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Second Quarter, 1994

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Editorial Note

Like the issue that preceded this, this issue of **Silliman Journal** is another slim volume containing areas of general interest. The three main studies here represent diverse topics--conservation of an endangered species, experimental propagation of a marine gastropod and observance of an indigenous religious ritual.

The lead article is Alcalá's comprehensive report on the successful implementation of the Spotted Deer Captive Breeding Project of Silliman University as part of the overall conservation effort for this endangered species. Considered by peers as a "major contribution" the article discusses aspects of veterinary care and management of the *Cervus alfredi* developed since 1990 when the country's first spotted deer captive breeding facility was set up at Silliman.

A special feature in this particular issue is the inaugural speech of Dr. Mervyn J. Misajon whose installation as tenth president of Silliman University highlighted the University's 93rd Founders Day celebration.

Also included in this collection are three lectures, two of which were part of the 93rd Founders Day lecture series.

R.M.B.

Notice to Authors

The **Silliman Journal** welcomes contributors in all fields from both Philippine and foreign scholars, but papers should normally 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 **SJ** aims a general, international audience, and to structure their papers accordingly.

SJ also welcomes the submission of "Notes," which generally are briefer and more tentative than full-length articles. Reports on work in progress, queries, updates, reports of impressions rather than of research, responses to the work 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 Volume 37, number 1 of **SJ**. Whenever possible, citations should appear in the body of the paper, holding footnotes to a minimum. Pictures will be accepted only when absolutely necessary. Scientific papers should be accompanied by an abstract. All authors must submit their manuscripts in duplicate, typewritten double-spaced on good quality paper.

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 an article is entitled to twenty-five offprints. More may be had by arrangement with the Editor before the issue goes to press.

**ASPECTS OF VETERINARY CARE AND MANAGEMENT
OF THE PHILIPPINE SPOTTED DEER
(*CERVUS ALFREDI*, SCLATER) IN CAPTIVITY**

Ely L. Alcala

ABSTRACT. For the past four years the Silliman University Philippine spotted deer captive breeding facility has successfully pursued its program of breeding *Cervus alfredi* in captivity. It has adapted a general management procedure similar to that of deer stock farming while at the same time developed basic techniques on various aspects of care and management of the endangered species under captive conditions.

History

Since the review of the taxonomy of Philippine deer by Grubb and Groves (1983), *Cervus alfredi* has been recognized as a species distinct from its closest relative, the sambar deer (*Cervus mariannus*). Its notable characteristic of retaining spots until maturity makes it distinct among Philippine cervids, thus its name, Philippine spotted deer.

In 1988, the species was accorded endangered status by the world conservation union (IUCN) after an initial survey by Cox (1987) and others (Oliver, 1991) revealed that the population in the wild has been decimated as a result of forest destruction and uncontrolled hunting. To date the species is found in the Negros- Panay biogeographical region.

In 1990, a conservation program on the Philippine spotted deer was set up and shortly after, the first memorandum of agreement was signed between the Philippine government (DENR) and Mulhouse Zoo, France. The program involved the setting up of the first Philippine spotted deer captive breeding facility in Silliman University for the purpose of propagating, rehabilitating, and studying the species. The program also envisioned the deer project as the flagship species that would lead the way in the promotion of wildlife conservation in the region.

By 1993 and 1994, two sister facilities were setup in Bacolod and Panay, respectively. Silliman University together with these two facilities collaborate closely to carry out the conservation programs.

Deer Management Procedures

Rationale

This paper will discuss various aspects of captive breeding including applied techniques and strategies based on our experience and recommendations from commercial deer farms. The importance of a sound captive breeding program cannot be overstressed considering the complexities involved in raising wild animals under captive conditions. However, it is generally agreed that many of the techniques used in raising domestic animals may be applicable with some degree of modification to wild animals. These techniques encompass all aspects that support the well-being of wild animals kept under captive conditions (Fowler, 1986).

Quarantine

Prequarantine procedures involving movement and transfer of animals should be carried out under the supervision of the project leader and with the help of a veterinarian. The latter provides assistance to the needs of the animals while at the same time advises the project leader on decisions such as those involving immobilization procedures. Because some chemical immobilizing agents have adverse effects on the animals, certain immobilization procedures, physical or chemical, have to be approved by both the project leader and the veterinarian. Drug tables found in vet medical manuals and other similar wildlife medical references should be consulted for the appropriate choice and dosage of drug. For this particular species, Xylazine, a powerful muscle relaxant, has been used on several occasions in conjunction with the antidote, antisedan[®] at dosages of 0.1 ml/kg body weight and 1 ml/kg body weight, respectively.

As a conservative rule, no chemical immobilizing agents should be used on a wild animal if an antidote, particularly for such drug, is not available. Prolonged effects of immobilizing drugs, especially anesthetics, can retard the normal respiration and circulation of the animal, causing respiratory arrest or other complications associated with immobilization (Fowler, 1986).

A simple way of catching deer inside the barn is to drive the animal through the narrow doorway with a crate positioned at the opposite end (refer to indoor barn design in Appendices V and VI and crate design in Appendix IV). This procedure usually requires two people, one to drive the animal towards the positioned crate, and the other to shut the door of the crate. An alternate way of catching deer in confined areas is to round up the animal into a corner and catch it with bare hands. A snare or net can also be used to drive and catch the animal.

This particular deer species is best handled and moved during the coolest time of the day/night inside a crate (refer to Appendix V). Unless an airconditioned transport vehicle or a covered vehicle is provided for, animals should not be moved until the day becomes cooler.

Quarantine involves the screening of all animals entering the facility. A newly arrived animal is isolated in a designated quarantine area which is separate from the resident herd for at least 30 days. During this period, physical examination, blood examination, fecal examination (for parasites and digested food analysis), and other necessary tests (e.g. tuberculin test in T.B. endemic areas) are carried out to make sure that the animals are not carrying any form of infectious disease. This procedure also involves physical separation of animals during times of stress and sickness to prevent the spread of infection in the facility.

Stock selection

This aspect of the program recognizes the importance of maintaining a stable genetic stock. Lacy and others (1992) recommend breeding programs to start with as many founder animals (i.e. at least 20-30 effective individuals). However, in our case this may not hold true for the Philippine spotted deer whose population in the wild has been decimated to a group of hundreds of individuals. Instead it has been suggested that a herd of not less than 12 individuals (e.g. 1:1 breeding ratio of male and female) should suffice to carry out the objective of retaining heterozygosity over the period of years (Oliver, pers comm.). There is reason to believe that the number of founder animals is closely associated with effective population size, among other factors. This will entail consideration of the quality of breeding animals rather than of quantity.

Perhaps a practical way of selecting good breeders is to give gross visual merits to the animals (e.g. superior built, resistance to disease, calf yield and maternal care) and optimize their use as main breeding animals. However, it has been noted that some breeding females select their mate and may usually accept mature and experienced bucks and reject the younger ones. Another consideration is avoidance of inbreeding. Physical separation among related individuals is recommended to prevent inbreeding and the ill effects of inbreeding depression (McLaren and Rotundo, 1985). Hybrids (mix breed of spotted and brown deer) should not be introduced to the herd of pure spotted deer since these are potential genetic "contaminants". Karyotyping may be carried out periodically on each animal to determine its genetic composition and to trace its pedigree.

Animals may be marked and individually identified using ear tags or by taking note of unique features of individuals (e.g. coat color pattern, deformity). All animal record

should be entered into an individual file which contains all pertinent information (refer to Appendix III samples of animal record). Supporting records such as breeding record and daily behavioral records should also be maintained by the facility. As a basic tool of research, records are indispensable in providing necessary information and basis for determining which individuals to breed and not to breed.

Wild-caught, sick and injured animals may be taken in and rehabilitated in conjunction with the rescue and rehabilitation objectives of the program, provided that it passes quarantine procedures.

Feeding and Nutrition

A good nutritional regimen is one which meets the optimum feed and behavioral requirements of the animal. This can usually be gauged by the capacity of the animal to grow and develop normally and more often by its ability to reproduce at an early age (Denholm, 1984).

In many deer farms quantitative use of feed is empirically applied in cognizance with the understanding of the biology and adaptability of certain species to a wide variety of foodstuff (Denholm, 1984). Such adaptability stems from the result of seasonal availability of plants, their variety, and the stage of plant growth and development which may affect the palatability of different parts of the plant (Chaplin 1977). The Philippine spotted deer has been observed to accept a wide variety of foodstuff under captive conditions. Even in their natural habitat, wild deer have been observed to venture into clearings and opportunistically feed on agricultural crops such as corn and newly fallen ripe avocados and mangoes (Barte, pers comm).

A captive group kept in woody environs had been observed to feed on freshly fallen dehisced leaves of *Sandoricum koedjapi*, *Sweetenia* sp. (Mahogany) and *Mangifera indica*. This observation contrasts with Sinha's 1987 feeding experiments on Philippine rusa (*Cervus unicolor*, Smith) which showed the species to be otherwise selective. Since species vary from one another, and captive conditions do not usually provide as many varieties of food (as compared in the wilds), feed experimentation becomes critical when ideal quantity and quality of food are to be considered. Some of the foodstuff that have been tried and eaten by the Philippine spotted deer includes a wide variety of fruits, improved grasses, and concentrate (see Appendix I).

As a matter of preventive measure, feed should come from clean and reputable sources. Ideally, forage intended for deer feed should be harvested from areas away from grazing domestic animals since these are potential sources of parasites and diseases. All foodstuff such as fruit, concentrate, and feed supplement should be monitored for fecal

contamination, molds, and dirt and should immediately be discarded upon contamination. It should also be noted that young animals tend to suckle and gulp down fruits. Therefore, fruits with large seeds such as mango should not be given in order to avoid choking and gastrointestinal impaction. Needless to say, it is important for the facility to maintain feeding manuals and feed inventory records.

Husbandry and Care of Adult Deer

Female deer reach maturity in less than two years under ideal captive conditions. Average maturity is 17 months but some individuals may show signs of estrus as early as 10 months of age. Adults regularly go into estrus during the months of April and May but may breed anytime in the year. Estrus and receptivity range from 10 to 30 hours. Gestation averages 217 days or roughly 7 months and calving interval ranges from 10 to 12 months giving the average dam a potential of bearing two calves in one year. Some individuals have been observed to go into estrus two months after giving birth. Fawns are usually weaned within six months of age. However, the mother will normally allow its young to hang around until maturity. To facilitate close monitoring, females close to term are usually separated from the rest of the herd and remixed with other individuals after the calf has been weaned.

Male deer, on the other hand, reach maturity at a later age (at least 2 years). Buttons develop on their forehead within six months and may proceed to fully develop into a single tine antler within the end of the year. Two or three tine antlers usually grow on individuals above two years of age. Mature deer usually shed their antlers at least once a year, between the months of June to September and immediately grow them the following month. There is a strong indication that antler development is associated with the health condition of the individual. As yet, this needs to be confirmed by further studies.

