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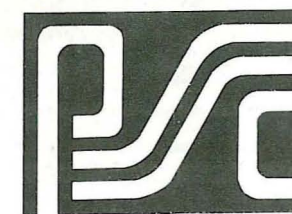
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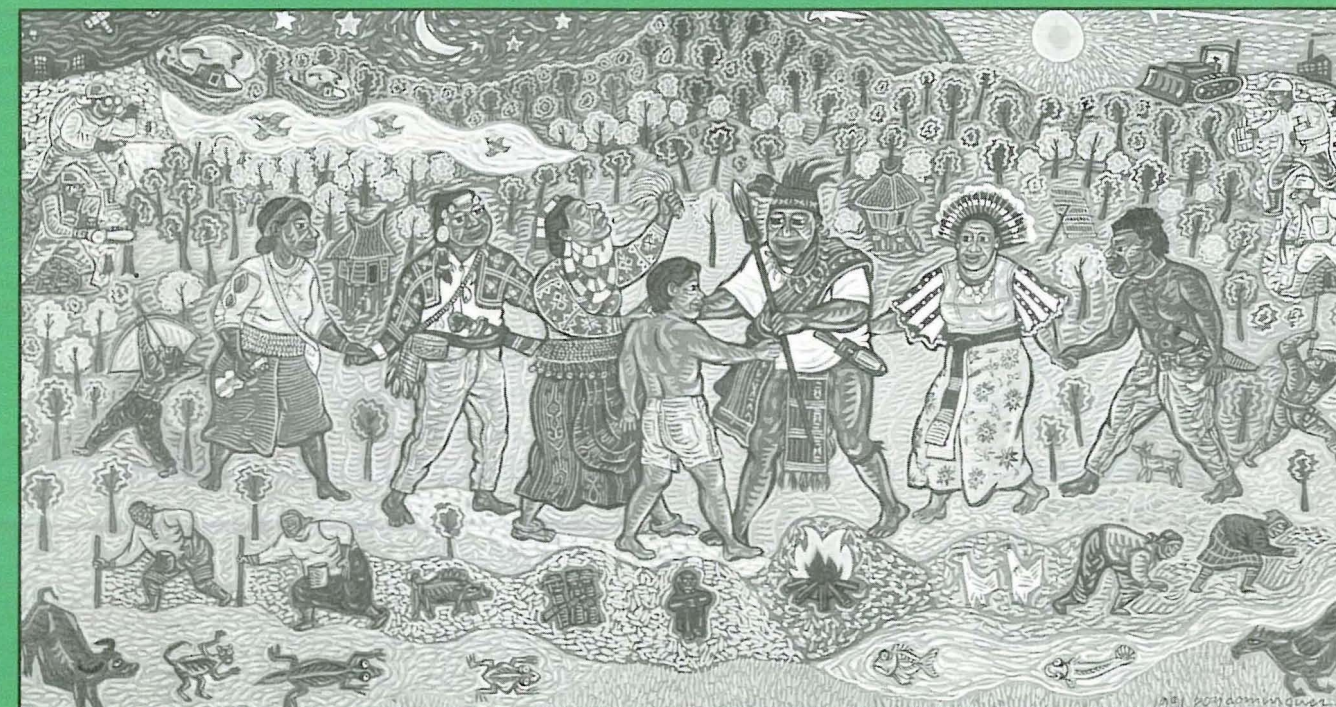


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Editorial

▣ *Prof. Mary Constancy C. Barrameda*

Indigenous Peoples and the Environment

Modern societies and institutions have a penchant for dedicating dates, month or year to highlight events, give honor to certain objects, individuals, groups or sectors of societies. More often, the extremes of societies — the great and the outstanding on the one hand the derelict, the disenfranchised and the neglected on the other hand are singled out; as if to make amends to the latter and the better to do homage to the former.

Be that as it may, the United Nations declared 1993 as the International Year for Indigenous Peoples (IPs) to remind the world who they are, their problems and struggles, their hopes and dreams, above all, their contributions to humanity.

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PSSC Social Science Information

October 1992-March 1993

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INFORMATION

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Editorial

▣ Prof. Mary Constasy C. Barrameda

Indigenous Peoples and the Environment

Modern societies and institutions have a penchant for dedicating dates, month or year to highlight events, give honor to certain objects, individuals, groups or sectors of societies. More often, the extremes of societies — the great and the outstanding on the one hand the derelict, the disenfranchised and the neglected on the other hand are singled out; as if to make amends to the latter and the better to do homage to the former.

Be that as it may, the United Nations declared 1993 as the International Year for Indigenous Peoples (IPs) to remind the world who they are, their problems and struggles, their hopes and dreams, above all, their contributions to humanity.

History has not been so kind to them. To start, their identity is reckoned with colonization. The International Labor Organization (ILO) defined them as the people inhabiting lands at the time of colonization. Following this line of thinking, it can be said that there are no indigenous peoples in Europe, home of the colonizers. Or the Thais who were not colonized are not indigenous to Thailand. This is the illogic of the definition.

The academe, the government institutions and the Churches all conspire to mesmerize human consciousness by beclouding the issue. In the same breath though, it is recognized that concerned members in the same institutions, along with the Indigenous Peoples are working hard to clear the air and steer the course for justice and right.

The colonization nightmare made the IPs squatters in their own land. Through decrees and outright usurpation of their lands and resources, they were driven to extreme poverty and treated as unfit to rule themselves. Colonizers forgot that these people represent humankind's best in their self-sufficient, harmonious and anarchic, yet well-ordered existence.

They fought long and hard, remained quiescent or retreated to the hinterlands. They derived their compatriots who succumbed to foreign pressures and deceptions. Worst, these compatriots are now lording it over them in the manner of their erstwhile colonizers.

Forced to live under government bureaus and cabinets, they were "pickled and reserved in hermetically sealed jars — in World Fairs, in reservations, for the rest of the world to savor the past.

To this day, their person and their culture — bastardized, commercialized and misrepresented — are monuments to the prodigious and enduring metaphors of how humans can degrade themselves and each other. The play, "And St. Louis Lives Dem Filipinos", vividly portrays such machinations.

Like every other human beings, they have allowed convenience, ambition and greed to prevail over critical social consciousness and self respect. Thus, we see them aping their ancestors in empty regalia for a fee; disacralizing their rituals and ceremonies to feed on curiosity seekers.

An easy prey to modern materialistic philosophies and religious, they readily allow the rape of mother nature for the ephemeral technological advancement (except the aborted Chico Dam) and swallow the fatal bait of the almighty market and entrepreneur ship.

Thus, along with the rest of humankind, they continue to bear the brunt of the destruction of nature and human nature.

And yet, they alone as a people continue to hold aloft the torch for all humankind to see which direction leads to fuller humanization.

The salvation of the planet earth may lie in their ethos.

The instinctive tenacity with which they cling to their ancestral homelands and their cultural traditions make for an anchor to a world devoid of moorings. This attachment which defies and surpasses modern understanding, developed as a result of sustained interaction which is deeply imbued with meanings.

Bennagen insightfully points out that in claiming their ancestral lands, they claim their ancestors — their beginnings, their past, their history. To attach history to that surface of the earth is to grasp the sacredness of that land; all the more precious because it is nurtured by the sweat of these who toiled it that they may live and as they lived well; the blood of those warriors shed in defense, the tears of those who mourn for the loss of the departed.

While modern science puts a large premium on the analytic inquiry into the ways of nature, the Indigenous People's mind gathers, integrates and sublimates these into a meaningful whole. Not just the present with all its complexities and aberrations, but also the lessons from the past and the needs of the future. Thus we find in their tradition, the forward looking thrust expressed for instance, in the care and replenishment of forests and soils as obligatory, a mandate from their ancestors. The rituals and ceremonies routinely held make the departed and their mandate alive as their names are invoked while offering the sacrificial animals in their honor.

Indigenous knowledge generated through the millennia finds its repository hitherto in their cultures and traditions. Often surviving as oral literature and folklores such accretment of knowledge and wisdom reflect deep spirituality arising from essential unity between land, nature and all that is therein as God's gift and human beings as stewards.

Alas and awoe! Modern science sees only in the indigenous knowledge its potential for lucrative business. Biodiversity, an important output of indigenous science and philosophy is appropriated by multinationals corporations without regard for the property rights of Indigenous peoples.

Indigenous Peoples are then best defined as "those who trace their ancestral origins to the land in which they live and whose culture is deeply rooted in the land. Their culture

traits render them distinct, and they are conscious of their identity as distinct peoples (Cordillera Resource Center, 1993).

Their rights formulated by the UN Working Group include:

- The right to be free and equal to all human beings and peoples.
- The right to exist in peace and security
- The right to own, control and use traditionally occupied lands and territories
- The right to economic prosperity and genuine development
- The right to self-determination
- The right to participate fully in the political, economic and social life of the State
- The right to maintain and defend the integrity of their culture
- The right to be protected from cultural genocide
- The right to special measures for protection of intellectual property
- The right to special measures for protection of intellectual property
- The right to all levels and forms of education
- The right to the protection of the total environment
- The right to full recognition of indigenous laws, customs and practices.

In this issue of PSSC Social Science Information, the social sciences, especially UGAT pays them a tribute by giving our readers two scholarly papers:

Rene Agbayani captures the theoria and praxis on land and environment. While the paradigm holds and alternative view to contemporary consumeristic and exploitative treatment of the environment, unscrupulous persons used the same argument for more usurpation of their lands.

Arlene Banaria focuses on lowland elites' lifestyle struggling incongruously to be in harmony with nature. This provides an interesting contrast to the Indigenous Peoples simplicity and conservatory lifestyle.

Mary Constaney C. Barrameda, Assistant Professor, teaches Philippine Ethnic Groups and Political/Ecological Anthropology at the University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City.

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PSSC NEWS

Prof. Aguilar, 5 Other New Officers Sworn In

Prof. Carmencita T. Aguilar and Dr. Allen L. Tan were sworn in to office as the new Chairperson and the Vice Chairperson of the Governing Council in a tripartite ceremony during the March 1, 1993 meeting of the By-Laws Committee.

Dr. Leslie E. Bauzon, former Chairperson of the Council was the inducting officer while the Secretariat staff stood as witnesses.

Also inducted during the February 24 Board Meeting were Dr. Eliseo A. de Guzman, Prof. Erlinda A. Cordero and Dr. Clemen C. Aquino as new members of the Executive Board representing Demography, Social Work and Sociology, respectively. Dr. Amaryllis T. Torres, Executive Board President was the inducting officer.

Duly elected during the Annual Assembly, Prof. Aguilar will serve for two years; Dr. Tan, one year; and the new representatives, three years.

Also elected during the Annual Assembly was Dr. Gonzalo H. Jurado of the Philippine Economic Society who was not available during the induction ceremony.

Elections, Reports Highlight PSSC's 24th Annual Meeting

Elections and reports highlighted the 24th Annual Meeting of the Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC) which was held on February 20, 1993 at the Alip Auditorium.

Dr. Leslie E. Bauzon, as out-going Chairperson of the PSSC Governing Council called the meeting to order at 9:30 a.m. In his opening remarks, he underscored the vital role PSSC can play "in promoting and coordinating policy studies by Filipino social scientists" noting that "the policies that are currently formulated are not effective."

There being a quorum, the Council proceeded with its agenda. Highlighting the affair were: 1. Election of the new Board Members and of the Chairperson and the Vice-Chairperson of the Governing Council. 2. President's and Treasurer's Reports and 3. Reports of the Regular and Associate Members.

Before the elections, the Nominations Committee brought up several issues which were deliberated on and resolved. Among them were the issues on proxy voting, conflict of interests and who shall cast the vote in case two associations represent the same discipline.

On the proxy issue, it was noted that the By-laws prohibit it but voting through a written authorization is not tantamount to proxy voting. The conflict of interests issue was set aside for further discussion because it was not included in the agenda, and it was noted that the By-Laws are silent on it, and if amendments should be proposed, it should be done at a proper time. The third question was left to the decision of the concerned parties.

The President's Report was rendered by Dr. Amaryllis T. Torres where she outlined the achievements of the PSSC in 1992 stating "that it will go down in history as a memorable year not only because it is a year prior to our Silver Jubilee but because of the fruitful activities undertaken by the PSSC."

Then the Treasurer's Report followed where it was noted that the budget continues to increase annually, therefore there is a need to create a joint committee to find ways and means to augment the fund of the Council. Prof. Ruben F. Trinidad followed with a summary of the submitted reports of the regular and associate members. Several representatives of the associate members stood up to give their own reports.

Capping the meeting was Dr. Bauzon's invitation to the body to join the planned trip to Mt. Banahaw in connection with the observance of the PSSC Silver Jubilee. The meeting was adjourned at 12:30 p.m.

PSSC Symposium on Environment Held

The Philippine Social Science Council, Inc. (PSSC) held a two-day symposium on the issue: Environment and Sustainable Development: Social Science Perspectives on January 29-30, 1993 from 8

a.m. to 5 p.m. at the Eufonio Alip Auditorium. The affair which was partially funded by a grant from the UNESCO in Bangkok, also served as a kick-off activity for the PSSC's Silver Jubilee Celebration.

Divided into four sessions, the symposium focused on four major themes: Environment and Development, Government Response to Environmental Issues, Extent of Public and Media Awareness on Environmental Issues, and Theory and Methodology of Research on Environmental Issues. Each session was beefed up with reactions from noted authorities and an open forum followed to shed light on some issues regarding the theme.

For January 29, morning session, Dr. Zelda Zablan gave an overview of the problem followed by an Environmental Impact Assessment: A Policy Need for Sustainable Development by Dr. Telesforo W. Luna, Dr. Candido A. Cabrido, Jr., Dr. Alejandro N. Herrin, Dr. Levita Duhaylungsod, Dr. Evelyn J. Caballero and Engr. Catalino Corpuz talked on the following topics: Carrying Capacity of the Potential Food Production from Land and Aquatic Resources; Health, Environment and Economic Productivity, Impact of RA 7076 and DENR Administrative Order 34 on the Culture of Traditional Small-Scale Miners in the Cordillera and Open Pit Mining, respectively. Dr. Merle C. Tan and Dr. Arsenio Manuel gave their reactions and the session ended with an open forum.

For the afternoon session, Prof. Carmencita T. Aguilar gave an overview on the Direction of Government Policy, Strategy and Administrative Measures on Sustainable Development while DENR Asst. Sec. Cirilo Serna, Dr. Camar Umpa, Dr. Filemon G. Romero, Mrs. Lin Donaire Sali, Dr. Teodoro R. Santos and Atty. Sofronio Ursal enlightened the participants on the following topics: Forest and Mangroves, Energy Issue in Lanao, Mindanao, Protection of Marine Environment: Implication to the Sustainable Development/Environmental Protection, Mining in the Philippines, and the Government Appropriations for the Environment and Sustainable Development. The participants had Dir. Rodrigo Fuentes and Ms. Sandy Arcamo for the reactions.

For January 30, morning session, the following topics were tackled: Lumad Music Commentaries by Dr. Gloria M. Santos, Public Opinion on Environmental Issues: Findings and Analysis of the SWS April 1992 National Survey by Mr. Dennis Arroyo, Promoting Public Sensitivity to and Community Action for our Islands by Sis. Aida Velasquez, Ang Mutya ng Pasig by Dr. Ibarra M. Gonzalez, Initiatives

and Perspectives of NGOs, Grassroots Organizations, and Local Communities in Environment and Sustainable Development by Mrs. Conchita Ragrario; Women, Environment and Sustainable Development by Dr. Angelina C. Irapta, and Creating a Common Future: The Role of Universities by Dr. Jovita G. Reyes. The session ended with an open forum.

For the afternoon session, an Overview was rendered by Prof. Mary Constancy Barrameda while Dr. Francis Madigan, Dr. Amarylly T. Torres, Dr. Adolfo M. de Guzman and Dr. Emma C. Porio elucidated on: The Relevance for Research upon the Environment and upon Sustainable Development, of a Constructive Synthesis of Contemporary Sociological Theory, When the Sister Earth Suffers, the Women Suffer Too: Women's Perspectives on Sustainable Development, Environmental Research in the UP System, Ateneo de Manila University Environmental Research Program, respectively. Reactors were Dr. Cynthia Bautista and Prof. Ponciano L. Bennagen. The affair was capped by the Summing UP of Symposium Papers by Dr. Amarylly T. Torres and Dr. Rosario M. Cortes, followed by the Closing Remarks by Dr. Leslie E. Bauzon.

New PPA Board of Director Officers Bared

The Philippine Population Association, Inc. (PPA) bared its officers and members of the Board of Directors for 1993. Dr. Corazon M. Raymundo and Dr. Michael A. Costello are the President and Vice-President, respectively, while Prof. Eliseo A. de Guzman and Dr. Zelda C. Zablan are the Secretary and the Treasurer, respectively.

Serving as members are: Dr. Josie V. Cabigon, Dr. Mercedes B. Concepcion, Dr. Marilou P. Costello, Dr. Alejandro N. Herrin and Mrs. Brigida Jayme.

PSA Holds First Philippine Statistics Quiz

The Philippine Statistical Association (PSA) held the first Philippine Statistics Quiz (PSQ) to highlight its 40th (Ruby) Anniversary on September 21 and 25, 1992.

Endorsed by the DECS-NCR and the DOST-Science Education Institute, the first PSQ aimed to: 1. Test the skills of the recent high school graduates on their competencies in Statistics, 2. Popularize Science and Technology, particularly Statistics among stu-

dents, and 3. Assess the efficiency of teaching instruments and methods employed in high school Statistics.

Financial Constraints made it impossible for the PSA to hold the quiz on a national level. Thus, the first PSQ actually covered the NCR alone. Qualified contestants were college freshmen enrolled in the first semester from public or private colleges and universities in Metro Manila.

