First Quarter, 1971

# SILLIMAN JOURNAL

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to Discussion and Investigation
in the Humanities and the Sciences

*In This Issue*

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# SILLIMAN JOURNAL

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Volume XVIII, Number 1 First Quarter, 1971

# *Muslims in Nationalist China*

**Peter G. Gowing***

**Other than two brief pamphlets issued in Taiwan, there is virtually no description of the Taiwan Muslims available in English. This article represents, therefore, an important contribution to knowledge about Taiwan Muslims. There are some 20,000 Muslims on Taiwan, forming an extension in exile of their more than 20 million Muslim brothers under Communist rule on the mainland. Most of the Taiwan Muslims are soldiers or government employees, shopkeepers and teachers. Practically all belong to the middle or lower class and are anti-Communist. They have their problems as a minority religion in a secular society and their future is uncertain.**

Since its defeat by the Communists in 1949, the Republic of China—that is, the Nationalist Government headed by President Chiang Kai-shek—has been in exile on the island of Taiwan (Formosa), 90 miles off the southeast coast of the China mainland. Among the more than a million "mainlanders" who fled to Taiwan in 1949 were 20,000 Chinese Muslims. These, along with the few native Taiwanese who are Muslims, constitute the "household of Islam" in Nationalist China.

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The research on which this article is based was conducted in Taiwan in May of 1969 under a grant from the University Research Center of Silliman University. The present article is a somewhat differently organized and much expanded version of a piece published in the **Aramco World Magazine** (July-August, 1970). The map used in the present article is reproduced with permission from that earlier publication and was drawn by Max Abellaneda of the staff of the School of Music and Fine Arts, Silliman University.

While the Muslims today are only a tiny minority in a population of some 13 million people on Taiwan,[1] they are nevertheless quite visible. Some of their leaders are prominent in the councils of the Republic. Their principal mosque is one of the beautiful landmarks of the capital city, Taipei. Their two major organizations are vigorous, and maintain

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Except for two brief pamphlets published by the Chinese Muslim Association in Taipei, entitled **Islam in Taiwan** and **The Chinese Muslim Association and Its Activities** (both undated, but produced in the early 1960's), there is virtually no description of the Muslims in Taiwan available in English. The **China Yearbook**, published annually in Taipei, has a short section describing Chinese Islam in general, with a few paragraphs devoted to the Muslims of Taiwan. However, the information given varies but little from year to year. Appropriate sections in D. Howard Smith's **Chinese Religions** (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968) and Richard Bush's **Religion in Communist China** (Abingdon, 1970) have provided helpful background information on Islam in China, past and present.

It is not possible to acknowledge the help of everyone who assisted the writer in gathering data on the Muslims of Taiwan. He interviewed many people there, both Muslims and non-Muslims. Among the Muslims, the following should be singled out for particular thanks: Haji Ahmad S. T. Hsieh and Haji Yacob Ming-cheng Ma of the Chinese Muslim Association; Haji Ishaque Shiao Yung-tai of the Chinese Muslim Youth League; Hu Shiao-lin, **Ahung** of the Taichung Mosque; Ma Hsing chih, **Ahung** of the Mosque in Chungli; Haji Ting Han of Keelung; Ma Sze-chang, chairman of the mosque council in Kaohsiung; and Muslim restauranteurs Sung Chin-liang (Taichung) and Tang Han-yu (Tainan).

Profs. Lin Heng-tao of Taipei and Yang Hsi-mei of the Academia Sinica were also most helpful as informants, as was Mr. Zein A. Dabbagh, Charge' d'Affaires of the Saudi Arabian Embassy in Taipei. The staff of the Library at National Taiwan University and at the Government Information Bureau in Taipei gave important help.

Since the writer speaks no Chinese, he had to depend on translators. Several students in schools in Taichung and Taipei did yeoman work in this regard and a special word of gratitude should be said for the invaluable assistance of a warm friend, Prometheus Moon (Lao Meng).

A considerable amount of printed material—mainly newspapers, journals and magazines—was collected in the course of research, all in Chinese. Mr. Hung Kar-shun, a senior student at Silliman University, rendered important service in translating pertinent information from some of that material.

Finally, the writer would not have had the nerve to undertake a project of this nature had it not been for the encouragement and generous assistance of certain interested friends in Taiwan, namely Dr. and Mrs. Ching-fen Hsiao of Tainan Theological College, Prof. and Mrs. Mike Thornberry of Taiwan Theological College, and Dr. and Mrs. Mark Thelin of Tunghai University. Needless to say, none of the persons or institutions mentioned is responsible for the views expressed in this article.

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[1] Estimates of the population indicate 10 million native Taiwanese (i.e., Chinese whose presence on Taiwan goes back several generations); 2 1/2 million mainlanders and their offspring; and half-a-million aborigines.

lively contact with the Islamic world. And, interestingly enough, more than 20 Muslim restaurants, serving beef dishes in a notoriously pork-eating land where beef is decidedly **not** favored, are found in the larger cities of Taiwan.

The small Muslim community in Nationalist China is an extension, albeit in exile, of the large body of Muslims on the China mainland. No less than their 20 million brothers under Communist rule, they are the heirs of a 1200-year-old heritage of Islam in China.

## Islam on the Mainland

The origins of Islam in China are obscure, but the year 651 A.D. is said to be the date of the first official contact between the Caliphate and the Chinese Empire. In that year an embassy from the third Caliph, Uthman, was graciously received at Ch'ang-an (modern Sianfu), the capital of the T'ang Dynasty. However, apart from a few Arab traders in the southern seaports—notably at Canton and Ch'uan-chou—there is no record of any sizable settlement in China before the middle of the eighth century. In 756, 4,000 Arab mercenaries, sent by Caliph Abu Jafar al-Mansur to assist the Chinese Emperor in suppressing a Tartar rebellion, were rewarded for their service by being allowed to settle in China. After that, other Muslim groups—Arabs, Iranians and Turkic peoples—moved into the Middle Kingdom, settling principally in the northern and western regions.

During the Mongol conquest in the 13th century men of many Asian races followed the conquerors into China, including various Islamized peoples. It was probably at this time that the Muslims acquired their distinctive Chinese name: **Hui-hui** (literally "returners"). Thus **hui-hui-chiao** ("the religion of the Hui") is the name by which Islam is known in China.[2] Some scholars believe that the name referred originally to the **Uighurs**, an Islamized Turkic tribe which migrated to China from Central Asia shortly before the Mongol invasion.

The Mongol rulers—the Yuan Dynasty—encouraged Muslim scholars, traders and craftsmen to make their home in China. Several Muslims were promoted to high office in the Empire. Muslim science was introduced. Indeed, it is said that certain Muslim arts and sciences flourished more vigorously in China under the Mongols than in Baghdad.

[2] Chinese Muslims also call themselves **chiao-min** ("The religious people") and their faith **tsing-chen-chiao** ("The Sacred Religion").

Muslim systems of medicine, mathematics, astronomy and military science were very popular in China, and an Institute of Islamic Studies was founded in 1314.

Over the centuries, the Muslims spread into virtually every province of China, becoming especially strong in Yunnan, Kansu, Sinkiang, Ninghsia and Mongolia. At first the Muslims constituted a distinctly foreign element in Chinese society. In many places they lived in separate communities, sometimes called **ying** ("barracks") revealing their military origin. They had distinctive dress, eating habits and religious customs. They greeted each other with Arabic or Persian phrases; practiced circumcision; shunned usury, geomancy and stage-plays; and they observed strange (to the Chinese) funeral and marriage rites. But they took Chinese wives, and in times of famine they were notably ready to purchase children of non-Muslim parents whom they raised as Muslims. Their descendants adopted Chinese names (combining them with names from the Quran) and some Chinese customs. Gradually the Muslims of China became racially and, to a certain extent, culturally indistinguishable from the general society. They also became more or less submissive to Chinese Imperial rule.

Even so, adherence of the Chinese Muslims to their faith was sufficent to bloc their **complete** Sinicization culturally and socially. They regarded themselves as a people apart. They preferred to use the Arabic language in their religious ceremonies. (As a matter of fact, the first complete translation of the Quran into Chinese was not produced until 1934, or some twelve centuries after Islam's entrance into China!). Dietary laws, Arabic salutations, the wearing of turbans, separate Muslim graveyards, distinct nuptial and burial customs and other outward signs of allegiance to Islamic ways were tenaciously preserved. They worshipped in mosques and received the ministrations of **imams** and **ahungs** (from the Persian **akhund,** a teacher and religious functionary) whom they chose from among themselves and trained in their own seminaries. The majority of Chinese Muslims followed Sunnite Islam of the Hanafi School.

The Imperial Government respected the Chinese Muslim view of themselves as a people apart, but in order to keep them under political control, it appointed spokesmen for the Muslim community to the councils of the Empire, giving them more prestige than authority.

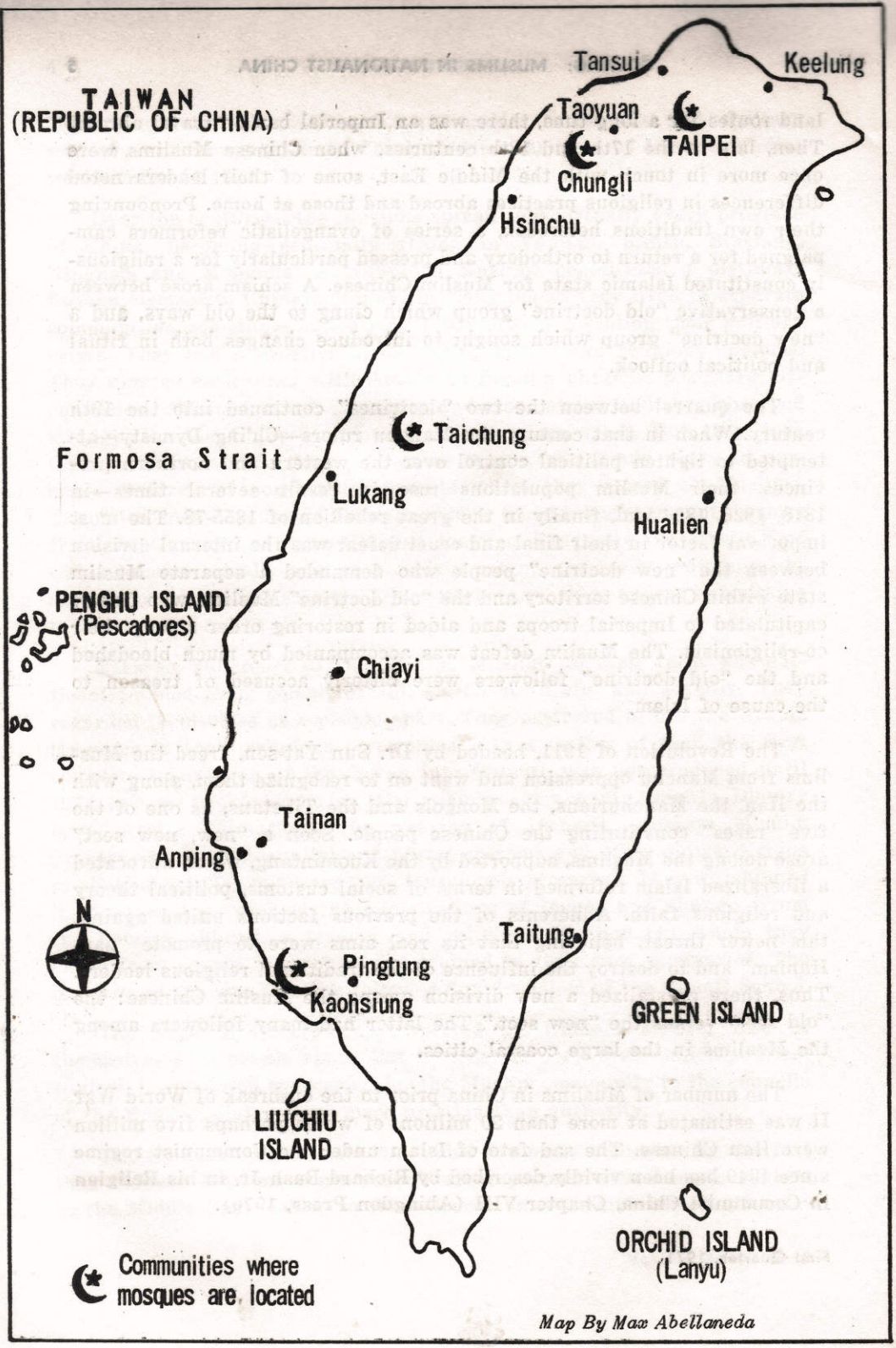
The Sinicization of Islam was aided for many centuries by the fact that Chinese Muslims were cut off from contact with Islamic centers in the Middle East. Added to the political unrest which closed off over-

land routes for a long time, there was an Imperial ban on travel abroad. Then, late in the 17th and 18th centuries, when Chinese Muslims were once more in touch with the Middle East, some of their leaders noted differences in religious practices abroad and those at home. Pronouncing their own traditions heterodox, a series of evangelistic reformers campaigned for a return to orthodoxy and pressed particularly for a religiously constituted Islamic state for Muslim Chinese. A schism arose between a conservative "old doctrine" group which clung to the old ways, and a "new doctrine" group which sought to introduce changes both in ritual and political outlook.

The quarrel between the two "doctrines" continued into the 19th century. When in that century the Manchu rulers—Ch'ing Dynasty—attempted to tighten political control over the western and northern provinces, their Muslim populations rose in revolt several times—in 1818, 1826, 1834 and, finally in the great rebellion of 1855-78. The most important factor in their final and cruel defeat was the internal division between the "new doctrine" people who demanded a separate Muslim state within Chinese territory and the "old doctrine" Muslims who finally capitulated to Imperial troops and aided in restoring order among their co-religionists. The Muslim defeat was accompanied by much bloodshed and the "old doctrine" followers were bitterly accused of treason to the cause of Islam.

The Revolution of 1911, headed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, freed the Muslims from Manchu oppression and went on to recognize them, along with the Han, the Manchurians, the Mongols and the Tibetans, as one of the five "races" constituting the Chinese people. Soon a "new, new sect" arose among the Muslims, supported by the Kuomintang, which advocated a liberalized Islam reformed in terms of social customs, political theory and religious faith. Adherents of the previous factions united against this newer threat, believing that its real aims were to promote "pan-Hanism" and to destroy the influence of the traditional religious leaders. Thus, there crystalized a new division among the Muslim Chinese: the "old sect" versus the "new sect." The latter had many followers among the Muslims in the large coastal cities.

The number of Muslims in China prior to the outbreak of World War II was estimated at more than 20 million, of whom perhaps five million were Han Chinese. The sad fate of Islam under the Communist regime since 1949 has been vividly described by Richard Bush Jr. in his **Religion in Communist China,** Chapter VIII (Abingdon Press, 1970).


TAIWAN
(REPUBLIC OF CHINA)
Tansui
Keelung
Taoyuan
TAIPEI
Chungli
Hsinchu
Taichung
Formosa Strait
Lukang
Hualien
PENGHU ISLAND
(Pescadores)
Chiayi
Tainan
Anping
N
Taitung
Pingtung
Kaohsiung
GREEN ISLAND
LIUCHIU
ISLAND
ORCHID ISLAND
(Lanyu)
Communities where
mosques are located
Map By Max Abellaneda

## Muslims on Taiwan Before the "Recovery"

In 1661, after the collapse of the Ming Dynasty and the rise of the Manchus, Koxinga (Cheng Cheng-kung), the war-lord hero, led 25,000 followers from southeastern China to the island of Taiwan. Koxinga drove out the Dutch from their fortified settlement at Tainan and established himself as ruler of the island. Among those who accompanied him to Taiwan were a few Muslim families from Fukien Province. They settled in port-towns along the west coast, principally at Tainan, Lukang and Tansui.

The descendants of these Muslim followers of Koxinga did not remain Muslim. As one generation followed another, they became almost totally assimilated into Taiwanese society and forgot their Islamic faith.

There is some vague memory today of mosques having existed in Lukang and Tamsui prior to 1895 when Japan began to rule Taiwan.

**Chou Tin-shen, Kuo Cheng and Kuo Wen-sai (from left to right). The two on the right are Taiwanese descendants of 17th century Muslims settlers at Lukang, Taiwan.**

The Kuo family in Lukang reports that somewhere towards the middle of the Japanese period (or around 1920) an **ahung** came from the mainland for a short time to teach the Quran and officiate at funerals. In general, however, the Japanese discouraged the practice of "foreign" religions

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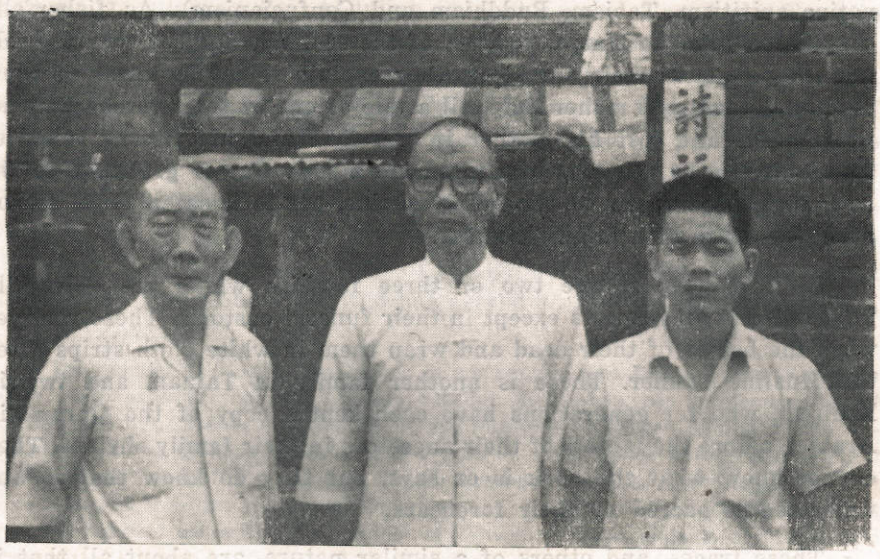

**Chou Tin-shen, Kuo Cheng and Kuo Wen-sai (from left to right). The two on the right are Taiwanese descendants of 17th century Muslims settlers at Lukang, Taiwan.**

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on Taiwan. If there were a few Muslims on Taiwan under the Japanese, they were not native to the place and they practiced their faith as individuals and not as a community. In his **History of Taiwan** written in 1918, Prof. Lien Ya Tang said, "The spread of Islam in Taiwan is nil; believers are few, mostly from other provinces, hence there is no mosque in Taiwan as yet."

Curiously, some of the Taiwanese families today, which are descended from the Muslim settlers who followed Koxinga, preserve certain customs of Islamic origin, even though these families are not now Muslim. The Kuo family mentioned above, for example, do not include pork among the food offerings they make at the altar of their ancestors. Moreover, they insist that the dishes on which the food offerings are made be thoroughly washed lest they be contaminated by contact with pork. This family, which has about 300 households in Lukang, eats pork and participates fully in "Taiwanese religion" (an eclectic mixture of native spiritism, Taoism, Buddhism and Confucianism). As fisherfolk, they are devoted to Matsu, goddess of the sea. When asked why they do not offer pork to their ancestors, they explain it not in terms of their Muslim descent but rather they tell a tale of one of their forebears who, when an infant, lost his mother in war-time and his fleeing relatives saved his life by allowing him to suckle a sow. Out of gratitude to the sow, pork is not given at the family shrine, nor is it eaten for a season after the death of a family member.

In Tainan there are two or three families which are culturally Taiwanese in all respects except in their funeral customs. These families wash the bodies of their dead and wrap them in white cloth strips after the Muslim manner. There is another family in Tainan, and two in Keelung, who for generations have each kept a copy of the Quran (in Arabic) before the tablets of their ancestors in their family shrines. They do not know what the book is or says, but they do know that it was venerated as sacred by their forebears.

These traces, and others of a similar nature, are about all that is left of the Islamic faith in Taiwan introduced by Muslims in Koxinga's time. Today not more than 200 out of the ten million native Taiwanese are Muslims, and practically all of them are recent converts, many because of marriage to Muslim mainlanders.[3]

[3] This estimate was given to the writer by Haji Ishaque Hsiao, Chairman of the Chinese Muslim Youth League in Taipei.

## Muslims in Exile

The 20,000 Muslim mainlanders presently on Taiwan come from all over China—Yunnan, Sinkiang, Peking, Manchuria, Kwangtung and many other places.[4] There are many who bear the name of **Ma.** These are the relatives or clients of the famous Muslim war-lords who held sway in China's northwest, in the provinces of Ninghsia and Kansu. Edgar Snow once remarked that the Ma family was "as numerous as the grasses of Ninghsia or the Smiths of the American West." In the Nationalist-Communist civil war, the Ma fought with the Nationalists and quite a number of them followed Chiang Kai-shek into exile.

Most of the Muslims on Taiwan are soldiers or government employees. Some are shopkeepers and teachers. Practically all belong to the middle or lower classes. A few of their leaders hold seats in the Legislative Yuan and the National Assembly. They include Messrs. Idris Kang, Suleiman Pai, Abdullah Shin Ching and Mrs. Aisha Tung in the Legislative Yuan, and National Assemblymen Salih Sun and C. T. Chang. There are ranking officers in the armed forces who are Muslims, notably Lt. Gen. Ma Ching-chiang, formerly Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Service Forces and now one of the top military advisers of President Chiang. Until his death a few years ago, General Omar Pai Chung-hsi—who for years headed the Chinese Muslim Association—was Deputy Chairman of the Military Strategic Advisory Committee. Muslims also serve in the diplomatic corps of the Republic and outstanding among them is Mr. Wang Shi-ming, who has served as Ambassador to Kuwait.

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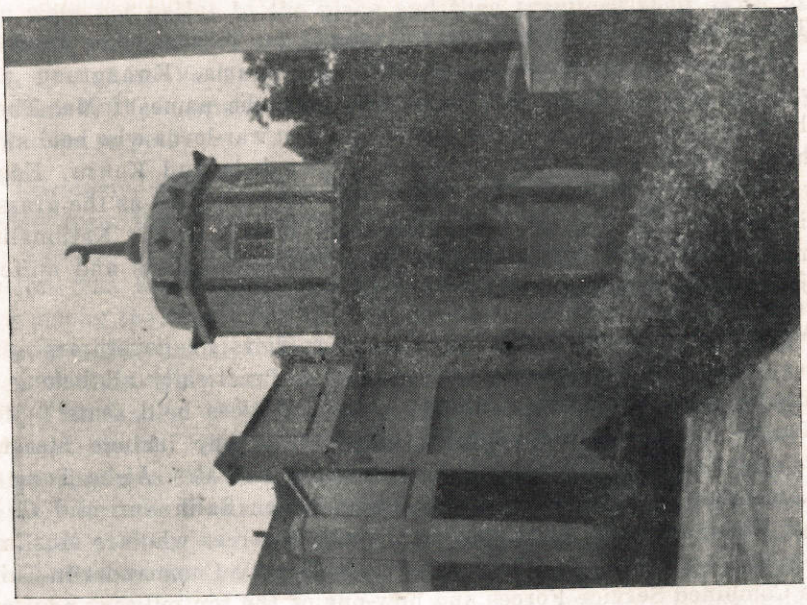
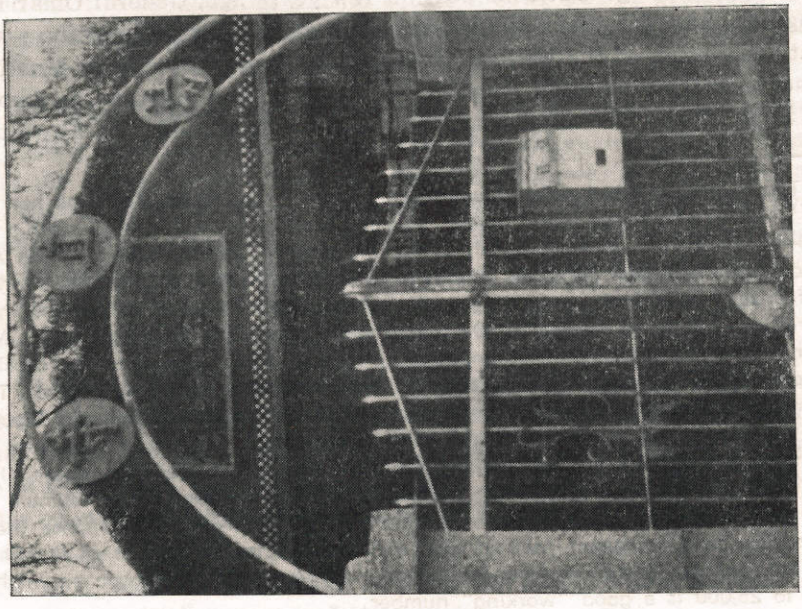
[4] The number of Muslims on Taiwan is not known. The **China Yearbook** has for many years asserted that the Chinese Muslim Association has a membership of 40,000—and the CMA asserts that all of the Muslims on Taiwan belong to the Association. In the **China Yearbook, 1960-61,** as in other issues before and after, it was affirmed that half of the CMA's 40,000 members were born on Taiwan and half were refugees from the mainland. On investigation, the writer found that the CMA is in the habit of estimating the number of Taiwan-born **descendants** of the Muslim followers of Koxinga at 20,000 and claiming them as members of the Association. The 4,000 member Kuo family in Lukang, mentioned above, is included in their calculations. But the fact is, the Kuo are not Muslims and apparently do not wish to be Muslims. In the absence of more reliable data, the writer has arbitrarily chosen the figure of 20,000 for the total Muslim population on Taiwan. That is the estimate of the number who came over in 1949, and while it may have increased since then, it might also have decreased—and in any case, there is no evidence at all that it is twice that number. Some knowledgeable Muslims interviewed on Taiwan agree that 20,000 to 25,000 is a good "working" number.



Mosque at Chungli



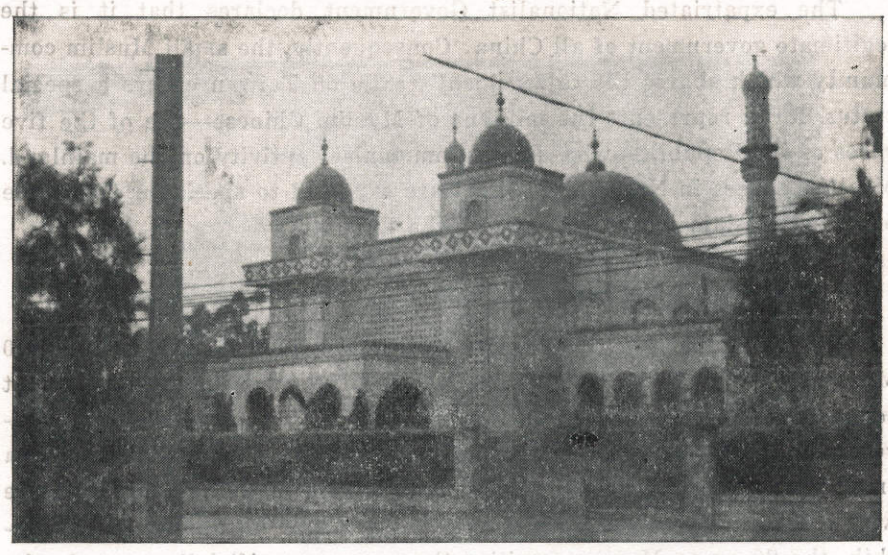
Culture Mosque

The expatriated Nationalist Government declares that it is the legitimate government of all China. Consequently, the small Muslim community which shares the Government's exile on Taiwan enjoys a special status, for it represents the millions of Muslim Chinese—one of the five races of the Republic—who live in Communist captivity on the mainland. Muslim leaders in Nationalist China are expected to speak for the whole of Chinese Islam in the councils of the Republic.

