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This special issue pays tribute

to

Dr. Agustin A. Pulido

11th President of Silliman University
1996 - 2006

on his retirement

For carving a path for the future of Silliman University with wisdom and fortitude;
for his distinguished contribution to the advancement of higher education;
for providing serene but competent leadership in the university's turbulent times;
for inspiring a culture of creative excellence in every aspect of university life;
for bringing dignified humanity into his work and to all who came into contact with him;
and for a life so simply and so humbly lived but so generously given,

he takes his place not only as an
extraordinary man,
but as close to a legend as Silliman University will have.

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Notice to Authors

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

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

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

Manuscripts should conform to the conventions of format and style exemplified in this issue. Whenever possible, citations should appear in the body of the paper, holding footnotes to a minimum. Documentation of sources should be discipline-based. Pictures or illustrations will be accepted only when absolutely necessary. All articles must be accompanied by an abstract and must use gender fair language. All authors must submit their manuscripts in duplicate, word-processed double-space on good quality paper. A diskette copy of the paper, formatted in MSWord 6.0 should accompany the submitted hard copy.

The Editorial Board will endeavor to acknowledge all submissions, consider them promptly, and notify authors of its decision as soon as possible. Each author of a full-length article is entitled to 20 off-print copies of his/her submitted paper. Additional copies are available by arrangement with the Editor or Circulation Manager before the issue goes to press.

editor's notes

The voyage of discovery is not in seeking new landscapes but in having new eyes
Marcel Proust

There is no greater crime than to stand between a man and his development; to take any law or institution and put it around him like a collar, and fasten it there, so that as he grows and enlarges, he presses against it till he suffocates and dies.
Henry Ward Beecher

If we value independence, if we are disturbed by the growing conformity of knowledge, of values, of attitudes, which our present system induces, then we may wish to set up conditions of learning which make for uniqueness, for self-direction, and for self-initiated learning
Carl Rogers

We are at the very beginning of time for the human race. It is not unreasonable that we grapple with problems. But there are tens of thousands of years in the future. Our responsibility is to do what we can, learn what we can, improve the solutions, and pass them on.
Richard Feynman
US educator & physicist

In this Issue. The articles in this collection traverse a number of disciplines, but they all share something in common—their focus on current social problems in the Philippines, the keenness of their authors' perceptions of these problems, the acuity of their critique tempered by empathy and a shared sense of responsibility as well as by the vision of a better, more humane, and transformed society. In their differing perspectives and equally diverse disciplinary fields, the authors give voice to the capacity to make sense of things and to construct a meaningful and well measured sense of life, a life whose commitments they are willing to make public. In pursuing these commitments, they undertake both literal and metaphorical journeys back to their roots and learn as Marcel Proust has that "the voyage of discovery is not in seeking new landscapes but in having new eyes." The quotes chosen for this issue encapsulate the themes that run through the warp and woof of this

collection and provide the choice points for thinking out loud and taking stands.

Leading the list is Gina Abol Fontejon-Bonior's "Agency and Disempowerment in an EAP/EFL Context: Vignettes from a Village High School in the Philippines." Fontejon-Bonior returns to the community in which she has integrated many aspects of herself and to which she will dedicate a part of her personal and professional life. Providing a voice and a face to that type of "ethnography that breaks the heart," Fontejon-Bonior's paper documents the interview she conducted with students and teachers in a barangay high school in Negros Oriental and exposes the gaping material, cultural, and social asymmetries in this country that separate cities from town, towns from remote villages, the rich and poor, the educated and the unlettered. Lending more poignancy to the already tragic experiences of respondents in this study is their awareness of their complicitous participation in their own oppression. The paper is a searing indictment of the appalling state of public education in the Philippines, particularly in the rural areas and countrysides where the majority of the economically dispossessed live. Paradoxically, the sober tone and controlled prose employed by Fontejon-Bonior in this essay only manages to render this exposé even more subversive in its silent but deafening denunciation of the misplaced priorities of this government.

The next article, still by Gina Abol Fontejon-Bonior, picks up where the previous essay ends to present the conclusions and limitations of a critical ethnographic study on the experiences of apprenticeship and advancement of agency of secondary school students in a rural public school in the Philippines. Entitled "The Co-construction of Identity in a Village High School in the Philippines: Implications for the Implementation of Educational Development Programs," the paper highlights some of the ironies embedded in the country's educational reform programs. Findings of her study reveal that despite their being designed purportedly for the needs of socio-economically

disadvantaged communities, these educational programs may well end up further marginalizing students from areas which these reforms seek to serve. No matter how well-intentioned they might seem, misguided education reforms only serve to undermine the liberating possibilities of education because, as Lou Ann Walker so succinctly sums up, "theories and goals of education don't matter a whit if you don't consider your students to be human beings." The leaders of this country still have much to learn from this Chinese proverb: "If you are planning for a year, sow rice; if you are planning for a decade, plant trees; if you are planning for a lifetime, educate people."

In the next article, Andrea G. Soluta also returns home to her Cordillera community to revisit the perennially contentious issue of ancestral lands as it collides with the globalization-driven economic policies of the Philippine government. Entitled "Ancestral Lands In Search Of A Title: Revisiting Ethnic Relations and Political Alliances in the Cordillera," the article looks at how the development policies of liberalization, deregulation, privatization, and denationalization, as well as the internal power struggles among leaders of indigenous groups and clan wars over boundary issues, threaten the survival of the national minorities and their right to their ancestral land. As a result, the indigenous peoples' very existence as distinct societies and cultures is seriously threatened as their chances of survival are slowly dimming. Interestingly, the report concludes that as a consequence of these threats, the indigenous peoples of the Cordillera region are being transformed by these conflicts into politicized groups intensely aware of their rights to their ancestral domain and ready to defend these rights with their lives.

In the next article, "Weathering the Storms: The Compania General de Tabacos de Filipinas," Joseph T. Raymond also undertakes both a metaphorical and literal journey this time back to his Spanish roots and looks back to examine an aspect of Philippine colonial history, resurfacing with an argument for a more sober, more balanced appraisal of the effects of colonialism in the country. As basis for his argument, Joseph traces the role

of the Compania General de Tabacos de Filipinas, better known as Tabacalera, in the development of the Philippine economy. As the title of this articles suggests, the paper follows Tabacalera's fortunes as these rose and fell with the booms and busts of the Philippine economy and the First and Second World Wars. Founded in 1881, Compania General de Tabacos de Filipinas is one of the oldest leaf tobacco dealers in the world and the first Spanish trading company to be quoted on the stock exchange of both Madrid and Barcelona. Originally created to cultivate, process, and export Philippine tobacco to the Spanish Tobacco Monopoly, the Company quickly expanded into non-tobacco activities, chiefly sugar, and enjoyed quite rapid growth until the Spanish-American War of 1898. The reason for its survival, according to Raymond, could be attributed to Tabacalera's unique style of management, which benefited the localities all over the country in which these businesses were based.

Enrique G. Oracion, in the next article "Beyond Physical Space: The Human and Cultural Complexities in Marine Protected Area Management," argues that the development and management of MPAs as protective conservation tools involve multiple stakeholders with varying agenda. Oracion bases his argument on a case study conducted in Dauin, Negros Oriental, Philippines, which examined the human and cultural complexities that underlie the controversies surrounding MPAs. According to Oracion, MPA success and sustainability are highly dependent on the cultural politics that underlie the interaction of multiple stakeholders, specifically between MPA managers and resource users, such as the fishery and tourism sectors. Because of its unique feature as a built environment, an MPA, argues the author, has to be managed not only as a social space but also as a physical space. Owing to this nature, a MPA provides the common ground on which anthropological analysis can interface with the works of marine and fishery scientists, each mutually enriching their respective environmental discourses, while providing a better understanding of

marine protected spaces and more effective tools in managing them.

In the last article in this collection, Ely L. Alcala and Angel C. Alcala report on "Aspects of Ecology and Threats to the Habitats of Three Endemic Herpetofaunal Species on Negros and the Gigante Islands, Philippines." The report is based on a study of the nature of the microhabitats and the population density of two endemic frogs (*Platymantis spelaeus* and *P. insulatus*) and one endemic gekkonid lizard (*Gekko gigante*) conducted in southwestern Negros Island and Gigante Islands in the Visayan Sea from January 2004 to March 2005. Using direct observations and the quadrat technique for population counts, the study recorded temperatures and relative humidity ranges in the general environment (limestone karst rainforest) and in the microhabitats (rock crevices, rock fissures, and caves) occupied by the three species. The study concludes that direct human disturbance and reduced supply of water resulting from forest destruction and prolonged droughts pose the greatest threat to the survival of the three species.

The **Notes** section of this issue is enriched by the essays of two of the country's top poets, both equally multi-awarded and published. In the first of these, Myrna Peña-Reyes examines George Santayana's autobiography, *Persons and Places: The Background of My Life* and what she un/discovers in her reading is encapsulated in this brief but engaging essay entitled "George Santayana's Philippine Connection."

The other essay in this section by Cesar Ruiz Aquino was originally written as a review of Mel Gibson's 2004 movie release, *The Passion of the Christ*. But more than describing the usual cinematic attributes of this film, Aquino, in his equally provocatively-titled essay, "The Son According to Gibson" brings an erudite reading of Gibson's interpretation of the last twelve hours of Jesus of Nazareth's life, unearthing a compendium of sources as early as the 18th century and as diverse as Reimarus, Schweitzer,

Unamuno, or Crossan, who have historically investigated the life of Jesus.

Presidential Tribute. Because in such a short space it is impossible to pay adequate tribute to someone who managed to move Silliman University in important new directions, Silliman Journal dedicates this issue to Dr. Agustin Pulido to honor his retirement. The special tribute section included in this issue compiles farewell as well as tribute messages from faculty and friends of the President whose lives he has touched in fundamental ways.

Dr. Pulido steps down after 10 years of changing lives and making ideas work at Silliman University. He came to Silliman when the university was experiencing the sluggishness wrought by a succession of short-lived presidencies and protracted leaderships, and assumed the position just in time to deal with an array of daunting crises, foremost of which were the persistent and uncertain financial status of the university and a restive, highly politicized faculty union. In dealing with these crises, he kept the interest of the university and the students in the forefront—all the time with great fortitude and as calmness personified!

In the decade of his presidency, Dr. Pulido left an indelible mark on Silliman University and the higher education community. With characteristic vision and vigor, he led Silliman University to new heights of excellence and innovation and earned wide respect as one of the nation's most thoughtful authorities on higher education. Because he firmly believed that universities draw their strength from their communities, he made Silliman University embrace this relationship as a way to define scholarship and education, as a way to sharpen intellectual debate, and as a way to improve the world. As a result, Dr. Pulido's focus on external relations has opened the door for Silliman to become more firmly connected with its external constituents—alumni, parents, government agencies, environmental organizations, business, and industry.

Without these linkages, it would have bee impossible to sustain the striving for excellence, which was another hallmark of his presidency. For he knew that without excellence, Silliman University will serve its community only poorly. In the process, Dr. Pulido has touched countless lives. I can best sum it up by saying that he will continue to create a space in the lives of many people who will come to know him. He is a good man, and his goodness spread deep and wide. He has left an enormous legacy that will continue to grow with time. For me personally though, I cannot begin to be thankful for his unwavering belief in me. I have always been able to turn to him for a helping hand and even halfway across the world, all I ever needed to do was call him and whether it was about our publication budget, hosting Silliman Journal's campus guests, or funding a lecture, he had yet to disappoint me. Serving in his administration was a truly special privilege. In April just shortly before he was to leave Silliman officially, I called him up to thank him for all the support he has given in my professional and personal life as well as to wish him well on his impending departure from Silliman. Three years since I last saw him, he sounded exactly as I remembered him—soft-spoken, ever concerned, inquiring, like a father! Good humor accompanied his advice and news about his grandsons. And as his gentle chuckle echoed across the thousands of miles that separated us, the distances dissipated and I was brought back once again to that afternoon when he gave me permission to bring Silliman Journal with me to Germany and continue work from that end. The smile on his face as he escorted me to the door reflected an enormous sense of certainty that things will turn out well, although he knew that in allowing me to continue work from another continent he was not only starting a risky precedent but also breaking institutional rules. That sense of certainty is also called faith, which in turn is a wellspring of hope, which in turn is a source of courage. All three virtues Dr. Pulido has shown, and what he has achieved proves so. I came out of that phone call—as I did on that memorable afternoon—restored in faith,

renewed in hope, and strengthened in courage, more than I have ever hoped to give him.

As I sit at my desk in Germany and think of this remarkable man, my mind returns home and wanders to the sparkling blue-green waters of the Boulevard, the comforting rows of ancient acacia trees dotting the campus, the palm trees at the back of the old Silliman Hall, the pleasant murmur of students between classes, the tempting aroma of chicken barbecue wafting from the eatery across the street. I also think of the old Katipunan Hall, the dear, familiar corners of the English Department where much of our early work on Silliman Journal took shape and I am brought back to the times when, breathless, my colleagues and I moved from one creative endeavor to the next, transforming this grimy corner of the world into a veritable anthill abuzz with life, laughter, and hope.

Dr. Pulido did not make these memories happen, but he did make them possible and he certainly lent to them a great deal of meaning. Indeed, it is in large part due to him that I can look back fondly on this period as a decade of achievement and growth, when I had the great good fortune to be chairing the English Department and Editor of Silliman Journal during his presidency. I cannot thank him enough for all he has done for me. As he closes the door of his last official function, I wish him well. It seems to me a strange thing to look forward to nostalgia, but already I can see how my future visits to Silliman will contain ever more bittersweet longings for wonder years now gone. And I am filled with an undefinable sense of loss and a nameless grief that gnaws and gnaws.

Acknowledgments. Because a work of this sort must necessarily involve a collaboration of many minds and many hands, I take great pleasure in thanking all those who have helped to make this collection a satisfying achievement. For this the authors and contributors of this issue deserve much of the credit for the perspicacity of their insights and their professionalism. Especially, I want to thank them for

their boundless patience during the months it has taken us to go to press.

To our readers and reviewers I owe a debt of gratitude for sharing so much of their time and so much critical insights which have transformed these manuscripts into scholarly publications of the right proportion. Pouring their energy not only in providing discerning critiques, they also assisted in the editorial recasting of the papers, saving me precious hours on editorial work.

Regular readers of Silliman Journal will have noticed that starting with volume 46 number 1 2005, three new members have joined our overseas editorial board. Laurie Raymundo, who signified her willingness to continue working with SJ from her base at the University of Guam, is now part of this board. Because Laurie is one of the keenest reviewers for many of our marine science mss, as well as one of the keenest minds to grace the science section of SJ, we are privileged to continue this collaboration with her.

The internationally known herpetologist and regular SJ contributor and reviewer, Dr. Maren Gaulke, consultant for the Zoologische Staatssammlung in Munich, brings her expertise on Philippine herpetology and biodiversity conservation to our science division.

The other new member is Dr. Linda Dennard, Professor at the ETHOS Project on Global Governance and Complexity of the Department of Government, University College Cork, Cork, Republic of Ireland.

They take over from Prof. Eberhard Curio of the University of Ruhr-Bochum in Germany and Dr. Alison Jane Murray of the University of Sydney, both of whom have graciously and generously lent their expertise to Silliman Journal over the years. For their invaluable contribution, SJ gratefully acknowledges Prof. Curio and Dr. Murray.

Dr. Dennard's participation in Silliman Journal was made possible through Prof. Fred Abraham's extensive connection with international scholars. Silliman Journal is grateful to Prof. Abraham for this introduction and for his continued support of Silliman Journal. The presence of

Laurie, Dr. Gaulke, and Dr. Dennard, along with Dr. Marcie Schwartz of Rutgers University provides a fine balance to the disciplinary and gender profile of our overseas Edboard.

This acknowledgment is not complete without mentioning the continued support of colleagues at the Editorial Board. As we look forward to another year of creative collaboration, this time under the presidency of Dr. Ben Malayang, himself an outstanding Sillimanian, let this memorable quote by Ellen Goodman be the guiding principles of our work at Silliman Journal:

> *We spend January 1 walking through our lives, room by room, drawing up a list of work to be done, cracks to be patched. Maybe this year, to balance the list, we ought to walk through the rooms of our lives...not looking for flaws, but for potential.*

Ceres E. Pioquinto

AGENCY AND DISEMPOWERMENT IN AN EAP/EFL CONTEXT: VIGNETTES FROM A VILLAGE HIGH SCHOOL IN THE PHILIPPINES

Gina Fontejon-Bonior

Abstract

This article presents the observations and generalizations I made in the research I conducted in a Philippine village high school three years ago. Framing this discussion are the limitations of the research acknowledging my position as a neophyte ethnographer and my positionality as a participant observer, i.e., someone who grew up in the research site, who immerses herself in the activities of the observed community and continually reflects on her subjectivities as a researcher in such position, and who encourages other research participants to collaborate in the data collection and interpretation. This article is segmented into three parts: (1) the context of study, (2) the observations I made as a participant-observer, and (3) the analysis of recurrent patterns that presented themselves significant for analysis. Such patterns were on three areas: a) the limited agency of students, teachers, and administrators; b) the silencing of critical voices; and c) the paradoxical role of English as socio-economic equalizer and stratifier of students in Philippine context where English, the language of a colonizing power, remains as the medium of instruction in a post-colonial era.

Introduction

This paper describes some of the results of the research I conducted in a Philippine village high school three years ago. The earlier portion of this study—consisting of the rationale of the research, the research questions, and a statement on my positionality as an

autoethnographer – is documented in the article "The I in Interpretive Research: Positionality in Qualitative Studies" (*Silliman Journal*, 45 1 2004, pp. 29-43). A second article entitled, "Schooling as Investment: The Need for a poststructuralist perspective in educational research in the Philippines" (*Silliman Journal*, 46 1 2005, pp. 14-29), discusses the theoretical framework of the study. This present article is divided into three segments: 1) the context of study which describes the research site; 2) my experiences as an autoethnographer negotiating entry into the field of study; and 3) the observations I made as a participant-observer. Because of limited space, only a sampling of the vignettes I recorded are presented here. For brevity, conversational fillers and redundancies in the interviews have been deleted.

The Context

In the mid 90s, the district Congress representative announced the availability of provincial funds to open schools in rural areas in selected regions in the country. Seeing this as an opportunity for the *Municipality of Kaugmaon*[1] to make education accessible to students in remote villages, the municipal (town) government officials suggested that the local leadership at *Paglaum* village draft a resolution justifying the need to open a high school in the area to accommodate students from four neighboring barangays (villages). This was deemed necessary because students from these villages attend high school at the *Kaugmaon Municipal High School* located in the town center about 5-10 kilometers from *Barangay Paglaum*. For many elementary school graduates in these villages who come from economically disadvantaged families, attending high school at the municipal center is a challenge – many families could not afford transportation expenses.

An extension school that would cater to the "*mga tagabukid*" (people from the hinterlands) who could not

afford to send their children to attend the Municipal High School was therefore considered as a viable alternative. In fact, two other extension schools have been operating for several years (*Kaugmaon Municipal High School* principal, Interview, Feb 23, 2003). This move also meant decongesting the *Kaugmaon Municipal High School* which serves high school students from twelve villages. Such a small campus, it can barely accommodate the student population, estimated at 1,888. Because *Paglaum* is the center of four neighboring villages, three of which are mountainous, the resolution submitted by *Paglaum* village officials to open an extension or a satellite of the municipal high school was therefore passed (Figure 1).

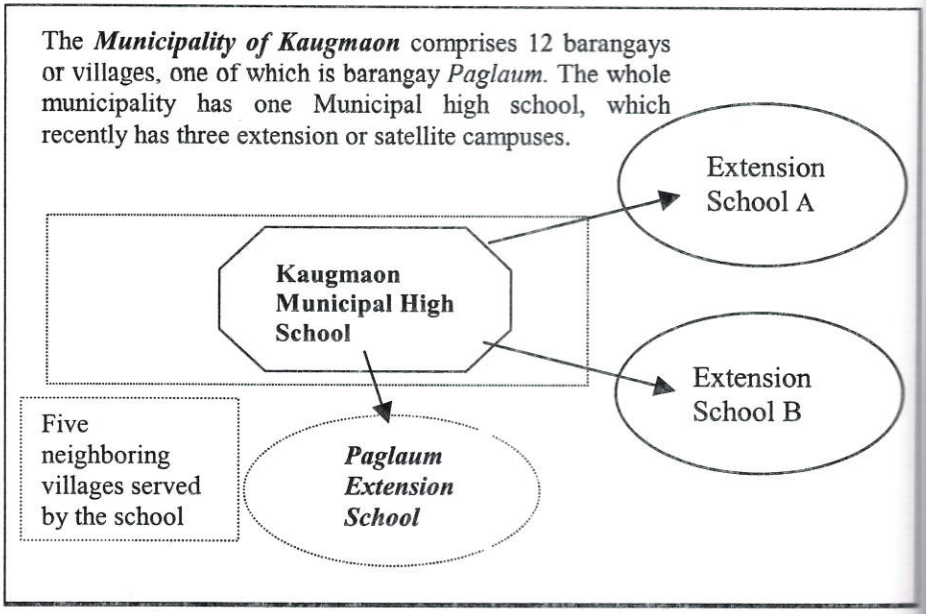

Fig. 1. The context of study

Also, a nationally acclaimed educator, philanthropist, and resident of the area, *Dr. Matinabangon*, has committed substantial donations for the extension high school. However, the extension high school in *Barangay Paglaum* had to be housed in the village elementary school compound because the designated land for the extension school is occupied by squatter residents and evicting them poses problems for both local and provincial governments. Despite *Dr. Matinabangon's* mediation, the provincial government did not have the funds for the relocation of the residents to a neighboring lot. At present, the *Paglaum Extension School* uses classrooms at the village elementary school campus, also donated by *Dr. Matinabangon*.

The school has four regular, full-time teachers, one of whom was just relocated from another school, and seven volunteer teachers. The regular teachers are paid about P8,000 or about $US200 per month, plus benefits (clothing allowance, Christmas bonus, 13th month pay, and productivity bonus), with money sourced from provincial government funds. All the regular teachers have been receiving their productivity bonus based on self, peer, and principal evaluation. Volunteer teachers are, however, paid an honorarium of only P3,000 [about US$55] a month, of which P2,000 comes from the provincial government funds and P1,000 from local (municipal) funds. Such volunteer teachers or teacher aides (a misnomer since most of the volunteers are teaching full time) comprise the majority of the teaching staff. They are hired by the provincial government and assigned to the municipality on an annual contract. Most of the volunteer teachers have passed the national civil service eligibility examination and are graduates of colleges of education. A few do not have education degrees but completed bachelor courses in a particular discipline. For instance, a BS Chemistry graduate teaches Chemistry and General Science.

Despite working on honorarium basis, volunteer teachers render their services mainly to gain the teaching experience necessary for employment as regular teachers in the public schools. Volunteer teachers may be granted regular full time status based on availability of "items" as determined by the Department of Education. Unfortunately, owing to the limited positions or available "items" for regular teachers, many of the volunteer teachers remain in such a position for several years. The second possibility for volunteer teachers to be assigned regular full time status is if a position within the locality is vacated (Telephone interview, volunteer teacher, December 2002). In *Paglaum*, many of the volunteer teachers have been teaching full-time for three to five years. During this time, they hold hopes that their honorarium will be increased and that when new teaching positions are made available, they will be hired because of their experience teaching in the public schools.

To determine who among the volunteer teachers are granted regular status, the local division office conducts a ranking system of all applicants based on interviews, their scholastic achievement, writing skills, and their vision as teachers as reflected in their essay, demonstration teaching, and results of a psychological examination. However, at the time I conducted the telephone interview on February 23, 2003, the principal expressed doubts that a regular fulltime appointment of volunteer teacher was possible because the Department of Education Secretary then had just announced that no new positions were to be made available. At the time of the study, *Paglaum Extension School* had 394 students. With 4 regular full time teachers, the teacher-student ratio was 1: 98. Considering the presence of 7 volunteer teachers, the ratio was 1:36.

The Study: Process and Progress

In an attempt to use *triangulation*[2] in this research, I employed *multiple methods of data collection* namely, a) personal and telephone interviews; b) participant observation, i.e., teaching English classes, and keeping detailed field notes on my experiences and interpretations of the data; and c) videotaping a few class sessions. I also used *multiple sources of* information, which included: a) students and alumna; b) regular and volunteer teachers including one former teacher aide; c) the school principal; and d) a *barangay* official.

For six weeks from July 8 to August 17, 2002, I volunteered as teacher assistant at *Paglaum Extension School.* My objective was to collect data by assisting the English teacher in facilitating classroom activities. However, when I visited the school principal to inquire which teacher I would be assisting, I was requested instead to teach all the English classes. Although classes officially started in mid June, an English teacher was yet to be assigned to the school in July. This was because local elections were to be held in August of that year and the local election ban on hiring by government officials was in place several weeks before and after the scheduled election. As a result, no new teachers were assigned to *Paglaum Extension School* leaving the students without English classes for over a month. I volunteered to teach third and fourth year classes, and requested permission to observe the students in their Science and Math classes as well.

> Despite the fact that I had considered myself an "insider," I realized that in many respects I was far removed from the realities that students faced at *Paglaum Extension School.* Although I graduated from a village elementary school and municipal high school and had experienced marginalization and silencing in academic settings, I had the opportunity to work with "oldtimers" or individuals familiar with the secondary Discourses needed for one to gain entry into a community. These

> oldtimers provided scaffolding for my initiation into schooling as a community of practice (Gee, 1996, p. 139).

James Gee describes Discourses as the "socially accepted association[s] among ways of using language, other symbolic expressions, and 'artifacts', of feeling, believing, valuing, acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or 'social network', or to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful role (p. 131). Gee makes distinctions between two kinds of Discourses—Primary and Secondary Discourses. Primary Discourses, as described by Gee, refer to the Discourses people are born into while secondary Discourses refer to the "Discourses in institutions outside of the family such as schools and are learned by engaging in their practices" (Gee, 1987, in Zamel & Spack, 1998, p. 56). Gee further posits that "discourses are mastered through apprenticeship, not through learning." It is this context that "oldtimers" are needed to provided scaffolding in the process of the learners' apprenticeship into the secondary Discourses (Gee, 1996, p. 139).

At the time of my study, I was a teacher-researcher from a university in the United States. I completed my undergraduate education in a prestigious university in the Philippines and have been teaching in a private school. Thus, I was, in many aspects, an outsider:

> I did not know what to expect when I entered the school site. Although I was born and raised in a *barangay* (village), completed my secondary education in a municipal high school, and had learned about the opening of an "extension high school" in our village, I have never observed any of the classes before nor visited any of the classrooms. The six-year old extension high school, having no campus of its own, was housed in the

village elementary school compound. It consists of three "temporary classrooms", one new concrete classroom, and three rooms "borrowed" from the Elementary School building.

Walking into the campus, I saw students peering from the iron rails that served as classroom walls. When I stepped into the third year classroom, the students stood up and greeted me with enthusiasm. They had been informed about my coming to school as a volunteer English teacher. I told the students to take their seats so we could get to know each other. About twenty students remained standing. *Wala mi bangko ma'am!* (We have no seats, ma'am!), they protested. I froze, not knowing what to say. I looked around. About 90 students were packed in the room, only one fluorescent tube was working, and majority of the students were drenched with perspiration. "It's a tough life, ma'am, because whoever comes to class first gets to have the seats. But those of us from the mountains are disadvantaged [compared to the students living close to the school]. At six a.m., some of us are already walking down the hills to get here. But when we arrive in school, most of the seats have already been taken, so we have to remain standing during the class."

Field Notes, July 9, 2002

Within that first week, I went to the principal's office, located at the main campus, which was about five kilometers from *Paglaum Extension School*, to explain the need for chairs. She immediately showed me some "extra" seats at the main campus that could be transported to the extension school. The principal remarked that although the teachers were informed about these extra chairs, no one came to pick them up. It was obvious that since *Paglaum Extension School* is about five kilometers from the main campus, it would

cost money to transport the chairs there. On the same day, she requested the office of the municipal mayor to provide transportation so that when I returned to the class the next day, the new chairs were already delivered. Nevertheless, since all but six students were seated, I also ended up approaching the *barangay* captain to request him to donate a bench for the rest of the students. On Friday of that week, all the students were seated. One more major hurdle remained – the students did not have books for their English classes since the opening of classes because it was the teacher's responsibility to collect them from the municipal high school and distribute them to the students. And since there was no teacher assigned in the school then, the books remained at the principal's office.

So making the trip to the Principal's office the next day, I found several unopened boxes of new English books for fourth year students there. Since there were none for third year students, I was referred to another English teacher so I could borrow some "extra" books for the students at *Paglaum*. When I finally managed to distribute the books to the students, the student-book ratio of 2:1 was a source of great surprise for the entire class. According to the students, books were often so scarce they had to spend most of the class time copying long texts from the board.

My role as participant observer went beyond assisting students in their classes and teaching them English everyday, five days a week. At the same time, I listened to their concerns; assisted a student who needed to write a speech in English as the school representative in a social function; discussed possibilities for scholarships with them; served as their spokesperson on their concerns about malpractice in school, bringing these issues to the attention of the village captain. I even brought in an amplifier system so that all 90 students could hear me as I read some of their essays written in English to show to the class that

they can write effectively in English when they are provided the time and the means to do so.

With the principal, I shared the students' concerns while also clarifying my role as researcher. I also conducted a phone interview with her regarding her interpretation and explanation of data I had collected from both teachers and students during the interviews. Even though I withdrew from the site after six weeks of teaching, I continued for about seven months to communicate with three of the participants through e-mail and telephone conversations.

From these multiple sources of information and multiple methods of data collection, four topics emerged from the data: 1) ways in which authoritative discourses, such as the commonly accepted notion that one's "intelligence" is measured by one's proficiency in English; 2) ways in which disciplinary technology, such as labeling a group of students as "taga-bukid" (people from the mountains), silence and marginalize students and teachers; 3) the extent of agency that students, teachers, and administration exercised as well as the strategies they use to address unequal power relations; and 4) factors internal and external to the school that limited the agency of students, teachers, and administration and contributed to the marginalization and silencing of some participants.

Tagabukid: On peripheral participation, apprenticeship, and marginalization

As earlier noted, *Paglaum Extension School* was established to provide students from remote rural communities access to inexpensive high school education. Since many families could not afford to send their children to the municipal high school because of transportation expenses, the school was essentially "transported" to the localities. The economically disadvantaged profile of the population in this area is

reflected in the Philippine National Statistics data on the region where *Barangay Paglaum* is situated: the poverty incidence in the area is 53.6% in 1997 and 57.5% in 2000 in the context where the rural areas in the whole country has a poverty incidence of 50.7% in 1997 and 54% in 2000. This figure is based on the poverty threshold per family of P8,250 (about US$165) per month in 1997 and P10,287 (about US $205) per month in 2000 (http://www.dirp.pids.gov.ph).

Recognizing the economic and educational needs of *Paglaum Extension School,* the provincial government, through the initiative of the Congressman, allotted funds for the opening of the extension school. Yet, ironically, the establishment of "extension" school has also unwittingly positioned the school in a marginalized stance. Participants of the study—students, teachers, and the administration—collectively perceived the school, a network of individuals from nearby mountainous communities, as the school for the "*taga-bukid*" and "*only* an extension school."

According to one teacher, students as well as some teachers do not invest as much as they should in schooling because they perceive the school as "*only* an extension school" or "*just* an extension school." Unlike those who attend the municipal high school or any of the schools in the city, students at *Paglaum* do not exhibit practices that the community normally associates with schooling. They do not have to get up early in the morning, wait for public transportation, and spend on academic-related expenses such as transportation and financial contributions. The school does not have a library, a guidance counselor, or an in-house principal or administrator since the principal holds office at the main campus, i.e., at the *Kaugmaon High School* located at the town center, about five kilometers from village *Paglaum.* The same teacher noted:

> Their [the students'] perception of themselves is relative to their perception of the kind of learning they can get from some other school. Actually, they will say that they are studying in this barrio high school...so, it is a "*ra*" [this is only a barrio high school] which is... the statement "ra", *Paglaum* "ra". [*Paglaum* is ONLY a village school]. They think that they can only get a minimum or inferior quality education because this is a local school, and of course they know that the facilities available are very minimal. So, students usually say that the teachers may be less interested to really give them the best education. They also think that they don't have to really do or try their best because this is just a barrio high school and the teachers make them pass anyway (Personal interview, former volunteer teacher, August 15, 2002).

The same sentiment was repeatedly mentioned by the students during the interviews. The students felt that the teachers did not care about their schooling. *Malantip*, one of the students stated:

> *...Ang ilaha, kon unsay nakat-unan sa estudyante, dili nila pun-an. Kon unsay inyong nakat-unan, mao ra na. Libro namo diri, kulang gyud. Mabitin gyud mi dirig mga libro ma'am... Dili pareha nimo ma'am nga naningkamot nga maku-an gyud mi ug libro. Mao ra na. Kanang lingkuranan, mao ra na kay ang ubang maestra diri dili na man pod sila magku-an kon unsay kahimtang sa ilang estudyante, lisod ba o wala, ang ilaha, matudlu-an lang nila. Mao ray ilaha gyud.*
>
> (To them, whatever we learn, that's it. They do not add to our knowledge. Our books here, they're really insufficient. [But they did not do anything about it], unlike you, who strive to obtain the books. Also, the chairs, some teachers are not concerned at all as to the condition of the students - whether they're in difficult

> circumstances or have nothing [to sit on]. To them, as long as they are teaching, that is it.) [*Malantip*, 4th year student, personal interview, August 2002]

In an interview, the principal admitted that lack of books had been a perennial problem in public schools, particularly those in rural communities. However, with the recently enacted "one book per child program" of the Secretary of Education, this scenario, according to her, is "quickly changing." The principal's concern, however, was whether the books sent to the schools were actually distributed to the students. According to the principal:

> ...the memo clearly states that all books must be taken out of the stock rooms and distributed to students. But some teachers do not do so because they know they will be responsible for replacing the book if a student drops out of school without returning the book or loses it. (Telephone interview, February 23, 2003)

Considering that a majority of the teachers in the school were volunteer teachers who were receiving a meager honorarium of P2,600 - P3000 (about $50) a month, having to pay for several lost books at the end of the school year was a risk these teachers simply could not afford to take. So, even if there were available books in the stock rooms, they did not use all of them. Instead, the teachers asked students to copy long passages from the few books made available to a select group of students—those the teachers deemed able to pay for the cost of lost books.

The students, however, believed that this [copying long passages from books] was a "waste of time." *Dili mi motu-on. Dili. Kay naa may copy-hon nga tag-as kaayo.* [We don't study. We don't because the texts that we need to copy are too long]. Since the text in the subjects students consider important is in English, students felt

the need for discussion or teacher's explanation. However, the students claimed that when they asked for explanation, some of their teachers either ignored or reprimanded them for not paying attention. The students complained that instead of acknowledging students' questions on relatively complex concepts, some teachers put the blame on the students. According to *Kalooy*, one of the student-respondents:

> *Sa pulo kabuok maestra diri, morag tulo ray maarang-arang. Kay pananglitan kuno, kon mo-discuss sila, nya mo-explain sila, nya get ¼ . Mo-question mi, mangisog. Bahala na mo diha kay wala naminaw. Problema ra nas wala naminaw.*
>
> (Of the ten teachers here, it looks like only three are ok. Because for instance, when they discuss, then they explain. Then, they right away tell us to get ¼ sheet of paper for a test... If we ask questions, they get angry. They say: it is up to you to listen. It is your problem if you were not listening.) [Personal interview, Kalooy, school alumna, August 17, 2002]

In a study on drop-outs, Stevenson, & Ellsworth (1993) observed a similar behavior: "Virtually all dropouts... criticized the school and identified specific personnel and policies... such as attitude exhibited by teachers.... A frequent criticism... was a seeming lack of caring among teachers, administrators, and counselors" (p. 264). Teachers' lack of proficiency in the medium of instruction—English—was also pointed out by some students. A few recalled asking a teacher what an English concept meant, but could only remember the teacher providing an erroneous explanation. "*Far out kaayo iyang example, ma'am.*" (The example was out of context, ma'am). When one of the students explained the concept, the teacher admitted the mistake. That many teachers even of subjects taught in English are

not proficient in the language has already been identified in several studies. In fact, the Philippine Education Commission Report (1991) emphasized such concern among Filipino teachers. The chapter "The teacher: At the heart of the problem" states:

> ... the teacher is the single most important factor in education. Her or his far-reaching influence as the agent of constructive change in society is beyond question, (p. 24). [Yet], the 1987 study conducted by the Institute for Science and Mathematics Education showed that the English understanding of a sample of elementary school teachers was equivalent to only Grade 7 (p. 12).

Perhaps, because of these limitations and several other factors, many teachers at *Paglaum Extension School* subscribe to what Freire (1972) calls the "banking model of education" (in Watson-Gegeo, & Welchman-Gegeo, p. 69). The majority of the participants described schooling as copying chapters or units from the teacher's book, followed by a brief discussion usually in the local dialect, and then a test. One teacher, however, reasoned that copying is inevitable because of the lack or absence of books. Others reiterated what the principal stated in the interview—teachers could not afford to pay the cost of lost or missing books. Another teacher stressed that much of the class activity involves copying from the book because students like to be "spoonfed":

> *Dili pod. Gusto nila spoon-feeding ilang gusto ba...Sige ra kag sulti, sulat sulat. Mao ra. Maski pag moingon kang mag-test ta ugma, zero pod gani gihapon. Dili god na motu-on.. Kanang study habits nila, wala sila ana.*
>
> (No, all the students want is spoon feeding, They want the teacher to keep on lecturing, and they keep on

writing. Even if you inform them that they will have a test the next day, they still get zero. They do not study. They don't have good study habits). [Personal interview, regular teacher, July 2003]

Majority of the students interviewed, however, appreciated teachers who used interactive classroom strategies. They also pointed out that most of those who employed interesting strategies were volunteer teachers. In an interview, the said teachers who attempted to use innovative teaching strategies or initiated reforms such as the establishment of resource room or makeshift library claimed that they do not get peer support for such initiatives. One volunteer teacher expressed his disappointment during the interview:

> Actually, this is not supposed to be a problem; this is supposed to be a blessing but the regular teachers are taking it the wrong way because teacher aides/volunteer teachers like me, in the past, try to teach the best way we could: we provide visual aids, we teach conscientiously, we provide materials of course, at our own expense. We had film showing; we bring our own audio material [such as] cassette recorder. Mao lagi na, kataw-an mis mga regular ingnon nga "O, tingalig taga-an mo ug medal nga bagol," meaning nga i-mock mi ba. Morag moingon nga naningkamot mog maayo uy. Trabaho ra mog igo-igo sa inyong honorarium nga baling gamaya.. [But what was the response? The regular teachers laughed at us and said: Oh, you might get a medal made of coconut shell for that. We felt mocked. It seems like they're telling us to work commensurate to the meager honorarium that we were receiving.] (Personal interview, former volunteer teacher. August 15, 2002).

The same dynamics was observed by Watson-Gegeo, & Welchman-Gegeo (1995) in their study of language and power in the Solomon islands. They noted that "teachers who see beyond the exam-based vision of teaching become demoralized by their own poor training and the lack of institutional support, so that their creativity is suppressed...." (p. 69).

Yet, it is worth noting that even within this context, students do advance their agency to ensure that effective school programs are maintained and corrupt practices are exposed. For example, students at *Paglaum Extension School* initiated a signature campaign against a teacher who had allegedly embezzled student funds. On one occasion, they offered suggestions how best they might be prepared for college, such as allotting time for computer classes; in another they commended teachers who employed interactive activities in their classes. They even created counter discourses considered unconventional and radical by local authorities—vandalizing the classroom by painting a message for a teacher who was allegedly involved in unfair computation of students' grades (Personal interview, student participant, July 2002).

However, their attempts have been continually suppressed by authoritative discourses. Three instances repeatedly mentioned by students during the interview exemplify such reality. Such relate to the grading system, observed corrupt practices by a teacher, and apprenticeship into college and the ability to use English for academic purposes.

English as medium of instruction: Equalizer or stratifier?

Like most schools in the Philippines, the satellite school at *Paglaum* uses English as the medium of instruction in core courses, such as Science and Mathematics. However, although the Philippines has the reputation as a country where English is used a

second language, in many rural villages such as *Paglaum*, English may not even be considered as such: many of the students are not exposed to literacy and media resources in English. Furthermore, many of them reported having difficulty finding individuals who can provide scaffolding in their apprenticeship into the Secondary Discourses used in school. One participant lamented that he had difficulty with assignments in English and other classes taught in English because he lacked the vocabulary to understand and express his thoughts in English. His family was unable to assist him because his parents and neighbors had low educational attainment. Moreover, because of financial constraints, his family could not afford a dictionary, so he had to go to neighbors' houses to borrow one. Not surprisingly, all the participants in this study were unanimous in pointing out the importance of acquiring proficiency in English for both the school and the work place. In fact, the ability to communicate in English is regarded of such value that teachers and students alike equate it with intelligence. As this student-respondent pointed out:

> *Bugo-bugo ko kay menos man god ko sa English. Lugos ko kabalog grammar. Kanang ubang mga words, dili pod nako masabtan kay walay Dictionary sa amo mohulam god kog dictionary sa among mga silingan… kay ang English man god baling importanteha kaayo bisag asa ka, mo-langyaw kag laing lugar, English man god. Mo-apply kag trabaho, maayog Tagalog nang i-kuan, English man goy I-kuan nimo god.*
>
> (I am quite dumb because my English is not good. I have problems with grammar. I don't understand some of the words and because we do not have a dictionary at home, I have to borrow from neighbors because English is very important wherever you may go. If you go to other places to apply for a job, good English is required of you. It would have been good if we could use Tagalog,

but if we want better jobs, it is English that is required.) [Personal interview, August 2002].