Jocelyn Que, a BS Statistics student from the University of the Philippines garnered the first place while Maureen Olivo, an AB student from Miriam College Foundation placed second and Roy Taguinod, a BSC Accounting student from the Far Eastern University, landed third.

Fresh from its first PSQ success, the PSA is looking forward to a nationwide Statistics Quiz to catch the attention and interest of some five million high school students nationwide to this key tool of technology.

PACS Joins PSSC as its 37th Associate Member

The Philippine Association for Chinese Studies (PACS) joined the ranks of associate members to the Philippine Social Science Council as its 37th Associate Member, with the PNHS as its sponsoring agency. PACS was admitted to the PSSC by the Governing Council during its special meeting held on March 17, 1993 following the approval of PACS application by the Executive Board on its February 17, 1993 meeting.

The PACS is a non-political, non-profit professional association open to all persons interested in the study of China and the Chinese. Its activities have included seminars, meetings, publications and study tours to China. All of which have been designed to facilitate contact and exchange of information among scholars and to increase understanding of China. Many of the activities have been undertaken in collaboration with the Chinese Studies program of UP, Ateneo and De La Salle Universities. The PACS publishes a quarterly newsletter and an occasional journal.

Mrs. Theresa Cariño heads the PACS Board as its President. The PACS is located at 23 Madison Street, New Manila, Quezon City, with telephone number 722-8861.

UP Graduate Studies Hold Symposium

The Graduate students of the University of the Philippines under the tutelage of Prof. Mary Constaney Barrameda of the Anthropology Department held a symposium entitled **POWER AND SOCIETY** on March 20, 1993, 9:00 to 12:00 noon. Prof. Barrameda is also a member of the PSSC Social Issues Committee.

Among its highlights were the presentation of papers and the discussion of related topics that delved into the "Power of Myths" by Ms. Abdel Lengit and the "Politics of Water Supply" by Dr. Joel Mendez.

For Knowledge and Power, the following paper were presented: Relearning Learning by Ms. Encarnita D. Balayon and A Critique of Educational Theories by Mrs. Doris Arrevilaga.

For Contemporary Politics Dynamics, Fr. Robert P. Reyes read his paper on Parokya and Barangay while Bro. Ohmel Hernandez read his paper entitled Sawsawan: Esklusibismo at Pakikipagkapwa.

For Power and Ethnicity, The Struggle of Indigenous Peoples in the Philippines and Territoriality - Power and Ancestral Domain by Mr. Rene Agbayani and Mr. Joey Lopez were read, respectively.

ADDCE, PETA Honor Indigenous Peoples

The Ancestral Domain Defense Campaign Forum (ADDCE) and PETA - Childrens Theater Collective paid tribute to the Indigenous Peoples through a fictional play on Indigenous Peoples and Development dubbed as LIMBASWANG, held on October 22, 1992 at 6 p.m. at the PSSC Auditorium

The affair highlighted the celebration of the Tribal Filipino Month.

(See pages 31 and 40)

Some Cultural Traditions of the Indigenous Cultural Communities in the Philippines: Their Implications to Environmental Conservation

*Rene Agbayani**

Introduction

I have worked with many non-governmental organizations for more than a decade now. Most of dealt with issues and problems being faced by our Indigenous Cultural Communities (ICCs). During all these years of involvement I have been fascinated by the way ICCs have learned to adapt to their immediate environment. Later, as I grew in knowledge and experience, I came to realize that the ICCs cultural traditions were distilled wisdom of the centuries. Since they had lived on their land since time immemorial, ICCs have developed cultural traditions which are not only marvelous even to the outside observer but practical and useful to the people, yet sustainable to the environment.

Thus, this paper intends to look at some of their cultural traditions which I believe have some bearing on environmental conservation.

Methodology

The data are basically taken from written sources. Books and publications dealing with shifting cultivation among ICCs and with their religion and other related practices are made use of. This is supplemented by two other resources: documents and notes kept by some church and private, non-sectarian NGOs working with ICCs. For example documentation of seminars by these NGOs where the major participants were the ICCs themselves. Secondly, by my own observation and experiences in the course of my work with ICCs which I have recorded in my notebooks whose pages are now yellowing.

Limitations of the study

This paper is only a very general survey of some cultural traditions. It is not an exhaustive study based primarily on fieldwork. Thus, whatever conclusions may be made here are very tentative and subject to validation by more extensive fieldwork.

Significance of the study

One cannot overemphasize today the need to protect our environment in the age of rapid global warming and destructive man-made pollution. The massive deterioration of our ecology necessitates that many studies, not the least in the discipline of Anthropology, be made regarding the seeking out of ways to conserve the environment for a more sustainable future.

This study can also help to show that the ICCs way of life is something to be proud of and something to show to a world that is gasping for its breath. The lifestyle of ICCs may yet show the way towards a development scenario that is more ecology-friendly and of service not to a powerful elite but for the majority of humankind.

I am also making this study to underscore the need for understanding the debate today on strategies of environmental conservation. One strategy being propounded by technocrats is the fencing off of an entire area from people, even from inhabitants of the said area who have lived there since time immemorial, to protect its biodiversity. I would like to show in this paper that such strategies are not only not viable, they are even destructive.

Instead I emphasize the need for strategies which involve the active participation of the ICC in the protection of what is actually their natural habitat. It is precisely the people and their cultural traditions, handed down

from generation to generation which will insure the success of any conservation program.

Some theoretical and conceptual considerations

One of the major concepts that we need to discuss to understand the ICCs cultural traditions in relation to the environment is ANCESTRAL LAND (AL) also referred to as the ANCESTRAL DOMAIN (AD) or what Bennagen prefers to call ANCESTRAL HOMELAND (AH). But instead of citing some "expert" to define what is ancestral land, I would rather get an idea of the concept from the summarized consensus viewpoint of the ICCs. Thus the following conceptualization is based on the ideas presented by ICCs to the 12th Episcopal Commission on Tribal Filipinos (ECTF)-Tribal Filipino Apostolate (TFA) National Convention last September 4-7, 1990.¹

Ancestral domain

A. The ancestral land or territory is sacred land. It is God's gift to the community/tribe. It is the source of their life, their culture. Where their ancestors lived since time immemorial, organized ICCs are now staking and asserting their claim..

B. The ancestral territory has natural boundaries marked by mountains, rivers, trees, large stones, graveyards, places of worship and other signs marking the ICCs presence.

C. Ancestral domain includes forest products, hunting pasture and fishing grounds, bodies of water and mineral resources. It includes air spaces as well as all living creatures like birds, other animals and fish.

All these natural resources within the AD are to be protected and sustained. For without them, the land would be unable to sustain nor support the way of life of the community. The ICC community is prepared to defend this land unto the death as their communal inheritance.

D. The ancestral land and its natural resources are not to be sold or alienated by members or leaders of the community but can only be used thus preserving the ancestral lands natural resources according to the customary laws of the tribal Filipino community.

E. Non-tribals in the area should respect customary laws. Particular arrangements with outsiders can be made only with the consensus of the entire community and that they can never obtain title or portions of the land.

F. Apportionment of these lands among natives is only a transfer of right to use or usufruct according to ancestral laws.

G. All lands-- both forested and "alienable and disposable" -- which are occupied by or used for the livelihood of the tribal community can be claimed as ancestral domain.

From the above presentation, we can see at once that the ancestral homeland of the ICCs is their immediate, physical environment marked by natural boundaries. It is a physical reality in time and space with natural resources within. The specific tribe or ICC community only has control within its particular ancestral territory. For example, the Buhid Mangyan cannot trespass nor make use of lands which is the ancestral territory of another Mangyan group or tribe.

The AH or AD being the actual physical habitat of the ICCs is therefore very necessary for their survival not only as individual human beings but as a corporate entity—as a people. The AH is the *physical base* of their culture and identity.

From this, it can further be surmised that any threat to the land or to the natural resources therein is a threat to the peoples' survival and their culture and identity as well. Dislocation from their AH is to threaten their very lives and identities as distinct peoples.

The peoples relationship with one another as well as their relationship to the land is regulated by custom law which has been handed down from generation to generation orally and remembered by the tribe through their indigenous leaders as well as part of their epics, myths and rituals.

The land is not only a physical reality occupied by living people. In the ICC worldview, the land is inhabited by ancestral and nature spirits. In their minds the supernatural and the natural exist side by side and interpenetrate one another. In fact, it is necessary to get along well with the spirit world to maintain harmony with the natural world and with other human beings.

What links the people with the land, in a way, is their ancestors. The ancestors handed down to their descendants their traditions, customs, rituals, and beliefs, particularly the ways of relating with the land and the spirits inhabiting the land.

The descendants worship their spirit-form and carry out their ways of life while maintaining their land which they have enriched with the bones and dust of their bodies. And to complete the relation, it is the land that links the people and their ancestors.

The Human Activity Systems

In Hitoshi Watanabe's study of the Ainu, he came up with a framework to understand the relationship of a

In Hitoshi Watanabe's study of the Ainu, he came up with a framework to understand the relationship of a people with their natural habitat. He referred to this as the *human activity systems*.²

According to Watanabe, man's life is made up of interrelated activities necessary for his survival, production and reproduction. Accordingly, "the activity system which is a structure made up of interrelated activities...has a spatio-temporal structure". This system of interrelated activities is the *human activity systems* or HAS. The HAS is the core of man's ecosystem.

The integration of the HAS with the environment makes up the human ecosystem.

"Man is the only species which can and did alter his relationship with his habitat by arbitrarily controlling time and space factors of his activities...developing technology has more and more reduced the spatio-temporal limitations of his activity...this has been making the adaptation of his activity system to his habitat more efficient."³

Let me point out further that Watanabe does not limit the manipulation of spatio-temporal structure to technology. Man also does this through his rituals, ceremonies and other cultural traditions.⁴

Animism-Shamanism

When authors usually talk of the great religions or the global religions, they usually refer to Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism and Judaism. Animism is not included at all. Normally, it is termed, particularly in the past, as *primitive religion*.

Why is this so?

Almost if not all peoples passed through this stage. In fact, many peoples practice animism today in modified form. That is why we have what we call folk Christianity or folk Islam in the Philippines because the religion practised by most Filipinos have many animist elements integrated into them.

With a certain amount of risk, I would like to posit at this point that *Animism-Shamanism* is one of the world's great religions by virtue of the length of time it has been practised and the number of people all over the world who are practicing it in various forms. In fact, on the level of the ideational, I would posit that it is a worldview; a legitimate *Weltanschauung*; a concrete complex of explanation for both natural and supernatural phenomena.

In conversation with anthropologist John McAndrew,

who has done work on Filipino spiritualism and power, the great religion's leaders, for example, Christian leaders, talk of a dialogue with Islam or Buddhism but never a dialogue with animists practitioners.⁵ He and I are of the opinion that animists are classified as second-class or not regarded at all.

It is my belief, that it is impossible to understand much less dialogue, with the ICCs without an understanding of their indigenous spirituality. Thus, I feel it is necessary to discuss as one of the framework for understanding, the *Animism-Shamanism* of ICCs. This has special importance when trying to understand their view of nature and the environment.

Animism varies greatly in character and practice; from simple to complex. Some peoples' practices in making contact with spirits are simple. Others philosophic concepts are systematized into extensive ceremonial system. Each culture area has its own distinctive pattern which also varies from tribe to tribe. Basically, the shared belief is that "there are forces outside of man and his immediate physical world which affect man's fate and with which he must maintain relations in order that he may prosper." Some commonalities among animists are the following:⁶

A. It revolves around the control of the outer world for man's practical ends by utilizing the help of spiritual agencies.

B. The spiritual is conceived of as an all-pervading force. Its concrete forms are usually thought of as a number of spirits.

C. Philosophic formulations of the beginnings and aims of life are present but do not form any substantial core of religious thought.

D. Ethics has little to do with religion but rests rather on custom and social control.

E. It is non-proselytizing since the particular religion, i.e., the ancestral spirit is privately reserved for the tribe alone.

F. Ritual is the most common means of communicating with sacred forces and beings.

There is no cleavage between the animate and inanimate nor between man and animals who are credited with human attributes.

To clarify the term Shamanism, I would like to present a definition of the word *shaman* and to show why it is intimately linked with animism.

Shaman is any individual recognized by the com-

munity can bridge the world of the phenomenal and supernatural. One who is able to or has the power to communicate directly with the other world, the spirit world.⁷

Perhaps an appropriate description of shamans in relation to the ICC worldview and outlook towards nature can be summed up by the following:

While shamans have no fixed dogma or religion, they all believe in the universal web of power that supports all life. All elements of the environment are alive and all have their source of power in the spirit world. Rocks, plants, animals, clouds and wind are charged with life and must be paid due respect for the maintenance of harmony and health. Shamans consider all life forms to be interconnected and a mutually supportive balance among them is essential for humankind's survival. Our job is to understand this balance and to live in harmony with it, always taking nature into consideration in every endeavor. The web of power in nature is the life-giver and the source of all successful activity.⁸

Some common beliefs and practices

Sacred land sacred sites

ICCs have always looked at their land, and all the earth for that matter as suffused with life and is therefore sacred. This idea of the sacredness of the land and all things in it makes the ICCs treat the land with respect. They in fact, will not talk of *preserving the environment* as if the environment were a separate entity. In their worldview, they are part of nature and not separate from it.⁹

In their words and deeds and in their minds, ICCs believe the land is sacred. Here are two leaders of the ICCs, one from Cordillera and the other from Mindanao speaking about land.

To claim a place is the birthright of every man. The lowly animals claim their place, how much more man? Man is born to live. Apo Kabunian, lord of us all, gave us life and placed us in the world to live human lives. And where shall we obtain life? From the land!

To work the land is an obligation, not merely a right. In tilling the land you possess it. And so land is a grace that must be nurtured. To enrich it and make it fruitful (sic) is the eternal exhortation of Apo Kabunian to all his children. Land is sacred. Land is beloved. From its womb springs our Kalinga life.

—Macling Dulag

The earth is sacred to us. We are connected to the earth; if it is lost so are our lives. Until recently, we Lumad did not wear shoes because the land is an extension of our bodies.

The earth is our parent; it is our father and mother who helps us grow and wakes us from our sleep. The earth is dear to our bodies. When our bodies are pinched, it hurts. When the land is ravaged it hurts in the same way. When the land is abused, the Lumad are one with it.

—Datu Mampadayag¹⁰

Not only is the earth itself sacred. There are areas within the ancestral territory set aside as sacred sites. In fact, in a protest demonstration against the Mt. Apo Geothermal Project of the PNOG, the Lumad had this to say,¹¹ Apo Sandawa is like your church to us. If you were a Christian, a priest or a Catholic would you allow a hole to be bored into your church?¹²

This is because Mt. Apo, or Apo Sandawa to the Lumad, is a sacred mountain—a sacred site. All ICCs have this in common. An area or areas considered to be sacred and therefore cannot be trespassed by man unless he comes to worship or to perform important community healing rituals. Cultivation or use of the natural resources within the sacred sites are strictly forbidden.

In the study made by Brett (1986) among the Bontoc are particular sacred sites. This include the *papatayan* in a grove of pine trees above the village where sacrifices are performed on rest days of the village. Cutting trees and branches from this area is punished by fines and supernatural sanction, with the latter invoked most of the time.

The Hanunuo Mangyan leaders in Mansalay and Bulacac towns of Mindoro Oriental refuse to allow mining operations and similar extractive corporate intrusions into their area because they believe that this will disturb the spirits residing in the sacred sites. "Stirring up or offending these spirits will force them to take revenge by unleashing destructive forces or simply withholding blessings."¹³

"Sacred places have a dynamic character. Departure of a local group from a sacred place or the death of a medicine man result in the loss of meaning of a sacred place. Another place may then become sacred should certain experiences in a new place are interpreted by the medicine man as investing sanctity on the area. There is a constant interaction between the people and the environmental spirits in the course of everyday activities as in swiddening, hunting, fishing and travel when the appropriate rites are performed."¹⁴

The belief in critical hours

In a study on forest-conserving beliefs made by Charles Castro (1990), he discovered that "Many rural communities in the Philippines consider certain times of

the day — usually high noon and twilight — as sacred and/or critical. During such hours it is also taboo to go outdoors, build a fire in the fields, or engage in noisy and vigorous activities. The belief is that spirits are active and prone to doing harm to human beings during such times."¹³

In his study, he also cites Brett (1986) concerning similar beliefs among the Bontoc.

"There are designated times of the day, from 11 AM to noon and from 5:30 PM to 6:30 PM, that are believed to be dangerous for walking the mountain trails. These designated times are dusk and the hottest part of the day, times when malevolent spirits that push people over the mountainsides are believed to be roaming around. Beliefs like these are based on the assumption that for activities there is a proper time and place to be observed and respected in order to be in harmony with the supernatural beings in the area. This is the Bontok's way of structuring their relationships with the environment; since they perceive themselves to be sharing the land with these supernatural beings who hold them responsible for the stewardship of the land."

I have also observed during visits to Kalinga and Bontoc communities that there are certain times of the year where a specific village would declare a "holiday" in observance of certain customs. During these times, the people would do no work but instead take part in community ceremonies. None among the villagers may leave the territory of the village nor can outsiders get in during these times.¹⁴

Castro interprets this belief by saying that though it may look like insignificant idle times this prevented people from frenetic activity associated with exploiting the environment. In the Cordillera, it prevented possible forest fires and was helpful therefore in the preservation of the pine forests.¹⁵

Beliefs and practices related to shifting cultivation

Majority of the ICCs, including wet-rice cultivators, practise shifting cultivation or swiddening. This type of agriculture involves site selection, clearing, burning, planting, weeding, harvesting, replanting and then fallowing. Normally, burning begins during the driest months of the year just before the onset of the rainy season.