Adult males in full antlers use the appendages to their full advantage, often in an aggressive way. Males can become extremely aggressive and dangerous to anyone venturing inside the paddocks especially during breeding season (April-May) and in times when a female is in heat. Constant rubbing of antlers against inanimate objects is consistently observed among male individuals in full antlers. It is for this reason that fence bases need to be reinforced to prevent the stag from uprooting them. Likewise, movable structures such as doorways need to be locked in place to prevent stags from playing with them with their antlers. Attempts to diffuse the animals' destructive behavior by setting up antler rubs made of bamboo and wood have been tried with little effect.

Since mature males are almost always incompatible, they need to be separated to prevent them from fighting. Notably aggressive individuals are kept in separate paddocks or enclosures away from each other's sight. As a precautionary measure, mature animals

in full antler are not mixed with adult males in velvet or with individuals who have recently dropped their antlers. Although serious fighting between males can be minimized in larger areas (since this gives the subordinate the option to flee) close monitoring and supervision should still be maintained for record purposes.

Design of facilities

Based on their wide distribution and their ability to thrive under various habitat conditions, deer are also considered to be a highly adaptable animal (Anderson, 1984). Some species actually adapt to confined habitats and to human care (English, 1984). The Philippine spotted deer under captive conditions show more or less predictable behavioral characteristics which provide significantly important hints on how to design the facility. For example, they do not usually stay long under the sun and at certain times of the day (mornings and noon) immerse themselves in water thus necessitating the need for shade and water.

An ideal deer facility is one located on flat land with good drainage to allow ease in monitoring and servicing of animals. The area should have relatively good vegetation cover in the form of shrubs and trees. Clean pools should be provided in each paddock to serve as wallow and alternate source of drinking water. On the other hand, mud wallows created by the animals themselves provide relief from insects and heat. Sheds may be built to provide shelter and security for the animals. The area should be enclosed by a deer proof fence high enough (3 m) to prevent the animals from jumping out and strong enough to withstand the onslaught of a butting stag. A heavy duty mesh of interlinked or welded wire with its underends anchored or fixed in concrete should prevent the animal from lifting the bottom of the fence with its pair of antlers. A secondary outer fence may be constructed to prevent stray animals from venturing close to the deer enclosure. In our case, the space provided for between the inner and outer fences has been utilized as planting area for deer forage (see Appendices IV and VI).

Stocking density in some New Zealand deer farms with improved pasture has been approximated to that of domestic sheep which accommodates around 24 stags per hectare all year round (Wilson, 1984). In cases wherein pasture is limited or when the paddock falls below its carrying capacity to provide forage, cut-and-carry method or the practice of supplying forage from outside sources must be employed. In general, designing a deer facility becomes a practical undertaking.

Management and Control of Diseases

This aspect of the program presents many challenges for Philippine wild life captive breeding practitioners mainly because few studies are being done on Philippine wild

animals especially those with ungulates. Selected blood parameters (refer to Appendix II) have been established for the species and have provided limited clues on the clinical condition of the animal. Much of the management techniques and procedures used on the species are patterned and or modified after **Deer Refresher Courses** developed and periodically updated by veterinarians involved in deer farming in New Zealand, Australia, and Europe.

Some of the diseases encountered in our facility include sporadic cases of Eimeriasis and enterotoxemia of undetermined origin. These are characterized by foul smelling diarrhea which may or may not be tinged with blood, accompanied by lethargy, and sometimes with bloat. Both cases have been treated using a combined antibiotic preparation of sulpha and trimethoprime. Response to medication varies from 3 to 6 days and treatment may last from 1 to 2 weeks.

A frequent procedure done on animals caught by snares and on individuals that have dislocated their fetlock joint, is external fixation. The procedure employs either coaptation splint or Robert Jones bandage, or a combination of both. Supportive care is done throughout the duration of the treatment allowing minimal movement on the animal. Exercise may be facilitated by moving the animal out to the paddocks after the injured leg shows signs of capability to carry weight. Complete recovery ranges within 1 to 3 weeks.

External wounds resulting from fights should be gauged and treated conservatively. Minor wounds can be treated using wound spray or powder that promotes tissue granulation while at the same time prevents fly infestation (e.g. Negasunt®). Otherwise, deep wounds should be surgically fixed. External (tick infestation) and internal parasites (round worm) can be controlled using Ivermectin. However, Albendazole is used periodically for routine deworming.

Conclusion

Captive breeding of the Philippine spotted deer presents a promising future for the species. This species is potentially adaptable and settles down very quickly to captive conditions. Management problems are minimal and problems requiring veterinary attention can be consulted in deer management handbooks. Experience gained along the line can be used to modify traditional methods of managing deer in captivity. Studies on feeding preference, behavior of the animal, and others should be promoted in the interest of the species and should be used to develop and improve their management. Offhand, a complementary program should also be initiated to ensure protection of remaining wildlife population through the establishment of protected areas. These areas will in time serve as release sites for the animals through a restocking or animal reintroduction program. In

conjunction with this, conservation awareness programs should be promoted for the benefit of the species.

Acknowledgments

I wish to personally extend my gratitude to the following institutions: McArthur Foundation, Mulhouse Zoo, Foundation for the Philippine Environment, and the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) for providing the impetus for running the program. To our sister projects in Bacolod (NFEFI) and Iloilo (WVSC) who have shared their valuable experience. To the following individuals: William Oliver, Gerry Ledesma, Lucia Lastimosa, Vicente Jurlano, and everyone in CenTrop. To the deer donors, and to all who have given their invaluable support, understanding, and care for the project in general and the species in particular.

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APPENDIX I:

List of common feedstuff given to the Philippine spotted deer

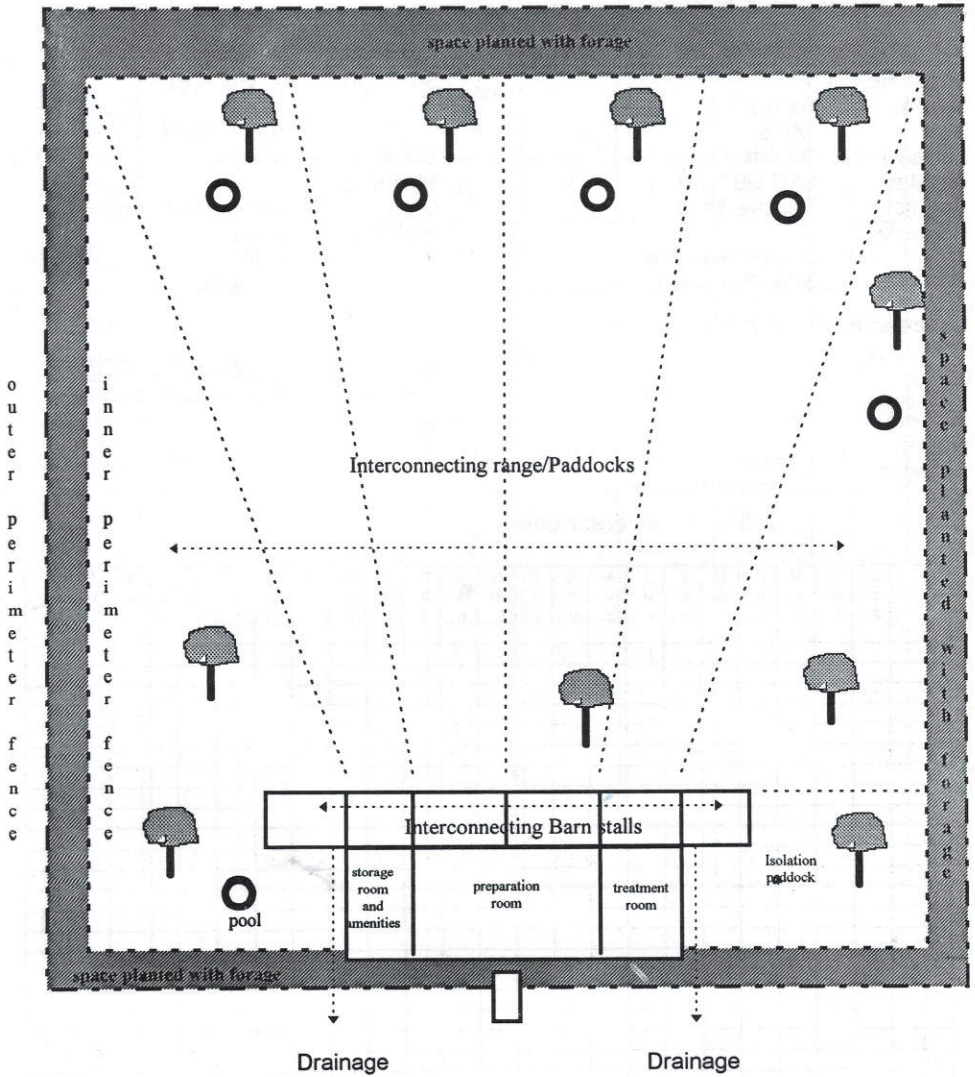
Description	Species	Common name	
Grass	<i>Brachiaria mutica</i>	paragrass	
	<i>Cynodon plectostachyus</i>	star grass	
	<i>Imperata cylindrica</i>	cogon	
	<i>Pennisetum purpureum</i>	napier	
Legume	<i>Centrosema pubescens</i>	centro	
	<i>Leucaena leucocephala</i>	ipil-ipil	
Fruits	<i>Persea americana</i>	avocado	
	<i>Mangifera</i> spp.	mango	
	<i>Averrhoa carambola</i>	balimbing	
	<i>Musa</i> spp.	banana	
	<i>Spondia purpurea</i>	seniguelas	
	<i>Achras sapota</i>	chico	
	<i>Eugenia javanica</i>	macopa	
	<i>Diospyros discolor</i>	mabolo	
	<i>Carica papaya</i>	papaya	
	<i>Ananas sativus</i>	pineapple	
Concentrate	Swine Base Mix		
	Crude protein	15%	
	Crude fiber	14%	
	Crude fat	4%	
	Crude ash	15%	
	Moisture	13%	
	Calf Manna		
	Growth Nutrient Pellet		
	Pollard		
	Pullet Development Pellet		
	Mineral Supplement	Calcium, Phosphate (powder) Potassium, Manganese, Zinc	(salt lick)
	Vitamin	B complex, A, C, D, E,	(powder or liquid)