Several Philippine educators have also expressed concern over the effects of students' difficulty in communicating in English for academic purposes on their self-esteem and sense of identity. In her report to the Congressional Oversight Committee on Education, Acuña (1994) pointed out that the insistence on the use of English as medium of instruction place students from poor, rural communities who have very limited access to the language of power at a disadvantage. She further argues that "when children are unable to speak the language of the school, we have perpetuated what colonizers for years failed to teach us—love what is not ours and reject our own.... Public education is meant as a socialization agency where children are prepared for life." Unless schooling is relevant to their own lives, they will not fully invest in it (Acuña, 1994, pp. 106-106). However, influential educators in the country such as Andrew Gonzalez(1999) emphasized that considering present economic realities, English is still the language of aspiration and social mobility... The need for English for utilitarian purposes [therefore] demands differentiation of society, degrees of competence, and topics (or registers). In other words, in Philippine society in the twenty-first century, who needs English? To what degree of competence? In what domains? For which topics (or registers?) up to what proportion of society's members? (p. 68)

Given such views, secondary Discourses used in the academia should be identified and explicitly taught. The students themselves have identified aspects of their lives that require the use of English. Such could be the focus of programs aimed at addressing the concern of students who are not familiar with secondary Discourses in schools.

Similarly, in a study on language, identity, and socioeconomic development, Sibayan (1984) found that about 47.3% of the respondents, i.e., a sampling of Filipino government and private agency employees who live in Metro Manila, think that the use of English as medium of instruction has made Filipinos "a greater people"; seven out of 10 respondents say that "English has contributed to our economic progress," and "8 out of 10 (81%) believe that it had made us internationally known" (p.15). The study also reveals that "seventy-seven percent of the respondents consider the schools as the place where they learnt most of their skills "in English], with only 8% indicating the home as the source of learning (p.47). Moreover, "many government and education officials favor English as the medium of instruction. English is seen as a language necessary to gain high status in government and society and to develop better ... communication skills for both local and global use. It is widely accepted that students can gain scientific and technological knowledge through English." For example, Fidel V. Ramos, former president of the Philippines said:

> Since we have that comparative advantage in English, by all means let us maintain the advantage so that we can be more competitive in business and production and perhaps in education in this part of the globe. (Language policy for education in the Philippines, p. 7)

In this study most of the students interviewed expressed the desire to leave the Philippines and earn US dollars to improve the socio-economic status of their families. In a context where most of the family's daily income is US$3 a day, gaining employment in countries like Hongkong, Japan, the Middle East, or the United States offers financial security. This requires proficiency in English.

As data from this study show, the role of *Paglaum Extension School* as the setting for initiating students to schooling as a secondary Discourse cannot be underestimated. Because many of the students come from homes where parents are either too busy surviving or have too little academic background to assist them with their assignments, their primary Discourses differ greatly from the secondary Discourses in school. Thus, in the hope that literacy will eventually provide their children with better job opportunities, parents rely on the school as the institution that provides apprenticeship for students and on teachers as the "old timers" who will provide the much-needed assistance for such apprenticeship into the academia.

Yet, the school does not have established programs to prepare students for legitimate participation in schooling. School Discourses such as the use of English as medium of communication in major subjects, critical thinking, conducting library research, note-taking, and answering essay examinations in English, and using computers differ greatly from students' home discourses. *Paglaum Extension School* has no coherent program to address these needs. Although most of the students interviewed articulated clear professional goals, they could not concretely describe their plans on how to get there. They do have imagined communities, but they do not have the knowledge and experience that would facilitate their apprenticeship into such communities. *Malantip,* the top student of fourth year class states:

> *Plano ta nako ma'am, sa-una mo-kuan ta kog korso nga four years gani ma'am, pero kay pobre lagi mi, nya naa pa koy mga manghod nga gasunod nako, nya ug mo-eskwela ko, naglibog lagi kog unsay akong ku-an kay ang akong mama niana sya nga ganahan silang makahuman kog college. Bisag ako, moku-an kuno kog scholarship, ma'am, para maka-menos ko. Nya niingon ko nga dugay*

mohuman akong pag-eskwela, nya mo-board pa. Akong plano, mo-eskwela kog four years nga kurso. Unsaon? Naglibog pod ko kay akong ku-an, nalibog kog unsay akong unahon ug ku-an.

(I plan to finish a four-year course, but we are poor, and I still have several younger siblings to support. If I go to college, I am confused. I do not know what to do because my mother wants me to complete a college degree. I want the same for myself, try to find some scholarship, ma'am, so that I can support myself. But I think four years is a long time. It takes time to finish a degree, then take the board exams. I plan to complete a four-year course, but how? I am confused. I am so confused as to what to do first.) [Personal interview, Malantip, August 2002]

When asked if the school provided information about scholarships or how to apply for them, both teachers and students admitted that no such program exists. Students repeatedly mentioned during the interviews that they were not confident about being admitted to college because of poor scholastic preparation. The students were aware not only of their teachers' inadequacies but their lack of concern as well, problems compounded by the lack of school resources. A former volunteer teacher also confirmed the absence of a coherent program that provides information on scholarship or grant application procedures:

I heard that there is such program in the main campus but not in this local school. So, basically, they only get scholarships if they belong to the top five of the graduating class. If you ask the average and above average if they know how to get scholarships or how to avail of this working student privileges, I don't think they know it. There has been no effort on the part of the teachers, me included

> (laughs), to at least update students on how they can go about it. [Personal interview, August 2002]

Although the school principal also acknowledged the absence of such a program at the extension school, she pointed out that a similar activity is conducted by representatives from neighboring schools who visit high schools to advertise their programs. She stressed that although the school does not have an in-house career orientation program, representatives from different colleges and universities in the city and a major urban city in the neighboring islands talk to graduating seniors every year to present the different programs offered in their respective universities and colleges. According to her, "extension schools have available scholarships not even made available to students in the main campus. But the reason that students were not able to avail of these scholarships was that they did not meet the grade requirements. In the past, even honor students were not qualified because they had grades below 80 in some of their classes in their lower years" [Telephone interview, February 2003]. However, the top students and some teachers at *Paglaum Extension School* consistently explained that students do not meet grade requirements for scholarships primarily because the school has instituted a ceiling or limit on grades for students at the satellite schools.

The silencing of critical voices

One of the specific instances of how both overt and covert attempts at silencing oppositional voices among the student population operate at the extension school is illustrated by the experiences of *Silayan*, one of the bright students in this school.

Silayan graduated at the top of her class in the past school year. The living room of her family's bamboo shack was decorated with medals and certificates she won in several village and municipal competitions.

During her graduation, *Dr. Matinabangon* awarded her a cash price for tuition fees in the city's community college. *Dr. Matinabangon* also committed himself to finance her tuition expenses until her graduation and had invited her to pay him a visit so they could discuss the matter. A year later, *Silayan* was still out of school and during this time had worked temporarily as a shop assistant in a neighboring island. Despite the opportunity made available to her, she was not able to gain entry into college. Instead, the money *Dr. Matinabangon* gave her was used by her family to buy bamboo chairs for their living room. Notwitstanding her desire to complete a college degree so she could get a better job and help support her family, she had not contacted *Dr. Matinabangon* about the scholarship he had promised because she was embarrassed to show him her grades. Although she was the top student of the class, her general average was only 83, much lower than the minimum requirement for scholarships in community colleges and universities, which is 85.

In an interview, *Silayan* voiced her disenfranchisement regarding her getting a low grade, insisting that she deserved a much higher grade than what she got. It is known that there is a school policy prohibiting teachers from giving "high" grades to students at the satellite schools. According to her, she was so discouraged and lost interest in her studies when she learned about the policy from one of her teachers. Although she had initially considered raising the concern with school authorities, her attempts were foiled by several factors:

> *Na-discouraged ko. Gasabot mi sa akong kauban ba nga gahuna-huna sya nga dili sya deserving sa iyang grade. Gasabot mi nga mo-ku-an mi sa principal. Nya naa man poy gaiingon among classmate nga ayaw na lang kay samok na pod. Samok na kaayo kay kita na poy makaingon nga mag-away na pod sila. Ako na man poy madaot nya. Mosamot na pod.*

> (I was discouraged. Another student who also thought he deserved a much better grade convinced me to discuss the matter with the principal. But some of our classmates advised us not to do it because it would only cause more trouble. They fear that we might cause more conflicts among our teachers. Then, we will be at the losing end. It would only worsen the situation.)

Silayan explained that she and her classmates did not articulate their objections because they knew that when some of their teachers got offended, they would either publicly humiliate the student who raised objections or fail the entire class. She and her classmates knew the case of a student who was not able to graduate because she complained about a teacher's behavior to local authorities. As a result, she had to take summer classes, which means additional expense for the family (Personal interview, August 15, 2002.)

The fact that the grading policy positions students at a disadvantage was also confirmed by a regular teacher. According to this teacher, the students were informed at the start of the school year that none of them will graduate with honors because of their low grades in the preceding years. This teacher has observed that as a result of this practice, the students are discouraged and lose their motivation to study.

As *Silayan's* case illustrates, it appears that serious speech acts—that teachers are the authority in schools and such authority cannot be questioned—not only inhibit students from "complaining" about their grades but mute all their attempts at asserting their agency. As many students in this school were only too familiar, questioning such authority could only lead to failure in class or inability to finish high school the soonest time possible. Meanwhile, failing high school would mean that students must take summer classes in a private or public school elsewhere since no summer classes are offered at *Paglaum Extension School.* For the

economically-disadvantaged families of these students, this means additional expense for tuition fees and transportation—money they simply did not have. Thus, the economic dimension of failing in school conspires with the oppressive powers of the school authorities to disenfranchise students from giving voice to legitimate concerns. Knowing only too well that compliance and accommodation would most likely benefit them while resistance and opposition would further place them in a disadvantaged position, students willfully resort to silence as a strategic defense, in the end making themselves unwitting participants in their own oppression. A fourth year student stated:

> *Kon mo-reklamo ka [kabahin sa grado], mo-ingon nya na sila nga "ngano, diskompyado ka sa imong grado?" Ingon ana, daghan nag estorya, dayon, mag-lain, lainan man ko kay dumtan nya ko anang maestraha kay ingon ana nga ku-an kaayo ko diskompyado ko sa akong grado... wala na lang ko maglangas."*
>
> (If you complain [about your grade], they would question you. So, you have complaints about your grade? Something like that. It's disheartening because they take it personally and the teacher becomes bitter towards you because you complained about your grade. So, I did not voice my complaints.)

The same observation was expressed by a former volunteer teacher. She claimed that "even with the organization of the student government, students cannot dismiss the fear that these teachers can actually pull their grades down. They just want to finish high school. They just want to pass this stage. So they just talk to other people about it, but generally they are afraid." (Personal interview, August 17, 2002).

This fear and resignation are demonstrated not only in the way students address their concern about

the grading system but also in their reaction to the alleged corruption of one of the teachers. It was reported that the teacher had collected 10 pesos from every student ostensibly to buy a basketball, which did not materialize. Although the students initiated a signature campaign which they submitted to their head teacher – the "unofficial" coordinator of the teaching staff – the students were never informed whether the letter was indeed forwarded to the principal. When they did not get any response from the administration, the students, including some officers of the student government, did not bother to pursue the complaint. Although this might be explained by the distance of the principal's office to the extension school, the main reason that kept students from pursuing their complaint was primarily their fear of the consequences of opposition or negotiation, as the following student interview attested:

> *Ni-reklamo mi ana ni Ma'am Maayo, pero wala man nadayon. Ambot nila. Kami god tanan ato namirma nga matangtang nang maestroha kay wala man mi nakita ba. Kadto pong fluorescent diha sa pikas room. Wala pod mi nakita pod. Hangtod karon gani, wala gani mi nakita pod. Kon paamutan mi, mo-amot gihapon ko, para kon wala gihapon daghan na ming ika-kuan nga wala god mi nakita aron matangtang nang maestroha. Walay klaro nang maestroha gani. Daghan na ganing ni – reklamo, nisulat sa principal... wala dagway nadayon. Ambot lamang, first year man to... kay ni-reklamo anang amot-amot, wala man na-dayon. Mahadlok dagway sila... basig mahadlok kay hagbungon ba. Bisan ako, mahadlok kong mahagbong kay mahagbong kag usa ka subject nimo, kapoy na kaayog balik ba. Dili na lamang ko masaba.*
>
> (We complained about it to Ma'am Maayo, but the complaint was not pursued. I don't know why. All of us signed the letter because we wanted the teacher

> out because he had been collecting money and we did not see anything out of it. That includes the contribution for the fluorescent tube for the other room. We also did not see that... until now. As for me, if he asks us to contribute again, I would contribute again, and then, if nothing materializes again, we have more bases to expel that teacher. That teacher is no good. We even complained against him. We wrote a letter to the principal but it was not forwarded. I have no idea what happened. I was only a first year student then. We complained because he had asked us to contribute money several times.. Maybe, [our complaint] was not pursued because they were probably scared of the teacher. They fear that he might fail us. Yes, they fear failure... I would, too. I am afraid that the teacher might give me a failing grade for the course because it is tiresome to repeat the same class. So, I'd rather keep quiet.) [Personal interview, Maligdong, 3rd year student].

Davidson (1996) observed the same "conflicting projection of identity" in her study of minority students in the United States. It appears that students with critical voices are "at once determined to challenge and infiltrate, yet resigned to... marginalization ...." (p. 65).

When I inquired about this letter in one of our interviews, the principal expressed no knowledge of it. However, according to her, she had already addressed the issue on student financial contributions by calling the faculty to a meeting and reminding them of the need to comply with DEC (Department of Education and Culture) memorandum, which prohibits teachers from collecting financial contribution from students without the approval of the parents. At this meeting, the principal warned the teachers that such memo would be strictly enforced. However, because, as she claimed, she did not receive any formal, written

complaint regarding the alleged corrupt practice, she could not take any action against the teacher.

Bourne (2001) points out that in classroom settings, students respond to unequal power relations by using compliance, negotiation, or opposition. In the case of the *Paglaum extension School*, the students' attempts at negotiation or direct opposition were unsuccessful and rarely displayed or pursued, unlike those of the participants in related studies (see Willis, 1977). For example, the students discussed their complaints with their peers and with some of their teachers, but they did not submit any formal complaint to the administration. They accepted the alleged unfair administrative policy on grading as part of the school "*habitus*, or accepted 'common sense'" (Bourne, 2001, p. 108). As already mentioned, some of the teacher-respondents also confirmed the role of the school administration in setting the grades that should be given to the students regardless of their performance. According to one of the teachers, the principal issued letters of instruction requiring them to comply with this particular administrative policy. In the interview, she explained:

> They [the school administration] instituted a quota of 92%, which is unfair to the students, because some of them deserve a 95. I even kept the letter from the principal that states such a limitation. I had to abide by the 92% cut off. I remember what was in the communication. It mentioned that there are honor students at the main campus whose grades are only 80 something. It looks like she is comparing the kids here with students at the main campus. In other words, students at the main campus are at higher level, therefore students at the satellite schools should not be given grades higher than those at the main campus. That's the conclusion I arrived at.

[Personal interview, Mrs. Silingan, volunteer teacher, August 2002]

This practice lends support to Stevenson & Ellworth's (1993) observation. In their review on the literature on drop-outs and the silencing of critical voices in the school setting, the authors pointed out that:

> ...the phenomenon of dropping out is most prominently linked to dysfunctional aspects of drop-outs' personal lives and family circumstances. Most of the accounts present the possibility of individuals "ris[ing] above the circumstances, irrespective of how bad those circumstances are. However, the focus on their personal circumstances serves to deflect public attention away from questioning the role that school policies and practices might play in either failing to respond to or exacerbating the problems of youth in such dire conditions (p. 262). The tendency to label dropouts as incompetent in school because they possess characteristics identified as the products of deficient homes and cultural backgrounds means that their critiques are not recognized. Thus, the criticism of schools as sites of unequal opportunities is silenced. (p. 263)

When asked how she responded to the letter she received, the volunteer teacher said she simply abided by the principal's order. Although she felt that the policy marginalizes her students, she had no choice but to accede. In the context where teachers have no security of tenure and are "volunteering" so they would get better recommendation and better chances of getting a regular status, teachers too, like their students, have no choice but to opt for compliance and accommodation.

In an interview, the principal explained why she had to write the memo on grades:

> I was surprised to see that students from Paglaum Extension School were getting a grade of 89, 90, 93. One hundred percent of the students passed the class. The teacher was new, so I had to return the grades and inform her that they were too high... Sa main campus gani, ang grado, highest gani 88%, nya sila didto sa bukid taas kayo. Moingon nya sila nga "Ah, ang tagabukid, dagko kaayo ug grado." Morag dili katu-ohan. Nya i-komparar sa uban, maulaw ta, kay dili man pod sila maka-daog sa mga contests.
>
> (At the main campus the highest grade was 88%; yet those in the mountains gave really high grades. They might say "Oh, how come those from the mountains have high grades. The grades were too high. It seems unbelievable. And then, when you compare them with others, it is embarrassing because these students have not been winning in [inter-school] competitions.)

The principal justified her decision to set a ceiling for highest grades purportedly to protect students and the satellite school from embarrassment. Her belief was that it would be much better for students to have a low grade yet establish their excellent performance in inter-school competitions than for them to have high grades while showing dismal performance in such contests (Telephone interview, February 23, 2003). Although seemingly well intentioned, the principal's attitude limits students' possibilities of getting the minimum grades for scholarship application or entry to particular colleges. Compounding the difficulty for students is the widespread perception that the standard of the school resides in the students' grades, not in the quality of education it provides the students. Students have consistently mentioned in the interviews that the school has not sufficiently prepared them for college as demonstrated by the dearth of books and

other resources and facilities as well as by the incompetence of their teachers, whose lack of mastery of the subjects that they teach and ignorance of effective teaching strategies are matched only by their lack of concern for their students. Yet despite the persistence of these complaints and the legitimacy of students' concerns, no dialogue has been conducted to address such issues.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The perception that the students' identity as "*taga-bukid*" is synonymous with inferior academic standing and inability to speak or understand texts in English is closely linked with the endemic impoverishment in the countrysides and lack of education of many families in the hinterlands. The term "*taga-bukid*" (people from the hinterlands) is viewed as a deficit implying not only backwardness but also the lack of financial resources and social networks needed to support students' investment in schooling. From this perspective, the "*taga-bukid*" is seen as individuals most unlikely able to meet the academic standards of the school and who have no previous knowledge of secondary Discourses necessary to navigate successfully through high school. One of the volunteer teachers interviewed stated:

> To them, being in *Paglaum* is it. This is where they learn what high school is, and so they learn that high school is sitting and copying tons of pages from the book, maybe a short discussion, and then a test the next day. They have very little idea of what high school is beyond this campus. And look, we don't have a library, we have no computers, and some teachers couldn't care less if the students are present or absent because there are too many students cramped in one classroom. That is high school to them. [Personal interview, August 2002]

Students have difficulty accomplishing activities essential to schooling because many of them have no prior exposure to or knowledge of such practices. For example, one teacher interviewed stressed that students fail the examinations because they do not have good study habits and do not even know how to take effective notes. Yet, she admitted that teachers have also failed in teaching students how to take notes, answer essay examinations, or do library research – practices that are expected of them not only in high school but especially in college.

Students' attempts at advancing their agency are also constrained by serious speech acts and the *habitus*, the persistent belief that it is to the student's advantage not to question the position of teachers and administrators. To illustrate, a student arguing for the importance of computers not only in learning but in gaining access to future job prospects, tried to communicate these views to her teacher. Instead of being supportive of the idea, the teacher only discouraged this student, leaving her feeling helpless and dismayed.

Although students were aware that they deserved a better education than they were getting and have articulated these sentiments to the school authorities, they have remained largely unsuccessful in effecting change in the system primarily because they themselves considered it inappropriate to raise their complaints directly to the principal. They relied on some of their teachers to represent their voices to the administration, although such strategy had been mainly ineffective. Despite the students' attempts to project their agency, their efforts at advancing their agenda did not go beyond verbal protests because of a lack of adequate school programs and lack of competent personnel such as guidance counselors to give them advice. Peirce (1995) suggests that individuals have human agency and as such the positions that people

are situated in are "open to argument." She posits that one could resist marginalization and "set up counter discourses" to advance his/her agency and place him/her in a powerful stance (pp 15-16). However, in this context, the degree to which the participants—students, teachers, and school administrators—are able to advance their human agency is circumscribed by the circumstances in which they find themselves.

The interview with students also revealed their fears of ending up being either publicly insulted or failed in class when their complaint involves a teacher. To the students, this was a risk not worth taking. Although there is evidence that students have indeed tried to assert their agency, their disappointing experiences in expressing their opposition have only served to discouraged them. To them, opposition as a means of addressing power inequalities is an option that only leads to further marginalization, such as the possibility of failing a class or public humiliation. In the end, aware that opting for negotiation or opposition would only put them at the losing end, they take the line of least resistance—silence or compliance.

Human agency is limited to one's possibilities for legitimate participation. According to Foucault, "power does not determine others but rather structures the possible field of action, 'guiding the course of conduct and putting in order the possible outcome'" (Foucault, 1985, cited in Davidson, 1996, p. 5). The serious speech acts hegemonically perpetuated at *Paglaum Extension School* place students at a default position of compliance and resignation. With the absence or lack of "oldtimers" who could assist students in navigating through the academia and the secondary Discourses required of them, students' agency is at best clipped. Moreover, most of the students are teen-agers, who are continually testing the extent of their agency and their identity and have not yet constructed a self-image powerful enough

to counter social inequalities. As Stevenson, & Ellsworth (1993) suggest:

> Most adolescents, by virtue of their stage of development, do not possess a strong sense of identity, but rather are in the process of identity formation. Adolescence is typically a period of self-exploration, including experimenting with different roles and searching an identity that feels comfortable. Since the formation of an identity is in a state of flux, it is unlikely that any self-image will be sufficiently well-defined to counter a powerful and widely promulgated social image. (p. 268)

It is, however, noteworthy that school curricula in the Philippines often stipulate the importance of developing critical thinking skills among students. Philippine educators believe that apprenticeship in the academic discourse should involve the development of critical thinking skills. And yet, the opposite appears to be happening a the *Paglaum High School*. Indeed, a teacher pointed out that he could not confidently claim that the graduates at *Paglaum High School* are sufficiently prepared for college primarily because they are not trained to think critically:

> Even if they graduate in high school, they are not yet prepared for college. Aside from the scarcity of facilities, we can say that the major factor is teacher factor. Eventually, the students' perception about themselves started to infect (laughs) the minds of the teachers. So, the teachers also think we just come here, we do this, wait for the 15th and the 30th for our salary, we do this like simple office work. We sit there, ask the students to copy a whole bunch of text from the books. Then, that's it. Maybe discuss briefly and give long tests. So, students are more adept at copying... But critical thinking ability is the key to make their own

> logical decisions or thinking. I don't know. Actually, when I teach, I always encourage my students to make their own explanation, and I don't really care if their explanation is wrong. I just wanted to hear them talk and encourage them. (Personal interview, former volunteer teacher, August 2002)

Yet, ample evidence also shows that students' attempts at demonstrating critical thinking in class were often perceived as resistance or opposition and were dealt with cynicism if not harshness.

It is also worth noting that despite their attempts to articulate the power inequalities in the system and their awareness of the deliberate silencing of their voices with the use of serious speech acts, disciplinary technologies and, oftentimes, sheer intimidation, many of the students ultimately claim responsibility for the verbal abuse, threat of failure, and other silencing practices. In one of the interviews, a student-respondent held the class responsible for being noisy, and chided the student who voiced out her opposition for "not respecting their teachers." It will be remembered that *Silayan*, the student, who graduated at the top of her class, also claimed her "failure" to qualify for scholarships as a personal responsibility. While being critical of teacher inefficiency and ineffectiveness, this student also took the blame for her grades, citing her own poor investment into her studies. But her own parents, however, had a different view of her failure, pointing out that she had very little time left for studying because some of her teachers made her correct "tons of test papers." When asked if she filed a formal complaint about the situation or talked with the teachers about it, the mother of this student shook her head. She said she did not do it because it would only complicate matters.

In a study of white middle class drop-outs, Stevenson, & Ellsworth (1993) observed similar "self-silencing" practices employed by student-participants. They noted that "despite the criticisms the dropouts voiced out of their school, nearly all of them ultimately reclaimed for themselves the blame for dropping out" (p. 266). Because serious speech acts structure school as "intrinsically good and just," and "teachers as infallible authorities," students look to themselves as the major contributory factor to their failure. Stevenson, & Ellsworth conclude that

> ... as students resort to their own deficiencies to explain their school failure, they delegitimate their own school critiques and help maintain views of ... themselves, and not the schools, as the major concern and focus of intervention (p. 266).

That students and volunteer teachers need to resort to silence and compliance as strategies in finding their way through this academic context is ironic. However, when such strategy facilitates the much-needed entry to socio-economic mobility—such as a high school diploma for students and better chances at getting a full-time, regular status for teachers—compliance and silence offer the most viable options. Students see finishing high school as an investment worthy of many sacrifices, among them giving up personal agency, pride, or notions of justice. Because they need a high school diploma to work even as domestic helpers or get employed in a shop, a restaurant, or a construction company, they are prepared to endure everything, including the disenfranchisement of their right to speak up. They need the same diploma for entry to college. They need to complete high school as soon as they can, so they could earn money for the family and support their younger

siblings. And because they need a certification of good moral character from the school to qualify for employment and entry to any school, they have to make sure they remain in the good graces of their teachers. And since they view schooling as a potentially liberating enterprise, students find compliance rather than resisting a more effective strategy in attaining it. If opposition and resistance deter them from getting such requirements, they would prefer not to consider these as examples of marginalization or abuse.

Heller (1987) states that "it is through language that a person negotiates a sense of the self within and across different sites at different points in time, and it is through language that a person gains access to—or is denied access to—powerful social networks that give learners the opportunity to speak" (cited in Peirce, 1995, p. 13). Paradoxical as it may seem, in the context of this school, a shared silence seems to be the language that enables students to get immediate reward from schooling—finishing high school as soon as possible. The consequence of such a culture is that students who constantly acquiesce to the purported benefits that silence and accommodation seem to offer learn only to be passive, docile, and subservient, incapable of thinking for themselves or making independent decisions. Needless to stress, this response, as Eckert (1989) so aptly describes, only furthers the students' experience of marginalization and sense of powerlessness, making them vulnerable to oppressive practices even beyond the borders of schooling. In other words, the students might embrace an identity of resignation and complacency because this is what they learn in school. Eckert argues that,

> ...the strategies that students develop to function in the school environment are part of the knowledge they take with them into further training or the workplace.... What the burnouts learn in school is how to be

> marginalized. They look forward to graduation, with the expectation that then they will escape the strictures and limitations of their high school roles. However, the strategies that they have acquired for learning within the institution, whether it be school or the workplace, will marginalize them elsewhere just as in high school. High school, therefore, is not simply a bad experience for these students – it teaches them lessons that threaten to limit them for the rest of their lives (p.181).

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Notes

[1]In the interest of confidentiality, the names of the municipalities, schools, and respondents in this study have been changed.

[2] For a thorough read on triangulation as a research procedure and ethnography and ethnographic representation, some valuable references include Tedlock, B. (2000), Erickson, F. (1986), Egan-

Robertson, A. & Willet, J. (1986), Davis, K. (1995), & Watson-Gegeo K., & Gegeo D. (1995). For researcher positionality, refer to Fine, M. (1994), and Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1990).

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THE CO-CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY IN A VILLAGE HIGH SCHOOL IN THE PHILIPPINES: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

Gina A. Fontejon-Bonior

Abstract

This article presents the conclusions and limitations of a critical ethnographic study on the experiences of apprenticeship and advancement of agency of secondary school students in a rural public school in the Philippines. Findings of the study show that well-intentioned educational programs for socio-economically disadvantaged communities could result in the further marginalization of students. This study discusses four factors that contribute to such marginalization: 1) the limited agency of students, teachers, administrators, and the school as a collective identity; 2) the silencing of critical voices; 3) the beliefs of teachers and other school authorities that students are created equal and attend school bringing with them the same amount of "social capital"; and 4) the educators' lack of awareness of the need for explicit instruction and apprenticeship on the secondary Discourses used in school. The article then suggests concrete means of addressing such concerns especially in the context of implementing educational development programs in socio-economically and culturally disadvantaged communities.

Introduction

This paper is the fourth of a series of articles I wrote in relation to the research project I conducted while completing the MA-ESL degree at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. The first article *The "I" in Interpretive Research: Positionality in Qualitative Studies* (Fontejon-Bonior, 2004) describes the perspective I took as a participant-observer in the research site. The article reviews the theoretical bases for such an approach and

describes why I took such a perspective. The article attempts to answer the following questions:

- What is positionality in qualitative research?
- What is ethnographic research?
- What is reflexive, critical ethnography?
- How can the ethnographer establish the validity, reliability, and generalizability in critical autoethnography?
- Why is ethnography a rich alternative in doing educational research?

To quote the editor's introduction to the article, the essay "argues that the dynamics of the research process and the subsequent writing of results cannot be objective or neutral, influenced as they are by powerful stakeholders, such as the authorities in the academic institution, the participants, the community, among others, all of them exerting an influence not only on the research process but also on the results" (Pioquinto, 2004, p. 16). The researcher-writer should therefore **not** "hide behind the cloak of alleged neutrality" (Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2000, p. 109). Instead, s/he needs to describe his/her positionality in the research process and product so that the reader will be in an informed position to evaluate the research output.

The second article *Schooling as Investment* (Fontejon-Bonior, 2004) describes the theoretical perspectives considered in the study. Particularly, the article presents a rationale for the use of post-structuralist framework in ethnographic educational research. Two major theories ground the interpretation of data. First is the concept of agency, i.e., one's ability to "resist the subject position and even set up counter discourses which position ... a person in a powerful rather than marginalized position" (Peirce, 1995, pp. 15-16).

The second major theory is Gee's Discourse theory. Gee (1996) defines Discourses (capital letter D to distinguish it from the concept, discourses) as "a sort of identity kit which comes complete with the appropriate costume and instructions on how to act, talk, and often write, so as to take on a particular social role that others will recognize" (p. 127). Gee classified Discourses as either Primary or Secondary. Primary Discourses are "the ways of acting, talking, and writing" that one acquires at home. Secondary Discourses are those one learns in contexts other than the home, e.g., the Discourses children learn in school. Gee argues that students whose primary Discourses are not congruent to the Discourses used in school tend to be disadvantaged as they could be perceived as ill-prepared or unintelligent by their peers and teachers, and will be further marginalized in school. In the Philippines, for example, some children are raised in homes where bedtime story-telling of English fairy tales is a ritual. These children are therefore apprenticed into the structure of story-telling in English as well as the question and answer pattern and western narrative structure that are normally used in schools. Moreover, they are immersed in the language of instruction even before their entry to school. As a result, these children go to school with a wealth of resources that facilitate their apprenticeship in schooling.

Majority of the students in this study, however, do not have the socio-economic means to enjoy such privilege; they do not come from families where English literacy resources and practices are readily available. Teachers and school administrators who believe that children attend school with equal status and expect the same socio-economic, literacy, and cultural background from all students are more inclined to dismiss those who do not meet the expectations as ill-prepared for schooling or, as one teacher in this research stated, "*gabinutol ug gatinapol*" (dull and lazy).

Such beliefs influence teachers' practices and the social interactions with students and further marginalize those who are already disadvantaged in their initial entry to the school.

Bourdieu (1982) advanced a similar contention when he argued that students participate in schooling bringing with them "varying amounts of 'cultural capital' based on the degree of congruence between their socioeconomic/cultural background and that of the school" (in Davis, 1995, p. 558). When teachers and school administrators do not have a heightened awareness of this possibility, then schooling becomes a space where further marginalization of an already socio-economically disadvantaged group is reinforced.

One way of addressing this is to enculturate students to the secondary Discourses in the academic environment while acknowledging student's home/primary Discourses. This may be done through apprenticeship with the aid of "oldtimers" or individuals who have already mastered the Discourses of the academe. This is because, according to Gee, "Discourses are mastered through acquisition, not through learning.... [They are] not mastered by overt instruction, but by enculturation (apprenticeship) into social practices through scaffolded and supported interactions with people who have already mastered the Discourses" (Gee, 1996, p. 139). The need for learners to acknowledge and learn the Discourses used in school, such as the registers and genres used in conducting science experiments and reporting the results orally and in writing, cannot be overestimated. Such Discourses provide students access to a wealth of "symbolic and material resources," which, according to Norton and Toohey (in press), "will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital" and subsequently vest in them the power to re-examine their identities.

This article presents the summary of observations and analysis made in the study as well as

their implications for the implementation of educational development programs in the Philippines, such as the Secondary Education Development and Improvement Program (SEDIP). In sum, the research explores the extent of students' agency in a potentially disempowering school context—a village high school in the Philippines. It examines the strategies students employ to counter practices that marginalize and silence their critical voices, and describes the dynamics and practices both in the micro level, i.e., the school system, and the macro level, i.e, provincial and national educational policies that hegemonically place certain groups of students in a disadvantaged position.

This study further presents a case of marginalization that did not result in students' collective identity of opposition but rather in their silence and compliance. In this school context, students who share and openly discuss experiences of marginalization do not forge a collective oppositional identity. Instead, they unknowingly participate in their own marginalization by adhering to the "habitus" or the accepted "common sense" (Bourne, 2001, p. 108) that teachers are always highly esteemed, administrators cannot be questioned, and schooling is intrinsically just and liberating, thereby claiming personal and collective responsibility for their marginalized position and their perceived failure.

All participants in the study—students, parents, teachers, and the administration—recognize the role of the school as last frontier for social mobility and the acquisition of the much-needed cultural capital. Most of the participants recognize that students' imagined communities are essential for their continued investment in schooling as a potentially liberating enterprise. For instance, the district Congressman initiated the plan to make available more public village schools for families who could not afford to send their children to municipal and city schools. The municipal principal, with the assistance of the Municipal Mayor,

encouraged the local officials at *Paglaum* village to prepare a resolution for the establishment of the village high school as satellite or extension school of the municipal (*Kaugmaon*) high shool. They followed up the resolution closely so that residents in the five neighboring barangays, especially the *Taga-bukid* [people from the hinterlands], will have easy access to free public secondary education. Even the principal's grading policy was established to protect the students and the school from criticisms and embarrassment.

Yet, ironically, the very school system that aims to provide students with access to opportunities for socio-economic mobility places the school and the students in a marginalized position. This continued marginalization is due to three factors: (1) the school was established for the "*taga-bukid*", a term loaded with pejorative meanings including impoverishment, ignorance, and provinciality; (2) the absence or scarcity of " oldtimers" needed to provide scaffolding to students in their apprenticeship in schooling, and; (3) inability of the students to articulate themselves in the language of the academia – English. These three factors all conspire not only to designate the marginalized position of students but also to underscore the marginalized position of the school itself.

It appears that students at *Paglaum Extension School* need to overcome the four major barriers in minority students' academic investment (Phelan, Davidson, &Yu, 1993). **Students at Paglaum have to overcome sociocultural barriers**. They are viewed as inferior because of their cultural orientation, being "*taga-bukid*". **They need to counter socio-economic barriers**, i.e., financial problems that prevent students from "fully participating" in the daily life of the school. **They need to counter linguistic barriers**, which include not only the expectation that they participate effectively in subjects where English, a foreign language to many, is the medium of instruction but also the expectation that

they can decode the secondary Discourses employed in schools. Finally, **they need to employ strategies to overcome structural barriers**, "features in the school environment that impede, or discourage students from engaging fully in learning, for instance, social or academic" such as inadequate academic resources, e.g., library, counseling programs, and tutorials (in Stanton-Salazar, 1997, p. 59).

Overcoming such barriers and resisting the "exclusionary forces" in school requires "developing resiliency through supportive ties with protective agents within the home and the community" and the ability to "*decode the system*" (Stanton-Salazar, 1997, p. 25). In the context of *Paglaum*, where such protective agents (e.g., old-timers, parents, and teachers) may not be available or are preoccupied seeking financial subsistence, and where the school has no coherent program to address differences between primary and secondary Discourses, most students take on the responsibility of overcoming such barriers. In addition, they have to employ strategies to address observed power inequalities while ensuring that they realize the immediate goal of getting a diploma the soonest time possible. The urgency to complete high school and seek immediate employment so they can assist their parents in raising their siblings is an investment students consider of utmost priority.

The school is considered by the participants as a "third space" – a context where students can forge new identities and participate in networks of power that scaffold them in their desire for socio-economic mobility. However, if learning is indeed "limited to the range of our identities" and if, as Wenger suggests, that learning transforms who we are and what we can do" (1998, p.215), then what the students learn at *Paglaum Satellite School* is how to survive the odds of schooling, how schools oppress socio-economically marginalized students, and how negotiation and opposition limit

their opportunities for apprenticeship in schooling. Students of the *Paglaum Extension School* soon learn that self-imposed silence and marginalization could provide them the convenient default strategies for gaining immediate rewards from schooling. This is risky because, as Peirce (1995) pointed out, such students may develop an identity of resignation and "a sense of powerlessness" that will continue to place them in marginalized positions for the rest of their lives.

In this study, the students do articulate their agency by positioning themselves in stances of power. They initiate signature campaigns, negotiate with teachers, and openly oppose observed inequalities. In the absence of school resources and coherent programs for apprenticeship for college, they borrow materials from neighbors, and articulate their suggestions to some teachers. When they see that their teachers are occupied with an overload of work and cannot assist them in their academic concerns, they seek out "oldtimers" in the community such as local politicians and the few community members who have gone to college.

However, such agency is limited (Foucault, 1985). Students' agency to situate themselves in positions that would allow "access to institutional resources and opportunities ultimately appears dependent upon effective participation" in what Delpit (1998) calls the dominant "culture of power" (Stanton-Salazar, 1997, p. 25). In the context of *Paglaum Extension School* critical voices are silenced both by authoritative speech acts and disciplinary technologies. This includes the "common understanding" that schools are intrinsically liberating and just, and that teachers and school administrators are authority figures that should not be questioned because they inherently desire what is best for the school and the students. Any attempt at questioning their statements and practices is usually considered deviant and is dealt with accordingly.

This study, however, presents data to corroborate other researchers' position that, indeed, critical dialogues must be set up to counter the hegemonic beliefs and practices that oppress socio-economically disadvantaged students (Bourdieu, 1982; Davis, 1995; Willis,1977). Without an active, on-going dialogue among the participants in the program, the goals of any well-intentioned program could be undermined by existing authoritative discourses and disciplinary technologies. Although disciplinary technologies such as tracking are not practiced at *Paglaum*, the school itself is an academic track established for a marginalized group, the "*taga-bukid*" [people from the hinterlands]. *Paglaum Extension School*, being a barrio school "*ra*" (**only** a village school) is not accorded the same respect and recognition as the *Kaugmaon High School* or the secondary schools in the city. Teachers, students, parents, the community, school administration, and local political leaders therefore must initiate dialogues to facilitate community networks of support necessary to counter "the alienating effects" of the idea that all students are created equal, and that they come to school with the same amount of cultural capital (Stanton-Salazar, 1997, p. 25).

For example, Davis's ethnographic study in the US on teacher adoption of culturally responsive pedagogy found that although the preservice teachers in her study were "sincere about helping their students succeed in school, they have become entrapped by their beliefs about why students fail." For instance, although they are "not mistaken in their beliefs that minonity students need to acquire English and other skills necessary for suceeding within a mainstream system of education, their strongly held beliefs that achievement is based on individual ability and 'proper' training at home" prevent them from understanding that treating minority children as deficient results in low self-esteem and poor academic performance among these children

(Cazden, 1988; Erickson, 1987; Mehan, 1980). In the case of *Paglaum Extension School*, some teachers attributed students' difficulties or failure in schooling not to the lack of literacy resources or the incongruence of students' Primary Discourse and the Secondary Discourses used in school, or to the scarcity of oldtimers in their community but to students' laziness and lack of intelligence. In her ethnographic research, Davis observed that

> *[such] values and beliefs held by educators and which are translated into school practices are the result of the historical and sociocultural traditions they have experienced at home and through schooling. These historical and sociocultural traditions involve not only cultural attitudes about what constitutes appropriate classroom interaction; but also a wide range of other factors affecting teaching behavior such as values and beliefs about intelligence, the purpose of schooling, and reasons for student failure* (1995, p. 553).

Davis (1995) therefore proposes that teachers engage in programs that would heighten their awareness of a pedagogy that is "both culturally responsive and incorporate learning the language of power" (p. 559). She further posits that since teachers' "views of schooling are framed within a particular historical and sociopolitical context and through... [their] specific social and educational experiences," they must engage in "the kind of critical examination [of their beliefs and experiences) which will lead to curricular reform intended to foster alternatives to hegemonic experiences and beliefs" (p. 561).