### Mosques and Religious Leadership

Only five mosques serve the religious needs of Taiwan's 20,000 Muslims. Three of the mosques reflect the financial limitations of that community—they are unpretentious structures, two of them being converted Japanese-style houses. The mosque in Chungli, built in 1966, is a small but lovely building of cement and marble in Chinese temple style with a pagoda-like tower. Under the leadership of its **ahung**, Ma Hsing-chih, the 20 or so Muslim families there gave sacrificially towards the cost and also solicited funds from wealthier friends in Taipei and from as far away as Hong Kong and Thailand.

Taipei has two mosques, which is not surprising since the greater number of Muslims on Taiwan live in or near that city. The older of the two, the Culture Mosque, is also the headquarters of the Chinese Muslim Youth League (the smaller of Taiwan's two Muslim religious organizations). The other mosque, called the Taipei Mosque, is the largest and most impressive of the five Muslim houses of worship on the island. Unlike the temple-style mosques of the China mainland, the Taipei Mosque incorporates Arabian and Persian architectural elements, including two stately minarets. The spacious, high-domed central hall can accommodate up to a thousand worshippers. The building also has an auditorium seating 400 persons, a reception hall, several offices and ample facilities for ritual ablutions. Constructed under the leadership of the Chinese Muslim Association (which has its offices in the building), the Taipei Mosque was officially opened in April of 1960 and hailed as a symbol of the religious freedom which prevails in Nationalist China.



**Taipei Mosque**

The mosques on Taiwan are completely autonomous and quite simple in their organization. The elders of the mosque choose a board of directors which in turn selects an **imam** or **ahung** to take general charge of religious affairs. There is little difference in function between an **imam** and an **ahung** on Taiwan, except that the former is the more prestigious title and is bestowed on one who is especially well-versed in Arabic and Islamic studies and who is qualified to preach the Friday sermons. In mainland China, **ahungs** were of different grades, performing different functions. On Taiwan they are mostly of one grade, able to read some Arabic, explain Islamic law and doctrines, adjudicate minor disputes within the mosque community, officiate at ceremonies, (such as name-giving, circumcision, weddings and funerals) and lead the public prayers. The Taipei Mosque and the mosque at Kaohsiung also employ a sort of "minor **ahung**" whose main function is to slaughter animals in the Muslim way.

Both of the mosques in Taipei have well-trained **imams** of recognized standing. The **imam** of the Taipei Mosque is assisted by three **ahungs**, while the **imam** of the Culture Mosque has no such staff. The mosques at Chungli, Taichung and Kaohsiung are in the care of **ahungs**, all of whom are older men, retired soldiers, who have had no special training for their office but who have been chosen for their piety and

above average religious learning. There are no seminaries on Taiwan for the preparation of Muslim religious leaders.

Daily prayers are held in the mosques but very few people attend them. Friday mid-day prayers, the principal service of the week and compulsory for all Muslim males, attract more worshippers, but even they are not well-attended. In Chungli, 30 is regarded as good and in the large Taipei Mosque the Friday attendance averages around 100, though occasionally it reaches 200.

Religious instruction is given to children by their parents in the home, but classes for older boys and girls are conducted by the **imams** and **ahungs** in the mosques, usually during winter and summer vacation weeks. The present **imam** of the Taipei Mosque, Prof. Ma Chi-shiang is a China-born Saudi Arabian citizen, educated in Mecca and Medina, who teaches Arabic and Islamic religion. Some 30 youngsters are currently (1969) enrolled in classes which meet two hours a day on Saturdays and Sundays. During the winter and summer vacations, the enrolment swells to about 100 students and Professor Ma is assisted in teaching by **ahungs** and senior members of the community.

One of the most serious problems facing Islam on Taiwan today is the future of religious leadership. There are two **imams** and about six **ahungs** on the island. Of the 14 Chinese Muslim students now studying at Islamic centers abroad (four in Libya, nine in Saudi Arabia and one in Lebanon) only two or three are likely to return and serve as religious leaders. Most of the present leaders do not have many more years of service left and unless the prospects for their replacement brighten soon, a crisis situation is bound to occur.

## Muslim Organizations

All Muslim Chinese on Taiwan are regarded as members of the Chinese Muslim Association, headed by Acting President Abubakr Ming-yuen Chao. Founded on the mainland in 1937, the Association followed the Nationalist Government to Taiwan in 1949. Since that time it has been the only officially recognized organization of Muslims on the island.

The principal aims of the Association are set forth in its constitution. They include the preaching of Islamic doctrine, the development of Muslim education, the improvement of the welfare of Muslims, the cultivation of contacts and friendly relations with Muslims around the world, and the unity of all Chinese Muslims in opposition to Communism.

Working through its several local branches, departments and committees, the Association engages in many and varied activities. In 1959, after a translation board headed by the late Hadji Khalid T. C. Shih devoted seven years to the task, a complete translation of the Quran into Chinese was published. Another Chinese version of the Quran translated by Hadji Sheikh Ching-chai Wang was published in April, 1964, by the Association and the World Muslim League.

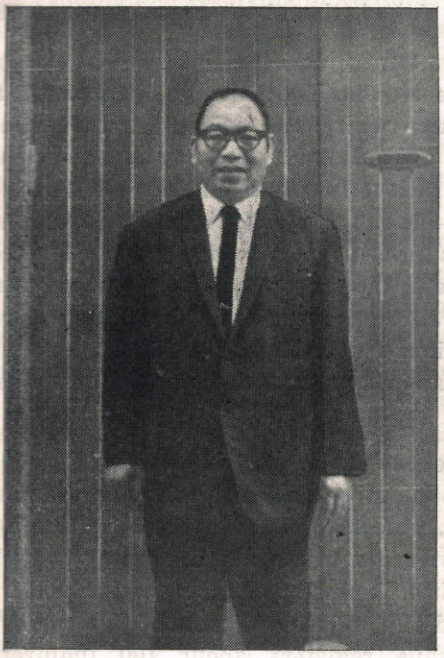
The Public Relations Section of the Association publishes a newspaper and a magazine which print news items about the Muslim world, report on local Muslim activities and also offer articles on Islamic customs and doctrine. In addition, the Association sponsors a weekly radio program which the huge transmitters of the China Broadcasting Corporation beam to Muslim and other listeners on the mainland. The Youth Department, among other activities, conducts an educational program for the young people and also supplies books and magazines for Muslim members of the armed forces.

The Overseas Affairs Commission of the Association maintains lively contact with the World Muslim League, the World Islamic Congress and other international Islamic organizations. It also receives and entertains many foreign Muslim visitors each year. The Association assists in the selection of Chinese Muslim students for scholarships to study at Islamic centers abroad; and it often helps in arrangements for foreign Muslim students studying in Taiwan. The Association organizes the **hajj** each year and participates in the selection of those few who are permitted to make the pilgrimage. From time to time, with encouragement and aid from the Government, it sends good-will missions to Muslim countries. In September of 1963, for example, the Association sent a five-man delegation to Kuala Lumpur in celebration of the formation of Malaysia.

Certainly the most dramatic achievement of the Chinese Muslim Association was the construction of the Taipei Mosque which cost approximately US $150,000. The Association raised $50,000 in local contributions and donations from Muslim friends overseas (including Their Majesties the Shah of Iran and the King of Jordan). The balance was acquired on loan from the Nationlist Government which was only too happy to have in the capital city a beautiful mosque to show visiting Muslim dignitaries.

Rivaling the Chinese Muslim Association in enthusiasm, though not in size and influence, is the Chinese Muslim Youth League, headed by

Hadji Ishaque Shiao Yung-tai. Hadji Ishaque is not only the president of the League but he is also Imam of the Culture Mosque in Taipei where, as already noted, the League has its offices.



**Hadji Ishaque, Imam of Culture Mosque**

**Hu Shiao-lin, Ahung of Taichung Mosque**

Hadji Ishaque was one of the founders of the League in the city of Mukden, Manchuria in the early 1930's. At that time the League was called "The Chinese Muslim Youth Cultural Improvement Association" and its purpose was to unite Muslim youth against the Japanese and their puppet regime in Manchuria. Then, during the Nationalist-Communist war of the late 1940's, Hadji Ishaque and some members of his Association moved to Kwangtung Province where, in Canton, in July of 1949 they reorganized themselves, with other interested Muslims, into "The Chinese Muslim Youth Anti-Communist and Nation-Building League." Later that year, the League moved to Taiwan. Its members, including Hadji Ishaque, were at first active in the Chinese Muslim Association, but in the early 1950's they withdrew partly in order to preserve their separate identity as a Muslim organization. The League adopted its present name in 1957.

Unlike the Chinese Muslim Association which simply considers all Muslims on Taiwan as members, the League requires the approval of a formal application for membership. There are 560 members of the League at present (May, 1969), including 55 Taiwanese converts. Most of the members live in and around Taipei, though there are some scattered throughout the island.

To a certain extent, the Chinese Muslim Youth League represents a continuation of the "new sect" faction which had existed on the mainland. It is liberal and reformist in attitude and generally more accommodating to the pressures of Sinicization. In ritual matters the League incorporates minor differences vis-a-vis the Taipei Mosque. For example, while the larger mosque offers its prayers in Arabic, prayers in the Culture Mosque are mainly in Chinese, though some Arabic verses from the Quran are also recited. In general, the League feels that it has more appeal to youth than the Association. It conducts regular classes for the young people, emphasizing Islamic law and doctrine rather than ceremonial concerns.

Neither the Association nor the League engage in evangelizing for converts, yet converts are won to Islam on Taiwan each year. Some, especially the Taiwanese converts, embrace Islam as a condition of their marriage to Muslims. The rest are attracted to the faith through contacts with ahungs or other Muslims. Both organizations put literature into the hands of inquirers and cordially welcome those who are curious about the faith. The Taipei Mosque registers about 100 inquirers annually and the Culture Mosque attracts between 40 and 50.

## Contacts With World Islam

Nationalist China maintains cordial relations with a number of Middle Eastern countries such as Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Turkey and Iran. Frequent exchanges of visits by government officials and civic leaders have served to promote mutual understanding between the Republic of China and these nations. Chinese students, most of them non-Muslims, have studied in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey; and likewise, students from the Middle East have studied at the National Taiwan University and other educational centers in Nationalist China. Moreover, Jordanian, Turkish and Saudi Arabian teachers have taught at the National Chengchi University in Taipei, mostly in the Department of Oriental Languages. Middle Easterners have been particularly interested in Taiwan's agricultural and industrial projects and land reform achievements.

Such cordial relations have facilitated contacts between the Chinese Muslim Association and the Muslim leaders of the Middle East. These contacts take several forms, some of which have already been mentioned: the sending and receiving of visitors; the annual **hajj**; the sending abroad of Chinese Muslim students for Islamic and Arabic studies; participation in Islamic world conferences; and communication via the exchange of literature and communiqués.

Because most of Taiwan's Muslims are mainlanders forced into exile by the Communists, it is not surprising that in their association with the Muslim world they are advocates of a strong anti-communism and propagandize zealously against the present Peking regime. This is seen clearly in the activities of those selected to go on the annual **hajj.** Since 1954, the Chinese Muslim Association has been permitted to nominate five delegates per year to make the **hajj**—usually at least one of those chosen is a man from Sinkiang Province (Chinese Turkistan) and another a member of the Chinese Muslim Youth League. The travel of the hadjis is subsidized by the government and after the pilgrimage they are usually expected to travel to various Muslim countries, calling on Muslim political and religious leaders. In these meetings they are eager to exchange views on ways to protect Islam from Communism.

In May of 1962, the "hadji mission" from Nationalist China participated in the World Muslim Conference in Mecca and offered four proposals which were reportedly adopted in a unanimous resolution by the conference delegates. The proposals epitomize the anti-communist position represented in world Islam by the Muslims of Nationalist China:

1. Muslim nations are urged to proclaim Communism as illegal in their territories.
2. Communists are to be prohibited from entering Mecca.
3. Muslim nations are urged to help brother Muslims suffering behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains.
4. Pamphlets and books in Arabic, English and French are to be published condemning the Communists for their distortion of facts and their dissemination of false propaganda.

At the height of the 1966 "Cultural Revolution" in Red China, the Chinese Muslim Association sent an appeal to the World Muslim League and to other Muslim organizations all over the world charging that the Chinese Communists persecuted Muslims so ruthlessly that the Muslims of China were in revolt. The Association also charged that literally millions of Muslims on the mainland had been liquidated by the

Communists.[5]

The Muslims of Taiwan are much interested in cultivating friendship and cooperation with Muslims in East and Southeast Asia. On the occasion of the opening of the Taipei Mosque in 1960, leaders of the Chinese Muslim Association met several times with Muslim delegations from the Philippines, Japan and Brunei. Out of these talks came a memorandum which, among other things, called for closer relations between Muslims in the region particularly directed to the education and uplifting of the faithful; suggested the exchange of publications among the different Muslim organizations in the region; endorsed a proposal of Philippine Senator Domocao Alonto and others for a conference of Southeast Asian Muslims; and advocated the unity of Muslims against all forms of godless ideologies.

### The "Muslimness" of Muslims on Taiwan

It is wrong to measure the "Muslimness" of a people by the degree to which they adhere to the Five Pillars of Islam. From the standpoint of their **disposition** to be Muslims—the only valid criterion of "Muslimness"—the Muslims of Taiwan are as faithful to Islam as the citizens of Mecca. They confess the **Kalima**; and compared to some other Muslims in nearby Southeast Asia, they do not compromise their belief in the Oneness of Allah by worshipping other deities. Nevertheless, not many Muslims on Taiwan take the time to do the **Salat** every day, and most do not even go to the mosque on Friday. Hardly anyone gives the Zakat. Only five Muslims each year are permitted by the government to go on the annual **Hajj** (though more would go, and at their own expense, if it were permitted). The Ramadhan Fast, however, is well observed by those identifying themselves as Muslims.

While there is general awareness that the Hanafi School of Islamic jurisprudence prevails in Chinese Islam, on Taiwan there is little application of the religious law outside the mosque because, of course, Nationalist China is a secular state. Within the mosque, however, offenders are judged by a council called and presided over by the **ahung.**

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[5] The **China Yearbook, 1967-1968** declared that under the Communists since 1949 "Islam, like all other religions, has been persecuted and the faithful liquidated. . . . The number of Chinese Muslims has been reduced from 50,000,000 to 10,000,000." (p. 77).

Islam on Taiwan, like Islam everywhere in the world, is affected by its environment. One example of this is found in the matter of divorce. Islamic law makes it relatively easy for divorce to occur, yet it happens only rarely among Chinese Muslims—because it is rare among the Chinese and Taiwanese in general.

Women have traditionally enjoyed considerable freedom in Chinese Islam. There are no harems and no **purdah.** Formerly, on the mainland, in the larger cities such as Peking and Mukden, there were mosques exclusively for women, and there were even women **ahungs** in charge of them. No such development has occurred on Taiwan. When women go to the mosque, and few do, they go with the men; but inside they are usually separated by a cloth screen. About 20 or 30 women attend the Friday services in the Taipei Mosque each week.

Abstinence from pork and alcohol are among the usual marks of a Muslim, though the Chinese Muslims on Taiwan honor the prohibition against alcohol more in the breach than the observance. Even the rule against pork is very hard to keep in pork-eating Taiwan. Until recent years, the Taiwanese did not generally eat beef because they regarded is as an unconscionable offense against cattle which otherwise give so much—milk for the children, work on the farm, transportation, etc. The fact that Muslim restaurants do not serve pork, but do serve beef, makes them something of an oddity in Taiwan. It is reported that a number of Muslim restauranteurs, in order to make their businesses pay, do serve pork dishes and do not pretend to run **hui-chiao** restaurants. Still other Muslims, when eating out in the general society, succumb to the pressure and eat whatever is put before them, even if it is pork.

## Problems and Prospects

In discussing the special problems they face in practicing their religion on Taiwan, the Muslims speak particularly of the difficulty in adhering to the Quranic ban on pork. They also mention the hardship of performing their Friday religious duties in a society which treats that day like any other. The fact that most of the Muslims are of limited financial means causes them to despair of having adequate resources for future development and progress as a religious community. In addition, as has already been mentioned, there is the problem of the crisis of leadership which looms ahead. The present leaders have carried their responsibilities for many years, and there is apparently little interest, on the part of the younger generation, to relieve them. Some converts are

won each year, but there does not seem to be substantial numerical growth annually in the Muslim community.

Nevertheless, Islam is present and alive on Taiwan. The Muslims there are loyal to the Nationalist government and feel that their future is bound up with that government. They are cut off from their co-religionists on the mainland; but despite two decades of exile, they continue to hope that the separation is only temporary.

Should Taiwan remain permanently separated politically from the mainland of China, there is no telling what would happen to Islam on the island. The Islam which accompanied Koxinga in the 17th century eventually atrophied and died, very largely because it was cut off from its mainland roots. History might repeat itself.

Then, again, it might not. Far more Muslims came to Taiwan with Chiang Kai-shek than with Koxinga. They are better organized and are very much in touch with the Islamic world. They are self-consciously **dar al-Islam** in Nationalist China. And if the present generation of Muslims can transmit to the next generation only half of its courage and tenacity and devotion to Islam, then the future of the faith on Taiwan is assured, come what may.

# *Christian Filipino Society Approaching the 21st Century*

**Donn V. Hart***

**At the beginning of the 20th century Philippine anthropology was "characterized by a nearly exclusive concern for two primary interests, culture history and non-Christians, especially the so-called "tribal peoples . . . The most dramatic change (since 1940) . . . has been the trend toward studies of lowland rural communities." This article summarizes, from an anthropological point of view, the known cultural contours of contemporary Filipino society.**

In the past two decades Fil-American scholars have made a notable advance in better comprehending the complexities of Christian Filipino culture and society. At the beginning of the 20th century Philippine anthropology was ". . . characterized by a nearly exclusive concern for two primary interests, culture history and non-Christians, especially the so-called 'tribal' peoples . . . The most dramatic change [since

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1940] in Philippine anthropological research strategy . . . has been the trend toward studies of lowland rural—and lower-class urban—communities."[1] Scholarly publications on the structure and function of Christian Filipino society and culture now are proliferating in book, monograph, periodical, and dissertation. Yet broad summaries of contemporary Christian Filipino culture and society are scarce.

This article summarizes the known cultural contours of contemporary Christian Filipino society. Kroeber's remarkable **Peoples of the Philippines** (first published in 1923) emphasized Philippine primitive societies, reflecting the then major interest of cultural anthropologists. Several decades later Tangco published an important monograph on Christian Filipinos (1951) but it summarized existing information before the energetic investigations of the later postwar era. The **Handbook of the Philippines** (1956), the joint product of numerous contemporary specialists on the Philippines, massed detailed data and analysis in four volumes. This study, however, was never published, its circulation was limited, and its content, of course, do not reflect more recent research.

Since this summary is written by an anthropologist, it reflects professional interests and biases. It does not cover every facet of multifaceted Christian Filipino ways of life. It is hoped its publication will provoke others to correct and augment this bird's eye view of Christian Filipino society as it moves inexorably toward the 21st century. For the specialist on Christian Filipinos, this article may either weary or disconcert. Possibly it may also excite and entice the neophyte into investigation of the intricacies of the known or the beckoning unknown.

The Philippine population may be divided into three broad cultural categories: Christian, Muslim (Moro), and pagan (primitive). "Filipino" when used generically refers not only to lowland Christians but also to highland primitive groups and the Islamized people of southern Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago.

In the past Filipinos occupying the coastal lowlands and plains of Luzon and the central Philippine islands were subjected to similar ecological and acculturative influences, including Christianization. Considerable but not complete cultural leveling occurred among these lowland Filipinos, who are designated as cultural-linguistic groups (for their basic differentiation is not racial).

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[1] William G. Davis and Mary Hollnsteiner, "Some Recent Trends in Philippine Social Anthropology," **Anthropologica**, Vol. 11 (1969), pp. 60, 64.

The cultural diversities of the various segments of the population of the Philippines are manifold. When the referent for "Filipino" is limited to Christian Filipinos, this cultural diversity is restricted. However, considerable differences distinguish the various Christian Filipino groups. "The use of a model called 'Filipino' is practicable, nevertheless, when attempting to obtain an over-all picture of the basic social characteristics of the dominant Philippines peoples, rather than specific knowledge of one or another group."[2] Finally, the more rural the milieu the greater is the applicability of most of the following generalizations concerning Christian Filipino culture and society.

The major Christian Filipino cultural-linguistic groups, ranked according to size, are: Cebuan (Sugbuhanon or Cebuano), Tagalog (Tagal), Ilokan (Ilocano), Panayan (Ilonggo or Hiligaynon), Bikolan (Bicolano), Samaran (Samareno, Waray-waray or Samarnon), Pampangan (Kapampangan), and Pangasinan.[3] A generic name for Cebuano, Panayans, and Samarans is Bisayan (Visayan).

Minor Christian Filipino groups are: Aklan and Hantik (Panay), Ibanag (Luzon), Ivatan (Batangas and Babuyan islands), Kuyonon (Cuyo and Calamian islands and Palawan), Sambal (Luzon) and Gaddang and Tinggian (Luzon: parts of these last two groups remain pagan).

Although the Spanish conquistadores were quick to comment on Filipino physical characteristics and although some anthropometric studies of local groups were published during the late 19th century, modern, systemized data on Philippine physical anthropology are scarce. Future study may be stimulated by the recent fossil and tool finds from the Tabon caves that "are yielding a detailed chronology for Palawan of over 30,000 years."[4]

Christian Filipinos belong to a branch of the Mongoloid race characterized by such physical traits as brown skin, straight black hair, a flat face with a wide nose, medium thick lips, slender build, and sparse body

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[2] Fred Eggan, ed., **The Philippines,** Vol. 1 (New Haven, Connecticut: HRAF Press, 1956), p. 414.

[3] **Ibid.**

[4] Robert B. Fox, "Excavations in the Tabon Caves and Some Problems in Philippine Chronology," in Mario Zamora, ed., **Studies in Philippine Anthropology** (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1967), p. 113.

hair.[5] These physical characteristics have been modified in many Christian Filipinos through intermixture with Chinese, less so with Europeans (mainly Spaniards) and Americans. Persons with this mixed ethnic background are called **mestizos.**

Differences among various lowland Filipino groups had been subjected to a cultural leveling process prior to the Spaniards' arrival, initiated mainly by the introduction of lowland wet rice agriculture and coastal trade. The major consolidating forces in this process, however, were post-Hispanic; the over-arching governmental and ecclesiastical systems, literacy, the rise of urban centers, money and commerce, and the unifying effects of the anti-Spanish movements of the people.[6]

Philippine languages are similar in grammatical and phonetic structure; all belong to the Malayo-Polynesian family of the Austronesian phylum of languages.[7] Philippine languages are most closely related to many of the languages of Indonesia.[8] A preliminary classification of Philippine languages distinguished 75 main linguistic groups, including numerous sub-groups.[9] This linguistic diversity should not obscure the fact that the mother tongue of most Christian Filipinos is either Cebuan, Panayan, Samaran, Ilokan, Tagalog, Bikolan, Pampangan, or Pangasinan.

Until recently more Filipinos spoke English as a second language than any other tongue. Today a slightly larger percentage of Filipinos speak Pilipino (the national language based on Tagalog) than English.[10] Spanish was never extensively spoken in the Philippines, although many

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[5] Jerome Bailen, "Studies in Physical Anthropology on the Philippines." in Mario Zamora, ed., **Studies in Philippine Anthropology** (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1967), pp. 527-558; A. L. Kroeber, **Peoples of the Philippines,** Handbook Series No. 2, 2nd and revised edition (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1943); and R. B. Bean, **Racial Anatomy of the Philippine Islanders** (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincot Company, 1910).

[6] Felix M. Keesing, **The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon** (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), p. 326.

[7] Douglas Chretien, "A Classification of Twenty-One Philippine Languages," **Philippine Journal of Science,** Vol. 41 (1962), pp. 485-506; Robert B. Fox, Willis E. Sibley and Fred Eggan, "A Preliminary Glotto-chronology for Northern Luzon," **Asian Studies,** Vol. 3 (1965), pp. 103-113.

[8] Isidore Dyen, "The Lexicostatistical Classification of the Malayo-Polynesian Languages," **Language,** Vol. 38 (1962), pp. 38-46.

[9] Eggan, **op. cit.,** pp. 321-355.

[10] Ernest J. Frie, **The Historical Development of the Philippine National Language** (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1959); O. D. Corpuz, **The Philippines** (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966).

Spanish words and phrases have been incorporated into Philippine languages.[11] The 1960 census reported Spanish was spoken by a little more than half a million Filipinos. Several "pidgin" languages have developed through the blending of Spanish with local speech forms, e.g. Chabakano (Spanish-Subanun-Cebuan) and Caviteño (Spanish-Tagalog).[12]

The major regions of the Philippines are Luzon, the central Philippine islands (Bisayas), and Mindanao. Palawan is the westernmost island of the archipelago. The more than 7,100 Philippine islands (most of them are small and uninhabited) have a total land area of 115,600 square miles. With the exception of Luzon and Mindanao, most major Philippine islands are like one another, with a physiographic pattern that has been modified by faulting, volcanic action and hydraulic erosion.[13]

The typical island has a central, usually forested, mountainous highland that gradually changes into rolling uplands and foothills. The coastal margins of narrow lowlands and valleys are drained by relatively short, shallow rivers. Christian Filipino peasants mainly live in these coastal lowlands and valleys.

Luzon is the largest island in the archipelago. Areas of heavy population are northwestern Luzon (the Ilokan region), the Cagayan valley (northcentral Luzon), and the alluvial Central Luzon Plain, the largest continuous Philippine lowland. Major groups inhabiting the densely settled Central Luzon Plain are Ilokans, Tagalogs, Pangasinans, and Pampangans. Tagalogs are the predominant population in Manila.

Southeast Luzon consists of one large, irregular peninsula, the Bikol, with the Bondoc peninsula as a spur; this region varies mainly from volcanic or sedimentary plains to rolling hills. Here live the Bikolans who also inhabit nearby Catanduanes island and northeastern Masbate island.

Between Luzon and Mindanao clusters a group of islands called the Bisayas. The largest of these islands are Panay, Negros, Cebu, Bohol, Leyte, and Samar. Samar and eastern Leyte are settled largely by Sama-

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[11] Keith Whinnom, "Spanish in the Philippines," **Journal of Oriental Studies,** Vol. 1 (1954), pp. 129-194.

[12] Howard P. McKaughan, "Notes on Chabacano Grammar," **The University of Manila Journal of East Asiatic Studies,** Vol. 3 (1954), pp. 205-243; Jose Villa Panganiban, **Spanish Loan Words in the Tagalog Language** (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1961).

[13] Frederick L. Wernstedt and J. E. Spencer, **The Philippine Island World: A Physical, Cultural and Regional Geography** (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

rans, whereas western and most of southern Leyte are inhabited by Cebuans who are also the dominant group on Cebu, Bohol, Siquijor, and eastern Negros. Panay and western Negros are occupied by Panayans. The Christian Filipino population of Mindanao, the second largest island in the nation, is composed mainly of Bisayan immigrants (mainly Cebuans and Boholans).

Most parts of the Philippines have an annual rainfall ranging from 50 to 150 inches. From April to October, the squally southeast monsoon brings rain to exposed coasts of Palawan, Mindoro, Negros, Panay, and western Luzon. From November to January, the northeast monsoon opens the rainy season in eastern Luzon, and in Leyte, Samar and Mindanao. Topography, tropical typhoons, and northeast trade winds produce many local and regional climatic variations. Altitude rather than latitude is the chief temperature determinant in the Philippines. Annual lowland temperatures vary between 75° to 85°F., rarely dropping below 65°F. or rising much above 100°F.

Population figures for the eight major Christian Filipino groups, based on the last official census (1960), are given in Table 1.

