually challenges Christians to incarnate Christ in their daily lives as an expression of one's obedience to the first greatest commandment that says, "Love your God with all our heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind." (Matt. 22:37)

The concern for the pastoral dimension raised in the review of this paper is important, and I agree that a continued discussion on this matter is needed. In response to this concern, I must say that the pastoral could and should not be separated from the task of helping the person in the pew understand one's faith. I believe the academic should not be separated from practice. Theology should not be severed from ethics and pastoral ministry. It is inevitable that a person who does not seek to understand or who refuses to understand one's faith and the articles of such faith may "fall off the pew." In the present time the worse things that are happening to the church in the Philippines are not about people falling off the pew or people seeking to separate from their "mother" church and organizing their own group. The worse things that are happening now are the killings of church people who seek to incarnate the Christ in their lives. These are the individuals who took the challenge Jesus gave when he said, "Very truly, I tell you, the one who believes in me will also do the works that I do and, in fact, will do greater works than these, because I am going to the Father" (John 14:12). Unfortunately, these are the very same ones who are killed, ironically, by "Christians" who use religion to gain power and wealth.

Another terrible thing that could happen to a church is when it is grounded and stuck in irrelevant doctrinal statements to preserve itself as an institution and cease to become a catalyst in the search of life-giving wisdom.



More than "having people falling off the pews," the worse thing that can happen to the church is when it pretends to be the body of Christ when in its practice it embodies the evil force that seeks to hinder the realization of the reign of God on this Earth. Apparently, the reviewer is aware of this when she said that "there are worse things that could happen to the church besides having people falling off the pews."<sup>33</sup> It is important to re-think the doctrine of incarnation in order to help human beings find ways to embody the christic character Jesus had demonstrated. If Jesus believed that those who believe in him could even do greater things, then the best thing that could happen to a church is to embody the Christ in its daily collective life.

Incarnation is a continuous flow of the relationship between us and God. Thus, those who claim to be believers are called to reveal the just and loving God in their daily lives – in relationships with people and with the Earth. In this light, the church must redefine and re-value the centrality and moral religious power of the doctrine of incarnation in their lives. Hopefully, the church will truly become the embodiment of the Christ.

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Brian Hebblethwaite, "Incarnation," in *A New Handbook of Christian Theology*, ed. Joseph L. Price (Nashville: Abingdon, 1992), 250.

<sup>2</sup>The Bhagavad-Gita, IV:1-14, in *Hindu Scriptures*, trans. Dominic Goodall (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996).

<sup>3</sup>Irenaeus of Lyons, "The Refutation and Overthrow of the Knowledge Falsely So Called," in *Early Christian Fathers*, ed. Cyril C. Richardson (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), Preface, Bk. 5.

<sup>4</sup>Origen, "On Relation of God and Evil," in *The Christian Theology Reader*, ed. Alister E. McGrath (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, U.S.: Blackwell, 1995), 96.

<sup>5</sup>Athanasius of Alexandria, "On the Incarnation of the World," in *Christology of the Later Fathers*, ed. Cyril C. Richardson, *The Library of Christian Classics* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1954), 60-62, 74.

<sup>6</sup> Origen, *Origen: An Exhortation to Martyrdom, Prayer, First Principles and Selected Works*, ed. Richard Payne, trans. Rowan A. Greer, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), 34.

<sup>7</sup> Anselm of Canterbury, "Cur Deus Homo (Why God Became Man)," in *A Scholastic Miscellany from Anselm to Ockham*, ed. Eugene R. Fairweather, Library of Christian Classics (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1951).

<sup>8</sup> Peter Abelard, "Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans (Excerpt from the Second Book)," in *A Scholastic Miscellany: Anselm to Ockham*, ed. Eugene R. Fairweather (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1956), 278, 83-84. Cf. Augustine, *The Trinity*, Book IV.

<sup>9</sup> Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Seabury Press, 1973).

<sup>10</sup> Madan Sarup, *An Introductory Guide to Post-Structuralism and Postmodernism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993), 34.

<sup>11</sup> Nancy Tuana, *Woman and the History of Philosophy* (St. Paul, Minnesota: Paragon House, 1992).

<sup>12</sup> Athanasius of Alexandria, "On the Incarnation of the Word," in *Christology of the Later Fathers*, ed. Cyril C. Richardson, *The Library of Christian Classics* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1954), 162.

<sup>13</sup> Chung Hyun Kyung, "Following Naked Dancing and Long Dreaming," in *Inheriting Our Mother's Gardens: Feminist Theology in Third World Perspective*, ed. Letty Russell, Kwok Pui-lan, Ada Maria Isasi-Diaz and Katie Cannon (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1988), 58.

<sup>14</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus, "To Cledonius against Apollinaris (Epistle 101)," in *Christology of the Later Fathers*, ed. Edward R. Hardy, *The Library of Christian Classics* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1954), 216.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 218.

<sup>16</sup> Hebblethwaite, 251-54.

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<sup>18</sup> Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Sexism and God-Talk* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1983), 73-74.

<sup>19</sup> Mary Daly, *Beyond God the Father* (London: Women's Press Ltd., 1975), 73-74.

<sup>20</sup> James H. Cone, *God of the Oppressed*, Revised ed., (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1997), 101, 125.

<sup>21</sup> Delores S. Williams, *Sisters in the Wilderness: The Challenge of Womanist God-Talk* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1993).

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<sup>23</sup> Kwok Pui-lan, *Introducing Asian Feminist Theology* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Pilgrim Press 2000), 93.

<sup>24</sup> Chung Hyun Kyung, *Struggle to Be the Sun Again* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1990).

<sup>25</sup> Marcella Althaus-Reid, *Indecent Theology: Theological Perversions in Sex, Gender and Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 95.

<sup>26</sup> Rebecca C. Asedillo, "Review of Muriel Orevillo-Montenegro's article, 'Re-thinking Incarnation.'"

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Michael Hawkins

## Imperialism and Notions of Indigenous Inadequacy in the Philippines

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This paper explores how American imperialism has dictated the Philippines' colonial legacy through carefully constructed notions of indigenous inadequacy. Arbitrary standards of "modernity", "nation-state", and "citizenship" allegedly justified the United States' civilizing colonial mission in the Philippines. Though both Americans and Filipinos spoke fondly of progress and equality, the fluid nature of these standards created social, civic, and economic gaps between the metropole and the colony that could never be actually transcended. The shifting notions of modernity ensured the perpetual "inadequacy" of Filipinos relative to their imperial US overlords. This phenomenon continues today. The term "developing nation" provides a good example. What is it these nations are developing towards? What else, but the continually shifting standards of "citizenship" and "nation-state" that ultimately define modernity? The unfortunate reality is that such nations will never "develop" because they have been forced to internalize notions of inadequacy which are supported and perpetuated by the shifting realities of "modernity". In this sense, US rule has proven to be the most detrimental era of Philippine colonial history.

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### INTRODUCTION: COLONIAL TENURES AND IMPERIAL LEGACIES

Considering the vast chronological span of the Philippines' colonial history, it is often difficult to ascertain or detangle the ultimate effects of the islands' colonial legacy. Spain's nearly three-and-a-half centuries of imperial rule in the archipelago looms large and resolute in terms of sustained and penetrable imperial impact. The syncretic resilience of the islands' various indigenous traditions also commands attention when establishing the parameters of Philippine history. By comparison, the American period can appear somewhat fleeting and much less consequential in terms of duration and fundamental cultural influence. Consequently, in the early 1970s Philippine scholar Norman Owen suggested that it might be necessary to "reassess our periodization of Philippine history, perhaps even to discard the 'American period' as a useful frame of reference." Owen argued that

despite the semblance and rhetoric of change under U.S. rule, American imperial impact was in fact extremely superficial and perhaps non-existent. At the center of Owen's assertion was the firm conviction that the United States had ultimately failed to de-Hispanize or de-Filipinize the Filipinos. According to Owen, the various cultural, political, and philosophical inheritances of U.S. colonialism were merely empty vessels, which eventually filled with the same old socio-political patterns and cultural impulses that predated American rule. In lieu of this apparently shallow imperial experience, Owen recommended that scholars abandon examinations of American imperialism as a defining episode in Philippine history. Instead, he urged scholars to "look more closely at the amalgam of Hispanic and Filipino values" that transcended and marginalized U.S. rule.<sup>1</sup>

Though few scholars would advocate discarding the American period as a field of study, there is a significant segment of Philippine historiography that agrees in large part with Owen's underlying assumptions about U.S. rule in the islands. Glenn May and Stanley Karnow, for example, insist that the United States' democratic experiment in the Philippines was a failure precisely because it failed to root out indigenous tendencies. Both authors underscore the detrimental persistence of "complicated and often baffling ... kinship ties," which prevented American influence from significantly altering Filipino society and politics.<sup>2</sup> The perseverance of this elite-dominated patron-client social system prompted May to conclude that, despite U.S. policy makers' best efforts, "the Philippines remained fundamentally Filipino."<sup>3</sup> This sentiment runs commonly throughout much of the literature. A number of significant scholars, both American and Filipino<sup>4</sup>, firmly believe that the United States' acquiescence to indigenous elites and their supposedly distorted socio-political tendencies ultimately resulted in a profoundly superficial colonial experience.

While it is certainly true that the US colonial regime in the Philippines failed in many of its initiatives for societal change, this fact alone does not indicate minimal imperial impact. When assessing the ultimate effects of imperialism in the Philippines one cannot rely entirely on the relative length of colonial intervals, nor can one rely on the simple identification of persistent cultural legacies among native populations. Rather, scholars must judge imperial impact in terms of that which perpetuates the colonial relationship and continually places the Philippines in a series of positional relationships to the West that reinforce imperially-imposed ideas of indigenous inadequacy. It is not that the American regime failed because they allowed or supported indigenous socio-cultural patterns and patron-client based politics, but that they created a philosophical and institutional colonial heritage that demeaned these indigenous patterns as inadequate and incompatible with a supposedly static and monolithic "modernity," which itself was being continually redefined in the metropole. This legacy has defined the Philippines' position in the modern world, and ensured its perpetual status as a "developing country" relative to externally imposed standards. In this sense the American colonial period was the most detrimental in Philippine history.



## COLONIAL HIERARCHIES, MODERNITY, AND NOTIONS OF INDIGENOUS INADEQUACY

Colonial encounters are almost without exception framed within constructed notions of superiority and inferiority. The extent to which each participant internalizes, is forced to internalize, or has already internalized these constructs determines to a large extent the outcome of the remainder of the imperial relationship. The justifications required to rationalize the perpetual subjugation and exploitation of vast groups of people require the construction and maintenance of unequal binaries, which serve to institutionalize notions of continuous indigenous inadequacy.

During the Philippines' first imperial experience, Spain was able to accomplish a swift and lasting conquest<sup>5</sup> of the islands' lowland populations with limited resources largely due to its advantage in this realm. As the Spaniards began to pursue organized and sustained contact with Filipino natives in the sixteenth-century, they were poised to seize the initiative for classification of both "Spaniard" and "indio" within their respective social, racial, and religious categories. Spanish Augustinian Fathers in New Spain spoke confidently of the Filipino's degeneracy and "long subservience to evil," despite their utter ignorance of the islands or their inhabitance.<sup>6</sup> Royal officials who were both observers and participants at the critical point of encounter, such as Antonio de Morga, argued without doubt that Spanish imperialism was justified by an inadequate indigenous society which was "weighed down by blind tyrannies and barbarous cruelties, on which the enemy of the human race had so long reared them for himself."<sup>7</sup>

This hierarchy of categories subsequently set the social and psychological parameters of colonial rule. The system was solidified by exclusive access to the knowledge and keys necessary to understand and transcend such categories. Native Filipinos were at a crippling disadvantage. The Spaniards were strange and had no contextual significance to them, hence rendering them initially unknowable. The Filipinos therefore required time and experience to interpret the strange new beings. Spaniards, on the other hand, had the advantage of pre-determined notions of classification and required little interpretation to formulate and carry out the initiatives necessary to seize control of the encounter.

By the time the natives gained enough experience to interpret the invaders, the parameters of colonial rule were already set firmly in place due to the necessities of adaptation and survival. Negotiating the imperial encounter within this framework required indigenous peoples (especially elites) to at least partially buy into a superior/inferior binary in order to retain as much power as possible. In his book, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society Under Early Spanish Rule*, Vicente Rafael asserts that conversion, the ultimate means and symbol of Spanish conquest, was, at least in large part, actually a form of colonial adaptation and resistance for the indigenous Filipinos. Rafael explains the strategy as follows, "They



[Tagalogs] give in to colonial authority, but they do not give up . . . they are able to dodge the priest's message only to the extent that they are able to acknowledge words and things Spanish at the horizon of their own thoughts."<sup>8</sup> Hence, conversion was the most direct method to gain access to the meanings and functions of the new indiscernible symbols of power that threatened Tagalog society. However, while conversion provided the Filipinos certain avenues to empowerment, it ultimately required that they internalize the implicit and inherent notions of inferiority associated with conversion. As Rafael writes, "Conversion . . . translated Tagalog into a new language . . . the Spaniards' efforts to translate Christian doctrine into the native vernacular transformed the vernacular and in time the consciousness of its speakers."<sup>9</sup>

Terms such as "pagan," "convert," and "indio" clearly constructed and set forth the socio-racial credentials necessary to institute a superior/inferior binary. This constructed binary has shaped the Filipinos' historic and modern identities, and is still an identifiable legacy of Spanish rule. Filipino historian Reynaldo Ileto makes the following observation: "Indio [Filipino] identification with the church-center was real, and much of it continues today . . . Our models of Filipino behavior are still built upon either/or oppositions: convert or apostate, collaborator or resister, indigenous or foreign, genuine or false, and so forth."<sup>10</sup>

While Spanish imperialism established the foundational framework and colonial precedence for perceived indigenous inadequacy in the Philippines, the phenomenon was accelerated and enhanced under US colonial rule. When the United States seized the Philippines at the dawning of the twentieth-century, its imperial philosophy was guided by standards of "modernity," "nation state," and "citizenship." Imperialist nations like the United States prided themselves on the modernity and effectiveness of their political institutions as evidenced by economic success and military might. With the growing disparity between societies perceived as "modern" and "archaic," due to the rapid rise of industrialization and global capitalist market systems, it became incumbent upon nations such as the United States to pick up the "white man's burden" and spread civilization to those peoples who fell below Western standards of modernity. As one American imperialist writes, "History which up to modern times is the story of the white man has now become the record of the fortunes of all races. For good or ill, all mankind has been drawn together into a common life and movement."<sup>11</sup> Hence, all colonial histories are, as subaltern historian Dipesh Chakrabarty states, made to "look like yet another episode in the universal (and in their [the imperialists] view, the ultimately victorious) march of citizenship, of the nation-state, and of themes of human emancipation spelled out in the course of the European Enlightenment and after."<sup>12</sup> Indigenous agency was dismissed as native peoples were inevitably swept into the grand narrative of Western history.

US imperialism in the Philippines was oriented somewhat differently from that of Spain; however, binaries based on constructed racial, cultural, and religious social credentials persisted, and continued to serve as a basis for im-

perial rule with increasingly destructive results. When these perceived social credentials were placed contextually within the shifting and accelerating standards of modernity, the categories of "superior" and "inferior" were enhanced by relative comparison to a new world system based on notions of "citizenship" and "nation-state," which the Filipinos supposedly lacked. This new state of affairs allowed the United States to duplicate with greater advantage the dynamics of Spain's earlier imperial encounter with the Filipinos.

The United States not only ascribed to, but helped to construct notions of civic, cultural, and economic modernity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Social Darwinistic theories scientifically validated the United States' cultural and racial categorization of indigenous peoples. During Senate committee hearings on "Affairs in the Philippine Islands" in 1902, future Director of Education in the Philippines, David Prescott Barrows, matter-of-factly testified of the following:

The Filipino has got beyond the tribal stage. There is a stage in the social development of a race when large bodies can be governed through tribal adherence. But the Filipino is beyond that . . . The Filipino has no tribal allegiance, no chieftains, no custom of adherence to that kind of thing upon which to fall back. The only political experience he has is that of the management of these little municipalities, his little locality; and for all we can see, if we should retire the islands would simply break up into little bits of groups. A little leader would start up here, and another there, and another here, and the people would fall back in their political grade.<sup>13</sup>

For Barrows the entire Filipino race was completely comprehensible. Imperialism was justified by the pan-optic socio-scientific view of modernity. After brief observation, Filipinos were simply placed within a broad hierarchical spectrum of social evolution. Valuative judgments were then assessed according to imposed standards of civility and modernity. As Barrows later opined, "Native life, conducted on barbaric ideas, seems to me to have too many hideous features and to be productive of too much misery to the innocent members of barbarous communities to merit much commendation."<sup>14</sup> For the Americans, the world and the United States' place in it was both internalized and expressed within a carefully constructed and allegedly scientifically justified imperial philosophy. Thus, at the point of imperial encounter with the Filipinos, the United States, like Spain, was armed with pre-determined notions of classification that enabled it to seize control of the encounter.

For the Filipinos' part, Spain had kept the islands isolated from the outside world for more than three centuries. The rising tides of modernity from the eighteenth-century on went largely unnoticed by the vast majority of Filipinos. As historian Austin Craig has stated, "The Filipinos in the last half of the nineteenth century were not Orientals but medieval Europeans."<sup>15</sup> Even the much touted *illustrados*<sup>16</sup> both perceived and contextualized their glimpses of modernity within a uniquely archaic Spanish framework. The United States' expectations of "civilization" differed sharply from those of Spain. This conse-



quently placed the Filipinos back to square one of their imperial experience. Yet, under US rule the social and political chasms that dictated the scope and breadth of superior/inferior binaries could not be theoretically transcended as easily as they could have under Spanish rule.

Under Spain, Filipinos were expected to learn the proper submission to God and King. In theory, if an indio could truly become a devout Catholic and forsake his or her pagan beliefs then the other aspects of imperial "citizenship" would follow after. Of course other factors such as race and class inhibited the actual political and cultural acceptance of Filipinos, but ostensibly the standards of Spanish enfranchisement were relatively static, and therefore discernibly achievable. Under the US rule however, Filipinos were expected to learn the relevance and functions of "citizenship," "nation-state," and "self-government." Unlike Spanish standards of religious conversion, US notions of modernity were constantly evolving at an ever accelerating pace. Though both Americans and Filipinos spoke fondly of progress and equality, the fluid nature of "modernity" created social, civic, and economic gaps between the metropole and the colony that could never be actually transcended. These shifting notions of modernity ensured the perpetual "inadequacy" of Filipinos relative to their imperial US overlords. This phenomenon continues today. The term "developing nation" provides a good example. What is it these nations are developing toward? What else, but the continually shifting standards of "citizenship" and "nation-state" that ultimately define modernity? The unfortunate reality is that such nations will never "develop" because they have been forced to internalize notions of inadequacy that are supported and perpetuated by the shifting realities of "modernity."