Limitations and Implications

What this study needs to consider further are the strategies successful students at *Paglaum Extension School* use to counter power inequalities and to gain

entry in powerful networks that provide the opportunities to participate in what Delpit (1993) calls the *culture of power*. It would be beneficial for students at *Paglaum Extension School* and others who are similarly situated to be explicitly informed about the rules of the culture of power, the means of gaining cultural capital, the ways of decoding secondary Discourses in school, and the strategies that can be employed as they apprentice in schooling as a community of practice. This is because "knowledge is always biased and shot through with class meaning." Indeed, working class students like those at *Paglaum Extension School* must overcome their "inbuilt disadvantage of possessing the wrong class culture and the wrong educational decoders to start with.... [The working class] enjoys its privilege not by virtue of inheritance or birth, but by virtue of an apparently proven greater competence and merit" (Willis, 1977, p. 128).

Institutions like *Paglaum Extension School* need to consider conducting ethnographic studies like this, examine school practices and dynamics that are delimiting or empowering, and address power inequalities and marginalization through a well-informed coherent program aimed at legitimizing students' critical voices and engaging them in schooling as a worthwhile investment. Programs that explicitly inform students on how to decode secondary Discourses such as raising objections, note-taking, student organizing, and approaching "oldtimers" are necessary in their apprenticeship to the academia.

Moreover, administrative initiatives for school reforms such as the one student-one book program of former Department of Education secretary Raul Roco should be viewed in light of the micro-context of public schools such as *Paglaum Extension School*. The US$57.9 million 2000-2006 Secondary Education Development and Improvement Project (SEDIP), for instance, which aims for the improvement and "relevance of secondary

[high school] education" in the provinces can be made more relevant to socio-economically challenged regions if implemented in light of micro, critical autoethnographic studies such as this.

Among others, SEDIP aims to support the "new textbook procurement and delivery system" (http://www.deped.gov.ph/sedip.htm). As shown in this study, the procurement and delivery of textbooks to schools is a complex system that is closely related to local school socio-political context such as teachers' tenure and salary, and students' socio-economic background. Specifically, teachers as property custodians are required to remit to the local school authorities the cost of lost and missing books. When the students themselves are unable to pay for their lost books, teachers are therefore compelled to pay for them. Consequently, although books are delivered to schools, most of the teachers, being paid an honorarium of P3000 per month, hesitate to distribute them to students for fear of the potential financial burden this entails. As a result, while hundreds of unopened boxes of new books collect dust in school libraries and store rooms, students spend the first several days per week copying long texts from the teacher's copy and spend one day listening to teachers' explanation or lectures in preparation for a test usually held on Fridays. There is therefore very little opportunity for collaborative activities and other exercises that would enhance students' critical thinking.

Also, textbooks in subjects crucial to high school graduates' entry to college, i.e., English, Science, and Mathematics, are written in English. Thus, programs such as SEDIP should focus on informing teachers and administrators on the differences between Discourse students use at home and the Secondary Discourses in school as well as the differences between the English they may be exposed to through the mass media and the type of English used for academic purposes. Such

heightened awareness could facilitate a more productive dialogue among teachers, administrators, students and their parents, and the community, and pave the way for a culturally-responsive pedagogy that considers students Primary Discourse as a resource for learning the Secondary Discourses used in school. Since language learning entails "not simply memorizing vocabulary lists or working on grammar exercises" but also encompasses embracing a new identity, a new way of communicating, and ... a new way of knowing (Gee, 1987, in Zamel & Spack, 1998, p. 56), students and teachers must be explicitly taught such novel secondary Discourses.

Government programs must facilitate the schools' formulation of a coherent program that explicitly apprentice students to the secondary Discourses in school such as taking notes in English, outlining, summarizing, paraphrasing and reporting English texts to an academic audience, preparing and presenting academic reports, planning and facilitating school activities, student organizing, and collectively representing students' concerns. Most of these activities are conducted in English, so the schools need to initiate a program that addresses this need. Sibayan (1999) showed the same concern for students who cannot afford the much-needed good English language instruction:

> *I am deeply concerned about those Filipinos, especially those with talent and there are many, those who go to inferior schools, mostly public, in the rural areas who do not have access to a good language education. Something must be done for them* (p. 14).

The second goal of SEDIP, "improving access to secondary education" through the establishment of new schools in "underserved areas," can be examined through the experience of *Paglaum Extension School.*

Although the establishment of schools provides students from low socio-economic classes access to high school education, such an opportunity may just be another system that further marginalizes them. Instead of providing a free space for potentially liberating experiences that facilitate their upward socio-economic mobility and the construction of a powerful social identity, it may further oppress marginalized populations.

The success of programs such as SEDIP cannot be determined by the production and publication of statistical data showing increase in the number of schools, reduction of drop out rates, or increase in student attendance in traditionally "underserved" regions. Ethnographic studies should be done in the localities to collect data on how such programs are implemented. Ethnographic studies of a sampling of local schools provide a more robust description of how the network of participants in the school system—the students, parents, teachers, administration, and local and provincial governments—engage in dialogue and actions that allow for or further inhibit the positive transformation of the material conditions and power relations of economically depressed areas, as well as provide communities access to the cultural capital.

On a more personal note, this research has allowed me, a supposed "native researcher," to reflect on possibilities of my own participation in the silencing of the people I seek to represent. During my stay at *Paglaum Extension School*, I continually reconsidered the decisions I made and the actions I took to highlight my concern to be with the students and the volunteer teachers who needed someone with whom to share their frustration. I attempted never to mention the word research and researcher as I communicated with participants because I did not want to be perceived as an authority in the community. Yet, I was the participants' teacher, and a scholar who had returned

to study the community I thought I had so much knowledge of but realized I had very little familiarity with.

In the end, I could only hope that majority of the students accepted me as a person raised in the same community, one familiar with experiences of marginalization and silencing in academic settings and desiring to represent their voices and contribute to the setting up of necessary community network of support. If this first attempt at conducting a reflexive auto-ethnography manages to articulate what Ford (1998) suggests as one of the major requirements of critical ethnography: "the work should articulate the politics of hope" (Lincoln, & Denzin, 2000, p. 1054), then my own efforts have been wisely invested.

For Lincoln and Denzin (2000), this requires "a political vulnerability that goes beyond what Behar describes as "anthropology that breaks your heart (1996, p. 177)."

> *It [critical ethnography] is more than writing that inserts the personal into the ethnographic. It is more than stories that move others into tears, more than first person narratives that turn the self and its experiences into the site of inquiry. It is more than ethnography born of regret, fear, self-loathing, and anger. This is writing that angers and sorrows the reader, writing that challenges the reader to take action into the world...."*
> (Lincoln, & Denzin, 2000, p. 1054)

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ANCESTRAL LANDS IN SEARCH OF A TITLE: REVISITING ETHNIC RELATIONS AND POLITICAL ALLIANCES IN THE CORDILLERA

Andrea G. Soluta

Abstract

This article reexamines how the Philippine government's "developmental ideology" and economic opportunism has systematically dispossessed various indigenous peoples in the Cordillera, Northern Philippines of their lands. This paper also traces how these ancestral land issues and the subsequent push for regional autonomy—so the IPs can defend their rights to their ancestral domain through self-determination—has created a new ethnicity, called the "Cordilleran identity," as well as the modern phenomenon of indigenous peoples' becoming interest or intensely politicized groups.

Introduction

History is replete with accounts of Cordillerans, then more popularly called Igorots,[1] putting up fierce resistance against Spanish—and later on, American—attempts to invade their territories. What is not often made clear in these historical accounts is the fact that such resistance had never been a concerted effort of all the Cordillera indigenous peoples but were actually "highly localized"; that is, opposition was done "village by village and valley by valley" ("There is going to be...," 1987:5).

Indeed, although the different Cordillera groups interacted with each other, they were still highly independent of each other with one ethnolinguistic group having its own unique set of socio-political institutions, religious beliefs and cultural practices. These differences are acknowledged even now by the

continued reference to these groups as the Cordillera *peoples* and not just the Cordillera *people*. There are presently six provinces, with eight ethnolinguistic groups, comprising the Cordillera Administrative Region.[2]

Each Cordilleran community deeply values its independence that it is not uncommon to have inter-village wars in the area even in these modern times. For instance, in May 1994 a tribal war broke out between the villages of Sumadel and Lubo in Mountain Province. As a result, "hundreds of students and miners [from these villages] had to leave school and work to go home" because it would have been dangerous to remain outside their home territories (Perez, 1994:21). More than a decade after, various villages are still involved in "border wars, conflicts over water resources or unresolved crimes of several generations ago" with serious repercussions. Just last November, students from Kalinga were not allowed to register for the second semester at the Mt. Province Polytechnic State College—located in Bontoc—"to avoid hostilities because their tribe members had been blamed for the killing of several Bontoc residents" (Cabreza, 2005:A15). That members of the tribe still obey what seems to outsiders to be a primitive and outlawed tradition is a tribute to the enduring strength of each tribe's indigenous institutions.

Starting from the 1970s, however, a decidedly pan-Cordillera consciousness emerged among the different indigenous groups brought about by their struggle against government development projects and government-sanctioned massive exploitation of natural resources in the area. Having become more educated, more politicized, and more exposed to the outside world, the Cordillera indigenous peoples (IPs) learned to bond together to defend their ancestral land rights.

In the 1980s, these peoples once more bonded to clamor for a Cordillera autonomous region because they

perceived autonomy as the only way by which the Cordillera could attain self-determination in today's world. The clamor resulted in the inclusion of provisions for regional autonomy in the 1987 Constitution, and a second version of the autonomy bill was deliberated upon in Congress toward the end of 1997. With then Pres. Ramos also pushing for the creation of a Cordillera Autonomous Region (CAR) in consonance with his Social Reform Agenda (SRA)[3], the redrafted Cordillera Autonomy Bill (HB 3719) was consolidated before December 1997 ready for the plebiscite scheduled before the [May] 1998 elections. But in March 1998, the Cordillerans rejected the second Autonomy Organic Act (RA 8438).

What made the autonomy issue immensely interesting were the various changes and breaks in alliances that occurred among persons/groups concerned in the formulation of the organic act due to conflicting viewpoints and power struggles. In 1986 prominent political groups such as the Cordillera Peoples' Alliance (CPA), the CPLA (Cordillera People's Liberation Army), and even the Cordillera People's Democratic Front (CPDF) united with government officials, various non-government organizations (NGOs) and people's organizations (POs) in the region to push for Cordillera Autonomy. Along the way, however, differences in objectives and thrusts created fissures in the thinly-cemented alliance. In consequence, all the involved interest groups except for the government officials campaigned against the Organic Act in the 1990 plebiscite. They accused the Aquino administration of having "watered down considerably" the draft submitted by the Cordillera Regional Consultative Committee (CRCC), which they helped to formulate. And because the second Organic Act creating an autonomous region was "bogus and [did] not reflect the true aspirations of Cordillerans" ("Groups call for rejection...," 1998: 16), many of these advocacy groups

were again instrumental in the rejection of RA 8438 in the plebiscite held on March 7, 1998. These groups claimed, however, that in principle they were still in favor of *genuine autonomy* in the Cordillera since they believed this to be the only means by which rights to self-determination and ancestral lands are realized.

Ancestral Land as Life and Identity

The Cordilleran clamor for regional autonomy stems from the belief that autonomy can provide Cordillerans with a political framework with which to exercise their right to *self-determination,* which means

> a political, social, economic, and cultural right — means the right of an Indigenous People to define, develop, and defend their social, political, economic institutions and objectives, and to preserve and progressively enrich their material and non-material culture, independent from the dictate and control of a central authority in which they have little or no representation, but at the same time not necessarily being separate from the rest of national society, unless it is their best interest to be so (Prill-Brett, 1988: 1).

Central to the issue of self-determination is the concept of ancestral domain:

> the territory occupied and recognized by an indigenous cultural group since time immemorial, long before the existence of a Phil. Republic. The concept of ancestral domain includes (a) the indigenous people's right to avail of the direct benefits derived from the exploitation of resources within their territories and (b) the right to directly decide how land, water, and other resources will be allocated, used, or managed. These ideas are included in indigenous tenurial laws (Prill-Brett, 1988: 1).

But these tenurial laws have been supplanted by "legal laws" by the Philippine governments hence the Cordilleran push for regional autonomy to uphold their rights to self-determination and their ancestral domain.

The Cordilleran regard for their ancestral lands is well-encapsulated in the Kankana-ey sentence, *Dakami ya nan dagami*[4] [literally, "We are our lands"; idiomatically, "Land is our life]" because the lands they have occupied since "as far back as memory can remember," indeed mean their life inasmuch as their continued survival as indigenous peoples is hinged on them. Removed from their ancestral lands, they can no longer observe their customs and traditions; therefore, it is no exaggeration to say that their identities as indigenous peoples are also rooted in their ancestral lands (Claver, 1984: 147).

Shifts in Ethnic Relations brought about by Ancestral Land Problems

The Cordilleran indigenous peoples started being confronted with displacement from their ancestral lands when Spanish conquistadores declared the entire archipelago as belonging to the King of Spain in the sixteenth century. This is the infamous Regalian Doctrine, the basic premise of which—that all lands in the Philippines belong to the state—had been upheld by all the succeeding governments. The doctrine classifies state lands into three categories: private, public, and reservations. Prill-Brett explains the categorization:

> Private rights to land are acquired from the State through grants, purchase, and/or other forms of transfer which are recognized and covered by the state laws. The symbol of ownership is a piece of paper called a 'paper title'. The rest of the lands not covered by paper title are classified as either 'public land' or 'reservation' (1988: 11).

The IPs did not heed the doctrine and other land laws inasmuch as these were "alien and contradictory to [their] ways and beliefs" (Balao, 1985: n.p.). But without "paper titles," their lands got classified as either public land or reservations which were legally non-alienable and non-disposable. Consequently, many Cordillerans are now considered squatters on lands which they and their ancestors have owned "since time immemorial."

Aside from enacted laws, economic opportunism by outsiders also caused the indigenous peoples to be either displaced from or dispossessed of their lands. In the case of the Cordillera, it was its fabled mineral resources that attracted foreign opportunists. As early as the 17th century, the Spaniards began prospecting expeditions for gold into the area. It was however only in the latter half of the 1800s when they were able to establish copper and gold mining companies in Benguet since they experienced extreme difficulties in reaching the area as well as met with earlier opposition from the inhabitants of the place. The Spaniards also failed to mine extensively because of problems in transportation and production costs ("The life, death and ...," 1994: 7).

It was the Americans who benefited much from these mining operations for they were able to formulate colonial laws in their favor beginning with the Mining Act of 1905, which declared that all public lands in the Phil. are free and open to exploitation, occupation, and purchase by the citizens of the US and the Philippines (Tauli, 1983). Since capital and technology were available to the Americans, they easily got most of the mining claims; leaving the natives dispossessed of the lands they have owned for centuries. The Mining Act of 1935 further deprived the Igorots of the "fatta da land" by declaring that gold panning and native mining are punishable.

To the Igorots, their ancestral land rights include rights to resources contained under and above these lands. There is no dichotomy between surface rights and sub-surface rights and so the mineral resources contained within their territories rightfully belong to them (Tauli-Corpuz, 1997). Unfortunately, violation of these indigenous rights continue to this day because the colonial policy of regarding the Cordillera as a resource base area has been adopted and relentlessly imposed by post-war governments.

The horrors of the old Mining laws were resurrected in the Mining Act of 1995 (RA 7942) for this law proposed to open the last frontiers of the Cordillera. The Ramos administration insisted that this latest Mining Law was part of the Medium Term Development Plan (MTDP) that aimed for the Philippines to achieve NIC status by the year 2000; it however failed to consider the long-term effects of previous Mining laws—not only are the forests denuded today, but the mountains are also destroyed beyond repair in this century ("Gatt follows the vein...," 1995, p. 9).

Aside from massive environmental degradation, the 1995 Mining Act also threatened to displace miners with its implementation of the so-called "bulk mining" method, which uses load-haul-dump (LHD) machines and other earthmoving machinery in extracting mineral deposits from the earth. The miners—most of whom were Cordillerans, Ilocanos and Pangasinenses—who in happier times revolved mostly around their own ethnic groups resorted to various united protest actions to draw attention to their plight ("Gatt follows the vein...," 1995, pp. 10-11). Regrettably, such protest actions were completely ignored by the DENR—the government agency authorized to implement the Mining Law—when it published Departmental Administrative Order No. 96-40, which contains the Implementing Rules and Regulations (IRR) of the

Mining Act of 1995. The official newspaper of the CPA comments on the signing of the IRR:

> The signing of the new IRR of RA 7942 has signaled the end of the various consultations initiated by the government in order to facilitate the operation of multi-national mining companies in the country or to liberalize the mining industry. The government has enacted RA 7942 despite protests from various concerned citizens against said law-a law that sells the country's wealth and freedom.
>
> The grievances and opposition of the Cordillera and Mindanao people against RA 7942 were supported by different interest groups from Manila. Meanwhile, the affected inhabitants within the mining areas are bravely defending their territorial rights. Some have even chased away representatives of mining corporations who were sent to their areas to conduct preliminary surveys with their *bolos* ("Baro a damag ...," 1997, p. 21). (translation provided)

The same news item dramatizes the effect of promulgated laws on indigenous peoples, who are ever willing to take up arms to defend their ancestral domain. Paradoxically, it also higlights their hapless situation: How long can the *bolos* stand up to the multinational corporations' giant machines? It is noteworthy though that the Cordillerans, aside from becoming united, have also realized the importance of cooperating with outside groups in their protest actions against the government.

A decade after then Pres. Ramos signed the Mining Law on March 3, 1995, there are still vigorous protests against this law. In a November 2004 call for its

rejection, the National Council of Churches in the Philippines (NCCP) mentioned various groups from all over the country struggling against continued mining operations in their respective areas such as the people in Mankayan, Benguet who were protesting against Lepanto Consolidated Mining Company's continued operation and expansion in their place ("A statement...," www.minesandcommunities.org/Action/press493.htm).[5]

Aside from the Mining laws, which heavily favored multinational corporations over small-scale native operators, the post war governments further institutionalized the displacement of the IPs from their ancestral lands through various Forestry Laws. Among the most notorious of these is PD 705 or the Revised Forestry Code which states:

> No land of the public domain eighteen per cent (18%) in slope or over shall be classified as alienable and disposable, nor any forest land fifty per cent (50%) in slope or over, as grazing land. Lands 18% or over in slope which have already been declared as alienable and disposable shall be reverted to the classification of forest lands ... to form part of the forest reserves....That when public interest so requires, steps shall be taken to expropriate, cancel effective titles, reject public land applications or eject occupants thereof (Section 15).

The 18% classification means that the land rises at 18 meters for every 100 meter-horizontal distance or is at an angle of 10.2 degrees (Balao, 1985: n.p.) Such a law is obviously unjust to most people in the mountainous Cordillera since it declares most of the region inalienable and indisposable. The plateaus and river banks where the native villages are usually

located, including their rice terraces, are also covered by PD 705 because these are areas which could be expropriated by the government "if public interest so requires." This law then ensures the continuing hold of the government on the indigenous peoples' lands.

The 1987 Constitution, which contains provisions for the rights of the IPs in the country, assures the recognition of these peoples' rights to their "cultural particularities" including their special regard for their ancestral lands. However, laws promulgated based on these provisions prove no guarantee that the indigenous peoples will get what is due them. One such law is DAO No. 02, series of 1993 again from the DENR. This order mandates the department to identify, delineate, and recognize land claims put forward by the indigenous peoples. After accomplishing these tasks, the DENR will award Certificates of Ancestral Domain Claims (CADC) and Certificates of Ancestral Lands Claim (CALC) to claimants who have satisfied the official requirements. This order also requires the department to form a group composed of GO-NGO members to assist the IPs in the preparation and afterwards implementation of a comprehensive ancestral domains management plan.

DAO No. 02 represents a "positive development toward the eventual recognition of their claims," stated then DENR Sec. Fulgencio Factoran ("Ancestral domain," 1994: 9-10) amidst criticism that the Certificates given out were merely an acknowledgment by the government of the indigenous communities' claim to their long-occupied areas. The order is also potentially divisive inasmuch as it has no clear proviso for outsiders who, by virtue of certain government laws such as the Squatter's Rights provided for under the Cadastral Law, have already been accorded legal rights to the place they are occupying within indigenous cultural communities.

The above problem is compounded by the fact that the number of hectares awarded to a community is always much smaller than what is traditionally considered as the ancestral domain. Since land is equated to indigenous peoples' survival, it is understandable why at the beginning of DAO 02 implementation, there was suspicion, apprehension, and wariness between and among members of the community. What the government failed to decipher was perfectly clear to some IPs in Abra who, realizing the danger posed by the CADC/CALC, returned the certificates awarded them.

The decision of the Tingguians to return their certificates also emphasizes the deep respect of the indigenous peoples for their lands and the regard they hold for their community. Rather than cause enmity and division among themselves by creating new territorial boundaries—the DENR designated a much smaller area to represent the entire community's ancestral domain—they willingly stopped the process of bringing about "official ownership" of their ancestral lands. Such decision follows logically their concept of ancestral domain as communally and not individually owned. The DENR reacted by commenting that "their desire for a broader concept of the *bogis* [ancestral domain area] as the basis of the delineation is not allowed under existing rules, regulations and legislations" ("Ancestral domain," 1994:.13). This typical reaction is usually the crux of conflicts arising between the government and the indigenous peoples. The former insists on using a transplanted legal system in dealing with problems pertaining to indigenous cultures without regard for indigenous laws which are already in place so the IPs are left with no recourse but to put up an opposition to the imposition.

In 1997, the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (IPRA)[6]—a "landmark law" that aimed to distribute Certificates of Ancestral Domain Title (CADTs) and

Certificates of Ancestral Land Title (CALTs) to qualified IPs—was finally enacted but at the outset it was beset with problems such as the challenge to its constitutionality, insufficient budgetary allocation, and the existence of two sets of commissions tasked to carry out the law (Tecson, 2004, www.ppi.org.ph/publications/fnv/current_issues/fnv_5.htm). Not surprisingly, the first issuance of CADT by the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP)—IPRA's implementing government agency—happened only in July 2002, practically five years after IPRA implementation. The NCIP issuance of CADTs and CALTs had been very slow; only 21 CADTs covering 535,302 hectares and 44 CALTs covering 425 hectares were distributed as of February 2004 (Tecson, 2004) out of the 181 CADT and 347 CALT applications submitted by the IPs in the country (Sidchogan-Batani, 2003, www.unochr.ch/indigenous/Sidchogan.BP4.doc).

To date, the issuance of CADTs and CALTs remains problematic—such as what many indigenous communities and farmers in Benguet are confronted with—due to "unresolved political boundary disputes and the absence of an official local government land policy on the delineation of ancestral domains and agricultural farm lots" (Cariño, 2005: A15).

The institutionalized dispossession of IPs lands has been exacerbated by the various Philippine governments' "ideology of developmentalism" (Maranan, 1987: 7). In the case of the Cordillera, "development projects" took shape in the various dam constructions in the area, the most prominent of which was the Chico River Basin Development Project. Vigorous protests by concerned IPs—that the dams will inundate hundreds of hectares of productive ancestral lands—were ignored "for the sake of the nation." Then Pres. Marcos was supposed to have admonished the IPs not to be "sentimental" when a group of them went

to Malacañang to register their resistance against the Chico dams

And when the indigenous peoples proved recalcitrant, the Marcos government resorted to militarization. The military apparatus was used in the guise of counter-insurgency measures in areas targeted as either prospective sites of development projects or potential places of mining and logging concessions ("Development aggression...," 1991). From the late 1970s to the present, the Cordillera has been the site of massive militarization because more and more Cordillerans have been putting up fierce and united opposition against the endless government development projects imposed on them.

Indeed, the once fiercely independent Cordillera indigenous cultural communities have found a common cause in struggling against development projects in the area. This joining of forces was started by the Bontok and Kalinga tribes who fought together to stop the Marcos Regime, with funding from the IMF-WF, from building six dams along the Chico River Basin because the "damming" of the Chico River would have meant the destruction of much of their ancestral lands including their sacred burial grounds. The much-publicized opposition brought together these two tribes who were—and still are—generally regarded as traditional enemies, often engaging in tribal wars against each other. This time, resistance "was not localized but was broadened to include everybody [bringing about] a modern phenomenon, unifying those who were not unified" ("There is going ...," 1987: 5). This phenomenon according to Scott could not solely be ascribed to communal tradition but also to a more politicized people especially the youth who have become more educated than their elders. Scott proves this claim by saying that "the first time five or six language groups of the Cordillera ever did something were street demonstrations in Manila" ("There is going

..., 1987: 5). Therefore, the changed relations among the ethnolinguistic groups in the Cordillera today could be attributed to the issues these groups are faced with in the region. Their unity then is not forged by cultural or ethnic pride but rather by political exigency. In other words, these ethnic groups have now become interest groups (Glazer & Moynihan, 1975).

Another legacy of the Chico dam resistance is the birth of a Cordilleran hero: Macliing Dulag, the leader of the Butbut tribe in Kalinga who had powerfully articulated the indigenous people's relationship with their ancestral lands. Among the most recounted of his statements was his comment after then PANAMIN Chair M. Elizalde tried to bribe him: "An envelope can contain only two things, a letter or money. Since I can hardly read, it cannot be a letter. Then it must be money. The more it is not for me for I have nothing to sell" (Maranan, 1987: 16).

On April 24, 1980, at the height of the Chico Dam Project opposition, Macliing Dulag was gunned down by the military. His death was not in vain however because Marcos was forced to order the discontinuation of the project in the wake of the controversy generated by his murder. Today, any discourse on ancestral domain in the Cordillera always includes his name or any of his profound statements regarding the IPs' reverence for their ancestral lands. Since 1984, his death anniversary has also been celebrated as "Cordillera Day" in commemoration of his martyrdom, together with those of the other Cordillerans who lost their lives in defense of their land and culture. This could very well be another modern phenomenon in that the present day Cordillerans have started regarding these martyrs as their common ancestors. Moreover, Cordillera Day is now a "bonding day" for the indigenous peoples in the Cordillera.

Aside from the dams, developmentalism has also found expression in the government's tapping of hot

springs in the country to put up geothermal plants. The main objective of the Ramos administration in putting up geothermal plants was to increase the national power supply in line with its vision to make the Philippines an industrialized country by the year 2000. There were 5 identified potential geothermal sites in the Cordillera: Batong-buhay in Kalinga, Mainit in Bontoc, Mt. Province, Buguias in Benguet, Acupan in Itogon, Benguet, and Daclan in Bokod, Benguet.

Despite opposition by residents in the early '80s, drilling in Daclan was undertaken by the PNOC. The residents of the other identified sites also expressed vehement opposition to the planned geothermal plants having been informed of the numerous negative environmental impacts of these said plants. Nonetheless, overtures made by the government on community leaders seemed to have worked in the case of those of Pasil and Tinglayan, both towns of Kalinga. The two leaders were treated to a field trip to the Mak-Ban geothermal fields in Laguna in July 1996 and this had reportedly resulted to a Memorandum of Understanding between the NAPOCOR and the Kalinga governor and the two mayors of the affected towns allowing geothermal exploration on Mt. Binulawon. This mountain which runs through the two mentioned-towns serves as watershed to the mighty Chico River ("Power and...," 1996: 9-11, 24-25).

The above report is quite surprising considering the historical identification of Kalingas as brave warriors who have never hesitated to fiercely defend any type of encroachment on their territorial boundaries. Equally surprising is the determined opposition put up by the Ibalois, traditionally thought of as the most peace-loving ICC in the Cordillera. Itogon Vice Mayor Aloysius Kato speaks of this Ibaloi capacity to also stand up for their rights when driven up the wall:

> The government cannot dismiss this threat on the basis of cultural differences; i.e., the Ibaloys are not like the Kalingas (of the infamous Chico dam). It must be recalled that the Ibaloys, (a peace-loving people) have their own history of war, too ("Power and ...," 1996: 5).

Interestingly, Kato juxtaposes the Kalingas with the Ibalois affirming the traditional belief that the Kalingas are fighters while the Ibalois are not. This change in the Ibaloi attitude is further illustrated by the increasingly active participation of the community's womenfolk in protest actions either against transgressions to their rights to their ancestral domain or against destructive "development projects" in their area. Television footages of Tuba townsfolk demanding the Philippine Tourism Authority's just compensation of lands expropriated for the Marcos Park in the '80s showed the women in the forefront of the protest activities. The image of Ibaloi women as shy, retiring and reticent had been replaced by a more assertive and politicized one in defense of their indigenous rights.

The revival of the Agno River Basin Development Project in December 1997—renamed San Roque Multi-Purpose Project (SRMP)—which was discontinued along with the Chico River Basin Development Project at the height of the opposition to the dams in the early 80s is the latest instance of developmentalism in the Cordillera. The then Ramos administration insisted that the continuation of the project was necessary to enable the government to provide adequate and reliable supply of electrical power to the Central Plains as well as irrigation for accelerated agroindustrialization. To environmental experts, however, the SRMP is expected to have long-reaching and disastrous effects on communities in the municipalities of San Manuel and San Nicolas in Pangasinan, and Itogon and Tuba in Benguet. Its most immediate effect will be the

inundation of homes and agricultural lands located within the planned reservoir area (The San Roque Dam, 1996).

The organized opposition put up by the affected villagers—the Shalupirip Santahnay Indigenous Movement in Itogon and Tignayan ti Mannalon a Mangwayawaya ti Agno (TIMMAWA) or Peasant Movement to Free the Agno in Pangasinan—with help from both local and international advocacy groups, caused various delays in the project but construction was continued by the succeeding Estrada and Macapagal-Arroyo governments. While the dam was yet under construction, San Manuel already experienced "the worst flooding that hit the municipality in years" ("San Manuel residents blame...," 2001, www.inq7.net); nonetheless, construction of the $1.2 billion San Roque dam went on until it was finally inaugurated by Macapagal-Arroyo on 29 May 2003.

Today, antidam advocates led by the Cordillera People's Alliance (CPA), are still calling for the end to the operation of the dam because it is proving too costly for both the government and electric consumers inasmuch as "the national government, through the National Power Corp., is mandated to pay the SRPC [San Roque Power Corporation] the amount of P500 million monthly as fixed energy fee even if the private firm failed to supply NPC the needed energy" (Palangchao, 2004, www.themanilatimes.net). Moreover, operation began even if some non-power components of the dam such as flood control, irrigation, and water quality were not yet in place (Makilan, 2005, www.bulatlat.com/news) constantly compromising the lives of residents within the dam's pathway.

As illustrated in the above discussion, about the only welcome development ensuing from the pressing problems in the Cordillera had been the increasingly concerted efforts of the various ethnic groups in the area

to get together to search for solutions. During the celebration of Cordillera Day in April 1997, practically all the ethnolinguistic groups in the Cordillera gave commitments to help fight against the putting up of the San Roque Dam; commitments that are still being honored today. The impressive outpouring of support of non-members from within as well as without and from just about all walks of life shows too that this time, the Cordillera indigenous peoples are no longer waging isolated and lonely fights.

Shifts in Political Alliances due to the Push for Regional Autonomy

Autonomy is believed to be the best means of putting a stop to the government's "development projects" generally viewed as detrimental to the indigenous peoples' lands and cultures. Being autonomous, the Cordillerans hope to end the continued violations of their rights through government laws and move on to chart their own region's course toward development.

Such an idea spurred a multi-sectoral group in the Cordillera to heed Cory Aquino's call for peace and reconciliation in the aftermath of the Edsa Revolution. The group that called itself Cordillera Peoples Alliance (CPA) tested the sincerity of Ms. Aquino by lobbying for autonomy in the region. In response, the Aquino government included provisions on the Autonomous Region in the newly drafted 1987 Constitution. Specifically, Art. X, Section 15 of the Constitution mandates the creation of two (2) Autonomous Regions:

> There shall be created Autonomous Regions in Muslim Mindanao and in the Cordilleras consisting of provinces, cities, municipalities, and geographical areas sharing common and distinctive historical and cultural heritage, economic and social structures, and other relevant characteristics within the

> framework of this Constitution and the national sovereignty as well as territorial integrity of the Republic of the Philippines.

Consequently, the creation of a Cordillera Autonomous Region was no longer "a question of privilege but instead a question of right" for the Cordillerans. The inclusion of this provision in the Constitution augured well for many concerned groups in the Cordillera making them set aside differences in ideologies and thrusts to come up with a draft of an organic act to be used as basis for the lawmakers. However, most of these groups like the CPA, CPLA, CBA, CPF and others who participated in the drafting of the organic act eventually campaigned for the rejection of the final version of RA 6766 because they found that the act had become a product of "manipulation" by the "unseen hands " of those who had "vested interests" (Dumagat, n.d.). As well, party ideologies and thrusts proved difficult to set aside too long and so the alignment formed by the groups had gone prematurely askew.

The honeymoon stage for the various interest groups who all pushed for autonomy was all too short. Despite this, all still avowed a common desire for autonomy; only this time, each had put forward its own definition of what Cordillera autonomy should be. And in the course of articulating their own visions of Cordillera autonomy, they forged alliances with other groups and, at the same time, caused breaks and factions within their respective groups; developments that are quite fascinating to follow. Because of numerous players in the field, this paper will present the positions of just the key groups by way of tracing the shifts in these groups' political alliances as a result of the issue on Cordillera autonomy.

One of the key groups concerned with the discourse on Cordillera autonomy is the Cordillera

Peoples' Alliance or CPA. The CPA traces its beginnings to a multi-sectoral congress held in June 1984. From the 27 grassroots groups that formally participated in its founding, it presently has around 120 member groups mostly composed of NGOs and POs. The CPA had always been consistent in its belief that the best way of advancing the interests and welfare of the indigenous peoples in the region is to work for a Cordillera regional autonomy. In fact, Rood, a former UP Baguio professor and political scientist, credits the group as having been instrumental in making possible the inclusion of the provision on autonomy in the 1986 Constitution through its intense lobbying. Like most groups, the CPA believed that autonomy is

> the best vehicle through which the Cordillera peoples can exercise self-determination within the framework of a sovereign Filipino nation. Within the autonomous region, the indigenous peoples of the Cordillera can exercise legislative, executive and judicial functions that are in keeping with their needs and particularities (Florendo, 1994: 45).

The passage emphasizes the CPA position that the struggle for Cordillera autonomy should be part of the country's struggle for national freedom and democracy; thus, the group's advocacy for *regional* autonomy. And for it to be a *genuine regional autonomy,* it should have the following six components ("Genuine ..., 1994: 3):

1. Recognition of ancestral lands of various Cordillera indigenous peoples, and their ancestral proprietary rights to the disposition, utilization, management and development of these lands and resources.
2. Recognition of the domain or territory of the Cordillera autonomous region and the Cordillera

peoples' prior rights to these lands and resources; the rights of disposition, utilization, management and development to be provided for and exercised through a future Cordillera Regional Autonomous Government.

3. Recognition of the right to economic prosperity and genuine social development.
4. Respect for the indigenous culture and the right to pursue cultural development.
5. Recognition of indigenous sociopolitical systems and political integrity as indigenous people.
6. Protection of civil liberties and human rights against militarization and state repression.

In an interview, CPA spokesperson Minnie Degawan while discussing the said components reiterated that "[a]ll other issues are negotiable except the issue of ancestral land rights" (*Advancing...- A Source Book*, 1994: 101). And since the government did not make its position clear regarding this issue, the CPA rejected the proposed 2nd version of the Cordillera Autonomy Bill as well as campaigned hard for the rejection of the Organic Act in the 1998 plebiscite.

Meanwhile, the Cordillera People's Democratic Front or CPDF echoed the CPA position that the struggle for Cordillera Autonomy should be seen within the struggle of the national democratic movement. This position is not surprising considering that the CPDF was the underground national democratic organization of the indigenous peoples of the Cordillera. It was founded by the CPP-NPA in 1981 as the "organizational expression of the particularities of the Cordillera struggle within the national democratic revolution" (Diliman Review, 1987, p. 25). Hewing to its Marxist ideology, the long term objective of the CPDF is the establishment of the Cordillera People's Revolutionary Autonomous Government (CPRAG) as an assertion of the Cordillera Peoples' right to self-determination and

an affirmation of their capacity for self-governance (Florendo, 1994: 42).

Although, the CPA agreed with the CPDF position that the Cordillerans are victims of national oppression because of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, the former did not advocate an autonomous revolutionary government or *fetad* (people's war) to liberate the Cordillerans and the entire Philippine masses (Florendo,1994). On the other hand, the CPDF, like the CPA, also emphasized the importance of recognizing the IPs rights to their ancestral lands and had thus included provisions on land rights in its program of government. Besides creating a Land Council tasked with evaluating land conflicts among the people, the CPRAG recognized customary forms of land ownership, both "individual and collective"

> based on those that are currently operational among the people . . . Thus shall the CPRAG respect variations in custom regarding the use or ownership of land. Special land laws, distinct from national land laws, shall be formulated and enforced in accordance with the particularities of culture and conditions of the Cordillera (Advancing..., 1994: 111).

A third key group that figures prominently on the issue of Cordillera autonomy is the Cordillera People's Liberation Army or CPLA. The CPLA was a breakaway faction of the CPP-NPA founded by renegade-priest Conrado Balweg on April 7, 1986. The birth of the CPLA was a consequence of the disagreement within the CPDF of the meaning of "national oppression" in the process of arriving at the meaning of Cordillera autonomy. While the official political line is to regard the previously mentioned problems as the root causes of Filipino oppression, one faction sees a fourth cause which it considers as a distinct problem of the Cordillerans: "the state's disregard for indigenous

peoples' rights to ancestral domain, to the freedom to maintain and develop their indigenous systems, and to equal status with other citizens of the Philippines" (Agbayani, 1987: 21). This problem is part of the so-called "internal colonialism" and since the Cordillerans do not share a common history with the rest of the Filipino people, neither do they patronize the nation-state's dominant social institutions, the Cordillera might as well become a nation in itself.

Such an idea was frowned upon as "indigenist" by most cadres in the CPDF who were not members of an indigenous cultural community while the "indigenist" faction known as the Lumbaya Company, retaliated by accusing the CPP of "'imposing lowland rules over the Cordillera'" (Agbayani, 1987: 21). Thus, the issue started to take on the mantle of ethnicity eventually causing the Lumbaya Company to break away from the CPDF. This question on ethnicity became more pronounced when, in the meantime, Balweg and his followers, who were in disagreement with the Party leadership, raised the following grievances: non-minority members were given more support and resources as well as regional leadership than minority cadres; and the regional struggle not the national struggle should be the priority in the Cordillera. Moreover, Balweg, accused the CPDF of plotting to liquidate him instead of just placing him under disciplinary action (DA) "allegedly on account of having an extramarital affair with a female comrade."[7] And since the vice-CO of the Lumbaya Company happened to be Balweg's cousin, the company and Balweg's group then linked up to form the CPLA (Agbayani, 1987).

What differentiated the CPLA from the CPA and CPDF visions of an autonomous Cordillera was its push for a federal system of autonomous government, more specifically, the creation of a Cordillera Autonomous Socialist State. This framework purports to make the recognition of Cordillera territorial, economic, cultural

and political integrity possible, as well as, the eradication of discrimination against Cordillerans as "morally inferior people." Under the federal system, Cordillerans would be able to define the pace of the region's development. In addition, the group asserted that the CPLA should be the peacekeeping force for this envisioned Cordillera state (Florendo, 1994).

When the Aquino government called for peacetalks in 1986, Balweg's group decided to face the government panel for negotiations in order to push for its vision of an autonomous government. At about this same time, some members of the CPA—mostly *pangats* or Kalinga leaders—decided to get out from the umbrella group and formed their own organization which they called the Cordillera Bodong Association or CBA. Eventually, many members of this organization, attracted to the idea of "indigenizing the Cordillera," joined Balweg's CPLA. At the start of the negotiations with the government, an administrative arm of the CPLA was formed to sit down with the government panel. Since most members came from the former CBA, the group took on the name Cordillera Bodong Administration or CBAd which was also headed by Balweg (Castro, 1987).

The CPDF—then embroiled in a word-war with Balweg—snubbed the Aquino government's truce offering. On the other hand, the CPA found unacceptable the inclusion of traditional politicians in the peace panel and so it also refused to join the peace negotiations. Consequently, it was Balweg's group that was able to push for its political program; in addition, it was given a tremendous media mileage against its two opponents. (By this time, the CPA also started its own word war with the CPLA since it was accused by the latter of *"'wanting to link the Cordillera people with the NDF.'"*) Throughout all these, the CPLA was able to get the sympathy of observers because Balweg carried his war against the CPA and the CPDF on political

grounds while the other two delved *"into what they perceived to be the unsavory personal iniquities of Balweg"* (Agbayani, 1987: 22). In other words, both the CPA and CPDF appeared petty in that they seemed unable to rise above the issue of personalities. In a previous interview with this researcher, Engr. Solang, the then Vice Chair of the CPA, claimed that there was no chance for his group and the CPLA reconciling because *"aguuyungen ni Balweg [Balweg has gone crazy]"* (Benedict Solang, personal interview, 1997).