**Table 1. Eight Major Cultural-Linguistic Groups in the Philippines: 1960**

| Group | Population (in thousands) | Per cent of Total Population |
|---|---|---|
| Cebuan | 6,529.8 | 24.1 |
| Tagalog | 5,694.0 | 21.0 |
| Ilokan | 3,158.5 | 11.7 |
| Panayan | 2,817.3 | 10.4 |
| Bikolan | 2,108.8 | 7.8 |
| Samaran | 1,488.6 | 5.5 |
| Pampangan | 875.5 | 3.2 |
| Pangasinan | 666.0 | 2.5 |

In the late 16th century the population of the Philippines was an estimated 500,000. By the 1960 census (the 1970 census is unpublished) the population had increased to 27,087, 685; the United Nations estimated the population for the nation in 1968 as 35,993,000. Based on a projected decline of the fertility rate (to 2.8 births per woman of completed fertility by 1995-2000), the population of the Philippines at the start of the 21st century may be an estimated 73,000,000.[14]

[14] Mercedes B. Concepcion, "The Population of the Philippines," in **First Conference on Population, 1965** (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1966), pp. 185-199.

The growth of the Philippine population during the last several centuries is based primarily on natural increases (greater number of births over deaths and not on immigration). In 1929 the death rate of infants under one year old was 161.6 per 1000 population; by 1963 this rate had plummeted to 66.6 per 1000. The corrected estimated 1963 crude Filipino death rate was 10.5 per 1000 population; in 1920 it was 19.2 per 1000. The birth rate, however, has been nearly constant for the past 60 years, fluctuating around 45-50 per 1000 population.[15] As the result of improved sanitation and medical facilities, a better diet and minimization of internal civil disorder, the life expectancy of Filipinos at birth has increased from 46 years (1938) to about 55 years (1965).

Recent projections suggest a Philippine population rate increase of over three per cent annually.[16] Unless this mounting over-population problem can be solved in the near future, the fabric of Filipino life is threatened. Luzon, Negros, Panay and Cebu are the most densely settled islands. Not only has resettlement of Filipinos from densely to thinly populated regions failed to solve regional overcrowding, but Mindanao, once regarded as a population "saftey valve," can no longer provide significant agricultural land for new settlers without radical change in transportation, land tenure, and agricultural methods.[17]

## History and Cultural Relations.

Earlier scholars often interpreted the present geographical distribution of Filipinos as mirroring the nation's prehistory.[18] Basic to their approach was a "migration wave" theory that correlated physical, linguistic, and cultural diversity with different immigrant groups. This view has been largely abandoned.[19]

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[15] Wilfredo L. Reyes, "Philippine Population Growth and Health Development," in the **First Conference on Population, 1965** (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1966), pp. 423-468.

[16] Francis C. Madigan, S.J., "Problems of Growth—the Future Population of the Philippines," **Philippine Studies,** Vol. 16 (1968), pp. 3-31.

[17] Frederick L. Wernstedt and P. D. Simkins, "Migrations and the Settlement of Mindanao," **Journal of Asian Studies,** Vol. 29 (1965), pp. 83-103.

[18] Kroeber, **op. cit.**

[19] John L. Phelan, **The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses: 1565-1700** (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959); F. Landa Jocano, "Beyer's Theory on Filipino Prehistory and Culture: An Alternative Approach to the Problem," in Zamora, ed., **op. cit.,** pp. 128-150; Arem A. Yengoyan, "The Initial Population of the Philippines," in Zamora, ed., **op. cit.,** pp. 175-185.

Instead of massive "waves" of immigrants, the Philippines is now believed to have been settled over the centuries by myriad movements of small often kin-related groups. After their arrival such factors as local endogamy, intermixture by marriage, ecological adjustment, trade lanes, and subsequent diffusion of culture probably explain the present biological and cultural differentiation of Christian Filipino groups.[20] Chinese influence has been extensive in the Philippines,[21] but the archipelago's geographic isolation from mainland Southeast Asia minimized direct and extensive cultural donations from India.[22]

**Spanish Period (1521-1898).** Ferdinand Magellan discovered the Philippines for Europe in 1521; Miguel Lopez de Legazpi established the first permanent Spanish settlement (and fort) in Cebu in 1565.[23] Spanish administrators and friars had a lasting influence on many aspects of the present structure of Philippine culture and society.

Spain's greatest impact on the Philippines was to transform the archipelago's population into the only Christian (Roman Catholic) nation in Asia. Additionally, slavery was officially outlawed in 1591; however, during the Spanish period debt peonage became widespread. Among Spanish innovations were the introduction of the Roman alphabet, private ownership of land, the Spanish language, and the Gregorian calendar. Numerous plants from the New World (especially Mexico) were brought to the Philippines, among them maize, sweet potato, manioc, pineapple, and peanuts. Although the people were extensively Hispanized, the process of acculturation was dual, involving the Hispanization of much of lowland Filipino culture and the Philippinization of diffused Spanish culture, e.g. the still prevalent folk Catholicism.[24] Many aspects of indigenous lowland Filipino culture resisted modification, e.g. the relative equality of sexes.[25] In pre-Hispanic times women selected the r

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[20] William Henry Scott, **A Critical Study of the Prehistoric Source Materials for the Study of Philippine History** (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1968).

[21] Edward Wickberg, **The Chinese in Philippine Life: 1850-1898** (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1965).

[22] Juan Francisco, "Indian Influence in the Philippines: With Special Reference to Language and Literature," **Philippine Social Science and Humanities Review,** Vol. 27, (1963), pp. 1-310.

[23] Gregorio F. Zaide, **Philippine Political and Cultural History** (Manila: Philippine Educational Company, 1957); and O. D. Corpuz, **op. cit.**

[24] Phelan, **op. cit.**

[25] Encarnacion Alzona, **The Filipino Woman: Her Social, Economic, and Political Status, 1565-1937,** revised editions (Manila: Benipayo Press, 1934).

mates, divorce was possible, and the wife, as today, usually managed the family's assets.

Late in the Spanish period a new sense of national identity was generated among many lowland Filipinos. This nascent Filipino nationalism combined with the failure to solve crushing tenancy problems, the abuses associated with fusion of church and state, and the spread of western democratic concepts among the elite (e.g. Jose Rizal, the national hero) resulted in a Filipino revolution in 1896. Filipinos later made common cause with the United states in the Spanish-American war of 1898.[26] As a result of the complex events of 1898 the Philippines became America's sole possession in Southeast Asia.

## American Period (1898-1946)

The United States, publicly announcing its intention of retaining the Philippines only until the people were ready for self-government, quickly shared political power with Filipino leaders.[27] A national public educational system was established, based on the American belief that only an educated electorate could be a democratic one.[28] The language of instruction in the public schools was English.

At the same time church and state were separated and numerous Protestant missionaries arrived. Significant steps were also taken to improve sanitation, expand transportation and medical facilities, and end epidemics.[29] Agriculture and, to a lesser extent, industry were developed, although such developments were usually oriented toward American markets. Less successful were American efforts to help the poverty-stricken tenant farmer, control usury, and create a viable and independent economic system.[30]

In 1935, after a plebescite voted overwhelmingly for independence, American withdrawal was planned to occur over a ten-year period. Before

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[26] Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Oscar M. Alfonso, **A Short History of the Filipino People** (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1961).

[27] Theodore Friend, **Between Two Empires: The Ordeal of the Philippines, 1929-1946** (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965).

[28] Florencio Fresnoza, **Essentials of the Philippine Education System** (Manila: Abiva Publishing House, 1957).

[29] Joseph R. Hayden, **The Philippines: A Study in National Development** (New York: Macmillan, 1942).

[30] Frank Golay, **The Philippines: Public Policy and National Economic Development** (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1961).

this period ended, World War II intervened and the country suffered severely under Japanese invasion and occupation.[31]

## Independent Philippines

In 1946 the nation became independent, the first Sountheast Asian colony to gain its freedom.[32] Because of the war damage the new nation faced enormous problems of reconstruction; cities had been leveled, roads and bridges destroyed, and considerable lawlessness existed. Industry and commerce were at a near standstill. Under Presidents Sergio Osmeña, Manuel Roxas, Elpidio Quirino, Ramon Magsaysay, Carlos Garcia, Diosdado Macapagal, and Ferdinand Marcos, the national government began and continued, with technical assistance and financial aid from the United States, the immense task of rebuilding the war-ravaged nation.

One serious problem the nation faced was a Communist-led peasant organization, popularly called the Hukbalahap, that tried to overthrow the government. By the middle of the 1950's the Hukbalahap movement had been suppressed insofar as it was a serious threat to national security.

Efforts were also made to integrate more effectively the various segments of the nation, separated by insularity, distance, religion, and disparate general cultural development. On the whole, Christian Filipinos have minimal contacts with the highland groups and Muslim Filipinos (these two groups are now officially referred to as national cultural minorities) except where geographic propinquity and economic interest encourages or requires such relationships.[33] With some exceptions, especially in the Baguio-Bontok areas of northern Luzon, primitive people remain outside the main stream of national life.

In the Muslim regions, especially southern Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago, relationships historically between Christian and Muslim Filipinos have been marked by mutual distrust and frequent conflict. The popular stereotype of the Moro, still held by many Christian Filipinos, is that of a warlike, violent, and ignorant person.[34]

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[31] Teodoro A. Agoncillo, **The Fateful Years: Japan's Adventure in the Philippines, 1941-45,** 2 volumes (Quezon City: R. P. Garcia Publishing Company, 1965).

[32] John F. Cady, **Southeast Asia: Its Historical Development** (New York: McGraw-Hill Company, 1964).

[33] Jose V. Abueva and Raul P. de Guzman, eds., **Foundations and Dynamics of Filipino Government and Politics** (Manila: Bookmark, 1969).

[34] Peter G. Gowing, **Mosque and Moro: A Study of Muslims in the Philippines** (Manila: Philippine Federation of Christian Churces, 1964).

Bisayan settlement of Mindanao, particularly during the postwar period, resulted in countless disputes, some bloody, between Christians and Muslims over land ownership. Several national government agencies, including the Commission on National Integration and a Tribal Research Center, are working with modest success to improve the socio-economic integration of these national cultural minorities.

## Settlement Pattern

The typical rural Filipino may reside in a **poblacion** (a large village or a small or middle-sized town) but more likely in a **barrio** (village; a **sitio** is a segment of a vilage). The spatial arrangement of the building in many **poblaciones** (especially in regions where Spanish influence was extensive) is in a semi-grid system, with the plaza as a focal point. Usually near or facing the perimeter of the rectangular "plaza complex" are the church, public schools, market place, and the **municipio,** i.e. the municipal building housing local government offices, including the post office, telegraph station, and often the jail.[35] The rural elite (clergymen, school teachers, municipal officials, and more prosperous merchants) live in the **poblacion.** Innovations often travel from the big cities to the **poblaciones,** then radiate outward to the surrounding barrios and sitios.

Village spatial characteristics differ, according to land utilization, terrain, proximity to roads, rivers, and cities. In the Central Luzon Plain, a region of intensive agriculture, villages usually are compact settlements.

In the rolling hills of Cebu, where upland farming is typical, most houses are scattered among the fields.

## Cities and Urbanization

Although the Philippines is the second most urbanized Southeast Asian nation, only an estimated 14 per cent of Filipinos live in cities over 10,000. More than one-half of these individuals reside in Metropolitan Manila, the first truly "primate" city of Southeast Asia. In the mid-19th century Manila was an old Spanish walled city with an estimated population of 150,000. By 1960 Metropolitan Manila (Manila proper, Quezon, Caloocan and Pasay cities, and the districts of Makati, Manda-

[35] Donn V. Hart, **The Philippine Plaza Complex: A Focal Point in Culture Change** (New Haven: Yale University, 1961), Southeast Asia Studies.

luyong, Parañaque and San Juan) contained eight per cent (2,131,219) of the Philippine's total population.

This metropole's estimated 1966 population was 3,075,000. "It is not only the political capital [Quezon city] but the capital of business, finance and commerce, of industry, of education [23 universities and 87 colleges], of the press and communications, of transportation, of medicine, of the arts and architecture, of fashion, fads and recreation."[36] The urban landscape varies widely. Some of its components are upper class communities (e.g. Forbes Park) of enormous air-conditioned mansions with spacious grounds patrolled by private police forces; the bustling Chinese district of Binondo; such middle-class, better housing areas as Ermita; the slums of Tondo; and scattered squatter settlements of make-shift dwellings inhabited largely by recent provincial emigrants.[37]

These squatters, largely of post World War II origin, are estimated to compose 10-20 per cent of Manila's population, and 20-30 per cent of the population of Baguio.[38] Increasingly a large segment of the lower class is emigrating from the barrios to seek a new life or income supplements by working in the cities.

Large cities other than metropolitan Manila have been classified broadly as either regional trade centers (e.g. Cebu city, Iloilo, and Davao) or provincial cities (e.g. Dumaguete, Tacloban and Baguio).[39] These smaller cities, often ports, have fewer residing Euro-Americans and closer socio-economic ties to their hinterland. The 1966 estimated population (based on urban population not charter city boundaries) of some of these cities was: Cebu city, 310,100; Iloilo, 187,300; Davao, 118,000; Bacolod, 114,000; and Baguio, 50,000.[40]

Many middle-sized towns are really urban cores surrounded by

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[36] Michael McPhelin, "Manila: The Primate City," **Philippine Studies,** Vol. 17 (1969), p. 782.

[37] T. G. McGee, **The Southeast Asian City: A Social Geography of the Primate Cities of Southeast Asia** (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1967); and Aprodicio A. Laquian, **The City in Nation Building,** Studies in Public Administration No. 8 (Manila: School of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, 1966).

[38] Richard L. Stone and Joy Marsella, "Mahirap: A Squatter Community in a Manila Suburb," **Modernization: Its Impact in the Philippines, III** (Manila: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila, 1968), pp. 64-91.

[39] Edward L. Ullman, "Trade Centers and Tributary Areas of the Philippines," **Geographical Review,** Vol. 50 (1960), pp. 203-218.

[40] Rand McNally, **The International Atlas** (New York: Rand McNally, 1969).

satellite villages.[41] Recently, however, some of these towns have developed highly urbanized suburbs, inhabited primarily by middle and upper class residents.

Little detailed information is available on the life styles of urban Filipinos. Certainly the majority of the most Westernized Filipinos reside in the large cities. These Filipinos are fluent in English (sometimes in Spanish); many have been educated abroad. One study found for an urban community in Manila (Malate) that the composite, not the nuclear, family predominated.[42] Lower fertility rates occur in the city than in rural areas.[43] Research has shown that lower class residents of Manila often retain basic values associated with rural life—peasants living in the city.[44] Some squatter settlements probably have such positive functions as preparing new rural emigrants for their later, and more complete, entry into the complexities of urban existence.[45]

## Housing and Economy

Although house styles and building materials vary, the typical countryside dwelling is a two- or three-room structure raised on piles. The house is built of bamboo (sometimes wood) and is cogon- or nipa-thatched, though increasingly commonly roofed with corrugated iron sheets.[46] Cooking is done indoors over a wood fire, and most occupants sleep on the floor on woven palm mats. Common farm yard animals are water buffalo, pigs, chicken, goats, dogs, and cats. The average village has a primary school, many through the sixth grade, a **sari-sari** (a small general store) selling such basic items as matches, thread, lard, kerosene, and canned fish, and a small chapel but no resident priest.

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[41] Agaton P. Pal, "Dumaguete City: Central Philippines," in Alexander Spoehr, ed., **Pacific Port Towns and Cities: A Symposium** (Honolulu, Hawaii: Bishop Museum, 1964), pp. 13-16.

[42] Nena Eslao, "The Development Cycle of the Philippine Household in an Urban Setting," **Philippine Sociological Review,** Vol. 14 (1966), pp. 199-208.

[43] Madigan, **op. cit.,** p. 20.

[44] Mary Hollnsteiner, "Inner Tondo as a Way of Life," **Saint Louis Quarterly,** Vol. 5 (1967), pp. 13-26.

[45] Aprodicio A. Laquian, **Slums are for People: The Barrio Magsaysay Pilot Project in Urban Community Development** (Manila: University of the Philippines, 1968).

[46] Donn V. Hart, **The Cebuano Dwelling in Caticugan: Its Construction and Cultural Aspects** (New Haven: Yale University, 1959), Southeast Asia Studies.

Typical of its Southeast Asian setting, the Philippines is an agricultural nation.[47] "One simple and significant fact is that Filipino agriculture is not very productive at best; its per-acre and per-capita yields are among the lowest in southern and eastern Asia, and rank low in world comparisons."[48] Recently, however, the new "miracle" rice varieties have made the country self-sufficient in this cereal. Rice occupies slightly less than half the total cultivated land in the nation and is the primary crop on nearly half of all Filipino farms.

Coconuts, cultivated on more land than any other crop except rice, grow throughout the archipelago. Copra (dried coconut meat) is a major Philippine export. Next to rice and coconuts, most farm land is used to raise maize. One out of every five Filipinos daily eats maize as his staple food. (The maize is milled and then boiled like rice.) Other important crops, grown largely for export after processing, are abaca (Manila hemp) and sugar cane. The major sugar-producing areas are Central Luzon and northern and western Negros.

Philippine industry, expanding since a slow start around 1900, made its greatest advance during the last decade.[49] Most of this industry (largely agro-processing) is concentrated in the general Manila area and more than 50 per cent of all Filipino industrial workers are employed in factories here. Some top manufacturing groups, by rank, are food, apparel, textiles, and lumber. Two-thirds of the rapidly diminishing Philippine forests are classified as of commercial value.

Fish are a major source of protein in the Filipino diet, yet present production is inadequate for local needs. Fish are caught not only in the surrounding seas, but also in the rivers and lakes and are raised in fish ponds. Subsistence fishing involves the use of many different types of nets, bamboo traps, hook and line, explosives, and piscicides. Shrimp, crabs, and snails are also caught in the paddies, rivers, lakes, and swamps.

A typical rural diet consists of boiled rice (in much of the Bisayas, maize is a rice substitute), vegetables (tomatoes, eggplant, taro, onions, garlic, and stringbeans), chicken, fresh and dried fish, and a fish sauce

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47 G. P. Sicat, and others, **The Philippine Economy in the 1960's** (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, Institute of Economic Development and Research, 1952).

48 Wernstedt and Spencer, **op. cit.**, p. 179.

49 Robert E. Huke and others, **Shadows on the Land: An Economic Geography of the Philippines** (Manila: Bookmark 1963).

(**patis**) to flavor the cooked rice. For many families the consumption of beef and pork is limited to festive occasions, e.g. the fiesta or a wedding. Some popular fruits are bananas (fresh, boiled and fried), pineapples, chicos, lanzones, and mangoes.

Stimulants consist mainly of alcoholic beverages; **tuba** made from the sap of the coconut, nipa and buri palms; **basi** from sugar cane juice; and, increasingly, bottled beer. Cigarettes and cigars, often made of locally grown tobacco, **are smoked; betel nut** chewing is still widespread but of declining popularity among this generation of Filipinos.

## Kin Groups

No unilineal descent groups exist in the Philippines. Descent is bilateral (cognatic) among Christian Filpinos.[50] Filipinos trace membership in their descent group through both male and female links.[51] The structure of the referential terminology is Eskimo, for cousins are equated and differentiated from siblings; vocatively, the kinship terminology type is Hawaiian. The basic kinship vocabulary stresses the generational principal.

Other than parents, all kinsmen in the first ascending generation from Ego are termed either uncles or aunts. All relatives in the second and succeeding ascending generations are called grandparents, with exact generation indicated by modifiers. In one own's generation, all kinsmen but siblings are termed cousins, with the relationship degree indicated by a numeral modifier. No distinction is made getween cross and parallel cousins. In the first descending generation from Ego, all relatives, except children, are called nephews and nieces, and in the second and succeeding generations, grandchildren. Basic referential kinship terms for three major Filipino groups are given below.[52]

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[50] F. Landa Jocano, **Growing Up in A Philippine Barrio** (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969).

[51] Fred Eggan, "Philippine Social Structure," in George Guthrie, ed., **Six Perspectives on the Philippines** (Manila: Bookmark, 1968), pp. 1-48.

[52] Sex is indicated by a qualifier, e.g. Ceb. **igsoon nga lalake** (sibling male = brother) or Ceb. **anak nga babaye** (child female = daughter).

| Kinship Category | Cebuan | Ilokan | Tagalog |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mother | Inahan | Ina | Ina |
| Father | Amahan | Ama | Ama |
| Sibling | Igsoon+[53] | Kabsat+ | Kapatid+ |
| Child | Anak+ | Anak+ | Anak+ |
| Uncle | Uyoan | Uliteg | Amain (Tiyo) |
| Aunt | Iyaan | Ikit | Ale (Tiya) |
| Cousin | Ig-agaw* | Kasinsin* | Pinsan[54] |
| Grandparent | Apohan+ | Apo+ | Ninuno[55] |
| Grandchild | Apo+ | Apo+ | Apo+ |

The nuclear family is of importance among all Christian Filipinos. The Philippines has been described as a "familial" society because so many social activities in the community focus on this group. One explanation for the private and public nepotism of Filipino society is the superordination of the family over the individual. Most Filipinos, however, reside in households that contain other members than parents and siblings. Various attempts have been made to classify household types but the data are not sufficient for comparative use.[56] Possibly various types are merely examples of different phases in a household development cycle.[57]

Available data on the nature of the personal kindred, i.e. Ego's personal kinship group, are limited; potential cognate members of the kindred cluster along a lineal axis linking the fifth ascending and descending generations, but only those within four degrees of cousinhood collaterally. Similarly, it is not clear whether or not all Filipino groups include affines as members of the kindred.

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53 Most Filipino languages have different terms for siblings based on relative age but not sex. In Cebuano, **panganay** or **kinamagulangan** is eldest sibling. **Magulang** is any sibling older, **manghod**, any sibling younger, than Ego. **Minanghoran** is the youngest sibling. If a sex qualifier is added to to **panganay** or **minanghoran** (e.g. **babaye,** woman), these terms would then refer to the oldest or youngest sister who might not be the oldest or youngest sibling.

54 Degree is indicated by a numeral qualifier or modifier, as in English, e.g. Ceb **ig-agaw, igtagsa** (first cousin); for Ilokano, **kapidua** (second cousin) and **kapitlo** (third cousin).

55 In Cebuano grandmother is **apohan nga babaye,** grandfather, **apohan nga lalake**. Tagalogs may use **lolong, lolo, inkong** and **nuno** for grandfather, whereas **lolang, lola** and **impo** are terms for grandmother (Lynch and Himes 1967:27).

56 Ethel Nurge, **Life in a Leyte Village** (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1965); Nena Eslao, **op. cit.**

57 Davis and Hollnsteiner, **op. cit.**

Another key concept of Filipino social structure is the personal alliance that is differentiated primarily from the personal kindred because the former includes non-kinsmen.[58] The membership of an individual's personal alliance is integrated through kinship (real and ritual), reciprocal obligations, associational ties, and proven friendship. Such personal alliances form a crucial link between the average citizen and the country's elites. Some regard the personal alliance concept as the "**sine qua non** to discussions of [Filipino] interpersonal relations."[59] A definitive statement on Christian Filipino residence rules awaits additional research. Generally, however, residence is initially optiolocal with secondary neolocal residence.

An important and neglected aspect of Filipino social organization is the type of ritual kinship based on the Roman Catholic concept of godparenthood.[60] In the Philippines, compadrazgo, or ritual co-parenthood, is emphasized. Major stress is placed on social bonds between godparents and parents. The major occasions for the creation of ritual kinship ties are baptism, confirmation, and marriage. Ritual relationships (often called **kumpari** = **compadre** = godfather) based on baptism are regarded as the most important.

Although existing knowledge on Filipino social classes is imprecise, and its exact nature is disputed, the great majority of the people fall into two classes: the upper ("Big People") and lower ("Little People") classes.[61] Social class is based mainly, but not solely, on land and inherited wealth. In most barrios the residents belong to a single class, with social differentiation primarily as gradations from prosperous small holders to poor tenants. A symbiotic relationship, often exploitative but sometimes mutually beneficial, exists between the upper and lower classes. The "Big People" own land, possess political power, lend money and provide other essential services to the "Little People" who serve as their tenants and political supporters, and are recipients of their favors or aid during personal emergencies. In large urban centers a middle class is emerging, composed mainly of prefessional and government personnel. For the middle class, education is a major factor facilitating social mobility.

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[58] Mary Hollnsteiner, **The Dynamics of Power in a Philippine Municipality** (Quezon City: Community Development Research Council, 1963).

[59] Davis and Hollnsteiner, **op. cit.**, p. 68.

[60] Hollnsteiner, **op. cit.**; Eggan, ed., **op. cit.**, Vol. 1.

[61] Frank Lynch S. J., "Trends Report of Studies in Social Stratification and Social Mobility in the Philippines," **East Asian Cultural Studies**, Vol. 4 (1965), pp. 163-191.

## Marriage and Family

Marriage is monogamous: divorce (but not legal separation) is virtually impossible in the Catholic Philippines. Marriage of cousins closer than third or fourth degrees is generally regarded as incestuous. Bride service rarely occurs today; when it does, it is in a mild form in which the young man voluntarily "helps around the house." On the whole, sororate and levirate second marriages are uncommon and generally disapproved when they occur.

Marriage negotiations, especially in the rural areas, often are complicated, sometimes long, and frequently anxiety-laden.[62] Steps in the most common form of marriage negotiations are: 1) young man tells his parents (or a close male relative) he wishes to wed; 2) his parents go directly to the girl's parents, or his parents' emissaries make contact with a close relative of the girl; 3) the two groups soon meet to discuss the possibility of a wedding; 4) if the proposal is acceptable, the dower is negotiated and delivered; 5) the couple obtains their marriage license at the **municipio** and makes necessary arrangements at the church; 6) the wedding is held in the morning; 7) the bridal group returns to the girl's dwelling for a celebration; and 8) that afternoon the newly wedded couple is escorted by some of the groom's relatives to his residence for a similar reception.

In the past most marriages were parentally arranged. Today the boy often courts and wins the girl, and then informs his parents he wants to marry. Although parental approval is most important, and the procedures for negotiation of the marriage often remain traditional, effective authority in the selection of a spouse largely has passed from the parents to the young folks. Common-law marriages occur but are less frequent today than in the past. Inheritance is equal among heirs, with no restrictions based on age or sex. Adoption occurs, but rarely in its legal form; Filipinos frequently "adopt" a relative, often a sibling's child.

Filipinas enjoy an equality with males typical of Southeast Asian societies. The frequency of sex-neutral terms in Tagalog kinship terminology suggests "an equivalent social evaluation of male and female."[63] Spanish Catholicism and colonization was to restrict this equality of

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[62] Agaton P. Pal, "A Philippine Barrio: A Study of Social Organizations in Relation to Planned Cultural Change," **The University of Manila Journal of East Asiatic Studies,** Vol. 5 (1956), pp. 331-486.

[63] Bartlet H. Stoodley, "Some Aspects of Tagalog Family Structure," **American Anthropologist,** Vol. 59 (1957), p. 238.

women, whereas American influence restored the basic equality women had with males during the pre-Hispanic period. Although the Filipina is ". . . denied some of the adventurous freedom of the male, she may be even better prepared for economic competition." Segregated role relationships within the nuclear family give most wives primary authority over such family activities and resources as health, money, food preparation and child control.[64] They are the most active and faithful participants in their religion, be the activities held in the church or the home.

## Socio-Political Organization

The largest Philippine geo-political unit, excepting the nation, is the province.[65] Most large islands are divided into several provinces, whereas some (e.g. Cebu) are one province. The provincial governor and board members are elected, but some provincial officials are appointed by national officials. The province is politically subdivided into municipalities. The town mayor and other local officials are elected.

Until 1956 the official village leader was appointed by the municipal council. In that year formal political democracy was extended to the village level; the barrio captain and council members now are elected. Their taxing and political powers, however, are very limited.

National executive power is vested in the office of the President whose powers are greater than those of its American counterpart. The bicameral Congress consists of a Senate and a House of Representatives. Today the two major political parties, separated more by the personalities of their leaders than by substantive issues, are the Nacionalistas and Liberals. Since independence, Filipinos have changed their office holders by democratic procedures, although election violence occurs.[66]

## Religion

The Spaniards Christianized lowland Filipinos but were less successful with the highland people and Muslim Filipinos. However, many Filipinos retain the pre-Hispanic belief that normally invisible spirits of the land and their deceased ancestors' souls influence their lives for good

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[64] William T. Liu, Arthur J. Rubel and Elena Yu, "The Urban Family of Cebu: A Profile Analysis," **Journal of Marriage and the Family,** Vol. 31 (1969), p. 400.