In this sense, US rule has proven to be the most detrimental era of Philippine colonial history. Granted, US colonialists probably did not consciously and consistently pursue policies designed specifically to engender a perpetual sense of indigenous inadequacy among Filipinos per se. And certainly they had no direct control over the developing world-wide standards of modernity at the time. Nevertheless, American legitimacy in the islands hinged on at least tacitly constructed notions of native inadequacy. Hence, one of the great paradoxes of US colonialism was that its civilizing mission and the means for accomplishing that mission were inherently incompatible. The United States was attempting to create a functional, modern nation-state within the confines of colonial rule. This necessarily required the United States to suppress those aspects of "nation-state" that would threaten its supremacy. The United States' imperial occupation was supposedly justified by the Philippines' apparent lack of qualifiable characteristics that defined a modern nation-state. Yet the United States' expressed mission in the islands was to bequeath these characteristics to the Filipinos, thus inevitably undermining the legitimacy of US rule. While this did not pose an irreconcilable ideological contradiction for American imperialists in their broad views of socio-racial evolution, it did produce severe incongruities in US policy at the point of encounter, which immediately defeated any altruistic attempts to civilize and modernize Filipinos. This para-



dox permeated nearly every aspect of US colonial rule, and severely compromised any perceived Filipino gains towards achieving the already arbitrary standards of modernity.

Though this paradox is expressed in multiple ways, its profound inhibiting impact on the most crucial aspects of the Philippines' national development are particularly noteworthy. Examples of these incongruities are plentiful; however the three discussed below illustrate particularly well the inherently contradictory nature of US policy at the point of encounter.

Filipinos were often criticized for their archaic submission to authoritarian rule. US imperialists used this perceived native characteristic to justify the socio-political assessments of Filipino evolution that legitimated imperial rule. American Civil Governor William Howard Taft observed in 1902 that "the Filipino mind educated by the Spanish mind, regard[s] the executive as the government. The distinction between the legislative and the executive is something that is quite difficult to have the Filipino understand in a practical way."<sup>17</sup> This alleged political immaturity led another imperialist to conclude that "at least 6,000,000 of the [Filipino] people are but children" who were inclined "to war among themselves or fall an easy prey to designing demagogues."<sup>18</sup> The illogicality of this imperial situation, however, was that American colonialism itself was clearly authoritarian, and perpetuated Filipino submission to an ultimately undemocratic political system. Imperialists side-stepped this apparent contradiction by claiming that paternal rule was only a temporary necessity which allowed Filipinos the opportunity to "sit at our feet and learn those lessons of self-government",<sup>19</sup> and to "develop those moral sinews and ... technical efficiency which are vital to the stability and prosperity of a modern state."<sup>20</sup> The likelihood that the US imperialists' goals were based on benevolent notions of Filipino progression is irrelevant to the fact that the Filipinos' political and social culture was still being constructed and dictated from a distinctly authoritarian source.

Notions of indigenous passivity were also used to justify American imperialism. The Philippines' centuries long submission to Spain indicated an acute inability for national self-determination. Yet, Americans accused those Filipinos who rejected passivity in favor of active resistance against US occupation of betraying the fledgling Filipino nation-state. Filipino revolutionary, Apolinario Mabini, rejected US overtures for collaboration in distinctly modern nationalist terms when he wrote that,

the laws of war that authorize the big nations [to use] the powerful elements of combat in their struggle against a weak nation which lacks of them, are the same ones that counsel the weak said system, more so when it means the defense of her home and liberties ... and in this extreme case [the Philippine-American War] those same laws implacabl[y] order ... the defense by all means and even death, of her threatened honor and natural rights, lest she merit being branded as uncivilized and incapable of comprehending the responsibilities of self-government.<sup>21</sup>

Mabini's logic and language clearly conform to American standards of national modernity. However, the United States simply could not afford to have its imperial ideological legitimacy challenged at such a critically early point in the colonial encounter. To preserve colonial rule the United States had to continue constructing imperial binaries rooted in ideas of indigenous inadequacy, even if it meant embracing stark contradictions between US professed aims and actual realities in the islands. US General J.F. Bell attempted to negate Mabini's claims of Filipino national legitimacy by appealing to the natives' unquestionable socio-political inferiority:

The logic of the situation, therefore, places the fate of the Filipino people in their own hands and makes that by the acceptance of peace the culture of the arts of civilization may gradually conquer their own destiny. Force [against the United States] as a factor is not only criminal by itself under the circumstances, but is daily precipitating the natives of the archipelago towards the ever deeper attitude of semi-civilization, completely incapable of appreciating and understanding the responsibilities of civil government. They can only manifest their aptitude in this manner by surrendering the arms and ceasing to force the United States to any impossible concession [i.e. Philippine independence] for now.<sup>22</sup>

Governor Taft also referred to the Filipino insurgency as "a crime against civilization" and "a crime against the Filipino people."<sup>23</sup> For US imperialists, the Filipinos' struggle for independence had to be differentiated (and therefore invalidated) from the United States' own historic struggle against an unjust colonial power. American imperialists argued that although Mabini and other Filipino patriots were able to mimic the rhetoric and motions of modernity, their actions and sentiments ultimately lacked authenticity because of socio-racial categorization.

Finally, most American imperialists felt that Filipinos were unsuited for self-government because of their fragmented society. The Philippines was, and is, composed of multiple ethno-linguistic groups that often find themselves at odds with each other. Both Governor Taft and General Hughes criticized Philippine President Emilio Aguinaldo for not incorporating Visayans into his Tagalog-controlled revolutionary government at Malolos. Both men insinuated that this lack of equal representation negated Filipino claims of national unity and democratic government.<sup>24</sup> Yet, General Hughes, in the very same testimony before Congress admitted:

I found that the feeling between the Visayans and the Tagalo[g]s, who had gone down there under direction of Aguinaldo ... was not good. I made it my business to foster that feeling just as much as possible, telling the Visayans that they were making a great mistake in encouraging the Tagalo[g]s, who were of a different class of people, to come in and take possession of their island, because they would dominate the whole island if allowed to stay there.<sup>25</sup>

General Hughes' actions illustrate the paradox of America's colonial mission in the Philippines particularly well. US rule was legitimated by various perceived indigenous inadequacies that had to be perpetuated to both vali-



date imperial ideology, and ensure native submission. Dividing Filipinos along ethnic lines guaranteed both.

Ultimately, American imperialism has, and continues to dictate the Philippines' colonial legacy. Though Spain left an indelible cultural impression on the Filipinos by implementing Catholicism, the United States' imperial endeavor definitively ensured a state of perpetual "colonialism" in the Philippines. After establishing constructed notions of indigenous inadequacy at the point of encounter, the United States went on to create institutions and "programs deemed appropriate for backward and inferior peoples."<sup>26</sup> The United States crafted for Filipinos the legitimizing institutional mechanisms of modernity and nation-state, but judged, and continues to judge, them according to the standards of corresponding institutions in the metropole, which are themselves evolving through various challenges and crises. Even modern Filipino nationalists are inescapably handcuffed to their imperial past. The Filipino nation is a product of that which they despise. Any efforts to create authentic national symbols or ideologies are inevitably undercut by institutionalized comparative adherence to imperially imposed standards of social, civic, and economic modernity. Hence, though colonialism itself was detrimental to the Philippines, post-coloniality may be the greatest challenge of all.

#### CONCLUSIONS: BREAKING COLONIAL TIES

Though the arguments articulated above may indicate a somewhat bleak outlook, this paper is not suggesting that there is no hope at all for Philippine development or that the nation's imperial legacy is utterly inescapable. Rather, this study proposes the possibility that perhaps Western dictated standards of modernity are not the correct path to national fulfillment in the Philippines. Over the past several decades many Asian nations such as China, Singapore, and much of Muslim Southeast Asia have argued in favor of "Asian values" or an "indigenous alternative" to Western modernity.<sup>27</sup> These activists have cast critical eyes on the heretofore universally accepted values of the European enlightenment, and questioned the legitimacy of secular, humanistic, and individualistic principles that have marginalized indigenous philosophical and cultural traditions. Though it would certainly be incorrect to reify and circumscribe Filipinos within a supposedly static cultural schema, it would also be incorrect to assume that there is only one path to modernization, or that modernization itself is a homogenous and static teleological endpoint.

This is not to say that Filipinos should discard their present political system or attempt to purge every supposed remnant of their colonial past (indeed it is often extremely difficult to ascertain exactly what constitutes a "Western" remnant). Rather, Filipinos should initiate a fundamental paradigm shift away from notions of indigenous inadequacy and look for ways to adapt their present institutions and civic systems to the islands' rich and diverse cultural heterogeneity. Why must Filipinos "overcome" or "discard" their own socio-



cultural patterns and indigenous tendencies to conform to relatively recently imposed systems of governance and social interaction? The colonial relationship persists because of civic, institutional, and philosophical ties that demand comparative adherence to similar institutions, processes, and ideas in a distant metropole. Severing the colonial relationship ultimately consists of internalizing the validity and adequacy of things indigenous while provincializing the Western ideal as the supposed apex or culmination of national development.



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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Norman G. Owen, "Introduction: Philippine Society and American Colonialism," in *Compadre Colonialism: Studies on the Philippines Under American Rule*, ed. by Norman G. Owen (Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia, Number 3, 1971): 9.

<sup>2</sup> Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1989): 20.

<sup>3</sup> Glenn A. May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-1913* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980). 17, 180. For further examples of the alleged injurious effects of the Filipino patron-client social system on the Philippine nation see, Glenn A. May, "Why the United States Won the Philippine-American War," *Pacific Historical Review*, 52, (Nov., 1983): 351-377.

<sup>4</sup> Though there are many more, the following examples, in addition to those cited above, offer a limited representation of this particular strain of thought in the Philippines' historical literature: Lewis M. Simmons, *Worth Dying For* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1987).; Francisco Nemenzo, "The Left and the Traditional Opposition," in *The Philippines After Marcos*, ed. by R.J. May & Francisco Nemenzo (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985).; Michael Cullinane, "Implementing the 'New Order': The Structure and Supervision of Local Government During the Taft Era," in *Compadre Colonialism: Studies on the Philippines Under American Rule*, ed. by Norman G. Owen (Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia, Number 3, 1971): 13-77.; Frank Jesista, Jr., "Conflict in the Philippine Legislature: The Commission and the Assembly from 1907 to 1913," in *Compadre Colonialism: Studies on the Philippines Under American Rule*, ed. by Norman G. Owen (Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia, Number 3, 1971): 77-103.

<sup>5</sup> In his book, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700*, (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1959). John Phelan estimates that conversion of lowland Filipinos was completed after only two generations under Spanish rule, with the exception of Muslim populations in the south.

<sup>6</sup> "Letter Patent to Father Urdaneta and His Fellow Augustinians From Their Superiors," February 25, 1564, in *The Christianization of the Philippines*, Compiled and Translated by Rafael Lopez, O.S.A., and Alfonso Felix, Jr. (Manila: Historical Conservation Society and University of San Agustin, 1965), 255.

<sup>7</sup> Dr. Antonio de Morga, *History of the Philippine Islands From Their Discovery by Magellan in 1521 to the Beginning of the XVII Century; With Descriptions of Japan, China and Adjacent Countries*. Translated, edited and annotated by E.H. Blair and

J.A. Robertson. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1907), 36-37.

<sup>8</sup> Vicente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society Under Early Spanish Rule*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 213.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* xx, 213.

<sup>10</sup> Reynaldo Clemena Iletto, "Rural Life in a Time of Revolution," in *Filipinos and their Revolution. Event, Discourse, and Historiography*. (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998), 81.

<sup>11</sup> David Prescott Barrows to Professor Frederick Starr, 26 April 1907, in Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>12</sup> Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History," in *Provincializing Europe: Post-Colonial Thought and Historical Difference*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 39.

<sup>13</sup> *Affairs in the Philippine Islands, Hearings Before the Committee on the Philippine of the United States Senate*. 57th Congress, 1st Session. Doc. No. 331, Part 1 (Washington: Government printing Office, 1902), 719.

<sup>14</sup> Barrows to Starr, 26 April 1907.

<sup>15</sup> Austin Craig, *Lineage, Life and Labors of Jose Rizal*. (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1913), cited in Austin Coates, *Rizal: Filipino Nationalist and Patriot* (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1992), 4.

<sup>16</sup> This term literally means "the enlightened ones." It refers to a group of middle class Filipinos educated in Europe in the latter half of the nineteenth-century, and who later went on to produce and champion nationalist independence movements against Spain.

<sup>17</sup> *Affairs in the Philippine Islands, Hearings Before the Committee on the Philippines of the United States Senate*, 58.

<sup>18</sup> A. Lester Hazlett, "A View of the Moral Conditions Existing in the Philippines," *Affairs in the Philippine Islands. Hearings Before the Committee on the Philippines of the United States Senate*. 1742-1743.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Edward Price Bell to Manual Quezon, 12 December 1927, in the Manual Quezon Papers, Founders Library, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Illinois.

<sup>21</sup> Apolinario Mabini to General J.F. Bell, 31 August, 1900 in *Testament and Political Letters of Apolinario Mabini*. Compiled and edited by Alfredo S. Veloso. (Quezon City: Asvel Publishing Co., 1964), 305.

<sup>22</sup> General J.F. Bell to Apolinario Mabini, 28 August, 1900 in *Testament and Political Letters of Apolinario Mabini*. 301.

<sup>23</sup> *Affairs in the Philippine Islands, Hearings Before the Committee on the Philippines of the United States Senate*, 58.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* 329, 388, 526.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* 533.

<sup>26</sup> Glenn Anthony May, *Social Engineering*. 179.

<sup>27</sup> For a very interesting discussion on this topic see, *Islam in Southeast Asia: Political, Social, and Strategic Challenges for the 21st Century*. Ed. by K.S. Nathan and Mohammad Hashim Kamali. (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005).

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Enrique G. Oracion

*Are the Children Willing?*  
**Intergenerational Support for Marine  
Protected Area Sustainability**

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The Apo Island "no-take" marine protected area (MPA) in Dauin, Negros Oriental, Philippines has remained consistently stable since the time it was directly managed by the community up to the present under the management of the Protected Area Management Board (PAMB). Based on the perceptions of grandparents, parents, and children, the future of this MPA also appears promising. However, the insignificant but consistent downward trends in the perception ratings of adults of MPA enforcement, compliance, biophysical conditions, and benefits imply some emerging resentments and cynicisms towards the current MPA management. Nevertheless, the absence of significant differences in perceptions in all these parameters by raters across generations suggests that intergenerational flow and sharing of MPA knowledge and realities are at work in which adults serve as information providers and role models to the children.

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#### INTRODUCTION

**M**arine protected areas (MPAs) were started because of the severe degradation of coral reefs and fisheries all over the Philippines, including at Apo Island in the 1970s (White *et al.*, 2002; Raymundo & White, 2004). Several studies (Alcala & Russ, 1990; Russ *et al.*, 2004; Christie, 2005; White *et al.*, 2006) have validated their potential for biodiversity conservation and fisheries management in the country. At the same time there is skepticism about whether they significantly benefit the host communities whose fishing practices have been restricted (Eder, 2005). Even though MPAs are seen as biological successes, there are also those considered to be social failures because some resource users are marginalized in terms of decision-making, management, and benefits (Christie, 2004). Tensions sometimes erupt among various stakeholders because of differences in perspectives and priorities in management policies and regulations (Oracion *et al.*, 2005b). Because community or social involvement necessarily impacts MPA quality (White *et al.*, 2002; Pollnac & Pomeroy, 2005), how these factors influence the perceptions and attitudes of present and future generations of resource users towards MPAs is a matter of

concern among those who promote MPAs as fisheries management and conservation tools.

From an anthropological perspective, this research interest requires seeing an MPA beyond its physical attributes because social sustainability of MPA management necessarily precedes MPA ecological sustainability. MPA is likewise regarded as a socially controversial imposition on culturally determined spatial behavior of fishers and other resource users. Its success and sustainability do not only rely on its technical design but also on the continuing support of MPA management by multiple stakeholders (White *et al.*, 2002; Oracion, 2003). However, achieving MPA sustainability is a complicated process particularly because it deals with a commons, and also involves a determination of which social good will benefit a greater number of people across social classes and generations.

These assertions follow Mascia's (2004, p.164) argument that MPAs "are not only products of social processes but they also have social ramifications" that eventually feedback and determine their ecological future. Congruent to this, Eder (2005, p. 147) stresses that "class, ethnic, and gender differences among fisherfolk powerfully influence how the benefits and cost of coastal resource management programs *in general* [emphasis mine] are perceived and experienced in fishing communities". But while it is important to study how social differences may curtail involvement in nature conservation initiatives as well as enjoyment of their benefits, it is likewise interesting to examine how intergenerational differences will influence current efforts. Alcalá (2001, p. 98), whose expertise is biological science, has already pointed out the significant role that three generations of people (*i.e.*, grandparents, parents and children) in a community play in the continuance and sustainability of MPAs. Assuming that a change in political leadership does not alter MPA management system, intergenerational support is a good indicator of MPA sustainability. As a social phenomenon, it is therefore worthy of serious investigation.

#### BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY: HISTORY OF APO ISLAND MPA

Through a case study of Apo Island in Dauin, Negros Oriental, Philippines, this paper examines how individuals across generations perceive MPA management and condition, how these perceptions spread across generations, and how they influence intergenerational support. The issues being investigated specifically include perceptions on MPA enforcement, compliance, biophysical conditions, and benefits it purports to provide. Consequently, for the purpose of this paper, intergenerational perception ratings of these parameters are compared over time to predict the probability that an MPA will be sustainable. The discussion will also explore the processes and venues by which pro-MPA knowledge and behaviors are transmitted to the children.

Measuring about 11 hectares, the Apo Island MPA is the oldest and the first successful community-based MPA in the Philippines (Alcalá 2001;



Raymundo & White, 2004). For this reason, it is an appropriate site for this case study. Of volcanic origin and situated 7 km off the mainland, Apo Island measures about 74 hectares and has a population in 2004 of 683 individuals distributed among 137 households (SCFHPI, 2004). Its MPA was established with the help of the Marine Conservation Development Program (MCDP) of Silliman University (Cabanban & White, 1981; Deguit, 1989). Developed after the other Silliman University-initiated MPA project, the Sumilon Island, the Apo MPA was preceded by greater effort in community organizing aimed at promoting its social acceptability as well as capacitating local residents in MPA management (Russ & Alcala, 1999; Raymundo & White, 2004).