But all was not also well in the Balweg camp for aside from antagonizing the military for its insistence on making the CPLA the peacekeeping unit in the entire Cordillera, it also had within its ranks members who did not agree with this particular demand. In early 1994, Atty. Joel Obar, who long served as Balweg's right hand man, brought his break-away faction out of the CPLA and formed his own Cordillera People's Unit (CPU) (*Advancing...- A Source Book*, 1994,).

After Balweg's death in 1999, the CPLA was again split into two factions: one currently being led by Michael Suggiyao Jr. and the other, by Mayor Mailed Molina of Bucloc, Abra, and Balweg's widow, Corazon Cortel-Balweg (Solmerin, 2004: www.manilatimes.net). To date, the two factions are still locked in a leadership dispute.

Conclusion

The various shifts in political alliances have not yet stopped inasmuch as some of the key personalities in the largely left-leaning political groups have gone on to either join the government (an example is Atty. William Claver who used to be the Chairperson of the CPA but went on to become a Congressman under the government party) or simply got out of their parties because of disillusionment and went on to join the other parties (the CPA claims that some of those *pangats* who initially left the CPA to join up with Balweg have since

returned to the multi-sectoral group). And this account does not even include the government officials (members of the Cordillera Executive Board or CEB and the Cordillera Regional Assembly or CRA, who were at the helm of the Cordillera Autonomous Region or CAR) who have also experienced turmoil and intrigues within their ranks. Seemingly, this political rigodon will go on until the question on Cordillera autonomy will finally be resolved.

In the same vein, until the government passes an enabling Ancestral Domain/Ancestral Land Law that will be fully acceptable to all parties concerned (indigenous peoples and settlers who are non-members of the indigenous cultural communities, together with government lawmakers and various interest groups), the problem on ancestral land rights will persist, with the indigenous peoples putting up more determined and equally more concerted efforts to defend these rights. In the process, the different indigenous groups will become more and more dependent on each other to sustain these struggles.

Nonetheless, amidst discussions on ancestral land rights and autonomy is the two-sided reality of indigenous structures and processes in the Cordillera today: one of persistence and one of disintegration. And if the existing givens of the Cordillera society are used as gauge—more educated, more politicized people; out-migration of IPs, in-migration of non-members; and presence of outsiders' institutions like the school and the church—obviously, the process of disintegration is already in place. This disintegration only proves that the Cordillerans are not caught in the quagmire of immobilism but are flowing naturally with the evolving times.

But these facts are not necessarily contradictory to the Cordillerans' fight to hold on to their indigenous rights inasmuch as the process of disintegration is parallel with that of persistence. Although change is

immutable, a society can still determine to a certain extent its own pace of change. Change, after all, can also be a matter of political choice. With the swiftness of development in today's world, the IPs do not need the government to hasten the holding of a requiem for their cultures by imposing various developmental projects through its interventionist philosophy. After all, the process of persistence is part of the natural course of relentless change.

Notes

[1]The historian, W. H. Scott, says that the term Igorot has journalistically given way to the word "Cordillera" signalling the emergence of a Cordilleran Identity ("There is going to be...," 1987: 5). Although history has commonly lumped the ethnic groups in the old Mountain Province—composed of Benguet, Bontoc, Ifugao, and Kalinga-Apayao—under the label "Igorot," it is only actually the people of the first 2 provinces who referred to themselves as such. A study in 1988 conducted by the Cordillera Studies Center of UP Baguio—the author was part of the research team—proved this when only 46% of Kalinga respondents and 44% of Ifugao respondents thought of themselves as Igorots while 100% of both the Ibaloy and Kankana-ey respondents in Benguet and 99% of the Bontoc respondents considered themselves so (Rood, 1994: 10).

[2]The CAR is composed of six provinces with 8 major ethnic groups: 1) Benguet - Ibaloy, Kankanaey, Ikalahan / Kalangoya; 2) Mountain Province - Igorot; 3) Ifugaos; 4) Kalinga - Ikalinga or Kalinga; 5) Apayao - Isneg; and 6) Abra - Tinggian

[3]The Social Reform Agenda by the Ramos administration was a set of interventions meant to alleviate poverty and improve the welfare of the marginalized sectors of Philippine society.

[4]Title of a book; *Dakami Ya Nan Dagami: Papers and Proceedings of the 1st Cordillera Multi-Sectoral Land Congress* 30 (1983) published by the Cordillera Consultative Commission.

[5]The NCCP accuses Pres. Macapagal-Arroyo of issuing Memorandum Circular No.67 or the Mineral Action Plan (MAP) to amend the IRR of the Mining Act in order "to simplify and fast-track the procedures of processing mining applications and issuance of permits to mining companies" despite persistent calls for the scrapping of the Mining Law.

[6] IPRA or RA 8371, which took effect on November 22, 1997, is a comprehensive law recognizing the IPs' right to their ancestral domain, self-governance and empowerment, social justice and human rights as well as cultural integrity.

[7]Balweg was indeed assassinated on 31 December 1999 while visiting his ancestral home. The NPA's Agustin Begnalen Command—said to be led by Balweg's brother, Jovencio, who was also the alleged gunman—owned up to the killing. The ex-priest was "meted revolutionary justice because of his blood debt against the people" (Vanzi, 2000, 2002; Palangchao, 2003; Cabreza & Caluza, 2003).

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WEATHERING THE STORMS: THE COMPANIA GENERAL DE TABACOS DE FILIPINAS

Joseph T. Raymond

Abstract

The history of Spanish colonial Philippines is replete with impressions that all the economic activities of this regime served to benefit only the colonial investors. Although it is true that many of these enterprises eventually ended right after Spanish colonial rule due to unfavorable factors, one Company, the Compania General de Tabacos de Filipinas, which began its relationship with its Pacific cousin in 1882, managed to establish and expand its business interests for over a century, surviving insurrections, world wars, domestic upheavals and myriad other challenges. The reasons for its survival can be attributed to its unique style of management, which benefited the localities all over the country in which these businesses were based. This paper aims to provide a balanced understanding of our history by examining an aspect of our nation's colonial past from an alternative perspective, one that views the ongoing past as a continuing process of cross-cultural contacts and exchange among people.

Introduction

The Spanish influences on the Philippines are both tangible and intangible. It is not necessary to distinguish one type from the other for both complement each other in many instances. This paper shares the view advanced by Quirino (1981: 9) that these influences should be regarded as a form of *heritage* instead of a *legacy* since:

> The difference between the two is one of substance, not form. A legacy, strictly speaking, is constituted according to the will of the donor. A heritage, in the socio-cultural sense, is whatever the

> recipient says it is; that is, whatever he wants to make of it. This is merely to affirm that in the final analysis, the residue of colonial influence is not necessarily what the colonial power bestows, but what ever the colonized society decides to keep.

One such economic heritage from the Spanish colonizers is the sugar industry, which was introduced to the island of Negros in the early 1850s (Fast & Richardson, 1987). The Compania General de Tabacos de Filipinas or Tabacalera, as it is popularly called, pioneered modern sugar production in Oriental Negros with the establishment of the Central Azucarera de Bais in 1917. The start of its operation during the 1918-1919 milling season marked the beginning of a new economic era for the province of Oriental Negros and became the foremost income earner for both entities. The factors that led to Tabacalera's long existence in the Philippines were indigenous and international in character and each had affected and influenced the political, economic, and social development of Tabacalera, allowing it to be a leading entity in the business of sugar until its final pull-out in 1979 with the purchase of the Bais Sugar Central by the Chan group of industries.

Establishment of the Company in the Philippines

Three major problems faced the Spanish Company at the start of its operations in the Philippines, namely: (1) the organization of the administration of Tabacalera, which involved the opening of district and main offices and stabilizing the services offered by these offices; (2) the procurement of the raw materials of tobacco; and (3) the manufacture and marketing of this product (Raventos, 1981).[1] Compounding the problems for the Company was the arduous task of taking over the intricacies of running an unstable business. However, help came on the last day of February 1882 with the arrival in Manila of three functionaries of Tabacalera

bearing letters of credit that, according to Raventos, were issued by the Banco-Hispano Colonial. These three were Sr. Lope Gisbert, Special Commissioner, Don Lopez de Vega, Administrator General, and Armand Villemer, a French engineer, Sub-administrator (1981:38).

Money in the amount of one million pesetas was already in the bank even before the three representatives arrived. Aside from the mentioned amount, the Company also added three million sterling pounds to its capital (de Jesus, 1980), with the boxes of gold coins brought in by the mail steamer from Barcelona. These coins served as the Company's initial working capital (Sugar News, 1961). The amount of money invested provided the guarantee that the Company was serious in infusing capital for investment in industries of interest in the Philippines. From the very beginning Tabacalera strove in many ways to change the colonial way of managing its affairs by being equitable and considerate in all its enterprises. Long after the revolution, it remained constantly attentive to and appreciative of the pertinent policies of the Philippine government and always reserved for Filipino capital a share in the wealth that the Company had gained (Sugar News, 1961).

The Company went on to position itself in "*conditions of superiority*" in many respects. First, it established one of the worlds' largest cigar and cigarette factory at the time, the La Flor de La Isabela, which was inaugurated in 1885 (Sugar News, 1969: 554). Soon after, it purchased the haciendas San Antonio, Santa Isabel, and San Luis in the Isabela Province. Dutch experts from Java and Sumatra were hired to conduct experiments aimed at increasing the yield and improving the quality of tobacco produced, even if such a move cost the Company huge amounts of money (Sugar News, 1961). This way the Company expeditiously established what resulted to a private monopoly of the tobacco trade in

the country (de Jesus, 1980). Tabacalera's goal of excellence regardless of the price brought the enterprises it introduced to world-class level.

Despite its superiority in the trade at the time, Tabacalera always strove to balance its development goals with its commitment to share the gains of the Company with the community in which it had its businesses. Historical accounts provided by Raventos show that prior to the establishment of the Tabacalera in the area, the province of Isabela lagged behind its neighboring provinces in development. Its postal service was poor and communication lines, roads, and water sources were non-existent. When Tabacalera established itself in the province, it constructed buildings for warehouses, churches, schools, and hospitals, and erected housing for its workers, turning the once idle lands into a prosperous town (Raventos, 1981). Through tobacco production the Company was instrumental in increasing the small population of the said province.

Laborers recruited from Ilocos provinces by Tabacalera agents moved with their families to the Company-owned haciendas and became so-called *colonos*. According to Raventos, the Company shouldered the move of these laborers, paid their debts, and provided support in return for work on its farms (1981). Upon arrival each *colono* family was given one and a half to two hectares of land to cultivate. Along with this, work animals, tools, and money for subsistence were provided until the *colono* family was ready to harvest. Of the land apportioned to the *colonos*, only one third was set aside for tobacco cultivation; the rest of the land was for the worker to till and develop for subsistence or for commerce. Thus, unlike the early efforts of the Spanish governments to populate towns through *reduccion*, Tabacalera for its part not only invested huge amounts of capital to accommodate these

colonos but also gave them better incentives than those offered by the Spanish government.

As part of the work arrangement, the *colonos* were required to give to the Company warehouses at harvest time their respective tobacco yields, which were then assessed according to current prices in the Cagayan valley. *Colonos* paid one third of the assessed amount as rent for the lot they had been assigned. Of the remaining two thirds, only one sixth was taken as payment for the advances given by the Company; the rest was given to them in cash. As soon as the *colonos* had paid up their debt, the laborers were free to choose to leave the land or remain under the same conditions only that this time no more deductions were taken from their pay.

This system allowed the workers to pay all their debts but still left them with enough cash for their family's expenses. As well, they did not have to worry about their food since they had enough land plus tools and animals to produce whatever crops they wanted on the two thirds of the one to two hectares apportioned to them by the Company. It is also noteworthy to mention that the Company was always considerate of the financial needs of its constituents. As a result, many of the *colonos* chose to remain even after their first contract ended. Out of goodwill, the Company decided to write off about twenty-five to thirty-eight percent of their "bad debts" (Raventos, 1981: 45).

This information contradicts the allegations that the people could not get cash advances since the Company was no longer giving such privilege. Also, some speculations that Isabela and Cagayan experienced hunger due to the abolition of the cash-advance system in which farmers could ask for advances before harvests cannot be accurate since hunger was mainly caused by environmental calamities such as the outbreak of cholera in 1882, and the long drought in 1886. Despite these calamities, the Company

still continued to populate the Cagayan Valley so that by 1885 it had already brought in over three thousand *colonos* (1981: 44-45).

Parallel to its humane dealings with its employees, Tabacalera endeavored to engage only in fair business practices, having learned valuable lessons from the mistakes made by the previous administrators in the sugar industry. This again was one of the many "unwritten" policies of the Company that allowed it to prevail through many challenges. In addition to establishing a number of agencies in the Cagayan valley, Tabacalera also put up centers for the purchase and selection of tobacco leaves for shipment to Manila. These centers were located in the old towns of Lal-loc, Tuguegarao, and Ilagan. Similar agencies were also set up in Cebu, Ilo-ilo, and Masbate (Sugar News, 1961). Tobacco from Cebu and Ilo-ilo was exported directly to Spain through the fleet of ships that Tabacalera owned, which became the lines agent in Philippine ports after 1911. The same issue of Sugar News cited earlier further states that aside from tobacco, Tabacalera was also involved in the business of hemp and copra coming from Cebu, Leyte, Samar, northern Mindanao, the province of Quezon and Legaspi to as far east as Borongan and Guiuan in the island of Samar. By 1892 the Company had cleared and developed a total of 14,630 hectares of once idle land. In 1895, considered as the Company's last normal year of operations, the total production was 22,418 quintiles (Raventos, 1981).

Tabacalera quickly became the leading economic force in the tobacco, hemp, and copra industries in the Philippines. The Company's efficient management and policies and its drive for excellence balanced with social character contributed to its total development in the truest sense of the word. The tangible progress in the locations where Tabacalera operated demonstrated that it was not only concerned with material progress but also with the welfare of its constituents. More

importantly, by remaining true to its fair business practices, Tabacalera managed to benefit all people connected with its operations. Although its normal activities were affected at the beginning of the Philippine Revolution, Tabacalera demonstrated a resiliency in the face of challenge that enabled it to overcome the difficulties.

Tabacalera: From Tobacco to Sugar

As an advocate of agricultural development, Tabacalera first tested the waters of the sugar industry two years after the Company established itself in the archipelago. Before this time, it was not yet involved in the production of sugar but was merely engaged in obtaining the prime material from other sources and exported the product to the United States and England (Raventos, 1981). This exposure to the buy-and-sell aspect of sugar business introduced the Company to the complexities as well as to the problems that hampered the development of the sugar industry. The *Memoirs* of the Company recorded a grim assessment of the Philippine sugar industry: "...three enemies too cruel and tenacious conspired to finish and kill the sugar of the Filipinos, these were sugar from beet, the high cost of shipping, and transport" (Raventos, 1981:80). The competition from beet sugar was primarily caused by the inferiority and insufficiency of the Philippine sugar. The second problem of high cost of shipping was due to the long distance between the areas of production and the sugar markets. Lastly, transporting the canes from the fields to the places of processing also involved great distances on terrible road conditions. Recognizing that all these problems were rooted in the lack of capital, Tabacalera decided to invest in the industry by providing the much-needed capital and equipment.

In 1891, Tabacalera acquired a factory located in San Marcelino for the refining of sugar. Hamilton M. Wright described the state of this refinery as the only

tolerable one found anywhere in the country at the time (Wright, 1909). Although the initial production was good with a total produce of 3,700 piculs in 1897, this did not last long. By 1901, the total produce plummeted to a mere 87 piculs (Raventos, 1981). Two major reasons were cited why the refinery as well as the Company's sugar business did not prosper immediately. First, the instability in the country caused by the insurrection prompted Tabacalera, a Spanish Company, to slow down its operations. Second, given the uncertainty of the market in the United States, Tabacalera confined itself to exporting sugar produced by other haciendas. Among the sugar export companies such as Stevenson and Company, Smith Bell and Company, and Luchsinger and Company, which practically monopolized the business at that time, Tabacalera was the smallest (Cuesta, 1980).

Despite the temporary decrease in the production of sugar, Tabacalera did not totally abandon the industry. Tabacalera's researches on sugar led to the process of converting molasses, the by-product of sugar, into alcohol. In 1891 it set up its first alcohol factory, *La Clementina,* named in honor of the director of the Company, D. Clemente Miralles de Imperial (Raventos, 1981). Meanwhile, it continued to acquire haciendas for the purpose of sugar production in Luzon and Negros. In 1885 Tabacalera purchased a total of 12,000 hectares of forestland and established the Hacienda Luisita. About the same period, unable to resist the tempting lure of the Occidental portion of the island of Negros, it acquired several smaller haciendas on the island of Negros (Sugar News, 1961). The haciendas of Negros produced sugar ahead of Luisita, which started to cultivate sugar only in 1921 (Raventos, 1981).

Among its first haciendas in Negros were San Jose, Apolonia, Velez Malaga, San Luis and Dos Marias. Although the haciendas totalled 2,640 hectares, only 1,200 ha were planted to sugarcane and the rest to corn

and rice (Raventos, 1981). The means with which these haciendas in Negros were acquired was a crucial indicator of how the Tabacalera managed its entire affair with the sugar industry. Tabacalera acquired these haciendas primarily through its cancellation of debts drawn by planters from the Company in exchange for their produce. These debts were accumulated through advances by planters who had either become insolvent or possessed questionable titles (Raventos, 1981). In other words, the Company took payment from its landowner-debtors (mostly individuals of Spanish descent) by collecting 15% of the total crop, with the condition that it had the right to purchase the rest of the produce for later milling, production, and export. These collectibles came to be regarded as land rentals signifying the change of ownership in favor of the Tabacalera. Examples of haciendas, which eventually yielded ownership to the Company, were San Jose, Velez Malaga, Elena, and Hermelinda (Raventos, 1981).

The Company used this method to ensure its continuous supply of cane. At the same time, it provided the planters access to the market, plus a chance to develop their farms. During really hard times, Tabacalera allowed the planters to acquire back their land while at the same time providing the latter the resources to jumpstart their sugar production. Thus, most of those who owed the Company were able to get back their land (Personal interview, Jesus Martinez). Later on, Tabacalera employed the same methods to acquire lands on the Oriental side of the Negros Island. These haciendas in eastern Negros were associated with the Company's so-called *golden age* that spanned the period between the World Wars I and II when the sugar industry dominated all other business activities of the Company. Tabacalera was instrumental in the mechanization of sugar production with the establishment of the first sugar factory in Oriental Negros, the Central Azucarera de Bais (CAB) in 1918

that led to the dominance of that industry in the economy of the province up to this day. Tabacalera turned over ownership of the Central to the Chan group of industries in 1978.

Tabacalera During the Philippine Revolution

Filipino nationalistic sentiments in the 19th century ultimately led to the revolt against Spain. Amidst the din of the Philippine Revolution (1896-1898), the first concern of the Company was to find ways to ensure the continuance and safety of its interests in the colony. Initially, it stopped all its merchandise shipments to the archipelago for fear of confiscation by the Americans (Raventos, 1981). To further protect its interests, the Company placed all its possessions under the protection and custody of France through the French consul in Manila. One of the biggest stockholders of the Tabacalera, of French origin, negotiated this arrangement on behalf of the Company. Subsequently, the Company's agency in Hong Kong, in order to keep its promises to its clientele, chartered ships to go to Lal-loc and San Fernando, La Union to load and transport its tobacco to a Chinese port where it was then transferred to French, German, and English boats destined for Europe (Raventos, 1981).

In the haciendas of the Company, however, the raging war remained an external activity since it gained no support from the individuals at the plantations. This fact was documented in the reports and letters sent to the different haciendas. The letter of Ramon Izcurieta states:

> ...several letters were sent to Lal-loc from hacienda San Antonio, testifying to the quasi-normality that reigned over the valley in the year 1898 and nullifying the participation of the Company's colonos in the insurrection movement. They continue working as usual.

> ...On the 27th day of July they mentioned a haciendero from San Antonio who communicated that the health of the colony was good. That all the employees were in good shape; there was peace all around, and the people gave very little importance to the war (Raventos, 1981: 96, 97).

The term "colony" used in the second quoted statement above, referred to the colony within the plantation. Raventos suggests that such a term was used because the Company treated all of its employees as part of a big family over whom it had moral as well as financial obligations. The employees of the Company had no reason to join the war since they were treated well by their employer. Records show that the workers in the factories and installations owned by the Company shared the same sentiment.

> ...Barcelona learned of the capture of Manila, 13th of August, and that neither the personnel nor the properties of the Company had suffered damage. A letter thanked the decision of Villemer and the consul in Manila to place the factory and the warehouses of the Company under the custody of the Americans (Raventos, 1981:97).

The protection provided by France suggested that the Company gained respect not only locally but internationally as well. Moreover, Tabacalera had been exporting sugar to the United States and other countries since 1895 (Cuesta, 1980). Because of its economic and political status, the Company gained the trust even of those not allied with Spain and its colonies (Raventos, 1981).

However, the Company incurred one major loss. This was the killing of four of its officers, including the Captain, engineer, and two officers on the boat, *Compania*

de Filipinas, during a mutiny (1981). The ship's second-in-command led the mutiny. This second-in-command was a Cuban who supported the revolution in his own country, which also began around the same time as the Philippine Revolution. The resumption of the Cuban revolution on February 23, 1895 under the leadership of Jose Marti and General Maximo Gomez y Baez was a manifestation of the deep discontent of the Cubans with the Spanish government. It can thus be said that the mutiny on the Tabacalera's ships was not spurred by the Company's perceived shortcomings but by the strong nationalistic sentiments of the second-in-command of the said ship (1981). After killing their officers, the mutineers sailed to Cavite and joined the on-going insurrection in the area. A few days later a smaller boat, the *San Antonio,* was taken over by the crew of the first ship. Fortunately unharmed, the *San Antonio* crew was able to return safely to shore.

During the respective revolutions in Cuba and the Philippines, the Tabacalera demonstrated its moral obligation to assist Spain in ending the uprisings in the colonies by giving a public loan worth two million pesetas and allowing the use of its ships for troop patrols and transport. Despite this public show of support, however, Tabacalera remained in reality opposed to all the laws imposed by the colonial government. For instance, the *Memoirs* revealed that the Company opposed the decision to execute Jose Rizal:

> ...this act was useless and unjustified. Since Rizal had never participated in any uprising and was not a participant to violence...Neither were numerous executions carried by his [Gov.Gen. Camilo Polavieja] orders able to effect a change (Raventos, 1981: 93).

Tabacalera revealed its obvious respect for Rizal by naming one of its most important ships after the national hero. Camilo de Polavieja, the Governor-

General who replaced Ramon Blanco on December 13, 1896, ordered the mass executions mentioned in the above memoir. The *Memoirs* recorded, however, the Company's strong words of condemnation for what it considered unjustifiable executions. Despite the upheavals faced by the Company till the end of 1898, it was still able to register a gain larger than in the previous years. After the first two years of operation, Tabacalera registered a profit of 1,162,991 pesetas; from 1884-1886 its revenues rose to 2,187,960 pesetas annually; and from 1896 up to the end of 1898, it was able to pay interest on shares from 7% to 9%. In addition, it was able to give a 12% bonus to its employees towards the end of 1898. By the end of the war, according to Raventos, its reserve funds had gone up from 45,000 pesetas to 562,500 pesetas.

The Philippine Revolution and the Filipino-American War

The Philippine Revolution of 1896-1898 and the Filipino-American War of 1898-1902, compounded by the loss of former markets of Philippine products, led to the economic downfall of the Philippine archipelago (Salamanca, 1984). The outbreak of cholera and rinderpest epidemics and the onslaught of locusts that destroyed what was left of the crops further added to the difficulties. These tragic circumstances practically bled to near-death almost all industries in the Philippines. However, as earlier mentioned, three important factors spared the properties, personnel, and installations of the Tabacalera from the devastations of the two successive wars. First was its just treatment of its employees, which included providing well for its workers' financial, health, education, and housing needs ever since the beginning of its business in the archipelago. Careful not to repeat the mismanagement that characterized the former Spanish administration in the archipelago, Tabacalera introduced a more efficient

and effective style of management that benefited not only itself but also those who came in contact with it. This attitude ultimately gained for it the respect from both inside and outside the Company all over the archipelago. As a result, no attacks were made upon its properties and installations. The second factor was the strategic move to place the Company under the protection of France, a move which situated Tabacalera in a neutral position during the domestic and world wars. Moreover, Tabacalera succeeded in making a good impression among Americans, who had formed a high regard for the Company's integrity during its past business deals. As a result, Tabacalera's installations enjoyed the protection of American troops (Raventos, 1981). Finally, its ability to ship its products to Europe and continuously earn profit from them shielded it from financial disaster brought about by the wars. This ultimately allowed it to have a reserve fund for maintaining its installations and personnel.

The First World War and After: Political and Economic Opportunities

The political and economic circumstances before, during, and after the First World War allowed Tabacalera to continue the Company's foothold on its enterprises in the Philippines. On the domestic front, although the country was also still recovering from the devastations wrought by the Philippine Revolution and the Filipino-American War, Tabacalera managed to earn revenues from its businesses. In 1902 Tabacalera issued 14,000 shares at 500 pesetas at 4.5% interest with amortization in twenty years. This allowed Tabacalera to dispose an initial capital of seven million pesetas, thus, allowing the activities of the Company to continue despite the difficulties during the war (Raventos,1981).

Besides selling the stocks in order to procure the necessary capital for the expansion of the business, the Company was also able to save more capital by

abandoning businesses, such as abaca, which were considered high risk or speculative in nature. During the outbreak of WWI, the Company was still able to obtain the necessary finances through loans from its own banks in Spain, as well as from other banks, which have been traditionally its creditors, with guarantees provided by the personal fortunes of some of the directors of the Company (Raventos, 1981). At this juncture it is significant to point out the willingness of the Company officials to take risks to save the Company's interests, which also happened to be those of the Philippines. To a significant extent, the activities of the Company were a vital artery to the economy of the archipelago.

To further prove the Company's financial capabilities, Tabacalera declined the offer of financial assistance from the American Governor General of Manila in 1914 intended at assuring the non-interruption of the activities of the Company. The Governor General at this time was Francis Burton Harrison (Agoncillo, 1990). America's economic interests and his own awareness of the vastness and importance of the activities of the Company largely influenced Harrison's positive reaction toward the Company. Moreover, this was also the time when the Americans were starting to enjoy the advantages of free trade, which they were not able to do so until after the passing of the Payne-Aldrich law in 1909. Prior to the said law, their trade interests were tied down to the provisions of the 1898 treaty of Paris that gave Spain a most favored nation status (Raventos, 1990).

Another indicator of the Company's economic stability throughout the war was the continuing increase in the distribution of dividends. From 1914-1918 the Company was able to give out a return on investment amounting to 6%, 9%, 11%, 15%, and 17%, respectively (Raventos 1981:139). The good fortunes of the Company were enjoyed not only by top officials

but also by the rank-and-file. Even during the war years and its aftermath, Tabacalera remained faithful to its tradition of looking after its own people by giving bonuses and other forms of financial assistance to all employees in Barcelona and Manila in order to mitigate the consequences of the war. According to Raventos (1981), the Company increased the salaries of its employees and started a *family salary*, giving to each employee the equivalent of 20 pesetas monthly and an additional 10 pesetas monthly for every member of the family. As these records show, Tabacalera's humane brand of management had been in place in all of its enterprises from the very beginning.

An important factor that played a vital role in the economy of the archipelago during and after the war was the increase in demand for tobacco, sugar, and copra, all of which were major products of the Company, especially in the European markets. This demand was caused by the war's disruptions on farm activities all over Europe. Its relationship with the United States served as the link to the European markets. Since the Philippines was controlled by the US, it enjoyed the benefits of free trade in the American market. The United States did not join the war until 1917 and thus remained a neutral country in the early years of WW I. Meanwhile European countries, especially France and Britain, depended on the United States for essential products, that they acquired through funds borrowed from securities of foreign governments and private corporations held by their citizens (Keylor, 1996).

The European demand provided Tabacalera the opportunity to increase the price of its products while increasing the volume of its sales, which in turn consolidated the value of the peseta. For instance, oil extracted from copra became most in demand during the war. This favorable market condition provided the impetus for the construction of a total of 15 copra

factories, 12 in Manila and three in other points of the archipelago. These factories managed to absorb and meet the foreign demand of 150,000 tons of oil annually (Raventos, 1981). In the case of sugar, the favorable circumstances offered by the United States proved highly profitable for sugar producers because the demand increased considerably during the five years of the war.

The submarine warfare between Germany and Britain caused massive disruptions of American export trade across the Atlantic, eventually forcing the United States to enter WWI (Keylor, 1996). Trade was practically paralyzed due to the docking of many ships caught in the crossfires. The sinking in 1915 of the *Lusitania,* a British passenger liner that carried 128 Americans by German submarines claimed American civilian casualty (Keylor, 1996). As a result, the U.S. declared war against Germany on April 16, 1917. The immediate impact of such an act on the Company was a small loss in revenues for that year.

Nevertheless, at the end of WWI, the Company found itself in an advantageous position since the war created an even greater demand for its products in the American market because the United States expanded its export trade in order to capture many of the markets formerly dominated by European firms. The European enterprises exhausted their funds during the war, this gave the United States, which suffered a minimal economic loss, the opportunity to control said markets. Tabacalera's economic strength depended on the potency of the American market. U.S. policies dictated the fiscal operations of the territories where its products were produced and sold. This scenario placed the Company's resources at a height never attained before. When the war ended, Tabacalera's accumulated reserves and existing funds increased its capital more than enough to cover its needs against all normal risks and permitted it to work without utilizing the credit

reserved only for certain circumstances. Under this favorable climate Tabacalera started enjoying what could be considered its golden years.

The war strengthened Tabacalera's alliance with the administration of the United States in the Philippines, allowing it to remain a vital and influential participant in the development of the archipelago. Morever, Tabacalera's solid reputation in the international business community helped to secure for it the respect of the Americans. This mutual respect was crucial to the Company's lifeline for without such a relationship, Tabacalera might have ceased operation in the country at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Company was always aware of the importance of keeping good relations with the United States since it was this new colonial government that determined its entrance to the world market. Thus, when the United States entered WWI in 1917, Tabacalera heeded the call of the former to help in the war expenses by disbursing loans in April of 1918 amounting to twenty-five thousand dollars and then ten million pesetas in July of that same year (Raventos, 1981). Maintaining a harmonious relationship with the new political administrators, the Company was able to continue its activities in the archipelago and expand its enterprise into sugar production until it ran into various difficulties by the 1960s.

Tabacalera During World War II

The massive military campaigns of the Japanese military during the Second World War drained the resources of that country. To launch a campaign as large as theirs commanded no cheap price. Needing all the resources of the occupied territories to fund its war machine, the Japanese Imperial Army in the Philippines coveted possession of the vast assets of Tabacalera, being one of the biggest corporations in the country. This desire, however, was held at bay by the

stubbornness, astuteness, and shrewdness of Tabacalera's highest administrators in the Philippines as well as in Spain. It is important to note that during the war, Spain was among the few countries, along with Portugal, Sweden, and Switzerland, to maintain a precarious neutral status (Keylor, 1996). Tabacalera took advantage of this neutral status to pursue non-cooperative policies to counter attempts by the Japanese to make full use of its installations and equipment in the Philippines. Thus, during the occupation, the Company guarded its interests against the Japanese military organization by adopting the policy of organized non-compliance policy towards the Japanese authorities (Raventos, 1981).

When the Japanese arrived in the eastern side of the island of Negros, one of their objectives was to acquire and control the resources they needed to fuel their war effort. Consequently, they occupied the Tabacalera-owned Central Azucarera de Bais, a sugar central that has been in operation since 1918. The sugar central had much to offer—from stocked sugar, communication facilities, a paper factory, alcohol for fuel, and housing facilities for shelter. The Japanese occupation notwithstanding, the administration of the central remained in the hands of Tabacalera, which allowed it to cooperate with the local anti-Japanese resistance group. Through this arrangement, the Spanish administrators managed to fend off a total Japanese occupation of the Central and use it to their advantage. Resistance came in many forms—from plain stubbornness to covertly supporting the guerrillas. Through passive non-cooperation Tabacalera used the Central to aid in the local effort to advance the Allied cause. This gesture allowed not only the continuance of its business in the archipelago, but also provided an avenue for Tabacalera to manifest the Company's commercial philosophy during its long existence in the Philippines as a Spanish owned enterprise.

The Aftermath of WWII and the Crisis of the 60s

The final crisis that hounded Tabacalera in the early sixties had something to do with the Company's ownership. This came in the form of heightened nationalistic sentiments among the Filipinos as obviously influenced by world events unfolding during this period. Reverberations of popular protests against the Vietnam War, the anti-apartheid riots in Sharpeville, South Africa, the rise of Malcolm X and the Black Panther movements in the U.S., Singapore's proclamation as a republic, among others, contributed in inflaming the growth of nationalistic fervor. Part of the Company's problem was its inability to come to terms with this emerging climate of nationalism that was sweeping the country at that time. Its style of management, which had remained mainly colonial, had become unpopular in a context that was fast favoring the new system adhered to by Filipino enterprises. To compound the problems, the Company Directors in Barcelona remained either uninformed of or detached from what was going on in the Philippines and did not bother to institute the necessary changes to deal with the current trends (Raventos, 1981).

The adversities that descended on Tabacalera beginning in 1967 were three-fold: (1) the non-payment of its sugar shipments by its most important client in the United States, the Olavaria and Company; (2) the non-performance of its businesses in the Philippines, Brazil, and Africa; and (3) finally, the difficulties it faced as a colonial Company in a changing business environment in the Philippines. All three factors became the underlying issues that eventually affected Tabacalera and of most of its business interests in the archipelago.

The Olavaria and Co. was Tabacalera's most important client in the United States, the country that controlled a large percentage of sugar in the world market. For unknown reasons, the Olavaria declared

bankruptcy in 1966 (Raventos, 1981). Predictably, its cessation of business activities greatly affected Tabacalera. Two years before its declaration of bankruptcy, Olavaria sold two shipments of Tabacalera sugar to the Imperial Sugar Co. in Texas at a very low price (1981). The entire shipment, totaling 6,989 tons, on the ship *Spetsai*, belonged to Tabacalera. The other ship, the *Union Skipper*, carried a total 9,633 tons of sugar consigned to a group of Filipinos. The non-payment by Olavaria and Co. of these two sugar shipments signalled trouble for the Company and resulted in Tabacalera's initial loss of 2,919,937 dollars (Raventos, 1981). The loss of a total of thirty million pesetas as a direct result of the Olavaria bankruptcy finally ushered in the beginnings of Tabacalera's financial difficulties.

Tabacalera's second crisis in 1967 was precipitated by the drastic decrease in the revenues from its businesses in the Philippines and abroad. In the country, drought ravaged both its tobacco and cattle enterprises. In addition to the expenses which were generally huge and resulted in frequent market losses, the business of gathering, whether it was tobacco, sugar, or copra was extremely slow. As a result, the Company lost 389,828 pesos in the gathering and exportation of sugar and 2,923,802 pesos in the gathering of tobacco. The poor crop of the tobacco in the Cagayan Valley multiplied the damages derived from the difference in price between the Valley and the European markets (Raventos,1981).

These combined disasters of bad crop, cattle disease, and the miscalculation of marketing measures resulted in more financial losses for Tabacalera. In 1968 its production did not even reach 20,000 tons of sugar, hence compounding its losses. This led to the closing of the purchasing offices in Bacolod and the reduction to the barest minimum of the sugar department personnel in Manila.

During the 1960s Japan engaged in an unprecedented political and economic rehabilitation that spurred its economy to rise in rank next to that of the United States. One of the protective measures it adopted to preserve the viability of its local industries was the regulation of certain products. Such a protective measure affected Tabacalera because it meant the regulation of its rice exports to Japan. Meanwhile, in Brazil, political unrest and economic curbs rocked the government of Artur da Costa e Silva, who was accused of gaining unlimited powers. As a result, the Company's Brazilian businesses were also negatively affected by the political turmoil in this country. The Company further lost significantly in its banana and abaca enterprises in Africa due also to the political unrest that shook that part of the world (Raventos, 1981).

All of these factors affected Tabacalera's various enterprises all over the world causing financial losses that continued up to the seventies and reaching 84,837,714 Pesetas. From this time until the sale of its haciendas in 1980, Tabacalera, according to Raventos (1981), experienced only four years of minimal gains and the rest were losses. This then meant nine years of straight losses and only four years of very little profit within a period of thirteen years. It is important to note, however, that despite the crisis it was facing, Tabacalera continued to give the benefits due its employees while at the same time sustaining its tax payments to the government and contributing significantly to the economy of Negros Oriental and the nation.

Meanwhile, their heightened nationalistic fervor made Filipinos more aggressive in business and this eventually enabled them to master the art of running businesses in which the Company was also engaged. Having grown complacent to its dominance, however, the Company chose to follow the old system of

running its affairs and refused to face this new challenge. Its inability to stem its downward spiral was exacerbated by its current financial woes. The continuing decline of its operations inevitably led to the sale of its haciendas. In 1969 it sold the San Luis, Santa Isabel, and San Antonio haciendas. In accordance with the new land reform program of the national government, it surrendered part of its lands in favor of farmers in 1971 (Raventos, 1981). In 1973 it sold its San Jose holdings in Negros Occidental to the Valmayor group, which were also involved in sugar production (Personal interview, Jesus Martinez).

Only much later did Tabacalera come to realize the impact of the global trend that agitated the colonized to assert their "native rights." These sweeping developments worldwide animated the demands of the colonies to reclaim possession of native properties that have gone to the hands of the foreign invaders and reject all things foreign, including Tabacalera as it happened to be in the Philippines. To address these developments, Tabacalera began restructuring its branches in the Philippines to meet new business challenges and keep pace with the country's swiftly changing political and cultural conditions (Sugar News, 1969).

Clearly, the challenges of 1967 played a critical role in the life of Tabacalera. Happening simultaneously, they overwhelmed the Company and prevented it from recovering. As well, because it had never encountered similar challenges before in its long existence in the archipelago, it was unprepared to cope with the new situation. In its entire history, never had it lost so much financially, nor experienced being treated differently because of its nationality. Even in the midst of the revolution and three wars, it experienced no difficulty in running its businesses. All these converging events spelled the demise of Tabacalera in the Philippines.

Government Control of the Sugar Industry

Shifts in how the business of sugar was to be managed did not just affect Tabacalera but practically the entire sugar industry throughout the country. The tentacles of the Marcos administration finally choked the industry and delivered the death blow to the Company's involvement in the business of sugar. Respondents in this study who requested anonymity shared this view:

> A last factor, and without doubt the most clear, was the creation and actuation since 1974 of an organism that, with the political prices that were fixed for sugar and the intervention of the exports, signified a permanent medium for the profitability of the business.

When Marcos came to wield total control over the sugar industry, Tabacalera was among his dictatorship's first victims. Since the sugar boom of the 1950s, the sugar industry has remained not only a powerful economic force but a political one as well. "Before the consolidation of Marcos's power under Martial Law, the 'sugar bloc'—reportedly a powerful clique of planters and millers—was credited with powers of undue influence apt to shake the confidence of any politician, regardless of rank " (Gonzaga, 1994: 231). When Ferdinand Marcos came into power, he viewed this powerful group as a deterrent to his and his cronies' complete control of the economy.

In tracing the evolution of the sugar bloc, Fernando "Nanding" Lopez divulged that one of the reasons why Marcos instituted a monopoly of the sugar industry was to clip the powers of the bloc. Turning traitor to the party, that propelled him to the presidency, Marcos was understandably fearful of the magnitude and scope of the bloc's authority. Hence he lost no time in castrating the 'oligarchs' of their power base—the sugar industry (Gonzaga, 1994).

With the economic collapse of the sugar industry due to world prices and the end of the favored quota status in the U.S. market, Marcos, through Roberto Benedicto, nationalized the sugar export trade and imposed a burdensome production tax on the planters. In addition, as another form of political maneuver for full control of the industry, the Marcos administration endorsed the sugar cane workers' demands for increased wages (Gonzaga, 1994). But it was obvious that the government take over of the industry had only one aim—to enrich Marcos and his cronies. According to Manapat "corporations were organized and managed not as legitimate business ventures but as activities to generate quick money regardless of their long term consequences" (1991). In the sugar industry, the cronies through NASUTRA accomplished this by controlling the local market for sugar, setting the price, and buying it cheaply for resale in the world market at much higher prices. The administration's stranglehold of the industry assured the cronies' control of the economy while enabling them to rake in huge personal profits (Personal interview,Jesus Martinez, 1998). It would be an understatement to say that sugar planters suffered much during this period, the era termed as the *years of betrayal* (Gonzaga, 1994).

Thus, (1) unfortunate political changes contributing heavily to Tabacalera's continued financial troubles, that began more than ten years before the declaration of martial law; (2) cultural displacement; and (3) its inability to adapt to the new era eventually forced Tabacalera to end its long years of involvement in the sugar industry. In 1979 after laborious negotiations with England, the United States, and the Philippines, the Company completely sold its shares in its sugar central in Bais, Oriental Negros consisting of 66.34% of the capital (Raventos, 1981).