[65] David Wurfel, "The Philippines," in George McTurnan Kahin, ed., **Governments and Politics of Southeast Asia** (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1959), pp. 421-508.

[66] Carl Lande, **Leaders, Factions, and Parties: The Structure of Philippine Politics** (New Haven: Yale University, Southeast Asia Studies, 1965); and Jean Grossholtz, **Politics in the Philippines** (Boston: Little, Brown, 1964).

or ill.[67] As a result Philippine folk Catholicism is an intricate and unique blend of the faith of the Spanish conquistadores and the viable animism of the ancient past.

For administrative purposes, the Catholic church divides the Philippines into six ecclesiastical provinces, with each province subdivided into smaller units down to the parish. In rural areas the parish priest, usually an individual of considerable local importance, resides in the **poblacion.**[68]

The religious calendar of Catholic Filipinos lists an elaborate and colorful complex of activities whose functions are a mixture of ritual, recreational, and socio-political. Some of those events are a festive Christmas, the rich drama of the Lenten season, All Souls Day, when the cemetery is visited to pray for the dead, and the patron saint's fiesta. Nearly all communities have adopted a patron saint who watches over the residents' welfare. The annual fiesta, usually held on the saint's feast day, is a gala event of religious services, feasting, athletic contests, games of chance, cock fights, and social dancing.

Extensive Protestant missionary activities in the Philippines did not begin until the American period. Although the record is uncertain, probably the first Protestant service of worship in the Philippines occurred in August, 1898.[69] The first American Protestants to arrive were the Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists. Today there are several hundred different Protestant denominations in the Philippines.

The Protestant Filipino group remains a significant if slow-growing minority.[70]

Major Filipino Christian religious affiliations, according to the 1960 census, are given below:

| Religion | Membership (in thousands) |
|---|---|
| Roman Catholic | 22,686.1 |
| Aglipayan (Philippine Independent Church) | 1,414.4 |
| Protestant | 785.4 |
| Iglesia ni Cristo | 270.1 |

[67] Donn V. Hart, "The Filipino Farmer and His Spirits," **Solidarity,** Vol. 1 (1966), pp. 65-71.

[68] Gerald Anderson, ed., **Studies in Philippine Church History** (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1969); and Peter G. Gowing, **Islands Under the Cross** (Manila: National Council of Churches in the Philippines, 1967).

[69] Peter G. Gowing, **Ibid.**

[70] Douglas J. Elwood, **Churches and Sects in the Philippines: A Descriptive Study of Contemporary Religious Group Movements** (Dumaguete City, Philippines: Silliman University, 1968).

The Philippine Independent Church (**Iglesia Filipina Independiente**), known popularly as the Aglipayan Church, was founded in 1902.[71] The ritual is largely of Catholic derivation, although each congregation is self-governing and priests marry. It is now allied with the Episcopal Church. The **Iglesia ni Kristo**, established in 1913 by Felix Manalo, a Catholic converted to Protestantism, rejects the mass, the primacy of the pope, confession, and saints. Its doctrine is derived largely from American Protestantism.[72]

## Illness and Medicine

Filipinos support two, often competing, medical systems.[73] When ill they may consult both the indigenous shaman and a Western-trained physician. Certain illnesses usually are assigned to natural causes such as over-eating, poor diet, excessive drinking or exposure to the elements. These sicknesses are treated with home remedies, usually herbal.

The cause of many ailments is assigned to supernatural agents—invisible spirits, angered ancestral souls, witches, preternatural animals, or persons with the evil eye. If the patient either does not recover or worsens, he seeks the advice of various folk medical specialists. Therapy also includes massage, "fumigating" the patient with incense, prayers at both the Catholic household altar and the church, magical incantations, use of amulets, and giving food offerings to the spirits. Some part-time traditional medical specialists limit their practice to specific types of affliction, e.g. boils, fractures, or mental aberrations.[74]

Depending upon the individual, his financial resources, and the illness, modern Western drugs may be used and hospitalization sought in the provincial hospital. Advance in public health and relatively burgeoning medical facilities during the past half century have made the Philippines one of Asia's healthiest countries. Malaria has been reduced from

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[71] Pedro S. de Achutegue and Miguel A. Bernad, **Religious Revolution in the Philippines**, Vol. 1, 2nd ed., revised (1961), Vol. II, 2nd edition, revised (1968), Vol. III (1969) (Manila: Ateneo de Manila Press).

[72] Sister Mary Dorita Clifford, B.V.N., "Iglesia Filipina Independiente: The Revoluntionary Church," in Gerald Anderson, **op. cit.**, pp. 223-255; and Joseph J. Kavanagh, "The Iglesia ni Cristo," **Philippine Studies**, Vol. 3 (1955), pp. 19-42.

[73] Richard W. Lieban, **Cebuano Sorcery: Malign Magic in the Philippines** (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

[74] Donn V. Hart, **Bisayan Filipino and Malayan Humoral Pathologies: Folk Medicine and Ehnohistory in Southeast Asia** (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Studies, Cornell University, 1969).

first to tenth place among the leading causes of death. The three main causes of death are pneumonia, tuberculosis, and beri-beri.

### The Life Cycle and Value System

Filipinos know that conception results when the man "plants the seed in the woman."[75] During pregnancy, women watch their diet and avoid some foods and activities believed, through imitative magical means, to promote difficult delivery or still-birth. Most women, and often their husbands, suffer "morning sickness." Prenatal birth influences are commonly accepted. Birth occurs in the residence, although some women may receive medical care in a provincial hospital if complications appear. Most infants are delivered by the local traditional midwife (male or female). "Mother roasting" is practiced extensively by Ilokans; Cebuans consider the custom injurious to the new mother.[76]

During infancy the child spends most of his time in the dwelling, under the supervision and care of the mother or an elder sibling. By the time children are 7-8 years old, they are assigned various household duties. The majority of Filipinos complete the first several grades of elementary school, although many do not graduate and fewer attend high school.[77]

During their early teens, sons begin to spend more time with their father and elder brothers, assisting with farm tasks, fishing, etc. Daughters help their mothers with child care, cooking, washing, ironing, and marketing. During this period a strong sibling bond is forged that endures for a lifetime. Most boys are voluntarily circumcized shortly before or at puberty; imitative magic practices often are associated with a girl's first menses.

Courting begins in the late teens, and often is kept a secret, especially from the girl's parents. Since most teenage girls are chaperoned, the most favorable occasions for meeting and courting are such community affairs as the fiesta, harvest, and the social activities associated

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[75] Donn V. Hart, "From Pregnancy Through Birth in a Bisayan Filipino Village," in Donn V. Hart, Phya Anuman Rajadhon and Richard J. Coughlin, **Southeast Asian Birth Customs: Three Studies in Human Reproduction** (New Haven: HRAP Press, 1965), pp. 1-113.

[76] William F. Nydegger and Corinne Nydegger, **Tarong: An Ilocos Barrio in the Philippines** (New York: Wiley, 1963); and Hart, 1965, **op. cit.**

[77] Arthur Carson, **Higher Education in the Philippines,** Bulletin No. 29 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1961); and Florencio Fresnoza, **op. cit.**

with the rites of passage. The "double standard" in sexual behavior is a generally accepted code of conduct for most males, particularly prior to marriage.[78] Generally, Filipinos are married by the time they are in their early 20's. A childless marriage usually is regarded with pity. Since most Filipinos honor their aged, these persons receive considerable deference and respect.

On death, funeral rites usually are held in the home (where most religious activity occurs in the rural areas). Kinsmen and neighbors help build the coffin, prepare the funeral feast, carry the coffin to the poblacion church for the last rites, and then to the cemetery for burial. Catholic derived ceremonies for the deceased continue for, at least, one year after death.[79]

Socialization processes early inculcate in children, and enculturation reinforces, the fundamental values of Christian Filipino society. **Utang na loob** (a "sense of gratitude" or an unpayable "debt of gratitude"), an aspect of the pervasive reciprocity of Filipino social life, defines the lasting moral obligation created when one accepts a voluntary gift or service.[80] Another crucial value is the concept of shame or "loss of face" (Tagalog **hiya**).

> **Hiya** seems to stem either from the non-existence or non-observance of **utang na loob.** In the case of non-existence, an undefined situation is created where each actor is not sure of what his responses ought to be, while in non-observance, **hiya** develops or should develop from a person's sense of not having lived up to the **utang na loob** expectation of another. Both are powerful elements of the value system and provide the strong moral compulsion which initiates action and maintains cultural expectation.[81]

This complex of values helps explain the frequent massive indirection characterizing Christian Filipino behavior.

Another associated value is the avoidance of conflict, termed "Smooth Interpersonal Relationships" (SIR) or **pakikisama** (getting along.)[82] The

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[78] Pal, 1956, **op. cit.**

[79] Francisco Demetrio, S.J. "Death: Its Origin and Related Beliefs Among the Early Filipinos," **Philippine Studies,** Vol. 14 (1966), pp. 355-395.

[80] Charles Kaut, "'Utang na Loob': A System of Contractual Obligation Among Tagalogs," **Southwestern Journal of Anthropology,** Vol. 18 (1961), pp. 256-272.

[81] Hollnsteiner, **op. cit.,** p. 79.

[82] Frank Lynch, S.J., "Social Acceptance," in **Four Readings on Philippine Values** (Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1964).

exact nature, operation and spread of these various values among various Christian Filipino groups is imperfectly known; in fact their relative importance has been challenged.[83]

In summary, social existence among most Christian Filipinos is much concerned with intragroup cohesion; the individual receives sustenance and security within this system in return for its defense. The nuclear family is the most secure and highly integrative unit in their social structure. Supposedly the one Filipino value that occupies "the largest area in the total field of values" is the emotional closeness and security generated within the nuclear family.[84]

Research on the Filipino's basic (or modal) personality configuration is too limited and controversial to be utilized for summary comments.[85] However, many Filipinos, based on stereotypes unsubstantiated by research, distinguish Christian Filipino groups according to prominent socio-cultural traits. As would be expected, these "cultural folk caricatures" often are conflicting and imprecise.[86] Tagalogs (and sometimes differentiations are made between northern and southern Tagalogs) supposedly are proud, talkative and boastful; they have a snobbish attitude toward other Filipino groups. Unlike Bisayans, Tagalogs are unusually fussy about their food.

Bikolans are less adventurous than Tagalogs and Ilokans, more indolent and improvident. Few Bikolans live outside their home region except in Manila. Pampangans are noted gourmets, independent and self-centered, highly materialistic, and unusually loyal to their superiors. Ilokans, known as the "Yankees of the Pacific," are believed to be inordinately hard-workers, willing to sacrifice present comforts for future benefits. Perhaps because of these alleged traits, and certainly because of the relatively restricted agricultural potential of their region, Ilokans have settled throughout the Philippines (as well as Hawaii and mainland

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[83] F. Landa Jocano, "Rethinking 'Smooth Interpersonal Relations,'" **Philippine Sociology Review.** Vol. 14 (1966) pp. 282-291; and Davis and Hollnsteiner, **op. cit.,** pp. 59-84.

[84] Jaime Bulatao, "Philippine Values I: The Manileño's Mainsprings," **Philippine Studies,** Vol. 10 (1962), pp. 45-81.

[85] Robert Lawless, **An Evaluation of Philippine Culture-Personality Research,** Monograph Series No. 3 (Quezon City: Asian Center, University of the Philippines, 1969); and George M. Guthrie and Pepita Jimenez Jacobs, **Child Rearing and Personality Development in the Philippines** (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1966).

[86] Marcelo Tangco, "The Christian Peoples of the Philippines," **Natural and Applied Science Bulletin,** Vol. II (1951), 115; and Eggan, 1956, Vol. 1, **op. cit.**

United States). In the Philippines they are often itinerant traders. Ilokans are said to be unusually religious and to adjust easily to new environments.

Pangasinans are supposedly one of the most conservative and sedentary of Christian Filipino groups; they are said to have a tendency toward fanaticism. As for the Bisayan, "He is a happy-go-lucky man more interested in [the] here and the now than in the past or the future. He exceeds the Tagalog in his love of the finer things of life [including clothes and jewelry], so much so that, in contrast with the Samtoy [Ilokan] he is ready to spend his last peso to enjoy life to its last drop. . . . The Visayan is a hedonist. . . .He is a lover like the Tagalog, but he expresses his consuming passion in music, not in poetry."[87] Bisayans supposedly are the bravest of all groups; most Filipino professional fighters are Bisayans.[88]

## Christian Filipino Literature

Key conventions in pre-Hispanic lowland Filipino folk literary forms made Spanish imports seem less foreign.[89] Such stylized dialogue-exchange as the Bisayan **balitaw** (usually a verse debate between a man and a woman), the Tagalog **duplo** (rimed, unscanned and without a fixed stanzaic pattern) and **karagatan** (often accompanied by songs and dances) resemble the "two voices" of the **pasion** (verse chants of the life and suffering of Christ still communally recited or sung during the Lenten season), novena litanies and similar responses, and the **moro-moro**, a stereotyped dramatized love story set against a background of Christian-Muslim conflict.[90]

The same literary continuity, between indigenous and introduced traditions of simplistic oppositions, is seen in the epistolary format and sharp division of rural-urban values of Fr. Modesto de Castro's **Urban at Felisa** (1863) which contrasts city corruption with pastoral innocence.[91] Similarly, the didactic aspect of local proverbs ("A widow can be wooed

[87] Agoncillo and Alfonso, **op. cit., p. 16.**

[88] Tangco, **op. cit.**

[89] Miguel Bernad, S.J., **Philippine Literature: A Two-Fold Renaissance** (Manila, 1963); and Leonard Casper, "Elitism: The Hazards of Being a Vernacular Writer," **Philippine Studies,** Vol. 17 (1969a), pp. 283-296.

[90] Arsenio E. Manuel, "Notes on Philippine Folk Literature," **The University of Manila Journal of East Asiatic Studies,** Vol. 4 (1955), pp. 137-153.

[91] Leonard Casper, **Literature East and West,** Philippine vernacular issue, Vol. 13 (December, 1969b).

on her return from the funeral") prepared the way for the first book printed in the Philippines, the catechetical **Doctrina Cristiana** (1593).

Native literary forms also facilitated the transition to the fixed instructional formulas and stock phrases of the versified metrical romances (**awit** and **corrido**) which relate fantastic and legendary tales whose themes are mostly of European origin. Even the most inventive of the metrical romances, Francisco Baltazar's mid-19th century **Florante at Laura,**[92] subordinates its political satire and parables of moral progress to the pure pleasure of declaiming romantic sentiments.[93] Such extravagant mannerisms have been memorialized by jousts of versified wit known as **balagtasan** (after Baltazar who is best known as Balagtas).

Since 1900, didacticism accompanied by conventionalized plots and simplified characterizations has remained evident even in the more accomplished vernacular works. The **zarzuela,** a three-act musical comedy introduced by the Spaniards, exemplifies this trend. During the early American period this literary form "emeged as a dramatic town crier and a sounding board of public opinion."[94] The **moro-moro** was judged by some Filipinos as irrelevant for this era of stress when the theater might better serve "as a living newspaper and a public forum."[95]

But the worth of many a zarzuela was weakened by superficial analysis of social issues and by over-reliance on melodrama, emotionalism, and coincidence. (It was through the **zarzuela** that the Tagalog **kundiman,** a type of sentimental love song, was popularized). Only the most famous zarzuelistas, such as Juan Crisostomo Sotto (**God is Dead,** 1902) and Mena Pecson Crisologo **(Neneng)** are memorable, in that they "advanced character through song, instead of using character as mere occasion for song."[96]

The peculiar mixture of romanticism and polemicism in this era of Filipino literature is epitomized by Lope K. Santos' Tagalog novel, **Banaag at Sikat** (1906), whose heroine lives in a hovel with her seducer while her best friend teaches communism to his tenants. Similarly, Vicente Sotto's Bisayan sketches of American rule (**Mga Sugilanong Pilipinhon,**

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92 Bienvenido Lumbera, "Florante at Laura and the Formalization of Tradition in Tagalog Poetry," **Philippine Studies,** Vol. 15 (1967), pp. 545-575.

93 Casper, 1969b, **op. cit.,** p. 217.

94 Eggan, 1956, Vol. III, **op. cit.,** p. 1133.

95 Nick Joaquin, "Popcorn and Gaslight," **La Naval de Manila and Other Essays** (Manila: Florentino, 1964), p. 50.

96 Casper, 1969b, **op. cit.,** p. 233.

1929) praise anti-American turn of the century guerrillas and satirize inept **poblacion** officials, without managing to make the people seem as real as the issues.

The gradual emergence of a free press liberated vernacular writers from the task of representing fixed political positions and allowed them to probe human subtleties with greater seriousness. To rid themselves of literary cliches, since 1950 they have turned more carefully than before to Jose Rizal's novels, **Noli Me Tangere** (1887) and **El Filibusterismo** (1891). These most famous of Filipino novels, translated from the Spanish, now read less as incitements to independence than as expositions of the intense dilemma of peaceful reformers on the brink of revolution.

Thoughtful young novelists have also been influenced by the pioneer works of the Panayan writer Magdalena Jalandoni whose **The Thorn of a Flower** (**Ang Mga Tunuc Sang Isa Ca Bulac,** 1910) used the device of a narration within a narration; the Ilokan novelist Marcelina Pena Crisologo whose **Pinang** (1915) is a complex portrait of a Filipina; and by the diversity of European and American models in English.

Other contemporary Filipinos have demonstrated that English itself, and not just the rich variety of its techniques, can be adapted successfully to the experiential presentation of the Filipino's sense of ethnic identity-crisis.[97] Frustration of the Filipino ideal of mutual dependency (kinship alliances; **bayanihan** togetherness; and integrated nationhood) is reflected in obsessive images in the novels of N. V. M. Gonzales (**The Bamboo Dancers**), Nick Joaquin (**The Woman with Two Navels**), Bienvenido Santos (**Villa Magdalena**), and Linda Ty-Casper (**The Peninsulars**). From their work emerges an implicit system of symbols, signifying loss, betrayal, exile, irresponsibility, evasiveness, dislocation; reflecting the Pinoy's or **ilustrado's** confusion of loyalties; or representing the different values of each generation, and the divisiveness of classes and various regions.

The difficulties of defining a collective identity for Filipinos are equally apparent in the epic poems of Alejandrino Hufana (**Poro Point**) and Ricaredo Demetillo (**Barter in Panay**). Such works are no less cautious and critical, as they grope for historical continuity or social homogeneity,

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[97] Miguel Bernad, S.J., **Bamboo and the Greenwood Tree** (Manila: Bookmark, 1961); and Leonard Casper, **The Wounded Diamond** (Manila: Bookmark, 1964) and **New Writing from the Philippines: A Critical Anthology** (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1966).

than individualized portraits in Edith Tiempo's **The Tracks of Babylon** or Demetillo's **Mask and Signature.**

Even the poems of Jose Garcia Villa **(Selected Poems and New)**, by the very absence of national circumstance, can be read as a peculiar kind of wary protest. His reliance on devices of negation and rejection, the nearly solipsistic alienation of the poet-protagonist, parallels the Filipino's occasional desperate passion for self-determination by isolation. The egotism of Villa's verse may well express the over-compensatory self-enlargement of a people reduced, by both Spaniards and American, to colonial status for centuries.

More typical than such exclusiveness, however, is the yearning for coalescence in the novels of F. Sionil Jose **(The Pretenders)** and Kerima Polotan (**The Hand of the Enemy**) or the stories of Gregorio Brillantes (**The Distance to Andromeda**), Andres C. Cruz (**The White Wall**), and Gilda Cordero-Fernando (**The Butcher, the Baker, and the Candlestick Maker**). These writers use cultural stress among depressed intellectuals, or rising entrepreneurs, to suggest the strains of transition in Filipino society at large, compelled by habits of solidarity to try, again and again, reconciliation of past and present, West and East.

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# *The Graduate School and the University*

**Edilberto K. Tiempo***

**In this age of educational mediocrity, the author says the Graduate School should remain a citadel of intellectual competence and quality. By so doing, the Graduate School might help pull the whole educational system forward.**

According to government ruling a school can become a university only when it offers graduate work in addition to at least three different colleges in its curriculum; in other words, it would thus appear that from the official point of view, it is finally the graduate school that makes for university status. Quite often because the word "university" is more impressive than either "school" or "college," some president of a college, who usually owns the place, lock, stock, and barrel, indulges in some clever mathematical black magic, and creates a graduate school by hiring, if he can, just one holder of a doctorate degree, in this way justifying the creation of a graduate school in his college. Consequently, the Philippines has earned a rather uncomfortable distinction, a country which has the most number of universities in the world in proportion to population. I suspect that not too many years from now every province in this country would have at least one or two universities to its discredit. In the Visayas alone we have two in Negros Oriental, one in Negros Occidental, three in Iloilo, four in Cebu, one in Bohol, one in Leyte, and one in Samar. These do not include the schools and colleges and institutes which in time will assume the name of university. We should perhaps be happier if many of these should become first-class technical schools instead.

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Dr. Tiempo gave the address, on which this article is based, on his installation as dean of the Graduate School at Silliman University, Dec. 9, 1970.

What has abetted the mushroom growth of our colleges and universities? One obvious reason is the general attitude among our people that college education is for all; that is to say, for all those who can pay their tuition fees, and literally buy their way out with a university diploma. As a result our country has earned the additional honor of establishing another world record; we are said to produce more college and university graduates, per capita, than any other country in the world. For example, we manufacture every year 60,000 college-trained high school and elementary school teachers, when our total school system can accommodate only 15,000. In short, our colleges and universities are producing misfits in our society—or you may call them "nonfits"—since they have no work, and they are creating a terrifying unemployment problem that gets worse and worse after every commencement exercise. And in the unsettled times in which we find ourselves these hundreds of thousands of unemployed degree-holders could join the forces that are in a hurry to bring about a violent revolution.

Hand in hand with the belief that the college or university should open its doors to all those who can pay the school fees is a certain attitude that has become an acceptable pattern in our society, and this is the stress on agility rather than on ability, on cleverness rather than merit. It is an attitude that stems from the **padrino** system that has pervaded our national life, a system of political handouts that undermines talent and fitness. The "scratch-my-back-I-scratch-yours" attitude has invaded our school system, too. To be sure this is not merely a local phenomenon. C. Wright Mills, in an essay entitled "The Educational Elevator," writes about the emphasis in the American scene on what he terms as "getting along": "Getting along" is the individual's procedure of taking short-cuts, in the context of associates, superiors, and established rules. There is a stress on "getting along" rather than on "getting ahead across an open market; there is a stress on whom you know rather than what you know; on techniques of self-display and the knack of handling people, rather than on ethical integrity and substantial academic and personal accomplishments, and solidity of character. In the procedure of getting along the measure is the style of the executive rather than the drive of the entrepreneur." The gentle slap on the back, the firm handclasp, the modulated voice that's never raised in irritation or anger, the smile that's flashed often and sincerely, courtesy, gentlemanly demeanor, **pakikisama**—these are cultivated as the necessary ingredients for the man who wants to shoot to the top; these are the necessary equipment of the mayor or congressman or senator who quite often, except for the capabilities of vote-buying, has nothing else to show.

In the face of these pervasive elements in our society, what then is the respectable university to do? Even large universities, with enrollments above 50,000, advertise in the papers about their so-called entrance examinations which are often a pretty facade for respectability. We at Silliman preach the strange doctrine that a college education is for all those who are fit to tackle college work, yet even Silliman compromises with mediocrity. For there is the budget to be balanced, the faculty—in the midst of the floating peso—must be made to float, too, by some increase, no matter how token it might be. It seems, therefore, that one of the last citadels of intellectual competence could be the Graduate School which, by government mandate, must require a "B" average not only for admission but also for passing the course at all.

But even this citadel is wide open to assault and invasion. For after all, what does the grade "B" mean? For most schools that are interested in numbers, in quantity more than quality, a "C" grade or even a "P" can be stretched to a "B", or even an "A" if the need for more stretching is imperative. The WAPCO, a way of promoting public school teachers by encouraging them to take graduate courses, has become a fraudulent instrument because accreditation is measured by how many units a teacher accumulates, no matter from what school he gets them, without consideration of the quality of the units. Sometimes we cannot blame school administrators for laxity because the miserably underpaid teachers do need salary increases. And so our schools, our graduate schools, are forced to compromise.

It is this very compromise with incompetence and inadequacy that has cast a dark, long shadow upon our educational system, upon our politics, upon our relationships, upon almost every aspect of our life as a nation and as individuals. I submit that the graduate school ought to be a reinforced bastion of academic integrity. And we can make it a bastion because we do have a restrictive rule about quality. If our undergraduate colleges have faltered in grappling with the problem of proper standards for a college degree, the graduate school could be the conscience to restore the values and the true objectives of university education.

There are two observations I'd like to make regarding the demands of graduate teaching. One is the passion for work. Quite often a student chooses a teacher not because of academic competence but beacuse he is easy, he does not demand too much work. To get an "A" from Mr. X is not too difficult, whereas Mrs. Y makes you sweat for a miserable grade

of "B". Allergy to work seems to be an interesting illness of our time. Instead, making shortcuts is standard procedure. We can, of course, justify any time-saving or effort-saving device. In magazines, for instance, there is advertised an escalator chair which enables a man to just sit in a chair and he is conveyed up to the second floor. The paradox in the situation is that while the middle-aged man is supposed to avoid coronary thrombosis by not using his legs on stairs, yet it is this very avoidance of stairs that can cause hardening of the arteries—and the blockage of the arterial passages from lack of exercise can cause the fatal stroke. So a wise student should avoid the easy teacher to avoid a hardening of the brain from lack of exercising it. At this point I'd like to quote a statement by Jacques Barzun, provost of Columbia University and head of its Graduate Division, in the matter of work:

> Periodically the faculty utters the wish that students would "read more on their own" and were "capable of independent work," but they do not enforce their will. Taking notes on lectures that duplicate the text, or reading the text, or last-minute cramming from so-called review books suffices for most courses. But is not this work? No, it is at best industry, a virtue not to be despised, but lacking the essential element of work. It is passion in work that gives it its dramatic quality, that makes the outcome a possession of the worker that becomes habit-forming and indeed obsessional. Of all the deprivations that modern life imposes on intellectual man, the abandonment of work is the cruelest, for all other occupations kill time and drain the spirit, whereas work fills both, and in the doing satisfies at once love and aggression. That is the sense in which work is "fun," with an irresistible appeal to man's love of difficulty conquered—a pleasure altogether different from that for which educators have turned school subjects into activities and play. . . . No man who works in the sense I mean can despise himself, even if the work is below his deserts, or its perfection short of his ideal.

The second observation I'd like to make aside from the passion for work is the belief that a university education must chiefly be directed to inculcating the intellectual virtues, and these are the product of rigorous effort. Robert Maynard Hutchins, former chancellor of the University of Chicago, in an essay entitled "The Higher Learning," makes a startling statement about what he calls the worst words in use in connection with education; these words are "character," "personality," and "facts." "Facts," he says, "are the core of an anti-intellectual curriculum. Per-

sonality is the qualification we look for in an anti-intellectual teacher. Character is what we expect to produce in the student by a combination of a teacher of personality and a curriculum of facts. How this result can emerge from the mixture of these elements is a mystery to me. Apparently we insist on personality in the teacher because we cannot insist on intellect. . . . We talk of character as the end of education because an anti-intellectual world will not accept intelligence as its proper aim." . . . Hutchins is really saying that personality by itself cannot substitute for intellectual virtues, nor can a curriculum that stresses facts guarantee a true education. But he does mean that intellectual virtues could reside in a man with character and personality; we may even go further by saying that Hutchins would assume that personality and character are already posited in the pursuit of ideas.