Thus, the success of Apo Island's MPA is not an overnight story but a result of a long and tedious educational campaign, which was started in July 1979 to enhance conservation ethics among the island residents (Cabanban & White, 1981; Raymundo & White, 2004). The MPA concept was not only entirely foreign to the island population but it also limited their access to the marine resources available in the island, as well as put a stop on certain fishing practices which used methods and gears that were not only intensive but also destructive (e.g. *muro-ami*, fine gill nets, use of dynamite). After the MPA was finally established and accepted by the community on April 1985 (Deguit, 1989, p. 67), an ordinance legalizing its enforcement was passed by the Municipal Council of Dauin in 1986 (Ordinance No. 1) and subsequently amended in 1988 (Ordinance No. 8-88). The amendment was necessary not only to prevent future damage to the MPA due to inappropriate fishing gears but also to stop and regulate the influx of more non-resident fishers as well as tourist divers into the island.

A former community organizer (Deguit, 1989, p. 139) in Apo Island recalled that the members of Marine Management Committee (MMC) directly enforced the MPA regulations in the past. According to this report, the residents of the island—men, women, and children of age—cooperated in preventing illegal fishing within the protected area by outsiders and resistant local fishers as a voluntary act, convinced as they were of the economic potentials of the MPA. Members of the Civilian Home Defense Force (CHDF) were later assigned to guard the MPA along with the MMC officials. When Silliman University formally phased out from the island (Deguit, 1989, p. 140), constabulary personnel were assigned on the island to assist the local law enforcers in protecting the MPA. Presently, a Philippine National Police (PNP) station has been set up on the island not only to safeguard the residents and tourists but also to assist in the enforcement of MPA regulations.

Major changes in the management came when the whole island was proclaimed a protected landscape and seascape on August 9, 1994 pursuant to Republic Act 7586, otherwise known as National Integrated Protected Area System or NIPAS (Custodio & Molinyawe, 2001, p. 219). The management of the island as protected area was transferred to the Protected Area Management Board (PAMB). Formally organized in 1997, the newly-constituted management board composed of 10 multi-sectoral representatives coming from the

national, provincial, local and *barangay* governments and agencies, youth organization, people's organization on the island, and the academe (Bernardo, 2001; Raymundo, 2002). The Regional Executive Director (RED) Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) is the designated chairperson of the PAMB (Custodio & Molinyawe, 2001, p. 217). The PAMB superintendent based in Dumaguete oversees the status and the management of the MPA in coordination with the *barangay* officials of the island.

Under the present management regime, the MMC, which played a major role from 1982 to 1993 (Russ & Alcala, 1996, p. 3), has ceased to be directly involved in the management of the MPA, as well as in the collection and disbursement of user's fees. Moreover, since the take-over by PAMB, the practice of paid employment introduced by the altered management practice has supplanted the old community tradition of volunteerism. Studies have indicated that the nationally-imposed management regime appears to have altered the perceptions of the residents who were accustomed to the community-based regime, creating a rift in their relationship with the current management. Writing about his observations in 2001, Bernardo observed that this development was "seen by some as a step backwards in terms of giving communities more authority, responsibility, and accountability over their local resources" (2001, pp.157-158).

Moreover, under PAMB, 15 percent of the 75 percent share from the collection of user fees is utilized for social services, infrastructure, and livelihood projects, while a major portion is spent for resource management activities and for the salaries of PAMB employees on the island. The remaining 25 percent is reserved for the national fund of NIPAS as mandated by law. But the current practice requires remitting the money first to the national treasury and only after is the share of Apo Island sent back. As a result, the usual bureaucratic delay in the release of the share of Apo Island has become a constant source of disappointment among the residents (Alcala, 2001, p. 81; Raymundo & White, 2004, p. 46)). It is feared that the delayed payment of honoraria of local PAMB workers, which continues to be a source of frustration particularly among sea wardens, will eventually adversely affect their enthusiasm to carry out their duties.

Lamenting the delay in the release of funds requested for 2004, the PAMB superintendent at that time commented that the Department of Budget and Management (DBM) seems uninterested in giving the community its due share (Amarado, 2004, p.11). During his fieldwork, Bernardo (2001, p. 114) already noted that a number of residents who wanted to abolish PAMB due to some unresolved management and financial issues have expressed a wish to return the management of the MPA to MMC. According to White *et al.* (2002, p. 9), a national law "can lead to problems when community efforts to manage MPAs are stymied by bureaucratic processes and practices." To remedy the problem, Congressman Herminio G. Teves of the third district of Negros Oriental, under which Dauin belongs, has introduced a bill proposing the automatic retention of the 75 percent share. But Congress has not yet approved the bill during the period of the study.

It is clear that the establishment and management of Apo Island MPA,



its progress over the years and later transmutation as a result of a national law, have influenced the way different generations of island residents relate with it, benefit from it, and evaluate its quality. Expectedly, the change in MPA management regime has produced varying reactions. Adults who find the direct community-management of the MPA more satisfying than the existing PAMB regime express some resentment. On the contrary, those who see more advantages from the latter management structure have favorable opinions. Such variable dispositions are expectedly reflected on their perceptions of the quality of management and condition of the MPA. Based on these observations, this study hypothesizes that the differing opinions of adult citizens of the island toward the MPA will exert a significant influence on the perceptions and attitudes of the younger members of the community, and subsequently their support of the MPA when they become adults. This assumption will be elaborated in the succeeding section.

### THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The theoretical underpinnings of this study draw from the work of Berger & Luckmann (1967) on the role of effective socialization in the social construction of reality and from Howard & Hollander (2002) on the significance of shared rules and realities in the transmission of valued knowledge and appropriate behavior in particular contexts and circumstances. Putting all these together, this paper argues that the successful transmission of the value of an MPA through words and actions to the succeeding generations contributes to its institutionalization not simply as a biological tool but also as a cultural mechanism for food security in particular, and economic prosperity in general. This position is also anchored on the findings of a socialization study in the Philippines (Liwag *et al.*, 1998) on the impact of parental preferences, expectations, training, and modeling on the future behavior of children.

Since realities are socially constructed as results of distinctive social actions that individuals perform, humans are seen to be engaged in the perpetual cycle of the dialectic of creating the objective reality, socially and, in turn, internalizing these very created realities as their own, subjectively. In the case of an MPA, children may have only limited knowledge of its actual operation, its purpose or reason for being, or the benefits that it provides because they have no role in shaping or constructing it. Nevertheless, it is possible, following Berger & Luckmann's (1967) argument, that they will internalize the notion that MPA possesses a historical or objective reality. Therefore, they will be inclined to believe in and accept its legitimacy unless otherwise contradicted or deconstructed by social events. This is where socialization process in its broadest sense is at work.

It is a fact that the family and the significant others in the community are still the major social agents in the socialization of younger generations in closely-knit communities. As role models, these social agents can influence the attitude of children not only toward the social environment but toward the



natural environment as well. Therefore, adult role models in the family and the community are in the best position to influence future generations to support a project like the MPA. Following this line of thinking, fishers who have experienced the benefits of MPAs to subsistence fishing, their major source of livelihood, are likely to hand this idea down to their children whom they expect to also become fishers in the future (if they cannot get college degrees and work outside the island). They can set the examples for their children to emulate, for instance, impressing upon the young minds the value and importance of an MPA and influencing them to extend similar support to it for the sake of their own future.

However, the various meanings attached by adults to an MPA—as a fish “breeding or nursery” area but off-limit to fishing, or touristic spectacle for a fee—create a greater challenge in communicating these myriad interpretations to the young. This calls for a deliberate effort on the part of the adults to inform children about the real nature and purpose of an MPA especially when it is being opened to tourist divers but not to fishers. To do this effectively, adults need to harmonize first among themselves any conflicting definitions they have about an MPA. Only then will intergenerational transmission lead to a shared appreciation of an MPA’s significance to community life and survival. This argument draws support from the view advanced by Howard & Hollander (2002, p.35) that a more sustained human communication and interaction is only possible when there is a minimum common understanding of shared realities. In the same light, Berger & Luckmann (1967, p.35) also reiterate the importance of the production of signs or symbols in the socialization process, which they call *signification*, to reach a unified understanding of a social construct.

Signification in the form of MPA regulations must be expressed in easily understandable language and must be seriously complied with by adults. Children can only internalize the value of a well-managed MPA if they have seen how the adult members of the community support it, work hard to maintain it, and enforce or comply with its regulations. The visible benefits that the community and their respective families enjoy can likewise increase the value of MPA in the eyes of children. These are all very important social considerations because children will later replace the adult members of a community. Whatever they have experienced or observed are retained in their memory or integrated with other knowledge consistent to them. Subsequently, they will generalize these into rules for behavior, and apply these rules to new situations or time (Howard & Hollander, 2002, p. 45). Hence, any attitudes and actions reproduced out of their experiences and observations at the present time are expected to influence their willingness to support MPA management in the future and eventually sustain it.

## METHODS

The respondents of this study belong to different generations and accordingly

include grandparents, parents, and unmarried children (grandchildren in relation to the grandparents). The sampling procedure required that each set of respondents must belong to the same family tree so that the intergenerational flow of information could be properly delineated in the analysis and discussion. For this reason, the procedure started with the identification of the pioneering officers and members of MMC while the succeeding samples were randomly identified by lottery from the list of married or unmarried children of identified pioneering supporters (*i.e.* grandparents and parents as the case may be) who are still residing in the island.

The number of respondents from each generation was supposed to be 21, determined according to the power analysis table of sample size used by Katon *et al.* (1997, p.4) in an assessment of a coastal conservation project in Zambales in northwestern Luzon. However, the available number of respondents who qualified in the first generation category fell short of expectations. Completing the sets of respondents belonging to the same family tree was not possible because some members of the first generation were either deceased or no longer residents of the island. In the case of third generation, the prospective and the only available respondent in the household, who was a daughter, was still too young to respond to the interview and therefore could not be included in the list. Finally, a total of 58 respondents of this study were identified, among them 17 grandparents, 21 parents, and 20 grandchildren.

Fieldwork was conducted from April to December 2004 together with a research assistant. The methods used for data gathering were sample social survey and key informant interview. To generate preliminary and additional information not asked during the survey, key informant interview was conducted prior to, during, and after the conduct of the sample survey with the use of a guide. A semi-structured interview schedule consisting of one set of questionnaire specifically for the grandparents and parents and another set for the unmarried children was used in the sample survey. Perception ratings from 0 (lowest score) to 5 (highest score) about the qualities of MPA enforcement, compliance of stakeholders, biophysical conditions, and benefits constituted the bulk of the data. Quantifying perceptions about certain MPA management issues and situations enabled the respondents to make graduated assessment of what they have observed or experienced. This is an improvement of the dichotomous assessment of being present or absent (Pomeroy *et al.*, 1997; Pollnac & Pomeroy, 2005; Pomeroy *et al.*, 2005).

Grandparents and parents were asked to rate the state of the MPA in the past under MMC, at present under PAMB, and in the future (10 years from now). On the other hand, children-respondents were asked to rate only the present and future conditions because majority of them were either yet unborn when the MPA was established or were then too young during the time of the MMC management. Ratings were statistically compared to track differences in intergenerational perceptions and variations in the state of the MPA during different management periods. The test of difference (*t*-Test) and analysis of variance (ANOVA) have been employed to determine the commonalities and



differences in the responses or perceptions of respondents over time and across generations. The Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient Test ( $r$ ) was used to determine the relationships of some selected variables. The level of significance employed in all the tests was set at 0.05.

### PROFILES OF SAMPLES AND IMPLICATIONS

In terms of household membership, grandparents residing in separate houses were classified under first generation households. Unmarried children or grandchildren (in relation to grandparents), together with their parents, composed the second-generation households. One-third of the randomly sampled parents and children were females as compared to the almost equal representation among grandparents. Grandparents were on the average 66 years old while parents and children were 41 and 14 years old, respectively.

The presence of a complete elementary school in Apo Island and a high school in the mainland in recent years explains the difference in educational attainment across generations (a high school that started with the first year level was only opened in the island after the study was completed). Expectedly, children and their parents were better educated as noted in the number of years they attended school (7.30 and 6.95, respectively) than the grandparents (4.76). Improvement in school attendance also suggests a growing recognition of the value of education among the latter generations and implies greater prospect for future occupational and spatial mobility. This has also some implications on the number of children expected to remain in the island and who will be willing to sustain the management of the MPA that they will inherit from their parents in the future.

Majority of the sample second-generation households were nuclear (76.19%) while about half of the first generation households were extended family. Second-generation households have an average number of six members, which is higher compared to the first generation households with an average of four members. Couples in second-generation separate households have lived in the island for 18 years, compared to 42 years of first generation households. Variations in age and residency imply differing familiarity with the changes experienced by the island resulting from the establishment of MPA and the changes in its management. Results of the survey also showed that unlike the grandchildren, grandparents and parents still held beautiful memories of the time the MPA was directly managed by the community.

The number of households that have concrete houses provides evidence of long-term socioeconomic benefit of effective resource management in the island (Bernardo, 2001, pp. 63, 99). Unlike the older generation (41.18%), more than half of second-generation households (52.38%) have built concrete houses. The percentage of households on the island with concrete houses is also higher than the 14 percent of fishing households with concrete houses surveyed on the mainland (Oracion *et al.*, 2005a, p.11). Moreover, second generation households have more working age members who are economically productive than

first generation households. But it should be noted that 69 percent of the first generation households receive financial assistance from children who are working or residing outside the island. On the average, 25 percent of the total incomes of first generation households are derived from external financial assistance.

The survey revealed that 44 percent of those gainfully working are engaged in fishing and fish trading followed by other types of work (33.80%), and tourism-related work (22.54%). The other types of work include mat weaving, serving as sea wardens, *barangay* health worker, *barangay kagawad* (council member), farming, teaching, *nipa* shingle making, taking charge of the lighthouse in the island, and tending a *sari-sari* (variety) store. Those employed in the tourism sector work as dive boat operators, souvenir item peddlers, resort and dive shop workers, and entrance and user fees collectors for PAMB. More members of first generation households, particularly females, are involved in non-fishing related occupations, while majority of those of the second-generation households are involved in fishing and fish trading. Only 23 percent of members of all generations of households, and mostly males, have secondary occupation or other sources of income.

Fishing expectedly remains a primary source of subsistence for the community because of Apo Island's geographic peculiarities and marine biodiversity. On the other hand, employment in tourism enterprise is already growing relative to other kinds of work available on the island particularly among members of second-generation households. This trend is suggestive of the community's attitudes toward the growth of dive tourism in the island and the benefits they associate with it (Bernardo, 2001, p.106). Likewise, the arrival of more tourists into the island during the past decade and the exposure of younger generations to the spending behavior and lifestyle of tourists appeared to have influenced the life aspirations of the respondents. This is revealed by the data showing the kind of work children aspire to pursue and where they prefer to work when they become adults. Data show that their work aspirations are completely opposite to the current economic engagement of their parents. It is possible to predict that the growing spatial mobility will influence the population dynamics of the island in the future.

Among the samples of children or grandchildren, six females aspired to become teachers while eight other females wanted to become a computer specialist, doctor, stewardess, midwife, nurse, journalist, and office worker. Three males wanted to become engineers, another a policeman and the other a dive guide. Only one was content to become a fisher like his father. Because these work aspirations favored outside employment, 45 percent preferred to work abroad while 15 percent chose to work in Dumaguete. Nonetheless, 40 percent preferred to stay in Apo Island—particularly the females who aspired to be teachers. Higher pay and more job opportunities, along with finding the other places livelier, were the reasons given for the preference to work outside the island. This employment aspiration implies that the pressure on the island's resources will be minimized as a result of future out-migration.



Majority of the parents, however, would prefer to see their children remain on the island and take up residence there when they will already have their own separate households. Only about 29 percent will leave that matter for their children to decide. And except for two parents who wanted to seek better employment opportunities outside the island, the majority of those interviewed did not have any plan to migrate because they were content to stay on the island and have adjusted to the kind of life they have always known. This implies satisfaction with the opportunities provided by the current efforts of protecting and conserving the island's resources. Therefore, the children who will opt to remain on the island can sustain the management of the MPA. Their willingness to do so will depend largely on the degree of their exposure to and awareness of the value of the MPA to their survival on the island.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### PARAMETERS FOR RATINGS AND COMPARISON OF INTERGENERATIONAL PERCEPTIONS

**General trends in MPA management.** The parameters for ratings include MPA enforcement, compliance, biophysical conditions, and benefits. It is assumed that MPA sustainability is dependent upon how MPA regulations are being enforced by authorities and complied with by various resource users. Both parameters determine its biophysical qualities as well as the amount of benefits it provides to those involved in fishing and tourism. Although there are other measurable indicators of these parameters that can be compared over time to objectively quantify the probability of MPA to be sustainable, in this paper, however, only perceptions about these parameters by individuals across generations are utilized and quantified into ratings. Subsequently, ratings made by individual respondents are compared in order to measure how their experiences and interpretations of the realities surrounding these parameters are shared across generations.

Figure 1 gives a summary of assessments of the above management parameters during different periods based on the averages of combined ratings of grandparents, parents, and children (data computed from Tables A-1 to A-4). Statistically speaking, no significant differences exist in the comparison of ratings before PAMB, with PAMB, and the future. The high ratings over time suggest that the MPA is functioning well and still appears to be stable despite the apparent downward trends of the ratings. But it is still worthwhile to examine the contexts upon which the specific aspects of these parameters are being rated across generations in order to understand the implications of the observed downward trends to the whole management system of the MPA as well as to its sustainability. The downward trends in the ratings, based on the computed average of all the parameters of MPA management, suggested that some internal problems were festering within the community. These problems came out during the study. If not mitigated, these problems will worsen and later influence the attitudes of children toward the MPA.

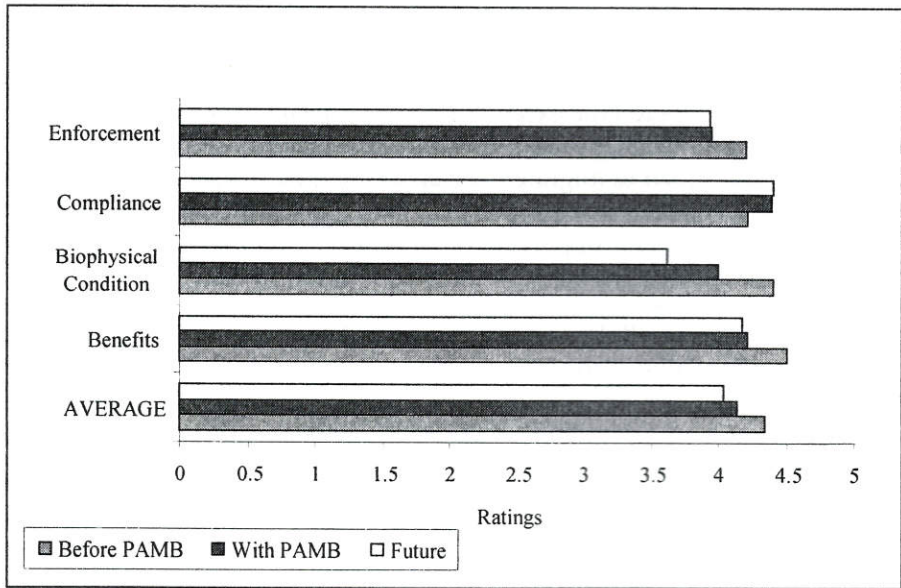


Fig.1. Summary of intergenerational perception ratings of MPA management parameters over time.