Concluding Notes

Today Tabacalera's business is concentrated on its original enterprise, the trading of leaf tobacco for cigar manufacturing. In 1998 the Company was cited by the Department of Trade and Industry as one of the 17 centenarian companies. The November 2, 1998 issue of the Manila Bulletin stated that this award was given in order to recognize the Company's contributions to the nation.

> These companies are recognized by the DTI for having survived and stayed for over 100 years as they witnessed the ups and downs of the economy. Through their entrepreneurial vigor, they grew and in the course inspired the growth of other enterprises (Manila Bulletin, Nov. 2, 1998, C1).

One of these companies established by Tabacalera, the Central Azucarera de Bais (CAB) remains to this day a strong economic force in the province of Oriental Negros. The national newspaper, *The Daily Star* reported in 1999 that the export earnings of the province soared to $76,729,661, which increased, from $54,000,000 in 1997 (Daily Star, January, 13, 1999). Of this amount, according to this source, P40, 675,027 came from sugar produced in three sugar mills in the province of Oriental Negros: CAB, URSUMCO, and Tolong Sugar Milling. The recent problems of the industry – the climactic phenomenon, economic crisis, and the smuggling of sugar – have caused irregularities in the industry resulting in the closing of mills and the soaring of sugar prices.

Late in 1998, in response to community needs, the CAB directly sold sugar to consumers at cheaper prices. Also, the stoppage of operations in some of the mills in Occidental Negros made CAB a possible alternative. Up to this day it continues to service sugar farms within the province as well as those in the occidental side of

Negros. It remains the largest producer of both raw and refined sugar in the province of Oriental Negros.

Thus, the benefaction left behind by the Compania General de Tabacos de Filipinas will always be a part of the history of the people not only of Oriental Negros but also of the entire nation. By looking into the intricate beginnings of the Compania General de Tabacos de Filipinas in the Philippines, Filipinos will be better able to appreciate the myriad aspects of our colonial past.

In stressing the role of cross-cultural encounters in bringing about economic and technological exchanges, this paper argues that our colonial past left behind not merely negative impact but positive legacies as well. Colonialism served as a vehicle for cross-cultural encounters to take place and as a result, both the colonizer and its colony, although geographically separated, were able to mutually benefit from the experience of contacts and exchanges that have become part and parcel of each other's *heritage*.

Notes

[1]When I conducted my research at the main office of Tabacalera in Spain with access to primary sources there, this book provided invaluable material for this work. In my research, I only found one copy of his book in the possession of a Haciendero in Bais City. I secured the assistance of Sr. Jesus Martinez, a former employee of Tabacalera residing in Dumaguete City, to unofficially translate the book from Spanish into English. In addition, he corrected many of the facts and data presented in events mentioned in which he was personally present. I have corroborated the information with other sources for verification.

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BEYOND PHYSICAL SPACE: THE HUMAN AND CULTURAL COMPLEXITIES IN MARINE PROTECTED AREA MANAGEMENT

Enrique G. Oracion

Abstract

The development and management of MPAs as protective conservation tools involve multiple stakeholders with varying agenda. Using a case study in Dauin, Negros Oriental, Philippines, this paper explores the human and cultural complexities that underlie the controversies that hound MPAs. The cultural politics enveloping the interaction of multiple stakeholders, specifically between MPA managers and resource users from the fishery and tourism sectors, influences MPA success and sustainability. Thus, as a built environment, an MPA has to be managed not only as a social space but as a physical space as well. This is where an anthropological analysis proves to be important in contributing to the environmental discourse and complementing the works of marine and fishery scientists.

Introduction

The extent of marine environmental crisis can be partly deduced from its remaining reefs (White & Cruz-Trinidad, 1998). Of the 152,716.50 hectares of coral reef in the Central Visayas region, for instance, only 12 percent at present is in good condition, 42 percent in poor condition, and 46 percent in fair condition. There are no more sites found to have coral reefs in an excellent state (Green *et al.*, 2004: 15, 21-23). The destruction of the coral reefs is primarily anthropogenic due to overfishing and illegal fishing to meet the food demands of an increasing population. This problem is compounded by domestic and industrial pollution. These factors contribute to a decline in fish catch and adversely affect the well-being of many coastal communities, particularly the subsistence fishers.

Protective conservation efforts are needed now to thwart more serious impediments brought by this crisis (Green *et al.*, 2004).

Protective conservation in coastal and marine areas refers to the initiatives and tools used in the preservation, management, and care of resources found therein through access restriction and/or regulation of human activities. The goal is to produce the "greatest sustainable benefit to present generations while maintaining its [marine protected area] potential to meet the needs and aspirations of future generations" (White & Cruz-Trinidad, 1998: 91). Like marine and fishery scientists, anthropologists acknowledge the urgency of addressing environmental crisis because this affects human adaptation and well-being. However, because of their differing disciplinary backgrounds, both specialists also tend to view the processes and results of environmental interventions differently. Natural scientists are generally more interested in improving biodiversity, while anthropologists are concerned not only with how poor fishing communities are benefited but also how they are burdened by the interventions (*e.g.*, Eder, 2005). This difference in perspective necessarily influences how they approach a common problem. More specifically, the tendency of natural scientists who adhere to ecocentrism to view the preservation of marine biodiversity as an end in itself, as opposed to the anthropocentric views advocated by anthropologists, results in a gross neglect of human and cultural dimensions in pursuing protective conservation initiatives.[1]

It is encouraging to note, however, that at present more and more environmental groups adhere to an interdisciplinary or a multidisciplinary approach such as that underpins the philosophy and practice of Coastal Resource Management (CRM) or Integrated Coastal Management (ICM) programs (White *et al.*, 2002; Milne *et al.*, 2003; Christie *et al.*, 2005). One of their tools is the establishment of marine protected areas (henceforth, MPAs) (White, 1988; Russ & Alcala, 1996). Fish sanctuary and marine reserves, along with other variants where a semblance of protection is enforced,

are generally referred to as MPAs (White *et al.*, 2002). The common goals of MPA creation include rehabilitation of critical habitats like the coral reefs, replenishment of fish resources and, in some instances, promotion of coastal and dive tourism or recreation (Hermes, 2004). Alternative livelihood activities are also introduced to reduce fishing pressure and to compensate for fishing ground constriction.

In the Philippines, MPAs may be classified according to who has jurisdiction over them: (1) those under the National Integrated Protected Area System (NIPAS) pursuant to Republic Act 7586 in 1992; and (2) those under the municipal government. The first type is governed by policies and regulations promulgated by the Protected Area Management Board (PAMB) composed of multi-sectoral representatives from the host community, local government, non-government organizations, and other stakeholders. The Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) Regional Executive Director is the designated chairperson of the PAMB (Custodio & Molinyawe, 2001). Meanwhile, the second type is declared by virtue of a municipal ordinance and co-managed by the local government and fishers' associations in barangays where this is located. Under the Local Government Code of 1991 and the Fisheries Code of 1998, local government units are given powers to manage and control fishing and other human activities within their municipal waters (DENR, 2001). In Central Visayas, there are about 206 legally declared municipal MPAs (*i.e.*, with local ordinance), while seven are under the National Integrated Protected Areas System (NIPAS). Of this number of MPAs, 116 are in Bohol, 59 in Cebu, 23 in Negros Oriental, and 8 in Siquijor (Green *et al.*, 2004: 87).[2]

Using a case study in Dauin, Negros Oriental, this paper illustrates how protective conservation efforts with MPA as a tool are being undertaken by a municipal government despite the tension created by multiple stakeholders and differing agenda over the use of space. Moreover, this paper aims to explore the notion that MPA success and sustainability are not only

technologically determined but are also influenced by how human and cultural complexities are addressed. The unique nature of Dauin in terms of how the current mayoral leadership pursues its vision of a sustainable coastal and marine environment, perhaps not typical of other local government units, may provide some lessons for other mayors who are planning to set up their own CRM programs or are currently engaged in carrying out their goals and objectives.

Theoretical Considerations

Although the development of MPA technology grew out of the field of the marine sciences, its fundamental rootedness in the human and cultural context has also spawned anthropological interests. The myriad implications of the spatial regulation of human behavior in the use of marine and fishery resources have attracted the attention of anthropologists. The anthropological interest on MPA as a built environment is inspired by the argument of Milton (1996) that environmentalism, as a cultural phenomenon, is a product of social construction (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Moreover, the tools and methods of anthropology lend themselves very well to a critical exploration of the way different peoples adapt to any curtailment of free access to a commons.

Anthropologist Leslie White (1949: 390) wrote earlier that "(t)he means of environmental adjustment and control, of security and survival are of course technological. Culture thus becomes primarily a mechanism for harnessing energy and of putting it to work in the service of man." More importantly, Pfaffenberger (1992: 497) said that, "it is not mere technology, but technology in concert with the social coordination of labor, that constitutes a human population's adaptation to its environment." Therefore, with regard to the development and introduction of MPA technology, anthropocentrics proposed that human and cultural dimensions have to be considered so that they will effectively work not only for biodiversity's sake, as argued by ecocentrics, but also to enhance the quality of life of a particular community.

Protective conservation effort cannot realistically proceed without articulating or accounting for the prevailing perceptions, cultural rationalities, and values behind the use of space by multiple stakeholders. Current studies on MPAs (Christie *et al.*, 2005) argue that the inclusion of people's perceptions toward the impact of MPA on their interaction with environmental resources and on other stakeholders would complement the biological science aspect of MPA which relies heavily upon objective biophysical data. It is also important to note that a multiplicity of stakeholders makes MPA development and management a culturally complex engagement. It is widely accepted that the success of MPA depends just as much on its excellent technical design as on its popular social acceptability because it is adaptive to certain contexts (Christie *et al.*, 2003). This view necessarily complements the issue that Alejo (2000: 19) calls the "internal complexity of contextual actors." Addressing this issue, Eder (2005: 167) avers that "social differences and divisions" result in varying perceptions and competing claims over a public space.

From a social science perspective, a MPA embodies a set of rules that collectively governs human interactions within a specified portion of the marine environment. It is an articulation of human attempts to restore nature that has been ecologically disrupted by human activities. It defines *who* may do *what* activities as well as *how*, *when*, and *where* these may take place within its boundaries (Mascia, 2004). But because restrictions and regulations connote power and control, a MPA inevitably causes tension and conflict among the political, environmental, and economic sectors that are driven not only by differing motives but often by conflicting goals as well. Failure to arrive at a
otiated agenda may explain why MPA
remains a problem. Experts noted that a
MPAs in the country probably exist on
ermes, 1998; White *et al.*, 2002) and only
ent of all the MPAs are working as MPAs

in a real sense (Alcala, 2001). There are also MPAs that are biological successes and at the same time social failures (Christie, 2004).[3]

A MPA transforms a physical space and alters the tradition of open- and free-access to a commons, it becomes a social space—a site of political struggle, of class identity and of survival. This inevitably results in resistance from those in pursuit of respective agenda that affect social and interpersonal relationships among and within multiple stakeholders. Given these circumstances, a MPA is more than a protective conservation tool to achieve marine biodiversity. It is a site of cultural politics in which various groups representing diverse political, social and economic agenda struggle for control, management, and enforcement of the designated space. Hajer and Fisher (1999: 8) explain that cultural politics operates in instances when "different systems of ordering are either maintained or imposed on others, how questions of identity feature within environmental discourse, how social relationships get redefined, or how particular ways of doing things either get reproduced or are changed." According to Escobar, it is inevitable "[that] sets of social actors shaped by, and embodying different cultural meanings and practices *over physical space* come into conflict with each other" (1998, *emphasis mine*).

Methods

Dauin is 15.5 kilometers southwest of Dumaguete City, the capital of Negros Oriental. It has a population of 22,698 (as of 2004) and measures approximately 14,432 hectares comprising 23 barangays (RHU, 2004). Eight of these are coastal barangays and one is an island barangay (*i.e.*, Apo Island). It has nine MPAs located off seven of the mainland coastal barangays (*see* Appendix A). Two of them have two MPAs each. The sizes of the MPAs range from two to nine hectares and cover a total of about 52 hectares. Another MPA, the first in Dauin, is located off Apo Island and that measures about 11 hectares. Because Apo Island MPA is already included

in the NIPAs and directly under PAMB, only the MPAs off the mainland are included in this study.

Majority of the coastal residents of Dauin engage in farming with corn and coconut as major products; the rest of the population engage in fishing. The number of fishers in 2003 was 1,076 (Gotera, 2003) constituting 9 percent of the total coastal population. Based on the fishing gear they use, they are all considered non-commercial fishers. About 86 percent owned non-motorized boats and only 14 percent had motorized boats (Gotera, 2003). They used a variety of hook-and-lines and fish nets that are designed only for nearshore fishing, particularly over coral reefs and seagrass beds; hence, they are most affected by the establishment of MPAs. The estimated fish production in 2003 was about 1,683 kg. About 25 percent of the total catch came from the simple hook and line method. In sum, the computed weighted average catch per unit effort of *all* the fishing gear was 5.40 kg. per fishing gear per day (Gotera, 2003), and this is likely to be close to the present-day figures.

There are currently six beach resorts and eight dive resorts located on the mainland while two dive resorts are found in Apo Island. Beach resorts are primarily for picnickers or vacationers while dive resorts provide services and amenities for diving courses and pleasure diving. The first resort on the mainland was built in 1995. Mostly foreigners (particularly Europeans) own the upscale beach and dive resorts. Dive shops and resorts in Dumaguete, Bacolod, and Cebu also bring their guests to Dauin. Coastal and dive tourism growth in the municipality is primarily due to the popularity of Apo Island as a dive destination. The MPAs off the mainland are also highly accessible and equally fascinating to tourist divers. Between 2003 and 2004 alone, six resorts were opened as Dauin became popular among coastal and dive tourists as compared to nearby towns in southern Negros Oriental.

The sources of information of this study were categorized into groups of MPA managers and resource users for analytical purposes, and to give voice to all

involved and affected by MPA development and regulations. The first group included the mayor, vice mayor, municipal planning and development officer, municipal council member on environment, environmental workers from the provincial government and non-government organizations, barangay captains, fishers' association presidents, and sea wardens (*bantay dagat*).

The second group was comprised of fishers who are members and non-members of fishers' associations and tourism brokers who are represented by operators of resorts and dive guides. The sea wardens, fishers, and tourism brokers were randomly selected because there was a number of them while the rest of the MPA managers were purposively identified. A total of 84 respondents interviewed were equally distributed as MPA managers, member fishers, non-member fishers, and tourism brokers. They served either as consultants in the sample survey component of the study or as experts and key informants. The questions asked relative to the MPAs revolved around the following issues: development history, management policies and regulations, perceived effects on fish and coral conditions, impact on fishing behavior and gear, distribution of fishing and tourism benefits, tension and conflict among stakeholders, cultural articulations of enforcement and resistance, perceptions of sustainability and related others.

The fieldwork, which covered 14 months from May 2004 to June 2005, employed a combination of ethnographic and social survey techniques such as key informant interview, participant observation, archival research, and sample survey. In the absence of objective data over time, the survey component measured the perceptions of various stakeholders about MPA improvements and benefits during different periods relative to the political dynamics of the town. As used for comparative analysis in this study, the past refers to that period when the incumbent mayor was not yet in office (before 2001), the present corresponds to the

period in which he is the incumbent mayor, and the future refers to that period when he will no longer be the mayor. This could mean after 2007 because he may not be re-elected, or after 2010 because he will have completed his allowed length of time in office (*i.e.,* nine years).

Perceptions were quantified so they could be statistically analyzed and compared across categories of stakeholders. For example, based on their perception over time, the MPA managers and every resource user were asked to rate from 0 (lowest) to 5 (highest) the improvement in coral condition and fish density, fishing and tourism benefits, and related parameters brought about by the MPAs. This technique takes advantage of the human ability to make graduated judgments about subjective and objective phenomena and not simply according to a dichotomous judgment of being absent or present (*e.g.,* Pomeroy *et al.,* 1997; 2005). More refined judgments are provided that are statistically treatable to measure commonalities and differences in human perceptions. Nevertheless, objective data (*e.g.,* underwater biophysical assessment, tourism revenues, scuba diving incidences) were also used to validate the perception data.

Thematic analysis was done with qualitative data while quantitative data were analyzed using statistical tools such as percentage distribution, mean, test of difference for comparing paired and independent samples (t-test), one way analysis of variance (ANOVA) for comparing various samples, and Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient (r) for determining the relationships between interval variables. The use of a mixture of qualitative and quantitative data and analyses was deemed necessary to provide both the depth and spread of the issues being investigated. Moreover, quantification improves or minimizes the sometimes vague wording of ethnographic texts provided that statements made are based on randomized samples according to anthropologists Johnson and Johnson (1990).

Results and Discussion

Local government as a dominant agency

From an environmentalist perspective, Dauin's achievement in pursuing a protective conservation program aimed at *food security* for its constituency is a success story. Known as Coastal Resource Management (CRM) Plan, this conservation program has been introduced by external agencies and non-government organizations. After adopting this Coastal Resource Management (CRM) Plan and ordinance, Dauin has allocated an annual budget for the CRM program, formed a municipal fishery council and fishers' associations, zoned the coastal areas according to allowable uses, established a remarkable number of MPAs (*i.e.,* being the only town in the province to have established 10 functional MPAs off its nine coastal barangays), deputized sea wardens to enforce CRM regulations, and imposed a user fee system to finance CRM activities and related projects. For this accomplishment, the director of DENR Region 7 has cited Dauin as the first and the only municipality in Negros Oriental to reach Level 1 in CRM certification (Green *et al.,* 2004). Because of its outstanding CRM program, it also received a national recognition in December 2005 as a *Gawad Galing Pook* awardee along with 9 other outstanding local government units in the Philippines.[4]

The incumbent mayor, Rodrigo A. Alanano, who is acknowledged by many to be a staunch environmentalist, has demonstrated personal commitment, strong political will, and authority. Pursuant to his mandate under the Local Government Code, he has been actively promoting a protective conservation agenda aimed at ensuring food security from the sea. A mining engineer by profession, Mayor Alanano admitted that it was his exposure to indiscriminate and extractive human activities in mining that awakened in him a deep concern for the environment. Under his mayoral leadership, six MPAs were established in a shorter span of time (2002 to 2004)

in contrast to the dismal environmental records of the past three administrations, which took so much time to pass the required ordinances (1995 to 2001).[5]

Predictably, the incumbent mayor's stiff management actions and decisions have stirred negative reactions from those whose personal and economic interests are not being served in the process. This sector includes disgruntled fishers and tourism brokers who perceive or misconstrue his conservation policy as anti-poor and anti-tourism. His ethical views and judgment about how the coastal and marine areas should be managed are believed by some to have burdened the resource users. Even his stance against beach seining, a national law that he is simply trying to enforce, became a political issue against him during the 2004 election.[6] Convinced of the rightness of his cause, however, Mayor Alanano was unalarmed by the prospect of losing political support. His re-election has encouraged him even more to pursue Dauin's CRM programs.

Although it is true that consultative mechanisms exist in Dauin, it is the local government that makes the final decisions about CRM issues according to its own interpretation of resource distributive justice and sustainable development. The local government determines *who* may enter an MPA (literally fenced with buoys made of styrofoam balls),[7] *what* activities are allowed, *how* these are to be done, *where* these are allowed, and *when* these are possible. The appropriation of the coastal zone is guided by its CRM Plan (Chapter 6 of Ordinance No. 05-01), supposedly a product of multi-sectoral consultation. But unlike the fishery sector that is represented in the municipal fishery council and MPA management regime through the fishers' associations, the tourism sector, specifically referring to the dive tourism business, is not (as of my fieldwork) actively and directly involved. Still viewed simply as MPA user, it is expected to abide by existing regulations that are imposed to protect local interest. It is widely perceived that private tourism brokers are merely

serving their business interest, and many believe that their activities may jeopardize the CRM program of the town if given more privileges and left unregulated.

Although the local government dominates in decision-making process, this does not mean that the resource users have no chance to benefit from the positive results of a MPA. The fishery sector is the intended primary beneficiary of MPA creation from improved fish yields after several years of reef protection. But because fishing is extractive, it is only allowed outside the core and buffer zones. The potential damage of drifting gear to the corals is the reason why fishing within the buffer zone (*i.e.*, 30 meters from the MPA core zone which was originally 10 meters only) is being restricted. Fishers are expected to benefit only from MPA spillover effects beyond the buffer zone, which incidentally will still take several years before these are significantly achieved.

Scuba diving and snorkeling are allowed inside the MPA core zone (swimming is also permitted within a designated area outside of this zone) because these are considered not destructive if strictly regulated and properly done. In this respect, the tourism sector becomes the MPA's direct user and because of this it is perceived by local fishers to have more access privilege (see also Oracion *et al.*, 2005b). However, to sustain the financing of MPA maintenance and enforcement, the government has legislated corresponding user fees. But night diving, which is sought more by tourists, is not permitted within the MPA core zone because of the greater potential damage it will cause to the corals by scuba divers.

No matter how rigid they may seem, MPA management policies and regulations are aimed toward sustainable fisheries and tourism. From the perspective of the local government, this is their way of balancing *aesthetic* and *extractive* conservations with *biotelic* (leaving nature alone for its own sake) conservation (*see* Oracion *et al.*, 2005b: 395). In contrast, resource users are viewed by the local government of Dauin, whose main concern

is realizing the long-term impact of protective conservation, as mainly after immediate economic benefits. Environmental NGOs working in Dauin (particularly CCEFI) is trying to reconcile these differences by promoting a more participatory engagement in MPA management and monitoring among all stakeholders.

Adaptation to protective conservation and its economic impact

For purposes of investigating MPA success and sustainability, only the MPAs of Masaplod Norte and Poblacion 1 (adjacent barangays) were included in the study because they satisfy the time requirement for doing such analysis. They were created in 1995 and 1996 respectively and have therefore experienced the town's political turnovers that are believed to have influenced MPA management agenda and propensity. Table 1 shows that MPA managers and local fishers share a common perception that fish supply and coral reef quality (2.48) inside these MPAs were poor before protective conservation was introduced. Despite their initial skepticism about MPA's conservation impact, MPA managers and all resource users agree, as reflected in their individual ratings (ANOVA, $p > 0.05$), that the reefs within the said protected areas had *moderately improved* (3.12) after a few years.

Interestingly, the MPA of Poblacion 1 was composed originally of two adjacent MPAs. One of these, however (similar to the MPA of Masaplod Norte), was managed at that time by the rival political party of the incumbent mayor. The mayor spearheaded the establishment of one of these MPAs of Poblacion 1 when he was yet a member of the municipal council (1986 to 1998). Because he was unable to get party support in 2001, he joined the rival political party, which invited him as its mayoral candidate, and won over his former party mates. Merging the two MPAs immediately after his election as mayor, he made the CRM program a priority agenda of his administration, a move that has made a strong impact on the current number and status of the MPAs.

Table 1. Perceptions of Local Stakeholders on Fish and Coral Conditions Within the MPA Reefs Before and After MPA Creation

Local	Ratings during different periods		
Stakeholders	Before MPA	After MPA	t-test
MPA managers	2.53 (0.51)	3.26 (0.71)	4.77**
Member fishers	2.24 (0.39)	2.86 (1.23)	3.29**
Non-member fishers	2.67 (0.94)	3.24 (1.19)	3.51**
ANOVA	1.63*	1.03*	
Mean	2.48	3.12	

Figures in parentheses refer to variances.
*Not significant
**Significant at 0.05 (t-test critical value= 2.09, ANOVA critical value= 3.15)

In Table 2, the respective perception ratings of all stakeholders between the past and present MPA conditions also show significant improvement. However, if compared across categories of stakeholders, the data show that the respondents do not share a similar appreciation of the extent of present improvement. This is evident in the data which show that member fishers are more appreciative of MPA biophysical improvement (4.81) as compared particularly to tourism brokers (4.24). Nevertheless, despite minute differences in their perception ratings, respondents generally see now some positive biophysical results due to protective conservation. The perceptions of stakeholders about biophysical improvement due to the MPAs are supported by the objective data of environmental NGOs (White *et al.*, 2002; SUAKCREM unpub. data, 2004).

Table 2. Ratings on Fish and Coral Conditions Within the MPAs

Stakeholders	Past [a]	Present [b]	t-test [a and b]	Future [c]	t-test [b and c]
MPA managers	3.26 (0.72)	4.52 (0.24)	5.81**	4.45 (2.25)	0.19*
Member fishers	2.86 (1.23)	4.81 (0.36)	7.43**	4.43 (2.36)	1.09*
Non-member fishers	3.24 (1.19)	4.67 (0.43)	4.80**	4.76 (0.43)	1.45*
Tourism brokers	3.33 (0.85)	4.24 (0.17)	5.11**	4.40 (0.24)	2.09**
ANOVA	0.94*	4.17**		0.45*	

Figures in parentheses refer to variances.
*Not significant
**Significant at 0.05 level (t-test critical value=2.09, ANOVA critical value=2.72)

Table 3 shows that MPAs had varying economic impacts on different resource users. Among fishers the establishment of an MPA expectedly resulted in constriction (-14.84%) in their traditional fishing grounds—the coral reefs that are now declared as MPAs. Thus, for this sector the MPAs have not only brought changes in their fishing practices but have forced them to intensify farming and off-farm employment to augment fishing income. Interestingly, even member fishers, who perceived higher fishing benefits, also experienced more fishing constriction (-24.12%) and gear (-38.78%) reduction. This suggests that improved fish catch due to the MPA, whether fishing is done closer or outside the buffer zone, also accounts for reduced fishing efforts in contrast to the claim of unsatisfied fishers.

A closer examination of the data reveals that among those disallowed to fish within the buffer zone, it is the older fishers who are particularly more critical about MPA spillover benefits. These fishers tend to [illegible]ate the value of the MPA with freedom to fish within the buffer zone. This attitude goes back to their long experience in fishing and to their knowledge that more fish thrive closer to the reefs, which have now become protected areas. Unconvinced by the notion of the spillover effect, they cling to the belief that most of the species are reef-residents and do not swim out of the reefs. Therefore, a spillover can hardly be expected. Meanwhile, those who pursue more fishing at present, particularly the non-member fishers, have to cover more fishing grounds and farther from the protected areas as a mode of adaptation. They experience a lower percentage of fishing ground constriction (-5.56%) and gear reduction (-2.44%), which suggest a growing fishing effort in non-protected areas, such as in other waters within and outside of the barangay or in nearby municipalities.[8]

Table 3. Changes in Fishing Grounds and Gear Before and After MPA Establishment

	Member fishers			Nonmember fishers			Total
Information	Before MPA	After MPA	% Change	Before MPA	After MPA	% Change	% Change
Average number of fishing grounds	2.57	1.95	-24.12	2.52	2.38	-5.56	-14.84
Total number of fishing gear used	147	90	-38.78	123	120	-2.44	-20.61

Because tourism is not the primary reason for the establishment of the MPA, it is considered only as MPA-added value in Dauin. Yet, of all the stakeholders affected by the MPA, it is actually the tourism sector that has mainly and directly reaped the economic benefits of protected coral reefs. The rapid growth of coastal and dive tourism in the town is evident in the number of resorts that have been established more recently. Needless to point out, tourism benefits the town by generating taxes and producing employment opportunities. During the period of my fieldwork, the tourism tax earned by the municipality totaled Php248,450.00. Moreover, tourism provided employment to 64 percent (n= 179) of the local residents. The MPA user fees earned totaled Php706,208.00. Eighty-five percent of these came from scuba diving fees. A total of 6,241 scuba dives were recorded during a twelve-month observation in three MPAs off the mainland, but this was very seasonal due to climatic variations. The collected user fees were shared among the fishers' associations managing the MPAs, the municipal government, and the barangay government. The share of the municipality went to its CRM fund.

As has been noted, there is a prevailing perception that those in the tourism sector, particularly tourism brokers, benefit most from the MPAs because these are directly used as touristic sites. On the mainland, those who work in the tourism sector earn two to three times more and contribute higher to total household income compared to those in the fishery sector. In comparison, those in the fishery sector of Apo Island earn almost

twice as much as those engaged in the tourism sector (Oracion, 2005). It appears that on the island fishing is a prime contributor to total household income unlike on the mainland. This suggests that the impact of protective conservation on fishing is not yet significantly felt on the mainland as compared to Apo Island, which has a MPA since 1985 (Russ *et al.*, 2004; Oracion et *al.*, 2005a). Tourism can cushion the immediate negative impact of fishing ground constriction due to MPA creation. Unfortunately, not all of the affected fishing households found employment in the resorts.

The collected MPA user fees are expected to be a source of capital to develop livelihood and community projects that will benefit a good number of displaced fishers. At the time of this study, on the contrary, a major portion of the income of fishers' associations from user fees was being allocated for MPA maintenance and enforcement of regulations. Between 30 to 32 percent of their income is used to pay the honoraria of the sea wardens and some association officials; the rest is used for the repair and replacement of damaged MPA boundary, mooring buoys, and guardhouses. Nonetheless, it was noted that the association was able to lend money to members during emergency.

But since 48 percent of the members of fishers' associations surveyed were not engaged in fishing, neither in processing nor trading, not all those who are actually benefited by the associations are directly affected by the MPAs. Similarly, alleged anomalies in the collection of user fees, poor accounting, and mismanagement of the income of fishers' associations have dampened the enthusiasm of some members. During the latter part of my fieldwork, I was able to note that problems involving money were already being addressed by the associations concerned and the mayor. Whether the mitigations being introduced were implemented and practiced by the associations—and had effectively worked to curb further anomalies involving monies—is something to pursue in future research.

Conflicting spatial representations and claims

Although both MPA managers and resource users have acknowledged some positive biophysical results of protective conservation, they were not in unanimous agreement over specific management policies and regulations that govern MPA appropriation at present. Their varying cultural orientations and economic activities may explain these differing perceptions of coral reefs and MPAs. While local fishers perceive the coral reefs as abundant fishing grounds, tourism brokers on the other hand perceive them as beautiful sites for pleasure or recreational diving. All the tourism brokers interviewed found the MPA favorable to the dive tourism business under certain conditions. In contrast, 15 percent of surveyed local fishers expressed initial opposition to it. About 90 percent of members of fishers' associations and 81 percent of non-member fishers were originally convinced of the importance of MPAs for the protection of the coral reefs.

However, fishing within the buffer zone persisted during my fieldwork due to the fishers' insistence that this area is already outside of the MPA and that fewer fish thrive farther from it. Fifty-two percent of non-member fishers and 43 percent of member fishers strongly objected to the buffer zone and the reasons for its establishment. They argued that they are doubly deprived of access rights to their favored fishing grounds especially because their techniques are primarily designed for nearshore fisheries.[9] In their view, allowing them within the buffer zone, which would enable them to gain immediate benefits from spillover effects, is a decent compensation in return for giving up their traditional access rights over a protected reef. Meanwhile, only about one-third of tourism brokers surveyed are amenable to the MPA user-free proposal at a particular reef near the resorts that they have been freely using as a dive site. Although they appreciate the importance of a MPA for tourism, they are hesitant to surrender free access privilege to this

reef because its conversion obligates them to pay user fees and prohibits them to dive there at night.

Eighty-six percent of tourism brokers are also against the imposition of user fees for diving inside an artificial reef in one barangay and its conversion to a MPA because, as they argued, there are no corals to protect there. Unfortunately, this is a misconception of the nature and purpose of an MPA. They also argued that since it was installed by a private resort for divers, the local government cannot impose fees. Nonetheless, agreeing to pay for diving inside the other MPAs off the mainland in exchange for the protection by the local government, they are lobbying for a single fee to cover entrance to all MPAs for one whole day. Their other proposals include regulating night diving rather than banning it, reserving coral reefs that are not biologically feasible to become MPAs for pleasure diving and training of scuba divers, and lowering the user fee rates for Filipino divers. Locals are also asking for exemptions from paying user fees.

Despite the opposition from the various stakeholders, all the contested reefs were successfully declared as MPAs while the management issues being questioned were included in the final version of the amended CRM Plan. Among disgruntled resource users, however, the perception that the establishment of MPAs has been driven by money rather than by protective conservation in a real sense prevails. In response, the local government reiterates that the MPA revenues are necessary to finance its CRM program toward sustainable fisheries and tourism. The MPA fees imposed are payments in return for the benefits currently enjoyed by resource users particularly from the tourism sector.

Cultural articulations of protective conservation

The buffer zone, various user fees and rate hike, and ban on night diving inside a MPA are controversial provisions of the amended CRM Plan. The failure of resource users to openly negotiate on

these concerns has resulted in resistance that continues to be expressed in various cultural forms. For instance, when members of the same group get together, they are most likely to express their frustrations by denigration (Cebuano: *libak*) and complaining (*bagolbol*). To illustrate, fishers who allege that the mayor is unconcerned about the burden of MPA regulations on them tend to brand him as "uplander" (*taga-ibabaw*),[10] who is clueless about the challenge of living dependent on the sea and the demands of fishing as an occupation especially for subsistence fishers. In the tourism sector, and among divers in particular, the prevailing view is that the mayor is ignorant of dive ethics that scuba divers abide by to protect and preserve the coral reefs. Both groups share the view that these character flaws undermine the mayor's ability to make sound decisions. Meanwhile, some sectors wish him failure in the next election. Among tourism brokers whose main interest is protecting their business operations, the common lament is that they have no choice but to acquiesce (*sunod na lang*) to the existing regulations or risk certain consequences, such as the cancellation of mayor's permit.

Another form of resistance by disgruntled resource users is deliberate non-compliance of regulations or petty violations. When violators are apprehended, they often feign ignorance (*wala kahibalo o pagka-inosente*) in order to seek reprieve from penalty

> You asked for a supply of potable water, an electrical connection, medicine, burial assistance, and many others and I never refused to give these to you. Now, I am asking your help for the barangay project but you have failed to reciprocate. I don't care if we sever our ties. I will no longer respond to your requests for assistance and you can do the same to me. I will only help those who will help me. Do you still want to help? If so, do it.

(*pasayloon ra*). The refusal of resort operators to instruct their guests in responsible behavior and inform them

transformed into a cultural tool that encourages reciprocity in order to generate support for an environmental program. Latently, it simultaneously reinforces a highly delicate political career. Remaining unfazed by criticisms and unworried about his political career, the mayor persists in pursuing the goals of environmental conservation. He believes that this is a legacy he can bequeath to his constituency when he leaves politics. Thus, despite continuing defiance, even by his own political supporters (*kapartido*), he exercises his prerogative as the town's chief executive to demand compliance from those opposed to or unsupportive of his community projects, many of whom he considers to be only after personal gains. He told one of them:

> Try to fish inside again and I will send you to jail. I'm not kidding even if you're a Dauinanon. You're too hard-headed. This is for the good of the community. You just want to secure yourself. You want to solely harvest our marine resources. But I will not allow it. I will not stop pounding on you until you are straightened. work on this for my personal interest. This is for Dauin. This is for you.

To reinforce the legal mechanisms of the protective conservation program of the town, the mayor has also invented cultural symbols and initiated festivals that address environmental issues to instill the values of biological conservation to his constituency. Together with a prominent educator who is also a Dauinanon,[11] he composed *Dauin Kong Pinangga* (My Beloved Dauin, see Appendix B), and institutionalized it as the official hymn of the municipality. The text of the song describes the interconnectedness of the upland and coastal areas, conveys the natural beauty and richness of Dauin, and inspires and teaches environmental protection.

He also conceptualized the *Kinaiyahan* (nature) Festival, held during the annual town fiesta (September 10) and participated in by school children, to reinforce the municipal hymn. As cultural events, the town fiesta and the festival provide the mayor both the occasion

Table 4. Ratings of the Present and Future MPA Support of Different Officials and Personal Support of Local Stakeholders

Individuals Rated and Raters	Present [a]	Future [b]	t-test [a and b]
Municipal officials (Mean)	4.53	3.50	-1.03
MPA managers	4.33 (0.63)	3.67 (3.03)	2.04*
Member fishers	4.76 (0.19)	3.67 (3.73)	2.77**
Non-member fishers	4.50 (0.47)	3.15 (4.03)	3.13**
Barangay officials (Mean)	4.36	3.54	-0.82
MPA managers	4.38 (0.55)	3.76 (3.09)	1.94*
Member fishers	4.52 (0.46)	3.57 (2.96)	2.59**
Non-member fishers	4.19 (0.86)	3.29 (3.41)	2.36**
Fishers' association officials (Mean)	4.08	3.66	-0.42
MPA managers	4.00 (0.50)	3.71 (2.81)	0.74*
Member fishers	4.43 (0.66)	3.76 (2.99)	2.00*
Non-member fishers	3.81 (1.26)	3.52 (2.16)	1.45*
Personal or self (Mean)	3.89	3.67	-0.22
MPA managers	4.29 (0.51)	4.05 (1.35)	1.00*
Member fishers	3.86 (0.93)	3.43 (2.16)	1.74*
Non-member fishers	3.52 (1.16)	3.52 (1.16)	0.00*

Figures in parentheses refer to variances.
*Not significant
**Significant at 0.05 level (t-test critical value= 2.09)

member fishers (0.43) and tourism brokers (0.24). It is possible that the continuing apprehension about sustainability within these groups who are directly behind the MPAs stems from past experiences with previous political events.

Table 4 further shows that it is the local fishers, particularly the member fishers who registered a negative net rating between Table 4 further shows that it is the local fishers, particularly the member fishers who registered a negative net rating between future and present MPA conditions, who are more apprehensive about the support of future administration. Interestingly, only the tourism brokers predict that the biophysical conditions of these MPAs will significantly improve or be sustained even with a change in local administration. Perhaps they envision better terms and more incentives in the future as compared to the present. Being mostly non-indigenous residents of Dauin and having already invested much on tourism infrastructure in the town, tourism brokers are less mindful of the town's political dynamics, which locals consider a crucial factor likely to impair MPA sustainability. Also, being entrepreneurs, they are risk takers and more inclined to believe in a positive future for an area in which they have invested so much.

Meanwhile, local fishers who have internalized a local political culture of partisanship and patronage rely heavily on mayoral leadership in supporting an environmental program. Moreover, member fishers who perceive lesser benefits also express lesser future MPA support ($r= 0.48$, $p< 0.05$), which will impede the continuous management and functioning of the MPAs. For his part, the mayor believes that an informed, legally and economically empowered fishers' association will pre-empt any political threat to MPA sustainability. As a voting constituency, supportive locals who are already strongly convinced of the economic potentials of MPAs can stand as a pressure group. They have two options: first, by not voting for those who will undermine the current efforts of the administration to strictly enforce the MPAs; and second, by resisting any adverse actions of future political

leaders who will open some MPAs to fishers to fulfill a political promise.[12]

Conclusions

This paper concludes that the controversies behind the development and sustainability of MPAs are more often due to human and cultural rather than technological complexities. Because it is a social construction in the sense of Berger and Luckmann (1967), an MPA has an objective reality that is at once subjectively meaningful. This only means that the unique nature of MPA has to be understood as a sociotechnical system (Pfaffenberger, 1992) because it cannot successfully function and be sustained without consideration of its human components: the representations of space and spatial behavior, political and economic agenda and aspirations, social positions and access to power of its multiple stakeholders, among other factors.

The social acceptability of a MPA as protective conservation tool against environmental crisis that threatens the community's food security from the sea is not a major issue at this point in time in Dauin. Of great concern are the non-cooperation and resistance by disgruntled resource users who find that unacceptable MPA management policies and regulations have reduced the economic benefits they expected (see also Christie *et. al.*, 2005). As a number of studies have shown (Escobar, 1998; Hajer & Fisher, 1999), only a full understanding of the cultural politics involved in managing a MPA will ensure its success and sustainability. To understand this dynamics, MPA has to be treated not merely as a physical space but more importantly as a social space.

It is to be expected that the various experiences of local stakeholders with MPA benefits, local politics, and MPA management will influence their perceptions of its impact and prospect of sustainability. Tourism-generated benefits have to be equitably distributed among those directly involved in MPA development and management and those actually burdened by fishing ground constriction. Local political agenda

should be intertwined with environmental agenda so that a MPA institution will survive any political turnover and ensure intergenerational equity. Moreover, MPA management policies and regulations to be pursued should be hinged on a balanced perspective of both social and biological considerations (Christie *et al.*, 2003).

With the current state of coastal and dive tourism in Dauin, it behooves the local government to recognize the role of the tourism sector in MPA management. In contributing to the town's economy, the tourism sector can complement the mayor's food security agenda from enhanced fisheries. Providing a space for the tourism sector to actively participate in MPA management will foster dialogue and build trust toward mutual benefits. But the local government must exercise all the rights and powers to set limits for possible excesses of tourism (*e.g.*, too many tourists, too much night-time diving, littering, coral reef damage), as well as fishing activities (*e.g.*, intrusion, poaching). Finally, with strong fishers' associations, including now the local tourism sector, involved in environmental co-management, threats of political turnovers to MPA sustainability may be effectively mitigated.

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Notes

[1] *Ecocentrism* views "humans as subjects to ecological and system laws" and promotes "respect for nature in its own right", while *anthropocentrism* places "humans at the center of all creation" who bestow value upon nature for their benefit (Pepper, 1996: 328-329). These perspectives correspond respectively to the distinction made between *preservationists* and *conservationists*. Preservationists "recognized a moral obligation towards nature itself and wished to protect it *from* human use", while conservationists "wished to protect nature as a resource for human use" (Milton, 1996: 74, *emphasis original*).