In the choice of a teacher it would be wrong to excuse intellectual incompetence just because he is a model of Christian conduct or because he is a man with a pleasing personality. Or just because he is prompt in submitting reports, or he manages a class with smoothness and precision, or is active in co-curricular activities. And just because he could win a popularity contest is no reason to forgive, for instance, a literature and composition teacher who fails to discuss the refinements of the structure of a paragraph or the poetic architecture of "Ode on a Grecian Urn."

In talking about the professional schools, Chancellor Hutchins goes on to say that if they were to rise above the level of vocational training, they must restore to their place the concern for ideas in the educational scheme. Very recently our Bureau of Private Schools insisted that our Silliman College of Business Administration and our College of Engineering must include in their curricula Business English and Engineering English, respectively. This is the kind of anti-intellectualism that Hutchins has deplored. Such courses should also contain the general rules of composition, or they fail as courses. For how can one write a business letter if he does not know his syntax and the rules of punctuation in the first place? And what is this animal of the government called Engineering English? This attempt at dichotomizing, at compartmentalization, at fragmentation is the bane of our educational system, and is in a way responsible for the splintering of attitudes, the development of a schizophrenic view of life. Our effort should be toward unification of diverse knowledge. The engineer who can appreciate the angle of a concrete water spout should also be able to appreciate the angle formed by the wings of a dreaming butterfly. Implied in all this wedding of apparent-

ly divergent elements is the kind of intellectual resiliency that is the mark of the practical man who does not evade the pursuit of ideas.

Chancellor Hutchins concludes by explaining that ideas are the ingredient that unify a group of unrelated facts. He says: "The scholars in a university which is trying to grapple with principles will... seek to establish general propositions under which the facts they gather may be subsumed... They would not cease to gather facts, but would know what facts to look for, what they wanted them for, and what to do with them after they got them. They would not confine themselves to rational analysis and ignore the latest bulletin of the Department of Commerce. But they would understand that without analysis current data remain a meaningless tangle of minute facts. They would realize that without some means of ordering and comprehending their material they would sink deeper and deeper beneath the weight of the information they possessed."

Because undergraduate education in our country seems to have relinquished its prerogative of requiring the passion for scholarship and the passion for work, our whole school system, through the inevitable chain reaction, has sunk in the miasma of mediocrity and inadequacy. In our insistence on the accumulation of facts, abetted by the factual kind of civil examinations that are required in practically all disciplines, in other words in our stress on the what—we have neglected the **why** of things. The natural, instinctive curiosity of the child is killed, as seen, for instance, in the memorizing of the table of multiplication in the grades. Four times four was sixteen, an automatic answer that became embedded in the brain cells. But **why** is it 16? We were never told that 4 x 4 really meant four mangoes plus four mangoes plus four mangoes plus four mangoes, a method which could answer the **why.**

A few months ago Halley's comet appeared in the Philippine sky. This is the comet that the astronomer Halley computed would appear only once every 60 years. And so in a science class the teacher asks: "What is the comet that appears every 60 years?" Or: "Halley's comet appears every _____ years." Perhaps it should occur to the teacher that the more interesting question is **why** Halley's comet appears every 60 years, **how** this phenomenon happens. But of course that is the harder question to answer and explain and so he dismisses a most interesting astronomical phenomenon with as much casualness as his asking the class what date Jose Rizal was shot in Bagumbayan.

As a consequence. this refusal to ask **why** has seeped into the very bloodstream of our people. Instead we fill our heads with terminal facts, facts, facts; sometimes the Malacañang propagandists would even give us questionable facts posited as true facts. One example is the news credit given to President Marcos for having saved the life of Pope Paul at the International Airport. According to the report from Malacañang, the President of the Philippines gave the Bolivian would-be assassin the masterful karate punch of a black-belter.

Because from the nursery to college we are filled with the **what** of things, because we have forgotten to ask why, why, why, we may yet become a nation of robots, if, in a sense, we have not yet become a nation of robots; I mean, that come election time the political kingpin of the province, following instructions from Malacañang, and armed with wads and wads of government money as well as armalites shouldered by goons at a respectable distance, tells the mayors thus and so, the mayors tell the barrio captains thus and so. Why do we vote for Marcus Antonius? "Here's five pesos and a ganta of rice. Never mind asking why." What significance lies beyond the five pesos and a ganta of rice? The **why** of that, too, is hardly confronted.

In this depressing millieu, therefore, when undergraduate training has relinquished the demand for the passion for scholarship and the passion for work and the stimulation of curiosity and discovery, the Graduate School must assert this prerogative. It can, and it should. The government has instructed it to exact intellecual competence from its candidates. The Graduate School then can proceed from its vantage position and make a paradoxical move downward, to help pull our educational system forward. It can make this strategic downward move through its graduates, if they are any good, who can be in key positions in colleges and universities, and through a chain of command, they would institute policies upgrading our schools.

The topic of my talk this afternoon therefore should not be the big, pretentious, high-sounding one, "The Graduate School in the University"; it should be, "The Paradox of Moving Forward by Backtracking." For the graduate program's results are mostly measured in the efficiency of its graduates as they perform in the lower brackets of our educational system.

# *The Challenge of Change in a Christian University*

**Pedro V. Flores***

**An institution may or may not choose a pattern of change it wishes, but the ingredients for change are always present. Facing the necessity of change in a Christian university is a real challenge. Change is sometimes dramatized as a disruptive force that could destroy an organization or even society. But this is unfair, because history has shown that societies have been threatened not by change but by old and familiar crises: failure of food supply, disease, hostility of neighboring societies, competition from superior technologies, inner decay. In such cases, innovation may increase the chances of survival of a threatened system.**

## Commitment

At the tenth conference of university presidents affiliated with the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia last June, 1970, the participants committed themselves to four imperatives: Involvement in Social Revolution, Positive Response to Student Action, Movement toward Cooperation, and Pursuit of Innovation. The presidents also explicitly emphasized their openness to change in approaching these imperatives.

Thus, on Involvement in Social Revolution, they said that to become instruments for academic excellence and national development, "our universities and colleges must emphasize, wherever applicable, in the

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curriculum of various disciplines, the concept and phenomenon of **change.**" Likewise, on the imperative of Positive Response to Student Action, commitmnt to change is reflected in the presidents' concern for helping the students in their search for "new meaning of life," and for providing "constructive channels for the outpouring of students' concern and power."[1] The change approach is also very alive in the two other imperatives—cooperation and innovation.

## Models

It is one thing for an institution to declare an attitude of being open to change; the translation of this attitude into action may be another. Change as a phenomenon in institutions of higher education has been studied, especially in relation to how a school preserves or increases its vitality or effectiveness. From these studies, three ways of how change comes about in educational institutions have been identified. In some schools, change comes about after a crisis. As Burton Clark noted: "many schools, and colleges are unable to make a major change until confronted by a crisis," which comes in the form of "near bankruptcy or an exodus of staff or an explosive split among key personnel."[2] Yet, everyone knows that this process of periodic crisis followed by reform costs so much in human energy and dissipates so many resources.

In other schools, change comes about quite differently. There is continuous ferment and experimentation. Continuous institutional change may be as disruptive to faculty and students as occasional crisis. It is not surprising that oftentimes the reason given by faculty members for leaving their university is dissatisfaction with constant change in the curriculum, in faculty and student policies, or in administrative structure.

Change resulting from periodic crises and from continuous ferment are two extremes. Midway between them is another model: incremental change. In this type, an institution initiates adjustments when necessary in order to be in line with its objectives and to increase its effectiveness. Some refer to this as self-renewal; others call it planned change.

## Ingredients

A Christian University, like any other type of educational institution,

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1 "Statement of Presidents at the Tenth Presidents' Conference." Sponsored by UBCHEA, Wingspread, Racine, Wisconsin, June 11-14, 1970 (mimeographed material).

2 "A Study of Institutional Vitality," Institute of Higher Education, Teachers College, Columbia, 1967, pp. 2-4 (mimeographed material).

may or may not choose its model for change. But no institution will lack the ingredients for possible change because problems and questions are always present. It is how we tackle these problems and questions which allows or prevents the achievement of change. But we do not always have to wait for a problem to start a change activity. Even when there is no problem, man is supposed to be endowed with an inquisitive, exploring mind—always seeking new ideas and insights. Such innate capabilities are potent ingredients for change.

I have touched so far on three points:

1. That Christian universities in Asia have committed themselves to some imperatives and to approach these in the spirit of change;

2. That universities have a choice as to how they would allow change to happen; and

3. That the ingredients for change in a university are ever present.

## Student Demand and Positive Response

Now, let me turn to a more specific illustration that would allow further elaboration of these points. I am using an example that we are all familiar with. Silliman University is among those Christian universities committed to the imperatives of this decade. It has also declared an attitude of being open to change, rational change, I hope. Like other institutions, there are always questions and problems being raised. Among these problems is students' demands. One of these demands is that students should be required to attend only 80 per cent of the class sessions.

I am narrowing myself to one problem area and one specific demand. The number of examples is not as important as showing how problems and questions offer an institution a valuable chance to realize its commitment and increase its vitality and effectiveness. I also wish to show that a particular problem could have wide ramifications and implications if approached in a rational way.

Student activism has become a universal phenomenon. When confronted by this problem, our commitment obliges us to respond positively and rationally. To be able to do this, an institution must exert efforts to understand and analyze the characteristics of these activist groups and their demands. Are the ideas of the vocal and more articulate student

activists shared by more than a small minority? Are some of them Communist-inspired or dominated? Why do these people not go about their proper business of "getting an education" rather than encroach in affairs traditionally left to their elders? What are the sources of unrest which do exist and what can be done about them? These are some of the questions we should try to ask and answer because they are part of the rational process and of positive response.

Now, back to our example. After many months of demanding, the leaders of the active student groups finally succeeded in getting the administration to change the policy on three unexcused absences from class and the implementation of the 80 per cent attendance policy allowed by the Bureau of Private Schools. This issue involves a basic academic policy of the university. It affects directly every student and faculty. To respond positively to this demand, it is not sufficient to say: "Yes, from now on we will allow every student to attend only 80 per cent of the scheduled classes." Positive and rational response should result from a search of answers to certain questions. For example, is it true that a school cannot adopt a policy requiring the students to be absent less than 20 per cent of the scheduled class hours? Is the demand shared by more than the small active minority groups? Are these students saying that they would prefer to use 20 per cent of their school hours to do their own learning outside the classroom in any way they wish? Are they saying that they should be required only 80 per cent attendance but be responsible 100 per cent for the course requirements? Why are these students making this demand? Do they find much of their classroom education irrelevant? Is what Dr. Edilberto K. Tiempo calls "faculty passion for terminal facts" happening?[3]

I think the answers to these questions are not difficult to get. Even if they are, we must try to get them as promptly as we can. There is no other alternative if we have to respond positively, especially if positive response means rational response. Positive response does not necessarily mean saying "yes" to every demand. It could be a "no," given promptly and supported by accurate facts and strong reasons. It doesn't matter that a demand is initiated by a small or big minority; by a registered or unregistered campus organization. The fact is: they are our students and they are entitled to raise questions on issues affecting their education. The "take-it-or-leave-it" attitude as regards University service is a less desirable approach than to be armed with facts and reasons.

[3] Edilberto K. Tiempo, "The Graduate School and the University," Inaugural Address, Silliman University, Dec. 9, 1970.

## Implications for Faculty and Administrators

The process of meeting students' demands positively provides potentials for needed change in other aspects of our educational program. Let me return to the example I have used to show these potentials. Suppose that in our data-gathering we find that the 80 per cent attendance demand is shared by a sizable number of our students; that they have good reasons for labelling their class sessions unchallenging, boring, irrelevant; that they find many teachers' methods of teaching ineffective in making them learn. The implications of such findings are serious, especially for faculty accountability and the broader question of what constitute relevant education.

One of the latest innovations in the field of education is the emphasis of the principle of teacher accountability. The most popular use of this principle is in the area called performance contracting. In the United States this school year, a nation-wide trend has been started whereby private companies like McGraw-Hill, Educational Turnkey Systems, Inc., and Dorsett Educational Systems sign contracts with school systems.[4] A company guarantees rapid improvement in pupil achievement or learning. After a stipulated time, an independent group conducts an evaluation. If the guaranteed achievement or learning did not occur among the pupils, the company does not get the fee promised in the contract. Thus, only after doing the job will the company know whether it was a financial winner or loser. In effect, it is like saying that the teacher should not get paid unless he has proven that he has succeeded in making his students learn.

I am not saying that we should adopt performance contracting as practiced in America. But the principle of accountability behind performance contracting is something we must seriously consider. Many teachers have been staying too long with the tradition that their job is to teach, bothering little or none at all whether or not their students learn. No wonder such innovative idea as performance contracting threatens this kind of teachers. But perhaps Sir Eric Ashby was right when he said: "The infallible recipe for stirring up a university (including its faculty) is to set up a rival."[5] The point I am stressing is that it is important for us to maintain an attitude of being open to

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[4] Stanley Elam, "The Age of Accountability Dawns in Texarkana," **Phi Delta Kappan,** June 1970, pp. 509-514.

[5] "A Study of Institutional Vitality," **op. cit.,** p. 2.

innovation in the teaching-learning process and try to carry out some change.

I think that it is every teacher's responsibility to worry how to help his students learn, rather than be concerned only with the job of teaching. If it is expected that students are responsible 100 per cent of the course requirements, shouldn't it be the teacher's responsiblity to spell out in black and white what knowledge, skills, abilities, and attitudes he expects to teach and expects the student to learn in a course? Some students feel that teachers hide certain trade secrets. It is up to the students to find out or guess what the teacher is trying to teach or untangle the lectures. In other cases, the teacher may really need some help to do a better job of teaching and making his students learn. Like the teacher-student relation in the teaching-learning process, faculty-administrator relationship for the improvement of instruction should not be a one-way affair. The administrator, whether vice president for academic affairs, dean, or chairman, should not consider the improvement of instruction the sole responsibility of the teacher. The leadership role of an administrator includes an active concern and participation in the improvement of instruction. Failure of the students to learn should be viewed in part at least as failure of the teacher to teach as well as failure of the admnistrator to lead.

### Implications for Campus Climate

The 80 per cent attendance demand of the students relates not only to the issue between learning in the classroom and learning outside the classroom, but also between learning from the broad extra-curriculum and learning from the academic curriculum. This highlights the role of the campus climate in the general education of the student. Explaining what constitutes this climate and its significance to the student's education, Ralph Tyler writes:

> "The education of the student cannot be understood adequately just in terms of the courses he takes or the professors with whom he comes in contact. A student learns and develops in a complex environment, being influenced by and influencing the student groups of which he is a member, the friendships he forms, and the roles he plays in college affairs. He is also influenced by his teachers, advisors, and other intangibles of a college.[6]

[6] Ralph W. Tyler, in **Personality Factors on the College Campus: Review of a Symposium,** The Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, University of Texas, Austin, Texas, 1962.

Social scientists today are giving increasing attention to the subtle, more intangible, and informal factors in student learning. Researches in this area have so far come up with the following generalizations:

1. An educational institution does have its own distinctive climate or atmosphere. This climate attracts with startling consistency the same kinds of students and has the same kind of impact on them.[7]

2. Many of the activities that go on outside the classroom—the advising program, the extra class program, counselling services, a dormitory system and residence program, and a campus program of cultural events —enhance the motivation to learn and increase the perceived relevance of learning. They not only encourage but also facilitate the mastery of specific subject matter.

3. Peer-group interaction and faculty-student interaction outside the classroom have a stronger and more significant impact on student attitudes and values than the things that go on in the classroom.

Special claims of Christian institutions to uniqueness or quality are mostly in the area of campus climate. If it is recognized that the elements constituting campus climate are as essential as the formal academic program in the learning and development of the students, their implications for planning and allotment of resources are obvious. For example, if student friendship and influences on each other are important parts of learning, what kinds of campus residential, recreational, and food service arrangements should the university provide to promote healthy influences? Would not more allotment of financial resources on segments to feed, to beautify and to house, including the hiring of better trained dormitory managers, be worthwhile educational investments? If formal faculty advising has real educational value to the student, shouldn't this be made a necessary part of faculty responsibility instead of giving it up?

Another unique feature in the campus climate of a Christian University like Silliman is the presence of foreign personnel. For about seven decades now, we have been assuming that missionaries, most of whom are now called fraternal workers, have been making a valuable contribution not only to the academic education of Filipino students but also in the promotion of brotherhood among men. Now, the university

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[7] James G. Rice, "The Campus Climate: A Reminder," in Samuel Baskin, ed., **Higher Education: Some Newer Developments** (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965), pp. 306-307.

and these foreign personnel are being labelled by some as the remaining bulwark of western imperialism in this country. Shouldn't we put our heads together to discover ways of weeding out nationalistic sloganeering based on emotionalism, encouraging authentic yearning of the Filipino to discover a common national spirit, and using the available and needed foreign personnel to promote the ideals of global brotherhood?

Still another clearly prominent quality of a Christian campus is its concern for the moral education of the student. At Silliman, we have both academic and non-academic programs to emphasize our commitment to the moral dimension of education. It seems to me that the eroding tendency against this particular aspect of our program is the growing divergence of opinion among the faculty on how to teach morals and virtue. Whether in religion courses for general education or in the mission of the campus church, questions such as the following are raised: Should we teach **about** virtue and morals, or should we aim directly to bring about a commitment to virtuous and moral conduct? To teach **about** virtue and morals means to teach them intellectually factual materials such as history, economics, or political science.[8] To bring about a commitment to virtuous and moral conduct means to mold the student's values, to form his moral habits. The proponents of the view that the task of the Christian university is to teach about virtue and morals argue that the classroom or campus church "can provide conceptualization of the right" and not develop the habit of right conduct. Furthermore, this group claims, conduct involves behavior and behavior requires example and practice. Practice takes time, more time than the student's stay in college. Therefore, the molding of the student's values and morals should be left to the home, the neighborhood, and the church outside the campus.[9]

Despite this argument in favor of the more intellectual approach to the teaching of virtues and morals in a university, many among us find it difficult to side with this viewpoint. Among Silliman alumni, many proud testimonies cite the unique and significant moral impact of this institution on their private and professional life. These testimonies further point to the fact that this important moral impact is both taught and caught through close interaction with and the example of the faculty, other students, and direct exposure to the church's evangelistic program. Should we now carry out our responsibility on the moral aspect of educa-

[8] John S. Brubacher, **Bases for Policy in Higher Education** (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965), p. 34.

[9] Robert Hutchins and John Smith in Brubacher, **Ibid.**, p. 37.

tion in a more intellectual way, or should the whole climate of the university—its curricular as well as extra-curricular climate—be so permeated with that moral conviction which is the basis of the founding of this university, so that this conviction becomes a vital influence in the forming of our students' values and moral habits? How can we justify our choice?

## Summary

Now, to sumarize what I have been saying. I have recalled the determination of Christian universities in Asia to be relevant and dynamic to the challenges of this decade and to approach these in an attitude of openness to change. I have also indicated that an institution may or may not choose a pattern of change it wishes, but that the ingredients for change are always present. As an example, I have used the existing problem of student demands on our campus as opportunities for possible change in faculty and administrator attitudes and in reviewing and developing the quality of campus climate. This latter aspect of our educational program is especially unique and significant to a Christian university.

## Reassurance

Facing the importance or necessity of change in a Christian university is a real challenge. Change is sometimes dramatized as a disruptive force that could destroy an organization or even society. And yet, it is not fair to put too much emphasis on the disruptive character of change. Let me share with you the reassuring thoughts of John W. Gardner. History he says, has shown that primitive and civilized societies have been threatened not by change or innovation but by old and familiar crises: failure of food supply, disease, hostility of neighboring societies, competition from superior technologies, inner decay. In such cases, innovation may increase the chances of survival of a threatened system. But it may not be acceptable to those who love the **status quo**. Like children, those who love the status quo may fear the doctor more than the disease.[10]

[10] John W. Gardner, **Self-Renewal, The Individual and the Innovative Society** (New York: Harper and Row, Publisher, 1963), p. 28.

# *The Case for Christian Higher Education in Asia*

**Cicero D. Calderon ***

**"We who labor in the field of higher education are sharply and embarrassingly aware that the inadequate or indifferent response of educational institutions to the problems of race, of dehumanization, of social justice, of poverty have led our young people to question the validity of our institutions. With the end of colonialism, the supreme task of Asian nations today is nation-building. . . "**

Upon invitation of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, twelve college and university presidents from Asia have come to the United States for a dialogue among themselves and with American colleagues on the problems and goals of Christian higher education in Asia. Surely, in this period of social upheaval characterized by tensions, uncertainties and even despair, we should take a hard look at our own institutions and at the total thrust of the Christian enterprise in the field of higher education in Asia.

In the idyllic setting of Wingspread in Racine, Wisconsin—the conference center of the Johnson Foundation—we met in study, in fellowship and worship.

In our conference, we could not escape certain inevitable questions.

Have our Christian colleges and universities, many of them organized a hundred years ago, now outlived their usefulness and, therefore, are they due for liquidation?

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In the face of the tremendous problems now facing Asia—brought about by revolutions of expectations, population explosion, and mass poverty—is not our Christian witness through education too weak or too irrelevant to do much good?

Or, could it be that, as the American people now find themselves confronted, through the insistence of the youth, with the problems of peace and war, of racial inequality, of the underprivileged, of pollution—there could be no better time than now to put a merciful end to the travails of these Asian institutions or transfer them to state control?

On the other hand, could not this be the best time and the greatest opportunity for Christian colleges and universities to rise to higher levels of Christian witness and service?

Could not this be the opportune time for our Christian colleges and universities to show the transforming power of the love of Christ in reshaping or re-ordering our societies in Asia?

## Past Contribution

I need not dwell on the unequivocal contributions of Christian colleges and universities in Asia during the past century or two. Every nation in Asia has been—and is—a beneficiary of their educational efforts. In most countries, Christian colleges and universities served as pioneers in education and provided leadership therein. They sowed the seeds of Christian ethics, the love of truth, the worth and dignity of the individual, and the democratic way of life. They were a leavening influence upon their community and upon the nation. The dedication, the simplicity, the selflessness of the early Christian missionary teachers must have left a deep impression on the lives of their students. Of them, I am reminded of the words of the late Justice Cardozo who said: "The prophets and the martyrs do not look at the hooting throng. Their eyes are fixed on the eternities."

I come from an institution founded by men and women "whose eyes were fixed on the eternities." Silliman University came into being when a man from Cohoes, New York, by the name of Horace B. Silliman went into the offices of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Board one day in 1900 to ask if they could build a school in the Philippines with a gift of $10,000. Mr. Silliman was possessed of a vision for the country, for its potential future. A missionary couple, Dr. and Mrs. David S. Hibbard, obeyed the summons to build the school so that by August 28, 1901, the first class was organized. Dr. Hibbard was president and Mrs. Hibbard was the faculty. Since then the school grew as the country

grew—from elementary school to high school to college. By 1938, it achieved university status. The converse is also valid—the country grew as the school grew and produced the teachers, engineers, lawyers, nurses, ministers, and agriculturists who were needed to build the nation.

Today, Silliman and other Christian colleges and universities are being called upon to discharge ever larger responsibilities in the supreme task of nation-building.

We who labor in the field of higher education are sharply and embarrassingly aware that the inadequate or indifferent response of educational institutions to the problems of race, of dehumanization, of social justice, of poverty have led our young people to question the validity of our institutions.

With the end of colonialism, the supreme task of Asian nations today is nation-building. What does this mean?

In Asian societies where the average per capita income is barely $100 per year, it means lifting almost one billion people from grinding poverty and despair to a level of dignity and self-respect.

In Asian societies where there is a wide gap between the rich and the poor, it means the need of restructuring society so that every man may have a chance to develop to his full potentials, to fulfill himself.

In Asian societies, where almost 500 million people are illiterate, it means liberating the masses from ignorance and fear.

Should our brethren from the West be concerned about our efforts to fight poverty, misery, ignorance and despair—about our hopes and aspirations for a better life? I say "yes," because:

1. We now live in a world shrinking into a small neighborhood and the peace and prosperity of every nation is fatefully tied to that of every nation;

2. Because a genuine concern of the developed nations for developing nations is the best approach to world peace and progress;

3. And because, in the human family, the poverty of two-thirds of its members constitute a moral outrage.

We want to change our societies but this can be done best by men and women whose lives are transformed by the love of God. Our Christian colleges and universities have the responsibility to produce men and women who are not only technically competent but morally sensitive—men and women who can give meaning and validity to the Christian paradox that "he that seeketh his life shall lose it, but he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it."

# *Sorcery in the Framework of Folk Medicine on Siquijor Island*

**Maria Ponteñila and Hubert Reynolds***

**Out of the 133 respondents (selected by stratified random sampling) interviewed, 92 believe sorcery exists on Siquijor Island and 97 said people were afraid of it. Only 13, however, believed that illnesses and deaths in Siquijor were due to sorcery. This finding seems to be in line with the observation that more people on the island are going to medical doctors. If a sick person believes the cause of his sickness is supernatural or sorcery. he goes to the folk-healer** (mananambal). **If he believes the cause is natural, he goes to the medical doctor, according to this study.**

This is a survey, in breadth, of sorcery and folk-medicine on Siquijor Island, Negros Oriental.[1] This island, facing Dumaguete City, is reputed to be the center of sorcery in the area of the Visayas, Central Philippines.

The survey was carried out by seven researchers,[2] one located in

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[1] A depth study was made by Dr. Richard Lieban in Sibulan, a rural municipality of Negros Oriental and Cebu City, in 1958-59 and in 1962-63, respectively. His findings were reported in his book, entitled, **Cebuano Sorcery: Malign Magic in the Philippines** (1967).

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each of the six municipalities of Siquijor Island (Larena, Siquijor, San Juan, Lazi, Maria, and Enrique Villanueva) and one in the barrio of San Antonio, Siquijor. San Antonio was chosen as the control area because it is known as the "graduate school of sorcery" for the whole island.

Before gathering the data in the field, the seven researchers underwent a week-long orientation and preparation, during which they listened to lectures, read basic references, observed folk healers at work, and prepared the interview schedule,[3] under the direction of Dr. Hubert Reynolds. Prof. Timoteo Oracion assisted as one of the lecturers.

Presented here are the findings of the research team[4] on the following aspects: folklore and social psychology, beliefs and practices in folk medicine, causes of illness, symptoms and treatments, and apparent effects of practices and beliefs in folk-medicine in people's lives. These aspects emphasize the practices by the **Bisayang Mananambal**[5] (folk medicine practitioner), of supernatural healing and anti-sorcery.

It should be noted that gathering of information was handicapped by the suspicion of the respondents about the researchers' intentions and purposes.[6] Although there is no law prohibiting the practice of sorcery, still sorcery is a covert activity[7] and not in consonance with moral law.[8] Those who were known as sorcerers, with one or two exceptions, denied

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[3] The following aspects were covered in the preparation of the questionnaire (with one aspect for each researcher to focus on): Folk Religion, Folk Medicine, Social Control, Folklore, Psychology, Economic Development, and Methodology.

[4] It should also be noted that findings gathered by Maria Ponteñila during the Lenten Season of March, 1970 are included in this report.

[5] Referring to the **mananambal** in the Visayan-speaking region of the Philippines.

[6] A researcher, in a later survey, discovered that fear was instilled in the minds of known sorcerer respondents by some members of the community, so much so that the researcher's presence meant possible exposure to the eyes of the law.

[7] Based on Lieban's observation, sorcerers are usually guarded and secretive because as suspected sorcerers, they are apt to encounter violent attacks. In Siquijor Island, there were cases of houses blown up because the head or a member of the family was reported to be a sorcerer and had caused illness or death to some members of the community.

[8] Moral law, is a rule or group of rules conceived as universal and unchanging and as having the sanction of God's will, of conscience, of man's moral nature, or of natural justice as revealed to human reason. This moral law may be supported by the church, the school or education, and modern medicine.

outright any knowledge about the practice of sorcery even when asked indirectly. Some **mananambal** also hesitated to admit, to the point of denying, their ability to heal for fear of being reported and prosecuted for their "medical activities."[9] Some informants who had never been patients of the folk healers refused to admit any knowledge of, or belief in folk stories, folk medicines, or sorcery.