"The calendar of activities are based on the information they receive from the "bio-physical" environment. The Tirurays consult the position of their Zodiac constellation in the night sky before sowing rice seeds in the fields. ...The Taubuid of Mindoro use the arrival of

migratory birds and the blossoming of certain trees and vines as signals for the start of the swidden cycle. Most often the information coincides with the change in seasons in their particular locality, such as the start of the dry season or the coming of the rains."¹⁶

Almost all ICC shifting cultivation practitioners have their own specific ceremonies associated with the swidden cycle. Bennagen¹⁷ cites an anthropologist-missionary on swidden practices. "Environmental spirits need to be propitiated to ensure abundant harvests. Permission to clear new fields must be sought from the spirits and gods of the forests who own the land. These practices are found among various groups throughout the country."

This is because, strictly speaking, the people have no concept of *ownership* of land per se. Rather, there is stewardship as a right. "This is so because land and natural resources belong to gods, spirits and ancestors. Land use depends not only on the initiative of the occupants but on how well the occupants relate to gods, spirits and ancestors."¹⁸

The ICCs have a deep knowledge of their immediate environment. The Hanunuo Mangyans of Mindoro know 87 basic swidden crops, 78% of which are for food and the rest for medicine, technological needs, trading, rituals and cosmetics. They can also distinguish 450 animal types and 1,600 plant types.¹⁹

The Negritos of Zambales are able to enumerate 43 plants eaten by birds, 17 species of palm eaten by civet, 38 by fruit bats, 12 by pig and 21 by deer.²⁰

ICCs plant different varieties of crops of different maturation. This enables them to spread labor activities during harvest over a longer period of time so as to have more food for a longer period of time with minimal storage.²¹ On the other hand, the Bontoc swidden field is well organized and structured in time and space to maintain continuous crop cover and to fully utilize sunlight. This, with terracing, is done to minimize soil erosion.²⁴

Traditional shifting cultivators also know the importance of long fallow periods. The T'boli of Lake Sebu will clear a plot of land in the rainforest. After two or three years when the soil is exhausted they leave the area to open a new plot of land. They won't come back to the area for another 20-30 years. By then the forest has completely regenerated.²⁵

Of course this is changing. Many studies have pointed out that increasing population pressure and pressures on the land have caused a number of ICCs to shorten their fallow periods or limit their cultivation to

the same plots of land.

But whenever they can, the ICCs try to maintain their traditional ways. For example, the Tirurays of Cotabato attempt to avoid permanent destruction of the rainforest and its conversion into grasslands. "They allow for a minimum of six to eight years fallow period sufficient to restore soil fertility. They prefer virgin forests for swiddens as it is believed easier to clear than a second-growth forest. In clearing the forest for swidden, they make sure that certain useful fruit trees are protected...they are aware that repeated slashing and burning without sufficient fallow period effects succession into grassland, which to them is useful only as a source for thatch roofing."²⁵

Other Beliefs and Practices

The Agta of the Sierra Madre are people who combine shifting cultivation and hunting and gathering. They normally try to live below the carrying capacity of the natural environment. Some of their practices that are of particular interest are the following²⁶:

A. Camp movement as much as twenty times a year as soon as resources are depleted;

B. Extensive food-sharing which allocates food resources among members, thus preventing over-exploitation of resource-poor areas;

C. Prohibition of fishing in certain rivers during the spawning and growing season of certain fish species;

D. Harvesting cultivated food crops only as needed for domestic consumption.

Labor exchange is a normal practice among ICCs. Not only is it sanctioned by the tribe and by custom law it is also a strategy that minimizes labor shortage at the peak labor activities such as clearing. Exchange is done among the households within the village. Everyone benefits from this exchange with the mutually agreed upon sharing of the harvests.²⁸

When the ICC go hunting whether for deer or wild boar, the successful hunters give a share to every member of the community. There are in fact, traditional means of dividing the meat with the best part going to the most prestigious or honored members. ICCs have rituals where the better off members of the community redistribute part of their wealth to the community through the means of communal feasts.²⁹

What is clearly noticeable among these people is this custom of sharing their resources. While it is very clear in custom law, the ownership of certain lands and properties, the ICCs are well-known for their capacity to give.

In Bukidnon, one of the means by which the natives were disenfranchised was that they were willing to "lend" their land to outsiders who came in. Since land is a gift from God they (the Lumad) do not own it so they allowed the lowlanders to cultivate the land. In their minds, ownership is conferred once you cultivate the land. Once you are an absentee landowner it reverts back to the community. Unaware of the fact, that once the lowlanders got the land, they titled it under their names thus depriving the Lumad.³⁰

To the traditional ICC owning land or presenting a piece of paper as proof of ownership is incomprehensible.

You ask us [if we own the land and mock us. Where is your title? When we query the meaning of your words, you answer with taunting arrogance. Where are the documents to prove that you own the land? Title. Documents. Proof (of ownership). Such arrogance to speak of owning the land. When you shall be owned by it. How can you own that which will outlive you. Only the race owns the land because the race lives forever!

— Macling Dulag

Analysis and Some Tentative Conclusions

Before we proceed with the analysis, let us recall the concepts we discussed in the second part of this paper. These concepts are: ANCESTRAL LAND or AD, the HUMAN ACTIVITY SYSTEMS and ANIMISM-SHAMANISM.

We can now see how these three concepts interrelate in the life of the ICC.

Animism-Shamanism, as a belief system of the ICC handed-down from generation to generation guides their thinking and behavior. Because they look at the land and all things in it as sacred they pay due respect to nature. Since all of nature including the inanimate are suffused with life and are connected to the spirit world they treat the environment with care. Contrast this with the user-used, consumerist and profit-oriented worldview of dominant society and we can begin to understand why there is massive environmental degradation in our world today.

We may illustrate it this way. A logger looks at trees as potential dollars. So he doesn't care if he cuts them all down as long as he will profit. But the ICC looks at trees as brothers being inhabited by spirits. If he needs a particular tree to build his house he must first perform a ritual (sometimes expensive) and ask the guardian spirits permission to cut the tree. No wonder ICCs have lived in the midst of the rainforest for centuries without irretrievably damaging it, allowing it to regenerate itself.

The belief system is related to the ancestral land in the sense that, as we have said, AD is their natural habitat and the physical base of their culture, identities and belief systems. There are specific recognizable spirits, ancestral spirits and local goods, who are understandable only in the context of the specific ICCs AD.

The ICCs will protect the land. To the ICCs, they are part of the land. They are the land.

As we said before, we can link the two concepts also in relation to the human activity systems. The ICCs have cultural traditions that skillfully manipulates time and space factors to maximize benefit to their community while minimizing damage to the natural environment.

As we have shown, there are many examples of this whether through technology or beliefs and rituals.

Sacred sites act objectively as wildlife sanctuaries for both flora and fauna. ICCs could elect to cultivate any site or cut trees and gather food and materials there. Yet they maintain and do not disturb these areas.

In Shifting cultivation, by making maximum use of limited space by planting different food crops, the ICCs insure that they have food throughout the year. At the same time, planting many crop varieties help to enrich the soil.

The ICCs can also, say, elect to fish or hunt at anytime. But instead, they choose to and are mandated by their traditions to let off hunting or fishing during the spawning or birthing season of particular animal and fish species.

Furthermore, as Castro notes, prohibitions to activity at certain specified periods of time help prevent frenetic activity that may be the cause of forest fires or associated with the cutting of trees. The critical times or periods of rest also make for greater in-group solidarity and a turning towards the divine which in the ICC world view is associated with nature spirits.

From here, we can now appreciate the contributions of the ICCs to environmental conservation. They are not, as "kaingeros" or shifting cultivators, the cause of forest denudation. They are not, as is generally believed, backward and superstitious. As we have seen, their cultural traditions are borne out of their intimate knowledge of their natural habitat. Their cultural traditions, whether this be classified as technology or beliefs, are adaptations to their environment.

While different organizations may crow about their accomplishments and contributions to saving the environment, the earliest and original ecologists in the country were the ICCs. And because of all these we have a lot

to learn from them in preserving the environment.

I remember my conversations with the members of the Kinaiyahan Foundation Inc. They said that, while covering the T'boli reforestation program, they observed how the T'boli old men could identify more than a hundred tree and plant species in the rainforest while the forester who accompanied them could only identify a little more than ten tree species.³¹

This is why I believe that programs like the IPAS (Integrated Protected Areas Systems) will not succeed if they continue to hew to the idea that the IPAS areas should be bereft of and protected from people. Many studies have shown that the more successful reforestation programs were those initiated, implemented and completed by the community whereas those monopolized by the local governments were not as successful.

In the case of the ICCs, especially within their AD, they should be involved. More than mere involvement, any program of a similar nature needs the active participation and consent of the ICCs.

Indigenous communities and culture change

Having said all that, let us not forget that IC communities are not isolated corners of the world anymore. Their culture and traditions are dynamic. Not eternal and forever unchanging. For it is a fact that what were once self-sufficient, self-sustaining and isolated communities are now the targets of corporate and state intrusion.

State and corporate invasion of ICC ancestral domain has forever changed the structure and function, to use a functionalist term, of ICCs. The cash economy has intruded into ICC society and has begun to dominate and dictate economic relations within. The dominant culture, particularly its consumerist and highly individualistic aspects is dominating what were once societies emphasizing labor exchange and communal sharing. To quote a popular TV character—"It's a different world!"

Global and national forces are swirling into and drastically affecting the land and people of these communities. Thus, we see Agta from the Sierra Madre who are

"While different organizations may crow about their accomplishments and contributions to saving the environment, the earliest and original ecologists in the country were the ICCs."

"Yet, in all these, the Indigenous Peoples are aware that they are not alone. They know that others share the belief that the earth, the trees, the animals, the stars and humans are made from the same basic material."

very adept at using chainsaws to cut trees working as they are for cash and food giveaways from logging concessionaires. We see also many Ifugao communities who have stopped tilling their rice terraces and no longer keep family and clan woodlots. This is because they now engage completely in woodcarving for cash. Then of course, we are a witness to former wet-rice cultivators in Benguet planting potatoes for McDonalds as well as other vegetables for the market. In this new type of commercial farming they use petroleum-based pesticides and fertilizers which are very harmful to the environment.

Not only is the domination of cash and Western farm products evident in IC communities. Traditional feasts, rituals, weddings and the like are no longer practised in a number of communities. I have been to a very isolated area in Agusan and after a so-called traditional wedding there was a feast. Instead of the traditional Manobo customs, people played disco tunes on a portable stereo for the enjoyment of the majority Manobo guests.

Even in my own area in Bukidnon where the majority of the populace are "natives" very few will admit their identity much less engage in indigenous practices which would earn them the pejorative label — pagan. I mention this because, we may tend to romanticize the traditions of the people and their indigenous knowledge. We may fall into the trap of thinking that their culture does not change. That it must be preserved at all costs. I would like to point out that political forces in this country have done this to win power for themselves. For example, former rebel priests have taken on a romanticist pseudo-indigenous political line to project themselves nationally and try to win a mass base among indigenous peoples. Some religious personalities in Bukidnon, for example have used the indigenous ideas of the people to claim that since they have no concept of ownership it is alright for them to give away their ancestral lands to lowlanders—note,

big religious corporation!

The task of anthropologists and other scholars should be to be "mirrors for the human community". Thus I present what I view as traditions, beliefs and practices which I feel should be maintained by the people because they seem to help sustain the environment and protect it. However, I also point out that other communities have left behind these practices. Besides, in the final analysis, it is the people themselves who will decide the fate of their traditions, beliefs and practices. That is self-determination.

A lot has to be changed, though. A class-based power elite continues to lord it over the country. They do not care a bit for the poorer classes nor for the marginalized ICCs.

But hope springs eternally. I would like to end with words I wrote down some years ago:

Yet, in all these, the Indigenous Peoples are aware that they are not alone. They know that others share the belief that the earth, the trees, the animals, the stars and humans are made from the same basic material. And because of this belief all are connected to each other, in a community of interest with nature and other fellow human beings.

Because of this kinship with one another, this human bond, we can come together and help one another. We can unite to change their situation—and ours, too.

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JUST RELEASED

A CAPTIVE LAND

by James Putzel

A *Captive Land* is a book on the politics of Land Reform in the Philippines. The title refers to the Philippines, which Putzel believes to be captive because its political life is dominated mainly by elite interests. This has resulted in the gross maldistribution of wealth, thus, in a country which is primarily agricultural, those who work on the land are hungry. The other sense by which the Philippines is a captive land is: its economy is foreign-dominated.

Now available at all leading bookstores in Metro Manila, the book is a major contribution to the ongoing process of study about agrarian reform.

VISAYAN VIGNETTES

by Jean-Paul Dumont

Visayan Vignette is not just an anthropologic study, but is about the mutual interaction between an anthropologist and a community. It is a brilliant reconstruction of an anthropological knowledge interwoven with a detailed ethnography of village life.

The book is a ground-breaking examination of the lives of lowland Cebuano-speaking farmers and fishermen of Siquijor.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE INSTITUTE OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES (ISEAS)

A CHANGELESS LAND: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN PHILIPPINE POLITICS

by David Timberman

This book examines the elements of continuity and change in Philippine Politics and government over the last quarter century. This period, from the early 1960's through 1988, encompasses three distinct phases: the decline of the traditional elite democracy, the imposition of the martial law and constitutional authoritarianism under Ferdinand Marcos, and, most recently, the restoration of democracy under Corazon Aquino. By examining the elements of continuity and change during this period, this study attempts to provide a context for understanding current and future political developments in the Philippines.

THE URBAN MASS MOVEMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES

by Max Lane

This monograph surveys the history of the urban mass movement in the Philippines between August 1983 and October 1987. The protest movement which emerged

during the Marcos years campaigned for the removal of Marcos and for a new government which would institute democratic rule and carry out social and economic reforms. The period covered by this stage is bounded by two watershed events: the assassination of ex-Senator Benigno Aquino and the attempted coup d'etat by Col. Gregorio Honasan.

DEPLETION OF THE FOREST RESOURCES IN THE PHILIPPINES
by Ooi Jin Boe

Deforestation in the Philippines is examined here by focusing on shifting cultivation as an aspect of forest depletion.

THE ASEAN READER

The ASEAN Reader is a mosaic of research material on ASEAN meticulously culled and crafted by a multi-disciplinary team of ISEAS researchers from the thousand of pieces scholarly research which have been published on ASEAN over the past 25 years. It is divided into ten comprehensive sections. There is a general introduction to the volume as well as introductions to each of the specific sections.

REGIONAL OUTLOOK: SOUTHEAST ASIA 1992-1993

Regional Outlook provides succinct yet substantive and easily readable overviews and insights into the current geo-political and economic situations in the individual country and the region as a whole, together with the likely trends over the next year or so.

SOUTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS 1992

An annual review of significant developments in the region, with country by country analyses. An indispensable reference for everyone interested in current events in Southeast Asia. Published by ISEAS, Singapore.

ISLAM AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTHEAST ASIA: THE ROLE OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR
by Mohammed, Editor

The Islamic economic system places a high premium on human initiatives in a manner consonant with the tenets of Islam. In this volume, case studies from Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand provide valuable insights not only into the ways in which Southeast Asian Muslims attempt to resolve conflicts between Islamic economic theory and practice, but also into the socio-economic structure of Muslim community in the region.

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Fifty-six authors provide analytical reflection on how Singapore has been transformed from a colony into a thriving, modern, independent republic. It offers the most comprehensive evaluation of the achievements of the government and people of Singapore to date.

An outline of the colonial context is followed by evaluations of government policy and practice; restructuring of the economy and accompanying social changes; concomitant modifications in the cultural matrix; and the way Singapore is responding to information revolution and the changing international environment.

JAPAN, THE UNITED STATES AND PROSPECTS FOR THE ASIA-PACIFIC CENETURY: THREE SCENARIOS
by Richard P. Cronin

This book provides a framework for considering the ramifications of Japan's role and influence in the Asia-Pacific region. It documents Japan's emergence as the regional "core economy", reviews the factors that may influence Tokyo's future political and security order; analyzes the factors and conditions that may determine which, if any, of those alternative scenarios must prevail, and considers the implications for future politico-economic relationships and the Asia-Pacific power balance.

THE FUKUDA DOCTRINE AND ASEAN
by Sueo Sudo

Attributing Japan's active involvement in Southeast Asian affairs to the proclamation of the so-called Fukuda Doctrine of August 1977, this study traces the origins of Japan's political role in the region and analyzes the developments and effects of the very first Japanese foreign policy doctrine. As perhaps the most exclusive scrutiny on the Fukuda Doctrine as well as on Japan-ASEAN relations, this study renders a comprehensive history of Japan-ASEAN relations in the post-war period.

BUSINESS ASSOCIATIONS AND THE NEW POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THAILAND
by Anek Laothamas

This is perhaps the most major English-language work that provides an up-to-date analysis of the country widely hailed as Asia's next newly industrialized country. Dr. Laothamas argues that, at least in the realm of economic decision-making, Thailand has moved away from a form of bureaucratic policy to a system he refers to as liberal corporatism.

ANCESTRAL DOMAIN AND CULTURAL IDENTITY: MISSING NOTES IN DEVELOPMENT*

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INTRODUCTION

Our ancestors and Apo Sandawa entrusted to us this land which we should protect because it is the source of our life, our hospital, our everything ...

*Data Tulalang, Bagobo elder*¹

Our land comes first. We T'boli are nothing without our land. Everything must come after recognition of our ancestral domain ownership... Look around you, our ancestors cultivated here and planted the bamboo and kapok trees.