[2] See www.coast.ph for the updated statuses of the MPAs in Central Visayas as well as in other parts of the country being done by the Coastal Conservation and Education Foundation, Inc. (CCEFI). A good discussion about the MPA rating system developed and used by CCEFI in order to improve MPA management is found in White *et al.* (2004: 226-232).

[3] Working or functional MPAs in a real sense are strictly managed and enforced by concerned authorities and organizations equipped with necessary enactments and have evidently shown physical evidence of improvement in fish abundance, biodiversity, and habitat (coral substrate) within a given area. MPAs considered as social failures suffer a lack of broader support and participation from all affected stakeholders resulting in conflict and tension among them particularly in areas of decision-making, management, and distribution of benefits (*see* Christie, 2004: 158).

[4] The award, a tribute to innovation and excellence in local governance, is a joint initiative of the Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG) through the Local Government Academy, the Ford Foundation, and other government agencies and non-government organizations.

[5] This is except for Apo Island MPA, which was a joint initiative of the community and Silliman University in 1985.

[6] *See* Eder (2005: 160-161) about how beach seining has become a political issue and what the various discourses are for and against it relative to the national ban.

[7] This is actually a product trademark commonly used by fishers to describe a lightweight thermoplastic material formed into a ball that serves as a floater or a buoy in fishing.

[8] This will be an interesting fact to pursue in future studies by a collaboration of biological and social science experts combining their respective research techniques in fish catch monitoring, resource valuation, and spatial behavior of fishers.

[9] For example, the MPAs of two adjacent barangays in the Poblacion (town center) are separated only by the buffer zone. One of these MPAs was formerly a very accessible and rich area for beach seining because it is sandy and protected from strong sea currents. Beach seiners have to move now to the next barangay —the only one in Dauin that has no MPA.

[10] Although it is true that he comes from one of the upland barangays of Dauin, the Mayor claims to have fished during his adolescent years, an experience that allowed him to observe and to experience how the coral reefs had been damaged by abusive and intensive fishing techniques.

[11] Dr. Henry A. Sojor, a cousin of the mayor and president of the Negros Oriental State University (NORSU) in Dumaguete City.

[12] This possibility is not remote. For example, Russ and Alcala (1999: 310) reported how unsupportive mayors of the MPA off Sumilon Island in southern Cebu opened it to fishing as part of their election campaigns. They promised to "give Sumilon Island back to the fishermen." Another report also reiterates how political turnovers pose threats to the continuity and sustainability of the environmental programs initiated by the previous administration in a case municipality (Milne *et al.*, 2003: 7).

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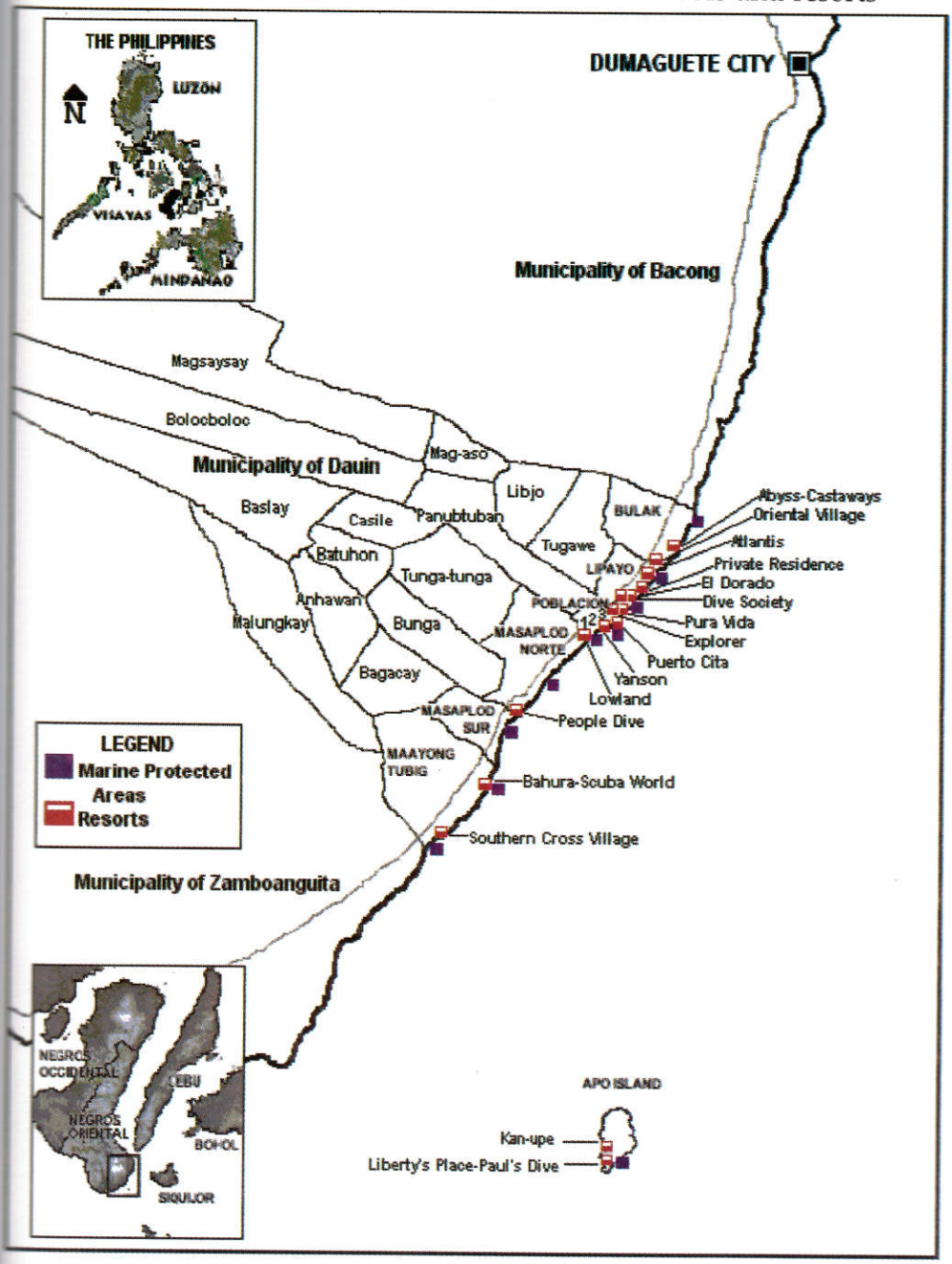
Appendix A

Map of Dauin showing the relative location of its MPAs and resorts



Appendix B

The Municipal Hymn of Dauin

Cebuano Version	Free Translation
DAUIN KONG PINANGGA	**MY BELOVED DAUIN**
Dauin lungsod kang madanihon	Dauin such an enchanting town
Ikaw ang akong inspirasyon	You're my inspiration
Ning kasingkasing ikaw ang bahandi	In my heart you're my treasure
Nga di ikabugti ug salapi	That no money can measure
Ang malasalamin mong tubig	Your crystal clear waters
*Garbo sa Nailig**	The pride of Nailig
Midagayday sa kapatagan	Flowing down to the fields
Paghatag kinabuhi sa katawhan	To give life to humanity
Sa imong matin-awng kadagatan	In your serene and lucid sea
Mga tanggapa ug do-ot sa kaisda-an	Corals and schools of fish abound
Garbo atong Apo Island	To make us proud of Apo Island
Gidayeg ka sa tibo-ok kalibutan	Appreciated all over the world
Ang mahabog mong kabukiran	Your high mountains
Puno sa matambok nga kakahoyan	Covered with sturdy trees
Ang mga huni sa kalanggaman	Where the humming of birds
Huyohoy ngadto sa kalasangan	Becomes music of the forest
Chorus	*Chorus*
O Dauin kong pinangga	Oh my beloved Dauin
Tuboran sa kaalam ug panumpa	Source of wisdom and devotion
Hiyas sa matahom mong kinaiyahan	A jewel of your exquisite nature
Panalipdan hangtud sa kahangturan	Be protected forever more
(Repeat Chorus)	(Repeat Chorus)
*Name of a lake in a hinterland barangay of Dauin.	

Translated by Myla June M. Tumbokon, a faculty member of the Department of English and Literature of Silliman University.

ASPECTS OF ECOLOGY AND THREATS TO THE HABITATS OF THREE ENDEMIC HERPETOFAUNAL SPECIES ON NEGROS AND THE GIGANTE ISLANDS, PHILIPPINES

Ely L. Alcala & Angel C. Alcala

ABSTRACT

The nature of the microhabitats and the population density of two endemic frogs (*Platymantis spelaeus* and *P. insulatus*) and one endemic gekkonid lizard (*Gekko gigante*) were studied in southwestern Negros Island and Gigante Islands in the Visayan Sea from January 2004 to March 2005. *Platymantis spelaeus* is found only in southwestern Negros Island. *Platymantis insulatus* and *Gekko gigante* are found only in the Gigante Islands in the Visayan Sea. The study used direct observations and the quadrat technique for population counts. Temperatures and relative humidity ranges in the general environment (limestone karst rainforest) and in the microhabitats (rock crevices, rock fissures, and caves) occupied by the three species were recorded. The population density of each of the three species was found to be more than the minimum viable or effective population size for long-term fitness. The two species on the Gigante Islands are limited in distribution to the study areas, hence could qualify under the conservation status of Endangered. However, because these island populations have apparently existed for millions of years, the appropriate status is Vulnerable. The temperatures in the microhabitats were stable, in the lower 20s^{0}C, and the relative humidity ranges were 75-95%. The microhabitats ranged from moist to wet. The egg-laying sites of *P. spelaeus* (a direct developer needing moisture for reproduction) are apparently the deep rock crevices inside caves and those of *G. gigante* are the cave roofs. The main threats to the survival of the three species are direct human disturbance and reduced supply of water resulting from forest destruction and prolonged droughts.

Introduction

The Negros-Panay segment of the Negros-Panay-Cebu-Masbate Ice-Age Island (Heaney, 1986) has, among several endemic herpetofaunal species, three unique endemic species, the Gigante Gekko (*Gekko gigante*, Brown & Alcala) and the two species of ranid frogs, *Platymantis spelaeus* (Brown & Alcala) and *Platymantis insulatus* (Brown & Alcala) (**Fig. 1**). *Platymantis spelaeus* is restricted to southwestern Negros Island. It is considered Endangered under the IUCN conservation status guidelines because of its limited distribution (Alcala, E. *et al.*, 2004). *Gekko gigante* and *Platymantis insulatus* are found only in the two islands of Gigante North and Gigante South in the Visayan Sea off the northeast corner of Panay Island. *Platymantis insulatus* has been considered Critically Endangered in the Global Amphibian Assessment (www.globalamphibian.org). The conservation status of *Gekko gigante* has not been determined, but the present study indicates that it should be considered at least Vulnerable because it is restricted to the Gigantes.

Fig.1. Limestone karst herpetofauna: **A**. *Platymantis spelaeus*, **B**. *P. insulatus*, **C**. *Gekko gigante* (Photos by A.C. Alcala)


B


C

The natural habitat of these three species is the limestone karst tropical rainforest. A greater portion of southwestern Negros and the Gigantes consists of limestone rocks (also marble in the latter) and are part of the Negros volcanic arc, dating back to the Miocene Epoch (between 5 and 24 million years before Present). Karst formations are characterized by the presence of limestone or other soluble rocks like dolomite and marble and by subterranean drainage resulting from the dissolving action of water on the bedrock, and their topography is dominated by sinkholes, sinking streams, large springs and caves. Geological evidence supports the view that the islands of Negros, Panay, Cebu and Masbate formed one Ice-Age island mass when the sea level was 120 meters lower than the present level about 160,000 and 20,000 years ago during the Ice Age (Pleistocene Epoch) (Heaney, 1986).

The ancestral stock that gave rise to the Philippine platymantine frogs in the Philippines (present estimate of the number of *Platymantis* species up to 40, but only 26 are formally recognized in Alcala and Brown [1999]) came from islands of the Southwest Pacific south and southeast of the Philippines (Brown, 1997). This happened during the Pliocene-Pleistocene Epochs 5-1.6 million years ago. As presently known, the range of *Platymantis* in the Philippines includes the Luzon, Mindanao, and Visayas Ice-Age islands as well as Mindoro, Sibuyan, Siquijor Islands (Alcala & Brown, 1999). But it is absent on the Palawan and the Sulu Ice Age islands. The ancestral stock of *Gekko gigante* came from either the southeast or the southwest source areas, since the genus *Gekko* is distributed in the Oriental-Australian and eastern Palearctic regions (see Brown & Alcala, 1978).

Because of the limited distributional ranges of these three species, it was thought wise to conduct an ecological study that will assess their

vulnerability to human disturbance and future climate changes manifested by such events as the El Niño Southern Oscillation (ENSO) in 1982-83, 1986-87, 1991-92, 1997-98, all of which triggered dry spells of variable durations.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the present study are: (1) to determine some behavioral adaptations of the three species to the limestone environment and the unique features of the limestone habitat that tend to ensure survival of the species; (2) to assess the population densities; (3) to determine the mode of reproduction of the two *Platymantis* species, as this throws light into the adaptive mechanisms for survival; and (4) to determine the threats to the continued survival of these species and to propose specific interventions to minimize the effects of these threats.

The Study Sites

There are two study sites. One is in southeastern Negros and consists of eight logged-over, open canopy (42.5% cover) limestone forest fragments with a total area of ca 345 ha at altitudes of 100-300m located in the village of Pinamay-an in the territorial jurisdiction of Barangay Camalanda-an in the municipality of Cauayan in southwestern Negros Island (Alcala, *et al.*, 2004) (**Fig 2**). The eight forest fragments studied are mostly associated with limestone karst formations characterized by the presence of caves, sinkholes, subterranean streams, and rock crevices. The general limestone karst forest and the six caves in Pinamay-an as well as some areas in the adjacent Sipalay, Hinoba-an, and Basay municipalities (**see Table 1**) have been explored in connection with this study. At least 12 species of trees of the Family Dipterocarpaceae among other species in other tree Families have been identified in the fragments.

Fig. 2. Views of Pinamay-an, southwestern Negros limestone karst rainforest (Photos by E.L. Alcala)

Table 1. Air temperatures (°C) and relative humidities (%) recorded in the study areas.

Study Site	Date	Outside Caves	Caves	Rock Crevices and Fissures	Relative Humidity	Presence/Absence of Frogs and Lizards
SW Negros	07/06/04	25			85	*P. spelaeus* active; raining;
SW Negros	07/26/04	24-25			90	P. *spelaeus* active; raining
SW Negros	08/01/04	27			90	*P. spelaeus* active
SW Negros	10/28/04	26.2	25.2	24.5	92	*P. spelaeus* active
SW Negros	11/10-11/-04	24.25	24-25		92-95	*P. spelaeus* active
Gigantes	04/30/04	29		25	67	*P. insulatus* calling
Gigantes	05/01/04	31		24	56	*P. insulatus* calling
Gigantes	09/06/04	27	26		92	*P. insulatus, G. gigante* active
Gigantes	09/08/04	31	29-30	29-29.5	65,72,78	*G. gigante* seen
Gigantes (Longon-longon Cave	03/03/05	25-26	25.5-26	23-25.5	72,75,78	*P. insulatus, G. gigante* seen

Table 1 Continued

Gigantes (Longon-longon Cave	03/03/05	25-26	25.5-26	23-25.5	72,75,78	*P. insulatus, G. gigante* seen
Gigantes (Longon-longon Cave	03/03/05	27-27.5			56,58	*G. gigante* present
Gigantes (Bakwitan Cave)110 39.948'N, 1230 20.952'E, 54mASL	03/04/05	28	25-26	23-26	82,88,95	*G. gigante* present
Gigantes(Langub Cave)110 36.463'N, 1230 20.768'E, 5mASL	03/04/05		23-28		72,72,78	*G. gigante* present
Gigantes (Pawikan Cave) 110 34.583'N, 1230 19.625'E, 16mASL	03/05/05		28-29	24-28	74,75,78	No lizards; no frogs
Gigantes (Pawikan Cave)	03/05/05	30		23-30	66	No lizards; no frogs
SW Negros (Tipulo Cave) 90 51.29'N, 1220 30.187'E, 338mASL	03/17-18/-05	26	26.5-28	22-24	78-85	*P. spelaeus, Gekko mindorensis, P. leucomystax quadrilineatus* present
SW Negros (Bangkil Cave) 90 51.342'N, 1220 29.534'E, 381mASL	03/17-18/-05	26	25.5-26	22-25	88-98	*P. spelaeus, Sphenomorphus, jagori grandis* present

SW Negros (Pulakan Cave) 90 51.275'N, 1220 29.351'E, 395m ASL	03/17-18/-05	26	24	23-24	82-96	*P. spelaeus* present
SW Negros (Ibid Cave) 90 50.898'N, 1220 29.67'E, 408mASL	03/17-18/-05	26	24-26.5	23-24.5	78-94	*P. spelaeus* present
SW Negros (Banso= Cactus Cave) 90 50.714'N, 1220 29.919'E, 408mASL	03/17-18/-05	27	23.5-25	23-25	94-96	*P. spelaeus*, *Cyrtodactylus sp.* present
SW Negros (Cambagoning Cave) 90 50.771'N, 1220 30.521'E, 426mASL	03/17-18/-05	29	24-24.5	23-24	68-95	*P. spelaeus* present

Fig. 3. Gigante limestone karst forest (top: at Baras-baras and middle: at Asluman); and cave at Bakwitan (next page) (Photos by E.L. Alcala, A.C. Alcala and C.Siler)

The other study site is the Gigante Islands. North and South Gigantes are almost of equal sizes with total land area of 1,300 ha. The highest elevation is ca 200 m above sea level. Very little flat land exists on the islands and mostly limited near the coastline. The topography of the Gigantes consists of limestone and marble karst **(Fig. 3)**. There are many cave systems (4 of which were explored, see **Table 1**) and rocks piled on top of each other, creating a labyrinth of spaces serving as hiding places of frogs, lizards, and other small animals. Cracks and fissures on rocks add to the variety of animal microhabitats. The vegetation consists of dwarf trees, screw pines and similar plants, shrubs and many climbing species all adapted to the rocky environment **(Fig.4)**. If dipterocarps and other hardwoods were ever present there, they must have been cut by the people now occupying the flat edges and beaches of the islands, as a survey of the vegetation failed to show any remnants

of these tree species. Freshwater is scarce and is available at only two sites. These two Gigantes islands are about 20 km east of the northeastern corner of Panay Island in the Visayan Sea, a body of marine water known for its marine biodiversity and fisheries. The waters around the Gigantes and other islands are generally shallow and productive of fisheries and have been known for fisheries production since Spanish times.

Fig. 4. View of typical vegetation (Brgy. Gabi, Gigante North)

Methods and Materials

Field Visits to Study Sites

Fieldwork involving 2-5 research assistants/ observers from the Silliman University Angelo King Center for Research and Environmental Management (SUAKCREM) assisted by one or two local assistants (a total of 3-6 persons per site visit) was conducted to observe and gather environmental and biological data at the two main study sites (plus one site in southern Cebu, and one site in the area of northeastern Iloilo and

Capiz, Panay Island). The 16 site visits were spread out in 61 days from January 21, 2004 through March 20, 2005 in the following order in 2004-2005: January, February, April, July, August, September, October, November, December, and March. This way, the site visits covered the wet and dry seasons as well as the transition months between the two seasons. In terms of number of visits to the sites, five visits were made to Pinamay-an, four to the Gigantes, two to Alcoy in southern Cebu Island, two to Pilar town and Estancia town in Panay, and three to Basay, Hinoba-an and Sipalay, all in southwestern Negros Island. The Cebu and Panay sites were included in order to determine whether or not the three herpetofaunal species studied also occurred on these two islands, which formed part of the Visayan Ice-Age island.

Data Gathering

To determine the microhabitats and to census the populations of the three species studied, caves, rock crevices and spaces between rocks in Pinamay-an forest fragments and on Gigante Islands were thoroughly searched. Six caves, two in Pinamay-an and four in the Gigantes (three in North Gigante and one in South Gigante), were given much attention for population counts for evidence of reproductive activities. The coordinates of these caves are presented in **Table 1**. Sinkholes were found in the two main study sites but they were not explored because of difficulty in penetrating them. In addition, limestone rocks in Alcoy, southern Cebu Island and some limestone caves in the towns of Pilar and Estancia, both on Panay Island were also similarly searched to determine whether these three species occurred there. The adjacent non-limestone island of Sicogon was also explored for three days in February and April-May 2004.

Two methods were used to estimate population densities of frogs: direct individual counts and counts of calling males in their rocky microhabitats in forest during the rainy season at night at about seven to nine

o'clock. Population censuses in caves were made at night and during the day. These censuses were based mostly on quadrats 10m x 10m or 20m x 20m. The number of calling males in a quadrat multiplied by 2 equals the total population density estimate on the assumption of 1:1 sex ratio and the assumption that all males call at census times. A check on the reliability of this method was made in a small lowland forest in Canlabac, Hinoba-an where a population census of *Platymantis dorsalis* was made using counts of calling males and counts of individuals observed from quadrats. Densities are expressed in number of individuals per hectare. The few non-calling individuals that were seen in quadrats were excluded from the counts. Quadrats were either measured or simply estimated, depending on the situation. Only visual counts during the day and at night were made for the gecko.

Two physical parameters were measured: temperatures using ordinary thermometers but checked by a quick-reading Schultheis thermometer. Relative humidity was measured by an improvised psychrometer consisting of a dry bulb and a wet bulb. Relative humidity was determined by using the dry and wet bulb readings against a published psychrometric chart.

Elevations above sea level (ASL) were determined with an altimeter. Coordinates were determined with a global positioning system (GPS).

All animals were observed alive. The few that were caught for taxonomic verification were released at their points of capture.

Only minimum disturbance, due to our movements, was made in the caves that we explored. Only flashlights were used as source of light to observe the animals and no burning was made inside caves.

Results

Microhabitats and Distribution of the Species in the Visayan Ice-Age Island

The three species studied are known to be limited to limestone karst forest formations on the islands of

Negros and the Gigantes (Brown & Alcala, 1970; 1978; 1982; Alcala & Brown, 1998; Alcala *et al.*, 2004). However, information on the nature of their microhabitats and whether they are also found in limestone karst forests of Panay and Cebu Islands was incomplete or lacking. Based on our field work reported here, the three species occur only in southwestern Negros (*Platymantis spelaeus*) and in the Gigantes (*Platymantis insulatus* and *Gekko gigante*). These three species are tentatively considered absent in limestone karst habitats in southern Cebu Island and northeast Panay Island. It is also absent on the nearby non-limestone island of Sicogon. But this negative evidence needs to be confirmed by more observations on the islands of Cebu and Panay.

Caves, rock crevices, and rock fissures are the microhabitats of the two *Platymantis* species. *Gekko gigante* has similar microhabitats but include forest trees and planted tree species bordering forests and adjacent human habitations. In caves they occupy mostly the roof crevices. The gecko is not rare in the Gigantes.

Temperature and Relative Humidity Ranges

Relatively low temperatures and high relative humidity, particularly in rock crevices, characterize the microclimate of caves that harbored the frogs (**Table 1**). The air temperatures ranged from 22-26^{0}C (but probably mainly 23-25^{0}C for the two forest frog species) and the relative humidity ranged from 75-95%. This microclimate probably stays stable throughout the year due to cool water dripping from cave roofs and the good air circulation. This is in contrast to higher (by a couple of degrees C) and more variable temperatures of the air and those of rock fissures and crevices outside caves (**Table 1**). Air temperature and humidity values do not differ from those of the perennially moist rainforest floor taken four decades ago. Our records of substrate temperatures in intact rainforests on Negros Island ranged from 22-24^{0}C year round (Alcala & Brown, 1966). During the northern winter months of January and February, air temperatures may fall to 21-22^{0}C for brief periods of time. The gecko can probably tolerate higher

temperatures (up to ca 27°C), as they have been observed to be active at night at this temperature. It probably avoids caves with temperatures above 27°C and relative humidity of 65-70% or less (**Table 1**). This preference for relatively low temperatures and high humidity probably accounts for the absence of both the forest frog and the gecko in the Gigante caves during the March 2005 field observation.

Population Density

Estimates of population density of the three species studied were variable, indicating a need to refine the census methods used (**Table 2**). Estimates presented here are therefore tentative. *Platymantis spelaeus* density estimates ranged widely from about 80 to 286 individuals per hectare based on 4-7 quadrats. These estimated density range is much lower than an earlier estimate of 700-800 individuals per ha (Alcala *et al.*, 2004).

Platymantis insulatus was estimated at 400-638 individuals per hectare in samples of 3-6 quadrats but may reach about 1,000 individuals per hectare in some areas based on the number of calling males. The latter figure may be the result of the concentration of males during the calling season and is likely an over-estimate. With regard to the reliability of using calls to estimate population densities, the results of the method were tested against those derived from quadrats for another species, *Platymantis dorsalis*, which is easier to count within a small area being a surface ground species. The mean "quadrat" estimate was 220± 32 (SE) individuals per hectare (Alcala *et al.*, 2004) and the mean "call" estimate was 310± 33 (SE) individuals per hectare (unpublished data). The "calls" census method needs refinement.

Gekko gigante was estimated at 200 individuals per hectare in three quadrats in the general rocky environment. As many as 12-13 individuals were observed in caves at any one time, but it is difficult to relate these counts to area of space occupied.

Table 2. Population density estimates (Individuals/ha) of the species studied.

Species	Individuals/ha + SE Ranges	Number of Quadrats	Date
P. spelaeus	285.7 + 40.41	7	07/6-7/04
P. spelaeus	96 + 24.41	6	07/09/04
P. spelaeus	80 + 12.01	5	07/09/04
P. spelaeus	200 + 0.50	4	07/09/04
P. spelaeus	74	1	07/26/04 (in 2,700m2)
P. insulatus	606.25 + 106.25	4	09/5-13/04
P. insulatus	402	1	05/01/04 (in 150m2 in cave)
P. insulatus	1,000	1	05/01/04 (in 100m2)
P. insulatus	400 + 100	3	05/01/04
G. gigante	233.33 + 33.33	3	09/5-13/04

Reproduction

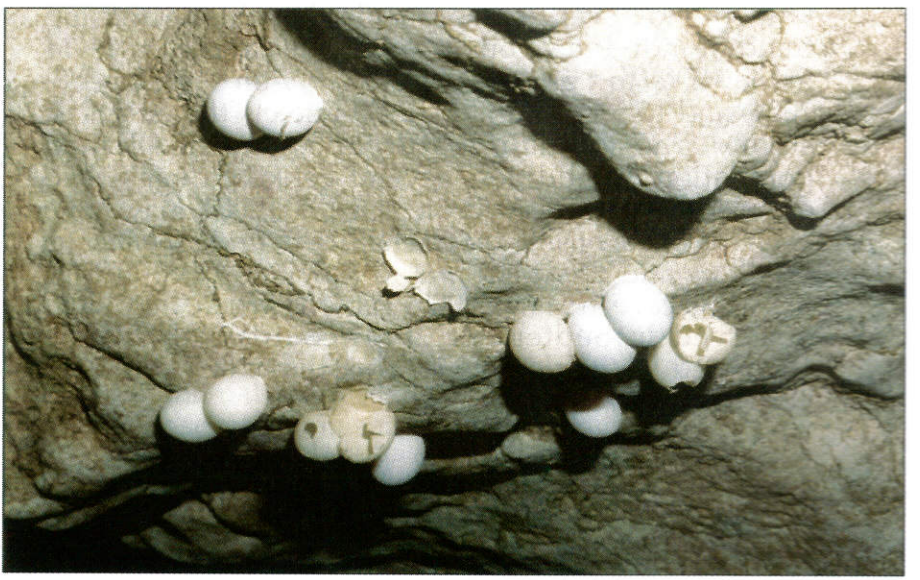
One of the objectives of this research was to study the reproduction of the three species. As it is known that some species of *Platymantis* exhibit direct development, the expectation was that the females lay large-yolk eggs that develop directly into froglets without undergoing the traditional tadpole stages (Alcala, 1962). The adaptive value of this reproductive mode is that the species can reproduce without liquid water (needing only moist nest sites), in contrast to frog species that go through the conventional tadpole stages requiring pools or running water. Our observations are consistent with the above expectation.

No egg or embryos have been observed after several months of search in the two study sites. But newly hatched froglets were seen thrice in Pinamayan, the first time in Banso cave where two hatchlings of *P. spelaeus* were observed on October 28, 2004, the second time in Ibid cave, where 14 more newly hatched froglets still with yellowish yolk in their bellies and measuring 8-9 mm in snout-vent length were observed on November 10, 2004, and the third time in Banso cave on November 16, 2004. The froglets were found inside rock crevices and on the wet, cool rocky cave floor 3-6 m from the cave entrance (**Fig. 5**). But they could have hatched from eggs deposited in rock crevices inside the caves eight meters from the entrance, where adults, including a gravid female, were observed in one of the caves (Ibid). The egg-laying sites (rock crevices) are supplied with water dripping from stalactites. Air temperatures taken several times inside the caves remained constant at 23.5-25^0 C. at all times of the day. Relative humidity also remained high at 90-95%. The reproductive mode of *P. insulatus* is most likely similar to that of *P. spelaeus* but this remains to be demonstrated.

Gekko gigante attaches its eggs to roof of caves (**Fig. 6**). Egg-laying sites are repeatedly used. Hatchlings have distinct crossbars on the back.

Fig. 5. View of the inside of Banso cave where *Platymantis spelaeus* newly hatched froglets were seen in Pinamay-an, southwestern Negros (Photo by L. Averia)

Fig. 6. *Gekko gigante* eggs glued to roof of Langub cave in Gigante South (Photo by L. Averia)



Threats to the Survival of the Three Species

Direct and indirect disturbance of the cave microhabitats by human beings is the main threat to the survival of the three species. Diggings for presumed buried treasures, archaeological artifacts (e.g. pottery, secondary burial coffins) and guano, collection of stalactites and stalagmites, and building of fire for cooking (in Langub cave) have resulted in altered environmental conditions in these caves. The other human activity that can indirectly affect the environmental conditions in the caves is the removal of forest cover, which could in turn reduce the supply of water. Moreover, forest serves as a buffer to El Niño events. In Pinamay-an, there have been no substantial tree-cutting activities because of intensified guarding by some 30 volunteer forest guards. On the Gigantes, there is no useful purpose for clearing the forest as the area is steep and rocky, hence cannot be farmed. It is not likely that massive removal of trees will happen in the future. However, natural events such as prolonged dry season could severely reduce the populations of the three species.

The extent to which the caves in the two study areas have deteriorated as habitats of the three species is not known. However, it is probable that the decreasing trend of individual counts at Langub cave from 13-14 in May 2000 to 4 on April 30, 2004, to 7 on September 8, 2004, and to 5 on March 5, 2005 reflects the effects of smoke and human disturbance on the lizard population. In addition, several gekkonid eggs with dead embryos observed on April 30, 2004 may have been the effect of smoke. The failure to find *Platymantis insulatus* and *Gekko gigante* in Pawikan cave and in Bakwitan cave in March 2005 (**Table 1**), where they were observed in September 2004, could probably be attributed to the deterioration of the cave habitat for both species.

Discussion

The main goal of this study is to assess the prospects for survival of these three species by determining the main features of their microhabitats,

the population densities of the three species, their mode of reproduction, and the threats to their future survival. Interventions will be recommended as part of a conservation plan to be submitted to the local government units at Barangay Pinamay-an and Municipality of Cauayan and the barangays of Gigante North and Gigante South that will minimize or eliminate these threats.

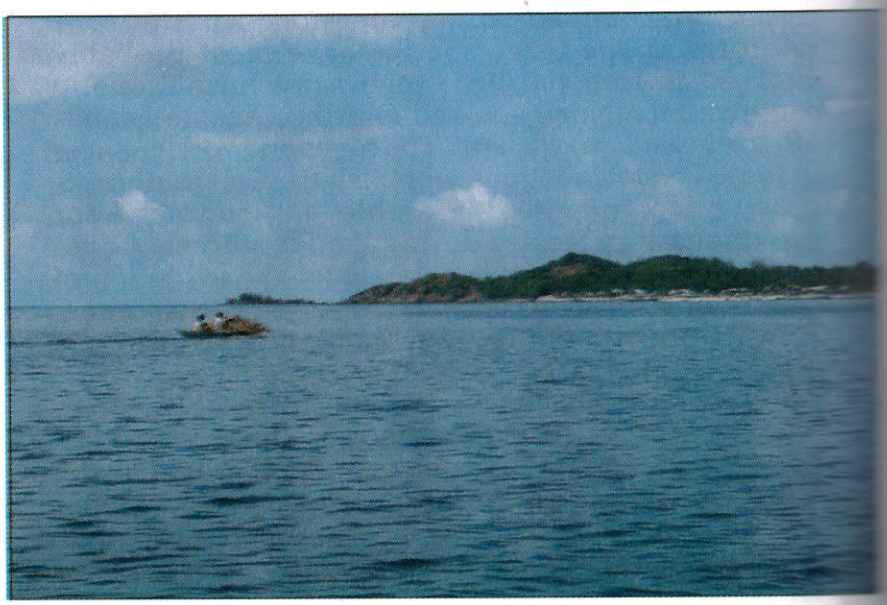
Platymantis spelaeus, Platymantis insulatus and Gekko gigante are confined only to limestone karst tropical rainforests. The three species have most probably evolved in forested limestone karst formations in southwestern Negros Island and the Gigante Islands off northeast Panay Island. The caves and rock crevices in these karst formations with lush tropical rainforests must have provided a stable environment for evolutionary processes during the Pleistocene. Caves have provided favorable habitats for the evolution of species of arthropods such as crustaceans (e.g. Taiti & Howarth, 1998) and of vertebrates such as fish (e.g. Mitchell *et al.*, 1977; Roberts, 1991).

It appears that karst areas, which probably tend to retain moisture for long periods of time, can confer protection to amphibians and reptiles, provided the forest is kept intact. This is supported by the fact that four El Niño events between 1982-1998, all less than one year in duration, apparently did not show negative effects on the populations of these three species. A long term study of amphibians and reptiles in limestone forests is needed.

The three species studied are all adapted to life in limestone karst environments, where moisture tends to be conserved and temperatures remain stable at the lower 20s^0 C due to good circulation of air. These equable environmental conditions would be maintained as long as forest cover remains intact and past rainfall patterns are maintained. The prospects for forest conservation in southwestern Negros and on the Gigantes are reasonably good because of the active volunteer forest guards in the former and the difficult terrain that discourages tree cutting in the latter. Nevertheless, one practice observed in the area that

poses a threat to the scrubby limestone forest is the gathering of firewood by perhaps a thousand or more fishers using the Gigantes as base for fishing operations (**Fig. 7**). Forest conservation activities would therefore be in order in the Gigantes.

Fig. 7 Gigante fishermen transporting firewood (Photo by A.C. Alcala)



The key environmental factor that may pose a threat to the survival of the three species is rainfall, the pattern of which may have already been altered. In the past 25 years, the El Niño phenomenon, which resulted in dry climate in many parts of the country, has struck four times, and affected some parts of the country in the early part of 2005. The three species had obviously survived the dry weather spells up to our last fieldwork in March 2005. This is probably because of the relatively short duration of these episodes—generally about half a year. It is possible that El Niños of long duration such as a year or longer are detrimental to these species, as they would be to other animal and plant species as well.

In general, climate change resulting in reduced soil moisture, reduction of prey species, and development of disease has been suspected to be responsible for changes in frog breeding patterns and in amphibian microhabitats. Climate change may be a minor cause of current decline in amphibian populations, "but it can be the biggest future challenge to the persistence of many species" (Corn, 2005).

The two forest frogs studied are heavily dependent on high moisture and high relative humidity (95-100%) for maintenance of life and for direct reproduction. The gecko is probably less sensitive to lower moisture content of their microhabitats, but eggs can desiccate and fail to hatch under conditions of very low relative humidity.

Although human disturbance did affect the gecko population in one cave (Langub), human disturbance is unlikely to have a significant impact on this species since the microhabitats are found in rocky areas not readily accessible to people. In fact, the species is also found on trees near human habitations. It is probable that this species can survive under the conditions inside caves and deep rock crevices for moderate periods of drought.

The population densities of the three species, although showing wide variations, satisfy the minimum effective or viable population sizes of 500 individuals for long term fitness and 50 individuals for short-term fitness or the 500/50 rule that is generally accepted as guideline for conserving large vertebrates (see review by Shafer, 1990). *Platymantis spelaeus* has been considered Endangered (Alcala *et al.*, 2004). *Platymantis insulatus* and *Gekko gigante* should be considered at least **Vulnerable** because of their small areas of distribution in limestone forests – about 600 km^2 for *Platymantis spelaeus* (Alcala *et al.*, 2004), and no more than 1.3 km^2 for *Platymantis insulatus* and *Gekko gigante* – and because of much uncertainty in global climate change. In keeping with the generally accepted Precautionary Principle, we have to be conservative in our approach to conservation,

especially in developing countries, where environment and biodiversity occupy a generally low place in the priorities of government programs.

Conclusion

If the present condition of the limestone karst forests in southwestern Negros and the Gigantes remains as is, the three species would have a good chance of surviving through time. Deforestation, exacerbated by climate change such as periodic droughts, will have serious negative impact on these species. While climate change cannot be prevented, destruction of the limestone forest can be prevented to ensure that favorable environmental conditions in the microhabitats of these species are maintained. Forests can also moderate the effects of droughts.

Five-Year Conservation Plan

Research

The initial survey will be continued to focus on habitat use, habitat indexing, and qualifying and quantifying habitat changes. Sites of egg-laying (for the two frogs) will also be determined.

Monitoring

Monitoring of the status of the populations of the three species will be made. The use of frog calls as basis to determine population density during various "calling" periods of the year will be pursued. In the case of the gekkonid lizard, direct observations will be employed. Simple monitoring methods for use by local communities and local government officials will be developed.

Critical Cave Identification

Caves used by the three species will be identified for purposes of monitoring and evaluation. The municipal councils of Cauayan and Sipalay will be asked to enact a municipal ordinance protecting these caves from human disturbance. This will require the

cooperation of Local Government Units and the Department of Environment and Natural Resources for its implementation.

Information, Education and Communication

Research findings will be translated into posters, calendars, and other attractive popular publications that interpret the environment and human dependence on it. Dissemination of these materials will be through local government offices and community assemblies.

Acknowledgments

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NOTES

GEORGE SANTAYANA'S PHILIPPINE CONNECTION

Myrna Peña-Reyes

"Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it," ran through my mind as I casually picked up from a 25-cent sale table George Santayana's autobiography, *Persons and Places: The Background of My Life.*[1] I had no particular interest in the Spanish-born American philosopher and man of letters (1863-1952), but my interest was piqued when I came across the words "Manila," "Philippines," and "Philippine Islands" as I leafed through the book's first section. Intrigued, I willingly ponied up a quarter, and this humble investment earned me information that makes Santayana more a person of interest to me now.

Santayana gives a fascinating account of his family, how fate and fortune brought his ancestors to the Philippines. The story begins with his Spanish maternal grandfather, Jose Borras, who traveled and lived in several places, including Virginia in America. In 1835, he was appointed American Consul to Barcelona by President Andrew Jackson. But, as political appointments often go, he lost the position when a new administration came to power in America. In time, friends and supporters helped secure what *promised to be a lucrative post* (p.31) in the Philippines for Jose Borras. (Unfortunately, Santayana does not record the dates for his family's sojourn in the Philippines, perhaps because he didn't know the exact dates, confessing that his mother *had no great interest or respect for the past* [p. 3]). Jose Borras's wife refused to go with him, so he was accompanied by his daughter Josefina (who would become George Santayana's mother) on the arduous journey from Cadiz, round the Cape of Good Hope,

to Manila, which at that time took six months. Santayana surmises that during that long period on board ship it would be easy to imagine his well-traveled grandfather talking about various things, including teaching his daughter English.

Only nineteen or twenty then, Josefina must have been racked by great uncertainty and fear *...when frivolous amusements were being abandoned together with all familiar faces and ways, and a violently different climate, frequent earthquakes, torrential rains, a new race of human beings and a simpler more primitive order of society were to be encountered* (p. 34).

Upon arrival in Manila, Jose Borras and his daughter were met with discouraging news, brought about by the exigencies of politics. Due to a change of ministers in Madrid, the post that was to have been Jose Borras's was given to someone else. The official dispatch to this effect, though sent after his departure from Spain had, through unexpected circumstances, arrived in Manila before him.

So another posting was found for the old man, a more modest position, as *Governor to a small island – I think it was Batang – where there were only natives, even the village priest being an Indian* (p. 36). (I had no way of checking the actual place name, but could it be Bataan or Batangas? Most foreigners think all places in the Philippines are "islands.")