APPENDIX II: Philippine spotted deer blood values*

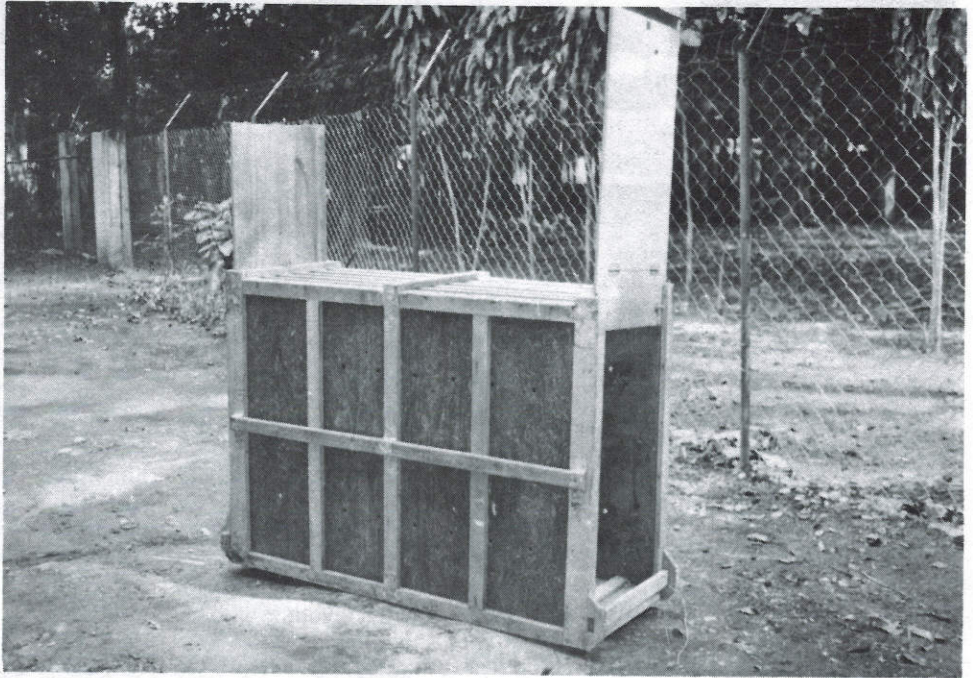
Sex-Age (Year)	RBC M/cumm	WBC T/cumm	PCV %	Seg (Neut) %	Lymp %	Eos %	Baso %	Mono %
M-7.0	4	6	38	88	12	0	0	0
M-9.0	6	6	35	91	9	0	0	0
M-8.0	6	4	32	69	27	3	0	0
M-4.0	10	6	48	70	30	0	0	0
M-0.6	10	4	35	77	22	1	0	0
F-7.0	7	6	32	73	27	0	0	0
F-5.0	6	4	25	76	22	0	0	0
F-0.1	11	8	41	69	28	1	0	0
F-6.0	10	5	38	58	40	2	0	0
F-2.0	8	7	34	78	22	0	0	0
Ave.	7.8	5.6	35.8	74.9	23.9	0.7	0	0

*After Alcala, E.L. (1993)

APPENDIX IV: Design of facility

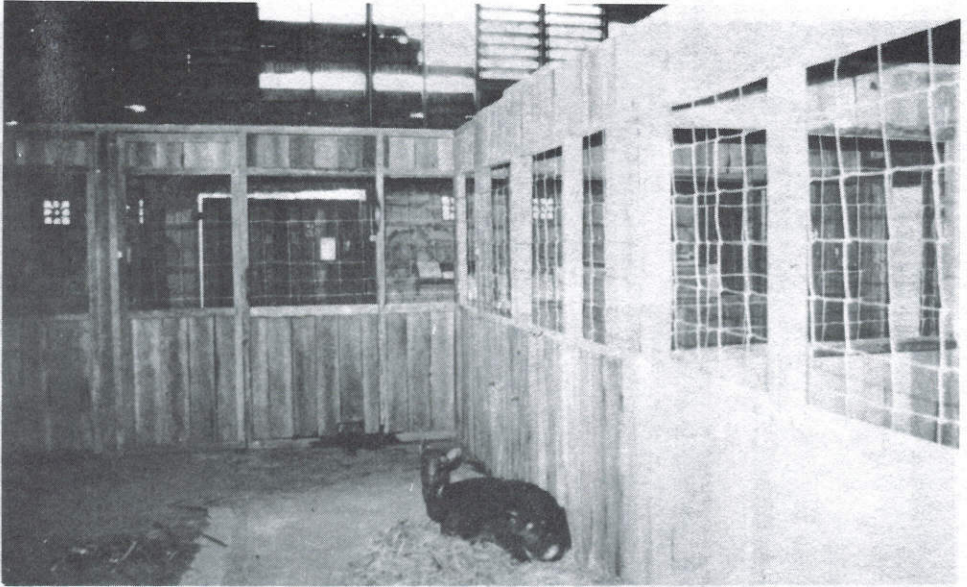


APPENDIX V: Design of crate (photograph)



	Measurement (cms)	Materials
Length	130	Marine plywood
Width	35	wood framing
Height	95	nails and bolt

APPENDIX VI: Selected Views of the Facility (photograph)



Barn subdivision and internal layout.



Field paddocks and external view of facility

APPENDIX VII: Photographs of two species of Philippine deer



Adult male Philippine spotted deer (*Cervus alfredi*)



Juvenile female Philippine deer (*C. mariannus*)

OBSERVATIONS ON THE EFFECT OF DIET ON SHELL COLORATION IN THE DONKEY'S EAR ABALONE, *HALIOTIS ASININA* LINNE

Emmanuel C. Capinpin

ABSTRACT. Shell color was determined by the food eaten by the Donkey's ear abalone, *Haliotis asinina*. Shells of abalone juveniles fed with two cultured red seaweed, *Gracilariopsis heteroclada* and *Kappaphycus alvarezii* were dark brown in color as compared to light bluish-green in juveniles fed with an artificial feed. The use of this artificial feed for cultured abalone to produce the light bluish-green color is suggested as a biological tag for field growth and reseeded experiments.

INTRODUCTION

The Donkey's ear abalone, *Haliotis asinina* Linne, is a tropical abalone widely distributed in coastal rocky reef zones of Southeast Asia (Singhagraiwan and Sasaki, 1991) extending up to the subtropical and tropical regions of Japan (Hahn, 1989a). In the Philippines, *H. asinina* (Fig. 1) is common in Tawi-Tawi, Bohol, and Eastern Samar (PCMARD, 1991), Negros Oriental (L. Fabro, personal communication), and Panagatan Cays, Antique and its nearby islands (Capinpin et al. 1994).

Artificial seed production of *H. asinina* was first reported in 1989 at the Eastern Marine Fisheries Development Center in Thailand (Singhagraiwan and Sasaki, 1991). Since then, it has become experimentally possible to spawn and rear this species in hatchery tanks.

This experiment was designed to evaluate growth performance of *H. asinina* juveniles fed with three different food items for 120 days. Since the results of this experiment will be reported in another paper, the present report will only provide observations on the effect of these food items on shell coloration in *H. asinina* juveniles.



Figure 1.
H. asinina collected from the wild.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Juvenile Production

H. asinina juveniles used in this study were produced from natural spontaneous spawning of abalone broodstock at the mollusc hatchery of SEAFDEC/AQD. Fertilized eggs or trochophore larvae from natural spawns were collected using a special larval trap (80mm mesh size) installed at the drain outlet of the broodstock tank. These were then washed with ultraviolet-irradiated seawater and held in 9l plastic containers until the veliger stage. Upon development of the operculum, eyespot, and fully formed propodium, the veliger larvae were transferred to a 1-ton settlement tank provided with corrugated collector plates. Abalone larvae were initially fed with the diatoms *Navicula* sp. and *Nitzschia* sp. that have grown on the plates. After reaching 1 cm in length, *Gracilariopsis heteroclada* was added to the tank.

Experimental Food Items

Three different food items consisting of two cultured red seaweed, *G. heteroclada* and *Kappaphycus alvarezii*, and an artificial feed (Nosan Awabi No. 3) manufactured by Nihon Nosan Kogyo specifically for the Japanese abalone were used in this experiment. The natural algae were given ad libitum while the artificial feed was given at 2-5% body weight once daily in the afternoon depending on consumption of the animals.

Grow-out Culture

H. asinina juveniles with an average total weight of 0.48 g and shell length of 1.45 cm were randomly chosen from a similarly sized population. Batches of 20 juveniles were held in hanging net cages consisting of a plastic tray (5 X 20 X 24 cm) covered with nylon netting material. Halved PVC pipes were placed inside the cages as additional substrates. The hanging net cages were then installed in a 1-ton oval fiberglass tank provided with running seawater of about 350 l/h and continuous aeration. Juveniles were grown in these cages for 120 days. All the juveniles were fed with *G. heteroclada* after the experiment.

RESULTS

Shells of *H. asinina* juveniles fed with the two cultured red seaweed, *G. heteroclada* and *K. alvarezii* were dark brown in color (Fig. 2a, c). On the other hand, shell color of all juveniles fed with the artificial feed was light bluish-green (Fig. 2b) which was already evident as early as 15 days.

After a shift of diet from the artificial feed to *G. heteroclada*, the juveniles slowly secreted brown colored shells at their anterior margin (Fig. 3).



Figure 2.

H. asinina fed with three different food items for 120 days: a, *K. alvarezii*; b, artificial feed; and c, *G. heteroclada*.

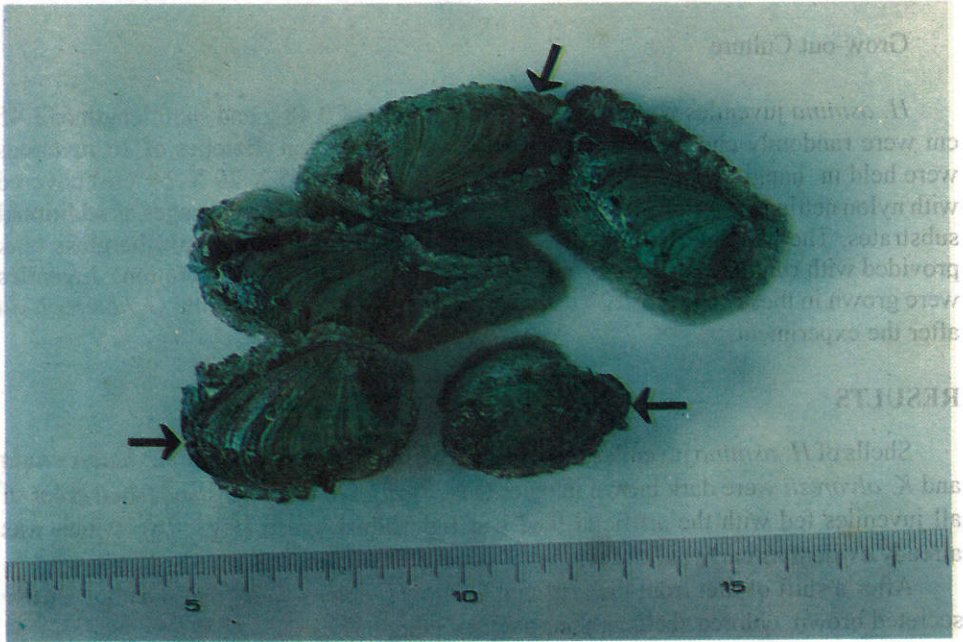


Figure 3.

H. asinina fed with artificial feed for 120 days, then with *G. heteroclada* for 60 days. Note the brown shell color at anterior margin (arrows).