**Enforcement ratings.** Respondents were asked to compare MPA enforcement during different management periods. Statistical analysis shows that grandparents and parents perceived it to remain *highly effective* and *fair*. Children likewise favorably perceived the quality of enforcement at present and in the future. Although the results revealed declining trends in the ratings of enforcement by adult respondents, the differences in the perception rating across management periods are statistically insignificant (*refer to Table A-1*). The majority who are satisfied with the quality of enforcement over time explained that the sea wardens perform their duties well and are already receiving honoraria for these efforts. They also said that the MPA regulations and penalties under PAMB are more rigid and specific, especially in regard to prohibited activities as well as those allowed inside the MPA.

A closer examination of individual ratings, however, shows that those who were directly involved in or affected by MMC-managed enforcement rated the enforcement of MPA regulations at that time more favorably than the enforcement during the PAMB management. One respondent said that, "we were more active before because it was everybody's responsibility compared at present when there are already paid sea wardens." Thirty-four percent of grandparents and parents also reported some instances of unfair enforcement at present, involving violators who happen to be the political supporters of or related to the *barangay* captain. But the concerned village officials have of course denied the allegations and considered them as manifestations of political bickerings aimed at maligning the existing political leadership on the island. Meanwhile,



even if scuba diving inside the MPA is already allowed for a fee, there are still disgruntled fishers who considered this provision to be unfair to them, arguing that divers are also potential threats to the fragility of corals. Twenty percent clamored that since fishing is prohibited inside the MPA, the same restriction should apply to scuba diving.

**Compliance ratings.** Generally, grandparents and parents perceived the degree of MPA compliance by resource users specifically the dive operators, tourist divers, and local fishers to be statistically *stable and consistently high* over time. Children's ratings of the said resource users between present and future MPA management regimes reflect similar quality, but their ratings show improving trends in contrast with the ratings made by their grandparents and parents during the same periods (refer to Table A-2). Generally, there is a strong feeling that compliance is due mainly to the respondent's acceptance of the economic importance of the MPA and partly to their desire to avoid stiffer penalties if they breach regulations. Although intergenerational perceptions in general about MPA compliance by various resource users during different management periods do not differ significantly, the grandparents' perception ratings for local fishers were highest under PAMB management, followed by the ratings of parents and of children, respectively.

The seemingly consistent ratings for fishers, evident in low variances within generations of raters, demonstrate local bias. Higher variances are noted in the compliance ratings for tourist divers and dive operators, and imply the resentment of some locals against scuba diving inside the MPA and within their fishing grounds. The bias of adults for local fishers becomes clearer when the ratings for different resource users are compared. The differences are found to be statistically significant and show that the compliance of local fishers under MMC (ANOVA=5.45), under PAMB (ANOVA=4.33), and in the future (ANOVA=4.98) was rated highest by parents in comparison with other users (all have critical value of 3.16). The same has been rated to be also significantly highest by grandparents before (ANOVA=5.45) and under PAMB (ANOVA=3.68). However, grandparents' ratings of compliance by local fishers in the future are low, which may be due to their apprehensions that local support will diminish if the existing MPA management issues under PAMB remain unresolved (all have critical value of 3.19). In contrast, children's ratings did not differentiate the compliance of the three resource users now and in the future, which may suggest their openness to tourism. They perceived them to have satisfactorily complied with the MPA regulations.

**Biophysical conditions ratings.** Grandparents and parents perceived the fish and coral conditions within and outside the MPA after its establishment to have *significantly improved*. This response is reinforced by actual biophysical data (Bernardo, 2001, p.126). These conditions also appear to be *stable* despite the changes in MPA management after PAMB took the responsibility that was solely assumed by the community for more than a decade. The children's perception ratings of MPA biophysical conditions under PAMB do not also significantly differ over time (refer to Table A-3). But again, there are

indications of declining trends in the perceptions of all generations of raters, particularly when future predictions are compared with present and past conditions. The declining trends in MPA biophysical conditions may reflect the reasons behind the perceptions on the declining qualities of MPA enforcement and compliance as shown earlier.

There are three ways to view and interpret this development. First, is to look at it positively and to consider the average ratings to mean stable conditions that are believed to be due to the presence of the MPA (*see also* Raymundo & White, 2004). The biophysical data of Russ *et al.* (2004) from a longitudinal assessment of fish yield in the island will support this perception. This also gives weight to the argument that people's interpretation of the reality they have experienced must have scientific significance. Second, is to view the declining trend as an indication of the emerging dissatisfaction among the locals as a result of the change in management regime and the associated bureaucratic hassles experienced by the community with regard to the control of their own resources which they had enjoyed in the past. This is more evident among parents who registered higher variances in perception ratings about MPA biophysical condition under PAMB and in the future. And third, is the possibility that the coral reefs of Apo Island are already approaching their limit or carrying capacity due to fishing pressure and touristic activities outside and within the MPA.

Although the declining trend in MPA biophysical condition is not statistically significant to cause alarm, the fact that this perception is becoming evident across generations of raters is a good reason to take it seriously. Secondary data show that average daily fish catch per fishers had peaked in 1993 because of the contributions of the MPA, however, subsequent data show that this deteriorated thereafter (Bernardo, 2001, pp. 98, 158). Although the majority of respondents attributed this condition to the increasing number of tourist divers and fishers on the island, many also blamed PAMB's failure to effectively address the problem given its resources and powers. As mentioned earlier, a major portion of the PAMB collections from user fees is designated for administrative and management concerns of the MPA. Only a very small portion is allocated for community projects (Bernardo, 2001, p. 163) intended to augment the income of fishers as a result of reduction in fishing activities. In other words, if only they can continue gainful activities outside of fishing, the community would still be able to appreciate the economic benefits of the MPA, albeit indirectly, despite a reduction in fishing income.

**Benefits ratings.** The new economic opportunities brought in by tourism to the island added new meaning to the MPA and increased the number and kind of people being benefited by it (Bernardo, 2001, pp. 147-149). This becomes more evident when comparing perceived fishing and tourism benefits over time. The data show that generally there are *no significant* differences on either perceived fishing or tourism benefit over time and across generations of raters (*refer to* Table A-4). But the declining trend in fishing benefit cannot just be underemphasized because this perception is actually supported by ob-



jective data (e.g., Bernardo, 2001, p. 159). So the consistency and pattern of perceived and actual decline in fishing benefit, but not in tourism benefit enjoyed by the locals, provides proof of the fear of the impending threats to the coral reefs on the island brought about by rapid growth of dive tourism (Bernardo, 2001, p. 67). Only the grandparents noted that tourism benefit had significantly increased because they have been on the island longer and were able to really feel the difference over time.

It must be admitted, however, that PAMB's take over of MPA management, including the appropriation of its revenues is also a positive development because it has generated more tourism revenues by imposing standard user fees (Calumpong & Cadiz, 2003). Under MMC management, no fixed amount of user fees was imposed and sometimes only donations were extracted despite the growing number of tourist arrivals into the island. Predictably, fishing benefit was significantly higher than tourism benefit during MMC management. The comparative ratings of grandparents ( $t$ -test=3.77, critical value=2.04) and parents ( $t$ -test=4.52, critical value=2.02) of fishing and tourism benefits under MMC show this trend. But under PAMB management, both older and younger generations perceived that tourism benefits have not only improved at par with fishing benefits but will continue to grow in the future as MPA added value. But the higher variances in tourism benefit ratings of adults compared to the ratings of children further indicate greater division in the appreciation of this particular benefit because of differential involvement in tourism business.

But despite the increase in tourism activities, the greater portion of tourism revenues went to resorts and dive operators (on the island and the mainland) than to the local community (Bernardo, 2001, p. 163), aggravating a situation already negatively affected by the reduction of fishery benefits. But even if an inequitable distribution of tourism income exists because of differences in the capital invested, several second-generation households, to some extent, have also benefited from tourism in the island. They are either working in the two resorts (one is owned by a foreigner married to a local woman) located on the island, operating boats for hire to tourists, selling souvenir items, renting out accommodations to visitors at their homes, and portering, among other menial jobs. Understandably, residents who are primarily dependent upon fishing have a reason to fear about the deleterious effects of the excesses of dive tourism (e.g., too many tourists, too much night-time diving, littering, coral reef damage), if these are not effectively controlled, on the biodiversity of the island (Bernardo, 2001, p. 98).

#### SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN IN MPA VALUES AND MANAGEMENT

In this section, the focus is on the socialization of children about MPA values so they can effectively take over MPA management in the future. This is aptly termed as *anticipatory socialization* because this is intended for the adult roles that children will have to assume as members of the community. Expectedly,

children of various ages differ on the amount of MPA knowledge they have internalized. This appears because sources of knowledge varied while the modes of generating such knowledge were equally diverse. To fully appreciate the extent of Apo Island children's exposure to the MPA and how they are being socialized to its values and management, a comparison has been made using the data from the interviews of mainland children (Oracion *et al.*, 2005b).

*Age differentials in MPA knowledge.* Children aged 13 years old and above comprised the group that cited personal observation as their main source of information about the management and benefit of the MPA. Meanwhile, children who said they "do not know" about particular MPA issues were found among the 12 years old bracket and below. The data reaffirm the observation that older children tend to be more critical and are more able to form independent opinions on issues relative to the MPA. But when compared with the data among mainland children (Oracion *et al.*, 2005a, p. 34), it is noted that the number of children who were not knowledgeable about some MPA issues was lower among Apo Island residents than among the former because the MPA has been on the island much longer than it has on the mainland—the MPAs here were established only in mid-90s. Therefore, Apo Island children are more well-informed about the value and management of the MPA mainly because they have differential MPA exposure.

*Socialization by whom.* Although children cited personal observations as their number one source of information about the MPA off Apo Island, their parents expectedly play significant roles in socializing them about its management and economic potentials. From the findings, fathers, whose occupation as fishers takes them away from home for extended periods of time, did not appear to play a totally dominant role as information providers at home as much as mothers. Predictably, results show children citing their mothers as equally important sources of ideas about the MPA. This might be explained by the active role local women play in the fishing economy of the island as well as in the early development and management of the MPA (Oracion, 1998, p. 40; Oracion, 2000, p. 21), while at the same time managing their households and carrying out their domestic duties. The greater opportunity of wives to be involved in resource management provides them more knowledge of the nature of MPA, and puts them in a unique position to impart such knowledge to their children in the absence of their husbands.

Children also reported other sources of MPA information aside from their parents. At this point, the data about mainland children are again found helpful to appreciate the range of individuals the Apo Island children have as MPA information sources (Oracion *et al.*, 2005a, p.32). Comparatively, the number of information providers other than the parents reported by island children is twice greater than those of their counterparts in the mainland. The significant others other than parents that island children considered as agents of MPA information specifically include the *barangay* captain or village head (30.00%), classroom teachers (30.00%), sea wardens (15.00%), Silliman scientists (10.00%), friends (7.50%), *barangay* council members (3.75%), neighbors (2.50), and grand-



fathers (1.25%). Thus, the wider and more varied the sources of information about the MPA and the longer the years this has been functioning imply that MPA value is already more embedded among the younger generation of Apo Island than on those in the mainland.

The reason why children consider the *barangay* captain, Mario Pascobello, a vital source of information about matters relative to the MPA, which is not the case in the mainland, is not only due to his political position. The *barangay* captain, a college graduate, is also a strong advocate of marine environmental conservation. As a dive master himself, he is in the best position to describe the underwater world of the island to children. Moreover, he was one of those adolescents in the island who supported the initiatives of MCDP (Alan T. White, pers. com., May 28, 2001). He has also been cited in Alcalá's (2001, p. 81) report for his role in convincing other nearby island communities to engage in protective conservation projects. As part of his advocacy work, he has traveled to parts of Southeast Asia to share his practical knowledge on community-based MPA. The *barangay* captain's life works illustrate how a child who is convinced about the values of an MPA can assume a significant role in advocating for its sustainability in his or her adult life and take up leadership roles to sustain it.

**Socialization about what/which MPA values.** Sixty-five percent of the children interviewed saw the MPA off Apo Island as a "breeding area" that sustains fish supply and provides the catch of fishers by its spillover effect. Twenty-five percent recognized its touristic value for becoming a present major attraction on the island, a source of revenue from entrance and user fees, and a provider of non-traditional employment to some locals. However, ten percent aging less than 10 years old do not seem to be familiar with the nature of an MPA. Foremost of the MPA restriction that is known to the children is fishing within the protected area because of its extractive nature. Findings also show that children have knowledge of MPA restrictions such as destruction of corals by stepping on them, extraction of marine organisms, and indiscriminate throwing of garbage. Similarly, they evinced familiarity with the imposition of user fees, the restrictions on motorized boats inside the protected area, and the designation of entry points for recreational diving and snorkeling.

However, the result showed that 55 percent of the children were not in favor of scuba diving inside the MPA—a sentiment that they must have learned from their grandparents (75.00%) and parents (57.14%), who blamed divers for disturbing fish habitat that consequently affected their catch. It is possible to speculate that this rating has also been influenced by the children's awareness that a majority of their elders wanted not only to restrict scuba diving activities outside of the MPA but to allow it only approximately 100 meters away from the fishing grounds (Raymundo, 2002, p. 7). Reports about tourist divers deliberately damaging bamboo fish traps (Maypa *et al.*, 2002, p. 211) may also explain the negative attitude of some fishers and their children toward dive tourism on the island.

Ironically, 80 percent of the children favored the construction of addi-

tional resorts on the island for economic reasons. By contrast, only 52 percent of the parents and 47 percent of the grandparents shared this idea. Expectation of tourism benefits is already seen to be higher among children. More importantly, this suggests the capability of older children (13 years old and above) to form their own opinions based on existing development potentials and the practical significance of these to their future. But at least four children also shared the view of adults about the effects of crowding in the island by tourists and the potential threats of too much diving on fish and coral conditions.

*Methods and venues of socialization.* Aside from personal observations, children reported receiving direct instructions about the MPA from their parents either at home or at the beach while waiting for fishers to arrive from sea (Plate 1). Other social agents were also reported giving information in this manner. This study has also noted that parents would sometimes bring their children along to attend assembly meetings and listen to the *barangay* captain speak or Silliman University scientists discuss about the MPA. Similarly, some children also identified their classrooms, particularly the lectures of their science teachers, as the venue for learning about the MPA—a learning opportunity that is not popularly cited by children in the mainland (Oracion, 2005a, p. 33). Casual conversations with friends in the neighborhood, or at the beach while swimming, or hanging around likewise provide opportunities for knowledge transmission among children. One child pointed out that he understood the value of the MPA better and the importance of obeying regulations after he had observed a sea warden apprehending a violator.



Plate 1. In the company of their mothers, children wait on the beach for their fathers coming home from fishing.



## THE FUTURE OF CHILDREN'S SUPPORT OF MPA

In order to keep track and to appreciate children's future support of MPA, it is important to relate this with that of their parents and grandparents. It would be alarming if the children's rating of their prospective support of MPA in the future lags far behind the ratings of their parents and grandparents of the same parameter because this suggests that adults have failed to demonstrate or transmit MPA values to the younger generation. Similarly, looking into the factors that are significantly correlated with the self-rating of future support of children will give clues what management areas or issues have to be mitigated in order to ensure that these children will give the necessary support when they eventually replace the adults in the community. The observations and apprehensions of parents about the current attitudes of their children toward the MPA and its significance in their lives will further help in improving the ways by which pro-MPA behaviors can be encouraged.

Despite the perceived downtrends in MPA management, the self-ratings of MPA support of adults generally appear to be *high and stable* because no statistically significant differences exist when their respective ratings are compared during different management periods. However, while grandparents and parents' ratings had insignificant difference in their support when MPA management was yet under MMC (4.53 vs. 4.90,  $t$ -Test= 1.99, critical value= 2.02), the latter's support had significantly exceeded that of the former under PAMB (4.41 vs. 4.95,  $t$ -Test= 2.41, critical value= 2.02) and in the future (4.35 vs. 4.95,  $t$ -Test= 2.54, critical value= 2.02). The data also show that grandparents are more divided in their support ratings (having higher variances) compared to parents. This may mean that a few grandparents have already limited their involvement, either because of old age or to give way to the younger generation. However, it cannot also be denied that there are emerging resentments particularly coming from grandparents who were personally involved in the establishment of the MPA. Among this group of respondents, the "it was us who started it" feeling remains very strong as they reminisce those times they were yet given full control of their own resources. This development again proves the need to have a reserve of young MPA supporters.

So how does the self-rating of future support of MPA by children, which has a mean of 4.50, relate with the self-ratings of their grandparents and parents? Although the children's future support is already *very high*, it is still significantly lower compared to their parents' future support (4.50 vs. 4.95,  $t$ -Test= 2.42, critical value= 2.02), but statistically similar with their grandparents' future support (4.50 vs. 4.35,  $t$ -Test= 0.47, critical value= 2.03). The extent of the future support expressed by children, which is somewhere between the support ratings of their parents and grandparents, reflects how they are exposed to two sources of opinions and role models. As significant others, grandparents and parents directly and indirectly mold children's MPA perceptions and attitudes and eventually their behavior toward the MPA. But why would the future support of children significantly differ from their parents with whom they

are directly exposed? One plausible explanation seems to be the aspirations of some children to work or reside outside of the island.

Children who were openly uncertain about supporting the MPA cited their future plans to work elsewhere as the reason for their hesitation. According to them, their absence from the island will not make it possible for them to give the support expected from them. These children strongly believe that they will have better life chances if they had college degrees and found employment outside of Apo Island. Nevertheless, since almost half of the children interviewed expressed preference to stay in the island, as shown earlier in their work aspirations, this ensures a future reserve of adults who will sustain the management of the MPA. Moreover, as this same group of children has expressed strong support for MPA, then the future of MPA sustainability is likewise assured.

However, other interrelated factors will ultimately determine the actualization of children's future support for the MPA as adults. The factors, which are significantly correlated with the future MPA support of children, include their personal observations on the present ( $r=0.64$ ) and future ( $r=0.59$ ) fishing MPA benefits, the fish and coral conditions in the future within ( $r=0.53$ ) and outside ( $r=0.51$ ) the MPA, and the future compliance of dive operators ( $r=0.66$ ). In other words, children who expect to benefit from the MPA in the future would sustain their support. Sustained fishing benefits, however, depend on improved quality of fish and coral within and in waters surrounding the MPA. These are management issues that rest upon how adults, particularly those holding political positions, seriously carry out the present task of enforcing and keeping the MPA functional so that it achieves its biodiversity conservation goals while providing tangible benefits to the community. Children, specifically those aged 13 years old and above, have already demonstrated the ability to grasp these issues.