*Crispin Simpal, T'boli*²

The above statements are in themselves an indigenous discourse on what constitute a people — a humanity — and their relationship with the land. They are voices of the indigenous peoples of North and South Cotabato whose homelands are threatened by resource expropriation either by the State (Mt. Apo Geothermal Project among the Bagobos) or the expansion of capitalist development (Ansa Ranch Farms among the T'bolis). As resource competition for "development" expands in the Philippines, indigenous peoples like the Bagobos and the T'boli are being dispossessed of their lands and resources and placed under the domination of the state. Encapsulation of the T'boli and the Bagobo, and other indigenous peoples in Mindanao, within the dual forces of state-building and capitalism have resulted in a conflict which can be traced to the incompatibility of social systems (indigenous people's cultures and the state) and differing modes of production (kinship and capitalist). The Philippines is a society that is not only marked by class, regional and urban-rural stratification but, also significantly by a socio-cultural plurality

and its acknowledgment is essential in understanding why indigenous peoples are resisting expropriation of their homelands. To this day, culture remains the great unanswered issue in development (Obamsawin 1992). In the Philippines and elsewhere across the globe. Ethnic-cultural issues are as fundamental as the economic issue. They are, in fact, inseparably linked. Ethnicity is not a reactionary process but an assertion of a historically-based cultural identity system.

LUMAD ANCESTRAL DOMAIN; A SOURCE OF PLACE AND IDENTITY

The land is entrusted by our ancestors for the life of succeeding generations. It consists of everything below and above it, like air, sunshine, darkness, moon and stars...

*Apo Tomas, Bagobo elder*³

We are not aware of titles. Our plants are our titles, for example the bananas, the bamboos, the big trees and the waters. So even if we do not have titles, there was never any trouble among us because we have our own law since our grandfathers were still living.

The Bagobos and the T'boli are among the 18 known non-Muslim indigenous peoples in Mindanao, generically called Lumad (Rodil 1990:5). Literally it means indigenous or "grown from the place" (Agbayani 1990:5). The term Lumad as a collective identity came into use only in the last fifteen years as a result of common experiences of disenfranchisement among various indigenous peoples in the region (Duhaylungsod 1992; Duhaylungsod and Hyndman in

press). They derive their distinctive identity from their different relations to land and productive processes.

To indigenous peoples, places achieve identity and meaning through human intention towards them and the relationships between those intentions and the physical setting and activities within it (Cosgrove 1978). It is necessary to be "inside" a place to fully grasp it, which fundamentally contrasts the insiders' way of experiencing place and outsiders' way of conventionally describing them (Buttimer 1980). "Insidedness" in a place and the corresponding experience of space altogether constitute the past and present of that place (Buttimer 1980; Tuan 1975). Culture and not landscape and topography alone, determines spatial limits. The cultural creation of place, whereby landforms are differentiated symbolically and assigned specific values, is an ideology of spatial relations that serves to organize socio-political actions and cultural forms (Thornton 1980). Combined with a sense of ancestry and history, this also defines the territory over what to the outsider is simply "natural space". The entire landscapes of indigenous peoples are a historical record, testifying to the unique identity of the people and continuity is established by symbolically reiterating and renewing the relationship between the society and ecosystem (IIC 1991).

History and a homeland are therefore a focal symbol of the Lumad as a people and they derive their identity from attachment to the past and the present of their ancestral domain. The continuity of shared access to the cultivated land and labor forms the cornerstone of their identity.

To the Lumad, land is not something to be expropriated. Rather, it is their homeland for both the present and succeeding generations. The land and its owners are not subject to any higher authority (i.e. the state). Nor is land vested in anyone's proper name or quantified over a given period or area. Land tenure for appropriation of territory follows ancestral rights. Ownership is circumscribed by extensive and intimate knowledge of place. It is a "user right" through membership in clan groups identified with the names of their cultural land landscapes.

The Lumads have managed their lands for a long period of time. Economy and environment among indigenous peoples like them are integrated into a humanized, cultural landscape and these communities are aware of ecosystemic processes and their place

within them (Clark 1990:245-47). Not only are they dependent on their environment for survival, but their territorial domains are "embodiments of a people's history, spirituality and life held sacred and in perpetuity for the descendants" (Barrameda 1990:2). Thus, the Bagobo's observation that their Lake Agco has become muddy due to the digging of the geothermal well upstream is not altogether baseless. Lake Agco is similarly sacred to the Bagobo and they view the current physical changes of the lake as an indication of the wrath of their Apo Sandawa on the government project. Nor are the Lakag T'boli's persistence in their valley unreasonable because that particular area is much more lush than the alternative farms they are being exchanged for and that the land is where their ancestors lived and died⁶.

All lands of public domain, waters, minerals, coal, petroleum and other mineral oils, all forces of potential energy, fisheries, forests or timber, wildlife, flora and fauna, and other natural resources are owned by the State. With the exception of agricultural lands, all other natural resources shall not be alienated.

Article XII, Sec. 2 Philippine Constitution

The state, subject to the provisions of the constitution and the national development policies and programs, shall protect the rights of indigenous cultural communities to their ancestral lands, to ensure their economic, social and cultural well-being.

The Congress may provide for the applicability of customary laws governing property rights or reactions in determining the ownership and extent of ancestral domain.

Article XII, Section 5 Philippine Constitution

The incorporation of indigenous territories into states has dismembered, if not outrightly eliminated, ancestral domains. Massive infrastructure projects like the Mount Apo Geothermal Project and agricultural intensification of both local and transnational agribusiness in South Cotabato completely ignore the presence and existence of the Bagobo and T'boli. This is because the state wrongly identified these lands as uninhabited lands. The institutionalization of land laws from the time the United States acquired sovereignty over the Philippines did not carry any recognition of the communal ancestral domain laws. State laws and policies have since then been discriminating against the Lumads. Ancestral lands have

become public lands rendering the indigenous peoples virtual squatters in their homelands.

Mindanao was touted as "wilderness" in the 1950's. Such image inspired the government induced massive migration of Ilocanos and Visayans to the island and lured agribusiness corporations to invest technology in ventures that have "generated enormous profits for the owners and executives" (Tadem 1992:7). But Mindanao wilderness areas are in reality Lumad ancestral domains, created out of humanized landscapes in which indigenous people have been a major ecological component, actively manipulating, modifying and culturally creating it (Clark 1990: Hyndman 1991).

KINSHIP VS. CAPITALIST MODES OF PRODUCTION

We, natives, do not normally operate on profit, the way settlers do. We follow a different way of life.

*Datu Tulalang Bagobo elder*⁷

The generous spirit of the T'boli is seen in the end of the day. If there is seed rice left-over, it is always divided up among those who have helped plant even if it is just a handful each. In fact, that's what the left-over rice is called, *nkem*, 'handful'. If the seed rice is considered to be of especially good quality or if it is a variety of rice they don't have, then this handful is taken home to plant "so that it multiplies". But if it isn't needed as seed, then it is taken home and pounded to make rice soup for the children.

The generous spirit of a people who have all experienced being "hungry" for rice is seen again in the amount of rice cooked for the meal to be eaten at the house after planting is finished. If at all possible, enough is cooked not only to satisfy the workers but to make sure that each mother has two or three packages of cooked rice to take home to her children. This same custom is followed when they have women help them weed or harvest (Forsberg:1988:28).

Little is understood about indigenous resource management strategies but indigenous peoples have generally maintained the quality of their lands, waters and resources. Such feature can be appreciated best when examined within the context of their own mode of production. For most indigenous people, the goal of production is subsistence and there is usually no significant surplus realized in production. Production

within subsistence-oriented societies then is commonly geared to simple reproduction. Any surplus realized in production is usually appropriated in reciprocal exchanges through feeding, gift-giving or in communal religious rituals which further cement their kinship relations that bind people together. This production logic permeates the various dimensions of their existence, including the moral order of their society (Barrameda 1990:2). Thus, exercise of political power and authority in indigenous societies like the Lumads were "reckoned always in consideration for the others: fellow humans, creatures, lands and domains of mother earth" (Barrameda 1990:2). Internal social differentiation is commonly based on kinship and age gender distinctions which define the division of labor, legitimized in terms of specific beliefs and values of culture (Schmink and Wood 1987:40). Kinship relations determine the forms of access to resources and the means of production, organize the labor processes and determine the distribution and circulation of the products of social labor (Godelier 1977:24-25; 1978: 86-87).

Subsistence producers measure their products in terms of use-values, they do not calculate the exchange-value of their products in advance (Benhe:dt-Thomsen 1982:242). Use rights to lands are for subsistence production and symbolic purposes. Scattered homestead membership forms the basis of production and embraces an awareness of shared rights to resources within the homeland. The production and use of goods are characterized by group work exchanges and sharing. Among the T'boli, this ethnic is generally referred to as "s'basa" and dominates virtually their social life (Hyndman 1992: Duhaunglonsod and Hyndman in press). It is this ethos of reciprocal sharing that have ensured the survival of the Lumads for hundred of years. Wolf (1982) aptly describes this indigenous system as following the kinship mode of production which contrasts markedly and fundamentally conflicts with the capitalist mode of production.

The goal of capitalist production is realization of surplus whereas the goal of kinship production is subsistence. There is an inherent dialectical conflict between a productive system founded on subsistence production and simple reproduction and one based on expanded production and private accumulation (Thomas et al. under review). These different and contradictory productive principles have different implications on the human appropriation of the natural environment (Schmink and Wood 1987:40). Because

the kinship mode of production does not produce any significant market surplus, states throughout the world often complain that indigenous people occupy, exploit, and do not produce anything of capital value on large areas of valuable land which have potential for other forms of resource exploitation. Thus, as resource competition expands in the Philippines, the lands of the Lumad and their resources have been placed under the domination and expropriation of the state, arguing that the lands are underutilized and can be potentially made productive.

Most of Lumad homelands are destroyed by capitalist exploitation through "corporate intrusions" (Tadem 1992) and internal colonialism brought about by massive migration which escalated in the 1960's and 70's (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman in press). With unbridled quest for lands and natural resources to meet the demands of the market, Lumads' lands and resources have also become commodities to be appropriated and exploited in capitalist production. The kin-ordered, subsistence-oriented mode of production of the Lumads increasingly conflicts with the capitalist mode of production in the face of advancing resource competition on the frontier.

Initially, the interior mountains of the Lumad homelands provided a cultural safety valve in which they manage to continue with their kinship mode of production wherein foods, goods and services only circulate reciprocally within their communities. Today, with interior lands no longer available for further retreat, they find themselves directly confronted with and crushed in the capitalist mode of production. Kinship and capitalist modes of production are not complementary relations. For the Lumad, the ethos of private, individual accumulation of material wealth and commodity form of exchange completely undermine the cultural fabric that insured their survival as a people for hundred of years. Their kinship mode of production, based on an ideology of reciprocal exchange, orked for the sharing and redistribution of goods and resources, thus enabling the survival of the individuals but, more significantly, of the community. The continuing clash of kinship and capitalist logic of economy places the Lumads in a serious cultural dilemma for which they are unprepared but are now suddenly forced to cope with.

CONCLUSION

Many groups of Lumads forced a dyandi (pact), ending their friendly relations with the lowlanders responsible for such threats to their lives. In the past, the Lumads were befriended by lowlanders and were asked for portions of their land. The Lumads being warm and generous people gave portions of land, but later on realized they were being exploited. Now they have severed their friendly relations with these people as embodied in the pact and symbolized by the cutting of a vine (rattan). They are also committed to defend their inherited ancestral lands.⁸

Datu Tomas, Bagobo

It is here that our elders died, therefore it is also here that we decide to die. We are ready to die and defend the land no matter what happens. My defending this land is not for myself but for everyone, especially the T'boli. We do not want that our children will steal in the coming days. And when we old people die, our children would take over in cultivating this land. Therefore we must go back to our ancestral domain and live in peace.⁹

Turing, T'boli

Due largely to the misrepresentation of indigenous peoples, their cultures have sometimes been viewed as static, if not atavistic, amidst the political and economic forces impinging on them (Hirsch 1990:58). However, they are neither apathetic nor do they collapse suddenly and completely when their cultures and homelands are invaded. The Lumads may have lost much of their ancestral homeland but they are also actively resisting transformation from "tribal to peasant" which Schlegel (1979) asserts has already reconstituted the nearby Tiruray as virtually indistinguishable from the mass of the peasant class. They have begun to empower themselves by joining in political solidarity for ancestral domain and self-determination (Rodil 1990; Duhaylungsod 1992; Duhaylungsod and Hyndman in press). The Lumad's claim to their lands is "not just an ordinary land claim. It is an affirmation of a whole history where a piece of the earth becomes culturally defined to a point that touches the deepest of human sentiments spurring one to act heroically to uphold and defend it" (Barrameda 1990:2).

"The Lumad's claim to their lands is "not just an ordinary land claim. It is an affirmation of a whole history where a piece of the earth becomes culturally defined to a point that touches the deepest of human sentiments spurring one to act heroically to uphold and defend it."

The exploitation, distribution and control of resources in the Philippines is mediated by differential and unequal relationships of power such that indigenous peoples like the Lumads continue to suffer discrimination and exclusion, perpetuated by the hierarchical distinction between "civilized" and "primitive" peoples. Their kinship mode of production has been an enduring one and many Lumads have a fierce desire to retain their identity, culture and land. Retention of land and kinship mode of production are inextricably linked, but it does not imply reversion to a traditional subsistence existence. The Lumads do not live precisely as their ancestors did, but they are responding with past ways of living that ensure more permanence and sustain ability of their ancestral domain (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman in press). As resource competition expands, the system that has

worked for hundred of years is being destroyed but indigenous peoples are increasingly mobilizing themselves for autonomous resource control and self-determination.

Genuine development requires the understanding of their persistent cultural system (Spicer 1971) that has deep historical foundations and legitimacy. Respect for the integrity of the Lumad sociocultural system is essential. It necessitates the recognition of the validity of their claim to their ancestral domain and their struggle for self-determination. Failure to consider these dimensions not only endangers them, but adds to the accumulating poor and dispossessed sector of Philippine society. ■

(See page 41)

PRESS RELEASE

The Third World Studies Center of the University of the Philippines is sponsoring a lecture-series on the The Philippine and Third World Realities and Alternatives: Resurgence in the Post-Cold War Era from May 31 to June 4, 1993. The lecture-series is part of the Third World Studies Center Student Circle Program launched in 1985 to acquaint the students with the Third World perspective in the study of Philippine and Third World underdevelopment and political change.

The lectures will attempt to present Philippine and Third World realities and to explore alternative (i.e., more practicable, relevant and responsive) policies in the Third World.

The public is invited to participate in the said lecture-series. There will be a registration fee of P75.00 to cover the cost of the snacks. For inquiries or reservations, please call us at 989676 loc. 6783.

INTRODUCTION

The implementing Rules and Regulations of RA 7076, otherwise known as the People's Small Scale Mining Act of 1991, defines traditional small scale miners as "Filipino citizens who have a distinctive socioeconomic cultural tradition with a subsistence base focused on small-scale mining. They live in stable sedentary communities and employ a mining technology that is labor-intensive and simple; and employ physical separation methods for the extraction of mineral/s and/or metal/s from the ore."

The understanding of traditional small scale miners is best appreciated by placing them in their historical context and by a description of their culture. This paper reviews the historical context of small scale mining and provides an ethnographic analysis of the culture of traditional small scale miners. This

HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

The Dalicno-Kankana-cy are part of a long tradition of small-scale gold miners. Historical evidence argues that the present day Kankana-cy are part of a 400 year old small-scale mining tradition which predates the Spanish arrival. This historical evidence is based on Quirante (1624).

In February of 1624 an expedition to locate the gold mines was headed by Captain Alonso Martin Quirante. He went inland from Aringay, north of Agoo. His documentation gives a detailed account of the expedition's day to day progress, the confrontations between the Spaniards and the Igorots, and the success of the latter in repulsing the attacks and preventing the Spaniards from obtaining the mines. He noted various characteristics of the lode mines and their miners. He describes them as going to the

TRADITIONAL SMALL-SCALE MINERS IN BENGUET PROVINCE AND THE IMPACT OF RA 7076 AND DENR ADMINISTRATIVE ORDER 34 ON THEIR CULTURE *

□ EVELYN J. CABALLERO, PH.D.

review is necessary for a full understanding of the impact of RA 7076.

Where did the term traditional small scale miners originate from? In 1979 I started my research among the Kankana-cy of Itogon Municipality in Benguet Province. I went into the field thinking that they were primarily dependent on their swidden fields, some wage-labor from Benguet Corporation mines, and last a little gold panning on the side. I was wrong. By the end of my research, I had discovered and documented a culture of small-scale miners whose subsistence base was predominantly mining with some shifting cultivation and a few other occupations. In addition, I found out that there are two kinds of small scale miners in Itogon Municipality, placer miners and lode miners.

river during the rainy season with their wives and children to placer mine. Quirante also describes wooden pickaxes tipped with iron used by the miners to chip the ore in the tunnels. The ore was then crushed by a "stout rock" and "other smaller stones" by hand until the ore was reduced to powder. It was then washed in streams where the gold dust or grains were recognized by their gleam in the sunlight. The large grains of ore were milled and washed several times until very little of the metal was left. I recorded similar tools and mining practices among the Kankana-cy. (Caballero 1992)

He describes in much detail the tunnels of the "Ygolotes" who were mining around Benguet Province. He mentions 5 "hills" within a distance of "5 or 6 leguas" (leagues) being mined during the dry season. The first was Galan which is now the modern

**(This paper may be referenced, but may not be quoted without permission from the author.)*

gold-bearing Tublay area. This was used as the main base for the Spanish. Quirante (1624: 281) observed that the tunnels,

extend northwest and southeast, for it is flooded with sunlight most of the day. When I reached that place the Ygolotes were working the said mines through many mouths or passages that they had opened, following the metal of one large vein, from which they were taking out the ore that was the softest and easiest to dig, although it contained blue iron pyrites that contain antimony.