DISCUSSION

The results clearly showed that shell color is determined by the food eaten by the abalone. In the present study, the bluish-green color of the shell of abalone juveniles fed with the artificial feed was attributed to the powdered brown algal content of the feed. Similar results were observed by Ino (1952) and Sakai (1960; 1962a, b) on *H. discus hannai*. Generally, it was shown that brown algae produce bluish-green shell color while red algae produce brown color of shell. Closely similar results were observed by Leighton (1961) on *H. rufescens*. He reported that red algae cause the mantle of *H. rufescens* to secrete a red shell color while brown and green algae result in white or very light tints of green or blue. Later, Olsen (1968b) reported the same on *H. sorenseni*. Some abalone species in the wild even show banding of shell due to succession of the dominant algal species during the year (Ino, 1952; Sakai, 1960; Leighton, 1961; Sakai, 1962a, b; Olsen, 1968a; Shibui, 1971).

Shell growth in abalone occurs in a spiral manner (Hahn, 1989b). New shell is added mostly to the anterior of the shell with less growth on the sides and posterior. The shell anterior shifts to the right as more shell is added to the right side. Figure 3 shows the recent growth of the shell of abalone juveniles previously fed with an artificial feed for 120 days and after shifting to *G. heteroclada* for 60 days.

The shell of wild-caught *H. asinina* is basically brown-colored with light cream triangular patches (Fig. 1). No bluish-green markings were observed in more than 500 wild specimens collected by the author from November 1993 to December 1994 in Panagatan Cays, Antique. This would suggest slight variations in the food preference of *H. asinina* in the wild. Hence, the use of the artificial feed for cultured abalone to produce the bluish-green shell color is suggested as a biological tag for field growth and reseedling experiments. This is in view of the difficulty of tagging small juveniles before they are placed into the ocean.

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THE SAMAYAAN AS PUBLIC LIMINALITY¹
*Some Ethnographic Notes*²

Ceres E. Pioquinto

Foreword

This paper was originally intended as part of the critical preface of Series 6 of the *Ulahingan Epic*. As a religious observance and a special feast, the Samayaan has always been one of the contexts in which the *Ulahingan*, the epic recounting the heroic exploits of the Manobo ancestors, is chanted. Based largely on personal observations of the actual Samayaan celebration, this paper focuses on the central significance of this occasion to the life of the Arumanen-Manobos of the Libungan area. Although the discussion in this paper concentrates on the present observance of the festival and its accompanying rituals, a brief historical background of the traditional celebration has been provided to trace the extent of continuity as well as of change in the nature and character of the festival over time. More than mere description, however, this paper not only explores the Samayaan as performance but critically examines the transformations in both the structure and symbolic processes and meanings of the festival and the factors underlying such transformations.

1 "Public Liminality" is a phrase borrowed from Victor Turner's studies on traditional rites and rituals (Turner 1977).

It refers to a specially-marked occasion of a public nature involving an entire community. This specially-marked occasion plays an important role in the life of the community in terms of liberating members for a certain period of time from ordinary, day-to-day concerns and from the observance of norms, temporarily distracting them from harsh and oppressive realities, and rejuvenating them by providing an enhancement of experience through participation and enjoyment of the festival. For the Arumanen Manobo, the public liminality of the Samayaan fulfills these special functions of the festival.

2 Paper delivered at a lecture-performance for the special convocation marking the College of Arts and Sciences Week, 14 February 1995, Audio Visual Theater, Silliman University. The information in this paper is based on a firsthand observation of the Samayaan Festival during my ten-day fieldwork in North Cotabato from December 20 - 31, 1994. Along with my personal observations, a series of interviews with the members of the Arumanen-Manobo community provided the necessary information for this paper. The funding for this fieldwork, independently sourced by the members of the Ulahingan Research Committee, was provided by the Luxembourg Government through its local agent, Mrs. Marie Paul Neu.

Introduction

As a festival celebrated to thank the Supreme Being and the ancestral spirits for a bountiful harvest, the Samayaan in the past was originally sponsored by individual Manobos who have had a particularly rich rice harvest. Since harvest time varies, the traditional celebration did not occur on a specific date. The occasion, however, was not only a festive day; it was also a holy day as the people thanked their diwata for the harvest and asked them for their blessings of a bountiful harvest for the next season, for good health, and protection from accidents and suffering. Among the Arumanen Manobo, the object of the prayer is the Supreme Diwata, Kerenen, and the diwata of the harvest, Ivebasuk (Maquiso 1977: 29).

Over time, the initiative for calling the people to such a celebration became part of the *timu'ay's* (the tribal leader) responsibility and his place also became the designated celebration venue. Among the Livunganens³, the community of Barongis has always been the center of the celebration. It is a widely accepted view that the conferral of Pañares Bidangang, who was at that time also the Regional Director of PANAMIN⁴, of the title of *timu'ay* in April 1975, also marked the development of the Samayaan celebration as an official calendrical event scheduled every 27th of December in Barongis. Bidangang's then concurrent position as director of PANAMIN ushered in the entry of active government participation as co-sponsor of the celebration. There is reason to believe that, among other developments, the official sponsorship of the Samayaan by the government at this time marked the beginning of the integration of the Manobos and other indigenous communities into the established political structure through the cultural management of such agencies as the present Office of the Southern Cultural Communities (OSCC) and its predecessors.

From then on, the Samayaan ceased to be an individually-sponsored event but since then also became a regulated communal activity performed on specially-designated space on the grounds of the Manobo church (*bintana*) around the sacred shrine known as *edsandaran*. Whereas the *wali'an* (religious leader) traditionally led the ritual procession, in the contemporary Samayaan *timu'ays* dressed in white perform the rites. Furthermore, this celebration now includes as part of the ritual process, the conferral of the *timu'ay* title to the newly-appointed tribal leader at the Barongis public square. With the addition of this secular ritual, the evolution of the Samayaan into its present form suggests a political dimension. The addition of distinctive ritual styles became the means of establishing religious and political legitimacy as well as male authority.

3 The Arumanen-Manobos who live in the area of and around the municipality of Libungan, North Cotabato.

4 PANAMIN - Presidential Assistance to National Minorities, one of the early government agencies established to look after the welfare of the indigenous communities.

The Samayaan Ritual Phases

As in many events with their roots in traditional ceremonies, the Samayaan consists of distinct celebration modes with their own specific activity taking place within specified domains. These celebration modes consist, on the one hand, of the ritual-religious event and, on the other, of the festival event of dancing and feasting. Within the traditional ritual field of the Samayaan, however, these modes of celebration, albeit hierarchically arranged, were integrated in the total ritual process as a sequence of phases or episodes comprising the Samayaan liturgical structure. In the contemporary celebration a third event of a political nature, the conferral of the *timu'ay* title has been added.

As performed, the Samayaan celebration modes begin with an offering ceremony consisting of the ritual *memaan* (betel chew), food wrapped in banana leaves, and eggs which the women arrange on top of the shrine or *edsandaram*. The shrine itself is decorated by white and yellow rectangular pieces of ritual cloth known as *tubao* representing both the spirit and the human realms respectively. Incense collected from the sap of trees is then burned in a coconut shell. The aromatic smoke emitted by this sap, by dispelling human smell, is believed to draw the spirit towards the celebration. *Wali'ans* then begin chanting prayers invoking the spirits. Even at this stage, spirits could take possession of a *wali'an's* body, as happened at the last Samayaan, and the usual ritual conversation between the spirit and the ritual participants takes place.

The ritual phase that follows commences with the *pamaya*, the anticlockwise procession around the shrine. Among the Arumanens, this procession is led by male *wali'ans* and *timu'ays* who, while carrying a pair of white cocks, chant a prayer addressed to the Supreme Diwata and to the diwata of harvest. Following them behind is the crowd of women, children and other male participants who respond to the prayer in a chorus of "yeee" and a shout called a *salyada*. This procession is normally done seven times around the shrine but could break up anytime as soon as the spirit enters either one or more of the *wali'ans*.

The entry of the spirit is signified by visible transformations in the physical well-being of the *wali'an*. These visible transformations are manifested in a trance-like behavior in which one or more of the *wali'ans* get into a state of agitation, tremble, and begin to speak in a strange tongue. One of the worship leaders then acts as a medium to interpret to the people the conversation between the spirit and the entranced *wali'an*. The conversation that ensues includes a number of questions the spirit, through the *wali'an*, asks the crowd. Questions such as what the people want from the spirit; what problems they face; what they feel about the festival and the preparations that have been made. The spirit answers through the *wali'ans*. In this state, the entranced *wali'an* has always been observed to cry and the tears he sheds have been interpreted as signifying joy and gratitude. The spirit is believed to have left the body when the entranced *wali'an* suddenly falls to the ground.

The tossing of yellow rice and a fresh egg into the air marks the beginning of the next ritual phase which is the *bulangan*. In this phase a pair of white roosters are made to fight and their blood collected for the ritual purification. In the Manobo belief system, the direction in which the rooster's beak points when it is at the throes of death is replete with symbolism. When the direction of the rooster's beak points east, this is supposed to signify good luck and prosperity for the coming year as opposed to the direction of the west which signifies bad luck and hardships. Blood dripping from the wounded rooster is collected in a big shallow receptacle for the ritual cleansing. During this rite, performed by tribal elders, the rooster's blood, combined with special kinds of leaves, is brushed on the palm of the person and made to drip out through the base of the fingers symbolically wiping out bad luck and misfortune.

As soon as the religious rite is over, the festival atmosphere takes place with the women taking over the grounds to prepare it for the dancing that follows. It has been observed that at the *pamaya* women and children occupy a background, rather secondary role as members of the crowd or as chanters who perform the *salyada*. In this phase of the celebration, however, they are responsible not only for performing the dances and providing the entertainment, but even in setting up the instrument (consisting of a gong hanging from a bamboo carried by two women) and playing them. As in many traditional rites, gender is a determining factor for participation in specific ritual phases of the Samayaan festival.

When the entertainment ends, the crowd and ritual participants move over to the barangay public square for the next ceremony, the conferral of the *timu'ay* title whose central symbol of authority is signified by the ceremonial crowning of the yellow scarf around the head of the new *timu'ay*.

Feasting follows after at the home of the barangay leader and at the homes of Manobo residents.