Meanwhile, the majority of the parents who were firmly convinced of the future support of their children argued that their children have full understanding of the importance of MPA to the fishing economy and food security in the island. Part of the reason is that these children practically grew up with the MPA, hence they have learned to appreciate its value at a very young age. Given this exposure to MPA, parents believe that their children are very familiar with the environmental norms already prevailing in the island. In a way, they presumed that children have already developed a sense of ownership of the MPA. Data show that children who expressed strong support did not only appreciate how the MPA sustains fish catch, but also saw it as socially significant attraction in the island. They said it is psychologically boosting because, aside from tourists, several high-ranking personalities in the government, academe, and various non-government organizations from within the country and abroad have visited the island. These exogenous social factors can also contribute to the increase in enthusiasm of children to extend MPA support.

But two parents who were not happy with the current MPA management regime expressed contrary views about the prospect of children's future



support of the MPA and gave a zero rating to this particular parameter. One claimed that the changes in MPA management policies and the problems of appropriating its income could discourage their children to support it. Another cited the existence of the prevailing partisan politics in the island as a factor that could discourage the younger generation from becoming more active supporters of the MPA. Among the children respondents, two (aged 18 and 19 years old) also shared the sentiments expressed by these parents. Unlike the parents, however, the children were not discouraged by these factors from expressing support of the MPA (should they decide to remain in the island), seeing it instead as a valuable tool for conserving biodiversity and attracting tourists. Nonetheless, despite the preponderance of positive attitude toward the MPA among children, only time will tell if this disposition will persist when they grow up to be adults and become politically involved. As for the disgruntled parents, the zero rating they gave to the future support of their children might be purely a reflection of their own discontent and frustration over current MPA management. But this is a matter of speculation.

#### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Intergenerational perceptions reveal that the following management parameters of Apo Island MPA: (1) enforcement of regulations, (2) compliance by resource users, (3) the MPA biophysical conditions, and (4) its benefits have remained high and stable since the direct management by MMC up to the present PAMB management, and presumably to remain so in the future. These ratings of different management periods and across generations of raters suggest that intergenerational flow and sharing of MPA information are at work. Although the observed downward trends in the perception ratings of the state of MPA by adults during different management periods are not statistically significant, these have to be mitigated in order to continue reaping the rewards of the island's marine conservation initiatives. Not to be taken lightly, these downward trends must be viewed as manifestations of the emerging resentments of locals towards the take over of the current management of the MPA and of their island by a national law.

It is widely accepted that the example of elders can play a vital role in influencing the behavior of the younger generation, particularly in a small island community where everyone is related to each other either by consanguinity or affinity. Following this view, children may only be encouraged to support the MPA when they see that the adults are also showing enthusiasm and commitment to support the present management of this initiative. Grandparents and parents are information providers from whom children accumulate knowledge about MPA values which they later integrate into their personal lives. This knowledge could serve as the basis for developing a personal interest in supporting MPA management in the future. But the data also reveal that children's interests in MPA are not simply molded by the information provided by adults but also by their observation of specific behaviors of their parents

and other resource users. This is particularly true among older children who draw their knowledge more from personal observations rather than through direct instructions. It is possible that the tangible accomplishments of Silliman University and other conservation groups on the island's environment have also influenced children's enthusiasm.

It is possible to conclude that since almost half of the respondents among the younger generation expressed willingness to remain in Apo Island (while others aspired to work elsewhere, thus reducing pressure on the island's resources), the future of MPA and the sustainability of its management is more than assured. But the actualization of this necessary support depends on whether the MPA will still be in effect, remain untouched by legislative amendments as a result of political turnovers, or have the same meaning for the children in the future as it does at present. In the final analysis, as the older generation passes on, only the committed support of the younger generation will assure MPA management sustainability (see also Raymundo & White, 2004, p. 51). This paper does not deny the possible impact of other equally important factors on MPA management sustainability, but for the time being this is beyond the scope of this study.

This study suggests two vital areas to consider in mapping ways to ensure that the young generation will openly accept the challenge: first, by addressing the contentious MPA management issues and the political threat, both of which presently cause disquiet in the community; and second, by providing appropriate modeling and cultural reinforcements which will actively encourage the young to assume management in the future. For the second area, the role of school teachers in significantly reinforcing the positive attitudes toward the MPA that children got from their families of orientation cannot be overemphasized. Because every child necessarily spends some time here, the schools on the island, including and especially the recently-established high school level, play vital roles as strategically situated places where IEC (information, education, and communication) materials in the form of magazines, books, posters, and audio-video media about nature protection and conservation may be obtained and disseminated.

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APPENDICES:  
TABLES IN TEXT

Table A-1. Perception ratings of the effectiveness and fairness of MPA enforcement

ENFORCEMENT AND RATERS	PERIODS			VALUES		
	Before PAMB	With PAMB	Future	Computed	Table	Remarks
<i>Effectiveness</i>						
Grandparents	4.00 (1.00)	4.29 (0.85)	3.94 (1.14)	0.56	3.19	NS
Parents	4.25 (0.72)	3.90 (1.99)	4.00 (1.79)	0.43	3.16	NS
Children		4.06 (1.40)	4.25 (1.53)	0.44	2.04	NS
Computed value	0.82	0.31	0.28			
Table value	2.03	3.18	3.18			
Remarks	NS	NS	NS			
<i>Fairness</i>						
Grandparents	4.24 (1.07)	4.00 (1.63)	3.88 (1.86)	0.36	3.19	NS
Parents	4.29 (1.31)	3.52 (2.66)	3.29 (3.41)	2.33	3.15	NS
Children		3.94 (1.70)	4.25 (1.53)	0.70	2.04	NS
Computed value	0.14	0.65	1.86			
Table value	2.03	3.17	3.18			
Remarks	NS	NS	NS			

Figures inside parentheses refer to variances. NS= Not significant.

Table A-2. Perception ratings of the compliance of resource users with the MPA regulations

STAKEHOLDERS AND RATERS	PERIODS			VALUES		
	Before PAMB	With PAMB	Future	Computed	Table	Remarks
<i>Dive operators</i>						
Grandparents	4.47 (1.64)	4.35 (1.74)	4.25 (2.07)	0.11	3.20	NS
Parents	4.42 (0.48)	4.58 (0.59)	4.53 (0.71)	0.21	3.17	NS
Children		4.47 (0.37)	4.68 (0.34)	1.09	2.03	NS
Computed value	0.15	0.26	0.85			
Table value	2.03	3.17	3.17			
Remarks	NS	NS	NS			
<i>Tourist divers</i>						
Grandparents	3.53 (1.64)	3.82 (2.53)	3.75 (2.60)	0.18	3.19	NS
Parents	3.57 (2.26)	3.95 (2.35)	3.90 (2.09)	0.41	3.15	NS
Children		4.00 (1.41)	4.39 (1.08)	1.12	2.03	NS
Computed value	0.09	0.07	1.02			
Table value	2.03	3.17	3.17			
Remarks	NS	NS	NS			
<i>Local fishers</i>						
Grandparents	4.71 (0.35)	4.94 (0.06)	4.65 (0.74)	1.08	3.19	NS
Parents	4.62 (0.45)	4.86 (0.13)	4.86 (0.13)	1.69	3.15	NS
Children		4.55 (0.47)	4.60 (0.57)	0.22	2.02	NS
Computed value	0.42	3.58	0.83			
Table value	2.03	3.16	3.16			
Remarks	NS	S	NS			

Figures inside parentheses refer to variances. S= Significant. NS= Not significant.



Table A- 3. Perception ratings of fish and coral conditions within and outside the MPA

CONDITIONS AND RATERS	PERIODS			VALUES		
	Before PAMB	With PAMB	Future	Computed	Table	Remarks
<i>Fish and corals within</i>						
Grandparents	4.29 (0.47)	4.06 (1.31)	4.18 (1.78)	0.20	3.19	NS
Parents	4.60 (0.57)	3.79 (2.40)	3.67 (3.29)	2.45	3.17	NS
Children		4.30 (0.54)	3.80 (2.06)	1.39	2.02	NS
Computed value	1.28	2.85	0.51			
Table value	2.03	3.16	3.17			
Remarks	NS	NS	NS			
<i>Fish outside</i>						
Grandparents	4.29 (0.97)	4.00 (1.25)	3.94 (2.43)	0.39	3.19	NS
Parents	4.45 (0.58)	3.80 (2.17)	3.63 (3.02)	1.93	3.16	NS
Children		3.95 (0.89)	3.35 (2.03)	1.57	2.02	NS
Computed value	0.54	0.14	0.65			
Table value	2.03	3.17	3.17			
Remarks	NS	NS	NS			

Figures inside parentheses refer to variances. NS= Not significant.

Table A-4. Ratings of parents and children with regard to the fishing and tourism benefits of the MPA

BENEFITS AND RATERS	PERIODS			VALUES		
	Before PAMB	With PAMB	Future	Computed	Table	Remarks
<i>Fishing benefit</i>						
Grandparents	4.53 (0.51)	3.94 (0.81)	4.00 (1.25)	2.08	3.19	NS
Parents	4.48 (0.66)	4.29 (1.01)	4.33 (1.53)	0.19	3.15	NS
Children		4.39 (1.08)	4.22 (1.48)	0.44	2.03	NS
Computed value	0.21	0.99	0.37			
Table value	2.03	3.17	3.17			
Remarks	NS	NS	NS			
<i>Tourism benefit</i>						
Grandparents	2.88 (2.74)	3.94 (1.18)	4.18 (1.28)	4.66	3.19	S
Parents	2.86 (2.03)	3.57 (1.76)	3.62 (2.15)	1.93	3.15	NS
Children		4.10 (0.73)	4.20 (0.69)	0.38	2.02	NS
Computed value	0.50	1.22	1.56			
Table value	2.03	3.16	3.16			
Remarks	NS	NS	NS			

Figures inside parentheses refer to variances. S= Significant. NS= Not significant.



Jose Edwin C. Cubelo

## Perceptions on the Importance, Adoptability, and Extent of Integration of Sustainable Agriculture in Extension Programs In Oriental Negros, Philippines

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The study describes the agricultural technicians' (ATs) views on the importance, practicability, and adoptability of sustainable agriculture (SA), and the extent of its integration into agricultural extension programs in the province of Oriental Negros, Philippines. The study employed a descriptive survey design, using Likert-type scales. Respondents to the study include 126 ATs of the Local Government Units (LGUs) of the province. Research findings show that the responding ATs believe in the importance of extension programs that promote SA. They emphasized that for SA practices to be adoptable, these need to be profitable and economically viable. However, they also expressed apprehensions about SA's workability and practicability in farms, especially in relation to farmers' capability to make informed decisions about its adoption. SA principles and practices have gained inroads into local agricultural extension programs as manifested by the perceived high level of integration of SA topics in agricultural extension activities. Among other SA practices, organic farming, and integrated pest management (IPM) were reported to be highly integrated into agricultural extension programs in the province.<sup>1</sup>

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### INTRODUCTION

**C**ognizant of the critical problem of worldwide degradation and depletion of natural resources and the environment, the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) has been promoting the adoption of the sustainable development framework. It defines sustainable development as "meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own" (PCSD, 1997). Sajise (1999) explained the meaning of sustainable development as "maintaining or prolonging the productive capacity of the natural resource base to meet

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<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations used: SA-sustainable agriculture; ATs- agricultural technicians; LGU- local government units; AFMA – Agriculture and Fisheries Modernization Act; ATI – Agricultural Training Institute; IPM- Integrated Pest Management.

the needs of human society." He elaborates that "the capacity of a country's natural resources and life support system to provide the needed goods and services for its present and future generation is a main determinant of sustainable development." In the Philippine context, the WCED's advocacy for sustainable development provides the philosophical underpinnings for the so-called Philippine Agenda 21 which advocates sustainable development whose essence is the "harmonious integration of a sound and viable economy, responsible governance, social cohesion and harmony and ecological integrity to ensure that development is a life enhancing process." This concept is also the focal point of the Agriculture and Fishery Modernization Act of 1997 (AFMA), R.A. 8435, which incorporates sustainable development as one of its guiding principles.

The threats posed by conventional agriculture, characterized as resource-degrading, industrialized, intensive or high-external input (Pretty, 1995), on the sustainability of agriculture's resource base and on environmental quality, ushered in the emergence and advancement of sustainable agriculture (SA) as an alternative system for agriculture resource management. Pugliese (2001) characterizes SA as belonging to the endogenous development paradigm which highlights the significance of low-input, resource-conserving farming systems (as cited by Bacongus, 2002). Among others, SA has come to be associated with such terms as alternative, regenerative, biodynamic, low external input, organic, eco-agriculture, and permaculture (Pretty, 1995). These farming systems have come to be regarded as sustainable to varying degrees. A definition of SA that has been embraced by more than 300 non-government organizations (NGOs) coming from more than 60 countries during the Earth Summit and Global Forum in June 1992 in Rio de Janeiro describes SA as "any practice, method, technique/technology, philosophy or system of production that makes agriculture ecologically-sound, economically-viable, socially just and equitable, culturally appropriate and grounded on holistic science" (as cited by Zamora, 1999).

For long term viability, there is clearly a need for the agriculture sector to move toward sustainability (Marshall & Herring, 1991). As frontrunners in initiating positive changes in agricultural communities, extension agents, locally referred to as agricultural technicians (ATs), play a pivotal role in helping farmers decide whether to adopt SA practices (Agunga, 1995). Faced with the challenge of advancing agricultural practices that promote agricultural sustainability, ATs are expected to integrate SA in their extension programs and activities. Consequently, this study focuses on ATs' perception of SA and the extent to which they have integrated SA practices into their daily programs and activities. Specifically, this study aims to 1) examine the views of agricultural technicians regarding the importance of SA in extension programs, its practicability or workability in farms, and its adoptability among farmers, and 2) to determine their perceptions on the extent of SA integration in their extension teaching activities.



## METHODOLOGY

The study employed a descriptive survey design to achieve the objectives. The population for the study consisted of all ATs that have been devolved to the local government units (LGUs) at the municipal and city levels in the entire province of Oriental Negros, Philippines. A random sample consisting of 30% (n=126) of the total devolved AT population from 20 municipalities and 5 cities of the province provided data for the study. Data gathering started in January up to March 2006.

To collect data, a self-administered questionnaire, which was previously pre-tested with 10 undeveloped ATs, was individually handed out to the devolved ATs. The study adapted parts of the instrument used by Agbaje, et al. in their study on the "Impact of Sustainable Agriculture on Secondary School Agricultural Education Teachers and Programs in the North Central Region of the United States" (Agbaje, et al. 2001). The section dealing with perceptions on SA was adapted by rephrasing four (4) of the original 16 perception statements to suit the study's objectives, and by eliminating one (1) of the statements from the list. The remaining ten (10) original statements were retained. Similarly, the portion of Agbaje's survey instrument which lists the different SA practices was also modified to suit local particularities. One SA practice/ topic was eliminated but was replaced by 2 other SA practices; two were rephrased; while the remaining five were retained. These parts of the instrument made use of a five-point Likert-type scale to determine the range of perceptions of ATs on 15 SA-related statements and the extent to which they have included each of the listed SA practices in their extension programs and activities. Means and standard deviations were calculated in order to describe the data

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS

The ATs in this study are affiliated with the LGUs (city and municipal levels) of the entire province of Oriental Negros. The responding ATs consist of equal number of males and females, and are middle-aged, averaging 43.89 years old (Table 1). They have been in the extension service for an average of 14.96 years. These data suggest that they joined the service when they were about 29 years old, and that extension work may not have been their first job. They have varied fields of specialization, mostly agriculture-related, although majority (57%) of them reported having specialized in crop science, reinforcing the notion that extension work in the country is biased towards crops to the neglect of livestock extension (Cardenas, 2004). Majority (69%) of the respondents hold permanent appointments, serving an average number of 9.56 barangays, more than two times higher than the national average of three to four barangays served per extension agent (Cardenas, 2004). The last two years, from

2004 to early part of 2006, the ATs attended an average number of 3.19 trainings on various topics related to agricultural production and agricultural extension.

Table 1. Personal characteristics of respondents.

PARTICULARS	CIRCUMSTANCES	CHARACTERISTICS
Respondents	n=126	All are connected with the LGU Extension under the offices of the municipal and city agriculturists
Place of Assignment	Come from 20 municipalities, and 5 cities in the province of Oriental Negros	Majority are from LGU-municipal level
Sex	Equal number of males and females	50 percent males, 50 percent females
Age	About middle-aged	Average of 43.89 years with a range of 23 to 63 years, standard deviation of 10.10
Length of Service in Extension	Relatively short	Average of 14.96 years with a range of 0.7 -41 years, standard deviation 10.10
Status of appointment	Majority on permanent status	69 percent of ATs are in permanent appointment
Field of specialization	Varied	57 percent are in crop science, 18.5 percent in animal science, and the rest distributed in five other fields
Area of coverage of extension (number of barangays served)	Varied	Average of 9.56 barangays with a range of 1 to 33, standard deviation of 8.48
Number of trainings attended in the last two years (2004-2006)	A number of local trainings in the last two years	Average number of trainings attended 3.19 with a range of 0 to 7, standard deviation of 1.95



## ATs' PERCEPTIONS ON SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE

Table 2 shows the means and standard deviations of the 15 perception statements ranked in descending order based on mean scores. Statements ranked 1, 2, 3, 14, 15 are related to the perceived importance of SA in extension programs, while statements ranked 8, 9, 12 and 13 pertain to SA's workability or practicality. On the other hand, those ranked 4, 5, 6, 7, 10 and 11 deal with SA's perceived adoptability by farmers. Adapting the methodology of Agbaje, et al., (2001), the five point rating scale was interpreted as follows: 4.50 - 5.00= strongly agree; 3.50 - 4.49= agree; 2.50 - 3.49= neither agree nor disagree (neutral); 1.50 - 2.49 = disagree; and 1.00 - 1.49 = strongly disagree.

As the mean scores indicate, the respondents neither strongly agreed nor strongly disagreed with any of the 15 statements related to sustainable agriculture (SA). However, they "agreed" with seven (7) statements, showed neutrality by neither agreeing nor disagreeing with six (6) others, and manifested disagreement with only (2) two statements.

In particular, the statements garnering the top three highest "agree" mean ratings were those alluding to the importance of making SA an integral part of government agricultural extension programs. Specifically, the responding ATs indicated that they would support extension programs that encourage the use of SA practices. They perceived SA practices to be an important part of their extension teaching activities, and stressed the need for extension programs to promote agricultural practices that are both ecologically sound and economically viable. These views may be attributed to what is now increasingly regarded as an emerging role of extension—promoting natural resource management and environmental protection (Battad, 2003; SDC, 1997), which is considered key underpinning principle of SA. To some extent, the respondents' views are indicative of the inroads SA practices have made into government agricultural extension programs as manifested in the articulation of SA principles and practices in extension programs and activities, and into the thinking and activities of ATs involved in this study. This is operationalized in, among others, the widespread involvement of ATs in the nationwide implementation of the FAO-Integrated Pest Management (IPM) - KASAKALIKASAN Program. IPM has been widely acknowledged as a sustainable agricultural practice (Pretty, 1995).