The second location was the mines of Arisey and Bugayona. He describes these mines as very steep with deep ravines. The tunnels are also described as being flooded with sunlight during the major part of the day. He writes:

...a slope...where the natives washed (gold) and gathered certain small stones known to them, which they crushed for their profit; for in no other way is there any known or constant source from which to obtain the metal-but only loose dirt with certain ores, and those of the said red metal, which traverse the soil without digging down to the bottom (Quirante 1624: 282)

Based on my ethnographic research this act of collecting ore along the streams and rivers is called *sen-eng*. (Caballero 1992)

The third location was the Baranaban mine. Arisey, Bugayona and Baranaban are identified by Keesing (1962: 66) as the "gold-bearing Ambuklao area of the upper-middle Agno river." Quirante describes the narrow tunnels containing loose dirt and flooded with sunlight all day long. He noted that the tunnels had caved in.

The fourth location is Antamog (modern Antamoc mining area of Benguet Corporation). He describes Antamog as having several tunnels and that it looked like it had been mined the longest. He observed that stakes and boards were used by the Ygolotes for tunnel support. He notes that these mines were more neglected than the others. However, it was from Antamog that he got the best ore.

The fifth location is Conog, the modern Balatoc-Itoyon area where Dalicno is located. Conog was documented as being one-half league from Antamog. He described Conog tunnels as being flooded with

sunlight all day. The mines were abandoned and contained the same high quality of ore as Antamog.

In terms of general statements about the Kankana-ey, Keesing (1962: 103) writing about a Spanish document notes that "many of the present-day settlement areas of these ethnic groups are recognized by name in this seventeenth-century list. This great stability in residential patterns stands in marked contrast to the more ephemeral nature of settlements in most of Benguet." This statement applies to the Dalicno area because as just discussed, Quirante makes specific reference to the Conog area as a place where gold was mined. Thus it would appear that settlement in this area has been stable for at least 400 years.

There is also archaeological evidence to also support the argument of a stable settlement pattern in the Balatoc-Itoyon area. In 1991, Dr. William Reynolds and myself performed an archaeological survey of the ridge where the mining tunnels of Dalicno are situated. We recorded two habitation sites and four burial caves. (Reynolds and Caballero 1993). One of the habitation sites was later archaeologically tested and subsurface material was present.

The following is a brief description of one of the habitation sites. This is important because it is similar in structure to present day Dalicno habitation areas. The postulated living area of the habitation site does not conform to the topography of the ridge because it has been built up and leveled through the construction of rock walls which function as terraces. There are a total of four terrace walls which provide level areas for at least four or five postulated living areas. Test excavations by Reynolds and myself confirmed that the flat areas are a direct result of the terrace wall construction.

The living areas of the people presently residing in Dalicno are constructed in a similar fashion. The Dalicno Kankana-ey build rock wall terraces to provide a level area on which their houses are built and on which other activity areas are located. These terraces are built against the side of the mountain with each family having spatially separate terraces.

As noted above, the spatial configuration of the site is such that five or more families may have lived there. This assumes that the amount of space used by the site occupants is analogous to the space used by the Dalicno-Kankana-ey. Thus the flat areas of the

site are postulated to be actual living areas of the past inhabitants.

The artifacts excavated at the habitation site included many pieces of naba which are the rock bearing gold ore in its pre-ground state and a number of pieces of pottery resembling the gangi, which is the pottery container which present day small-scale miners use to roast the gold to form gold beads. These kinds of artifacts were found to a depth of 40 centimeters below the present surface. At a depth of 45 centimeters a hearth was found but there was no direct association of any gold ore (naba) or pottery container (gangi).

A number of gaidans, or grinding stones, were also found. A test pit around one of the gaidans produced many pieces of naba and more pieces of gangi to a depth of 40 centimeters. The size range of both the naba and gangi fragments were the same in both the test trench and the test pit.

The conclusion at this time is that the archaeological site represents a gold processing site which pre-dates the occupation of Dalicno. The types of artifacts found, especially the gaidans, are mentioned by the Spanish when they described the manner in which gold was processed. The grinding rocks are still being used by the present day Kankana-ey. Last, the construction of terraces for living areas is also a practice which the present day Kankana-ey of Dalicno engage in. Therefore, based on this evidence, there is an excellent possibility that the site represents a Spanish period or earlier, gold mining site.

ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA

Among the Kankana-ey, the founding members of a community become the nucleus of a corporate descent group. During their lifetimes they are the leaders of the community and are called panglack-ayan or lal-lackay and are held in the highest esteem. When they die they become anitos and join the ranks of the ancestors.

Ownership

Traditional small-scale miners believe that ultimately their god (Kabunian) and anitos (spirits, ancestors) own the resources and a group of elders (panglackayan) manage these resources for the community. Consultation and the resolution of conflicts regarding mining is through the elders. They determine the party at fault and impose on them the neces-

sary penalties (e.g., the party at fault is punished by not being allowed to continue mining in his/her tunnel).

It is the panglackayan who own and manage the primary resources of the community. The descendants of this corporate group are entitled to the use of the primary resources (e.g., subsurface claims for mining, land for swiddening) and can own the gold which they mine and the crops which they grow. Other individuals may acquire temporary-use rights (rights of usufruct) by affiliating themselves with the corporate kin group. For example, miners have use rights to the tunnel and only own the gold extracted. A miner's use rights cease once he/she abandons a tunnel. Other miners may be given permission to mine on lands where rights to surface or subsurface areas are owned by another ethnic group or a commercial mine.

Sharing the Ore

One of the striking and unique features of the Kankana-ey traditional small scale miners are the social mechanisms which allow them to share the ore which they mine. The most common ways of sharing are through sagaok and makililang.

Sagaok is the process of going from one tunnel to another requesting for ore with gold. It is not uncommon to see a line of men and women of varying ages waiting outside a tunnel with their knapsacks waiting for their turn to request gold-ore (makisagaok). It is important that the miners share a portion of the ore that they are mining. Ore is always given first to the elder women and men, although miners refer to elder women more than they do to men when they talk about sagaok.

When a miner finds high-grade ore by the kilograms, ore with gold nuggets have to be given to the elders of the community (panglackayan), the elder women, teachers and barangay officials and employees (i.e., midwife). Those held in the highest esteem, i.e., the elders, are expected to be given more of the share of the gold. In their many yearly rituals, the panglackayan cite themselves as examples of sharing with the community the gold which they mined. In addition to sharing the gold with the community, the miner/s have to hold a ritual (cansao), where several pigs are killed as an offering to their deities and anitos. The ritual killing of pigs is a community affair, as are the taboos that follow after each ritual.

Sharing The Concentrate (Makilinang)

Another way of sharing gold is through makilinang, a process of distributing gold through the sharing of the concentrate. Like sagaok, it is an intra- and inter- community activity of the placer and lode miners.

Adults of varying ages of either sex can request concentrate (linang), although this is mostly the women's and young adult's activity. Elder women need not ask for linang. Because of their age they are given concentrate and need not be present during the gold extraction process. Because of this the processor always sets aside some concentrate (linang) to be shared with the older women within the community. Many will help with the work while waiting for linang. Like the sharing of ore (sagaok), only those who are consanguins and affines can participate in this sharing activity. Strangers to the community are always accompanied by a kin.

It should be stressed that the shared concentrate is not only a product of the processing of the ore, but is also from the recycling and the processing of minerals that takes place as a result of the gold recovery process. This cultural practice of sharing the concentrate reinforces the concepts of recycling and the processing of other materials in the recovery process. It encourages and continues the practice of the physical separation methods in gold extraction. This is a dimension which makes the Kankana-ey unique and is one of the major factors which contributes to the continued success of the technology through time.

The processing areas are by their homes and facilitates the work of both men and women when it comes to household chores like cooking, care of the children and their elders, etc. In addition, family-centered processing areas are also venues where affairs and decisions of the community are discussed. Locating the processing areas by their homes has been a practice that has been continued from one generation to another.

Rituals

"There will always be gold. We will never run out of gold, but you have to mine it the right way." Mining the right way involves not just their technological/productive subsystem. It also involves their social and ritual subsystems. Mining the right way means management of the resources by the panglackayan

who are present among the living and in the spirit world. The social and the ritual subsystems are inter-linked. The deities and the anitos give the gold and other natural resources to the community. The panglackayan continue to play a predominant role even while in the spirit world as anitos. As anitos they are always called upon for the proper guidance and management of the community and are invoked and appeased so that good fortune will always abound in all the endeavors of the community. As the elders before shared their gold and other natural resources with the living and made the lives of these prosperous and healthy, so too must the living share it with the rest of the community.

The value of tradition, of customs which have been put into place for the proper management of the resources and for the continued unity of the community are emphasized during all rituals. The rituals also function in part to regulate the over-exploitation of gold by having periods of abstinence (ngilin). Like the gold they share when they sagaok and makilinang, rituals, and other community projects are a collective effort involving everyone's participation. While rituals are exclusively for men, the women and children still participate in the ritual through distribution of the meat of the ritual pig that is offered and later brought home.

Technology

The Kankana-ey traditional small scale miners use physical separation techniques to separate gold from ore. There is a marked contrast between traditional small-scale miners and gold rush miners. This distinction focuses on one of the main environmental issues confronting the Philippines today, i.e., mercury pollution. In the gold rush areas, mercury is used in the recovery of gold. By contrast, traditional small scale miners of Benguet Province employ milling, gravitation and panning methods for gold recovery. Unlike the gold-rush areas, traditional small-scale miners use painstaking measures and great care to recover the gold from virtually all the solids and also recycle the water used in the process. The miners scrape the surface of the soil around the work and roasting area, collect this soil in sacks and process it for its gold content (kidkid); crush and regrind the used crucible (gangi); and recycle the middlings and panning tails. They also remill and repan the primary panning tails (kibo) in the holding tank (dayasan). Miners in gold-rush areas showed far less concern with spillages and overflow resulting in extensive mer-

cury pollution and substantial amounts of sediment buildup.

One of the most striking features of the traditional miners are those aspects of their technology that go as far back as the Hispanic period as described earlier. As the industrial mines have moved towards greater mechanization, the Kankana-ey, in spite of their proximity to large commercial mines, have continued through generations to use their simple and inexpensive tools. While it is true that an increasing number have installed rockmills and ballmills, this has been in response to the increasing demand for tailings. The mining and the gold recovery process is still predominantly done with traditional tools.

The Kankana-ey traditional small-scale miners are not the only people that use archaic methods in mining. The Jukamani of Highland Bolivia also mine using traditional methods and techniques.

Bolivians have returned for more than five centuries to the same hills, rivers, and plains to look for ore. First they searched for gold, then for silver; now they search for tin, antimony, copper and wolfram. At a time when the world mining industry moves inexorably toward greater automation and vertical integration, Bolivian mining, like a misfit, continues to employ archaic methods of finding, cracking and concentrating mineral ores of ever leaner quality . . . the industry generally has relied on antiquated technology and abundant laborers. (Godoy 1990:6-7)

The Kankana-ey miners, however, are quite distinct from the Jukamani miners. Among the Kankana-ey the primary resources are owned by corporate kin groups descended from the founding members of the community; have cultural mechanisms of sharing their mineral resource within their own community and with other communities through a network of kin ties; and involve women in mining and depend primarily on women for processing. Among the Jukamani, the miners are laborers for outside entrepreneurs who own the mines and men do all the activities related to mining. The Kankana-ey miners, therefore, are a unique tradition distinct from any other in the world.

The detailed development of the Kankana-ey mining and processing technologies along with insights into their social system, provide a model of a gold mining tradition that is hundreds of years old and has proven itself to be sustainable. The Kankana-ey provide us with an example of how a

population can use a non-renewable resource in a sustainable manner through recycling and the use of efficient technology with less waste and less pollution. In addition, their socio-cultural system which includes their technological system, their social organization, their religious practices and those aspects of their culture which influence their mining practices, provides regulatory mechanisms for control and equitable sharing of the resource. These social mechanisms (e.g., *sagaok* and *makilinang*) of communal ownership have allowed them to mine in an area for a number of generations and as a result of this process develop permanent settlements and stable socio-cultural conditions.

RA 7076

With this background of who traditional small scale miners are, we may proceed with a discussion of RA 7076. RA 7076 ignores the existence of traditional small scale miners in Benguet Province. All of the statute's provisions are premised on the misconception that all such miners are of the type exemplified by gold-rush miners.

One of the clear purposes of RA 7076 is to regulate the gold rush areas where many problems exist such as mercury pollution, lack of technical knowledge and/or guidance in mining practices and lack of social controls. These problems do not exist among the traditional small scale mining communities located in Benguet Province.

Due to the legal nature of the undertaking when Director Joel Muyco of the Mines and Geoscience Bureau requested my input to the already drafted implementing rules and regulations of RA 7076, I requested the assistance of Atty. Gus Gatmaitan from the Legal Rights Center.

We had grave reservations regarding the socioeconomic and cultural appropriateness of RA 7076 for the actual conditions of small-scale miners. We recommended a repeal of the statute or at the very least, that substantial, necessary amendments be made.

However, we knew that such an approach would take considerable time. In our position paper submitted to the Mines and Geoscience Bureau we stated:

Unless the DENR is going to suspend implementation of the statute, which is admittedly difficult to justify legally, it will adversely affect

both small-scale miners and traditional small scale miners nationwide while the move to repeal or amend is still being processed in both houses of the legislature. (Caballero and Gatmaitan 1991: 3)

It was with the intention of mitigating the perceived adverse impacts of the statute that we participated in the discussions on the implementing rules and regulations of the statute. Some of the provisions which we recommended in the position paper were:

First, a distinction should be recognized between the gold-rush type small scale miners and traditional small scale miners. While the former have negative effects on the environment, the latter generally do not. To treat them equally, then provides a legal disincentive to continuing their non-polluting, sustainable, indigenous resource-use patterns.

Further, traditional small scale miners should be given roughly the same rights as ancestral domain holders, in that their areas may not be declared small-scale mining areas without their consent; with a corollary provision that should they withhold their consent, their right to their resources and culture will still be recognized and protected. This is the only concrete way of protecting indigenous mining cultures, as provided in the Constitution.

Secondly, the tax and other fiscal impositions should be reduced. Imposing these on small-scale miners is confiscatory, and threatens to tax their livelihood out of existence, thereby defeating the very purpose of the statute. We also recommend exemptions especially where technologies in place use environmentally preferred techniques and/or ecological concepts like recycling which produce less waste and less pollution. (Caballero and Gatmaitan 1991: 4)

A signature sheet of endorsement by individuals from the social science community was attached to our position paper. More importantly, there was an overwhelming support for our provisions by the traditional small-scale miners of Benguet Province. Hundreds of their signatures accompanied our first position paper which was distributed to them at a public hearing in the Cordillera Administrative Region. Several others wrote their own position papers and requested the retention of the provisions we recommended which were incorporated in the draft read during the public hearing. At this point, I would like to share what they said regarding the law

and what one of them in particular expressed during the public hearing.

When confronted with the new law, traditional small-scale miners say that their customary sharing practices and values will be destroyed. To meet the fiscal provisions stated in the implementing rules and regulations, a traditional small-scale miner (from the Mankayan-Suyoc area) simply stated, "You will force us to be selfish. We will not be able to give linang to our elder women (babbaket)."

The Mines and Geosciences Bureau was very receptive to our recommendations and also expressed their reservations regarding the law. They incorporated a majority of the provisions which we recommended in the final draft of the implementing regulations.

While we were successful in our efforts to make clear the distinction between traditional small scale miners and gold rush small scale miners, there is still much to be done. Dalicno Proper Traditional Small Scale Miner's Association (DAPTMA), a people's organization and a non-government organization (NGO) which has as one of its goals, to preserve its culture as traditional small scale miners, drafted a petition with my assistance opposing the application of RA 7076. After reviewing the petition, Atty. Gatmaitan added additional clauses and sentences. The petition was submitted by DAPTMA to the governor of Benguet Province. DAPTMA's petition was used by other traditional small scale miners in Benguet Province, and through the efforts of another NGO engaged in advocacy work, other signatures were attached to the petition and submitted to President Ramos. (The unfortunate aspect of this endeavor was that this NGO in their submission of the petition to President Ramos, mentioned their organization's name, but never gave due credit to the efforts of DAPTMA as the original drafters of the petition. A people's organization must be credited for their endeavors, especially when these efforts of support are from the people themselves. To take a people's efforts without proper acknowledgment, and place one's own organizational name to their work is not necessary).

The petition states that while the approved Implementing Rules and Regulations (DENR Administrative Order No. 34) allow for the distinction between traditional small scale miners and other small scale miners, there is no clear legal basis in Rep. Act No. 7076 for determining the relationships be-

tween ancestral land rights and customary rights of traditional small scale miners on one hand, and operators of active mining areas on the other.

This is an issue which must be properly addressed if we are to give due recognition to the right of Indigenous Cultural Communities to their ancestral lands, as mandated by the Philippine Constitution, as well as the avowed purpose of Rep. Act No. 7076 itself to provide equitable sharing of the nation's resources.

2. In the formulation of Rep. Act No. 7076 and DENR Adm. Order No. 34, there was no proper community consultation and representation.

In the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR) hearing, actual and recognized elders, leaders and spokespersons of traditional mining communities were not invited to the "public" hearing in Baguio City, and so were not allowed to speak at, let alone enter, the venue. This defeats the purpose of these hearings, which is to collect as much of the views or opinions of the public as possible, in order to get an idea of the level of acceptability, and needed adjustments, of the proposed laws or regulations. Such a hearing by invitation reduces public access to legal venues where matters which clearly have a critical impact on their livelihood and well being are discussed; and as such represents an infringement of Constitutional rights.