One can imagine the disappointment of father and daughter. At least in Manila they would have the company of their fellowmen in a major Asian city where the amenities of civilization existed. Instead, they were being consigned to the backways of a foreign land. Still, George Santayana believes that his grandfather, a believer of Rousseau's "noble savage" theory, would have met the challenge and succeeded in his post in an idyllic albeit undeveloped part of the country, but for one shortcoming: *...the real*

obstacle was not moral: perhaps the real obstacle never is moral...The force as well as the obstacle in nature is always physical...The state of nature presupposes a tropical climate. A tropical climate is fatal to the white race. The white race must live in the temperate zone, it must invent arts and governments, it must be warlike and industrious, or it cannot survive. This fatality of course is not absolute or immediate; white men may live in the tropics, protecting themselves by a special regimen, and returning home occasionally to recover their tone...But now, in the decline of his [Jose Borras's] *life, he was suddenly transferred to a tropical climate entirely new to him, without advice or such resources, medical or other, as even a tropical colony would have afforded in its capital city, and he succumbed* (pp. 36-37).

The unexpected death of her father was not the only tragedy Josefina suffered for back in Barcelona, her mother had also passed away. Left an orphan at twenty in a foreign land with no source of support, Josefina would draw on her remarkable strength and resourcefulness and manage to survive on her own: *With what ready money she could scrape together, and with her jewels for security, she bought or hired a small sailing vessel, engaged a native skipper and supercargo, and began to send hemp for sale in Manila. If she was without friends in a social sense, the people round her were friendly. Two of her servants, her man cook and her maid, offered to remain with her without wages; and her skipper and agent proved faithful; so much so that in a short time a small fund was gathered, and she began to feel secure and independent in her singular position. She adopted the native dress: doubtless felt herself the lady-shepherdess as well as the romantic orphan. And she was not without friendly acquaintances and friends of her father's in Manila who were concerned at her misfortune and invited her to come and live with them* (p. 38).

Just how long Josefina stayed on in Batang, her son does not say. What is certain is that the arrival of a fellow Spaniard to take over her father's post compelled her to leave for Manila. As Santayana explains: *Now two white persons, a young man and a young lady without a chaperon, alone together on a tropical island formed an idyllic but dangerous picture; and it became necessary for the young lady in order to avoid a scandal to return to a corrupt civilization* (pp.38-39). There is no mention about any relationship, if any, between the two, but we are told that Josefina moved in with friends in Manila.

The young man left behind in Batang was Agustin Santayana who had received a posting in the Philippines as financial secretary to the Captain General or Governor General of the Philippines, General Pavia. Later, Agustin's son George would record his father's impression of the Philippines: *He had lived among the Malays in the Philippines, the most blameless of primitive peoples, and he spoke kindly of them; but the only Malays he respected were those that had become Mohammedan and warlike – pirates if you like – and had kept their independence* (p. 23). One wonders if this view was known to the Spanish authorities for whom Agustin worked who were continually harassed by the defiant Moslems from the south!

Meanwhile in Manila, Josefina had moved in with the Iparraguirres, *a Creole family* headed by *a merchant or land owner long established independently in the country* (p. 39). She was treated as part of the family and was soon participating in the social life of the city: *It was too warm for much dancing in Manila; but people drove out in the later afternoon and went round and round the promenade, to look at one another and take the air. When the Angelus bell rang, all the carriages stopped, the men took off their hats and the ladies, if they liked, whispered an "Ave*

Maria." But there were some houses where people gathered for a "tertulia," a daily "salon" or reception; and I suppose there were occasional official balls. Anyhow, young people could make eyes at each other and marriages could be arranged (p. 41).

The suitor Josefina favored was an American, George Sturgis, of Russell, Sturgis & Company, one of the very first American business firms established in Manila. Since the American from Boston was a Protestant and legal marriages at that time could only be done in a church and only Roman Catholics could be served in that church, there was a problem in arranging their wedding. A special dispensation for a non-Catholic could be obtained, but that would entail much delay, even up to a year. For her part, Josefina being indifferent to religion, must have viewed the dilemma with bemusement, though certainly cognizant of the inconvenience it caused.

As it would happen, a British man-of-war was anchored in Manila Bay in 1849. As Josefina's son would recount later: *The deck of that ship was British territory, and of course there was a chaplain, who being a jolly tar, would not object to marrying a Unitarian to a Papist...and we may imagine the wedding party, the bride and bridegroom, all the Iparraguirres, all the members of the House of Russell and Sturgis, and the nearer friends of both, setting out in the ship's cutter, manned by its double row of sailors, and flying the white ensign, to the frigate, and cautiously but joyfully climbing the ladder up the great ship's side. And perhaps, if the Captain was jovial, as he doubtless was, there may have been a glass of wine, with a little speech, after the ceremony* (p. 43).

The couple set up housekeeping in Manila, and Josefina would bear *five children in seven years* (p. 46). Her firstborn, a son, died an infant. She was pregnant with her fifth child when the Sturgis family left by

ship for their first visit to America. Also on board that clipper, the *Fearless*, was the young Spaniard she had met earlier in Batang, Agustin Santayana, who was returning to Spain via America and England, having taken a leave of absence for health reasons. It would be natural for him and Josefina during those long days at sea to renew their acquaintance, totally innocent of what fate had in store for them.

The visit to the U.S. was a success—Josefina was introduced to the Sturgis clan, and her fifth child was born in Boston. But after the family's return to Manila, George Sturgis was suddenly taken ill and died at the age of forty, leaving a widow and four children. Unlike the first time she had been left alone destitute, Josefina had the resources of her late husband's business, and his brother in London was most generous in gifting her with extra funds.

Josefina left the Philippines in grand style: *She would not go again in that nasty little clipper ship Fearless, or the like of her, where the passengers were cooped up for three months like the poultry under the benches on deck; she would go grandly overland, or when possible, by steam packet...visit her eldest and richest brother-in-law in London...travel with two maids and quantities of luggage...not only all her personal belongings, shawls, laces, fans, fancy costumes, and family heirlooms, but chessmen and chessboards, Chinese lacquer tables, and models of native Philippine houses in glass cases, with their glass trees, fruits, animals, and human figures...to look after the baby, a little Chinese slave, "Juana la China"*...(p. 52)

Josefina and her children settled in Boston, but three years later at the outbreak of the American Civil War, she and her children left for Spain where they would live for eight years. Sometime during this period, once again fate brought together Josefina and Agustin Santayana, both expatriates in Madrid then.

Agustin became her second husband, and their child George Santayana was born in Madrid in 1863. Showing a generosity of spirit, Agustin offered no objection to his son being named after his wife's first husband.

Agustin's and Josefina's marriage was loveless. Josefina would return to Boston to fulfill an agreement with her first husband to have the Sturgis children educated in the United States. George Santayana remained with his father in Spain until he was nine when he joined his mother and stepsiblings in Boston where he was soon learning English, the language he would make his mark in. He would attend Harvard and become a professor there, counting among his students T.S. Eliot, Conrad Aiken, Felix Frankfurter, and Walter Lippmann. One of the eminent writers and thinkers of his time, he died in Rome in 1952.

From my little additional readings, I found the following reference to George Santayana's family in Gregorio F. Zaide's *Philippine Political and Cultural History*. In discussing the opening of the Philippines to international business, Zaide writes that in 1834, "The firm of Russell, Sturgis & Company was, for some years, the leading foreign business house in Manila. The senior partner of this firm, Mr. Jonathan Russell, became popular in the city because of the lavish receptions which he frequently held for foreigners and Filipinos. His junior partner, Mr. Sturgis, married Josefina Borras, *a Filipino girl* [italics mine]...It was the first Protestant marriage and likewise the first American-Filipino wedding to be recorded in Philippine history."[2]

Could Josefina Borras have been mistaken for a native girl because of the unusual circumstances of her early life in the Philippines that forced her to live like one for some time? Whatever the reason for this misinformation, I doubt that her son would have

minded too much. After all, it was he who said: "History is a pack of lies about events that never happened told by people who weren't there."

Notes

[1] New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944. Italicized passages are Santayana's from this book.

[2] Gregorio F. Zaide, *Philippine Political and Cultural History* (Manila: Philippine Education Co., rev. ed. 1957), Vol. II, p. 68.

THE SON ACCORDING TO GIBSON

Cesar Ruiz Aquino

The story of Christ's Passion as told by the Gospels is powerful, fascinating material for the creative filmmaker. It took one to really see and show us just how.

Mel Gibson does a "cameo"—or more correctly, makes a statement—in the movie: his hands are shown nailing Christ's hand to the cross. The statement: *The Passion of the Christ* is a work of creative passion as well as Christian piety.

The statement is justified. You can't help feeling he has felt his material with some depth.

But thorny seems almost every aspect of Jesus Christ—not just his crowning. And the thorns may be insurmountable for the novelist or the filmmaker, who must ask himself—is his intention to give us history or His Story? If it's the former, people are bound to howl *impious*! If the latter, *anti-Semitic*!

Theology students put it this way: the former would give us the Jesus of history; the latter, the Christ of faith.

The twain do/does not meet. Or do they/ does it?

Never mind when exactly but somehow a monstrous question stirred in the Christian consciousness in modern times and it was no longer *Was Jesus really God?* but *Was there really a Jesus?* Off-hand one can say it was rationalism muttering *hmm hmm*. After all His Story contains one wondrous thing too many, not the least of which is that Jesus raised the dead—and not only raised the dead but himself rose from the dead, and not only rose from the dead but ascended to Heaven, and not only ascended to Heaven but sat at the right hand of God!

Did all this really happen or is it all only a story?

Historical investigation of the life of Jesus began in the 18th-century with a German scholar named H.

Reimarus and ended in 1905 with the completion of Albert Schweitzer's *The Quest of the Historical Jesus.*

At the outset, the questing scholar is up against a horrendous problem: the New Testament was not written as history. It's on a par with stories like how Zoroaster of the Persians was born laughing and how Buddha turned the arrows flying towards him into flowers. But it's not that simple, much of it is history. Can one be certain of this? Yes. Two historians from antiquity, the Roman Tacitus and the Jewish Josephus, mention a Messiah Jesus, who was crucified in the reign of Tiberius. But very briefly. Yet, this precious little is the rock of historical certainty that the quester can cling to. Armed with this certainty he can then go to his prime source, the New Testament, and here he can shift history from metahistory. For the New Testament was not written by a Tacitus or a Josephus. At times Paul sounds like a poet - Jesus, all the time.

The Jesus of history was a healer, miracle-worker, holy man, prophet, and claimant to being the long awaited, prophesied Messiah or King but who suffered crucifixion by the Romans. The Christ of Faith is that self-same man but thereafter more than Messiah even—he was deified. Soon the faithful prayed to him, beginning with the Jesus Prayer of the Eastern Orthodox, "Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy upon me, a sinner."

In that great transit Jesus the man disappeared. At the Resurrection, Jesus became the Lord whom one may no longer touch. He became the Christ of Faith.

But the Church, as if itself reacting to this, felt the need for another council. After the Council of Nicea that declared Jesus to be divine, the Church had to declare that Jesus was a man!

Truly man and truly God, said the Councils.

Yet buttressing the fact of Christ's humanity by making it dogma may not have been just a reaction to whatever heresy was going on at the time. The truth is,

since Jesus is divine, believers cannot picture him doing certain human things.

In the 1960s there came out a poster of him laughing heartily. The picture shocked. He looked devilish.

Lately there's a Jesus film packaged for TV during the Holy Week showing him dancing in the street. This makes historical sense since he may have been a Hasid but is not likely to be taken well by the pious.

Then there was Martin Scorcese's movie that deeply offended Christian sensibility because, even if it was only a scene from a dream, it showed Jesus making love to Mary of Bethany.

The dogma that Christ was a man can therefore be perceived as a safeguard against a natural tendency of the believer to think that He was not. The tendency to fall into the docetic heresy, of course.

Two thousand years later it is a testimony that Jesus really existed.

But who was the man? Was it possible to see him not through the prism of the believing community? As he was before he became deified?

This was the quest and it was a Protestant undertaking—that ended, to repeat, in the infancy of the twentieth-century with Schweitzer. It ended because Schweitzer's epochal work shattered the expectations of the rational pious.

That book concluded that Jesus was a failed Messiah and that's the farthest we can see into history. Beyond that it becomes a matter of faith, not historical knowledge.

Jesus—according to Schweitzer—accepted that he was the Messiah who will bring in the long awaited reign of God (Thy Kingdom come). At a later stage, he came to the conviction that he would have to suffer greatly before the present age would violently end. In more concrete terms, this means God would step in and wipe the Roman Empire out. But nothing of the sort happened

(My God! My God! Why hast thou forsaken me?) and Jesus expired on the cross.

The Christ of Faith rose out of this defeat—first as the scattered circle of disciples that had re-grouped, then - when the original group (known as the Primitive Church) had apparently disappeared from history - as the Gentile Church that eventually prevailed against great temporal odds. The original group was the circle that had waited for Jesus to return while, as he promised, some of them would still be around. When that too didn't take place, the circle became the Primitive Church (whose religion is called Jewish Christianity) finally to be survived by the Gentile Church sustained by the spiritual power, namely the belief that Jesus rose from the dead, that would continue—and will continue—to sustain it across the centuries (I shall be with you always).

But is it possible to ever recover the Jesus of those who lived in his own lifetime? Schweitzer said no.

Amen, said the Spanish existentialist Miguel de Unamuno, a Catholic. The quest was a lost cause. "For there is no recovering the Galilean," Unamuno wrote in *Perplexities and Paradoxes*, like an imprimatur to Schweitzer's conclusion.

For the Catholics had not joined in the quest, not until the 60s and the 70s. While Protestants regard the Bible as sole authority, Catholics hold Tradition as the necessary guide to reading it. In the Catholic view the New Testament is a fruit of or complement to Tradition and a meditative aid—which must be why the Catholic is not too fond of reading it! As for the problem of Christ's historicity there's always Tacitus and Josephus—and the Church. There's always the dogma established by the Church at the Council of Chalcedon—to wit, that Christ was truly man, meaning of course that there really was a man named Jesus. Where did the 5th-century Council get this? From Tradition dating back to people who personally knew Jesus. For the Catholic the problem of

Christ's historicity is not a problem. It's either you believe it or not. What do you believe?

The Creed.

In the Creed the historical Jesus is almost nowhere to be found. But he's there, all right: *suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died and was buried.*

The man just won't go down.

The autumn of the twentieth-century saw the returning spring of the quest. In 1994 a contemporary theologian, the late G.B. Caird of Oxford, could say "those who accept the humanity of Jesus as a dogma...do not grasp it as a historical fact."

The quest continues and it is not modern hunger for facts but rather timeless hunger for the fascinating. For the fact is the story of Jesus is a fascinating one.

And indeed the quest has the habit of coming up with the darndest ideas! Jesus Christ was a magician. No, he was a Tibetan Buddhist. No, he was a communist—or maybe just a Liberation Theologian? No, he was a mushroom!

The crucifixion was a hoax. He was married and had children and his descendants are very much around.

No, he was not a Jew but an Egyptian—*a la* Moses according to Freud! But much more shockingly so than even the pan-sexualist father of depth psychology could ever have imagined—for Jesus was not married to Mary Bethany or Mary Magdalene in the way we know married. He was her consort in the fertility cult of Egypt! In other words, he practiced Tantric sex!

Even a comparatively more disciplined "biography" as I. A. Wilson's *Jesus* can play with an intriguing idea: Paul may have met Jesus. Not only that, the servant of the high priests, Malchus whose ear was cut by Peter's sword, may have been Paul! Says Wilson: "If I had the chance to return in time and meet Paul, I should take a close look at his ears."

It's almost as if the historical searchers were competing with the novelists and saying to them, "Look, the historical truth about Jesus is stranger than fiction!"

For just as bizarre are some of the things we read in the novels.

If the Jesus quester can relax, there are the works of the novelists, the latest of whom, Norman Mailer, is so improbable one review bore the title *He Is Finished.*

In Fyodor Dostoevsky's *The Grand Inquisitor,* Christ has returned. Immediately the Grand Inquisitor arrests him. His crime? Rejecting the Three Temptations and now interfering with the work of the Church!

In Nikos Kazantzakis' *The Last Temptation of Christ,* Paul not only meets Jesus, they collide in the novel's great penultimate scene. Paul is telling an incognito Jesus about the good news of Christ's resurrection. Jesus naturally cries "Liar! I was never crucified!" Paul replies in panic, "Shut your mouth!" When finally Jesus identifies himself, the apostle flees shouting, "Who cares what really happened? The world needs visions not facts!" And Jesus weeps, saying he could not bear the knowledge that the only way to save the world is through Paul's lie.

In Jose Saramago's *The Gospel According to Jesus Christ,* Jesus looks down from the Cross and pleads, "Men, forgive Him for He knows not what He has done."

In Mikhail Bulgakov's *The Master and Margarita,* Jesus appears to be some kind of idiot-savant.

In Robert Graves' *King Jesus,* Jesus is the sole legitimate claimant to the Davidic kingship by reason of his being the secret son of Herod Antipater! He is doomed, however, by his understanding of the meaning of the kingdom. Seeing the sheer impossibility of overcoming Rome by force, he came to the conclusion that only if one of his disciples will slay him with the sword, to fulfill Zechariah's prophecy, will the Kingdom of God be realized. He did not convey this to his disciples directly, veiling his message as usual like a riddle. They did not catch on, except one—Judas. Graves' book bristles

with insights. One particularly brilliant instance is his version of the famous "Render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and unto God what is God's." Graves proposes that the original is "Do not pay God what is Caesar's, nor Caesar what is God's."

The current rage is a concert of scholars called the Jesus Seminar; its most impressive scholar, John Dominic Crossan.

The Seminar's avowed aim is to collect all the acts and words ascribed to Jesus and to determine which are authentic. Their most solid work appears to be *The Five Gospels: The Search for the Authentic Words of Jesus*. Five, not four? Yes, the fifth is the Gospel of Thomas. The Jesus Seminar has kissed the idea of canonicity goodbye. It will give everyone a chance to be heard, including the mortal enemy of the Orthodox in the first centuries—the Gnostics.

Crossan is an Irish Catholic like James Joyce, a priest until he left the order. His "most controversial" work is *Who Killed Jesus?* the most shocking idea of which is that we cannot have certainty that Jesus' body was not in fact eaten by carrion birds and dogs. Crossan is not playing the iconoclast—he calls this possibility a "terror" in which the present-day believer must live.

But the real import of his book is the answer he gives to the question. Crossan says it was the Romans, not the Jews.

The thesis is not new though Crossan may have brought it up to date. In fact, it has been fairly intellectual mainstream for quite some time. Ben-Zion Bokser, a rabbi, presented the case with exceptional clarity and plenitude in his 70s or was it 80s book *Judaism and the Christian Predicament.*

Why did the writers of the four gospels distort history?

The reasons advanced are two. One, Christians were writing the gospels while still under the Romans. It was impossible to write to the latter's faces that they,

the Romans, did it. Two, the Christians who wrote the gospels were projecting the deadly antagonism between Jews and Christians in their time to their recollection of something that had happened half a century or so before. Thus the Jews shouting "His blood be upon us and our children!"

But even a casual glance at the political picture in Judea at the time makes one uncomfortable with this long-held traditional view.

There was poverty all over the country and while the people groaned under Roman taxation as well as additional Temple dues, the Sadducees were wealthy and Herod Antipas positively decadent. Caesar was Rameses and Nebuchadnezzar all over again.

In the late 1940s the filmmaker Carl Theodor Dreyer of *The Passion of Joan of Arc* fame wrote a script for a movie which was to have been his masterwork. He died before he could film it. But the script was published in 1971 under the title *Carl Theodor Dreyer's Jesus*. In the book, Dreyer relates how he could relate to the story of Jesus because Israel under the Romans was exactly like his homeland Denmark under the Nazis. Dreyer might be said to have a "first-hand" knowledge of how the Jews hated the Romans.

The Jewish populace hated not the occupying Romans alone but the Jewish collaborators, specifically Herod Antipas of Galilee and the high priests or temple officials in Jerusalem—the Sadducees. Inversely they took favorably to the prophet, the one who keeps alive the flame of God's ethos as well as pathos for the trampled and the dispossessed. Such a one was John the Baptist and after him Jesus.

And all awaited the Messiah which meant, if you push the word to the limit, the legitimate blood heir to the vanished kingship of David. Israel was waiting for the return of the king.

Jesus fitted the bill. Robert Graves suggests that Pilate instructed his soldiers to place the inscription *King*

of the Jews above the head of the crucified one because he knew Jesus was the legitimate claimant to the Davidic throne. He was truly mocking. His job was to wipe out any semblance of a threat to Rome's presence in Israel. When Jesus did not deny that he was the Messiah, his fate was sealed.

The dolorous Christian belief is that indeed Jesus knew he was the One—but no longer in ordinary terms—not even in those of Robert Graves'.

Historically considered therefore it doesn't add up to say the Jews crucified Jesus. Of the mob that shouted for his blood, both the scholar and the novelist have a ready explanation. Bokser says that minions of the High Priests were planted in the crowd; Scholem Asch, that it was "remainders" of the bands of Bar Abba.

Whatever. The point is that neither the mob nor the ruling hierarchy was Israel. Therefore—who crucified Jesus? *The Roman occupants of Israel and their Jewish collaborators.*

But Dreyer, taking the liberated view that Jesus was crucified by the Romans for political offense, totally exculpates the Jews! The scene where the Jewish mob shouts for Jesus' blood and forces a reluctant Pilate to pronounce the death sentence is missing. As for the high priests, we see them saddened by Jesus' decision to answer in the affirmative when asked the necessary question *Are you the Messiah?* That politically correct film would not have been as powerful as Gibson's. Gibson decided to tell His Story, not history.

With imaginative touches of his own, true. In one swoop the camera takes us to two gardens—the Garden of Olives and the other, where it all began. Talk about in media res! The face of the Apostle John as he takes it all in, the shot and the angle of the shot telling us what the Church means by the word "Tradition." The flashbacks that really flash. The cuts that really cut – and make whole.

But in the quarrel between the historian and the faithful or the pious, he took the latter's side. The Son according to Gibson is the Son according to the New Testament, according to the Creed, according to the Councils, according to the Church that's more Roman Catholic than Eastern Orthodox or Protestant—the Protestant Son being the preacher and healer and friend, the Eastern Orthodox Son being the Risen Lord, and the Catholic Son being the man of sorrows. Perhaps because he is a believer, Mr. Gibson put stock in the violent visions of the German mystic Catherine Anne Emmerich. But it is safe to say it is because he is a visual artist that he took to these—and took these—with, I can see it, flaring eyes.

This Son is not only physical—He is *luridly* physical. True man, says Chalcedon. Crucified says Tacitus, says Josephus, says the Creed. Shown shaking in agony and terror on the movie screen, He rivets the viewers. The paradox is that, though Gibson chose Sacred History over history, it is the crucifixion that, according to the scholars, is "the one undoubted fact in the history of Jesus."

A little more history wouldn't have hurt (though of course it would the conservative believers). A pity Gibson couldn't take his cue from the Creed: *suffered under Pontius Pilate.* The Creed mentions neither Annas nor Caiaphas.

As a consequence, the historians are howling *anti-Semitic*! Fortunately Gibson's *cinematic* rendition of the idea that no one felt and no one can ever feel the pain of seeing a crucified Jesus as much as his own mother is a wonderful argument that the movie is not as the sticklers for political correctness say it is. "Flesh of my flesh, heart of my heart. Let me die with you!" cries Mother Israel at the foot of the crucified Jew.

The movie's arguable sin, which may not be original as I have not read St. Catherine Anne's work, is not one of omission. The high priest takes a dig at Pilate and the crowd laughs. This touch conveys an image of a

Sadducee so sure of his standing as a reliable collaborator. But a Pilate so genteel he can be trifled with may be a bit too much and the gibe could be on Gibson. One could wonder a bit—just a teeny weeny little cynical and uncharitable and fantastic bit—if this treatment of the Roman isn't in fact a subliminal whitewash of a latter-day imperialism. Or maybe it is an unconscious remembrance of an earlier-day Hollywood centurion? That centurion drawled: "Truly this was the Son of God!" Well, the Aramaic and the Latin are certainly a hell—I mean heaven—of an improvement.

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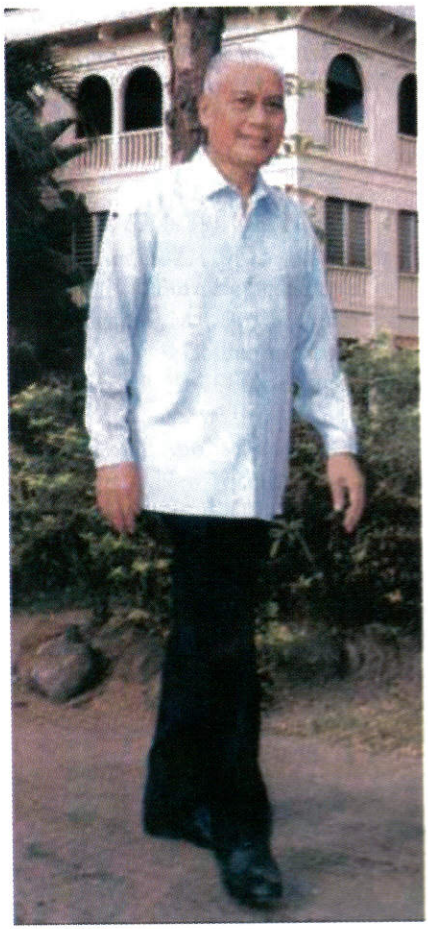
A President Moves On...

Agustin A. Pulido: Legacy of Leadership

11th President, Silliman University, 1996 – 2006

A Tribute



Baccalaur

A year or two, and grey Eur
And Horace and a Lydi
And Euclid and the brush of A
Darwin on man, Vergilius on
The nose and Dialogues of Soc
Don Quixote, Hudibras and Tri
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All shall be shard of broken me

And there shall linger other, magic thi
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Of moonlit elms, the flash of pigeon
The sunny Green, the old-world peace that
About the college yard, where e
The dead go up and down. These things sh
Enchantment of our heart's remembe

And these are more than memories of
Which earth's four winds of pain shall blow
These are earth's symbols of eternal
Symbols of dream and imagery and
Symbols of those same verities that
Bright through the crumbling gold of a great

Archibald Mac

Leadership Landmarks:
The Legacy of the Pulido Leadership
1996 - 2006

1996

- Dedication of the Angelo King Allied Medical Sciences Building housing the Physical Therapy Program and Medical Technology Department
- Silliman University becomes Center of Excellence in Coastal Resources Management
- The College of Nursing and the College of Education become Centers of Excellence in Nursing and in Education respectively
- Silliman University introduces computerized enrolment system

1997

- Inauguration of the Silliman University Cyber Library
- The Commission on Higher Education (CHED) designates SU as Center of Development in Physics, Biology, and Marine Biology
- Opening of the new High School Building

1998

- SU Marine Laboratory bags the 1998 Centennial Award for Outstanding Community Fisheries Service sponsored by the Department of Science and Technology
- SUMC acquires new power generator
- SU Marine Laboratory is awarded Outstanding Fisheries Community Service on the occasion of the 10th Anniversary of Philippine Council for Aquatic and Marine Research Development
- SU becomes Center of Development in Business and Management Education
- College of Arts and Sciences transfers to its newly completed four-story building

1999

- Inauguration of the new SU Marine Laboratory Building

- The SU Angelo King Center for Research and Environmental Management (SUAKCREM) is established
- Installation of fiber optic cables starts.

2000

- Opening of the New Men's Dormitory
- Inauguration of the new Elementary School Building
- Soft opening of the newly restored Silliman Hall
- Silliman University Medical Center becomes Silliman University Medical Center Foundation, Inc.

2001

- Silliman University celebrates Centennial Anniversary
- Silliman University is Granted Autonomy Status for 5 Years by the Commission on Higher Education (CHED)
- Creation of College of Information Technology and Computer Science & College of Performing Arts
- Creation of School of Basic Education (merging of Early Childhood, Elementary, and High School into one academic unit)
- Unveiling of Dr. Horace B. Silliman Bust

2002

- SU makes linkages with ICT Companies, and other academic institutions to enhance the ICT curriculum

2003

- Inauguration of the P36M College of Business Administration Building
- Establishment of SU World bank Knowledge and Development Center & SU Philippine American Educational Foundation Advising Center
- Silliman University begins using Wi-fi (wireless fidelity) as a means of transmitting data making it the 1st academic institution to use Wi-fi technology in the Philippines

2004

- Procurement of the DNA Sequencing Laboratory for the Department of Biology

- Establishment of the SU American Studies and Resource Center
- Silliman University adopts a no tuition increase policy

2005

- Opening of the Silliman University Medical School
- Establishment of the Silliman University-United Church of Christ in the Philippines National Archives at the SU library
- Internet bandwidth increases to 2 mbps

2006

- Inauguration of the 1st Overpass in the city linking the Silliman University High School and Silliman University Elementary School
- Silliman University signs MOA with IBM for CITCS to offer IBM subjects
- Fiber optic transmission switches are upgraded to state of the art systems
- Number of accredited programs increases considerably (in 1996 there were only six when Dr. Pulido assumed the Presidency)

After ten years the following are the accredited programs:

LEVEL II

Granted 5 Years Re-accredited Status

- Master of Arts in English Program (ACSCU-AAI, until 2011)
- Master of Arts in History Program (ACSCU-AAI, until 2011)
- Master of Arts in Sociology Program (ACSCU-AAI, until 2011)
- Master of Arts in Psychology (ACSCU-AAI, until 2011)
- Master of Public Administration (ACSCU-AAI, until 2011)
- Master of Science in Nursing (ACSCU-AAI, until 2011)
- Master of Science in Social Work (ACSCU-AAI, until 2011)

Granted 5 Years Clean Accreditation

- Elementary School Program (PAASCU, until April 2010)
- High School Program (ACSCU-AAI, until April 2009)
- Bachelor of Science in Social Work Program (PAASCU, until April 2010)

LEVEL III

Granted 3 Years Initial Accreditation Status

- College of Business Administration (ACSCU-AAI, until December 2007)
- Bachelor of Science in Accountancy (ACSCU-AAI, until December 2007)
- Master of Business Administration Program (ACSCU-AAI, until 2008)
- Master of Arts in Education Program (ACSCU-AAI, until 2008)
- Doctor of Education Program (ACSCU-AAI, until 2008)

Granted 5 Years Re-accredited Status

- College of Arts & Sciences (PAASCU, until 2008)
- College of Education (PAASCU, until 2008)
- College of Nursing (PAASCU, until 2008)

¯ The Level III status of the MBA, MA. Education, and Doctor of Education makes Silliman University one of the only 3 institutions in the Philippines to have achieved a Level III Graduate Accreditation

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22 April 2006

Dr. Agustin A. Pulido
President, Silliman University
Dumaguete City, Philippines

Dear Dr. Pulido,

First, apologies for taking this long to send my latest report on Silliman Journal, which I guess you will need as you prepare to hand the university presidency over to Dr. Malayang.

As usual, work on Silliman Journal has been keeping me busy, but by also keeping me connected with home, this has been a source of sanity in the devastating isolation of life in these parts. In such a short space, it is difficult for me to express adequate thanks for the uncommon confidence you have shown in my ability to deliver results from another continent! But it is exactly your uncommon confidence in me and steadfast support of my all my endeavors – reaching across the boundaries of time and space – that continue to spur the creativity behind our issues. It is one thing to understand a president's vision for a university, but another thing altogether to experience that vision firsthand as I have – my profound personal thanks for being there in innumerable ways.

It is no coincidence that the transformation of Silliman Journal in both content and format, and much of the innovations that now mark the face of our issues in the last 9 years have taken place under your administration. All the issues during this period attest to the indelible imprint of your leadership while also serving as some of the best examples of the paradox of effective leadership: providing the right level of responsibility

and accountability and making available what people needed to get the job done, and then getting out of their way and letting them do it! Needless to mention, this has been both inspiring and empowering.

Perhaps this would be anticlimactic, but if I have no opportunity to say this again, I am pleased to let you know that we are dedicating volume 46 2 2005 to you as a tribute on your retirement. This is for us at Silliman Journal a way of expressing in a more concrete, albeit modest, way our grateful appreciation of your support. And for one who has been the recipient of so much of this support, making this announcement is both an immense honor and a precious moment.

Your retirement will leave a pedagogical void at the University that will be difficult to fill, but as all good things must come to an end, I wish you and Mrs. Pulido the very best for the future. However, I will feel sorry for the next generation of Silliman Journal editors who will not have the privilege of experiencing your inspiring trust. Already, I feel both sad and sorry for myself for what I know I shall be missing very soon.

Thank you, Dr. Pulido, for inspiring a culture of creative excellence in Silliman Journal and in Silliman University.

With warmest greetings to you and Mrs. Pulido and all the best as you look forward to a well-deserved retirement.

Yours sincerely,

Ceres

Friends, Colleagues Say Farewell
Tribute to Silliman University President, Dr. Agustin A. Pulido

on his retirement

Serving SU at the time of great turmoil—10 years of continuous service following 10 Acting, OIC, and Presidents in a span of 13 years—Dr. Pulido provided stability! I guess his main contribution is his steadfastness in getting most programs at Silliman University accredited by reputable accrediting institutions in the country and in spearheading the saving of SU's heritage from the proposed reclamation project for a fast craft terminal in front of the old SU hall.

It would have been a disaster ... but through his efforts and with the help of concerned Sillimanians, the project was scrapped and SU was declared a National Historical Landmark on June 19, 2002.

Dr. Earl Jude Cleope
Director, Office of Instruction

Gus: A Very Supportive and Open President

One night on the ferry to Cagayan de Oro, while accompanying my wife and her ethnomusicology class on a field trip to Mindanao, I was wrestling with the problem of how to get students involved in introductory psychology, when I hit on the idea of harnessing their creative talents into developing a revolving museum to display the various concepts in psychology. At that time, I was working on a project to create a computer laboratory to teach experimental design and data analysis, which required a battery of six computers and a major statistical program. As Dr. Margie Alvarez, Chair of the Department of Psychology, was about that time also mulling on a project

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for a psychological testing laboratory, we decided to go to Gus together and ask for these projects in person.

Yet because the amount required for such projects was expectedly substantial, we were hesitant even to mention it. But to our pleasant surprise, Gus granted our request replying that our job was to come up with such projects, and his was to find the funding, which he did. Within a week, we had our computer laboratory in place and the museum and statistical package followed, which made teaching much more productive and sophisticated, a great benefit to me, our department, and especially our students and faculty over in the Department of Psychology, the Graduate School, and the Faculty Development Program.

Despite the usual bureaucratic paperwork, many accomplishments are still possible when you have a supportive President like Gus whose open door policy was both a pleasure and a great help. It was great to have Gus as a friend, and to be able to approach him at any time for such requests. The support he gave us was symptomatic of other phenomenal developments on the campus during my years there, including major building projects, faculty and administrative development, and curricular programs. My years of teaching at Silliman were made more fruitful from all his accomplishments.

Good luck to you, Gus! Thanks for all your help, and best wishes for an enjoyable retirement. You have earned it.

Dr. Frederick Abraham
Visiting Professor
Department of Psychology

It is with a sinking feeling to see you go, but I am hopeful that you will continue as an instrument of our Lord's work in many years to come where ever He needs you. Good Luck sir Pulido!

Joseph T. Raymond
History & Political Science

Five minutes with the "old man"

Dr. Agustin Pulido & Dr. Doris Bermejo Pulido

I have not talked with Dr. Agustin Pulido for over five minutes. And that says a lot about "the old man," as he is fondly called. Five minutes is really long enough to get over the business at hand. So, he says: "You are here for three important reasons. A... B.... C... What do you think? Ok, you don't have to decide right now. We'll talk about this more thoroughly when Betsy Joy is back." Then, I'm out of the President's Office. A few guests were already waiting. I was out just in time for the old man's next business.

But those were not the talks I remember well. I remember "the old man" in Honolulu, sitting on one of the wooden chairs at the garden of the Palmore's. I was a graduate student at the University of Hawaii, and "the old man" was there to visit the Hawaii Chapter of the Silliman Alumni. In the midst of this gathering, I stole what

I believed was my share of five minutes with the president. I introduced myself, not failing to mention that I was in the US on a two-year Fulbright grant. He smiled the same pensive, knowing smile, and softly patting my shoulder, said: "Don't forget Silliman. You need to return to Silliman...."

I did. Despite the personal circumstances. Despite the promise of a lucrative lifestyle. I did. I still don't know why. But right now, as I write this short tribute to President Pulido, Frost whispers to me: "I have promises to keep and miles to go before I sleep." And that was exactly what he was saying to me the last time we talked over orange juice and peanuts, at the launching of Dr. Lavina's book. "Do you still remember me, sir? I'm back. I promised you I'd return."

"Of course, I do. I saw your name lately in a program or was that a certificate I signed?" He flashed his signature smile.

"So, are you going back to the US when you retire, sir? I remember you telling me that you have a daughter and a lovely granddaughter in the US."

"No, Gina, I am not retiring. I am just moving on." He smiled. "My wife and I will most likely stay at the ancestral home in Iloilo. We never had our own house, you know..."

"You never needed one," I said. "You were always provided one."

He chuckled. "Yes, we were spoiled." "So, how are you?"

And that led to about five minute- tete-a-tete about breastfeeding, bananas, and motherhood. "My wife

specialized in family medicine," he mused. "I learned much of what I know about parenting from her."

I smiled. To me, those were the kind of five minutes that defines "the old man."

Gina A. Fontejon-Bonior
College of Education

As a way of marketing Silliman University to the world of research and intellectual pursuit, Dr. Pulido encouraged more journal exchanges with colleges and universities in the Philippines and throughout the world. His full and unfailing support for the SILLIMAN JOURNAL has enabled the University to sustain a research publication that speaks well of its academic performance.

Naty T. Sojor
Circulation Manager, Silliman Journal

Celebrating a life is always a pleasant experience, but when an element of surprise is thrown in, life becomes celebrated more intensely, more meaningfully!

Resource-pooling is one of Silliman University's great character traits as a community of people. The same pooling of resources has allowed us to forge together this send-off for Dr. Pulido, creating memories for all of us, as Dr. Pulido himself creates his life anew, to savor life without Silliman University!

After having Dr. Pulido as the 11th president of the University for the last ten years, the Silliman community feels sad at such leave-taking. But today, we do not celebrate Dr. Pulido's exit from the University! Instead, we

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celebrate the life he has shared with us, the life he has dedicated to us—as university president, as leader to us all, as father to each one of us deep in our hearts! This afternoon, let us celebrate the best years of his life—the character of his life, the contribution of his life, and the community of his life!

At the inauguration of a new SU landmark

*One does not really say good bye, for memories are always there anywhere we go. And so a farewell program is only that—a temporary shelving of the service that Dr. Pulido has shaped for us in the University, a SHAPE that takes the form of his **s**piritual gifts, his **h**eart, his **a**bilities, his **p**ersonality, and his **e**xperiences that he invested for us all—all the 10 years of his stewardship of Silliman University.*

As we highlight Dr. Pulido's life at Silliman University, we also celebrate his character, his discipleship in the University—a reminder for us that it is character that we take into eternity, not our careers. This afternoon, we also celebrate his contributions to the University, his kind of service that has made us different from the first time that he set foot to serve us, mirroring for us two of life's truths: first, that character is both developed and revealed by tests and we know that all of life at Silliman University is a constant test! And second, that humility is not thinking less of ourselves; but humility is thinking of ourselves less—and less!

Dr. Betsy Joy B. Tan
VPAA, Silliman University

A Farewell to "Big"
By Ian Rosales Casocot

A decade has passed since Dr. Agustin Aguilar Pulido first took the helm of Silliman University and sailed its ship to more certain harbors. And so, in all honesty, we had hoped that the tribute we gave him last May 11 at the Luce Auditorium was going to be a surprise, *at the very least*, for the outgoing Silliman University President.

That seemed to be the worthy payoff for an event long in preparation, but fraught with the haphazard elements of something done on the sly, and with the shadows of a crisis—the possibility of a teachers' strike—bearing down on everyone else in campus.

But about three months ago, the University's Board of Trustees and the Deans' Conference thought that it was only right that we should send off our eleventh president—the first one to *actually finish* his term for the longest time in Silliman's history—with a program that would embody the gratefulness and thanksgiving from all members of the Silliman community for a job well done.

So we started from scratch, and with Dr. Ma. Teresita Sy-Sinda, Dr. Betsy Joy Tan, and Dr. Cleonico Fontelo at the steering end of things, we pooled together the resources and the talents that our intimate community of Sillimanians could offer. Everybody pitched in and made sure that this was going to be a show we all would remember, and that Dr. Pulido and his family would also remember. Former National Treasury head and Silliman alumnae Prof. Leonor Briones's task, for example, was to make sure that Dr. Pulido *stayed* in Dumaguete for the program date. That took a little cunning, and a little planning. She *had* to set up an appointment with Dr. Pulido in her capacity as BOT Chairperson, supposedly as a last meeting of sorts, before he decided to leave Dumaguete earlier and enjoy the fruits of retirement.

The idea, of course, was that this was going to be a project to be undertaken with the utmost secrecy—because we wanted that crucial element of surprise, which made for

good drama. It was a very, very secret program indeed. Or at least we hoped, given the smallness of Dumaguete where the tiniest of news could easily go from whispers to blaring announcements by trumpets.