The respondents also agreed with statements indicating the importance of agricultural practices used on farms to be economically viable, and specifically, for SA practices to be profitable to be adoptable (statements ranked 5 & 6). It appears that the perceived adoptability of SA practices hinges not only on its capacity to ensure ecological stability, but also on the attainment of economic viability and profitability, among other considerations. The ATs' lack of certainty on statements ranked 10 and 11, which broadly pertain to the adoptability of SA without specifying its ecological or economic implications, reinforces this notion. Moreover, the ATs are cognizant of the need for changes in farm management practices as a pre-requisite for farmers who plan to adopt

SA. Agbaje, et al. (2001) explained that managemental changes are indispensable as farmers consider environmental and social factors along with the economic dimension in their farming operations. It appears that for SA practices to be adoptable, all SA dimensions must be given equal emphasis. This was to be expected because for agriculture to be sustainable, according to the NGO Sustainable Agriculture Treaty, "it has to be ecologically sound, economically viable, socially just, culturally appropriate and based on a holistic scientific approach."

Table 2. Means and standard deviations for the perceptions of agricultural technicians (ATs) regarding sustainable agriculture\*

RANK	PERCEPTION STATEMENT	N	MEAN*	S.D.
1	I would support government extension programs that encourage the use of sustainable agricultural practices	126	4.43	.77
2	Teaching about sustainable agriculture practices is an important part of extension activities	126	4.36	.77
3	Extension programs must promote agricultural practices that are not only ecologically sound but economically viable as well	126	4.31	.66
4	Adoption of sustainable agricultural practices will be easier for farmers who have both crop and livestock enterprises	126	4.25	.84
5	Most farmers will adopt sustainable agricultural practices if these practices do not reduce profits	126	4.12	.83
6	If sustainable agriculture practices reduced the profitability of farmland, farmers would not adopt them	126	3.69	1.95
7	Use of sustainable agricultural practices requires that farmers change farm management practices	126	3.69	.99
8	The purpose of farmland is to use it to derive maximum financial gain	126	3.47	1.09
9	Sustainable agricultural practices would work well on any farm	126	3.39	.96
10	All farmers can adopt sustainable agricultural practices	126	3.37	1.23
11	Sustainable agriculture practices are not adoptable in some farms	126	3.23	1.07
12	The farmer has enough information to make decisions about using sustainable agricultural practices	126	3.17	1.25
13	Most sustainable agricultural practices are not practical for the average farmer	126	2.67	1.13
14	Advocates of sustainable agriculture have an anti-farmer attitude	126	2.49	1.12
15	Government has no business telling farmers how to use their land	126	2.13	1.04

\* Rating Scale :: 4.50 - 5.00 = strongly agree; 3.50 - 4.49 = agree; 2.50 - 3.49 = neither agree nor disagree (neutral); 1.50 - 2.49 = disagree; and 1.00 - 1.49 = strongly disagree.



On the other hand, the respondents were neutral on statements related to the purpose of farms (no. 8) and the workability or practicability of SA (nos. 9 & 13). They manifested a wide range of opinions on these issues as shown in the high standard deviation values (greater than 1.0) for all but one of the statements rated neutral. Specifically, the ATs were unsure of their stand with respect to the statement "the purpose of farmland is to use it to derive maximum gain."

This ambivalent stance may be explained in part by what SA advocates contend as the need to look beyond financial profitability of farms as the only consideration in farming operations, and to strike an acceptable balance between increased production efficiency on one hand, and ecological well being, on the other. SA advocates argue that "ecological sustainability is a necessary condition for the achievement of long term economic and agronomic sustainability" (Lowrance, et al. 1986).

The respondents expressed similar views on the issue of whether farmers possess sufficient information to make informed decisions about adopting SA practices, whether these practices would work well in farms, or are practical for farmers to follow. The ambiguous position of ATs on these issues may have stemmed from their insufficient exposure to SA farms and lack of interactions with SA practitioners due to the scarcity of farms employing SA practices in the country in general, and in the province in particular, as opposed to the preponderance of conventional farms (Viado, 1997).

On a different note, the respondents disagreed with the statement that SA advocates have an "anti-farmer" attitude, conversely suggesting that they viewed SA practices to be pro-farmer. This supports the contention of SA advocates that SA practices are important and beneficial to farmers and the community at large, and for both the present and future generations, because SA aims to ensure the long term viability of the resource base of agriculture. In more concrete terms, SA advocates argue that by emphasizing the use of locally available renewable resources, appropriate and affordable technologies, and minimal dependence on external and purchasable inputs, SA promotes increased local independence and self-sufficiency, thereby ensuring a source of stable income for peasants and small farmers (NGO Sustainable Agriculture Treaty, Global Forum, 1992).

By disagreeing with the statement that government has no business telling farmers how to use or what to do with their farms, the ATs were, in effect, saying that government must play a role in ensuring that agricultural resources are well-utilized in a manner that is consistent with national goals as exemplified by the Agriculture and Fisheries Modernization Act of 1997. Clearly, this stance is consistent with their views on SA as an important part of government agricultural extension programs (See statements 1 and 2 in Table 2).

## EXTENT OF SA INTEGRATION IN EXTENSION ACTIVITIES

Table 3 presents the means and standard deviations on the perceived extent of SA integration in the extension activities of ATs. Following Agbaje's, et al. (2001) mode of interpretation, the five point rating scale was interpreted as follows: 4.50 - 5.00= very high level; 3.50 - 4.49= high; 2.50 - 3.49= moderate; 1.50 - 2.49 = low; and 1.00 - 1.49 = none. A total of 98 ATs provided responses to these questions. Since most of the SA practices listed are crops-related, ATs who were involved in non-crop related extension activities refrained from responding to the questions.

All the SA related topics presented were included by the responding ATs in their extension teaching activities though none of them were done at a "very high" level. With the exception of "soil testing" which was included at a "moderate" level, all the other eight (8) topics were tackled by the AT's at a "high" level. The SA topics receiving the top two highest mean scores were organic farming and integrated pest management (IPM), respectively. The emergence of organic farming as the top pick of ATs is not surprising because according to Viado (1997), organic farming, together with low external input (LEI), and biodynamic farming are the most common approaches to sustainable agriculture being employed in the Philippines, although they may not be practiced in their pure forms (as cited by Baconguis, 2002). The USDA Study Team on Organic Farming defines organic farming as "a production system which avoids or largely excludes the use of synthetically compounded fertilizers, pesticides, growth regulators, and livestock feed additives. To the maximum extent feasible, organic farming systems rely upon crop rotations, crop residues, animal manures, legumes, green manures, off-farm organic wastes, mineral-bearing rocks, and aspects of biological pest control to maintain soil productivity and tilth, to supply plant nutrients, and to control insects, weeds, and other pests" (as cited by Gold, 1999).

Clearly, the definition shows that organic farming encompasses the other topics also identified by ATs as part of their extension teaching activities such as crop rotation, reduced use of pesticides and synthetic fertilizers, and others, although they were not rated as highly as organic farming. The high ratings for IPM and INM (Integrated Nutrient Management) were not unexpected because these two systems-oriented sustainable agricultural practices are part of the major programs of the Department of Agriculture (DA) in relation to its grain productivity enhancement programs. Although devolved, many of the extension activities of the LGUs are done in support of the program thrusts of DA.



Table 3. Means and standard deviations for the perceived extent of integration of SA topics in agricultural extension teaching activities.

RANK	SA TOPICS	N	MEAN	S.D.	EXTENT OF INTEGRATION
1	Organic Farming	98	4.32	.89	High
2	Integrated Pest Management	98	4.00	.91	High
3	Reduced Use of Chemicals (Pesticides)	98	3.87	1.04	High
4	Crop Rotation	98	3.86	.89	High
5	Integrated Nutrient Management	98	3.85	.91	High
6	Soil Conservation	98	3.70	.89	High
7	Insect-resistant Crops	98	3.62	.97	High
8	Reduced Use of Synthetic Fertilizers	98	3.52	1.06	High
9	Soil Testing	98	3.47	1.00	Moderate

### CONCLUSIONS

Based on the findings of this study, the following conclusions can be drawn:

Results of this study show that participating ATs believe in the importance of making SA an integral part of extension programs, as indicated by their support for extension programs that promote SA principles and practices and by their appreciation of the importance of making it a part of their extension teaching activities.

Though generally supportive of SA, the responding ATs have varied perceptions on certain dimensions of SA. While voicing certainty that SA practices must be profitable and economically viable in order to be adoptable, they also expressed reservations on the practicality and workability of these practices on farms. In particular, ATs expressed concern whether farmers have access to sufficient information that will guide them when deciding to adopt SA practices on their farms.

To some extent, sustainable agricultural practices have gained inroads into local agricultural extension programs in the province as they have become part of the extension teaching activities of the ATs involved in this study. Organic farming and IPM appear to be the most highly integrated sustainable agricultural practices in agricultural extension programs in the province.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

The ATs need to be provided with more opportunities to learn about SA through

trainings, seminars, field exposures, and others in orders to address their perceived ambivalence on the workability and practicability of SA in farms, and to sustain and enrich current initiatives which promote SA practices through their extension teaching activities. In cognizance of the very limited availability of training programs for ATs at the LGU-municipal level, it is suggested that national programs being implemented by the Department of Agriculture, in partnership with the LGU extension, should encompass or reinforce the teaching of SA practices to upgrade the competencies and confidence of 'ATs on SA. The LGU extension offices need to link up with the Agricultural Training Institute and recommend the inclusion or strengthening of emphasis on SA in their capability building programs for ATs.

Due to the limitations of studies that primarily rely on perceptions, this paper recommends another study that will determine the true extent of SA integration in local agricultural extension programs using more objective measures such as an actual examination of extension program documents, and actual observations and assessment of extension programs in action.

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Anke Siegert and Eberhard Curio<sup>1</sup>

## Pitfall Traps Misrepresent the Terricoline Fauna in a Tropical Forest: A Novel Evaluation<sup>2</sup>

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A critical evaluation of trapping efficiency in two rainforest biomes (primary vs. secondary forest) using a new combination of direct observation of events at widely used Barber pitfall traps, dry (= live) trapping, and the deployment of a trap funnel ensuring maximum retaining efficiency was conducted in the NW Panay Peninsula, Philippines. The omission of any preservative fluid ensured that neither attracting nor repelling odors confounded the results. The release of the live catch ensured that there was no depletion of local fauna and, hence, no 'digging-in' effect. Collectively, 12 traps, placed in identical linear arrays of six, in both types of forest each, yielded a total catch of 255 terricoline invertebrates (Oligochaeta, amphipod Crustacea, Myriapoda, Araneae, Insecta and their larvae). Two separate hours of direct observation per day of events of approach by terricolines to three of the traps in each habitat yielded a catch of a mere 21% of all individuals which made contact with a trap, or entered the outer funnel wall, but then turned away or exited and left. For the same reason, traps also failed qualitatively to portray the terricoline fauna by not trapping a formicine species of ant and an araneid spider. Hence, even with a maximum of precautionary naturalness, pitfall trapping grossly fails to reflect a terricoline community in terms of species abundance and composition.

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### INTRODUCTION

**B**arber pitfall traps, in short pitfall traps, are used widely by terrestrial ecologists and taxonomists. Deploying these traps provides insight into the species composition and species abundance of terricoline (= epigeaic) invertebrate taxa of an area (Southwood 1975, Steyskal & et al. 1986). The capture efficiency has been rarely assessed, in spite of its qualitative and quantitative importance. Among many situational factors, the presence and the nature of a preservative fluid, trap location, and trap dimensions and material

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<sup>1</sup> Sequence of authors was determined by flipping a coin.

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have all been found to affect capture success, and, hence, portrayal of the fauna under study (Luff 1975, Seifert 1990, Weeks et al. 1997, Laeger & Schultz 2005). Additional confounding factors are the decline in capture numbers with time, the 'digging-in effect' (Greenslade 1973, Southwood 1975), and the behavior of potential trap victims—some ants managed to rescue themselves even after falling into the preservative, or used the trap as a dumping site for dead nest mates (Seifert 1990, Laeger & Schultz 2005). Aside from these significant observations, the behavior at and in the trap has received scant or no attention. What really happens at the trap has eluded most researchers who inferred distributional pattern from a faulty capture pattern.

Here we combine for the first time live pitfall trapping with direct observations at select traps and compare these data with the real captures at these and analogously placed traps nearby in two rainforest stands in the Philippines. The conclusions arrived at are particularly reliable since, unlike most research in field, the absence of a preservative has had neither a repelling nor an attracting effect. This has enabled us to suggest that pitfall traps portray the soil invertebrate fauna only to a very limited extent, and researchers are well advised to gauge capture efficiency by monitoring events around their traps, thereby replacing pattern-based conclusions with process-based conclusions. In addition, surveying the soil fauna in two differently disturbed habitats yielded some insight into the impoverishing effect of destruction and regrowth of primary forest. The significance of this aspect derives from the fact that the Philippines ranks number one globally in terms of biodiversity (Myers, et al. 2000) while registering a tremendous 82% destruction of its forests.

#### STUDY AREA AND METHOD

Pitfall trapping took place near Research Station 'Sibaliw' of the PESCP at the western border of a mosaic of primary and secondary (= second growth, 32 year old) rainforest of the NW Panay Peninsula (11°49'11.6" N, 121°58'0.5"), 450 m asl, Philippines. Two equal sets of traps, one in either type of forest, were spaced 90 m apart; the primary forest set of traps and the secondary forest set of traps had a distance of 25 m and 17 m, respectively, from the border separating the two biomes. Each set consisted of six traps, arranged in two parallel lines of three each, that were separated by 10 m; within a line, traps came in 1 m intervals. Alongside each 3 trap-line and immediately adjacent to it, a blue polyethylene sheet of 25 cm height was erected as a 'guiding fence' to maximize capture success. The traps were made from 1.5 l water bottles owned by the 'Hidden Spring' company and formed by cutting off the neck of the bottle and then smoothly reinserting this part into the body in an inverted position to form a funnel of 9 cm length and a lower aperture of 4.5 cm (Fig. 1).

The funnel ensured that animals falling into the trap were retained. Escape by flight was negligible as it was never observed during observation stints (see below). The opening of the trap had a diameter of 9 cm and had a height of 20 cm above the bottom that was fitted with drainage holes to prevent

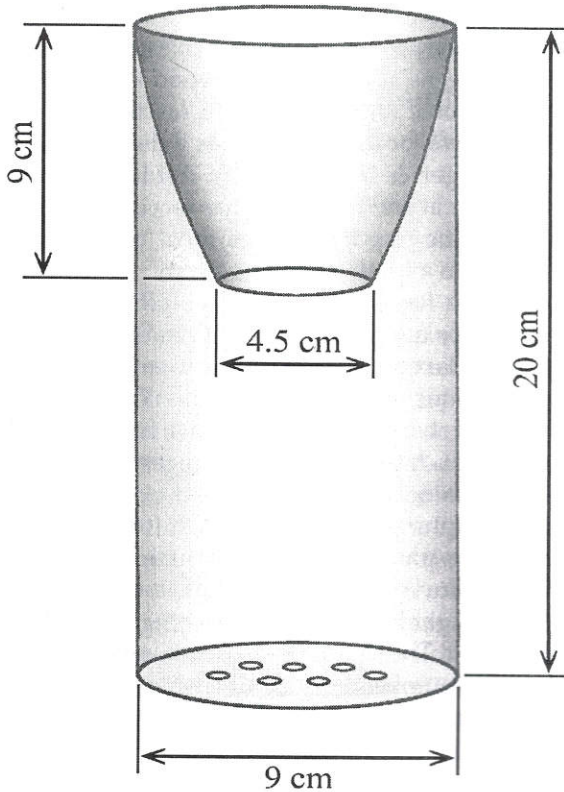


Figure 1. Pitfall trap made from plastic bottle. Drainage holes not drawn to scale.

the animals from drowning and the eventual evaporation of odorous rain water; the holes were sufficiently small as to retain even small invertebrates. In addition small stones placed on the bottom also forestalled the drowning of terricolines. (The restrictive collecting permit of the DENR prohibits indiscriminate killing/collecting of any animal. Besides this would have run against the authors' ethics standard). Draining of water was further facilitated by digging the hole accommodating the trap deeper than dictated by the height of the bottle. Traps were sunk into the ground so that their lip came to lie level with the ground. When emptying a trap, it is taken up, its funnel removed, the catch counted and identified, and later released alive. Before repositioning a trap, the funnel is snugly attached in place again, and the soil adjacent to the lip carefully flattened as before. While thus shuttling the traps hence and forth, the observer wore latex gloves to prevent contaminating them and the surrounding soil with undesired odors. Furthermore, no insect-repellents were ever used before, during, or after field work, i. e. collecting and observation sessions.



The animals caught were screened twice a day, photographed where applicable, and scattered on the ground 5 meters away from the trap lines. Sometimes dead ants were found, likely the victims of others that had been trapped alongside (for an alternative explanation see Discussion). Terricolines were identified, at best, down to subfamily level because of the restrictions imposed on collecting (see above). Accordingly, only an epigaeic talitrid amphipod (Crustacea) species was collected for later identification.

Starting 18 March the traps were directly observed from a vantage point (hammock, plastic chair, standing still) while the observer, always the same person, minimized movement, vocalizing, and shading. From this vantage point, a 3 trap-line was monitored in front of the 'guiding fence' from a distance of ca. 1.5 m from the nearest trap. Observation stints in one forest lasted from 8.00 to 9.00 a.m. and from 16.00 to 17.00 p.m. and in the other from 9.05 to 10.05 a.m. and from 17.05 to 18.05 p.m. respectively. The sequence of observations in both habitats was randomized by flipping a coin before each 2 hr stint. During observations, every animal which happened to contact a trap's lip, enter and/or exit a trap, or turn away from it upon sensing the 'cliff', was given a score; those exiting did so after a few seconds of walking around on the funnel wall facing upward. Animals exiting from the funnel and those turning away were scored 'avoiders', the captured ones 'captives'. With avoidance events of from 0 to 3 per hr observation, and even less captures, the observer never overtaxed in recording events completely, yet the surrounding litter may have led to some avoiders being overlooked by chance.

## RESULTS

Captures comprised of Oligochaeta, Crustacea (1 talitrid amphipod species), Araneae, Myriapoda, Insecta and their larvae, including eight ant species [Formicinae]. The total number of captures was broken down into trap 'avoiders' and 'captives', as directly observed from seclusion, and the total numbers of captives, including those observed in the actual act of capture as retrieved from the traps (Table 1).