3. RA 7076 will adversely affect the customs and values of the traditional small scale miners. It violates in spirit, if not in fact, the Constitutional provisions mandating the protection and development of indigenous cultures.

Cultural mechanisms allowing for the care of the elders and the communal and equitable sharing and management of the resources will be lost. This is because the different sharing agreements in Rep. Act No. 7076 alongside the other fiscal requirements indicated therein and in the implementing rules and regulations would constitute a considerable financial strain on us if implemented. Imposing these on us is confiscatory, thereby defeating the very purpose of the statute. RA 7076 contradicts those very customs which

have made our tradition of mining sustainable for over 400 years.

In the same petition, the traditional small scale miners requested that:

1. The implementation of Rep. Act No. 7076 be suspended in the Province of Benguet, pending the adoption of legislative and administrative measures which address the problems outlined above;

2. In this connection, to defer the selection of representatives to the Provincial Mining Regulatory Board until such time as these problems are addressed and resolved;

3. In the alternative, to suspend the application of Rep. Act no. 7076 in those areas which are part of the ancestral domain of the Kankana-ey or the Ibaloi, or those other areas occupied by communities of traditional small scale miners, as provided in Sec. 6.5 and 6.6 of DENR Adm. Order No. 34 (1992) which require the prior consent of these communities before such areas may be declared small scale mining areas under Rep. Act No. 7076.

A final note. The implementation of RA 7076 will make traditional small scale miners accountable to two systems - one to their community and the other to the State. Requiring traditional small scale miners to think about their mining operation in terms of a 20 hectare limit will negatively focus their attention away from a sense of community or communality of land use which is part of their tradition. The statute threatens the survival of traditional small scale miners by imposing legal structures incompatible with their culture.

In dialogues with some NGOs in the Cordilleras, I observed that the term traditional small scale miners is being misapplied in that it is a term that is now also being used to include all the small scale miners in the Cordilleras.

To label a community as a traditional small scale mining community one must look at the community within its historical and cultural context. Components of a tradition of small scale mining include the tech-

nology, settlement patterns, social organization, property rights, and religion to name a few. To date, the traditional small scale miners are confined to Benguet Province, anywhere from the Mankayan-Suyoc areas in northern Benguet to those in southern Benguet in Itogon Municipality. There may be other such groups in the Philippines, but an assessment of such groups will need the skills of social scientists, especially anthropologists. Therefore, not all small scale miners from the Cordillera are traditional small scale miners.

CONCLUSION

Historical data indicate that the people of Benguet Province in the past have been exposed to various groups, like the Spanish and Americans, competing for their gold resources. Today large commercial corporations compete for this scarce resource.

In spite of these difficulties the tradition of small-scale mining has continued to survive in Benguet Province for over 400 years using archaic methods and techniques. Today their survival as a tradition of small scale miners is dependent in part on the government's willingness to not only listen to their petitions, but in their implementation of requests of traditional small scale miners towards suspension of the implementation of RA 7076 until the law is amended or repealed in both houses of the legislature. But this will require not only the active efforts of traditional small scale miners themselves, but also active support from all private and public sectors, for there is no other culture to my knowledge, that has

the richness of a mining tradition like the Kankana-ey traditional small scale miners of Benguet Province.

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PSSC NEWS

(from page 8)

AGUILAR REELECTED PPSA PREXY

Prof. Carmencita T. Aguilar of the University of the Philippines was reelected as the Philippine Political Science Association President for 1993-1995 during the PPSA's Annual Meeting held on May 7-8, 1993 at the PSSCenter. Other re-electionists were Socorro L. Reyes (DLSU), Vice President and Alex Brillantes (UPCPA), Business Manager.

Other elected officers were: Shirley Advincula (ADMU), Secretary; Amelo Pangantihon (UNDR), Treasurer; Olivia C. Caoili (UP), Auditor; Dantes Sullivan (PCU), PRO; and Pablo Tangeo (UST, Legal Officer. Camar Umpa (MSU-IIT), Sonia Daquila (UNDR) and Steven Roods (UP Baguio) are the Chapter Representatives for Mindanao, Visayas and Luzon, respectively.

Consumption Patterns of UP Mountaineers

Arlene F. Banaria*

Introduction

Background of the study

There has not been as loud a clamor for ecological protection as there is at present, especially in the Philippines. Though the issue had been put forth decades ago and captured worldwide attention upon the publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, it is only now that the Philippines, along with many other countries, caught fire which continues to grow bigger each moment.

The issue is survival. The planet earth is in danger. We can no longer afford to place responsibility of saving Mother Earth in the hands of the selected few who in the first place have put nature at their disposal for exploitation. Everybody must take action which must be measured in terms of whether or not it relates to survival.

There is usually a contradiction between words and deeds. This might be due to a myopic point of view or other factors. A broad perspective, therefore, is always vital in viewing the problem accurately so as to strike at its very roots.

One of the evidences of contradictions between actions and words can be seen in people's consumption patterns. Man in the context of a capitalist structure has grown so callous to the dangers posed by seemingly well-meaning ideological instruments so that he fails to realize that most of his behavior have effects on the environment. Industrialized countries have increased their production in the recent years motivated by profit rather than the true needs of consumers. As such, consumption has also increased tremendously creating problems that in the end go to the ecosystem. All countries regardless of economic status are affected by such irresponsible behavior.

Part of the Agenda 21 of the Earth Summit at Rio de Janeiro (Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific, 1992) deals with the problem of and strategy for changing wasteful consumption patterns. It draws attention to unsustainable consumption and the necessity of formulating national policies and strategies geared towards changing such kind of consumption

patterns. Environmentally-safe measures which include the aim of sustainable economic growth and prosperity and environmental quality should include consumption patterns. This would necessitate efficiency in production and changes in consumption patterns that would lead to an optimum utilization of finite resources and a decrease in waste accumulation. A reorientation in production and consumption patterns of every sector in the community, in particular, as well as the country, in general, is necessary (Agenda 21, 1991). To alter such patterns requires a full knowledge of how and how much of goods and services are consumed. Thus, research is significant at this endeavor.

This paper, therefore, centers on the consumption patterns of a specific group — the UP Mountaineers which is a manageable unit for micro-study. With the nature and organizational aims of this group, its members are believed to be enlightened about and exposed to the environmental conditions more than any other associations.

Having received their education from a liberal and progressive state university, they are assumed to possess intellectual and moral responsibility that match the needs or requirement for an ecologically-balanced world.

Statement of the problem

This paper seeks to look into the consumption patterns of UP Mountaineers, an organization that purports to put ecological conservation high on its priority list.

Specifically, the objectives of this study are:

- 1) To identify the kind of attitude towards the environment as can be inferred from their consumption patterns;
- 2) To determine the degree of environmental awareness as evidenced by the consumption patterns; and
- 3) To determine whether or not their consumption patterns follow sustainability criterion

Significance of the study

Results of the study would provide or add baseline data for future related studies on this issue. With a dearth on researches about the consequences of unsustainable consumption patterns on the ecosystem, this micro-study of a UP environmental organization hopes to open avenues for future similar studies. Echoing the call for altering consumption patterns, this paper presents the framework with which to view the problem properly and against which to test future policies and programs intended to modify modern lifestyles, however, remote the possibilities seem to be at the moment.

More specifically, the researcher believes that the call for changing unsustainable lifestyles must not only be addressed to groups but more importantly to individual members of our society.

Assuming that the business or corporate sector and the government are aware of this problem, it is hoped that they take into consideration this issue of destructive consumption patterns in their policies in order to promote a sustainable production and consumption for a healthy co-existence of man and his ecosystem.

Scope and delimitation

This study focuses on the manner and quantity of consumption of goods and services as they affect the ecological balance. It determines consumption at an individual level and on a normal daily routine from the moment of waking up until the time of retiring to bed.

Fourteen (14) members of the seventy-five (75) active members of UP Mountaineers were made respondents in this study. They comprise 18.66% of the whole group. Many are inactive and not everybody frequent their hangout during free time.

The goods and services referred to above are composed of water, foods and their packaging, ingredients, and consistency taken during breakfast, lunch, snacktime, and supper. It also includes car fuel and electricity that an individual would consume a day.

To determine wastage, total consumption is compared against ample consumption of a particular product or goods. Ample consumption is established by the researcher herself based upon observations and experiment made at home. A statistical data for the Filipinos on this particular matter have yet to be developed. This constitutes the study's empirical limitation. The fact that most members consume more food due to the nature of their activity, which is strenuous, is another limitation.

Theoretical framework

The 1990s unfolded to us a sustained and strengthened series of movements and actions never before witnessed - all in the name of ecological protection. Concepts and terms which were otherwise neutral took on different connotations.

Little by little, the concern for ecological protection is gathering momentum picking up along its path, moral and ethical dimensions of the efforts for restoring depleted resources and reversing environmental degradation.

The problem of ecological conservation is now being viewed more than ever from a global, wholistic and interrelatedness perspectives. It has been realized that in every action or decision of man, the environment is at stake. Nature if left to its own devices, replenishes and sustains itself; however, the acquisitive and dominating nature of man destroys this inherent capacity for renewability and sustainability at a faster rate than ever.

Numerous forces are at work contributing to the degradation and disruption of the ecological balance. One of the factors is human consumption patterns. In fact, the Agenda 21 underscores this issue. It is an assumption of any well-intended environmental study that everything is related to everything else, known as the first law of ecology. Thus, it is strongly believed that market decisions which are central to consumption behavior have direct impact on the environment. Failure then to include the environment in our day to day market decisions will definitely affect ecology (International Herald Consensus, 1992, p. 15). Implicitly stated is the fact that the environment and the economic system are intimately related.

Thermodynamic model of the economy

The biosphere or natural environment sustains human economic activity, an activity that is characterized at present by a systematic exploitation of resources solely for man's benefit. Water, soils, atmosphere, flora and fauna, with energy coming from the sun are found in it. The living and non-living constituents "interact in self-regulating communities or ecosystems", with "the whole achieving balance through never-ending flow of energy and recycling of matter" (Jacobs, p. 3). The environment and the economy operate hand in hand to provide man with resources (renewable, non-renewable and continuing resources), and assimilate waste products produced in the process of production and consumption, as well as give various environmental services (Jacobs, 3-5). So, an environmental crisis is also an economic crisis.

The laws of thermodynamics operate in the interaction between economy and environment:

"The first law ... states that matter and energy cannot be either destroyed and created. There is a fixed total, which is always conserved in some form or another All that happens is the transformation of materials and energy from one state into another. In terms of environmental functions, what economic activity does is turn resources into wastes. The more resources are used, the more wastes need to be assimilated...."

"... [T]he second law ... [or] 'entropy law' ... can be understood as a measure of 'disorderliness' or 'unavailability' of matter or energy [E]conomic activity may be thought of as a process by which low entropy materials [energy contained are available for use] are converted into high entropy ones, while useful services are derived from them en route. In doing this, the economy conforms to the general (and irreversible) direction of the universe from low entropy to high entropy." (Jacobs, 11-12)

But irreversibility happens for the whole universe since its energy is derived from within itself. In the case of the earth, external energy coming from the sun reverses the path of entropy and converts the wastes back into resources carried on by life support services like climatic regulation, genetic diversity, among others (Jacobs, 12). The damage being done to the life support services actually reduces the ability of the environment to assimilate and recycle wastes. An increasing quantity simply gets stored as pollutants.

What are then the implications of these laws of thermodynamics governing ecosystems for the environment and economic policies? It is important at this point to compare and contrast two models of economy that arise out of the notions about the relationship between environment and economy, of which consumption is an inseparable component.

The orthodox model pictures the economy as a circular flow of money, a continuous loop connecting firms and households. Firms pay wages with which goods and services are bought; households generate savings from income which firms borrow to pay for investments to produce more goods and services to be later consumed by households. And the cycle continues. The manner and quantity of consumption act as signals for producers to produce desired goods mainly for profit. Or for the producer to create more wants and therefore more goods mainly for profit. This model assumes a "perpetual motion machine" concept and ignores the physical aspects (natural resources) of economic activity altogether; the flow of money (the main factor in production) is unpowered by any external source of energy. But

as stated, this is not the case for the planet earth: it is powered by an external source - the sun. Hence, this model does not include a process of converting high entropy to low entropy - a process needed for renewability; likewise, it does not give us the real picture of the role of physical component which is at play.

Another model which is more appropriate for the purpose of this study is the so-called thermodynamic model proposed by Michael Jacobs (Jacobs, 13). Matter takes the place of money in the cycle: "From the environment, [it is] used in production and consumption and then returned to nature as waste" (Jacobs, 14). This presents more clearly the impact of consumption (wasteful or not) on the biosphere. Consumption is both an economic and environmental function; and these two systems cannot be dissociated. The economic system is very much a part of the ecosystem or biosphere. "It is constrained by the same physical laws and its process mirrors those of the biosphere" (Ibid., 15). Animals (including man) and plants take food (raw materials) from the environment and use energy from the sun and from other living things to grow and develop. They excrete or produce ashes which are then recycled by other organisms — using the energy of the sun — to become food. In the biosphere, the wastes are absorbed back by the production cycle while in the economic system, much of the wastes which are mostly "high entropy materials of low usefulness" are simply stored which leads to pollution. Hence, to utilize resources unsustainably places a heavy burden on the capacity of the environment to transform wastes into resources, more so because man knows creates wastes or materials that resist natural recycling.

The later model clearly shows the connection between the physical environment and the economy. All economic systems involve production and consumption of goods and services. This is its primary function in society - to satisfy basic needs of man. However, the structure is such that some members of the society are able to appropriate most of the resources for themselves at the expense of others.

The thermodynamic model lacks the mechanism by which to explain specific factors at work in influencing decisions and actions of man relative to the economy, in particular consumption, and in turn to the environment. To complete the picture let us examine these factors.

Man's consumption behavior in a capitalist society

A capitalist-oriented "economic organization has a class structure and values, cultural and behavior patterns" that allows the system to sustain itself. Philippine

society is no exception. Our society is characterized by a highly stratified socio-political and economic structure that promotes unequal distribution and access to the country's resources used mainly for their self-interest and profit reinforced by a value system that puts high premium on competition among its citizens. This "negative" value system translates into behavior patterns which in the final analysis are detrimental to the environment, not to mention the damage inflicted to social unity, justice and equity. The "principle that each one seeks his own profit and thus contribute to the happiness of all becomes the guiding principle of human behavior (Fromm, 82). The market plays a big part in the character of social relationships (Ibid, 83) and in the decisions regarding the acquisition of goods and services to satisfy basic needs.

Fromm asserts that contemporary capitalism is characterized by mass production and mass consumption. He says: "the need for more consumption is strongly stimulated by advertising and all other methods of psychological pressure" (101). Increased production motivated by profit requires increase in consumption and mass media is instrumental in this aspect. Galbraith in his *The Affluent Society* likewise echoed this statement explaining that modern advertising and salesmanship are institutionalized to create desires and wants that previously did not exist (Galbraith, 149). He further expounds that "[t]he fact that wants can be synthesized by advertising, catalyzed by salesmanship, and shaped by discreet manipulations of the persuaders shows that they are not very urgent. A man who is hungry need never be told of his need for food." Alvin Toffler also supports this, saying that advertising encourages and capitalizes on the vague feeling that people need change (Toffler, 70).

Aside from advertising and salesmanship, the inherent principles adhered to by people within the structure of a capitalist society implicitly dictates behavior patterns that maintains the social order. Fromm says that "the process of consumption is as alienated as the process of production." The manner by which things are acquired is separated from the manner in which they are used. "The manner of consuming real/concrete goods to satisfy not the real concrete needs of person, results in an ever-increasing need for more things, for more consumption". (Fromm, 123). Consumption itself becomes the ultimate goal. It is no longer a primary function of basic needs satisfaction; it has become a symbol of prestige and a way to display one's wealth. Galbraith realizes this too, saying that "the ostentation, waste, idleness and immorality of the rich were all purposeful: they were advertisements of success in the pecuniary culture." Likewise, Thorstein Veblen in his *Theory of the Leisure Class*

observed this, asserting that conspicuous consumption has become honorable for the wealthy class - the leisure class, an unproductive but moneyed group in society. All these features are reproduced by such an economic system.

How does conspicuous, unsustainable or wasteful consumption adversely affect the environment? Galbraith who prescribes striking balance between production and consumption accurately observes that "[a]n increase in the use of one product creates ineluctably, a requirement for others." More cars require more gasoline, more insurance, more road space, and more pollution. The more goods procured, the more packages are discarded and the more trash are carried away. Statistics reveal that taken together from all over the world, about 1.5 billion of toxic wastes are produced yearly. Following the thermodynamic model, these wastes are assimilated by the environment but could not be recycled into resources; thus, they end up as pollutants.

Galbraith placed the burden of changing consumption patterns mainly on education. With education, a double-edged sword in an affluent society, people could develop critical attitude that would undermine the want-creating power, like mass media. He was also aware of the fact that education promotes a more sophisticated intellectual and cultural tastes (as in arts, amusement, leisure) leading to greater satisfaction of artificial needs which in turn induce more wants/artificial needs. However, he overlooked the fact that all aspects of society and culture must be geared towards the same direction of minimizing consumption and therefore wastes. The households, the individual members, the community and the government hand-in-hand with the school must jointly work for this endeavor.

Environmental awareness and the values system

Ecological awareness must translate into sustainable concrete actions. It must be integrated into the value system of the individual such that commitment must be developed and problems relating not only to the environment and all others will be dealt with properly. Values formation and attitude change do not happen overnight. It involves a long process. Herbert Kelman's theory of attitude change undergoes three phases: compliance, identification and internalization. The real and final process is when an individual accepts influence because the content of the induced behavior and the ideas and actions of which it is composed is intrinsically rewarding. The induced behavior if congruent with one's value system integrates with his/her existing values. It is at this point where a truly sincere actions towards the protection of environment would take place.