Because of this research situation, most of the data collected about sorcery and how it operates came indirectly from information given by the **mananambal** about "supernatural" healing or counter-sorcery, from involved respondents (patients) and from non-involved respondents.[10] Thus, this report focuses on sorcery within the context of folk-medicine, since sorcerers rarely admit that they practice sorcery.[11] This report also offers information about the influence of sorcery on the lives of those who believe in it.

## I. Description of the Research Area

The islands of Siquijor—formerly known to the Spaniards as **Isla del Fuego** (Island of Fire)[12]—is a sub-province of Negros Oriental. It is located 21 nautical miles east of Dumaguete City,[13] Negros Oriental.

The predominant economic activities are farming, fishing, and some cottage industries in **buri** and **abaca.** A manganese mine was closed down on account of the high cost of production and because of danger in the

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[9] The Revised Administrative Code, Section 770 provides that "No person shall practice medicine in the Philippines without having previously obtained the proper certificate of registration issued by the Board of Medical Examiners as herein constituted, or the lawful board which was its predecessor. . . . ."

[10] Those who were classified under non-involved respondents were expected to relate the experience, if any, of a friend, a relative, or a member of the family whom they knew had been a victim of supernatural acts.

[11] A known sorcerer who in the past denied having knowledge of sorcery, promised to teach a researcher a few methods of sorcery. Later, he said he could not fulfill his promise. He did not give any reason. The researcher could see that fear was foremost in the mind of the man because he would turn his finger near his head emphasizing to the researcher that he was getting confused.

[12] The stories behind the origin of the name are the following: there were plenty of fire trees growing around the island; and that the fire burning from the fishermen's lamp made the island look, from a distance, like it was on fire.

[13] To reach the Island, one can either take an interisland vessel which can dock on ny of the two ports (Larena and Lazi), or cross towards the island in a pumpboat which can bring the passenger to any of the municipalities on the island, or fly in n airplane which can land on the unfinished airstrip in the municipality of Siquijor.

mining shaft. Fishing is fairly good around the southeastern part of the island, and is usually done for profit; but the fishing in the northeastern part is largely for home consumption. The farming undertaken likewise is primarily for local use.

The Presidential Arm on Community Development (PACD) provincial office has noted an unusually high degree of cooperation among the people in development projects on the island. At present attention is concentrated on waterwork projects, which is an important need of the rural people. The roads and schools are generally better than those found in other parts of the province. Many people seem to have a rather high level of interest in the development of their island, which may be due to the fact that most of them are native islanders since there is a low rate of emigration into Siquijor. The direction of migration is outward.

Although Siquijor is a relatively poor p'ace economically, there are numerous improvements being undertaken with the cooperation of the people and their local administrators, and the provincial and national governments.

## II. Methods of Data Gathering

There were two methods of data gathering used by the research team —observation and interviewing.

The researchers employed both non-participant observation and participant observation. They were usually non-participant observers; but in a few instances, they participated as "patients" receiving treatment from a **mananambal.**

Interviews were both informal and formal. From the informal interviews, the researchers got a number of leads on prospects for a formal interview with a folk practitioner or patient. In the formal interviews, the researchers used the 19-page interview schedule, divided into six different sections: Folklore, Economic Development, Social Control, Folk-Medicine, Psychology, and Folk Religion.[14]

These interviews were usually preceded by a short period of casual conversation to establish rapport. The length of the interview schedule

[14] Revisions were made in the interview schedule before going to the field and again after one week on the field.

plus other survey approaches,[15] limited the number of formal interviews completed to an average of one per day per researcher.

Focus was also made in the collection of materials used in folk healing and sorcery.[16]

## III. Types of Respondents and How Selected

The researchers hoped to secure and compare responses representing different levels. Hence four types of respondents were sought for the formal interview: sorcerers, patients, healers, and non-involved informants (non-involved means one who has never been the patient of a folk-healer). Although the highest concentration of interviews was with patients and healers, many interviews were made with non-involved informants in order to provide comparisons between those who say they believe in and go to folk practitioners and those who say they do not. Similarly, patient and healer informants were selected from both poblacions and various barrios, so that information on the beliefs and practices found in the barrios could be compared with information found in the poblacions. Lastly, the researchers spent a great deal of their time with key informants.

For the informal interview, the persons interviewed were generally selected at random. As opportunities developed, authority figures in the municipality were made as initial contacts. The majority of interviews were of an informal nature and often dealt with various subjects. These informal interviews, in many instances, led to formal interviews with the same informants; and in other cases, they provided leads for formal interviews with other knowledgeable informants.

## IV. Background Data on Respondents

A breakdown of the 133 respondents shows that 55 were patients, 2 were **mananambal,** 31 were non-involved and 5 were known as healers-

[15] The research team would meet once a week in a strategic (e.g. where their a fiesta) research area in Siquijor with the field supervisor, Dr. Hubert Reynolds. ch team member is made to report his progress to the group. Special mention should be made of the fact that the team was out of the field one week to prepare a preliminary report to be read at the Philippine Sociological nvention in Cebu City. The team also attended the convention. An abstract of the liminary report has been published in the **Philippine Sociological Review,** Vol. Nos. 3-4 (July-October, 1968), pp. 197-198.

[16] All of the materials gathered are currently on display at the Living Museum of ropology, Silliman University.

sorcerers. These five known healer-sorcerers were from the barrio of San Antonio; in other places, healers were not known to be sorcerers.[17]

Of the 133 respondents, 86 were males and 47 were females. Among the **mananambal,** 29 were males and 13 were females (approximately a 2 to 1 ratio). The youngest respondent was 23 years old while the oldest was 89.

On the educational attainment of the respondents, 14 had not gone to school at all. Twelve have had **cartilla**[18] while 59 have finished or have had some elementary education. Twenty-seven had reached the high school level while 21 attained college education.

The main livelihood of the respondents was farming (about 38% of the total), followed by teaching (9%), then government employees/officials (8%). The rest were fishermen, healers, motorcab drivers, businessmen, and a time-keeper, dressmaker, vendor, carpenter, policeman, nurse, musician, etc. Twenty-eight were not gainfully employed (18 of whom were housewives).

## V. Folklore and Social Psychology

In dealing with the study of folk-medicine it is necessary to first try to understand the view the people in a given place have of the surroundings. Since what one believes often determines what one perceives it is necessary to discuss the folklore and psychology of the people before we examine their beliefs and practices in folk-medicine. For example, if the people did not believe in evil spirits, they would hardly accept that certain illnesses were caused by them. Further, if the illness which the **mananambal** cures is "psychosomatic," as one medical doctor in San Juan indicates, then we need to try to understand the "cycle of fear" which can cause this type of sickness. (The cycle is described as: belief, sense of guilt, perception, anxiety, suggestibility and anxiety attack

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[17] Lately, an informal interview was made by Maria Ponteñila with a known lady sorcerer (known to be the most dangerous) who practices on people outside the island. A very reliable informant said that she would be called out of the island to practice the art and would go home, up into the mountains in a hired car. She denied outright any knowledge of healing. She claimed, on the other hand, that she's more of a **mananabang** (midwife) than a **mananambal.**

[18] This is equivalent to the ABC taught to beginners during the Spanish period of Philippine history.

with its accompanying physical conditions.)[19] Therefore, it is important to deal with the folklore, the belief in it and its effects upon the lives of the people.

There are various stories about evil spirits and bewitched people which are believed by some of the people. A majority of the respondents believe in myths, legends, tales, riddles, and proverbs. Various reasons given are: that stories had been handed down from the old folks; they have meaning in their lives; that characters involved really exist and had been seen by respondents; and that the stories teach lessons. The respondents commonly believe in stories of witches (**balbal**), dwarfs (**duwende**), ghosts (**multo**) and spirits (**ingkanto**). Their beliefs in the existence of the **ingkanto** and **balbal** provide them with some means of understanding the genesis of disease. Their ascription of diseases as being caused by the displeasure of spirits will be dealt with later. As one healer-sorcerer puts it, "spirits are beings of another dimension who have their own system of government and their own way of life." They will only avenge and cause harm when one trespasses their dwelling places.[20] The **mananambal** concluded that they, like mortals, demand respect and privacy from their neighbors.

A few stories illustrate some of these folk beliefs.

**Story A**

A mother and her two sons had gone to the shore to fish at about 6 p.m. When they reached the beach they saw a baby, about one year old, near a banana tree and a large stone. The baby was crying. They went to the child and asked her who was her companion. The child only pointed to the banana tree and continued to cry. One of the sons suggested that his mother feed the baby and she did so.

The mother, recognizing the baby as the child of a neighbor, took the baby back to her house. When they arrived there the only person around was the child's grandmother who was rocking the crib, believing the child to be still there. She was very surprised when the mother and her sons

[19] Taken from the lecture given by Mrs. Bettie Caroll Elwood, instructor in psychology, Silliman University, during the orientation period of the research team.

[20] On the other hand, one may be fortunate to befriend an **ingkanto**, especially in times of trouble or need. A **mananambal** remarked that the **ingkanto** will protect one from bad spirits, help him in his farm, by keeping pests away, and help him in his fishing if he is a fisherman (only after he has done the **pagdiwata** appeasement or petition), and give him the power to heal, as the case may be.

brought back the baby. They told the story and left.

About a week later the mother with her two sons became ill. She became very weak and had pain in her breast. The child also became sick and suffered scabbies. After about three years the mother was cured by a **mananambal** who said an **ingkanto** made her suffer because she had fed and returned the baby.

### Story B

Two friends, Juanita and Maria, agreed to attend a dance in the poblacion. Juanita was to pick up Maria at 7 p.m.

An **inkanto** heard the agreement and at the proper time he took the appearance of Juanita and went to get Maria. Instead of taking Maria to the dance in the poblacion he took her to a dance in a **balite** tree.

At about 8 p.m. Juanita went to Maria's house to get her. Maria's mother was surprised that Juanita returned and had again picked up Maria. After all was explained, an alarm was sounded and people went to look for Maria. She was found three days later standing on a vine in a **balite** tree.

A priest was called to help catch the girl and when he said some prayers she came down but when the people tried to hold her she ran off. Later the people were able to encircle her and whip her with the priest's belt which tamed her. He blessed the girl and she later related how the **ingkanto** had taken her to the dance in the **balite** tree.

### Story C

During the hot season the **amamarang** roams about taking children or strangling people and eating their livers. The **amamarang** is said to resemble a woman and have very long hair which she uses to strangle her victims.

If we view the relationship of a folk story with the psychological cycle, we can see that the "belief" in evil spirits as a cause of illness does substantiate the belief in folk-medicine. And if the various steps in the cycle are examined, further points of relationship will be found.

The next phase in the cycle is a sense of guilt. According to the respondents, victims of evil spirits, may or may not have done wrong to the spirits. But in the cases of victims of sorcery, the majority of the respondents said only the guilty could be a victim. One healer informant said that "if a person were innocent, sorcery would not be effective."

An example of this would be the respondent who supposedly became a victim of sorcery. It happened after a jeepney which he was following, and which was the same color as his jeep, hit and killed a cow. The onlookers were said to have mistakenly described his jeep to the owner of the cow. In retaliation, the owner of the cow resorted to sorcery but the respondent, who was not guilty, survived.

In reference to perception, anxiety and suggestibility, we have stories told of the use of evil spirits to threaten children into behaving. Patients, for example, may have directly perceived supernatural occurrences or others may have been sick with the same illness.

Finally, taking the symptoms of illness that people profess to have as a result of an anxiety attack, there is a fair amount of activity on the part of the folk healers to cure the people who come to them for treatment.

There is, therefore, strong evidence of belief in and psychological support for the practices and beliefs found in folk-medicine among the people of Siquijor.

## VI. Beliefs and Practices of Folk-Medicine

The various beliefs in folk-medicine in Siquijor have a similar view of the causes of illness, but the practices and treatments of the various healers and the actions or reactions of the patients vary in many cases.

The gradations vary from complete acceptance of the modern medical germ theory to acceptance only of the supernatural and sorcery causes, according to our survey. In some instances, an individual may completely accept the germ theory but sometimes believe that he is a victim of sorcery or evil spirits.

The many practices in folk-medicine for the prevention and cure of sickness vary from person to person. Though there are similarities, the particular ingredients of the folk-medicine and the procedures and treatments of the different healers differ. For example, two different healers had a different meaning for **tawal.** To one it simply meant the examination and diagnostic procedure, to another it was the cure. In two different cases the **palina** (a medicine) consisted of different ingredients. In the one case, it was only bits and pieces of the candle blessed in February (Candelaria) and the Easter Candle (Candela sa Perdon); in another case, it consisted of some roots (unknown) and incense mixed and either mixture is placed on embers.

The means of prevention also vary from place to place and person to person.

**Sumpa** (an amulet) is worn to ward off evil spirits.[21] In some cases, it consists of roots, incense from the church, pieces of the **Candela sa Perdon** and **Tres de Maria**[22] candles which are mixed and placed in a bullet shell or small pouch of cloth;[23] in other cases, a piece of a diamond will do; still in some cases, religious cord or scapular will keep the evil spirits away. Some use **santa lana** (holy oil), which is said to boil when a sorcerer is around.

Often, prayers are used to ward off evil spirits. The **Confiteor** (I Confess) is said to be effective against **balbal;** a prayer found outside a house, "Exsum petetes, Egusom, Egusom, Egusom, Egusom, Amen,"[24] was said to ward off the **ingkanto** and the **Credo** prayer was also said to be used. In most cases, the prayers are in Latin which is believed to be most efficacious, but saying the Lord's Prayer, in any language, and making the sign of the cross after the prayer is also commonly practiced.

Evidently, there are various means of protection and treatment against the causes of illness or death. The causes, which are few, shall now be discussed.

## VII. Causes of Illness

The causes of illness, according to our respondents, fall into two general categories—supernatural and natural. Under the category of supernatural cause, may fall three types: sorcery, evil spirits, and witchcraft. Of the two categories, natural cause is most often mentioned, while in the supernatural realm, evil spirits are more often given as the

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[21] A **mananambal** from Misamis Oriental showed but would not allow anybody to hold the bottle he used as **sumpa** and for healing purposes. The contents were a white diamond, black diamond, sapphire, magnet, a ring made out of ivory called **wagas,** lightning (sometimes known as the teeth of a lightning), and oil which had been used to soak the medicinal herbs.

[22] Candles lighted from the altar of the Virgin Mary during the Holy Week, representing the Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

[23] This kind of mixture may be taken orally as medicine or may be used for **palina.**

[24] Ex. . . (from); sum . . . (I am); petetes . . . (they ask); Egu . . . (I).

All of the latin prayers in this manuscript were translated by an Irish priest. In the priest's opinion, the Latin prayers had been corrupted and therefore became meaningless in its own context.

cause. Sorcery and witchcraft are alluded to only occasionally.[25]

The natural causes of illness are seen as pathological disease, accident, old age, poor health conditions, etc. A **mananambal** can usually tell whether an illness is caused by natural elements by feeling the pulse of the patient. The **mananambal** can further tell the native medicine's effect. When the **mananambal** recognizes that the ailment is outside his realm, he recommends that the patient see a medical doctor. It should be noted that a well-known and reputedly the oldest known healer-sorcerer in the barrio of San Antonio, who had fever, asked for medicine from a school-teacher.

The next major cause of illness, according to the respondents, is the activity of evil spirits. The two major offenders seem to be the **balbal** and the **ingkanto.** In some cases, these spirits are provoked by the activities of the people (i.e., plowing the land they inhabit or drawing water from their spring), but most often they simply act maliciously and unprovoked; they act true to form by victimizing innocent persons.[26] For instance, they feel provoked if one cuts down a **balete** tree which is said to be the abode of the **ingkanto,** or if a farmer plows the field and hurts the "inhabitants." Another example is the story about the root of a **dalakit** (synonymous with **balete**) tree. The root had obstructed the flow of water to the farm, causing the water to rise during rains, thereby flooding the farm. The farmer thus thought of burning the root but while he was thinking about it, a swarm of bees from the **dalakit** tree rushed toward him. Although he escaped being stung by the bees, he noticed days later that his legs grew numb and itchy, gradually became bluish, and later he had difficulty in standing and walking. The farmer attributed the ailment to **buyag**—an act of the evil spirits.[27]

In other instances, the evil spirits may have taken a liking to a person and tried to communicate with him. If the person refuses or fails to respond, the spirit gets angry and makes him sick. Common victims of these spirits are women with whom the former falls in love. Others get sick because they cannot stand the sight of the spirit. They are known to have been befriended by the spirit (**giamigo sa ingkanto**).

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[25] It is useful to distinguish between witchcraft and sorcery. A witch brings about his evil effects simply because he is a witch and has no need of medicines or techniques. A sorcerer deliberately uses magical techniques and substance to work evil on somebody or something. (John Beattie, **Other Culture** [New York: The Free Press, 1964], pp. 213-214.

[26] Refer to Story B earlier in this paper.

[27] The more popular meaning of **buyag** is described on p. 88.

Witchcraft, which is often mixed with the presence of evil spirits, has the **aswang** or **balbal** for its example. When a person sees an **aswang** he generally thinks of instant death at the hands of the **aswang**. The **aswang** reportedly attacks and kills any person he meets or wants to kill.

The fourth major cause of illness and death, according to our respondents, is sorcery. Though the incidence is not high, sorcery is perhaps the most interesting of all the causes reported.

Though sorcery does not occur often, a majority of the respondents indicated that it caused fear among the people, spurring them to take precaution against it. Sorcery is generally thought to cause sickness and death if the victim is not treated by a **mananambal.**

There are various reasons for a person to be victimized but noted most often by informants were land disputes, jealousy, adultery, frustrations in courtship, and disagreement during cockfights. In most cases, the intended victim is guilty; if he is not, sorcery will not be effective.

There are several methods[28] of sorcery, according to the informants. It was told to one researcher that there are 50 or more methods of sorcery being practiced in Siquijor. One respondent told this writer that there are about a hundred methods of sorcery. The difficulty is that not one respondent has been able to enumerate and describe even 20 of these methods. Among the most popular or well-known methods are **barang, haplit, paktol, hilo,** and **buyag.** Less popular methods include **angyaw**[29] **la-ga, San Anton, gilalag, sigbin, gisalwaki, among-among.**[30]

1. **Barang. Barang** is the name of the insect which is used in this method of sorcery (it looks like a beetle, is the size of a fly, and is all black with shiny wings and lives in horse manure). Three insects are selected and a piece of thread is tied to each insect. The length of the

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[28] In some cases it was possible to obtain fairly complete description of the methods; in others, only sketchy references were obtained.

[29] One person, reputed to be a sorcerer, showed one researcher pieces of coin on a plate which was used as offerings to the evil spirits found in a cave.

[30] In other references, **among-among** is a generic term. In the Island of Siquijor it is known as a specific method of sorcery.

Other minor varieties that may be added are the following: **among-among sa tikong, bahag-bahag, angyaw sa langub, angyaw sa menteryo, angyaw sa ong-ong, la-ga sa sa-ang, discomonyon sa latin, kahuna, baligan, antiwil or pawikan, haplit-angyaw sumbong, sampal, angyaw sa santisimo, salak,** and **lumai.**

Except for the following types of sorcery: **San Anton, gilalag, among-among sa tikong, bahag-bahag, angyaw sa menteryo, angyaw sa ong-ong, la-ga sa sa-ang, discomoyon sa latin, kahuna, baligan, haplit-angaw sumbong,** and **angyaw sa santisimo,** the rest of the above methods were also found by Dr. Richard Lieban (1967) in Cebu City and Sibulan.

thread should be about six inches or of a **dangaw**—the distance between the tips of the thumb and index finger of a spread hand. After the thread is tied to the **barang** the sorcerer commands the insects to go to the house of the intended victim. The insects go to the victim's house, lodge themselves in three different corners, and observe the victim until bedtime. At night,the insects enter the sleeping victim's body through the orifices and lay their eggs inside his stomach. After that they leave the victim and return to the sorcerer. The sorcerer can determine if the insects have accomplished their mission if there is blood on the piece of thread.

The eggs will later hatch into centipedes, ants, bees, and worms. When the eggs hatch, the victim will start to experience pain in the stomach, skin ulcers, swollen stomach, etc. However, the symptoms vary and he may suffer from one or all of the mentioned symptoms as well as from other maladies. The person must be guilty or the **barang** will have no effect.[31]

2. **Hilo.** The sorcerer will obtain a certain oil (not venom) from a poisonous snake. The informant could not describe the particular type of oil or how it was obtained but it does differ slightly from Lieban's description of the collection of blood and venom from a poisonous snake.[32] The oil is then placed on a finger. Though it is usually placed on the thumb, it can be put on any finger; but only one finger at a time.

It is interesting to note that **hilo** can be caused by sorcerers, spirits or the wind. The **hilo** can cause numbness and possibly death.

3. **Paktol.** (a) The sorcerer first obtains the waste, urine, saliva, a picture or a piece of paper with the name of his intended victim on it. He will then place this along with roots gathered and mixed on Good Friday in a can which has been well lined with the leaves of the **balalanti** (macaranga tanarius), **tuble, tuba-tuba sa isda** and **tubtub**[33] trees. **Salak**[34] (a water in which some roots have been soaked, is placed in the can and this is covered with a lid made of **nito** (lygodium circinnatum). This can is placed on a fire of **lipata** wood and when the mixture boils the lid is punctured with a **penzol** (the tail of a **pabanogon or pagi** [ray fish]). The sorcerer must be very careful during this time for if he is exposed

[31] There are some notable differences in the method as described above and as described by Lieban, **op. cit., pp.** 50-53.

[32] **Ibid.,** p. 55.

[33] Most of the materials used for sorcery (or treatment, as the case may be) had no samples. Therefore scientific identification was difficult.

[34] A sample obtained during the Holy Week is not a water mixture but is putty-like. It is not used for **paktol** but specially used for **salak,** a method of sorcery.

to the escaping steam, he will become his own victim. The mixture is then stirred with the **penzol** and the sorcerer shouts, "Help, because I am in pain." The sorcerer is at this time taking the part of his victim and the pain is transferred to the victim.[35]

(b) Another informant gave a brief description which varied considerably from the first one but which has similarities with the representational procedure mentioned by Lieban.[36] In this method, a doll (fashioned from bee's wax) of the person is made and stuck with a **bagakay** (schizostachyum dielsianum), a variety of bamboo, which is sharpened at both ends. The victim will then feel pain in the part of his body corresponding to the portion of the wax doll stuck with the **bagakay.**

4. **Haplit.** A wooden doll[37] is made by the sorcerer, who hires someone to take the doll to the Church and have it baptized while a child is being baptized. Whatever happens to the child must also happen to the doll. The name of the child is also given to the doll.

If the child dies later, the doll can be utilized for **haplit.** The sorcerer will then command the "doll spirit" (or the spirit of the dead child) to cause sickness to his intended victim.

Once again there is a strong variation in this description of **haplit** and that made by Dr. Lieban.[38]

5. **Buyag.** The person simply compliments you for the beauty of certain parts of your body and that part will then suffer itch, rashes, skin eruptions, and pain.

The person who is able to inflict **buyag** is said to have been born on Good Friday and he gets his teeth early or has them when he is born and they are separated in front. He is not necessarily a sorcerer.

6. **Gisalwaki.** A salwaki — sea urchin—is obtained and some hair from the intended victim is placed inside. The victim's hair is then boiled

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[35] Lieban, **op. cit.,** p. 55.

[36] **Ibid.**

[37] A sample was obtained from a police chief in one of the towns who confiscated the wooden doll from a native of Iloilo. The Iloilo native, who was a resident of one of the barrios of his municipality, was suspected by his neighbors to have caused the illness of many in the barrio. To avert possible attack by the neighbors, the police chief raided the house and later asked the Iloilo native to leave the island.

[38] Lieban, **op. cit.** p.

in **ina'lap**[39]—a mixture of different roots and materials gathered from the forest, the cave and the sea which was boiled in coconut oil on Good Friday. (The coconut oil has to come from an only fruit facing west.) The victim will then either go insane or lose his hair. This particular type is said to be used predominantly by frustrated suitors or by disappointed girls.

7. **La-ga.** During Lent the sorcerer gathers the different roots, herbs, etc. and then on Good Friday boils these with coconut oil over a fire of **balalanti** wood. This mixture, called **inalap,** is then placed in bottles and kept until needed by the sorcerer. This mixture may be similar to that called **igdalaut** by Lieban in his description of **la-ga.**[40] At the given time some object belonging to the intended victim (a picture, hair, waste, urine, or saliva) is mixed with oil and some water and again boiled. The victim then suffers and dies according to the desires of the sorcerer.

8. **Among-among.**[41] A doll is made of **salong** (a sap from the **salangan** tree) and is brought to a haunted place by the sorcerer. The doll is tied to the haunted place with a piece of hair from a dead person (usually a woman, as female hair is longer than that of a male). Depending upon what the sorcerer wishes his intended victim to suffer, he will either cremate the doll over the fire made of **lipata** wood, which produces a burning fever; or he will use a **penzol** to stick the doll to produce pain in the corresponding part of the victim's body. If the **penzol** is struck through the heart of the doll the victim will die.

It must be stressed that at no time did any of this information come from a known[42] or admitted sorcerer nor was there any occasion to observe any of the the methods. However, in all cases the informants were apparently reliable sources as healers.[43]

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[39] The materials were gathered for seven consecutive Fridays starting the Friday immediately after Ash Sunday. Four Fridays were spent in the forests, one in the sea, one in a cave, and the last Friday in church.

[40] Lieban, **op. cit.,** p. 57.

[41] This may be a type mentioned, but not known by name, by Lieban, **op. cit.,** and referred to as a wax doll.

[42] One or two known sorcerers, who indirectly admitted having knowledge of the practice of sorcery (promised to teach a researcher a few methods of sorcery), described a few minor methods of sorcery.

[43] Samples gathered were a wooden doll, the head of a plastic doll (found in a cave), a bottle of lumay, and the salak. The most recent acquisition are the materials used for the method of sorcery called **sampal.**

## VIII. Symptoms and Treatment

The major content of this section shall deal with treatments. Suffice to say, a patient's symptoms often are varied. They are often vague and general and may overlap and the diagnosis of the illness is often determined by circumstances surrounding the onset of the sickness or by the "pulse" of the patients rather than by the symptoms per se.

As stated earlier the means of treatment often vary from healer to healer, though there are some degrees of similarities. For example **palina** (described below), is often a cure for those who have been victimized by the **ingkanto**, and **tawal** is used for curing **hilo**. In the two cases the ingredients or procedures vary slightly. Perhaps it will be easiest to just relate a few of the treatments encountered.

1. **Palina.** Used for those who suffer from **panulay** (encountering of evil spirits, particularly the **ingkanto**).

(a) Small amount of the **Candelaria** (candles blessed on Feast of the Purification, February 2) and the **Candela sa Perdon** (Easter Candle) are placed in a can of hot embers. The patient stands over the can, wrapped in a blanket allowing the smoke to pass over the body while the patient recites the **Credo** prayer.

(b) Some **sumpa** (a mixture of roots, incense, and **Candela sa Perdon** and **Tres de Maria** candles) and a small amount of oil from **Round** (mixture of 300 kinds of roots and herbs mixed in coconut oil) are placed on hot embers and smoke passes over the patient.

(c) Mixture of roots and incense placed on ember and follows same procedure.

2. **Tawal.** Used to cure **hilo.**

(a) A prayer is said while some oil (coconut oil mixed with three kinds of roots said to be given by St. Vincent Ferrer) is applied to the back of the patient in the form of the sign of the cross. The cross extends from the base of the neck to the middle of the back and intersects between the shoulder blades. A prayer is said and the **mananambal** blows where the lines intersect. This is done three times. Finally another large cross is made.

This procedure is never done more than five times on different days and prior to the final cure the patient takes one-half cup of oil (**lana, tambal ug hilo**) thus completing the cure.