During direct observations there have been totals of 13 and 9 'avoiders' in primary and secondary forest, respectively (Table 1, B and C). Since the difference is not statistically significant (2-tailed binomial test,  $p = 0.524$ ), samples were pooled. This total of 22 'avoiders' compares to totals of 1 and 5 observed actual 'captives' in both habitats during the same observation periods (Table 1, D and E). Since this habitat difference is likewise insignificant (2-tailed binomial test,  $p = 0.218$ ), numbers from both habitats were pooled, thus yielding a total loss rate across all observation days of 78.6% (22 of 28 individuals). This indicates that the total number of 255 captives as retrieved from the 12 traps (Table 1, F) is possibly only a small fraction of the true number of potential captures. However, this total of all captures needs to be qualified.

First, since traps were left in place, a potential decrease in number of captives may have come about by some 'digging-in effect' because of faunal

Table 1. Daily numbers of individuals of terricoline invertebrates captured ('captives') with or repelled ('avoiders') by pitfall traps near Station Sibaliw, 2005. The effects of primary vs. secondary forest and day vs. night time.

	MARCH														APRIL		
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	01	02	?
A																	
B	3	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	13
C	1	2	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	9	
D	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
E	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	5	
F	19	24	15	20	25	11	16	12	15	21	11	21	13	13	19	255	
G	0	0	0	0.5	1	0	0	0.5	0	0	0.5	0	0	0.5	0	3	
H	0.25	0.3	0.35	-0.05	-0.7	0.35	0.35	-0.3	0.3	0.55	-0.05	0.45	0.25	-0.25	0.35	2.2	
I	0.5	0.65	0.29	0.39	0.68	0.14	0.32	0.29	0.32	0.36	0.07	0.43	0.29	0.29	0.43	5.5	

A: Dates of trap operation  
 B and C: Observed avoiders in primary and secondary forest, respectively; observations from two 1 hr stims/day at 3 traps in each habitat pooled  
 D and E: Observed captives in two 1 hr stims / day with 3 traps in each habitat as in B and C  
 F: Total captives as retrieved from traps in both habitats during 24 hrs and 12 traps combined  
 G: Observed captives/hr and 6 traps, with 3 in each habitat  
 H: Total captives / hr during daytime with 8 hrs observer-free operation of 6 traps, computed from the total obtained with all 12 traps in both habitats  
 I: Total captives/hr during night time with 14 hrs observer-free operation of 6 traps in both habitats



depletion. Since captives were freed alive from their confinement twice a day and mortality in the traps was minute, any 'digging-in effect' must be spurious. Furthermore, a close inspection of numbers in the course of the whole observation period of 16 days (F) shows that numbers do not appear to decline.

Second, direct observations of the traps were confined to 10 hours of daytime so that it could be argued that in the night, i.e. in the remaining 14 hr, there may have been no avoiders, and consequently the tremendous loss rate reported above might have been mitigated. To test this possibility, day and night captures were compared. To make the most of the shorter sampling time period of 10 hr during daytime, the observer tried to determine whether 2 hr sampling in the presence of the observer (Table 1, G) may be combined with the 8 hr in the absence of the observer. To this end the number of all captives/hr recorded by the observer ( $G = 3$ ) was compared to the total of observer-free captures/hr in the day ( $H = 2.2$ ); negative values were derived by deducting the observed captives from the total number of captives. The difference between these two series of daily sample data is non-significant (2-tailed Mann-Whitney U test,  $n_1, n_2 = 15, p \gg 0.05$ ). Therefore the data from both series were pooled to yield a summed up value of 5.2 captives/hr ( $G + H$ ). Then the combined daytime captures/hr ( $G + H$ ) were compared with the series of night time captures/hr ( $I = 5.5$ ); the time period of 14 hr designated 'night time' also unavoidably included about 2 daytime, i.e. morning hours (from dawn at around 6 a.m. to 8 a.m. when observations at the traps started). The slight difference between the two series (5.5 vs. 5.2) is non-significant (2-tailed Mann-Whitney U test,  $n_1, n_2 = 15, p \gg 0.05$ ). From this, one can conclude that trap efficiency does not differ across the light-dark cycle. At the same time, the lack of a difference between observer-free and observer-associated capture data ( $G$  vs.  $H$ ) dispels the idea of a negative influence of the observer's presence on capture efficiency.

Aside from revealing the tremendous loss rate due to trap avoidance reported above, the data have a qualitative dimension as well. Had it not been for an observer at select times, certain taxa would have escaped our attention entirely. Thus a giant black formicine ant avoided the trap 4 times in primary forest (100% loss rate) and fell into the trap in half of 4 cases in secondary forest. Still more elusive was the behavior of a small black formicine ant and of a small spider that were seen to avoid a trap once in primary forest and secondary forest each, respectively. The latter two species had never been among the genuine captures. Potentially overlooking whole taxa would have been almost predicted from an overall loss rate of nearly 79% as inferred above from trap avoidance. Conversely, the talitrid amphipod collected would have been overlooked without trapping.

Finally, the capture data permit one to assess the habitat difference in what could be termed overall 'faunal abundance'. When data from pilot observations from 14 to 17 March and observed avoiders from 14 March to 02 April are added, and when from the respective observation periods 'captive' numbers (category F in Table 1) are extrapolated to 24 hr per work day, then there are collectively 371 captives in primary forest vs. merely 280 ones in

secondary forest. Not surprisingly, there are significantly more individuals in primary than in secondary forest (2-tailed binomial test,  $p = 0.0003$ ).

## DISCUSSION

The major thrust of our findings is the low efficiency of Barber pitfall traps both in terms of species composition and overall capture rate. Though based on a limited study period of 16 days and a moderate number of 12 traps, the study stands out from previous work validating pitfall efficiency (Luff 1975, refs. in Southwood 1975, Seifert 1990, Laeger & Schultz 2005) by its naturalness: it combined dry pitfall trapping (see also Weeks et al. 1997) with direct observation from seclusion of events at the traps and maximized retaining efficiency by virtue of a funnel obstructing escape. Monitoring the behavior (turning away or entering the funnel with subsequent exiting vs. falling into the trap) replaces the inference based on distributional pattern from capture pattern with one based on *actual processes* in addition to capture pattern. This collective bonus revealed a tremendous overall loss rate of 79% of all terricolines that approached and eventually made contact with a trap. This figure is still conservative since a few potential 'avoiders' may have gone unnoticed in the surrounding litter.

In pioneer studies, both Seifert (1990) and Laeger & Schultz (2005) had carefully monitored the behavior of many ant species at pitfall traps independently from us, though they had used a preservative which confounds capture efficiency (Weeks et al. 1997). These ant studies came up with a remarkable number of confounding factors such as the 'self-rescue' and 'allo-rescue' of ants that have fallen into the preservative, ants using the traps as dumping site for dead conspecifics, the proximity of ant nests, to mention only a few. Incidentally, disposing of the dead may explain a sizeable (yet unrecorded) number of dead ants in our traps, which, if true, would tend to still further down-size our capture rate. Working with carabid beetles, and partly by direct observation in the lab, Luff (1975) revealed still other confounding factors such as an interaction of captive size and trap diameter.

Avoidance of and escape from traps apparently differs markedly among taxa. Seifert (1990) found capture rates for five ant species varying from 0.4% to 29.4% (median 4.3%) that translate into loss rates even bigger than the one found in the present study (see also Laeger & Schultz 2005). However, these studies and ours, the first critical pitfall assessment in a tropical setting, feature the same order of magnitude of trap inefficiency. For these reasons, pitfall trapping must be deemed inadequate when the research is aiming at assessing true species abundances. However, it is useful for obtaining a picture of the species composition of a terricoline community though even here a caveat is in place. While we would not have become aware of the terrestrial amphipod mentioned, we would have totally missed other taxa (see Results). Similarly, Weeks et al. (1997) collected 41 species only from kill traps, 12 were collected only from live traps and 32 were collected from both types of traps. Hence, even for the more



qualitative portrayal of a coenosis, pitfall trapping needs to be applied very judiciously.

Our results have also shown that the primary forest terricoline coenosis is vastly richer in 'faunal abundance' (= number of captures) than that in the secondary forest, though the two collecting sites lay only 90 m apart. There was no major difference in taxonomic composition (not shown here) though one should recall that our identification scheme was usually not able to resolve differences below the level of the order. Yet even at this gross level of taxonomic resolution, the difference among the two forest biomes adds to the growing literature attesting greater biodiversity in primary forest as compared to any stage of succession of regrowth (Terborgh 1992, Phillips et al. 1994).

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## Notes on the Biology of the Streak-breasted Bulbul *Ixos siquijorensis* (Steere 1890)

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This paper describes the results of an investigation on some aspects of the ecology of the Streak-breasted Bulbul (*Ixos siquijorensis*), using opportunistic field observations on Siquijor Island. The nest and eggs as well as the species' vocalizations are described and documented. This species was sighted for the first time in the mangrove area in Tulapos, Enrique Villanueva in Siquijor Island while feeding probably on insects and small vertebrates. Habitat destruction brought about by farming and firewood extraction coupled with hunting are still its major threats.

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### INTRODUCTION

**T**he Streak-breasted Bulbul (*Ixos siquijorensis* sensu lato) or "tigbaya" is an endemic species of bird that can be found only in the remaining forests of Cebu (subspecies *monticola*), Romblon, Tablas (*cinereiceps*), and Siquijor (*siquijorensis*) (Kennedy *et al.*, 2000). This species has an endangered status (BirdLife International 2003; IUCN 2006) meaning, it is facing a very high risk of extinction in the wild ([www.birdlife.org](http://www.birdlife.org)).

### THREAT STATUS

This bulbul has been described as endangered because it has a very small and severely fragmented, declining range (BirdLife International, 2003). With a negative population trend at the last assessment, this species' population is decreasing in the wild (BETA, 2006). The Cebu race *monticola* is very rare and nearly extinct and was rediscovered only in the forest of Tabunan, first by Andy Pierce, although always known locally (D. Allen pers. comm.). This race was also sighted by birdwatchers in 2005 (see Roberson, 2006). The Siquijor race *siquijorensis* is severely threatened due to hunting and habitat loss (Evans *et al.*, 1993a), which is apparent (personal observation). Allen (2006) personally observed that in Romblon the race *cinereiceps* is almost extinct although in Tablas it was fairly common in the primary and logged forest at Balogo, and very common above Dobboban.

The Cambridge Philippines Rainforest Project in 1991 observed

*I. siquijorensis* in three study sites, namely Lilo-an, Bandilaan, and Canghaling (Evans *et al.*, 1993a). This was later confirmed by Paalan in 1994. In 2002 Jakosalem and others revisited the forests of Canghaling, Salagdoong, and Bandilaan and observed that this endangered bulbul was present in the said sites.

Some of the ecological and behavioral aspects of *I. siquijorensis* that have not been intensively investigated include its nesting behavior (Kennedy *et al.*, 2000), feeding habits (BirdLife International, 2003), and interaction with other species.

In this paper, some aspects on the ecology and behavior of *I. siquijorensis* are described based on recent field observations done on Siquijor Island.

## METHODS

Opportunistic field observations on the behavior of the Streak-breasted Bulbul were undertaken in the following localities: 1) Cang-isad; 2) Cantura; 3); Canghaling in Catulayan and Tubod in the Municipality of San Juan; and 4) Mt. Malabahoc in Bandilaan Natural Park in the Municipality of Siquijor. The study was undertaken from April 2005 - April 2007 and included a total of 31 days of observation.

## STUDY AREAS

With an elevation of 100-400 m a.s.l., Cang-isad (09°11'25" N latitude, 123°27'31" E longitude) is about 2 kilometers from Candanay Norte in the municipality of Siquijor. The forests in this area are of secondary growth (canopy height of about 5-8m, usually less than 0.5m diameter at breast height) and composed mostly of native species of trees like "labnog" (*Ficus sp.*), "linog" (*Alstonia macrophylla*), and "dita" (*Alstonia sp.*) growing on limestone. The undergrowth is thick with various species of shrubs, herbs, and grasses. Also found in this area were several coconut plantations and croplands planted with cassava (*Manihot esculenta*). Slash-and-burn farming or "kaingin" was also observed in this locality. In fact, at the time of the field work, newly created/burned clearings were observable, some of these found near and sometimes just adjacent to roads. This site was visited between April 14-16 2005.

Cantura lies within the following barangays, namely: Tambisan A and B, Paliton, Solangon, and Caipilan. The forest is patchy throughout; trees are almost restricted to the rugged and dry limestone-dominated outcrops. Most of the trees are stunted due to rocky substrate and canopy height ranges from 10-15m and with maximum Dbh of 0.5m. Common woody plants include the black plum "lomboy" (*Syzygium jambolanum*), "nangkaon" (*Eliocarpus candollei*), "sala" (*Sloanea sigum*), "dalakit" (*Ficus sp.*), "buto-buto" (*Ardacia pyramidalis*), "inyam" (*Antidesia ghaesenbilla*), and native variety of guava (*Psidium guajava*). The locals had cut some of these trees for firewood. Most croplands were planted



with cassava (*Manihot esculenta*) while the rest were either plowed in preparation for corn (*Zea mays*) planting or abandoned to be colonized by various species of shrubs, herbs and grasses (usually cogon, *Imperata cylindrica*) to be used later as pasture for cattle and goats. The undergrowth is thick with shrubs and grasses and some trees have entangled lianas and vines in the canopy. This was observed during the following dates: May 15-18 2005; August 28, 2005; September 3, 4, and 24, April 14-16, May 29, June 1-6, and September 18 in 2006; and on March 16 and 20 in 2007.

The forest in Canghaling is primarily composed of natural stands of ilang-ilang (*Cananga odorata*) and various species of *Ficus* locally known as "bahi", "taloot", and "labnog". A small patch of less than 10 ha still retains mature secondary limestone forest with canopy trees of 20m or higher. The understory is dominated by the palm known as "ubod" in the local dialect. Introduced trees such as gmelina (*Gmelina arborea*) and mahogany (*Sweitenia macrophylla*) were also common. This site was visited twice, on December 19 and 20, 2006.

Tubod in San Juan has forest fragments primarily composed of "linog" (*Alstonia macrophylla*), and the area has various bamboo thickets. It is only about 3 kilometers away from Canghaling. Because the forest patches in this locality are relatively small, this was visited only once on April 23, 2006.

Mt. Malbahoc in Bandilaan Natural Park is the highest point of Siquijor Island. It is surrounded by farm lots and abandoned croplands. The area is dominated mainly by *Ficus* sp., molave (*Vitex parviflora*), dapdap (*Erythrina* sp.), and tangile (*Shorea polyserma*) along with several exotic species such as mahogany (*Sweitenia macrophylla*), gmelina (*Gmelina arborea*), and teak (*Tectona grandis*). Trees have canopy height at about 15-20 or even higher. The undergrowth is thick with saplings of large trees, shrubs, and grasses. Visit was made on this forest on April 18-21 in 2005.

Further observations were also noted on the following localities: Datag, Larena (December 24, 2006); Timbaon, and Cang-asagan on April 14, 2007.

#### FIELD OBSERVATIONS

The following observations were made during fieldwork: 1) food items consumed *in situ*; 2) vocalizations - using a microcassette recorder; 3) interactions with other species (observed with the aid of binoculars); and 4) nesting behavior. The biometrical data of captured individuals were taken with the use of a vernier caliper.

In addition, the local inhabitants in Siquijor were interviewed personally to gather additional information, especially on the specific threats on the survival of this bulbul such as hunting, slash-and-burn farming, and firewood extraction.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

## HABITAT

This taxon usually occurs in forest, forest edge, and tall second growth (Rand and Rabor 1960 in BirdLife International 2003), including much degraded patches, but at low density in scrub on Siquijor (Evans *et al.* 1993b). Although this bulbul can survive in thin and even degraded patches (Collar *et al.* 2001), habitat destruction and hunting are still its major threats. Thus, forest in some condition appears to be essential, since birds are absent from scrubs that do not lie adjacent to areas of taller growth (R. J. Timmins 1997 in BirdLife International 2003). According to Allen (2006), although *I. s. cinereiceps* was absent from areas without native forest in Tablas, it was known also to occur in very degraded forest around Ferrol and two individuals were heard in low secondary growth on a hill. During this study, *I. s. siquijorensis* was usually encountered in foothills with secondary growth and absent in areas without large trees.

## BEHAVIOR AND VISUAL DISPLAYS

The Streak-breasted Bulbul is usually found alone, in pairs, and some times three to four individuals in a single tree (personal observation). D. Allen (pers.comm.) often found many birds in a single tree. In the lowland forest of Cantura in Siquijor, this bulbul was observed twice to attack the Pied Triller (*Lalage nigra*) that occupied the tree or bush where the nest of the former was placed. Conversely, in Canghaling (Dec. 19, 2006) it was attacked by the Brown Shrike (*Lanius cristatus*), which was hiding in dense bushes a few meters from the location of *I. siquijorensis*. Some visual displays include rapid flapping of wings and calling with a loud, raucous voice, often in chorus. This was evident in Cantura where *I. s. siquijorensis* and the Long-tailed Shrike (*Lanius lanius*) occur in scrub.

## VOCALIZATIONS

A recent updated report from Allen (2006) describes the vocalizations of the three subspecies in details, as follows: *I. s. cinereiceps* has a variety of calls, including 'squeaky toy' notes characterized by falling and rising at a variety of pitches. *I. s. siquijorensis* has a rasping and grating quality to its calls with chree and chichaw calls, resembling that of *cinereiceps*, and occasional 'squeaky toy' squeals. Moreover, the song appears as 2.5 second chichachichachichaCHI-CHA-CHI, or chichachichachichaCHREE-CHRAW CHREE CHRAW, reminiscent of a rusty saw. In response to a playback of *siquijorensis*' calls, *I. s. monticola* produced distinct low-pitched rasping calls, which distinguish them from the high pitched squeaky calls of Philippine Bulbul.

As observed in Siquijor, immature birds, characterized by having gray crown, pale breast with black streaks and yellowish bill and



feet, call a whistling (unrecorded) shweet shweet shweet repeated usually up to 7-12 times. The subadult, with lighter plumage, calls several phrases of raucous whit whit whit while foraging at the canopy, and several phrases of a more strident, rapid whit while in flight; then the volume gradually decreases prior to its landing in another canopy. Some of the birds hiding in shaded canopy and, in some cases, bamboo thickets may utter low toned, throaty and slow calls of up to several phrases, then immediately stop when disturbed. In one of the recordings (Fig. 1), whit was uttered at about 4 KHz while the highest energy was also recorded around 11.5 KHz. This is the first, yet incomplete, attempt to describe the voice of the sub-species *siquijorensis* in relation to its behavior. Given that the information on communication systems among bulbuls remains scanty (Kumar 2005), particularly for this species, further investigation is needed including characterization of the vocal repertoire of this species.