Samayaan Festival Structures

In her studies of festivals, Beverly Stoeltje points out that event structures and social structures of participation operate to create festival reality (1992: 264). According to Stoeltje, the multiple activities of a festival do not take place randomly but follow an order either officially or unofficially agreed upon. This order often consists of an opening ceremony, ritual, drama and contest, the feast, dance and music, and a concluding event (Stoeltje 1992: 264 - 66). In the same manner, the activities of the Samayaan exhibit the multiple phases Stoeltje identifies and in a similar kind of ordering. The following event structures were included in the Samayaan festival:

- (a) an Opening Ceremony in the form of the ritual offering and chants invoking the spirits ;

- (b) the Ritual proper dramatized in the procession or *pamaya* enacting a religious purpose; in this phase diwata and the ancestors are acknowledged and the spirit communication through the trance takes place;
- (c) Drama or contest exemplified by the *bulangan* as symbolically a fight between good and evil;
- (d) Dance and music involving women and children;
- (e) Secular ritual involving the ceremonial coronation of the *timu'ay*;
- (f) The Feast which contextualizes food such as the special dish of meat cooked in coconut milk, set aside in a special place such as the barangay captain's house, where large groups can eat together. The feast is furthermore symbolically significant in two ways. On the one hand, the social act of eating the festival food implies that festival participants ingest their tradition; on the other hand, it confirms their identity as a group.
- (g) Concluding event - the Samayaan celebration also follows a pattern from formal opening to informal conclusion, characterized by increasing spontaneity and intensity. This phase of the Samayaan, in contrast to the opening ceremony, exhibits less structure and more personal expressions as socializing continues in the backyards, front yards, streets or in the shade of trees.

In describing the characteristics of "cultural performances,"⁵ Bauman points out that first of all, "these are *scheduled event*, set up and prepared for in advance." In addition, "these [cultural performances] are *temporally bounded*, with a defined beginning and end"; these are also "*spatially bounded*. . . , enacted in a space that is symbolically marked off." A fifth and central feature of cultural performances that Bauman mentions is that "these are coordinated public occasions, open to view by an audience, and to collective participation" (Bauman 1992: 46). As such, these are occasions for people to come together. These characteristics were similarly evident in the Samayaan. As a scheduled event, the contemporary celebration of the harvest festival takes place every 27th of December. Likewise, the spatially bounded space for the Samayaan ritual performance is the Manobo sacred ground around the edsandaran shrine. Within these boundaries of time and space, the modes of the Samayaan celebration are programmed within a liturgical structure.

For the Arumanens, the Samayaan festival is the most prominent performance context within the Manobo community for which Manobos living in distant areas would willingly walk long distances to attend. Being a community-based festival, the Samayaan offers the members of the Manobo community a number of alternatives for wide participation

⁵ The phrase "cultural performances" was first used by the American anthropologist Milton Singer to refer to the most prominent performance contexts within a community and which share a set of characteristics.

though not everyone attends the same activities. Nevertheless, since its general purpose is relevant to all group members, the festival tends to attract separate social interests, recognizing difference within the confines of the social group. Both the young and the old attend; both men and women have roles; both outsiders and insiders alike have spaces accorded to them; and both the well-to-do and the poor walk on the same ground. Being socially based, participation and integration constitute one of the ends of festivals like the Samayaan.

Needless to say, the "public liminality" (Turner 1977) of the Samayaan fulfills a vital function in the life of the Manobos. In a community that provides little scope for leisure, this yearly celebration allows the Arumanen Manobos a temporary respite from their everyday structural position in family, lineage, and tribe. It frees them for a certain period of time from the performance of mundane bonds and normal day-to-day duties, and provides a temporary distraction from harsh and oppressive realities. Involving as it does elaborate performance and ritual forms and the most accomplished, prominent, as well as revered tribal elders, the Samayaan events are heightened occasions, providing Arumanens living in scattered and remote mountain areas an enhancement of experience through participation and enjoyment in this festival.

Studies of festivals (Stoeltje 1992; Bauman 1992) have also shown that motivation for participation may be as varied as the demonstration of religious commitment, the display of gain or social prestige, the public statement of political sentiments, participation in cultural events or display of special skills, and social interaction that allows for the exploration and negotiation of many kinds of relationships. Participation in the last Samayaan very well demonstrated these various motivations.

First, for a majority of Manobos who come to this celebration from both near and far, the observance of religious commitment remains the central motivating force. Second, the holding of this festival provides an excellent opportunity for individual Manobos to display the success of their harvest and/or their improved social and economic status. This was particularly true in the traditional Samayaan in which the celebration was a form of thanksgiving for a bountiful harvest. In the present celebration, the Samayaan is an occasion for successful Manobos to display social prestige. For instance, an interesting aspect of the ritual phases is the public acknowledgment of the presence of socially prominent Manobos. Third, as part of the festival modes, the conferral of the *tim 'uay* title, which is always preceded by a tribal council, is an occasion for making public the community's political sentiments. Fourth, since cultural performances are part of its celebration modes, the Samayaan offers plenty of opportunity for display of performative skills. May be included here among the special skills are dancing and the ability to chant or *ulahing*. Finally, as an annual gathering, the entire period of Samayaan celebration is

an occasion for family or tribal reunions as well as the formation of new relationships and alliances.

Samayaan, Ritual, and Politics

The Samayaan exemplifies the two common perceptions of ritual as a form associated with the concerns or practice of religion and as “the performance of more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances not encoded by the performers” (Rappaport 1992: 249). In the religious sense, the Samayaan dramatizes the concern with the relationship between the Supreme Diwata and man. This concern is embodied in the ritual phases of the Samayaan with explicitly religious purpose and characteristics such as those performed around the shrine. These ritual phases incorporate changeless messages signified by the invariant order of the Samayaan ritual’s canon. For example, men’s relationship with transcendent deities and the central role the male *wali’ans* play as sources of sacred knowledge.

At the same time, these ritual phases also contain messages dependent on variations in rituals. Variations in rituals may depend on the quality of preparation, the people behind the preparation, or on the relative prosperity or difficulty of the times, among other factors. Among the possible variations include elements such as the type and quantity of *memaan* ritual offerings, the number of rounds the procession makes around the shrine before the spirit enters the body of the *wali’ans*, the number of cocks involved in the cockfight or the kind and number of participants involved, as well as the secular ritual involving the installation of the new *timu’ay*. As ritual providing the occasion for periodic sacralization of time and space, the Samayaan binds the ritual participants in a shared community and protects them from social and supernatural disturbance. Together with the communal meal that accompanies it, this ritual celebration heightens social solidarity and provides participants with a sense of continuity.

As symbolic behavior that is socially standardized and repetitive, the Samayaan includes events with implications outside religious contexts. This is particularly evident in the way its symbolic processes lend themselves to sociopolitical uses. Viewing the Samayaan performance as a political discourse reveals the hierarchical structure of the traditional Arumanen society — the highest ruling class represented by the *timu’ay* followed by the religious leader or *wali’an* on whose person sacred knowledge is believed to reside. The former represents secular political power; the latter religious power. Between the two of them specific responsibilities in managing the ritual processes are assigned. Below them are the ordinary members of the community.

As a performance frame, the Samayaan ritual functions to reinforce both political and religious legitimacy through dramatic presentation of cultural symbols associated

with the prevailing tribal ideology. Apart from defining the boundaries between secular-political power and religious power, the Samayaan is also an affirmation of male authority signified by the peripheral role women play both in the ritual and political domains. In contemporary Barongis, the annual reenactment and dramatization of Samayaan celebration represents an affirmation of these traditional values. The highly visible involvement of the established political authority represented by government agencies such as the Office of the Southern Cultural Communities and a number of elected officials in the guest list of the last Samayaan suggested, not just the authorities' interest in the preservation of a cultural heritage, but their recognition of the potent implications of these values for political legitimacy.

The "Cultural Management" of the Samayaan

Thus, one of the interesting aspects of the Samayaan as a ritual and as a cultural performance is how well its peculiar form lends itself to ideological purposes. This recalls Manning's thesis that "celebration is both culture and politics, or better perhaps, cultural politics." As an aspect of celebration, cultural politics, Manning contends, implies the processes, first, of "politicization of culture, the translation of cultural symbols, beliefs, and values into political discourse and strategy; and second, of rendering politics. . . in cultural terms. . ." In Manning's words, "celebration is a kind of 'power play,' a dramatic arena in which cultural politics assumes style, shape, and significance" (Manning 1983:16). In the cultural context of the Samayaan, the involvement of the government through the cultural management of the Office of the Southern Cultural Communities provides a striking example of Manning's thesis.

Last December's Samayaan celebration showed how ritual and festival events were put to new overtly political uses. This was clearly evident at the conferral of the *timu'ay* title to newly appointed tribal elders in which guests representing the political establishment used the occasion as platform for pre-election campaign speeches. As well, visually encoded in the spatial arrangements of guests and tribal leaders on stage were social distinctions that separated the political authorities from the tribal leaders. Official guests were accorded special seats in front of the stage while tribal leaders sat huddled on a bench at the back, a rather ironic picture underscoring the peripheral position of indigenous people even in their own community and within their own festival.

These social distinctions were furthermore articulated not only by the spatial relationship but also by the clothes and attire of the guests. Behind the sartorially trendy officials, the tribal elders paled in comparison, the yellow of their ceremonial shirts unable to disguise the age or state of wear of perhaps their one and only ceremonial costume. Beside the glimmering shoes of the guests, the bare gnarled feet and worn-out slippers of the tribal leaders were indexical signs not only of the quality of their lives but

of their marginal social position. Thus, these visual codes revealed not only the existing political status but social and economic status of the participants as well.

The social organization behind last December's Samayaan festival demonstrated some of the political and economic forces of the local government working together through the Office of the Southern Cultural Communities. Although the tribal elders supervised the ritual performance, the actual management of the entire occasion was in the hands of the Office of the Southern Cultural Communities whose direction of the festival included public relations and media-oriented techniques.

The professed aim behind the involvement of government agencies in traditional festivals such as the Samayaan is the promotion and preservation of indigenous cultures in line with the cultural policy of the national government. Needless to say, the importance of preserving the people's festivals and religious tradition as a way of strengthening community solidarity and identity cannot be overstressed. However, as Manning's thesis has shown, celebration can be very well manipulated as strategies for political ends, as the last Samayaan exemplified. Another contradiction that surfaces from this kind of cultural policy is the way the emphasis on cultural heritage represents an attempt at validating and maintaining the status quo, a situation that leaves little to be desired as far as the quality, or lack of it, of life of the indigenous communities in general and the Manobos in particular is concerned.

Afterword

These impressions gathered from our 10 - day field work with the Manobo community in December, in particular my personal observations at Samayaan festival, prompt me now to ask questions rather than make conclusive statements. Questions such as our role as an academic community in the preservation of our indigenous cultures. It seems to me there is a need for us to define our role behind all these efforts of recuperating tradition that will have some bearing on our present celebration particularly on our choice of celebration theme. What I mean to say is that we should be fully aware that our involvement is more than just jumping on the band wagon or blindly following a trend. Or worse, one of those passing fancies that will last only as long as the College celebration lasts, which is one week! What kind of intervention should we have as an academic community in the efforts to preserve traditional cultures? Perhaps, even better, why don't we begin by looking into our own motives for doing so? As well, won't it be worth examining the particular approach to take and the attitude that must accompany such an approach?