(b) The pulse is taken and then the **mananambal,** as he chews some **sumpa,** makes a sign of the cross over the patient and then prays,

**Christum, Yurum, Yusom**
**Malignum, Malignum**[44]

and blows on the patient's back. This is done three times. The patient is then given some chopped roots of the **paguman, pahauli, pangasaw** and **dumagos** trees which are mixed with water.[45] The roots and water are then boiled and after the mixture cools the patient drinks two cups before breakfast. The patient is given this mixture for three days and if he is cured on the fourth day he takes one-fourth teaspoon of **sungil** (pork lard) to finalize the cure.

3. **Hampol.** Treatment for the victim of **balbal.**

Pieces of the ecclesiastical bread—blessed on the Feast of St. Nicholas and **Candelaria**—are mixed with saliva and pounded **mayana** leaves. This mixture is wrapped in a cloth and placed on the abdomen. If this mixture is applied to the forehead, pulse, temples and base of skull it is called **tawal.**

The roots of the **marbas, pahauli** and **escobang mayawis** trees are mixed with the root of **salong** (sap of **balngan** tree) which is placed in a cloth and applied to the stomach. The medicines are used every time the pain is felt.

4. **Treatment for buyag.**

The leaves of the **buyo** vine and the fruit of the **bunga** (betel nut) and **apog** (lime) trees are chewed by the healer while he recites a prayer. The mixture is then applied to the part of the body which is afflicted. There are other ways of treating **buyag,** like the **bolo-bolo.**

5. **Treatment for paktol.**

Leaves of the **pahauli, balalanti** and **lagnanam** trees are placed on the forehead of the patient and tied in place. The roots of the **badbaran, sulbaran, sulbad, badbad, mangungkong,** and **kulo-kulo** trees are shredded and mixed. They are wrapped in a thin transparent cloth and placed on

[44] Christum (coming from the word Christus) . . . (Christ); Yurum, Yusom has no translation or equivalent words in English; Malignum (coming from the word malignus) . . . evil person.

[45] The water has been mixed with ashes and was used after the ashes had settled on the bottom of the container.

the abdomen. They are changed daily. **Palina** is also applied (**sumpa** and **round** type).

6. **Treatment for barang.**

A branch of a **bunga** tree, roots of the **tuba-tuba sa isda** bush and the **tubli** vine and a cigar butt are mixed and placed in a cloth which is applied to the stomach. This is kept in place until all the **barang** are dead and discharged. The medicine is changed if the roots dry up.

7. **Bolo-bolo**[46]—Treatment of illness due to the **ingkanto.**

The **mananambal** places five stones of the **mutya sa salawaki** (like a fossil of a **salawaki** or sea urchin), **bato balane sa yuta** (natural magnet), and three other stones said to be given by the Virgin of Fatima during a dream. In half a glass of water, using a bamboo tube,[47] about one foot long and one-half inch in diameter, the **mananambal** blows into the water while he recites this prayer:

**Christus, Pactus et pro nobis**
**Aubidines, Auskim, Lantim, Lantim, Lantim**
**Crusis.**[48]

The glass is passed over the afflicted area, moving back and forth while the **mananambal** repeats the prayer three times. The water becomes turbid and objects[49] come into the water. The treatment is continued on different days until the water becomes clear.[50]

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[46] This kind of treatment was experienced by a researcher with a very popular **mambolo-bolo** who is always called out of town to practice the art. The researcher developed some itchiness which she thought was caused by ticks. The researcher noticed that a piece of coral protruded from the **mambolo-bolo's** clenched right fist. The researcher at first thought that the piece of coral was part of the paraphernalia but later changed her mind when the piece of coral appeared after the glass was passed around her body. She noticed later that the **mambolo-bolo's** right hand was empty.

[47] A tube made out of bronze was used by a **mambolo-bolo** from the mountains.

[48] Christus . . . (Christ); Pactus . . . (no translation); et pro nobis . . . (and for us); aubidines, auskim and lantim . . . (no translation); crucis . . . (of the cross).

[49] Objects like pieces of stone or coral, rotten meat, worms, insects, bird's feather, small bits of newspaper.

[50] In another instance, a **mambolo-bolo** asked a researcher— participant to hold a small bulky purse on her chest. Although the **mambolo-bolo** allowed the researcher —participant to inspect and ask about the materials used, he grabbed the small purse immediately when the **bolo-bolo** was over.

8. A **diwata** or offering to the evil spirits is often given in connection with the cures for illnesses due to evil spirits.

This usually consists of a whole white chicken cooked without spices, salt, tobacco (cigar), **tuba,**[51] eggs, wine, betel nut, cooked rice and sometimes smoked fish. At times money is given, poetry is recited and some dancing done. This offering may also be used as a preventive measure if it is given before activities are begun and, if the signs are favorable, then work commences.

## IX. Effects of the Practices and Beliefs in Folk-Medicine on the Lives of the People

The beliefs and practices in folk-medicine in this report seem to have a direct effect upon the lives of many of the people in Siquijor. The beliefs in sorcery and evil spirits and the illnesses which they are seen to cause affect not only the health and medical condition found on Siquijor Island but also the economic development, the social relationships between the people and religious practices of some of the people. There are, of course, many who do not believe in the folk stories, or in the evil spirits, or in the ability of the sorcerers to make a person sick, or in the ability of a folk healer to cure people. But a majority of our sample do believe in these things and their lives are affected by their beliefs. Ninety-two out of 133 respondents believe sorcery exists on the island; 97 indicated that people were afraid of it and a majority said people should take precaution against it.

As was previously alluded to, the belief in the causes of illness tend to determine whether a person consults a folk practitioner or a medical doctor. Natural illness though treated by folk-healers in some cases, is most often seen to be in the sphere of the medical doctors. The patients usually consult either a **mananambal** or a medical doctor depending upon what they think their illness is, whether it is supernatural or natural in origin. However, in some instances patients consulted both the **mananambal** and medical doctor simultaneously, "just to be sure." Thirteen of the respondents indicated a belief that most illnesses and deaths in Siquijor were due to sorcery, 11 indicated evil spirits were the major cause, 32 said it was God's will, but most felt the causes were natural in origin. This belief then corresponds to the fact that more people are going to medical doctors. If the people do go to the **mananambal**

[51] It is a fermented juice from the flower of the coconut tree. Lieban, **op cit.**, p. 22.

it is to determine if the cause is natural or not; and if it is, some folk-healers then send the patient to the Rural Health Doctor.

It also might be mentioned here that the poverty of the people often encourages people to use the folk healers. The cost of a **mananambal** is often as low as 20 centavos or nothing at all; whereas if a person goes to a doctor he has to be ready to pay the medical fees of ₱1.00 or more, as well as the cost of medicine.

Beliefs in sorcery and evil spirits were seen by 80 of the 133 informants as a hindrance to economic change. In one case, a respondent stated that up to one-fourth of the land of some people is not cultivated due to fear of the evil spirits who inhabit the particular section of land. Some farmers will not use new techniques for fear of antagonizing the spirits and 85 of the respondents indicated that offerings were given to appease evil spirits. One PACD Officer-in-Charge related an experience where about 30 per cent of the workers on a project for a water intake tank at a certain spring were unwilling to work until a **diwata** had been made and the spirit appeased. This was done and the project was very successful. In most cases the expense of a **diwata** is not excessive, but if done frequently or by those with little income it can become an economic drain.

Social relationships are also affected by the fear the people have of the sorcerers. As the main causes of becoming a victim of sorcery are land disputes and personal quarrels, the people tend to avoid these things and thus remain innocent. There is a trend toward using the courts and trusting the public officials rather than resorting to sorcery; however, the expense and delays in court proceedings, the bribing of judges and/or the desire for injury or death of others might lead some to still resort to sorcery.

A fear of evil spirits also tends to reinforce the social mores of the people. As mentioned before, the children are often threatened with punishment by evil spirits if they don't behave, and one respondent stated that, "if people don't live according to the ways set down in the folk stories, he can become a victim of sorcery or evil spirits." If viewed in light of social conduct the beliefs in sorcery and evil spirits serve as a form of social control on the lives of the people.

What is the correlation between folk beliefs and practices and religion? There seems to be a good deal of connection between folk-medicine and religious feasts, saints and customs in the area. The in-

gredients for medicines are often gathered during the Holy Week and the Lenten Season ( Seven Fridays before Good Friday). The candles blessed on Easter Sunday, the petals of the flowers thrown by children at the statue of the Virgin Mary during Holy Week[52] and scrapings from the Santo Intierro (Dead Christ) are sometimes mixed with medicines.[53] Incense and scrapings from the altar stone or tabernacle in the church are also often included.

Perhaps the greatest relationship between the beliefs and practices in folk-medicine and religion is found in the fact that in every case the healers interviewed believed their powers and instruction and sometimes medicines come from saints or God. There is a large amount of interweaving of religious beliefs and practices in folk-medicine, just as there is a high level of interspersing of folk beliefs and practices in religion. Thus, as is evident, the beliefs and practices found in this study of folk-medicine affect the lives of the people. This effect, of course, depends upon the amount of belief the people themselves have in these beliefs and practices.

## X. Summary and Conclusion

In conclusion, the part that folk practitioners play in the community is revealing. First, folk practitioners meet the need for low cost and convenient "medical service." For instance, there are only two medical doctors in San Juan whose services are severely limited by poor means of transportation. Second, the mananambal, mananabang, herbolario, and manghihilot are considered friends of the people who try in some way to help them in sickness, injury, or death. Thus, it is easy to see why the public officials are not anxious to initiate legal action against folk practitioners for illegal practice of medicine. Besides, it would be difficult to obtain persons to testify against folk healers. And finally, the folk healers often give explanation to natural occurrences which the people cannot understand. It is much easier for illiterate people to understand the activities of evil spirits based on folklore than it is for them to comprehend scientific explanation about sanitation, germs, and disease.

Efforts are being made by the government through the rural health centers and the school system to combat and straighten out beliefs on

[52] It is interesting to note that many people grab the decorations of carriages carrying icons during processions.

[53] The mananambal have to be satisfied with candle drippings from the carriages because the Santo Intierro is encased in glass and is well guarded.

the causes of disease which are now based on ignorance and superstition. It seems that these efforts are beginning to be productive as a majority of people interviewed indicated that natural elements cause disease and that they go to a medical doctor first when illness occurs.

Another aspect that should be mentioned here is the economic development of the area. What hinders economic development is not sorcery but belief in evil spirits. Clinging to traditions and beliefs of the past hold true to agriculture. Even if farmers practice the new methods of planting, they still perform some appeasement rituals before and after planting; the so-called haunted places are no longer tilled.

Perhaps as the income and educational levels of the people in the area improve and adequate medical facilities became available, the people's reliance on folk healers will decrease. This can only be determined by another study of the area after a lapse of a number of years.[54] A projection of this type is justifiable in view of the findings of our survey that there is a lower percentage of belief in the powers of the supernatural by the young. It seems that it is mainly the older generation that seek the help of folk healers, make offerings to evil spirits and perceive the spirits.

[54] There was no intention of making a depth study. This, the researchers recognized as a limitation. Therefore, they would encourage further research in depth.

# *Abstracts of M.A. Theses at Silliman University*

## Tausug and English Phonemes

**The Segmental Phonemes of Tausug and English: A Comparative Study. (M.A. in English) Silliman University, 1969, 119 pp. By Norma M. Abubakar.**

**Findings:**

1. English has more segmental phonemes than Tausug: 24 consonants and 14 vowels for English, 18 consonants and three vowels for Tausug.

2. Tausug phonemes are distributed in syllables with certain restricted patterns.

3. Unlike in English, there are no initial or final consonant clusters in Tausug occurring within a syllable. Consonant clusters occur only across syllable boundaries.

**Conclusions:**

1. Tausug speakers in English will have the burden of learning new categories which are totally absent as individual phonemes in his native language and of manipulating these in their totality in the new language situation.

2. Additional difficulties will be encountered with regards to distributional characteristics, allophonic variations or articulatory differences that occur in the phonemic system of the target language, English.

**Recommendations:**

1. The pronunciation problems predicted are classified into four broad classifications suggested by William C. Moulton in order to facilitate making suitable corrective exercises.

2. The model to be used in teaching a language is always the speech of the native speaker of that language. Lacking this, the teacher who speaks the native language should then try to approximate, to the best of his ability, English as it should be spoken so that his students will have a fair model to imitate.

3. In any language teaching, teach one problem at a time.

4. The students should always be made aware, before every lesson, of the particular sounds or patterns that they have to watch for so that they can focus their attention on that particular sound or pattern.

5. Recognition of the sounds or patterns in English should always precede the production of these items for study.

6. Correction of errors should be practiced rigorously so that no mistakes are allowed to slip by unnoticed.

7. The fundamental principle to be borne in mind is that ultimate free use of the sound system requires selection of full utterances to fit the communication situation.

8. The writer recommends to another interested person to make a separate and thorough study of the sound features of Tausug, that is, the suprasegmental phonemes such as pitch, stress, juncture, rhythm and intonation.

## Fourth Year Composition Manual

**A Proposed Manual for Fourth-Year Composition Based on the Course of Study. (M.A. in English) Sil'iman University, 1953, 472 pp. By Constancio C. Amen.**

**The problem.** This work embraces (1) an examination of the textbook for fourth-year composition and of the Course of Study for Secondary Schools issued by the Bureau of Public Schools, and (2) the organization of a manual.

**Importance of the undertaking.** Under our school system it is wise for the teacher of fourth-year composition to abide by the Course of Study. And in order to follow the specifications of the Bureau of Public Schools conveniently, the teacher and the students need a book that is adapted to the provisions of the Course of Study. The textbook used at the time of writing—and which is still being used—is inadequate from the standpoint of the course outline. With this undertakng it is hoped that the need may be met.

**Contents.** This thesis contains five chapters, namely: (1) Introduction; (2) The Course of Study and the Textbook: an Examination; (3) The School System, the Teacher, and the Textbook; (4) Summary of Findings, Conclusions, and Recommendations; and (5) The Manual. The first four chapters occupy the first 24 pages. The rest of this 472-page thesis contains the Manual and the Bibliography.

The Sections into which the Manual is divided correspond to the Units in the Course of Study. The items taken up in each Section also answer the specifications of the course outline.

The Manual may be used as a textbook; it has been designed for that purpose. Exercises suited for classroom or homework use are given.

## Socio-Economic Status of High School Students

**A Study of the Socio-Economic Status of Secondary Students Enrolled in Silliman University High School with a View to Help Establish Better Relations Between the Students and the School. (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1953, 139 pp. By Aureo N. Ampong.**

The problem is (a) to determine the socio-economic status of the students and (b) to suggest ways and means based on the status revealed, for the maintenance and improvement of relations between the school and the students. In order to arrive at the solution to the problems the writer employed the questionnaire method of approach. This is a normative procedure. The sources of materials are indefinite. The questionnaire was pre-tested on a representative group of high school students. The writer suggested that the study will be helpful to the administrator, curriculum maker, guidance counselor, and teachers.

With the cooperation of the Silliman University High School administration, the questionnaire was administered. Of the 861 questionnaires returned, 19 were discarded.

**Findings.** Silliman High School students have various outlets for their monthly allowances, and 95% of them buy fountain pens. The number of students going to movies tally with the number of students going to church every Sunday. Eight per cent of the students did not know what reading materials they had at home, and despite the fact that Silliman University is a Protestant institution, 84% of the students are Catholic.

**Recommendations:**

1. Students should be taught social graces, 2. A high school band or orchestra should be organized, 3. The high school should open a high-school bank, 4. Classes for hobby groups be organized, and 5. Parents-Teachers Association be organized.

## Reading Abilities of Public and Private High School Graduates

**A Comparative Survey of the Reading Abilities of the Public and Private High School Graduates Who Were Silliman University 1951-1952 Freshmen. (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1952, 233 pp. By Florentino A. Año.**

The post-war high-school graduates have been the objects of criticism. Both public and private school students have been described as

lacking in the fundamentals of social living and in the fundamental tools of efficient learning. It is, therefore, partly the purpose of this study to deny or affirm such public criticisms and discover the effects of low standards of instruction upon the reading abilities of the students in the upper years, particularly of college freshmen.

**Findings.** The mental tests results showed that the mental abilities of both the public and private school graduates represented in the tests were even. On the Otis Self-Administering Tests on Mental Ability, Higher Examination, Form D, the group mean score is 27, about one-third of the highest possible score. The group mean score for the Philippine Mental Ability Test is 40, which is less than one-half of the highest possible score. On the basis of these results it looks as if the mental abilities of the student had not been fully developed, despite the fact that they were all college freshmen.

On the reading tests the results were not encouraging. In two reading comprehension tests, which have 20 items each, the mean score for the former is eight and for the latter seven. These are very low mean attainments. On the 60-term vocabulary tests, the mean score is a little over 27.

The speed in silent reading is quite low, only 227 words a minute, instead of the expected 300 or 350, the rate set by Polley and McCullough. In general the freshman students seemed to be weak in almost all phases of reading work—in comprehension, vocabulary, and speed. Between the private and public high school graduates, the private high school graduates as a separate group obtained a higher mean attainment.

The mean score difference in reading comprehension test between the two groups and its critical ratio (CR) follow:

| Public High | Private High | Difference between the Mean | Critical Ratio |
|---|---|---|---|
| 14.68 | 16.29 | 1.61 | 3.35 |

The mean score difference in the vocabulary test between the two groups and its critical ratio (CR) follow:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 26.22 | 29.27 | 3.05 | 3.96 |

Using the reliability measure between the two means the chance for the public high school graduates to obtaining higher scores than the private high school graduates is just one-fiftieth of a per cent in both the vocabulary and story comprehension tests.

# Problems of Silliman Extension Program

**A Study of the Problems of the Silliman University Extension Service Program from 1966 to 1969. (M.A. in Sociology) Silliman University, 1970, 80 pp. By Teodosio M. Borres.**

**Findings.** The problems of the Silliman University Extension Service Program are as many as there are various continuing projects being carried out by the program. All these problems, however, would boil down to the lack of financial support for the program.

The finances that now support the program do not come from the coffers of Silliman University. They come from commitments from outside entities, like the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, the Henry Luce Foundation, the Ford Foundation, alumni and friends of Silliman University.

**Conclusions.** 1. The program has been transformed from an office that was primarily concerned with religious (Protestantism) evangelism to its present status, where thousands of rural people in this part of the country now regard the program as an evidence of the University's commitment to help improve the socio-economic order of the society of which it is a part.

2. The guiding philosophy of the program is to help lift the individual and the collective life of the rural people to higher planes. Service to the community is foremost in the objectives of the program.

3. The various continuing projects of the program are so designed and operated that they generate income and will be self-supporting in their operations later.

4. The program operates directly under the Office of the Vice President for Academic Affairs of the University, with an Advisory Committee as governing body. This program has a director, with as many officers-in-charge as there are continuing projects of the program.

5. The program operates on finances not directly from the coffers of Silliman University, but from sources outside.

6. The problems of the program, both in planning and implementation are financial in nature.

**Recommendations.** 1. An evaluation of the present guiding philosophy and stated objectives of the program be undertaken by someone in the program.

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**Recommendations.** 1. An evaluation of the present guiding philosophy and stated objectives of the program be undertaken by someone in the program.

2. A thorough evaluation of the various continuing projects of the program be made to determine the effectiveness of the same towards the different clientele communities.

3. A study be made of the position or location of the program in the total University structure. It has been observed that in an organization, the powers are inherent in the positions, and the powers of the positions are dependent upon their focus in the organizational structure.

4. More financial help be extended to the Program. The university and its Extension Service Program must explore together in securing the much-needed finances from outside, since the university cannot generate all the money that the program needs for its operations.

## Analysis of Science Curriculum Guides

**A Critical Analysis of the B.P.S. Tentative Curriculum Guides for General Science I and II for Phi ippine High Schools. (M.A. in Teaching, General Science) Silliman University, 1970, 209 pp. By Teofidez E. Calvero.**

**Problem and Scope.** This study includes the examination and analysis of the aims, content, and methodology of the **B P S Tentative Curriculum Guides for General Science I & II for Philippine High Schools,** which were Developed by the 1965 Summer Writing Conference held at the University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, from May 31, 1965 to July 10, 1965.

**Findings and Conclusions.** The important findings and conclusions of the writer are: (1) the tentative curriculum guides, if used properly, can achieve good results because they are heavily activity-oriented. In other words, students are made to discover for themselves the answers to scientific problems, making them active investigators rather than mere passive observers and listeners to lectures and teacher demonstrations;

(2) The experiences and activities presented in the guides are suited to Philippine conditions and are geared to the needs of Filipino students;

(3) Most of the activities found in the guides are tied up with those that are found in the basic textbooks so as to enrich them and make them more practical;

(4) High schools with complete laboratory facilities and with

trained teachers in the use of these laboratory guides will be able to implement these guides very effectively. However, barrio high schools and other ill-equipped schools, which lack trained teachers to implement the guides, are not yet in a position to effect this change of curriculum material;

(5) A Teachers' Outline, which would tie up the activities found in the guides with those that are found in the basic textbooks can be produced;

(6) Most of the equipment suggested in the activities can be improvised out of locally available materials;

(7) Generally, the activities suggested in the guides tend to develop only the processes of science and to a certain extent, the facts, concepts, and principles which are necessary in attaining these processes; no attempt was made to bring the students out to apply what they learn to improve community living.

**Recommendations.** (1) Before fully implementing the guides, in-service training seminar, work conferences, demonstrations, and other preliminary activities should be done to acquaint the teachers with the aims, content, and methodology of the guides and how to proceed with the process approach of science teaching.

(2) Every Philippine high school, public and private alike, should adopt these curriculum guides as soon as it is practicable for them to do so. It is high time Filipino students realized that there are neither sequoias nor maple trees in the Philippines; there are instead apitongs, narras and molaves;

(3) The activities in the guides should be related with those that are found in the basic texts.

(4) Every high school should strive to equip its laboratory rooms with the necessary science equipment and materials so that they can implement the activities suggested in the guides. Unless this is done, only a few schools will be able to use the guides effectively;

(5) A Teachers' Outline, which would help the teachers in tying up the activities found in the guides with those from the basic textbooks, should be prepared.

(6) As much as possible, suggestions for improvising science equipment should be done in every activity; these suggestions should also be indicated in the Teachers' Outline;

(7) Provisions should be made to supplement classroom activities with practical applications, so as to improve community living, and finally;

(8) Ethical and moral values of science should be incorporated in the different activities, whenever practicable. This will make the students realize that science should be used properly, for their benefit and that of their fellowmen.

## Child-Rearing Practices of Ministers

**A Study on the Child-Rearing Practices and Problems Children of Ministers Encounter. (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1967. By Marion V. del Carmen.**

**Statement and scope of the problem.** The fast increasing rate of juvenile delinquency in the country necessitates a demand for studies along this line to help minimize such a great menace to society. It is the aim of this study to find out the underlying factors which influence children's behavior, particularly children of fathers whose profession is presumed to condition their behavior. It aims to discover how differently children of ministers are brought up.

A total of 250 children of ministers throughout the Philippines are used in this study. Random sampling is utilized in selecting the samples. Elementary school students and those who do not know how to read and write are not included. Only Filipinos are used in the sample.

**Findings.** The study reveals that ministers consciously impress upon their children practices in personal and family devotions, church-going, and Bible reading. In these areas of spiritual nourishment, the minister's home is not found wanting. Minister fathers are quite conservative in their children's indulgence in smoking, drinking and gambling habits. It can be distinctly noted that in fads and fashion, the age of the child conditions greatly the father's granting of permission. Parental authority seems to waver as the child becomes a professional.

The topic of sex has its place in ministers' homes. Ministers are conscious of their responsibility to train their children to be respectful, considerate, thoughtful, decent in language, modest, truthful, generous, courteous, and polite. Imposing of discipline is often neglected because the minister finds himself out of the home on a good many occasions. There is, however, good relationship between father and child in spite of the heavy church duties and responsibilities of the father.

The most persistent problem in a minister's home is financial. The salary ministers receive is certainly not sufficient to support their families However, the children receive scholarships and aids from church-related colleges and universities. The minister's family is affected by the frequent shift of parishes which brings in a number of disadvantages to the home and most especially to the children. There is present a tendency for church members to let the children fit into rigid standards of behaviors.

**Recommendations.** Based on the weaknesses revealed in the study, the writer offers the following solutions: adequate planning and varied forms of worship and church activities should be made for rewarding experiences; disciplinary duties of parents should be executed with love, concern, and liberality; ministers should spend more time with their families; the financial aspect of ministers has to be dealt with much concern and proper consideration; children of ministers should be given full scholarships in stable church-related schools; transfer of church assignments of ministers should not be made frequently; there should be a change of the church members' attitude toward children of ministers; and the professional status of ministers should be elevated along with their theological degree.

## Status of Spanish Teaching in Negros Oriental High Schools

**Present Status of the Teaching of Spanish in the Public and Private Secondary Schools in Negros Oriental. (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1968, 211 pp. By Fe G. Centenera.**

The investigation, which is for the school year 1966-67, touched on the following aspects: The extent of the implementation of Republic Act 343, the qualification of Spanish teachers, the different methods and techniques being employed, the materials being used in the process of teaching and the conditions prevailing which affect the teaching of the language. The study covered all secondary schools in the different towns of Negros Oriental, and Dumaguete City.

**Findings.** Out of the 36 schools termed high schools only 26 comply with Republic Act 343. Of these 26 only 25 participated, involving 27 teachers. Different criteria were used for teacher qualification, and it was found out that the majority of the teachers are not qualified to teach Spanish. Concerning methods, the teachers are not up-to-date, since it is apparent that they have very little knowledge of the latest trends in

language teaching. The study shows that more than one-half of the Spanish teachers are inexperienced. Little importance is given to textbooks and other teaching aids. Nothing worthwhile mentioning is done to provide an invigorating atmosphere for the study of the language. There is a greater percentage of disinterest in the study of the language on the part of the administrators than on the students. A good amount of interest was displayed by the students.

**Recommendations.** To the Division of Spanish and Culture, to the administrators and to the Spanish teachers: It is recommended that a clear definition of the term **high school** be made to ensure better compliance with Republic Act 343; that more intensive supervisory work be done; that more conferences, seminars, and workshops be held to improve the Spanish teachers and that they be given credit for this; that teacher selection be upheld; salary adjustments be made to ensure efficiency; that provisions be made to make available materials and teaching aids essential to effective teaching; and finally, that a conducive atmosphere for learning the language be fostered.

## Barrio Emigration: Causes and Consequences

**Emigration from the Barrio of Malongcay, Zamboanguita, Negros Oriental Since 1947: Its Causes and Consequences. (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1967, 185 pp. By Flaviano P. Credo.**

This study gives a picture of rural living as affected by the process of emigration from the barrio of Malongcay, Zamboanguita, Negros Oriental. There were 121 households in the barrio of Malongcay. Out of the 121 households, 37 were involved in the survey. The selection of households for the purpose of conducting this investigation was done through a systematic process of sampling.

The respondents pointed out that emigration from Malongcay is a continuous process and has not only affected barrio households but has also affected school policies because many of the migrants from the barrio were pupils who dropped out from school during the school years.

Including those who were away at the time of the survey, there were 745 members in the 121 households with an average of 6 members in each household. Out of the 745 members, there were 103 members who were away, and 74 members who had returned. Of the 121 households, 85 had emigrants, and 36 had no emigrants.

The homecoming and return to their new locations of the emigrants

from the barrio have some favorable impacts, but there are also some bad effects and influences upon the school. Emigrants take along with them some of the pupils of the Malongcay Elementary School when they return to their places of employment.

Some of the homes with emigrants possessed radio sets, time pieces, durable pieces of furniture, and some reading materials. When emigrants go home during barrio fiestas, or during any occasion of the year, they bring with them some of the aforementioned equipment designed to improve and increase their household belongings. When the emigrants return to their places of employment, they leave some of these equipments to their parents.

The homes with emigrants, as a whole, have durable dwellings and are more equipped with housing facilities than the homes without emigrants. It was in the former group of households where we observed well-equipped and well-decorated rooms, and toilets.