#### FEEDING HABITS

At the time of the field survey, this species was found in the field consuming flowers of "nangkaon" (*Eliocarpus candollei*), "sala" (*Sloanea sigum*), and fruits (usually berries) of the following: manzanitas (*Zizyphus mauritiana*), molave (*Vitex parviflora*), and "lumboy" or black plum (*Syzygium jambolanum*). On one occasion (14 April, 2007), in Timbaon, San Juan, Siquijor, one adult *I. s. siquijorensis* was seen feeding on ripe (red and soft) papaya (*Carica papaya*), about 5 meters from the road. Interestingly, on August 28, 2006, about five birds were sighted in the mangrove plantation in Tulapos, Enrique Villanueva, Siquijor feeding presumably on small animals such as insects and lizards. Further study is needed on the feeding habits of this species and also its role in seed dispersal.

#### REPRODUCTIVE BIOLOGY

##### BREEDING

The presence of immature individuals during the month of April (sighted in Tubod, San Juan) and May (in Tambisan, San Juan) may suggest that this species breeds earlier or later than indicated above but this needs to be investigated further. In addition, chasing pairs were observed to be higher in number in March in Cantura (about 5 pairs in a tamarind tree were noted on March 20, 2007) than any other months. In Cang-asagan, a pair of *I. siquijorensis* was seen mating on April 14, 2007 atop manzanitas (*Z. mauritiana*). On Cebu breeding was recorded in early June (Kennedy et al. 2000); on Tablas and Siquijor, specimens collected in January and February showed no sexual development, whereas 17 out of 23 birds taken in late May and early June at Poo, Siquijor, had fully developed gonads (BirdLife International, 2003).

## NEST AND EGGS

A total of 12 nests were found in the foothills of Cantura (09°11'25" N latitude, 123°27'31" E longitude) about 63 m a.s.l. in Siquijor Island during a thorough ocular search conducted during April 14-16, May 29-June 1, 2006, and September 18, 2006. However, only one of these was found to contain eggs.

The nests were found loosely tied in forks of small trees, about 1-1.5 meters from the ground. Morphologically, nests are cup-shaped, slightly elongated, and with external diameters ranging from 13-19.5 cm. Fine flowers of grasses lined the inner portion surrounding the bowl while coarser, loosely arranged stalks and leaves of grasses and tendrils from vines made up the periphery (Fig 2). It is interesting to note that in one of the nests a strip of thin cellophane, which might have come from nearby residential areas, was found among the materials the bird used for building the nest. A thumb size depression at the nest's bottom was found in some nests.

Although the clutch usually contains three eggs, according to the locals, however, only one or two will normally hatch. Oriental house-rats (*Rattus tanezumi*) usually depredate the remaining eggs and subsequently occupy abandoned nests. This aspect, however, has not been studied extensively and awaits further investigation in future studies.

The egg is white, with brown and violet speckles concentrated on the larger end. The size and shape (ovoid) of *Ixos siquijorensis* egg resemble that of the Spotted Dove (*Streptopelia chinensis*) and measures 21mm in length. On June 1, 2006, one of the eggs hatched earlier while the rest showed very minimal cracks. The chick was naked and measured 50mm [2 inches] (total length). Unfortunately, no observations followed because the chick and two unhatched eggs were collected by one of the local egg gatherers.

## THREATS

Due to massive deforestation, lowland faunas of Southeast Asia, particularly birds, are under extreme threat (Brooks *et al.* 1999). Although the *Ixos siquijorensis* can survive in damaged habitat, this bird is greatly affected by forest destruction. There is no clear evidence that habitat destruction has abated on Tablas, Romblon or Siquijor, or will (BirdLife International, 2003). In Siquijor, firewood extraction might significantly affect some aspects of its ecology, particularly its nesting behavior and subsequently its survival. Worst still, even in Canghaling, which is one of the forest reserves managed by the government and the People's Organization in the area, timber pouching continues uncontrollably. During my visit there, I personally saw molave trees being cut by means of hand-saw, usually during night time. Another threat to this endangered bulbul is hunting, including gathering of eggs for food, which is a favorite past-time among out-of-school youth.



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NOTES

## Globalization 3.0: Profile of the Future<sup>1</sup>

### INTRODUCTION

Globalization 3.0 is the idea that the world is flat. It is not about the ancient belief that navigators will eventually sail off the edge of the earth. It is an idea popularized by Thomas Friedman who argues that the global economic playing field had been leveled by connectivity—that the world, in effect, had become “flat,” where individuals and companies around the world now have a far greater opportunity to compete for jobs and customers than ever before. Friedman says these flatteners converged around the year 2000 which created a flat world: a global, web-enabled platform for multiple forms of sharing knowledge and work, irrespective of time, distance, geography, and increasingly, language (Friedman, 2005).

Globalization 3.0 is a new era which challenges the traditional foothold of the West as the core of globalization. It is a challenge spearheaded by India and China—Asian powerhouses which are projected to be the world’s next major powers, according to Prof. Yasheng Huang of M.I.T. Sloan School of Management and Prof. Tarun Khanna of Harvard Business School (<http://hbswk.hbs.edu>). How these two powerhouses will play has great significance not just for Asia, but also, for the rest of the world.

### ARCHETYPES OF GLOBALIZATION

Of course, the integration of the global economy into a single market is nothing new. Roughly, it can be traced to the beginnings of Columbian exchange (the exchange of food, products, people, and diseases between Europe and the Americas as a result of explorations by Columbus and others) and terminated with the Industrial Revolution (the dramatic economic and technological innovations that occurred in England during the period of 1760 to 1830). It started about 1400 A.D. and lasted until 1800 A.D. We may refer to this phenomenon as Globalization 1.0.

Globalization 2.0, on the other hand, which started in the 1800s and culminated in 2000 can be regarded as the unrelenting globalization of markets and labor particularly through neocolonialism dominated by traditional western and middle eastern institutions (e.g., WTO, World Bank, IMF, and OPEC). Frequently, this is the archetype of globalization that almost everyone talks about and likes to hate.

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<sup>1</sup> Lecture delivered during the 105th Founders Day celebration of Silliman University, Dumaguete City.



But here's the rub, the anti-globalization movement commits the fatal fallacy of failing to make this archetypal distinction. Hence, there is that danger that the vociferous protest against globalization is tantamount to "barking at the wrong tree." This is unfortunate because I think, it is not only intellectually dishonest, but also, morally wrong as it misplaces people's energy and offers false hopes.

Although the archetypes are crude criteria to use, the distinction between them is critical because it allows us to compare and contrast the different periods of globalization. But most importantly, the distinction is critical because it allows us to understand the nature and processes of globalization in terms of "what" (product), "how" (innovation), and "where" (location). In short, what is produced, how it is produced, and where it is produced.

As far as Globalization 3.0 is concerned, Friedman builds his thesis around ten major "flatteners:" (1) the collapse of the Berlin Wall (1989), signifying the victory of capitalism and end of the Cold War, yielding a single global market; (2) the invention of the Netscape Internet browser, which dramatically increased the universal sharing of information; (3) the emergence of "work flow" software, such as Outlook, Ebay, and Paypal, which enables people to collaborate on projects and conduct commerce from remote locations; (4) open-source programming, which has forged a culture of information-sharing that has dramatically reduced costs; (5) outsourcing of off-site services, such as call centers, around the globe, especially to India and the Philippines; (6) "offshoring," or relocating factories to places like China, which both lowers costs for consumers and develops the economies of poor countries; (7) "supply-chaining," which means using the new IT tools to track purchases, reduce inventories, and streamline distribution of goods; (8) "insourcing," or the importation of one company's workers into another in order to perform specialized tasks more efficiently; (9) powerful search engines such as Yahoo! and Google; and (10) the emergence of handheld devices and wireless communication, which radically increases the flexibility with which individuals may deploy the new technologies (Friedman, 2005).

### THE PRACTICAL NECESSITY

Understanding the phenomenon of the current globalization is not only an academic necessity, but also a practical necessity for everyone. It is practical in the sense that the opening of Windows, the digitization of content, and the spreading of the internet browser by anyone seamlessly connect us with the world as never before. It has increasingly become the typical reality affecting everyone. We have become accustomed to the fact that most of us now are increasingly working with flat screens and platforms day in and day out.

This is the inescapable condition of our contemporary way of life. The ever-emerging globalization is inevitable—there is no going back. It is anachronistic to imagine or to think that an unflat world, an unwired world, a windowless world is a current or future possibility. Globalization will continue to

march in its progressive steps. It will remain as the locus for the invention and production of ideas and their applications and will thereby expand its role in providing alternative solutions to the unending needs of an exploding population.

For better or for worse, many of us will live the expanse of our lives wired and rewired to the flat world of IT—a global system for the production, distribution, and consumption of informational goods

### THE WORLD'S NEXT MAJOR POWERHOUSES

Today, the social and economic forces leading to globalization 3.0 appear to be irresistible. China and India are the world's next major powerhouses. It is observed that the real issue isn't where China and India are today, but where they will be tomorrow. With their more than two billion people combined who were used to be regarded as non-players, they are now rushing to the playing field of the marketplace to compete.

America, however great is limited and cannot run things by itself because the challenges in today's world—terrorism, genocide, the spread of nuclear materials and weapons, global climate change—all require collective action. Talk of American hegemony in globalization 3.0 is hogwash! Can America occupy and disarm North Korea and Iran alone? Of course, not! Besides the limits of its military strength, it also lacks the economic means to do everything it wants given its enormous external debt and fiscal deficit.

As the largest international debtor, its current national debt is almost 8.2 trillion. With an estimated population of almost 300 million, each U.S. citizen's annual share of this debt is almost \$30,000 or P1.5 million pesos. Currently, it is borrowing \$665 billion annually from foreign lenders to finance the gap between payments to and receipts from the rest of the world, an amount equivalent to \$5,500 per American household.

And yet, it can be said that what sustains the American economy is its dependence on the continued willingness of other governments to accumulate vast holdings of dollars. Just imagine the shuddering repercussions if the Chinese Yuan becomes the dominant standard of monetary currency and foreign exchange.

Given the American predicament, are there competing approaches to globalization that we in the Philippines can learn from? Perhaps, we might learn a thing or two from the emerging Asian powerhouses. For example, China has favored an FDI approach (foreign direct investment-dependent approach). It is a rejection of the old, inward-looking economic ideology of the 1960s and 1970s that advocated protecting domestic markets. In general, FDI has been positive to China. It has provided goods and services that did not otherwise exist. It has also introduced competition into its declining sectors.

India, on the other hand, is building an infrastructure—however slowly—that allows entrepreneurship and free enterprise to thrive. Both seek to play a bigger political role on the world stage. China is already doing that as a per-



manent member of the U.N. Security Council. The differences include the fact that China is taking tangible but slow steps towards embracing private entrepreneurship, a big departure from the past. India is continuing to struggle with making things easier for multinationals (<http://hbswk.hbs.edu>).

Interestingly, China and India will not be able to become what they are today without the help of its diaspora. The different composition of the Chinese and Indian diasporas has to do with the different time periods during which each migrant settled overseas and the different circumstances under which it did so. The Indian diaspora consists more of professionals; the Chinese consists more of entrepreneurs outside China. The implications of the differential structure of the international migration is only now being appreciated, at least in the commercial arena (<http://hbswk.hbs.edu>).

Unquestionably, China has won the race to be the world's factory. It is the world's number one producer of manufactured goods of all sorts and sizes. India on the other hand, with the help of its diaspora has become one of the world's technology laboratory. Big leaguers like Microsoft, Intel, Dell, HP, and Infosys pepper the IT campuses of Bangalore.

#### THE ORIENTAL NEGROS CHALLENGE

So what is at stake for us here in Oriental Negros? What we can learn from these Asian experiences is the sobering thought that in order to be competitive in the global market we have to proactively engage our Filipino diaspora as an indispensable partner of our local power for development.

Specifically, there are four areas that we can do together to carve our niche in the global market. These are: *excellent infrastructure*, *excellent education*, *most investor-friendly laws*, and *excellent environment*. In order to do this, we must build a new flat town, city, or center that will put these four together and I am convinced, the money will come.

Unfortunately, the existing centers of towns and cities cannot handle these new challenges. In the main, they do not have the spatial capabilities to hold these demands. In fact, the Japanese Chamber of Commerce in the Philippines concluded that the country in general is non-competitive compared to other neighboring countries for investment. Its conclusion is based on the following observations: mediocre infrastructure, high taxes, and political instability (*Philippine Inquirer*, 4/4/06).

So, what is our prospect in Oriental Negros? Can we do it? I think so. To date, I can roughly identify, at least two planning corridors or what I call "SFCs (special flat centers)" which may traverse two or more towns and/or cities—the Manjuyod-Bais Corridor and the Dauin-Siaton Corridor.

Spatially, with their strategic locations for the development of international airports, international harbor terminals, panoramic views for housing, corporate offices, and IT campuses—we have excellent locations and possibilities. Indeed, we are endowed with a comparative advantage over other locations in the country or perhaps, in the world.

This is my wish—if we can tactically harness the political muscle of the local political elite, the economic interest of the local gentry, and the quality of life and sustainability concern of the local environmentalists, it is possible for Oriental Negros to become that “City on the Hill,” a beacon for everyone to follow. As the saying goes: “build and they will come.” India and China had already done this and are still doing it.

In conclusion, I like to read this poem to you (<http://dolphin.upenn.edu>):

*In the land where I come from, said the Man in the Hat,  
It's a known fact that the world is flat.  
People may laugh at me, and people may scoff,  
But I know of someone who's fallen off.*



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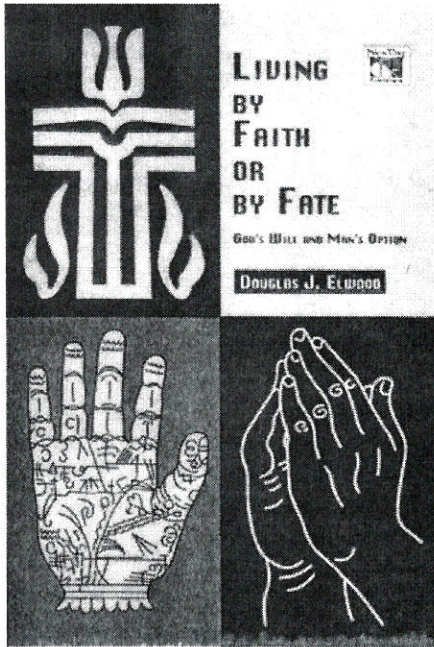
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BOOK REVIEW



Elwood, Douglas J.

Living by Faith or Fate:  
God's Will and Man's Option.

Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 2004.  
197 pages.

**T**he profound theology of William Barclay, Leslie Weatherhead, Paul Tillich, Emil Brunner, and earlier theologians such as Gustaf Aulen, Harold DeWolf, even thinkers and reformers as John Calvin, Martin Luther and going further back into the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Thomas Aquinas and others, animates the pages of this brief but comprehensive coverage of a topic as delicate as "Faith versus Fate" (Reviewer's words). Another way of putting it is to simply say, "The will of God." This volume, needless to say, is replete with pertinent Biblical references which are posted in appropriate places.

If a discussion were to ensue, perhaps it may rise to a level of a real theological debate vis-à-vis socio-anthropological exchange of ideas simply because Dr. D. J. Elwood brings into play a sampling of college-student thinking on the subject matter. All the more interesting is the fact that the representative groups that were surveyed by way of a 64-item questionnaire were on the one hand, Asians, and on the other hand, Americans. The former, from Silliman University, in the Philippines; the latter, from Westmond College in California, U.S.A. All questions in the instrument are answerable by either "true" or "false".

Sociological and anthropological concepts presented in the book are drawn from the works of eminent Sociology Professor Agaton Pal and the well-known Cultural Anthropologist Mary Racelis Hollnsteiner. Some of the vernacular terms used in this book emanate from ethno-linguistic groups, namely, Sugbua-non Visayan of the Central Philippine Islands and Tagalog of Manila and its immediate surrounding areas. Tagalog is the base for the Philippine



national language, Filipino.

The term *kismet*, a Turkish word, meaning "will of Allah" (p.5) and the Filipino word "*palad*" (palm) are equated with "fate" or "fortune". However, no in-depth discussion of the connotation, denotation, implication, or nuances of these words appears in the book.

Understandably, the contents of this monograph are slanted in favor of the Christian point of view. One can discern this immediately in expressions such as "...a philosophy of determinism or fatalism has blinded many of us..." (Preface). Or, with respect to "The Lord's Prayer", 'Thy will be done' is interpreted by many Christian and Muslim Filipinos alike to mean resignation to the inevitable" (p.1). Then, onward, in chapter after chapter of the book, the author attempts to teach the misconstrued or misunderstood meaning of God's Will.

A number of salient points may strike the attention of a theologically interested person.

God's Will to a Muslim is a *fait accompli*. To a Christian, the will of God allows for a revelation and, ultimately, redemption because God is love (Agape: Divine Love) (p.21).

Divine Love is self-emptying (kenotic) love. God gives out Himself in the interacting manner with human beings in the world. The ultimate purpose of such interaction is at-one-ment; that is, God and the human creature are restored to a unity (p.41).

Circumstantial dynamism construes that various facets of human experience should be understood not as a fixed static condition but as a creative process. "The Will of God is continuously unfolding in an open and flexible universe" (p.70).

Human beings, having been endowed with free will, and therefore have the freedom to choose, carry with them the burden of responsibility for their actions. This is predicated on the concept that we are partly of divine nature—created in God's image—yet unlike God because of our finitude. It is really paradoxical (p.95).

The author takes us a step further to the idea that God has some expectations. According to the author, we have to make decisions—intelligent ethical decisions—on the basis of the concept of being human with a divine attribute. And the yardstick as to the rightness or wrongness of such a decision is verifiable in a maximized service to others (p.112ff).

In the penultimate chapter of the book the author discusses the reality of Evil in juxtaposition with God, as a loving God. "Suffering is evil", he contends. Yet, "God shares in the world's suffering" (p. 150). That is the Christian view. Furthermore, God is able to turn evil to good purpose. Finally, God will ultimately triumph over the power of evil.

Before the book comes to its close in the 8<sup>th</sup> chapter, Dr. Elwood shows himself a teacher of Systematic Theology and Christian Ethics. He even appears like a preacher at the end of an evangelistic rally. He brings up a challenge to the reader. "What shall I do with my life?", he asks. Being a Christian,

his answer is "the choices that one makes... our thoughts, attitudes, actions must be consistent with the character and purpose of God as revealed in Christ."

The book contains a number of allusions to contemporary events. Timothy McVeigh's wanton bombing of a populated building in Oklahoma; Susan Smith's drowning of her own children; the 1996 terrorist bombing of Tel Aviv are a few examples. Dr. Elwood even includes some personal testimony of his own—his marriage (p.80). All these bring theology and ethics in real human scenarios.

On page 55, "Robert Skinner, a behaviorist..." is he the same person as the well-known B.F. Skinner of the discipline of Psychology, one wonders.

There are few proofreader's oversight, e.g., "cards are sacked (*sic*) against us" (p.7). Ninevah (*sic*) is repeated on some pages. The book does not have an index.

Salvador B. Vista