Hypothesis

The UP Mountaineers as an organization oriented to the preservation and protection the ecological balance is aware of the consequences of their consumption patterns on the environment.

Consumption patterns of the members do not constitute a wasteful, unsustainable practice as evidenced by the kind and quantity of goods and services consumed. Ample consumption is practised rather than an unsustainable one.

Definition of Terms

1. Consumption Patterns - is the manner of procuring and using of goods and services for self-sustenance and self-benefit. Goods are classified into two: private and public goods. This study focuses on the private goods which are composed of food, personal necessities, housing, health, education, entertainment (Green Forum, 1991).

2. Environmental Awareness - realization or consciousness/full understanding of the causes of environmental degradation and the justifications for environmental protection. Specifically, it must be understood that consumption behavior has repercussions to the environment.

3. Sustainable Consumption - manner of consumption of goods and services that is within the limits of a balanced ecosystem with full understanding of the fact about limited natural resources.

Methodology

The UP Mountaineers, an organization based in UP Diliman, known for its close affinity to nature, is chosen as the subject of this study. Fourteen (14) members constituting 18.66% of the total were able to provide the needed data through a questionnaire checklist distributed by the researcher in the first week of September 1992. Many respondents are inactive and not all active members frequent their hangout.

Respondents were told to tick off the items or answer the questions focused on goods and services consumed based on a normal daily routine, i.e. from the moment of waking up until the time of retiring to bed. Quantity and type of goods and services used are also determined by the way the checklist was constructed so as to see whether consumption falls within the sustainability criterion.

Frequency distribution or percentage of members consuming what goods and in what quantity is made so as to determine the consumption patterns. Comparison

is made among the individual members between the individual and the whole group.

Results and findings

Based on the data obtained, it may be concluded that the students included in the study belong to the upper middle socio-economic status. Their daily allowances, for instance, ranged from P65-P150.

Water consumption

The standard of measurement for water consumption is as follows:

- For every one (1) minute faucet is left open, one (1) gallon of water comes out;
- One (1) medium size pail holds three (3) gallons of water;
- One (1) gallon is equal to 3.852 liters; and
- Four (4) cups/glasses is equal to 1 liter.

Unsustainable consumption among the fourteen (14) members is very evident in the manner they use water for their day-to-day activity:

A. Morning.

1. Washing face and hands upon waking up - total consumption is forty-four (44) gallons. For fourteen (14) persons, thirty (30) gallons are wasted since ample consumption of water must only be fourteen (14) gallons (for one gallon per person).

2. Brushing Teeth - Total consumption is 35.73 gallons and this should only be 2.22 gallons for 3-3 glasses per person. One (1) glass is equal to .6490 gallons.

B. Evening

1. Washing up before bedtime - Fourteen (14) persons used up 78 gallons more than the ample consumption of 42 gallons.

2. Brushing Teeth - It consumes 23.466 gallons which should only be 1.8172 gallons. An excess of 21.649 gallons are wasted.

C. Using the toilet

Ten (10) or 71.43% have flush mechanism and four (4) or 28.57% use one (1) pail of water each for the same purpose.

The water tank of flush-type toilet holds an approximate three (3) pails of water.

D. Taking a bath or shower

Five(5) use the shower instead of using pail as water container. If the water pressure of the faucet and shower is equal, ninety (90) gallons are consumed in all, a wastage of forty-eight (48) gallons. Ample consumption must be 42 gallons.

Food consumption

A. Non-biodegradable materials are used:

1. Two (2) or 14.25% use plastic spoon and fork; 4 or 28.57% use plastic cups; 3 or 21.43% buy mineral water in plastic bottles.

2. Nine (9) or 64.29% consume juice drink in refill pack instead of the glass jar (used by 6 or 42.86%) which could be reused instead of being just thrown away after use like the refill pack.

3. For milk or chocolate drink, 4 or 28.57% consume milk or chocolate drink contained in sachets instead of tin cans (used by 1) which can also be reused or recycled.

B. The more processes that a product undergoes, the more energy and resources are used. Thus,

1. Coffee (which is actually not a healthful drink) is taken during breakfast where 2 or 14.29% prefer it brewed.

2. For juice drink, 9 or 64.29% use the powdered form.

3. For milk/chocolate drink, 5 or 35.71% also use the powdered form.

4. Processed meat does not only contain toxic additives but they also undergo several processes before they end up on the dinner table:

- a. 8 or 57.14% eat hotdog for breakfast
- b. 10 or 71.43% have ham
- c. 8 or 57.14% have bacon

Several respondents eight (8) or 57.14% would have 2 or more different kinds of this processed food in one mealtime.

Food taken in excessive quantity

A. Breakfast

1. Sugar for Coffee - 2 or 14.29 use up more than three (3) tbsps. of sugar for a cup of coffee.

2. Sugar for Milk/Chocolate Drink - 1 or 7.14% use up more than three (3) tbsps. of sugar.

3. Sugar for juice drink - 2 or 14.29% use up more than three (3) tbsps. of sugar.

4. Eight (8) of them consume different kinds of processed meat.

5. Seven (7) consume sandwich spread of different kinds during breakfast.

B. Snacks

1. Ice Cream - 6 or 42.86% have ice-cream during snacktime.

2. Softdrinks - 4 or 28.57% take softdrinks.

3. Hamburger/Cheeseburger - 8 or 57.14 have hamburger for snacks.

4. Chicken/ham/egg sandwich - 6 or 42.89% have these sandwiches for snacks.

5. Pasta/noodles - 7 or 50% would have pasta/noodles or pancit for snacks.

6. Seven (7) take different food at one snacktime.

7. Midnight Snack - 9 or 64.29% take midnight snacks.

B. Lunch

1. Rice - Total consumption is 20 servings/helpings; six (6) respondents would have more than 1 or 2 servings.

3. Juice/liquid drink

a. Softdrinks - 5 or 35.71% take softdrinks

b. Fresh fruit juice - 5 or 35.71% take fruit juice instead.

4. Pasta/Noodles (?) - This is taken by 13 or 92.86% of the members. There is a discrepancy of percentage because most members indicated that this kind of food is eaten in addition to usual meal by eight (8) persons.

C. Supper

1. Rice - Total no. of cups of rice eaten is 32 and one half cups.

2. Viand - 27 servings/helpings are taken in all. Five (5) of them have more than three (3) servings.

3. Liquid/Juice

a. Softdrinks - 4 or 28.57% take softdrinks.

b. Fruit juice - 3 or 21.43% take juice instead.

4. Pasta/noodles/pancit - 5 or 35.71% have pasta/noodles/pancit for supper in addition to usual meal by six (6) persons.

In general, total rice consumption for the whole day is sixty-one cups for fourteen (14) persons (an average

of 3.36 servings).

D. Dessert Three (3) members take more than 2 kinds of food for dessert.

Car fuel wastage

Two (2) of 14.29% members drive their own car when going to school. The total volume of gasoline used daily in going back and forth to school is 12 liters per day, where one respondent indicated 3 liters consumed with his place of residence 5 kms. away from UP; the other uses up 7 liters residing 7 kms. away from UP.

Smoking

UP Mountaineers indicated that they are nonsmokers. Two respondents specified that smoking is banned among the members.

Electricity wastage

There are six (6) or 42.86% who sleep with their radio/cassette on thereby consuming electricity unnecessarily.

Two (2) or 14.29% leave the lights on when sleeping.

Environmental awareness

When asked whether their consumption patterns have repercussions to the environment, 12 or 85.71% answered Yes. However, one (1) indicated No; while one (1) did not respond.

The results show that the UP Mountaineers as indicated from the fourteen (14) respondents are aware that their consumption patterns have impact on the environment. Only one respondent indicated that his consumption patterns do not affect the ecosystem. Nevertheless, such awareness does not translate into serious commitment and a sense of responsibility towards the protection of natural environment. Concern for the environment has not yet been integrated into their value system. Wastage as revealed by the study does not conform to the sustainability criterion. Most of them buy or consume more than they actually need.

It is imperative for every consumer to realize the degree of the impact of his consumption behavior to nature. There is always a tendency to separate the economic system from the ecosystem. The thermodynamic law of nature clearly clarifies the dependence of our economic activities on the environment. Energy that comes into production of goods is drawn from the environment which in turn primarily obtains its energy from the sun. With an external source of energy, the

earth, theoretically, could reverse the process of turning low entropy resources to high entropy materials of low usefulness. But man's behavior like his unsustainable consumption patterns destroy such capability.

Ultimately, this detrimental cycle could be traced to the mechanisms found within the economic environment. The appeal to vanity and social prestige brandished by media and other forms of persuasion prove stronger than that of the clamor for ecological protection.

Formal education is not always a guarantee for developing altruistic behavior. It takes a long process before an attitude or character is crystallized and integrated into the values system. This is not true only on the level of the individual; it is likewise manifested, too, on the process by which knowledge is acquired or developed. Experience tells us that scientific inventions and discoveries occur faster than man could offer moral and ethical justifications for them. Hence, he realizes much later the danger after the damage has already been done. Yet, where before our activities are rationalized in terms of what immediate benefits they could bring to us, it is exigent this time that these activities be contextualized within a wholistic perspective.

Implications for environmental programs and actions

The study reveals results that have implications for environmental actions and programs. It urges us to examine closely the approaches and means used in various programs, policies, advocacy campaigns by different organizations, both private and public, which either openly declare or include in the program's objectives their concern and commitment for environmental protection and conservation. Words must be affirmed by deeds. Deeds that are well-grounded on a wholistic, unfragmented perspective of the environmental situation. The results also show that even such an organization composed of members who are enlightened about and more exposed to ecological problems has still a long way to go in terms of fulfilling or contributing a great deal to the solution of such problems. The inconsistency may either be due to a narrow perspective used or the inability to really integrate in the personality the value of commitment for the protection and conservation of nature due to stronger forces in our society like mass media or the socio-politico-economic structure that perpetuates stratification and competition among the people such that accumulation of material wealth is highly desired. And to gain wealth is to consume more.

Present environmental campaigns appear to separate environmental issues, un mindful of the laws of ecology, particularly the first one - everything is related to everything else. The issue on consumption is overlooked. Garbage problem for example is seldom, if ever, connected to overconsumption which is encouraged by an economic system such as ours.

Seldom too, if ever, do these movements or organizations present to us the real roots of environmental crisis. They fail to see this as a political problem, locally and globally and the fact that the economic structures are primarily the foundation upon which this crisis stands.

Capitalism or the market economy has penetrated every corner of man's world. It has turned everything into commodity — even man himself. Overspecialization, for instance, makes him a narrow-minded thinking being. Thus, he fails to see the whole picture - only the parts separate from one another. He fails to see that his actions, however minute as they are compared to the totality, have repercussions to everything else. As one writer states, the smallest thing that we do affects the distant stars.

So what is to be done? According to Gary Snyder, an American poet and environmentalist, "You can't be serious about the environment without being a revolutionary. You have to be willing to restructure society" (Mitchell, ed., 1970). I guess this is the fundamental point from where environmentalist must start off. In the same book, *Ecotactics* (1970), three strategies were presented which might give insights for genuine action, namely:

1. Education, informing people of survival crisis;
2. Discovery and clarification of contradictions within our existing activities (in which I underscore the

political, economic, cultural and social structures within which these activities are made possible);

3. Development and implementation of alternatives to the present cultural practices and perspectives.

Related to the second strategy is a requirement that calls for a close examination of our practices:

1. Irrelevant practices - new car models every year and hard-sell merchandising - all in the name of profit;
2. Necessary but (possibly) dangerous practices - food processing and distribution, construction of housing, and its organization, and the procurement and distribution of energy;
3. Destructive practices - social regimentation, covering the soil with concrete, asphalt and buildings, dumping field in our surroundings and warfare.

As individuals, we could start by including the environment into our purchasing or marketing decisions. And other things follow suit: sustainable consumption, less garbage to throw, and so on.

Hazel Henderson's foreword in *The Alternative Development: Economics of Green Forum* (1991) is quoted herein to show one alternative basis for programs actions related to environmental protection: "[A] '[m]odel of development, based on scientific understanding of how economic systems function to support human activities, stabilize carbon and oxygen, nitrogen balances, recycle wastes, and based on meeting real human needs, not only for income but health education, nutritious food, adequate housing, meaningful cultural and spiritual lives and sharing the fruits of their labor in equitable, cohesive communities."

And this means a radical reorientation and a total restructuring of the beliefs, values and finally behavior patterns that are inimical to the sustainability and renewability of our ecosystem.

Summary, Conclusion, and Recommendation

Not everybody who rants about environmental preservation is truly environmentalist in the true sense of the word. Higher education and exposure to the ecological issues or problems are not guarantees to behavior or practices consistent with ideas or beliefs sympathetic to Mother Nature. In a commoditized world, people develop blinders by preventing them from seeing the interconnectedness of every living and non-living things in the universe. The tools for deception which often

" Not everybody who rants about environmental preservation is truly environmentalist in the true sense of the word. Higher education and exposure to the ecological issues or problems are not guarantees to behavior or practices consistent with ideas or beliefs sympathetic to Mother Nature. "

operate on the subliminal or subconscious level are always stronger, taking advantage of man's inherent imperfect nature.

Being a micro study, this paper strongly recommends further researches on this subject which is obviously crucial to ecological preservation and conservation. For further validation of results and issues raised, it would be very significant if similar studies be made on another level or group taking into consideration the limitations specified previously. There is simply no turning back. We chart our future in the face of existing situations, in whatever form and conditions we find it. We have a moral obligation to prepare it for the benefit of the future generations.

*Prof. Bonaria finished her M.A. in teaching Social Sciences at the College of Education, U.P. Diliman. This paper was written in partial fulfillment for the requirements of Anthro 232 under Prof. Barrameda of Dept. of Anthropology, U.P. Diliman.

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PSSC News (from p. 8)

PSSC Visiting Fellows Program

The PSSC established in 1992 its Visiting Fellows Program to answer the numerous requests for affiliation from various scholars both here and abroad. The program aims to assist and facilitate studies in Philippine society and culture by these scholars.

As of today, the PSSC has granted fellowship to three foreign scholars under the Visiting Fellows Program. Two of them have already finished their fellowship while the third is scheduled to finish this year.

Dr. Tapar Kumar Majumdar was the first grantee of the VFP. Dr. Majumdar was the former executive director of the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) and presently a professor at the Institute for Studies in Industrial Development. His study was funded by the ICSSR under its Indo-Dutch Programme on Alternatives in Development. The main thesis of his study was "The Squatters and the State: A comparative Study of India and the Philippines." The PSSC hosted Dr. Majumdar from May 9, 1992 until July 29, 1992. During the course of his research, he was able to visit various government and non-governmental organizations involved with the urban poor among which were the Presidential Commission on Urban Poor and the National Housing Authority. He also conducted interviews in two urban poor communities namely Payatas in Quezon City, and Sto.

Niño in Manila. Dr. Majumdar presented his preliminary findings in a colloquium organized by the PSSC held last July 27, 1992.

PSSC again hosted another foreign scholars under the VFP from the Social Science Research Council of Bangladesh (SSCRB). Mr. Mir Mohammed Rowsonazzaman is presently the Research Officer of the SSCRB. His visit was funded by the International Federation of Social Science Organization (IFSSO) under the Tenth Administrative Visitor's Fellowship Program. Under this fellowship from IFSSO, Mr. Rowsonazzaman will be visiting the PSSC and the National Research Council of Thailand to observe and study various aspects of these institutions which his home institutions can benefit from. The PSSC hosted Mr. Rowsonazzaman from November 18 to 26, 1992 wherein he was able to observe and discuss the various functions of the PSSC. Furthermore, he was informed by Dr. Eva Duka-Ventura, the chairperson of the Social Science Division of the National Research Council of the Philippines of the various programs and activities the government was pursuing in the social sciences.

Mr. Kiyokazu Koshida is the last fellow of the PSSC under the VFP. Mr. Koshida is an MA Sociology student at the National Hokkaido University and is presently undertaking research study for the Pacific Asia Resource Center of Tokyo, Japan. The main focus of his study is to define what development and progress means in the context of indigenous people. He is presently gathering data of the Actas of Zambales and integrate these with his earlier research of the Ainu of Japan. He expects to finish his study hopefully by the end of this year.

(Following are the excerpts of the Closing Remarks delivered by Dr. Leslie Bauzon on the occasion of the Annual Meeting of the PSSC Governing Council, 8:30 a.m., February 20, 1993 at the PSSC Auditorium.)

"We in the social science community are meeting at a historic juncture in Philippine history....

"The economic, social, cultural, and psychological requirements of economic progress and the strengthening of our nation's democratic institutions underscore the need for the Philippine Social Science Council and the community of scholars it represents to maintain a critical stance towards the state, the legislature, and the judiciary while at the same time analyzing for consideration by policy makers and legislators at the national and regional levels.

"At this point in Philippine history, our mandate as Filipino social scientists is clear. Given the spaces for intervention in this historical juncture, the social scientists of this country can uphold a people-oriented development by actively intervening in policy making by government at the lower levels from the urban centers to the grassroots levels.

"The Philippine Social Science Council can play a vital role in promoting, and coordinating policy studies by Filipino social scientists because at the present time, policy research is neglected compared to project/program planning and implementation; or if there are existing active policy study centers, these are very few and they are geographically separated, and that they lack adequate and appropriate expertise and resources to enable them to undertake scientific policy research as basis for policy formulation or policy development as the main function. Moreover, much of the research being carried out by these existing policy study centers are not fully attuned to the pressing problems and needs of contemporary Philip-

pine society that would spur development in the social, economic, political and cultural spheres.