The homes with emigrants had more cash than the homes without emigrants. This was because family members who were working elsewhere shared their earnings with the members of the family in the barrio. On the other hand, the homes without emigrants had more crop production than the homes with emigrants. The reason is that much of the manpower in the latter group had been reduced as a result of emigration from barrio Malongcay.

## Sewatan ni Lumuganud: Debabaon Epic

**A Critical Study of the Debabaon Epic Entitled:** Sewatan Ni Lumuganod Aw Kan Anakon. **(M.A. in English) Silliman University, 1969, 106 pp. By Aida Alma A. Cunanan.**

**Statement of the Problem** To do a comparative, critical and literary analysis of the Debabaon epic and representative Western epics to find out whether or not the epic under study bears a similarity to the Western epics. Epical elements, therefore, such as the use of literary devices, the narrative content of the epic, epic structure, and the stylistic devices were considered.

**Findings:** 1. The Debabaon epic under study, **Sewatan ni Lumuganod aw Kan Anakon,** and the Western epics—Homer's **Iliad** and **The Odyssey**, the Teutonic epic, **Beowulf,** and the German **Iliad,** the **Nibelungenlied,** all share certain singular characteristics of folk, communal and popular epic.

2. These epics were handed down through oral tradition from generation to generation.

3. Concerning the elements of the narrative content which are epic in nature, it was discovered that the five specific items which have been isolated for purposes of study and comparison are present in all four epics.

4. The literary and structural devices found in this epic show a very striking similarity to the Western epics considered in this study.

5. There may be the point of departure for the creative efforts of later writers; some of these old and heretofore unrecorded literature may inspire a classic dance, or poetry, or short stories, or the like.

6. Only after we have gathered the materials and translated them into a common language will comparative and depth studies be ripe for undertaking.

**Conclusions:** Although the Debabaon epic under study is not quite as complete as one would wish it to be, the fragment under study is whole enough to enable us to come up with the conclusion that the epical elements in the Debabaon epic bears a striking similarity to its Western counterparts. Whatever the argument may be that no people, no tribe, however remote, is totally free from outside influences, the writer is convinced that the epic under study has not been exposed to any outside influence, Western or otherwise. Despite the striking similarities to its Western counterparts, the epic is original enough to merit this conclusion. It is a truly indigenous part of Philippine culture.

**Recommendations.** No doubt, there is still much work to be done in the transcription and translation of the text. It is hoped that some Filipino student of literature will deem it a necessity to pursue the work which has been started here.

The Philippines contain so much work literary wealth as yet unexplored. It is only when we have already gathered and studied most, if not all of these materials, that we will be able to establish the cultural and literary heritage of the Philippines.

## Functions of Registrars in U.S. and Philippine Schools Compared

**A Comparative Study of the Functions of Registrars in Philippine Universities and Those of American Institutions of Higher Learning. (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1952, 118 pp. By Raymundo R. Dato.**

The functions of registrars in Philippine universities and those of registrars in American institutions of higher learning is the field of study for this thesis. The purpose is to compare the activities of those

found in the Philippines with those in the United States. Based upon the review of literature, this study is the first of its kind in the Philippines. Incidentally the purpose is to provide a handbook for registrars and to disseminate information on the contributions of registrars to the cause of education.

The registrar, according to the study, is the official charged with keeping student records, particularly academic records. The author, having been working in the office of the registrar for some years, had first hand knowledge through observation of the activities of the registrar. To gather data, the normative survey method was employed. Fifteen universities were approached, but only 12 responded. One university wrote back that it was against the policy of the administration to answer questionnaires. In the Philippines the term registrar is uniformly used, and most of them get their position by appointment by the Board of Trustees or Directors through the President of the institution. On the average, registrars in the Philippines have held their positions for nine to ten years. Most of the registrars teach one or more courses a week. The average is seven hours a week. The heaviest load is 18 hours a week. The writer proposed that teaching from three to six hours a week is the proper teaching load for registrars to do their work efficiently in the office as registrar. Academically, Philippine registrars are trained, and because of this, most of them are appointed on permanent basis. After sorting the various data and information available to the writer, the following functions were found to be the activities of the registrars, both in the Philippines and in the United States:

1. Maintain academic records of all kinds, 2. Evaluation of students' Admission Requirements, 3. Direct the program of registering students, 4. Check the credential and credits of all candidates for graduation and for the various honors connected with academic success, 5. Furnish information regarding the school, 6. Issue transcript of records and honorable dismissals.

The writer mentioned some peculiar functions of the private school registrars: To comply with circulars, memoranda, and bulletins from the Bureau of Private Schools; take charge of the preparation of college diplomas; submit reports to the Bureau of Private Schools; handle matters pertaining to student-veterans; render a registrar's report to the trustees; organize materials for statistical purposes; report students' grades to their parents or guardians; take charge of the university commencement exercises; prepare and supervise time-and-room schedule of

classes; prepare materials for school publicity; serve as secretary of the faculty and important faculty committees; maintain a Bureau of Information; prepare reports of various kinds relating to personnel problems of students and faculty.

## Home Economics Instruction in Philippine Public Schools

**A Study of the Development of Home Economics Instruction in the Philippine Public Schools With the View to Proposing Plans for Improvement. (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1954, 158 pp. By Cristina T. Decenteceo.**

This study was undertaken to trace the brief history of home economics instruction in the Philippine public schools and to make recommendations for improvement.

Descriptive analysis was used. Annual reports of the Director of Public Schools, memoranda, bulletins, circulars, and other books and magazines that have bearing on this study were used. Reports of the different surveys made by competent authorities were also considered in the appraisal.

In answer to social need, home economics instruction was introduced in the public schools. Much of the instruction was left to the teacher's preference on what was fitted for the locality. There had been changes in content and emphasis varying from year to year and in different localities. A new set of objectives for home economics was developed, making the full development of the individual, the home, and family relationship, and economic competency, instead of the acquisition of manipulative skills, as the goal.

Inadequacy in instruction was due to many factors, such as incompetent teachers, lack of equipment, poor administration and supervision, and lack of cooperation among those concerned.

There is a need for reevaluation of beliefs of the educators, especially the home economics teachers, and for the reorganization of the present offering in this field. In-service training of teachers demands a careful study because of the great responsibility that rests upon them. The curriculum as now offered, though flexible and varied, is still inadequate to meet the demands of the community.

## Rizal's Ideas About Education

**An Evaluation of Rizal's Ideas About Education. (M.A. in Education) Silliman Universty, 1950, 104 pp. By Leon G. Dia.**

For his problem the writer proposed to answer the following questions:

What did Rizal actually write about education?

Of his authentic pronouncements, which ones have contemporary pertinence and value, as appraised by the criteria hereinafter set forth.

The sources of materials cover a wide range of articles and books on the life of the Philippine national hero, including the writings of the hero himself. The method is critical analysis of the materials available. In order to determine validly and reliably the ideas and ideals of Rizal on education, the writer established criteria as guides to this critical thinking. A review of the life and activities of Rizal was undertaken. The bases of the criteria are the principles underlying the progressive movement in education. Democracy in education is the essential base and this principle is immanent in the ideas of Rizal on education. For example the following principles are cited:

1. One learns by doing through purposeful activity, 2. Pupils show an increasing respect for personality, 3. The scientific method of study is used in solving problems, 4. Motivation by anticipated outcome and satisfaction in achievement.

Based upon these criteria, the writer selected the following as Rizal's basic ideas on education:

1. Popular education is a social necessity, 2. The necessity of school plant and facilities, 3. Teacher's freedom of thought and action, 4. The importance of motivation.

## The Short Stories of Arguilla

**A Critical Study of the Short Stories of Manuel E. Arguilla. (M.A. in English) Silliman University, 1963, 130 pp. By Abundia T. Divina.**

The subject of this thesis, "A Critical Study of the Short Stories of Manuel E. Arguilla," has been chosen because of the noticeable fact that majority of our lay readers have shown a comparatively insufficient regard for our local stories in English. If our readers can be made

to comprehend the values of the short stories written by even one of our letter writers, it is believed that their indifference (caused mainly by a lack of enlightenment on the subject) can be minimized. This study is therefore an objective attempt to propagate the best aspects, as well as point out the weaknesses, of Arguilla's works.

These are the two-fold aim of this paper: (1) To evaluate the short stories of Manuel E. Arguilla from the standpoint of craftsmanship and the fulfillment of certain aesthetic criteria and (2) To determine his contributions to the development of the Philippine short story. The discussion, which is done through the employment of expository and critical procedures, is not concerned merely with content but also with the structural features that reveal the meaning of the short story.

This thesis limits itself to a simple evaluation of Arguilla's works in English; that is to say, that although such an evaluation is based on certain aesthetic standards, no attempt to judge Arguilla's rank among other Filipino short story writers in English is at all attempted.

The thesis has three major divisions: the first part, a one-chapter introduction, which includes also a short biography of Arguilla; the second, which is subdivided into four chapters, each one unveiling an element of the fictionist style and artistic craftsmanship; and the third, which contains the summary and conclusion. The main considerations of this paper are taken up in the last two parts; the strengths and weaknesses of Arguilla's style, as his effective use of transliteration, his vivid description of the picturesque panorama, his realistic character drawing, and his significant employment of these formal elements for thematic rendition.

## The Filipino Entrepreneur in Cebu

**The Origins, Motivations and Patterns of Behavior of Filipino Small-Scale Manufacturing Entrepreneurs in the Cebu Trade Area. (M.A. in Sociology) Silliman University, 1969, 112 pp. By Dylan P. Dizon.**

**Statement of the Problem.** (1) To investigate the sociological and economic backgrounds of a sample of Filipino entrepreneurs; (2) To find out whether there exists a pattern of values and motivations which would identify this sample of entrepreneurs as a group; and (3) Compare the findings with those of similar studies on entrepreneurship done here and abroad.

**Findings.** The most significant finding in this study is the high prevalence of non-Cebuano (those originally from outside the city of Cebu) among the small-scale manufacturing entrepreneurs. This indicates a strong positive correlation between social and geographic mobility and entrepreneurial activity. Other related studies here and abroad have shown similar findings.

**Conclusions.** The exploratory nature and the limited number of cases covered by this study cannot be the basis for broad and sweeping conclusions. Instead, they point out areas which could be subjects for further research in depth. Most notable are the role of the family system and other institutions, Filipino values and attitudes in the growth of entrepreneurship and economic development.

**Recommendations.** Based on the cases studied, some tentative proposals could be made. (1) Training programs should be set up to equip entrepreneurs or would-be entrepreneurs with adequate managerial skills, and more important, modern values and attitudes; (2) Use of mass media and the educational system to spread modern, entrepreneurial ideas such as innovativeness, creativity, risk-taking behavior to replace so-called "traditional" values; (3) Adjustments in our social class concepts to break small-group "clannishness" and encourage loyalties to bigger groups as the community and the nation.

## History of Chulalankarana University

**A History of Chulalankarana University: From 1902-1941. (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1950, 163 pp. By Bhadra Dulyachinda.**

The thesis starts out with a brief history of the country, leading up to the coup d'etat in June, 1932 when Siam became a constitutional government. The name was changed from Siam to Thailand in 1939. Thailand means the land of freedom, and the Siamese have always been free from outside domination.

The problem, however, for the thesis is "to review the progress of the first state university of Thailand from its early beginnings up to 1941." For sources of materials, the writer had to lean heavily upon the native history, gevernment reports, and the university records, and foreign writers who wrote on Siam. The study limits itself up to 1941.

Thai education in ancient history may be said to have started with the invention of the Thai letters by King Rama Kambang, in the 13th

century. Inasmuch as they accepted Buddhism, the first educational activity, therefore, was centered on the monastery. The prime purpose was religious. There was no interest in the education of women. Thai education had been hindered by the military struggle and political controversy brought about by the invasions of the neighboring countries in their efforts to conquer Thailand.

In 1871, King Chulalankarana proclaimed the establishment of the first royal school in the Royal Grand Palace premises for the benefit of the sons and nephews of the noblemen. This was the beginning of the state control of education. Primary education was therefore instituted under state control. In order to encourage education, in 1891, the King issued a Royal Decree to the effect that henceforth public examinations were to be held twice annually for government services.

Secondary education began in 1885 for the first time. In 1910, the importance of vocational education was emphasized by King Maha Vajiravadh. The beginnings of the Chulalankarana University may be traced to the early days of its aristocratic forerunners, the royal schools. It was, however, in 1917 when Phra Chula Chom Klao's Civil Service Training School was elevated to the status of a university, the Chulalankarana University. The first endowment totalled 982,672.47 bahts (₱655,114.98). The site was donated: it covers an area of 323.6 acres. Gifts and donations helped in the reorganization of the Faculty of Medicine. King Rama VII showed interest in the advancement of the university. He employed European and American educators. By 1944, the enrolment reached 2,360 students.

## A Study of Students' Difficulties in English Grammar, Punctuation and Capitalization

**A Study of Students' Basic Difficulties in Grammar, Punctuation, and Capitalization upon Entering First Year High School in Dumaguete City. (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1953, 294 pp. By Epifania L. Ebarle.**

**Statement of the problem.** (1) To show the need of finding the basic difficulties in grammar, capitalization, and punctuation; (2) To locate students' difficulties and their probable causes; (3) To shed adequate information in order to enable the first year high school English teachers to guide the learners effectively; (4) To describe a problem hitherto taken as a matter of course and to formulate methods for its solution.

With the use of the normative-survey as a method and the diagnostic test as a tool, the writer endeavored to show the strengths and weaknesses of the sixth grade graduates in grammar, capitalization, and punctuation upon entering the high school.

To determine the readiness of students in carrying on first year work in grammar, capitalization, and punctuation a diagnostic test was used. This enabled the writer to know the students' common errors.

A total of 1, 526 first year students of the four secondary schools in Dumaguete City took the test. The number is distributed as follows: Silliman University, 306 students; Negros Oriental High School, 185 students; Foundation College, 205 students; and Negros Oriental Trade School, 830 students.

**Conclusions.** Evidence is shown that a substantial percentage of the students who were subjected to the diagnostic test exhibited an insufficient understanding of even the basic fundamentals in grammar, capitalization, and punctuation. It is apparent that only a negligible proportion showed an adequate mastery of the minimum requirements of English in the elementary school curriculum.

A. **Complete-sentence concept.** There is a lack of understanding of complete sentences based on the thought element. The results of the test evidently show that many of the students cannot distinguish between fragments and complete sentences, although the study of sentences is taken up in the sixth grade.

B. **Subject-element concept.** A majority of the students failed to recognize terms which were used as subjects placed in the middle of the sentence and at the end of the sentence.

Students' knowledge of the three parts of speech, nouns, pronouns, and ajectives, is shown to be most inadequate.

C. **Predicate-element concept.** In the diagnostic test for items with verb phrases, a majority of the students chose only one verb as the predicate. Others found difficulty in verb phrases separated by words. Another difficulty lay in the predicate before the subject. The results exhibit an apparent weakness in their knowledge of the predicate-element concept.

**Recommendations.** 1. A thorough review of the basic principles of English grammar which are taught in the elementary grades should be conducted. The review should be based on: (a) Complete-sentence concept, (b) Subject-element concept, and (c) Predicate-element concept. It is suggested that the review, which may be conducted for approximately two months depending upon the progress of the students, be given at the beginning of the school year. This process, which serves as the foundation work in the first year, should be reinforced by a daily review of the grammatical elements that are correlated with the new lesson in order to strengthen the contextual relations.

2. Since communication of thoughts to others is a daily activity in our lives, it should become the foundation for the study of grammar. A more functional teaching of grammar, capitalization, and punctuation is strongly recommended.

The functional teaching of grammar should be carried beyond the four walls of the classroom. Writing letters to parents, relatives, and friends is recommended. These letters should actually be sent to the recipients. Carrying on correspondence with other peoples of the world to promote brotherhood and international understanding should be encouraged. Gifted students may write for the school paper or any of the local or national newspapers. To give them functional training in oral communication, students should be afforded the opportunities to interview people outside the classroom.

3. Since the groundwork in the teaching of English is laid both in the elementary grades and in the high school, it is recommended that teachers handling the subject in the said grade level be strongly urged to take a refresher course in the functional teaching of grammar.

4. To an English teacher instructional materials and devices should be necessary to good teaching.

5. Sufficient time should be allotted to students to appraise their own work. The students, it seems apparent, have the tendency to depend too much upon the teachers for the evaluation of their work and the correction of their errors.

6. There should be a definite time allotment for spelling in the elementary school. As it is known, spelling in the elementary school is now incidental.

7. There is an obvious need for decreasing the number of students in the English classes from 50 to 25 or 30 students in a class.

8. The return of the seventh grade to the Philippine educational system is a real necessity. The unexpected abbreviation of the period for elementary education is in some measure responsible for the present educational deficiency.

9. The double single session program should be abolished as soon as possible. It should be stressed that the introduction of this plan into our school system has more or less lowered the standards of instruction in the Philippine schools.

## Student Self-Government at Silliman University

**A Study of Student Self-Government at Silliman University in Relation to Student Participation. (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1955, 242 pp. By Solomon L. Ebarle.**

The objective of this study is three-fold: First, to trace the history of the growth and development of the Student Government at Silliman University, with emphasis on student participation; second, to render an evaluation of this student activity through the employment of criteria from authoritative sources; and third, to formalize recommendations for making this phase of educational instruction adaptable to present conditions.

Facts used in this study were obtained from the following avenues: first, examination of records as to the history of the Student Government from references found in the Offices of the President, Office of the Student Government, and Office of the Dean of Students; second, examination of printed matter published by the institution such as catalogues, student handbooks, bulletins, etc.; third, examination of enrolment records (1947-1948 up to 1954-1955) regarding different colleges and high school; fourth, examination of records of the Student Government as to percentages of students participating in annual elections; fifth, personal interviews with officers of the Student Government, Dean of Students, and other school officials; and sixth, attendance by the writer in the regular sessions of the Student Assembly and his participation in some of its activities.

**Findings.** (1) The faculty adviser of the Student Government of Silliman University is appointed by the head of the institution through the recommendation of the Dean of Students; (2) There is no pronounced term of office for faculty advisers; (3) A faculty adviser performs a full teaching load, hence no sufficient time is left for the direction of

this student activity; (4) Administrative officers of the university do not attend sessions of the Student Government; (5) There is need of support from the faculty in terms of suggestions for introduction of projects and constructive criticisms for improvement of student activities; (6) The **Student Government Constitution** contains lengthy sentences with technical terms, sections not confined to single ideas, and the definition, description, and area of powers and responsibilities of the Student Government are presented through generalized statements; (7) There is no campus election code to serve as basis for the procedure of student elections; (8) Functions of departments, bureaus, committees, and other offices are not designated, described, and defined in the internal organization; (9) Statements of account of money raised by the Student Government in extra-curricular activities and manner of spending such amount are not printed in the campus organ; (10) Campus organizations have not been brought under the control of the Student Government for supervision and coordination; (11) There is no continuous publication of the ideals, activities, and problems of the Student Government; (12) The periodic reports have not been rendered regularly by the Student Government to university offices concerned; and (13) There is no periodic evaluation of the activities of the Student Government.

**Recommendations.** (1) Faculty sponsors should be elected; (2) Two years should be the minimum length of term for a faculty sponsor, subject to renewal of another term; (3) Teaching load of faculty sponsor should be lessened in order to afford him time for supervision; (4) Administrative officers of the institution should be easily accessible to student committees or individual student officers; (5) Support in terms of constructive suggestions for the improvement of student activities should be offered by faculty members; (6) Members of the Student Government should be invited to hearings or meetings of the faculty wherein student welfare is the topic of discussion; (7) Certain portions of the **Student Government Constitution** should be revised and simplified; (8) An election code should be formulated in order to serve as basis for election procedures; (9) Powers, duties, and responsibilities of officers should be made definite; (10 Publication of assets and liabilities of Student Government should be made; (11) Other activities should be planned aside from musical and literary programs; (12) The Student Government should be the central body for all campus organizations; (13) Ideals, projects, and problems of the Student Government should be publicized; and (14) A detailed and complete evaluation of Student Government and its program should be conducted by a faculty committee.

# Factors for Academic Success

**A Study of the Factors which the College Seniors in Silliman University and some Educational Institutions in Iloilo City Considered Essential to Academic Success. (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1954, 267 pp. By Flora T. Elequin.**

This study, concerned with the factors for academic success in college, has for its purpose the establishment of valid criteria for college entrance so as to eliminate unnecessary wastes. There are a number of factors which affect students' ability to succeed in college and these factors apply differently to individual students. With the aid of a check-list of factors and through statistical means, the writer sought to determine the rate of importance of each of these factors in the opinion of the students. Senior college students were used in the study with the assumption that the seniors having had three years of college work can more or less give a reliable estimate of the importance of these factors. The 788 accurate responses were considered in the analysis and interpretation of the data gathered.

**Findings.** The factors, in their order of importance, are: ambition, health, intelligence, interest, attitude, diligence, financial security, background, environmental conditions, command of the language of instruction, proper guidance, self-confidence, parental influence, teacher's influence, health habits, good attitude towards the school, emotional maturity, regular and systematic schedule for study, religious influence, promptness, social security, maturity, influence of friends, regulated amount of extra-curricular activities, and recreation.

**Recommendations.** The use of a university or college program, that is, a school's program of activities, it's course offerings and so on, should be recommended to prospective students; the administration of college entrance test; the use of personal inventory form to be filled out by the students; a thorough physical examination at the time of enrolment; the establishment of a one-week orientation program; the use of diagnostic tests; the use of a problem check-list to determine individual student problems; the establishment of an extensive scholarship program and work opportunities for students; the development of a proper attitude towards college education; and a continuation of the study of any elements which might not have been covered by this study.

# The Academic Dean in the Philippines

**A Study of the Status of the Academic Dean in Selected Colleges and Universities in the Philippines. (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1951, 113 pp. By Delia E. Esguerra.**

Higher education is the field from which the problem for this thesis had been selected. With the growth of the institutions of higher learning in the Philippines, the status of the Academic Dean became one of the problems for study. The purpose, therefore, of this thesis is to define the present status of the academic dean in selected Philippine colleges and universities. The further purpose is to raise issues with the aim in view of pointing out the merits and demerits of the present status of the academic dean and of showing means for improvement of the office to the more ideal position both as an administrator of higher education and a molder of future leaders.

Twenty-six colleges and universities were used in this study. In gathering the data and materials the normative survey method was used; specifically, a questionnaire was used to gather data, supplemented by interviews with the deans concerned. One-hundred fifteen deans were asked to cooperate. Unfortunately, however, only 61% responded to the request.

Some deans occupy peculiar positions in the sectarian colleges and universities. Others were not allowed to cooperate with the study by the controlling entity of the college or university. Some deans had to confer among themselves and ask the administration for permission to answer the questionnaires. The term dean came from the Latin word, decanus. It was in the University of Paris where the word dean, as used today, had its beginning. This study looked at the varied activities of the deans in order to determine the common duties and activities.

**Findings:** 1. The office of the dean has been established as a definite part of the administrative structure of the schools included in this survey; 2. In many instances the dean carries additional administrative titles; 3. The deans, from their own point of view, were chosen for their administrative ability, teaching ability, and academic degrees. A few admitted personal relations to the members of the board of trustees; 4. Generally the deans are appointed by the board of trustees through the president; 5. The majority of the deans give enough time for administrative duties but allot too little for supervisory visits.

**Recommendations.** 1. The dean should not have any dual appointment; 2. The dean should have enough professional training, preferably with graduate degree and in-service education in administration; 3. The dean should be recruited from the rank and file of the teaching profession.

## Music Textbook for Grade Schools

**An Analysis of the Contents of the Music Textbook for the Intermediate Grades in the Philippine Public Schools. (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1968, 135 pp. By Flor P. Espina.**

**Problem and Scope.** This study includes the examination and analysis of the contents of **Philippine Music Horizons** (Intermediate Grades) compiled by Norberto Romualdez, Petrona Ramos and Charles E. Griffith, copyright in the Philippines, 1953 by Silver Burdett Company, the basic textbook of music for the intermediate grades in the Philippine public schools.

In evaluating the textbook under study the writer uses the criteria suggested by James Mursell and Mabelle Glenn who believe that music textbooks should be evaluated from six points of view—contents, organization, correlation pedagogical suggestions, format and collateral factors.

**Conclusions and Recommendations.** Among the important findings are: (1) The textbook has fairly well fulfilled its role in the realization of the basic philosophy and objectives of music education in the intermediate grades. (2) The songs in the textbook provide for singing activities but leaves most of the listening, playing, rhythmic and creative activities to the initiative and resourcefulness of the teacher. (3) While there are many songs to correlate with physical education, language arts, science and work education, the textbook offers very little opportunity for correlation with character education, health and arithmetic and the international understanding area of social studies.

**Recommendations.** (1) The textbook should be accompanied with a teacher's manual. (2) An index by grades and another classified by place of origin of the songs should be included in the textbook. (3) Songs by Nicanor Abelardo, Jose Estella, Manuel Velez, Hilarion Rubio, Antonio Molina, Santiago Suarez and other noted Filipino composers should also be included in the textbook. (4) The textbook should have songs from Asian countries. (5) The textbook should include choral selections and children's songs to fit special occasions like: New Year, Bataan Day, Labor Day, Philippine Republic Day, etc. (6) Correlation with character education, health and arithmetic should be provided in the textbook.

## Arts and Trades Superintendents

**A Study of Responsibilities and Training Preparations of Superintendents of Arts and Trades in the Bureau of Public Schools. (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1962, 139 pp. By Gregorio P. Espinosa.**

The purpose of the study was to find out the responsibilities, experiences, problems and training preparations of superintendents of trade and industrial education. The subjects used were the 30 school administrators in the Bureau of Public Schools presently administering trade training programs assigned in the various trade-technical schools of the country with two or more years of field experience.

The normative-survey method of research was the procedure used in the study. Facts and data were obtained through the use of questionnaire, interviews, readings, and observations. Selected educators here and abroad whose opinions were solicited helped also to bring the study to a reality.

**Findings.** The study revealed that the school administration in industrial education program is altogether administration by prescription and regulation and not by participation and mutual recognition of administrative needs and problems of superintendents of arts and trades. As of now almost every official act the superintendent makes must be done "conformably with the regulations of the Bureau," and by "authority of the Secretary of Education." The study revealed also that the superintendent has a complexity of problems within the school plus outside pressure coming from the non-school people such PTA officials, politicians, etc., involving appointment, transfer, and promotion of personnel.

**Recommendations.** The vocational superintendents should be granted the same terms of authority and power as those of the division superintendents in order to eliminate professional fission and segmentation. In order to improve and strengthen the superintendents' leadership, they must have a master's degree as a minimum educational attainment and must have passed a superintendent's examination. The present practice relating to preparation, selection, and qualification for superintendents in industrial education should be revised to do away with third rate leadership. To be sure that superintendents maintain the pivotal position in public school administration, a continuous national program of in-service education for them should be launched.

If education in the country will have the faith of the people and the

respect of other nations, superintendents should be free from restraint exerted by politicians. The Department of Education should be converted by constitutional amendments into a constitutional office similar to that of the General Auditing Office.

## Activities and Techniques of Elementary School Supervision

**A Study of Supervisory Activities and Techniques of Elementary School Training Supervisors in Selected Philippine Public Teacher-Education Institutions. (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1957, 217 pp. By Priscilla S. Estolloso.**

The experiences and training of the writer in different teacher-education institutions, such as the Philippine Normal School and Silliman University, prompted the selection of this thesis topic.

The importance of the problem is underscored by the fact that elementary education is basic to citizenship training.

To collect the data on the activities and techniques of the supervisors, a questionnaire was constructed. A critical analyisis of the data collected followed; this critical analysis made possible the summary and conclusions. Some pertinent recommendations have been included at the end of the study.

The findings of the study are summarized under three categories which follow: 1. The professional status of supervisors 2. The supervisory activities of supervisors, and 3. The supervisory techniques of supervisors.