And while we are asking ourselves these questions, perhaps, we also need to look critically at the existing strategies of intervention espoused by different groups and

government agencies and their underlying motives. What are the effects of these strategies on the people who are supposed to be their beneficiaries? And as we mull over these questions, why don't we try putting ourselves in the shoes of those people whose cultures we are trying to help preserve? That will indeed be a first step in the right direction.

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SILLIMAN'S EDUCATIONAL MANDATE

Towards New Directions¹

Mervyn J. Misajon

As one moves through the pathwalks of this venerable institution, one cannot help but look at the ancient and stately acacia trees, their imposing branches at once creating and enfolding the ambiance of history and tradition that permeates this campus. These towering acacia trees are products of nurturing by a people with a deep sense of history and tradition. Recorded as the second university founded in the nation after the University of Santo Tomas in Metro Manila, Silliman University is indeed replete with a great and unique history. For was it not on August 28, 1901 that this university was formed as an elementary school for young boys by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America? Little did the philanthropist by the name of Dr. Horace Brinsmade Silliman know that his donation of \$10,000.00 was merely the seed of an acorn from which a giant and complex oak of a university will arise.

Today this university stands in an even more unique position in history. Not only is it celebrating its centennial in the year 2001, but is also going to cross a millennium. A hundred years will end for Silliman University and also one thousand years for the history of the world. It is therefore with a deep sense of history and foresight that I approach the highest position of this institution.

I come into this presidency with the task of providing leadership to an institution whose undying grand tradition has sustained it over the years, but whose future is uncertain as it grapples with two contending forces: on the one hand, the need to preserve that which has been gained for a long period of time such as the tradition of academic excellence and Christian values; on the other, the need to explore new strategies and prospects to sustain the drive for excellence under conditions of scarcity. There is an aspiration for the new, yet a deep reluctance to part with the past. To preserve, one must control; to explore, one must be daring to change.

There is an old Philippine adage that reminds us to look back at our past to enable us to reach our future. As its mandate, Silliman University has set itself the task of educating men and women after the ideal of the great Master-Teacher Himself, Jesus Christ, from

¹ Speech delivered by Dr. Mervyn J. Misajon on his installation as 10th President of Silliman University, 27 August 1994, Luce Auditorium, Dumaguete City.

whose exemplary life the motto *Via, Veritas, Vita*, meaning the Way, the Truth, and the Life is derived. With quality Christian education as its mission for the past 93 years, Silliman has pursued the goal of raising professionals with competitive skills in all areas of human life - be it in the Social Sciences, Physical Sciences or the Arts - yet with the character, passion, wisdom and justice of Christ. Truly indeed, if Silliman is going to progress into the new millennium, there is first a need to review the university's performance and accomplishments. This is vital in determining whether indeed the university continues to operate within its conceptual mandate as well as fulfill that mandate. If not, it is in great danger of becoming either irrelevant or altogether moribund.

Today, I understand and remember the noble beginning of this university. Also today, I see that Silliman needs to adapt to the special character of the times. New things come with tides, and new wineskin is needed to hold the new wine. From the book of Matthew, Chapter 9, verse 17 of the *Holy Bible*, we read about the allegory of the wineskin. I quote: "Neither do men pour new wine into old wineskins, if they do the skins will burst. New wine will run out and the wineskin will be ruined." No, they pour new wine into new wineskins and both are preserved. The wisdom gained from this allegory underlies the new directions to which I hope to take Silliman as its new president.

What then is the symbolic significance of this allegory in the context of Silliman University? Which is the wineskin and which is the wine? As I view it, the new ideas and new directions being poured in by the new administration are the fresh wine. Our wineskin is the conglomerate of structures woven through traditions. These are the system and sub-systems that have developed their own directions through the years. To be a new wineskin, existing structures must be opened up - complementary, consolidated and directionally cogent. Existing structures that cannot handle newness may cause a crack and spill out the benefits of the new directions. But if men and structures are willingly and productively used, then these new ideas can become the seeds from which a greater Silliman can emerge.

These new directions will focus on the development and strengthening of three major areas: instruction, research and extension. Instruction will undergo a review and faculty and staff development will be prioritized. Linkaging among existing research projects and encouraging university-wide research climate in specific areas in the natural and Social Sciences and Culture will be nurtured. Technology transfer through an organized extension program shall be accomplished with overseas educational assistance particularly in the areas of primary health care and local government systems. All these new directions and thrusts are spelled out in the document you have with you today, *SUMMA 2001*. Generally, these thrusts have been designed to deal with the major crisis of the times --- scarcity. An increase in university population brings about great competition for existing resources like remuneration, benefits, facilities. Scarcity, in fact, brings about a legal kind of competition that ends often in annihilation.

The new thrusts that are outlined in the document in your hands should enable us to deal with scarcity as a stimulus for drawing innovative alternatives to aging solutions without compromising our original educational mandate. Through all this, we must remember that Silliman University is especially tasked to produce men and women with character to face the greatest scarcity of them all, the hardening of the human heart.

If advanced technology is the answer to the problems of human existence, why is there a pronounced breakdown in the family system in developed nations? If knowledge were enough, how come there is no answer to the eradication of humanity in Africa? If academic excellence is sufficient, how is it so that fraternity rambles in respected institutions have become the norm? No, academic excellence is not enough. The answer points to the heart of the man who holds the knowledge, processes the technology, and dispenses with resources. The human heart therefore must be properly sensitized to the needs of others. And only God can properly sensitize the heart of man.

Towards this end, therefore, a more zealous learning of the Word of God shall be encouraged throughout the university. Scriptures say that the Word of God is a two-edged sword that pierces the hardest hearts. Through this, I believe our university will have a preeminence over other universities. For here, only in Silliman, we hold both the mind and heart of man.

In closing, I say to my teammates in the administration, close ranks with me for a house divided against itself cannot stand. To the members of the faculty I say excel in the three areas of university endeavor. To the staff I say, support the functions of the system for you are its vital parts. And to the students I say understand that each one of you possesses not only the skills to learn, but the heart to understand the very purpose of learning in a Christian university. To the honorable members of the Board of Trustees I say, I come to lead as you have come to guide me. To the wonderful alumni, many of whom I have met over the past days, I say, never ever extinguish the fire of selfless support for dear old Silliman. To all I say, we are a part of one body, neither one is independent of another. Our future only becomes clear and achievable if we all understand the special destiny of our beloved university.

The educational mandate of Silliman is clear and unchanging. As its newly installed and 10th president, I am serious about accomplishing its mission. With God's grace and your support, this institution by the sea that has been home to many of you and has a treasure chest of fond childhood and young adulthood memories shall continue to be onward upon the rock and achieve the purpose that was there to accomplish. To God be the glory.

GLOBALIZATION: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES TO THE ACADEME¹

Washington C. Sycip

While I was requested by your President to speak about "Globalization: Challenges And Opportunities to the Academe," I have taken the liberty of commenting more on ASEAN and East Asia.

As a country, we have unfortunately been more inward looking than our neighbors. I therefore thought that we should understand our region first - and from there move to the challenges of globalization. Like the Latin American countries, the Philippine tendency has been to swing from one extreme to another in whatever we do. This is probably due to a common historical background and is quite contrary to the more successful Asian step-by-step approach to the solution of problems.

During the past 40 years I have luckily had a front seat in watching and participating in the progress of every East Asian nation. In establishing offices in these countries, I had the opportunity to meet the political leaders, technocrats, businessmen and academic leaders of each country - and the thousands of young people who became part of our organization. Today, I would like to share with you some of my observations.

To get a proper perspective of development in East Asia, let me take you back a few years.

At the end of the World War II, the United States could do no wrong! Japan and Germany were humbled and discredited. The Philippines, the Asian colony that resisted Japanese aggression the most, saw all its urban centers destroyed - yet it would have elected Gen. MacArthur as president had he been able to run for election. As colonialism ended in Asia, the U.S. was the political and economic inspiration of every newly independent country. But these impatient nations soon found that strong authoritarian leaders emphasizing unity, work and discipline could focus on economic and educational problems and reduce poverty levels much more quickly than the western democratic model. Time was important as the competing socialist and communist countries were

¹ Speech delivered by Dr. Washington Sycip at an All University Convocation, 22, August 1994, Luce Auditorium, Silliman University.

then confident that their victories in China and Vietnam would attract poor Asians to their side.

Later, our region also saw that Japan and Germany, two countries identified by Asians as "disciplined" and "hardworking" regained their economic leadership in Europe and Asia. In recent years Asians also associate some of the problems of the rich western nations with overemphasis on individual rights and freedom as compared to community rights.

Increasingly prosperous Asia is now more confident and assertive. You are seeing an Asia that is no longer willing to be politically, economically or morally dominated - or lectured to - by the west. In many ways they feel that the rest of the world could also learn from the success of East Asia. For our region, emphasis on economic freedom ahead of political freedom has been the success formula. (After all most of the colonies never had political freedom and gradual increase in the level of political activity as standards of living improved was quite natural.)

I am sure most of you are aware of the "Economic Miracle" countries. The prosperity of the four "Newly Industrialized Countries" (NIC) Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong and Singapore has spread to Malaysia and Thailand and this is now extending to Indonesia and the Philippines. China and Vietnam, two socialist countries with growing market economies, have joined this group of dynamic East Asian countries. And even India is changing.

India had mistakenly emphasized political freedom but had closed its market to the outside world. When every indicator of the World Bank showed that it was falling behind China, India had to open its economy.

The Philippine failure with authoritarian rule can be attributed to the failure of Marcos to place national interest ahead of family and cronies. Compared to our neighbors, it was also difficult for our people to accept authoritarian rule and discipline as Filipinos had tasted freedom for many years. As you know in 1998 the country will be celebrating the 100th anniversary of the proclamation of the Philippine Republic.

Let us take a look at the present Philippine setting. President Ramos was very correct in first visiting our neighboring countries before going to the United States and Europe. This has resulted in major investment flows from the region. In the past, foreign investment to the Filipino meant capital from the western nations and Japan and no effort was made to tap the large transnational companies from our more friendly neighbors.

With the solving of the energy problem, the economy is finally moving ahead. All indications are that growth in the first half of this year will continue. Domestic firms,

having raised funds from both local and foreign sources, are building new facilities and entering into new ventures. Foreign investments have sharply increased. The Philippines is now an active player in the regional growth of East Asia.

I would like now to briefly highlight some of the developments that will probably take place in ASEAN in the next five to ten years.