A good farewell is the only right thing to have when you have the person of Dr. Pulido to say goodbye to. When he was sworn in as Silliman University's eleventh president ten years ago, he came at a time of crisis, with the University undergoing some turbulent growing pains. He oversaw the temperance of that turbulence, and in the process made the University stabler, stronger, and ready for the challenges that our combined future held for us.

Dr. Pulido with High School awardees

Thus, in celebration of his decade-long service to Silliman, we thought of highlighting the innate qualities that made Dr. Pulido a strong President: **his humility, courage, and personal sacrifice**...

We also took note of going about the task of knowing the man more, before we could even *let go* of the man. To do exactly that, we started with personal history. What came before in one's life, after all was what eventually *made* the man, any man. And that was exactly what we did—we went back to the past, and sorted briefly through the life story of Dr. Pulido, in order for all of us to define—and perhaps even *redefine*—the man.

He was born in Cadiz, and spent his childhood in the midst of World War II. As a child, he became very close to his first cousins from the Aguilar side of the family (which included

the poet Mila Aguilar), after he was orphaned of a father at 9 years old.

"He came to Silliman when he was 14 years old," his wife, Dr. Doris Bermejo Pulido, told us, "and he stayed at the Silliman Hall for three years. There was even a time when they used to swim in the Boulevard!" She had known him then as the epitome of a good man. "When he gets together with his classmates, they always say that, 'Ah, *kani siya,* good boy.' He does not drink or smoke or gamble. His grades were higher than the class valedictorian. He was very shy."

Doris met her future husband in a Botany class in Silliman. "Since I was a pre-med student in Central Philippine University, my parents asked me to finish a college course because I was so thin, [they thought] I might not be able to handle the pressures of medical school immediately. I ended by taking two summer terms in Silliman University to finish my Bachelor in Science degree. Without planning it, we became classmates again in Speech the next summer. That's how we got acquainted. He was very shy. When he courted me, I did not accept him at first, because I had a long course ahead of me—but he said he will not be a disturbance."

SU CUP SEARCH FOR UNIVERSITY GRANDMASTER JULY 13, 1997

Dr. Pulido indeed waited eight long years before marrying Doris. "It was something that developed because he was a very good friend," she said. "My parents did not question me anymore. We both focused on our studies. And when he went to the US for his doctorate degree for six years, we had to contend with letters. There were no cellphones then. He wrote beautiful letters, simple and heartfelt, not flowery at all.

It was our way of maintaining our relationship and keeping in touch even if we were busy. I had many suitors, and many girls were after him too. But I became his first and only girlfriend, and he my first and only boyfriend. So there was no question about being faithful, or unfaithful. No one told us to do this or that. It was a trust thing. As soon as he got back from the U.S., he brought me to my parents and asked for my hand in marriage. This October 21, we celebrate our 45th year of marriage. In a sense, if you look over our experience, we seem to have come full circle. We met here; we ended up here."

They were blessed with two daughters, Sybele Ann (married to Engr. Luther Risma with whom she has two daughters, Aidra Ann, 6, and Chai Lee, 1 year and 6 month old), and Deneel (married to soon-to-be Lt. Col. Ezra James Enriquez, with whom she has sons, SUHS incoming senior Mark James and incoming CPU fifth grader, Joshua James).

The rest of Dr. Pulido's biography is a testament of the well-accomplished academician and administrator. He obtained his degree in Chemistry, magna cum laude from Silliman University in 1953, and proceeded to graduate studies in the same field in the University of the Philippines from 1953 to 1955. In 1961, he was conferred as Doctor of Philosophy in Physical Chemistry from Indiana University, where he was a University Fellow from 1955 to 1957.

As a teacher, he rose from the ranks, starting as instructor in the University of the Philippines in 1953-1955. In Indiana University, he served as part-time graduate assistant in chemistry in 1956-1957 and later in 1960-1961. When he returned to the University of the Philippines, he became assistant professor in 1961, and then associate professor in 1969. He was made full professor also in 1969 when he began teaching in the University of the Philippines in Iloilo. Throughout his distinguished academic career, he continually maintained an excellent teaching performance as an undergraduate and graduate professor. His dedication and devotion to his profession was boundless, resulting to concrete achievements not for his own advantage but for the benefit of colleagues.

That quiet courage, and selfless and humble regard for duty has seen him through an impressive roster of administrative challenges. He has served in various positions in the University of the Philippines system, first as Acting Secretary of the University College in 1961-1962, then Coordinator of the Discipline of Chemistry in 1962, Chairperson of the Department of Chemistry in 1962, and finally Dean in the University of the Philippines in Iloilo in 1969-1971. His steadfastness as administrator led him to serve for a quarter century as President of Central Philippine University, from 1971 to 1996.

He has also served as President of the Association of Christian Schools, Colleges, and Universities from 2000-2001, and is a member of the Board of Trustees of Filamer Christian College, and the Conference Council of the United Church of Christ in the Philippines, Negros District Conference.

Dr. Pulido with former Pesidents and Trustees

His impeccable record as scientist and administrator has been aptly acknowledged. In 1981, he was listed in *International Who's Who in Education*. He was recipient of Central Philippine University's Distinguished Centralian Award in 1996. He was also given the Outstanding Silliman Award for Science Education in 1971.

Dr. Pulido, one must take note, has been one of the longest-serving educators in the history of the Philippines. His 25 years of presidency at the Central Philippine University, and 10 years here in Silliman University truly marks a character of service. His potential as leader was first noticed when he

was made head over 40 other faculty members as Chair of the University of the Philippines's Department of Chemistry for seven years—the longest for that department ever. He then served as dean of U.P. Iloilo for two and a half years.

His wife, Dr. Doris Pulido, remembers: "At that time, we were going to go with the two kids to the U.S. because he got a post-doctoral scholarship by the Rockefeller Foundation. But he got designated as the Dean of U.P. Iloilo for two and a half years! Afterwards, CPU persuaded him to take over because their president died of a heart attack.

"The girls were prepared already to live in the U.S. but we had to accept. There was a challenge and a need... So in the end, he accepted. [But] every time his term would be over, [CPU] wouldn't wait for his term to be over, they [would renew his contract] immediately. That's why he became president of CPU for 25 years.

"When he retired, he thought that at 64, he could at last have a chance to have freer times. He does not take vacations. The only time I remember we as a family had vacations was when he had conferences in Manila, and we tagged along... I don't think he knows how to take a vacation.

"That was in CPU. When he reached [his 25th year of service], I insisted *na tama na*, he should rest. But he got courted by Silliman when they learned he was retiring. He only had a month's rest, around August. He went around Asia in September, and reported here November 1. He did not come home to get his things anymore. I was the one who brought his things here. I only followed later, so he was here by himself, for one year.

"That's why this time, with Silliman, I tell him to rest. He said that if he stopped working, he might get sickly and deteriorate. This is not retirement for him. He just considers it the end of his term."

And what of his legacy as Silliman President? Doris says, "When he came here, there were only six or seven accredited programs, and now there are 24. The Library really is his love. He really pushed the librarians to do more than just acquiring and lending books."

the world of *Charlie's Angels*. So we gave him stylized presentations set to Dr. Pulido's favorite movie and television music, through the men and women of the College of Business Administration for whom no mission is quite impossible, and the College of Nursing and Allied Health Sciences who gave us the charm and moves of James Bond and the vixenish but angelic trio of Farrah Fawcett, Kate Jackson, and Jaclyn Smith.

Not a lot of people know that our eleventh president is also quite the literary person. When he was a simple Chemistry under-graduate in Silliman University, back in the 1950s, he was counted as being among the dynamic crop of literary writers in campus, churning out poem after poem, many of them published in the *Sands and Coral*, the famous literary journal of Silliman University. So we gave him a surprise reading of two of his own poems, both culled from the pages of the 1951 issues of *The Sillimanian Magazine*, one of them an award-winning piece.

Dr. Pulido with Church workers

But how do we exactly define the man? The straightest answer would be: **by the work that he has done**. After all, that is the most honest measure of any man. By that account alone, perhaps we can credit outstanding success to Dr. Pulido for the ten years that has seen Silliman slowly grow out from the sounds of tempests, to the quiet progress we see now in campus.

Dr. Pulido's years as President of Silliman University can easily qualify to be the calmest of its kind in the recent history of this academic institution. But calmness, we must take note, is not necessarily a process of stillness and petrified quiet—rather it cloaks a steady mechanism of growth and change the Silliman Way, which are not easily discernable, but

can only be felt. It was, after all, in the decade of Dr. Pulido's presidency that we had seen some genuine spurts of development that will surely lead to a better future for the university, and for its students.

People closest to him will readily tell that his success as a leader springs mainly from characteristics that make him a much-admired leader: his sense of humility, courage, and personal sacrifice—all of them qualities that make a strong presidency.

Humility could very well be the perfect definition of Dr. Pulido. Also the depth of his personal sacrifices—because, sometimes, to do the right thing, one often has to let go of something of a high personal value—which is always a very difficult thing to do. Courage, too. We often define courage as the state or quality of mind, or spirit, that enables one to face danger, fear, or vicissitudes with self-possession, confidence, and resolution. It is, in other words, a personal kind of bravery. And there have been many times in the past ten yèars that that kind of disposition tested well this quality of Dr. Pulido. Think of the past decade, and think of the hard challenges that Silliman had to face in that span of time, and you can only be glad that we have somehow managed to sail through. Always with the grace of God, of course. But also because of Dr. Pulido's courage to face the odds with that unflappable calmness he always displays.

Ms. Jean Espino of the Cafeteria, says: "I have worked closely with Dr. Pulido, and my constant dealings with him perfectly tell me that he is a man of courage. But it is a quiet kind of courage, never ostentatious or always on display...just always something that you can only intuit, or feel. That is the kind of courage I like best, and I admired it the most in the person of our President."

When asked if there was ever a time her husband ever got flustered, Dr. Doris Pulido immediately replied, "Oh, he's cool. We had some experiences with students who were activists before. Student activists, strikes, threats, union problems, I have never seen him flustered. That is why we

have never quarreled! In our 45 years of marriage, we have never quarreled. He would just sleep."

On their leaving Dumaguete, Dr. Doris Pulido gives this final note: "We will miss beautiful and cozy Dumaguete—where everything is within reach. While packing, we have mixed feelings. We will be going back to Iloilo, my homeplace. We have never had a home of our own, did you know that? Luckily, by God's grace, we have always been provided for. Now we will be moving to a duplex apartment my mom had built. It is very near CPU. If we qualify, God will provide us a mansion in heaven. There's no need for a house anymore."

Goodbye, Dr. Agustin A. Pulido, and thank you.

For The Love Of Books: A Tribute To Dr. Agustin A. Pulido

Lorna T. Yso & Fortunata T. Sojor

The library borrower's card—a document for History—does not only keep track of one's reading habits but also of one's cognitive map. As a record of one's taste in reading, that library card shows Dr. Pulido's eclectic taste–from the highbrow to the lighter side of fiction. As the official symbol of where his heart and mind were as the University's 11th president, such card reveals not only what his leadership priorities were but also how he cared for the University's vision of quality education.

When Dr. Agustin A. Pulido first assumed office, his first priority for this campus was to translate into reality the plans of the 10th president for the construction of the Cyber Library. Clearly, he believed that form can only follow substance. With this, his priorities came one after the other: the library's orderly and aesthetic arrangement through its color scheme, size and shape of furniture and furnishings, and its air-conditioning system. Acknowledging the value that knowledge plays in the life of the physically handicapped,

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he also converted the stairs into ramps and added handrails along the library corridors to facilitate their mobility.

After the structure came the substance. With a leadership strong in vision and direction, he made the search for information in the *Silliman Journal* and the *Negros Chronicle* much easier by providing the financial support for the indexing of both; thus, maximizing the usefulness of a local database for the broader reach of library patrons. With research papers and other reports a ubiquitous reality in striving for academic excellence, students can also now avail of word processing with computers within library premises. The same leadership was also made manifest by the establishment of two knowledge centers for the library: the American Studies Resource Center and the Knowledge for Development Center, facilitated with the support of Silliman Trustee Juanita Amatong.

It was then at the time of President Pulido that the University Library matured in structure and stature. Added to this distinction as an academic library was his constant encouragement to expand the library collection. Thus, he personally chose books that he charged to his own office budget and took time to campaign for book donations from among the alumni. Such a move made the library a beneficiary of Sultan Omar Kiram's heirloom with the help of the Silliman Alumni - Kidapawan Chapter. The memorabilia of past Silliman University presidents also grew because of his leadership. Moreover, by personally collecting materials about Silliman University and her various activities, the *Sillimaniana* Collection was also further enriched. The Bible and Christian Literature Collections were also set up due to his efforts.

Dr. Pulido also made sure that library staff was updated in their stewardship of the library. By allocating more funds beyond the library budget, all library activities and projects were accomplished and staff development was made possible through various formal and informal trainings.

Thank you, Dr. Pulido for being the number one patron of Silliman Library. With your leadership, the library has been able to keep abreast with the rest of the world and contribute meaningfully to the advancement of quality teaching, learning, and scholarship among students and faculty by providing access to information resources and services.

A Bend in the River of Time: Reflections on a Presidency
Interview with Dr. Agustin A. Pulido, 11th SU President
President's Office, May 24, 2006

SJ: When you became President of Silliman in 1996, did you ever think it would be a position you would hold for 10 years? Did you ever think you would lead the university into the new millennium and become one of SU's longest serving University Presidents?

AAP: No, I never imagined I would stay this long. Actually, there were two things. When I was informed—that was I think the day after or shortly after the Board meeting, Founders Day meeting of the Board 1996—that I had been elected, the usual question was "Have you ever thought that you would be President of Silliman?" I said, "Never in my wildest dreams." I was already ending my term there, or was about to end, so I never imagined I would be President. And then, when we came, the thought that was in our minds, Doris and I, was "yeah, I would be happy to do what I can as an alumnus, having studied here." I said "Maybe a year or two," also being conscious that I was already 64 years old at the time. I said Fine. And also looking at the history of Silliman where the Presidents were changing every year or two and we had a short one year of a few months. I said maybe a year or two would be okay, I'd be happy to do it.

But somehow the time passed. You know the Board elected me for a 5-year term, so my term was supposed to end 2001. But midway through my term, the Board met here one day, and at some point in the meeting, Doris walked in, and then they raised this question "Oh, we're electing you for a second term, are you okay?" And they said "We brought Doris here so there will be no delay, you don't have to consult anymore." [laughs]

So we accepted, and I accepted a second term, midway through my first term. Again, I did it in good faith, and although you know that was talking about—I don't know

when it was, maybe 2 and a half, 3 years into my first term—accepting another five years, we're in fact talking about 7 years into the future! I really was not sure then if I could last that long. But again, the first term ended, the years went by, and before I knew it, Oh, we were about to look for a new President. [laughs] So it was never imagined, we never imagined, we never imagined it. We're just so thankful that I was able to serve that long.

SJ: Realizing they must be numerous, if there is one memory of your time at Silliman that stands out above all others, what would it be?

AAP: Well, I have many great memories after all it's been almost 10 years! Perhaps one that quickly comes to my mind is the large number of—I don't know if it's the right term—the loving friendships that we developed with so many people. That one again I did not quite expect. I knew we would make new friends, we'll make many acquaintances but now looking back over the years, somehow we have developed many very close relationships. They have helped us during difficult times in those 10 years and now as we are about to end we look back and say, "Oh, what a blessing!"

These were close and warm friendships, not only with the Silliman community, but for example with my colleagues, the heads of the other universities in Dumaguete because, at some point, again through a mutual friend who came, we formed an association of schools, private higher education institutions—Silliman, St. Paul, Foundation, COSCA—and we would meet regularly. We included the Bishop because of the Parish schools. And that turned out to be a really good working group. One of our members, Angel Lagdameo, became Archbishop of Jaro; he was Bishop when he was here.

So it was a beautiful friendship, and that is just one of many, many that has enriched us through the years. That is one of the main things that stands out you know when we recall all these—that is one of the main things that leaves with us.

SJ: What do you feel is SU's greatest strength?

AAP: It's our, it's our people—faculty, staff and students. Of course, when we look at the University, usually they look at how good are your programs, how is your performance in the board and the bar examination, how is your accreditation, and we're doing extremely well. The recent case, for example, of the College of Law, they did very, very well. I just learned they're, in terms of passing percentage, one of the top 8 or 10 Law Schools in the Philippines. That's fantastic!

But how is that possible? I mean, we enjoy those things of course, we always want to hear about 100% passing here and there, we forget it's the people who made that possible. It's the faculty who work very hard, the staff who support them, the students who work very hard. So to me it's the people, although normally what we look at are maybe the output, the buildings that are put up, the facilities that are there. Fine. Those would have never happened without the people working on it. Take the Library. I'm very happy with the Library now but the Library staff had to work very, very hard to get to where it is now. So it goes back to people actually.

SJ: In the past 10 years, what has been the most important change that has taken place at SU?

AAP: Well, we have moved on, I think, whether you look at programs accredited, budget, etc., etc... But maybe the greatest change that has happened is we have had a fair degree of stability over 10 years. And I say that not with any sense of casting aspersions; it is just the reality. One of the things that really was impressed on me when I arrived, because when I came there was an article that appeared in one of our publications—I forget whether it was the Silliman Calendar—which included a table showing the years that each Head of Silliman served, and what really sank into my mind was the period from 1983 to 1996. When I came in—

that was a 13-year period—I think I was the 11th person to serve. Of course, Dr. Alcala served twice; Dr. Abregana served twice, first as Officer in Charge, then as Acting President.

Although the number of persons were less, but if you count the number of changes, I was probably the 11th change in 13 years! That's why I did not imagine I would stay so long. And what came to my mind when I looked at that record was, you know, how short the terms were, one year and 8 months, one year... Of course, the one year there was, one of them was Lourdino Yuzon. But I had met Lourdino before he became O.I.C. We met in Indonesia and he was already telling me, "Yes, I accepted as O.I.C., but only for one year." So I knew he would not stay long. He already was planning to go to New Zealand and so on. But they were short. There were many changes.

SJ: And you felt...?

AAP: So I said, well, I won't stay that long either. [laughs] I'll probably stay a year, that's why a year or two would probably be the one. And later on, I came across this quote from Drucker who as you know is one of the top management gurus. And Drucker said that if there are so many changes in the leadership in a job position over a period of time, the job should be declared unfit for humans. [laughs] So I thought [laughs] is that what we're having here?

SJ: During the same time, what in your opinion has been the greatest disappointment?

AAP: I don't know what great...I cannot think of any. There were many, of course, but you know I tended to be realistic. You have ambitions of what you want to achieve, but you cannot just achieve something without any changes happening in the rest of the things, I mean. So I was always very conscious that, yeah, it's fine, you can always dream, but what can you...what can we really together accomplish in the University? You cannot just introduce one change and

say, we will reach this goal here without anticipating or being aware that there will be other changes. It's like this dream of wanting to live to be a very, very old person, forgetting that when you become very, very old you do not retain the vigor of the youth and you can no longer walk around [laughs] as sprightly as you used to, and so on and so forth. There are changes with any decision that is made. So maybe that is what kept me from experiencing great disappointments.

I was very conscious that it's not easy to get things to happen the way you want them to happen. In the first place, I could not do it. I had to work with other people. So, what were the targets or the goals or the dreams we had? It had to be a shared sort of thing. Even if I wanted something done, if it was only me who wanted it, it will never happen. So that sort of, I think, in a way shielded me from great disappointment. I was fully realistic. It's nice to dream, but you know what can we really accomplish together? That's the main thing. So I can't think of any really great disappointment that I suffered, you know.

SJ: How have students changed over your time at SU?

AAP: Well, we're talking of a 10-year change. I don't think there has been really that much. If I think of my own student years here, yes, there have been great changes, but if they are more...it's mainly the kind of life we used to live. In my case, our time as students, compared with what it is now, was a simpler life, I think. Today it's a much, much more technologically advanced life. I mean, it's obvious, no? We didn't have any cellphones during my time, we didn't even use a telephone; there was no TV, no computer. The common status symbol of the engineering students in the 1940s and early 50s was the slide rule. That just shows you how far...how long ago that was, that students now are very comfortable living in this kind of world.

I'm not that comfortable and I see many evidences of that every now and then. I mean, somebody gave us a digital camera a few years ago and my wife and I are having a

hard time learning how to use it. Meanwhile, our grandson surprises us—I said "How did you learn…?" He said, "Oh I know how to do it." I don't know how he learned it—without reading the instruction manual! To them it comes naturally.

So that's why I don't have too many fears about this young generation. I think they are, in their own way, being equipped to deal with the life they will live. We can give them the benefit of our experience. But I am also very aware that the kind of world they're going to live in will not be the world that I lived in. So we can just advise, share experiences, but they have to process these things themselves and in a sense we may have to even learn how to learn from them. They know more than we do. They are equipped to live in this much more complex world, much more technological environment. I mean there were no plastic during my time. To them now it's just normal. Many of the things that we find a little bit disturbing or unusual or uncomfortable, they fit very nicely and to them it's normal—"this is it, I can live with this."

So as I said, our life I think during my generation was much simpler. But one of the changes that I am becoming more aware of now is, it seems, especially for the younger children, the curriculum even in college is just becoming too heavy. During my time, I had time to go to the movies, go on excursions. But now when they go out on an excursion, it's an IPR. [laughs] We never had those kind of things—we just went out to enjoy ourselves. There was nothing. Reflecting on it now, we did learn a lot of things although we did not plan it that way that when we'd go out, we'd have these objectives, and we'd do this and that, or we'd have a program, you know, devotion first, etc., etc. No, we just went out; it was very unstructured. But a lot of learning did take place. So there are differences.

I don't think the kids now are less smart than we were, or less creative. They are just…for that matter, they're probably smarter and more creative in their world which is a different one. So I don't feel…I don't have great fears that this

generation isn't going to make it or, you know, will be less than what we were. I'm very conscious of the fact that when we say our time was much better, our time was always better...yes, that is more a conceit than anything else!

SJ: How has your role as President changed over the past 10 years?

AAP: I think the role has been basically the same. The changes taking place probably are more frequent now, more far-reaching, especially in the last few years than let's say 10 years ago. Change has become more prevalent, if we can use that word. Of course, the major change as far as education was concerned was when the DECS broke up into three—TESDA, CHED, DeptEd. But...more changes have happened since. CHED has changed. I was in on the start-up of CHED. I served on the transition committee when CHED had been approved already, the separation into three, but we were a committee that was working on how to bring CHED into operation. (It was a transition committee of some kind, chaired by, I think at the time he was Secretary of the Department of Science and Technology, Ric Gloria).

We met a few times to attend to some...how was CHED going to be? I remember there was great excitement and hope at the time, that CHED would empower higher education because it was a new thing. We were very optimistic that here was a chance for a new start. What did we mean? We meant that here was a chance to get rid of the bureaucracy that had bogged down the Department of Education, Culture and Sports. And that is how it started.

But lately, the last 2 or 3 years, now, CHED has changed. It has again become more bureaucratic, more... They want to standardize everything. So there are great changes going on, especially now. A new manual of regulations is about to come out, a new something for determining autonomous status for schools.

Personally, I'm not too happy at the direction that CHED is taking, but that is one of the many changes that are happening. Dumaguete obviously is going to change in the next few years with all this talk about, for instance…a Call Center coming up, there's copy editing. This is going to change Dumaguete. And that is the kind of environment that Silliman will be living in in the next 3 to 5 years. So that's the kind of change I foresee—the environment in which the President will be operating is changing more rapidly now. It was a more stable environment 10 years ago, for example. But I don't expect that the role of the University President, which will still be as chief steward [laughs], or if you want it, as leader of the institution, will change much.

SJ: I guess you were asked this when you left CPU, but would you do it again?

AAP: Oh yeah, absolutely! [laughs] I was elected in August during the Board meeting here just before Founders Day and was told to "come immediately." Of course I couldn't make it right away. And as the word spread there in Iloilo that I was elected, a number of my friends did ask me, "Did you accept that position at Silliman?" And the question behind it was, you know, "have you lost your mind [laughs], are you crazy?" They were very kind about it, of course, and didn't say it outright. But that was the background of the question. But yes, I would, I would do it all over again.

SJ: What advice would you give the University's incoming President, Dr. Ben Malayang?

AAP: Well, the new President, Ben, and I have been working together since mid-January. Not only have we called each other every now and then, but we have met a number of times for briefings. We were together in two recent national meetings as part of his introduction to the membership of Silliman in these two national organizations. One was in Puerto Princesa in late April for the World Bank Knowledge for Development Center. So the two of us had a chance to

meet again with the Presidents of the 8 other institutions of the work of the KDC, and Ben actively participated there.

A week and a half later, we were in Davao for the National Conference of the Association of Christian Schools, Colleges, and Universities, and I also requested him to join me. So it was his chance to meet the Heads of the ACSC schools, and before that I was happy that CREATE, which is the association of UCCP colleges and universities, had met. They met a few days before the national conference and Ben was their speaker there so he had a chance also to interact with them. So with enough time and opportunity to meet, I feel confident that Ben is coming in with good background information. He has met with many of the people in the University.

If I have any advice at all, which I hesitate to give to any President because I'm confident he is aware, it is to be patient. That's about it. The rest will come naturally.

SJ: What will be his greatest challenge in leading the University through the next years?

AAP: It will be to deal with these changes that I mentioned earlier. Yeah, it's a changing environment, education is changing rapidly, the country will change. Are we going to have elections next year, charter change, economy—all that will impact on Silliman as it will on all the other colleges and universities. So the challenge will be how do you lead Silliman in this kind of rapidly changing environment?

SJ: What role will the community play?

AAP: It will play a very important role because the President needs all the support that he can receive and I have experienced that during my 10 years here. I was very grateful for support not only from our immediate community—students, faculty, staff, alumni—but those who are not Sillimanians, not directly connected, the business community, and so on and so forth. Parents—why do they send their

children to Silliman? All of them play a very important role. We need their support. So, the community will have a key role there.

SJ: On the eve of your retirement, what emotions are you feeling?

AAP: Ah! [laughs] It's...how would you put it, I guess, a mix—sadness because we really enjoyed our life here. Never mind the problems or whatever. We had a very enjoyable life and we will miss all those friends, although we hope to keep in touch. Some excitement because it's going to be a new adventure; we don't know what's going to happen in Iloilo. But mainly joy and thanksgiving for all that has gone, all that has happened these past almost 10 years. So I have mixed emotions, I guess that's how you would put it. Some uncertainty of course because we don't know what will happen in the future.

I meant to say this to another group but I never had the chance to, but a couple of years ago, my sister-in-law treated us to a vacation in Bohol and she brought us to Panglao. So we took the usual tour but what really stood out in my memory was the Loboc River tour because we had a beautiful experience. You ride on board, they serve you a delicious lunch, and we had somebody who played on his guitar and sang us beautiful songs—I mean, the songs of our time [laughs]. So it was a very enjoyable trip. And Loboc is a winding river.

So what I remember now and what comes to mind as I approach the end of my term here is...I remember that river tour. I could look back and see the beautiful scenery which we had passed through and we're approaching a bend in the river and during that tour, I began to wonder...I said...What's around that bend? That's exactly what I'm feeling now. We're coming to a bend in the river of time and what is going to be around the bend...what will be in Iloilo? We don't know. But, we said yeah, we're willing, we're ready to be surprised [laughs]. We don't know what will happen.

We don't know what kind of life it will be there. We're grateful that my parents-in-law gave my wife an apartment. That is not our own; we just inherited it. It's a small apartment. Somehow we never found the time or the money to build our own house, so we're grateful for that, and the rest of it we just entrust to the Lord. We're sure he'll take care of us there.

SJ: What's next for you?

AAP: Well, the immediate next once we get there is to unpack. [laughs] We've been doing...we still have to do a lot of packing. We will unpack and then I'll see what the opportunities are there. I don't intend to just stop working or you know not do anything at all. Both Doris and I hope to continue doing something useful, wherever that may be and we will see. Once we get there, we'll know what the possibilities are.

But it will not be, as I told Angel Alcala one time when he asked "What are you going to do after retirement?" I said, "I'm going to sit in a rocking chair and after a few weeks I'll start to rock slowly." And a few weeks later, he brought me a rattan easy chair which he had made for me. And what was very touching about it was I learned that this is rattan grown by Angel Alcala. So he harvested, I guess, had it fashioned into the classic easy chair where you can adjust the back and you can pull out underneath the extension for your legs to stretch out, and he brought it personally to our home. But, I hope Angel did not take me literally. [laughs]

Leadership In Profile: On Working with Dr. Agustin A. Pulido

Interview with Dr. Betsy Joy Tan, Vice President for Academic Affairs, Silliman University

Q: ***What motivated you to work under president Pulido's administration and how would you describe your own work during this time?***

BJT: His favorite statement : "Less talk, more work!" This is the statement that I heard from our dear president that kept me going all these years . . . and I thank him for that! Time flies, indeed! Ten years of my administrative life at Silliman University was with our President Dr. Agustin A. Pulido. Of course, I had my highs and lows . . . but in all these years, I can genuinely say that I have allowed myself to grow—having observed his way of letting us appreciate ourselves vis-à-vis the nature of our work in the organization. And having accepted such "work" within the organization means that I have also accepted the common ground that unites every generation—extending beyond day-to-day tasks, into the larger arena of healing and building lasting relationships. So, "Just in time loyalty" is continuously earned every day in an organization like Silliman as we continue to do our tasks either in Instruction, Research, or in Extension (SL way), as educational managers, and co-workers.

Q: ***How do you describe President Pulido as an Educational Manager?***

BJT: Well, I would describe him as one who belongs to the Silent Generation – with birth years set between 1925 and 1942, (based on the Rainmaker Thinking, 2001), an excellent Generation Mix "Educational Manager".

Dr. Pulido has creatively managed the four types of generations on campus: the Baby Boomers (1946-62)

where I belong; the Cuspers (1963-64); Generation Xers (1965-77), and the Generation Yers (1978-85).

Q: ***How did he handle these types of generations?***

BJT: He has his own creative way of steering these multi-generational team members off the rigid course of business as usual into an open field of innovation, productivity, and learning. He has his own "cool" way of helping us to make the transition quickly, gracefully, and collaboratively. As a generation mix educational manager, he has also aptly demonstrated as well as earned the respect from all of us by quietly honoring our opinions, skills, knowledge, potential, and contributions; giving us flexibility and authority to try new ideas, especially by supporting us in times of challenges; listening to us, individually or as a team, and genuinely factoring our ideas into his decision making process; becoming a coach who facilitates, not dictates, and who challenges us to grow; offering us constructive feedback—reinforcing our excellent work and telling us what we need to fix or improve upon.

Q: ***Among the functions of an educational manager, which function of the presidency is the most pervasive over all other functions?***

BJT: Decision-making pervades all other administrative functions. This is so because planning, organizing, staffing, directing, coordinating and controlling all involve decision-making.

Q: ***How would you describe our president as a decision-maker?***

BJT: The trademark of being PULIDO in decision-making is clearly manifested: as a leader, he encourages data-driven dialogue that leads to collaborative planning and problem solving; he has a way of crafting a dialogue that honors the emotional as well as the rational components of problem finding and problem solving. In the end, we create a shared understanding of issues and events using information from

many sources. Dr. Pulido then avoids the rush to decide and the rush to act!

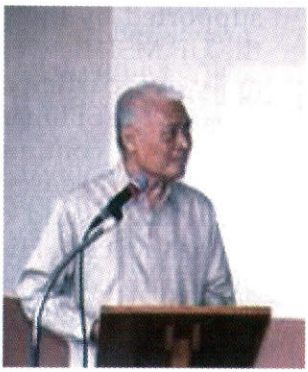
Q: ***Among the so many accomplishments that Dr. Pulido has done during his term, what do you consider most significant and why?***

BJT: To me, his most enduring accomplishment is by having the most number of accredited colleges/programs. When he arrived at Silliman, there were only 6 programs that were accredited. As he leaves the university, there are already 23 programs accredited which includes 8 colleges. Eleven of these were given level 3 clean accreditation and there are 7 more graduate programs that are also invited to apply for a Level 3 status next school year 2006-2007.

Q: ***As a clenching remark, what would you like to tell him as he is about to exit?***

BJT: History is always the best judge of whatever Dr. Pulido has accomplished for Silliman University. Remember it was during his presidency when the university celebrated her centennial.

Thank you, Dr. Pulido, for allowing us to visualize concretely what it means to lead with courage. Yes, there have been many trying moments that stretched the patience of our educational leaders—most especially the president—but your leadership with courage, humility, and great personal sacrifice has shown us the way. Thank you for being true to the University's motto of Via, Veritas, Vita!



But most of all, I would like to thank Dr. Pulido . . . our 11th President, for having an open heart that can only receive love . . . an open mind that can only receive wisdom!

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Frederick D. Abraham, Ph.D. served as Visiting Profesor in Psychology & Graduate Studies at Silliman University between 1997-1999. Previous to this, he held various academic positions both in the West and East coasts, notably as Associate Research Neurobiologist at the Center for the Neurobiology of Learning, University of California, Irvine and as Adjunct Lecturer & Research Associate Professor in Psychology at the University of Vermont. Now semi-retired, Prof. Abraham remains one of the keenest minds in brain research and psychology. At the forefront of research in chaos and complexity theory, Prof. Abraham is an active member of a number of professional societies, some of which he himself either founded or co-founded, such as the Winter Conference on Brain Research, Society for Chaos Theory in Psychology, Vermont Conference on Chaos Theory in Psychology, and the Society for Neuroscience.

Angel C. Alcala, Ph.D. was Professor of Biology at Silliman University and served as its president for two years before taking up various government positions first as Deputy Executive Director of the Philippine Council for Aquatic and Marine Research and Development under the Department of Science and Technology, then as Secretary of Environment and Natural Resources, and later as first Chairman of the Commission on Higher Education. Since the mid-1950s he has been tirelessly conducting extensive research on Philippine amphibians and reptiles while also serving as consultant on marine and aquatic projects supported by the UNEP, UNDP, World Bank, GEF, and the UP MSI. Between the mid-1980s to early 1990s, he was an active participant in the Australian-ASEAN marine project. The Silliman Marine Laboratory, which he founded in 1973-74, continues to be active in research on marine protected areas, fisheries and marine biodiversity, mariculture, and conservation of Philippine plant and animal species. His marine science publications, most of these published in refereed, international journals and books, consist of about 80 papers on coral reef fish, marine reserves, long-term effects of protection on marine

biodiversity such as corals and top predatory fish. He is concurrently Research Professor and Director of the Silliman University-Angelo King Center for Research and Environmental Management.

Ely L. Alcala is a research associate both at the Silliman University-Angelo King Center for Research and Environmental Management (SUAKREM) and the Center for Tropical Conservation Studies (CenTrop) at Silliman University. He divides his time between teaching at the Biology Department and conducting research for the Asean Regional Centre for Biodiversity Conservation principally in the area of monitoring the responses of the herpetological and mammalian faunas of Negros Island to fragmentation of the tropical rainforest.

Cesar Ruiz Aquino, Ph.D. is a four time Palanca-award winner, coordinator of the Deparment of English and Literature's Creative Writing Program at Silliman University, and author of a third book, *Checkmeta: The Cesar Ruiz Aquino Reader*, published by Midtown Publishing Inc. of Davao City. For many of his students, colleagues, or just plain lovers of exquisite poetry, his "Song" provides the best example of what love poetry is or how it should sound: "For I have fallen under the surface of your love/ Like a boat under the sea.// Like a boat I was old with desire/ And now my brows are oldened still with magic.// For in the depths of your joy are older things,/ Older are the elements lying deep under.// Your smile was the ripple I made/ On your surface of eternal water...." But what is equally known is that Cesar is also a philosopher-savant who is just as equally at home expounding on philosophy, myth, or religion with erudition as the review piece included in this issue attests. The two previous books he has authored are *Chronicles of Suspicion* (Kalikasan Press) and *Word Without End* (Anvil). A Pambansang Alagad ni Balagtas awardee of UMPIL (Writers Union of the Philippines), Dr. Aquino is now at work on a novel, *Mr. Mxyzptlk Pops Into the Room.*

Gina A. Fontejon-Bonior shows how "ethnography that breaks the heart" might look or sound with her sensitive portrayals of life in the social and economic fringes of Philippine society. While enriching the list of current Philippine ethnographers with a heart, Gina is probably one of the best things to happen to the English program of the College of Education at Silliman University. Her acute sense of social awareness and civic mindedness was the impulse behind her decision first to return to Silliman after two years as Fulbright Fellow at the University of Hawaii and then later to move from the Department of English and Literature to the College of Education, where she dedicates her time to students who have a greater need of her expertise. As the same impulse continues to animate all her creative activities at the College of Education, it can only be said that the College's gain is truly the English Department's loss.

Ian Fermin R. Casocot is best known for his prizewinning short stories *Old Movies* and *The Hero of the Snore Tango.* Ian is the recipient of major literary awards, notably the Carlos Palanca Award, the N. V.M. Gonzalez Award, and the *PBBY-Salanga* prizes for fiction, all of which have secured him a place in the Philippine literary constellation. Selected by the National Commission for Culture and the Arts as one of the authors for *The 2003 UBOD New Writers Series,* Ian edited *FutureShock Prose: An Anthology of Young Writers and New Literatures,* which received a National Book Award nomination from the Manila Critics Circle. One of the youngest and most productive faculty of the Department of English and Literature at Silliman University, Ian has distinguished himself not only in creative writing or in journalism, in which he is equally prolific, but also in directing theater and stage performances where he has demonstrated only outstanding talents. In the past years, he has been the creative mind behind the transformation of once-insipid, largely uninspired official university programs and now everyone knows who to turn to if they want a different kind of performance. In this

respect, Ian has remained generous with his time, energy, and boundless talent.

Earl Jude L. Cleope, Ph.D. currently heads the Office of Instruction at Silliman University while also a member of the faculty of the Department of History and Political Science. An active member of the Historical Research Committee of the National Council for Culture and the Arts, Dr. Cleope maintains a passionate interest in historical research and folklore scholarship in the midst of other pressing commitments that his job as Director for Instruction entails, among others, making sure that excellence in education remains the hallmark of Silliman education.

Enrique G. Oracion expects to complete his doctoral studies from the University of San Carlos in March 2006. An Associate Professor at the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, he is also one of the most prolific researchers in Silliman, producing publications whose number is the envy of his colleagues. His wide-ranging interests include women and gender issues, integrated coastal management, child labor, among others. Prof. Oracion is also on the forefront of the Service Learning program at Silliman.

Myrna Peña-Reyes is a published poet and English teacher. She grew up in Dumaguete where her late father, Professor Alfredo Reyes, was on the Silliman faculty. After graduation from Silliman, she taught literature and creative writing at the English Department while also serving as staff of the Silliman Summer Writers Workshop for several years. She retired in September, 2005 in Dumaguete with her husband after living abroad for more than thirty years. Her first book of poetry, *The River Singing Stone*, was published by Anvil in 1994 and the second one, *Almost Home*, by U.P. Press, 2003; 2004.

Joseph T. Raymond is currently on study leave from the Department of History and Political Science at Silliman University to continue his doctoral studies, originally begun

in the US, at the University of the Philippines, Diliman. One of the few historians on Negros studies, Joseph's research interest explores alternative perspectives in the study of the Philippines' colonial past, particularly the cross-cultural contacts and exchanges among people during this period.

Fortunata T. Sojor is Silliman Journal's circulation manager for the last several years and thanks to her quiet efficiency, SJ copies are delivered to their recipients, exchanges with other academic institutions have been increased, debts paid, and most of all, the budgetary requirements of SJ continue to be in order. In taking care of the financial—and more onerous—aspect of publishing, she leaves us plenty of space in which to continue our job and concentrate on getting the issues to press. In between managing the sundry affairs of Silliman Journal, Naty takes care of the American Studies Resource Center of Silliman University's Main Library.

Andrea G. Soluta has had to divide her time between reluctantly chairing the Department of English and Literature at Silliman University and her passion for ethnographic research. Although in her heart she would rather be in the field doing research, an area in which she has established herself as a competent fieldwork researcher, she is also juggling teaching duties and domestic responsibilities at the same time. Despite leading what she calls "a life of quiet desperation," she is actually in the final stages of her doctoral work at the University of the Philippines.

Betsy Joy B. Tan, Ph.D. is presently Silliman University's Vice President for Academic Affairs, a position she daily enriches with her wide-ranging experience in the academe both as teacher and administrator. Previous to this, she served the university in various capacities as Chair of the Psychology Department, Dean of the College of Education, and Director for Instruction. Although her greatest interest is in practical pedagogy and extending the reaches of

education through teacher training, Dr. Tan is also a gifted teacher and a capable human resource negotiator, able to navigate through the often turbulent dynamics of human relationships within an institution like Silliman—always with a listening ear and a sympathetic heart.

Lorna T. Yso heads the Silliman University Main Library. Largely through her efforts, the library continues to grow as an essential pedagogic tool in support of the university's core functions of teaching, learning, research, and providing community service.In this job, she oversees not only the regular acquisition of library materials which support the curricula but also the entry of information communication technologies that enhance not only student learning and academic support but immensely improve library services as well. Thanks to her and to the library staff, the annual book fair, which draws booksellers and exhibitors from the capital to Silliman University every Founders Day, has become a much-anticipated yearly event by students, faculty, and the community. As member of Silliman Journal Editorial Board, she assists in the circulation of the journal and takes care of exchanges.