1. ASEAN, with the addition of Vietnam, will be a grouping of over 400 million people - and this will mostly be increased to over 460 million when Laos, Kampuchea and Myanmar join in a larger South East Asian Community. Present ASEAN countries will find many opportunities for investment in the newer members.
2. The ASEAN Free Trade Area or AFTA will most certainly accelerate the present schedule of tariff reduction, especially when they see NAFTA and the European Union being extended to other neighboring countries. Aside from the expanded ASEAN of 10 countries, Australia and New Zealand may want to join AFTA.
3. Cross border investments will greatly increase and this will further strengthen the regional economic ties. Large ASEAN groups like Sime Darby, Robert Kuok, Salim, San Miguel, Keppel, Singapore Telecom, Siam Cement, Shinawatra, CP, are some of the major regional companies that have found that their expertise can be applied in neighboring countries. Other western and Japanese multinationals will join Nestlé, Mitsubishi, Toyota, Nissan, in establishing complementary manufacturing facilities in the different countries to take advantage of the ASEAN Free Trade Area.
4. With increasing prosperity ASEAN countries, like the other East Nation countries, will be more assertive of their own values. The excessive emphasis on individual freedom by western countries runs counter to much of the thinking in Asia. Eloquent and thoughtful leaders like Mr. Lee Kuan Yew and Dr. Mahathir are pointing the way to other alternatives---with solutions quite different from the western model. Economic freedom ahead of political freedom, consensus rather than confrontation, quiet persuasions rather than public criticism, arbitration and mediation rather than litigation, judges to help in speedy enforcement of laws rather than lawyers to delay justice, family unity rather than individual freedom. Yes, even family spanking!
5. Indonesian conglomerates with the largest domestic market as a base, will be expanding not only in ASEAN but in other parts of East Asia. We all hope that they can resolve the economic gap between the Pribumis and the Chinese Indonesians as successfully as Malaysia has.

Singapore will continue to be the hi-tech financial transport and convention center of the region. (The largest convention center in the world, with a seating capacity of

13,000 is now being completed.) In terms of social, economic and political thinking, 5 to 10 years from now, Tommy Koh and Kishore Mahbubani will be filling the rather large shoes of Lee Kuan Yew.

Malaysia, with its rich natural resources, and its government policy of assisting larger and more efficient corporations, will be spreading its economic influence in the region.

Thailand will find itself as the economic center of the nations bordering it - Myanmar, Kampuchea and Laos.

The Philippine economy has recovered and there is confidence in the private sector-oriented policies of President Ramos. But with a political structure like the U.S., it will be difficult to achieve double digit growth. President Bush calls it a gridlock - we call it a traffic jam. Our educated but too westernized leaders will realize that the government structure, together with unrestricted freedom of politics and media, may have to be modified to enable it to maximize economic growth. Again I would like to remind you that economics before politics has been the winning formula for East Asia.

6. China is a nation that will exert greater influence on all the ASEAN countries. It is already a strong magnet drawing capital from all over Asia and the western world. ASEAN countries will have to move even closer to each other - individually the countries will not be effectively heard by China, Japan, the European Union or NAFTA.
7. Growth areas across national boundaries will further intra-ASEAN trade and investment. Singapore and the Indonesian islands of Batam and Bintang, Singapore and Johore in Malaysia, Northern Sumatra and Penang, Southern Philippines, Sabah, Sarawak, Brunei and Sulawesi with possible participation of Darwin in Australia. These are already some of the ongoing growth areas that are tying the ASEAN nations closer to each other.
8. Much of the needed infrastructure in Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam and Myanmar --- countries with large populations, shortage of capital, and the ability to pay for much needed services --- will be built on a B.O.T. (Build-Operate- Transfer) basis. Electric power, water systems, telecom systems, highways, both private and government owned, are already being built and financed from savings of richer countries. Simply put, this is like buying a tractor or car on an installment basis.
9. Control of cross border media by western institutions may meet with greater resistance. Asians looked with favor the purchase of the controlling interest of the South China

Morning Post in Hong Kong by Robert Kuok. Ananda Krishnan, a prominent Malaysian, is getting into the satellite business. Our American friends may find that Asia is as anxious to keep its own culture as the French. The present dominance of CNN will be challenged in a rapidly expanding multimedia setting.

10. Australia and New Zealand, with English as the main language, will attract even more students and tourists from ASEAN, where a growing middle class, with English as a second language, can afford to travel. The political and business leadership of the two countries realize that their future is with their northern neighbors. Understandably, it will take a bit longer for the people, whose heritage is from Europe, to adjust to the new realities.

These observations may be useful to you as we extend our sights from ASEAN to East Asia, which includes the countries to our north.

1. Intra-Asian trade and investment has grown faster than trade and investment with the "western" world.
2. Japanese investments in other Asian countries were greatly accelerated after the Hotel Plaza meeting in 1985 when Japan was forced to revalue the yen. The recent strength of the yen is again causing a rush of Japanese investors to China and Southeast Asia.

Japan's trade and investment in East Asia are now in excess of such flows to the United States.

3. When the United States pressured Taiwan and South Korea to revalue their currencies, a similar wave of industries migrated from the northern countries to China and the southern countries of East Asia. This is still going on as labor scarcity is affecting Taiwan, South Korea and Hong Kong
4. Based on available data the largest source of investment in East Asia is from Japan. But we have to appreciate the fact that for ethnic Chinese in East Asia, the "borderless economy" was a reality long before multinationals talked about "globalization." (This is similar to the Jewish business groups in Europe before the Second World War.)

Collectively, the investment flows of ethnic Chinese in Asia would be as important as the Japanese.

5. China will be at "center stage" for many more years to come. Its key problem will be to find employment for the large flow of population from rural areas to

urban centers. It will also have to upgrade its educational institutions to match the neighboring countries.

6. The U.S. Military presence may be needed in Asia until there is a solution to the North/South Korea and the China/Taiwan political problems.
7. Singapore's very capable leaders have been the most articulate in expressing the ideas of Asians as they approach western countries living standards. What are the alternatives to crime and drugs? Is western emphasis for individual rights not adversely affecting the rights of the majority to have a safe city? If doctors, lawyers, engineers and accountants have to pass exams before they have the right to practice their professions, should politicians not be pre-qualified before they run for an elective office? How do you protect accumulated savings from politicians who may want to spend to gain popularity? Should a young person without responsibility have the same voice as the head of a family with children - is one person one vote fair? If we want an efficient and honest government, should pay scales of top technocrats, cabinet members and heads of state not match the private sectors? These are some of the issues we in Asia must be thinking about.

How do these trends and observations affect all of us who as teachers, students or citizens are interested in the continuous improvement in the well being of everyone in our society?

My answer is quite simple - let us devote more of our energy and resources to education. We can tell what a nation will be a generation from now by what it does - or it doesn't do - in education now. It is not by accident that the economic miracle countries were led by Taiwan and South Korea. Relative to their population, both countries have more students in tertiary education now than any country in Europe.

As a percentage of the national budget, our government education expenditure has declined from about 30% in 1963 to less than 11% in 1993. Fortunately for our country, the private sector is playing a major role in education - but no one will deny the fact that standards in government schools have greatly declined in the past 30 years.

Narrowing the economic gap is essential for the stability of our society. Good basic education in public schools enables children from poor families to catch up and compete with children from upper income groups attending private schools. But if the facilities and the quality of teaching in public schools deteriorate, the gap between rich and poor will widen - this is dangerous in any nation.

To get ourselves ready for globalization in the economic world, we must get our people to be better equipped to compete - and this can be done only by **better education**, particularly for the bottom group. Almost all government institutions are noted for red-

tape and inefficiency - maybe if more public works, energy and water systems are privatized, then such savings can go to education. Or even better, can we further privatize education and let the government pay the private sector to run the schools? This may be a study that Silliman University, with its excellent reputation, may want to undertake.

Thank you again for giving me the opportunity to be with you this morning.

CHALLENGE AND OPPORTUNITIES IN THE GLOBAL VILLAGE¹

Juanita Dy-Amatong

An oft-repeated quotation stresses that the youth of today are the leaders of tomorrow. Being the cream of the crop of Silliman University, you will surely land among the choicest positions in business, government and service institutions. With your excellent training, you may well be among the leaders not only of this country but of the world.

You are perhaps luckier than the generation ahead of you. Opportunities abound in every field of endeavor. The level of modernization and industrialization has reached a point of sophistication wherein racial differences or social class count least. It is the possession of knowledge that matters. This offers you, who are the best and the brightest, a chance to lead, to serve, exercise power, accumulate wealth and gain deeper knowledge. But it is also the modernization and advances in technology that pose challenges to the employment of human resources. Machines and computers are substituting for many, the activities that human minds and human hands can perform. In this age of modernization, human beings are not only competing with fellow human beings but are also competing with machines. It is precisely this phenomenon which opened to us windows of opportunities and enormous challenges.

It seems like centuries ago when thinkers, inventors and intellectuals were accused of witchcraft or burned at the stake. Now, experts are demanded by industry. Today, ideas are big business; information is wealth, bought and sold in the marketplace.

Development in science and technology has also shrunk the globe, thus opening opportunities in every corner of the planet earth. Corporations now span the oceans. The globe is now a single village. And each one of you has more chances today of landing jobs in a multinational in swanky Wall Street in New York or in an NGO, lending out to small enterprises in the backroads of Zimbabwe, whatever choice you make. The range of job choices for you is immense. It has never been like this.

Add to this, the fact that the Philippines is fast joining the global village. The country is now on a pivotal turning point, growing at rates that approach those of the tiger

¹ Speech delivered by Undersecretary of Finance Juanita Dy-Amatong during the Honors Day and Co-Curricular Convocation, 17 February 1995, Luce Auditorium, Silliman University.

economies of Asia. The growth rate of 5.1% attained last year is based on strong growth of investments and exports. While we have made inroads into the structural changes in the economy, we must see to it that the economic performance of the past two years will be sustained and say goodbye to the boom and bust cycle which characterized the growth pattern of the past.

How did we do this? What are its effects? And how will this impact on your future?

First, we implemented structural reforms to free the market from unnecessary regulations. The Aquino administration dismantled monopolies in coconut, sugar and other basic commodities such as wheat and grains, etc. The Ramos administration followed this up with telecommunications, shipping and banking. We reduced tariffs and removed import restrictions on many products. We are committed to the open trading system and investment liberalization regime of the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). The Senate ratified the new General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and authorized our becoming a founding member of the World Trade Organization. We removed virtually all restrictions on foreign exchange transactions and liberalized banking and foreign investments.

Second, we instilled fiscal and monetary discipline. For the first time in 20 years, the National Government generated a cash surplus of P18 billion in 1994. Also, the consolidated public sector deficit was only 0.1% of GNP, the lowest ever achieved, since we started monitoring the consolidated public sector in 1985. Thus, also for the first time, the National Government repaid almost P3.0 billion of its debts in 1994 by buying back at discounts the Brady bonds which the Philippine Government issued to replace the high interest commercial international debts. We shall be repaying our Paris Club debts and working hard at graduating from being a debt rescheduling country.

Likewise, with the creation of the New Bangko Sentral to replace the old debt-saddled Central Bank, we now have an institution that is able to manage liquidity effectively and focused on monetary policy and management.

Third, the administration decentralized the government. A new Local Government Code was enacted empowering local governments to design their programs and implement their projects. Villages, towns and provinces now have a role to play in the decision-making process. Correspondingly, the share of local governments in government resources was increased. More than at any other time in our history, the local people can shape their future and destiny.

Fourth, this administration sought peace with groups from both ends of the ideological spectrum. Peace dialogues are now in full swing. The Government is presently undertaking peace dialogues with the National Democratic Front, the RAM, and the MNLF and

MILF. The remarkable strength exhibited by the leftists and the rebels has been significantly dissipated by dissensions. At the same time support for rightist coup plotters were eroded as reform programs took their foothold. The tearing down of the Berlin wall and the capitalist "invasion" of a China has revealed the power of freedom and the supremacy of the market.

Stability on the macroeconomic sphere and the political front brought about economic upturn. Low inflation and low interest rates led to higher saving and investment boosting growth prospects. The inflow of foreign investments amounting to US\$4.3 billion in 1994, the highest ever attained in our postwar history, indicated a strong confidence in the way the country is managed.

While the economic scenario is bullish, the task ahead remains tough. Maintaining the appropriate climate for investment and growth is difficult. Discipline in the fiscal and monetary fields must be maintained. Structural reforms must continue. We have shown in the past two years our ability to rise from economic doldrums and political upheavals. Our task is to sustain the developments which have ushered us to where we are economically today. Overconfidence could lull us into a trap that will fling us back to instability and stagnation.

For the private sector, adjusting to a more competitive environment is likewise difficult. Protected by controls for a long time, domestic enterprise must shape up to competition from foreign investors and foreign industries. They have to implement measures to cut cost, map out new strategies to expand markets, specialize in profitable product lines, adopt new ways of doing things.

What does this imply?

A more competitive environment in a freer political and economic setting means the need for intelligent, committed and dedicated individuals, with certain expertise will continue to rise.

Experts will be needed in government, from the smallest village to the National Government department to design and implement programs, and to improve the quality and effectiveness of governance.

Experts will be needed in enterprise. Competition will require them to get the brightest people with the brightest ideas. If not, they will languish in the race to attain efficiency. They will get buried in the dust of their competitors.

Experts will be needed in the international community. International organizations such as the newly-organized World Trade Organization, ASEAN, APEC and the existing ones under the UN family will be needing more people to provide ideas on how to coordinate programs for the growing global village.

Experts will be needed everywhere---from the small NGO supporting micro-enterprises in Batanes to the giant trading firms and banks in Tokyo and New York.

Experts will be needed in almost every field---from computers to fashion to philosophy.

My dear young and bright friends, the global village is at your doorstep.

But lest I may be mistaken for being a cockeyed optimist, I wish to emphasize that the road to success may be fraught with dangers. It is not easy to compete. You have to be prepared for it. You have to burn your midnight oil for it.

Once you join that global village, you will continue to be tested by a barrage of challenges and that will almost seem to have no end. I therefore advise you to be always on your toes. You absorb information from all sources and analyze them carefully. You listen, read, talk and discuss with others. You make most use of your college education to develop your skill in areas where you are most interested.

The only way to success is to meet the competition head-on, using to the fullest your advantages in terms of very good education, molded in Christian values and nurtured in the Filipino tradition. Several years from now, you may well be one of the leaders of this country, making decisions that will shape the future of generations yet to come.

But let me quote Claro M. Recto's beautiful and timely admonition on the youth's responsibility:

"And yet, it is beyond question that the forces of change must rely on the emergent strength of youth. So much of this country's future glory or tragedy depends on its youth. They may claim that they are ill-prepared for so great a task. The fact remains, however, that the task is theirs, whether they like it or not. For this task they have advantages which have been denied the elder generation. They have not grown timid and afraid. They have no positions to safeguard, no vested interests in life to protect, no accustomed comforts to cling to. They have audacity and courage, curiosity and restlessness, energy of body and mind--all essential to a movement that demands sweeping radical changes in vast area of national life. But above all, the duty of awakening and enlightening our people is theirs. They will be heirs to the fruits of nationalist endeavor, the ones to take pride in the dignity and prestige of a truly sovereign nation. It is their lives that will be enriched by the resulting material prosperity, in the same manner that it will also be they who shall suffer the degradation and poverty that their own indifference, complacency and the lack of nationalist fervor and dedication will inevitably cause."

I hope that the future you want will not only be for yourself but will also be for the institution you are working with, for our country and for the world. May the Christian values which Silliman University taught and nurtured you, wherever you will be, be your guiding light and carry you through life's hills and vales. To the parents, guardians and relatives of the honor students, please accept my warmest felicitations on this memorable occasion. To the honor students, my sincere congratulations and may God Bless You.

THE FILIPINO DIASPORA¹

Efren N. Padilla

I would like to share with you some thoughts about what I have been doing in the United States in this short lecture. One of my areas of specialization is the Filipino Diaspora which simply means the scattering of Filipinos all over the world. As Associate Director of the Center for Filipino Studies, I have been privileged to head this particular project on the study of the Filipino Diaspora. The phenomenon of the people going all over the world is nothing new. As you may note, there are about two million Filipinos in North America, including Canada. Another two million are in Saudi Arabia and about 50 thousand in Europe. Probably one of its main ramifications as far as our experience as a people is concerned is that we are continually recreating our identity. We are not only talking of Filipinos in the Philippines, but we are also talking of Filipinos all over the world.

Let me propose to you three models upon which to discuss the Filipino presence. The first model is what I call **folkloric**. The folkloric Filipino identity has its roots in pre-colonial times. Its symbol is the self-sufficient barangay and the autonomous datu. It is our way of life based on familism, kinship and blood relationships. Nourished by devotion and hospitality, this way of life is still found among members of the family, distant relatives, old acquaintances, and old hometown friends. I would say that even the Silliman Spirit would fall within the context of what I call folkloric - meaning that it is identified with what we call the WE, WE-FEELING - a socialized understanding of self in relation to other people.

The second matrix is what I call **colonial**. Here was the imperial imprimatur of the Spanish principle of transference of sanctity and an extension of the American ideology of "manifest destiny." As you will note, if we go back to our Philippine history, the Spaniards constructed their Christian churches and government buildings and plaza complexes on sites previously occupied by the native religious or village structures. By using this principle of transference of sanctity, the sacredness of the indigenous places was transferred to their Christian successors and the power of the old order was usurped

¹ Excerpted from a lecture by Dr. Efren N. Padilla, Associate Director of the Center for Filipino Studies, California State University at Hayward, during the Silliman University Founders Day *Balik-Talent* Lecture Series on 25 August 1994 at Silliman University, Dumaguete City.

by the new order. Two of the best manifestations of this transference of sanctity are the *Ati-atihan* and the Black Nazarene. We know that the indigenous people assimilated the Spanish influence, but with some of what we call folkloric element.

One particular condition emerged out of the colonial experience. As described by Professor Cesar Adib Majul, the Filipino elite was produced and reproduced. Now, during the Spanish regime, this elitism embodied a new way of life manifested by *caciquism* where the barangay chiefs, according to Majul, became the native elite who collaborated with the colonial masters and bossed their way over the unfortunate "common *tao*." The chieftain became the *cacique* boss incarnate. But as a colonial subject, he was merely the unwilling mouthpiece of the Spanish friars. When the traditional chief's autonomy and authority declined, the ways of the folks embedded in the barangay also declined. The result is clear. In due time, the barangay evolved into *caciquism* and eventually into "bossism."

The American colonial experience, on the other hand, imposed a rationalistic system of colonialism which was antithetical to the folkloric behavior. In contrast to the folkloric which strongly embodies of the *WE-FEELING*, or the feeling of sentiment with one another, the rationalistic system which was basically colonialistic promoted the worst forms of alienated individualism without the spirit of the community which was embedded in the folkloric life.

Interestingly, the current Philippine bossist society owes its life to these colonial fathers. When I was in Silliman, I could not understand why people would call the superior as "Boss"- "Boss, kumusta ka, Boss?" But in the process I found out that this has a long history because what the colonials did was to make bosses out of the native elite. Politics in the Philippines exemplifies an area of life in which this concept of bossism is deeply etched. We have a long history of that. That is the second model.

The third model is what I call the Diasporic model. The scattering of Filipinos all over the world refers to the third matrix called **diasporic**. According to N.V.M. Gonzales, one of our Filipino writers, it is a cultural sentiment deeply rooted in the Filipino consciousness as individuals and as a people. This sentiment has been embodied for generations in the *Ibong Adarna* story about an ailing Father and his three sons. They must set out into the world and return with the cure for their suffering parent.

Diaspora comes from the word *Dia*. In Biology, *dia* means through while *sphere* means pores. In Biology, diaspores are carried by the various agents such as wind or water to regenerate life where they fall, perhaps resembling a new colony. It is from this context that the Filipino diaspora must be understood. It will be recalled that as a former colony, Filipinos lived lives redefined and rendered by the colonial masters in terms of

paternalistic arrogance. We were the savages and people sitting in darkness, and for that reason deserved to be ruled as wards. As wards, we were led and sometimes betrayed to satisfy the master's ambitions and self-interests. Dispossessed of our name and birthright, many poor Filipinos revolted and eked out a living to survive while many elite collaborated with the colonial masters to protect their privileged positions. Unfortunately, after independence, the Filipino leaders and the elite did not fare well. Still beholden to their former colonial master for military support, they resorted to panhandling - an interesting affair with an effect of producing what an American diplomat calls "a neurotic, manipulative, psychically crippling form of dependency."

But I believe that despite this form of mendicancy, many Filipinos did not forget the ways of the folks. Taken as a whole, neither the internal nor external polemics against Filipino culture, nor the numerous news and articles on Philippine corruption, or the attempts to evaluate Filipino politics in terms of slavery and greed and selfishness have noticeably prejudiced the dignity and will of many Filipinos to redeem themselves and succeed in the new world.

Let me give you some of the data that I found, for example, of Filipinos in the United States. The 1990 census reflects some fundamental changes in that relationships. The median income of the Filipino family in the United States right now is about \$46,698 annually, third behind the Japanese which is \$51,550 a year and Asian Indians which is \$49,309. Sixty-two per cent of the Filipino households have incomes over \$35,000 a year while slightly over 10% make income under \$15,000 a year. When compared to the median family income of Whites of \$31,435, Filipino income is 32% higher. I think one interesting feature of this diasporic experience is the overseas remittances. We found out for example, that in the United States alone Filipinos remit a total of about \$2 billion a year to the Philippines. \$2 billion, just from the United States, excluding Saudi Arabia and other Middle Eastern countries.

Now, for me, this idea of diaspora redefines our identity as a people. That is why I would like to look at our experience as a people as folkloric, colonial and diasporic. But the whole diasporic experience has to be embedded within the folkloric experience. When I was discussing this with some intellectuals in the United States, such as N.V.M. Gonzales and Professor Majul, we came to a sort of general point that we should go back to reclaiming our dialects. I would like to see in Silliman an Institute of Cebuano Studies, or Ilongo Studies or in Iloilo Karay-a Studies because we are losing our folkloric roots, and there is no way we can totally eliminate these experiences.

So I would like to encourage my fellow Sillimanians to continue to support this type of thinking. Thank you very much.

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