"The reason why the policies that are currently formulated are not effective is because of the following: these do not conform to the priority issues stated by the top political leadership in government and those in non-governmental associations; the policies are not presented in utilizable form, i.e., not clearly stated, not using simple, understandable language, not socially acceptable, and being susceptible to political interventions; these are difficult to implement because the policy recommendations are not based on rational but emotional considerations; and these are too narrow in scope and so do not meet problems that are inter-related, inter-dependent, and inter-lapping thus requiring a multidisciplinary and integrated approach.

"To meet these problems and needs and correct the above situation which I just described, there is an imperative need for PSSC to take the initiative, without allowing its organization's constraints to bog it down because otherwise it will be overtaken by events and be reduced to immobility and irrelevance — in planning and conducting, in close coordination with policy research centers nationwide, in planning and conducting research to generate policies attuned to the social, economic, political, educational, and cultural needs and priorities and respond to the policy requirements of the Philippine legislature's agenda for overall development and progress. For starters, PSSC can cross with the Medium-Term Development Plan of the government and point out its component shortcomings in the social sciences and suggest constructive alternatives and directions based on its prioritization of the areas of concern needing attention and action." ■

NOTES

(from page 23)

1. Field notes of Duhaunggod and R. Piopino, October 20-26, 1992.
2. In Duhaunggod and Hyndman in press.
3. Field notes of L. Duhaunggod and R. Piopino, October 20-26, 1992.
4. In Duhaunggod and Hyndman in press.
5. The Bagobos claim the lake was very clear prior to the geothermal project.
6. The Lakag T'boli has been struggling to regain their ancestral lands for two decades now. ANSA Farms has offered the displaced T'boli a certain portion of the ranch under the voluntary-offer-to-sell (VOS) scheme of the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) which in effect would have the T'boli amortize for the lands.
7. Field notes of L. Duhaunggod and R. Piopino, October 20-26, 1992.
8. In a statement during "Conference Against Environmental Destruction in Unity with the Indigenous People's Struggle for Ancestral Domain," unpublished MS, July 17, 1990. PSSC Bldg., Quezon City.

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SPECIAL FEATURE

The Future of the Social Sciences in the Philippines

*Andrew Gonzalez, FSC**

1. Introductory Historical Notes

The development of the social sciences on this country is very much patterned after their evolution in the United States, since our first generation of PhDs in the social sciences were for the most part trained abroad.

The social sciences started as an undifferentiated discipline dealing with social realities in the qualitative discipline of philosophy. In the history of the social sciences in this country, there have been successive differentiations from a qualitative type of investigation on man as a social being (which was really social philosophy, an offshoot of special ethics in the classical scholastic curriculum, for example, at the University of Santo Tomas) to traditional distinct disciplines such as history and economics as well as political science.

Later spin-offs, the result of recently arrived PhDs from the United States mostly at the University of the Philippines and Ateneo de Manila University in the 1960s, led to an assertion of the distinction of their specialties from other traditional disciplines in fields such as Psychology (distinct from Neo-Scholastic brand of Rational Psychology and differentiated from Educational Psychology as found in colleges of education and Guidance and Counseling as found in schools offering counselling education programs). Clinical psychologists soon distinguished themselves from the experimental psychologists for ideological and methodological reasons.

An older social science discipline, an applied one, was social work, which began as a profession early in this country; in the 1930s the Philippines began to have bright young women returning from abroad with degrees in social work, which was then considered a suitable profession for women.

The newer social science disciplines appeared in the late 1950s and 1960s in fields such as sociology and demography which were differentiated by their use of quantitative data using applied mathematics (statistics).

A similar development would apply to economics which slowly moved from a qualitative descriptive science as it was known in the 1940s to a quantitative science in the

1960s. Traditional economics in our country consisted mostly of (public finance; it was tied up with aspects of geography which the Americans brought or what we would now call regional economics and macroeconomics; the latter was treated in descriptive terms without the tools of statistical analysis and econometrics).

Later developments involved the introduction of public administration instead of law as suitable training for the civil service, and the introduction of anthropology and linguistics as disciplines in their own right, the former from the Philippine Studies program at the University of Chicago, the latter from linguistics and applied linguistics programs at the University of Michigan and University of California at Los Angeles. Communications came later as a specialization, an offshoot really of sociology.

It is interesting to note from the point of view of the sociology of knowledge which studies the successive differentiation of discipline professions in the academia, that the development is mirrored by a successive addition of new disciplines in the Philippine Social Science Council, which was founded on December 13, 1968 by pioneers in the field of history, demography, anthropology, geography, economics, statistics, and psychology.

The Council is alive and well, has a donated building as its headquarters, and continues to provide services to the different member associations through its central subscription service, its library, its different publications and research programs as well as public service activities.

Since the PSSC is based on organizations, no discipline can be represented until it has formed a viable organization. The formation of a viable organization is in itself an index of the maturity of the discipline and its practitioners in the country. On this criterion other organizations have joined the Council over the years: linguistics, social work, sociology, political science, anthropology, history (Philippine Historical Association in addition to Philippine National Historical Society), public administration, and

communications, thus making up a fourteen-organization Council, the last to join being public administration and communications.

Based on observations of the growth of the sciences in any society, the pattern seems to be thus: a group of 'practitioners' or avid students of the discipline meet together and informally discuss their common interests and findings. The group then decides to form an organization and to organize 'congresses' (this was the term in Europe) where papers are presented and eventually published as proceedings or as 'transactions'. Usually, they cluster around a charismatic leader who can be the intellectual guru of the group, or the group itself may be blessed with a superb organizer who might not be the best scholar but who is able to maintain the group together and make it productive. Social events such as wars and emigration or political displacements may lead the group to either totally disintegrate in which case it would need another charismatic leader to resuscitate the group, or as the key members leave, if the group survives, it is because there are worthy successors who continue the work in spite of attrition due to transfer of countries (emigration), retirement (old age), and death.

In the history of many disciplines as they emerged, for example, in Japan, it was a handful of self-starters who brought the discipline to a point of viability and eventual growth. Or in the case of the Philippines, it could be centers of excellence cooperating together in consortium and establishing the disciplines and eventually institutionalizing them in universities and colleges. In the case of the social sciences, it was a fortuitous confluence of charismatic leaders who were world class researchers and social scientists in their own right, a coterie of disciples in their respective universities, a vision of working not for their institutions but for the profession and the discipline, and a compatible group which started the organization known as the Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC).

PSSC has now become an institution, thanks to the generosity of various foreign donors and the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) several years ago. The stability and growth of PSSC is likewise due to the leadership of the Council through a rotating Executive Board and discipline representatives on the Governing Council as well as on the Executive Board, and a succession of able administrators who stabilized the administration of the Center and the Council. These matters about the Philippine Social Science Council should be brought up, since one foresees that it will continue to play a crucial role in the future of the social sciences in the Philippines.

2. Approaches to forecasting

In the emerging specialization of futuristics, different techniques for academic crystal ball-gazing or predicting the future are used.

The simplest is the wish list or the aspirational statement of what one would like things to be; while this desiderative stance attracts sympathetic audiences, it is really not too useful in terms of knowledge since it does not really tell us anything about the future except about present aspirations about it among influentials. My suspicion is that this is the stereotyped concept of futuristics among many of our friends. A UN University study many years ago, led by Salvador P. Lopez, used this technique.

Another approach, popularly known as the Delphi Technique, interviews influentials and policy makers in a society and asks them to make predictions; by showing each one's predictions to the others, the social dynamics of reaction and counterreaction eventually bring about a consensus that can lead to some predictions. The Asian Institute of Management has just completed a study about future business and social trends in Asia using this technique.

A third approach is more academically respectable. Based on past records, which can be quantified and graphed, one can fill in through extrapolation what the trends might be and how these trends will continue beyond and present, like an unfinished graph which one can continue based on what has been the pattern set thus far. This is probably the safest though the problem with this kind of forecasting is that it often fails to take into account all the variables that have to be factored in, including that most uncertain of factors, the human one, and the decision-making powers of one individual or one group which could totally change the direction of the trajectory. Human freedom and the ability to make decisions even if not all decisions are completely undetermined as the behavioral scientists aver, is nevertheless the monkey wrench in the prediction machine which can throw the entire machine out of whack or to use a poetic description, "the best laid plans of mice and men oft go aglee" (Robert Burns).

For example, if we were to look at trends in the 1950s we were assured then that the Philippines would be the first economic miracle of Asia and if we looked at the early 1970s based on the American Ambassador William Sullivan's prediction that we were going to be the next economic tiger, we should not be in the economic pits we are in at present. All it took was a greedy dictator who in spite of his brilliance was unable to understand the basic laws of economics and attempted to violate them with the

unrealistic expectation that he could get away from it.

In the 1970s, the Development Academy of the Philippines produced a promising study of this kind entitled 'Population, Resources, Environment and the Philippine Future'. A smaller study directed by Alejandro Herrin focusing on the environment has just been completed by the UP School of Economics using this technique.

Another approach is to use both qualitative and quantitative data and on the basis of these data to create different scenarios which one can choose based on certain human decisions which must somehow be factored in. In such a case, the prediction is conditional and to my mind safer: IF..., THEN... If certain types of decisions are taken which are more feasible for the society, THEN this could happen. If not, THEN something else can happen. Moreover, in this area, we can at best make what the British call 'guesstimates', a portmanteau word from *guess* and *estimate*. I feel safer with guesstimates based on realistic scenarios.

3. The future of the social sciences in the Philippines

I would like to make my guesstimates against the background of the techniques I have discussed and with the proper warnings or caveats that so many conditions are met, then the predictions will be either partially or completely wrong.

I would like to go through each of the disciplines rapidly and give my guesstimates based on what the state of the discipline is in our country at present and what seem to be the emerging trends.

My guesstimates are not based on extrapolations from empirical data since there is just not enough material to extrapolate from, although the Social Science Council in its periodic reports to the Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils (AASSREC) attempts to give state-of-the-art reports on each discipline in the country. These reports however are not compiled to yield statistical trajectories.

My own guesses are based on my acquaintance with ongoing research through journals and reports and on the basis of my acquaintance with the leading social scientists in the country at least as of a few years ago. There are some bright new social scientists who have emerged since then, but since my involvement with the PSSC has become attenuated because of other commitments, I cannot admit to be totally up-to-date in some areas.

The presentation is thus informal, and not meant to be rigorous.

In my view, the best developed among the social science disciplines in the country is economics, thanks to the massive inputs that foreign foundations and NEDA

have given to the UP School of Economics, where there is now a critical mass of researchers to conduct world-class research. Many of these people are likewise involved as consultants at the Philippine Institute of Development Studies (PIDS) at NEDA and therefore continue to give inputs to the National Economic and Development Authority, which is the largest employer of economists in the country. Second are the banks. A poor third because of unattractive working conditions are universities such as Ateneo and De La Salle, besides UP, of course. In the two institutions, the main role of economics is to train intelligent employable economists to work as R & D people at a middle level in many banks and companies and to attract for a short time teachers for the departments. Because the discipline and the profession have become institutionalized, one can expect continuing increases in numbers and the possibility of academia being able to attract more PhDs once the saturation point in banks and NEDA has been reached. This is rather crucial as the attrition of person-power in academic departments will mean eventual stoppage in the flow of economists for government and banks. If academic institutions are not adequately staffed, no new economists will emerge to take the place of those retiring or leaving the profession.

Social work will likewise continue to be in demand because of the Department of Social Welfare and Development, even if this department will be eventually merged with the Department of Health. Moreover, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's) will continue to require the services of social workers. There are institutions which continue to graduate social workers besides the College of Social Work and Community Development at the University of the Philippines; Centro Escolar University and Philippine Women's University train social workers, for example. What I am afraid of, however, is that this profession is no longer attractive to the young Filipina; this will make quality control a problem.

One can likewise expect that because of the establishment of the profession and the continuing need of public administration workers in both national and local government, the profession of public administrator is established enough to guarantee continuation especially through the graduate program in Public Administration of the University of the Philippines and Centro Escolar University as well as one or two institutions outside of Manila. The need however is for public administration to receive new blood from the newer disciplines in management to train more developmentally-oriented public administrators. This the University of the Philippines College of Public Administration is attempting to do at present.

Because of the continuing need for statisticians in all offices (banks, insurance companies, R&D depart-

ments as well as academia), they will continue to be in demand; this need is being met not only by the UP Statistical Center but graduate programs in applied mathematics under the UP-Ateneo-DLSU science consortium. One expects that statistics as a profession will be quite stable and continue to grow and that the country will be able to keep its statisticians better with funding for research and with access to mainframe computers which are now available in the Philippines as their necessary working instruments.

Similarly, based on the credibility of such institutions as the Social Weather Stations housed at PSSC and the national surveys done at the Asian Research Organization and similar research bodies, including commercial agencies for marketing research, one foresees that there will be a growing need for communication experts (in addition to statisticians and sociologists) ensuring a market for the more research-oriented communication major in contradistinction to the production media-oriented communication arts person who is not the focus of this talk.

Psychology will likewise continue to flourish not only because of the columns of Marjorie Holmes and the coming sexual revolution in the Philippines but also in areas such as psychiatry and counselling therapy and in experimental work of an empirical nature, thanks to existing departments already offering graduate programs and the need for psychology as a core discipline in the liberal arts and in other courses in academia.

The other social science disciplines will be kept alive and will flourish because of their contributions to the liberal arts curriculum and higher education, which will continue to expand in the Philippines. The problem, however, with these disciplines is that unless there is better intervention through proper training programs of a new generation of specialists, the quality in these disciplines will deteriorate if it has not already done so because so many giants in these disciplines have either retired or passed on.

The most neglected social science specialization is geography, which does not seem to have many practitioners at a senior level and little promise of replacement of the handful of giants who manned this discipline and kept it alive in the country.

History is in need of a new generation of De la Costas and Agoncillos; anthropology needs new Lynches, Hollnsteins, and Manuels.

More stable because of the process of institutionalization and the flourishing of doctoral programs in one or two centers are the disciplines of sociology, demography, political science, and linguistics (mostly of the applied type, however, rather than the culturally more necessary historical and cultural anthropological type).

4. Summary and conclusions

Thus if I were to be asked, what is the future of the social sciences in the Philippines, I would answer thus:

Most of the social sciences are alive and well and their future looks bright, in particular, economics, demography, social work, public administration, statistics, communication. One foresees likewise continuing though modest progress in sociology, history, anthropology, political science, and psychology. In linguistics, the future is bright for applied linguistics and sociolinguistics (especially in the field of national language development) but rather bleak for historical and comparative linguistics and theoretical linguistics.

The bleakest scenario is reserved for geography which seems to follow the pattern of decline that this discipline has undergone in North America but not in the United Kingdom. Perhaps the only source of comfort is that the topics of geography are subsumed under disciplines such as geology (physical geography) especially because of mining, oil and other extraction industries in this country, economics (especially regional science which looks at the resources of the country in each region and in each province), physics (for climatology and solar research including earthquakes and weather conditions), physical anthropology (for different types of races and customs and ways of living of various types of men in different climes and regions, including past stages of man in his evolution).

One foresees an expansion of the disciplines in the sense that new graduate programs in other universities may be opened ensuring more manpower for teaching and for students; the offering of other programs in these institutions will arise as the need for the specializations becomes clearer across time.

The future does not happen inexorably; it must be made to happen by the decisions of human beings, whether these decisions are rational or not. The positive predictions that I have made are based on the premise that as our policy-makers see the value and relevance of informed decisions, they will continue to see the relevance and importance of the social sciences and therefore the need for continuing and even expanded support. This was the philosophy behind the substantial support of the social sciences from NEDA during the directorship of Gerardo Sicat. This is likewise the rationale behind the continuing support of economists at the Philippine Institute of Development Studies under NEDA. It is finally the basis of the substantial support for the social sciences that the Ford Foundation gave in the 1970s and in the early 1980s and continues to provide today though on a more focused basis: population problems and social forestry projects. Finally it is the awareness that in all physical development especially for energy projects one needs to

take into account the human problems in the possible displacement of people from their ancestral lands and even the burial grounds of their ancestors that make social factors so necessary to include in policy and decision-making; this is the reason why in the energy projects of the future Department of Energy and in the Department of Environment and Natural Resources, the services of anthropologists and sociologists continue to be required since environmental impact studies are crucial to the decision-making process and the implementation of the projects.

An insight that may be gathered from the individual social sciences, their present state, and their predicted future is that the various disciplines flourish best in this country when they are tied up with a profession and therefore with employment other than teaching and scholarship. The promise of a job and a specific professional role in society will attract the students necessary to build up the profession and its cadres and ensure the viability of graduate programs, both in research and teaching, and their proper staffing through the attraction of superior talent among actively researching social scientists.

The favorable condition of the profession will make it possible to recruit bright young people into the profession and to keep them there if the promise of self-fulfillment and actualization through an academic lifestyle consisting of teaching and research as well as consultancies will be possible for them.

For there is nothing more essential to continue the discipline than the provision of a succession of investigators at various age levels to join the profession, through charismatic leaders whose legacy will be the development and the flowering of the profession and the ensurance of intellectual progeny through the graduate students trained in viable graduate programs in various centers of the country.

This is made possible only if there is institutionalization, that, is to say, human agencies and enterprises of a stable and continuing nature which will provide the structures to which social scientists can ally themselves

either in academic institutions, government agencies, and research institutes.

Thus what ensures the future of the profession and its well-being is precisely the professionalization of the disciplines, making it possible for groups of experts to band together, represent their interests, announce or 'profess' their findings and continue their work through able assistants who, in turn, will be apprenticed as future scientists to take their place in the profession in the future.

The disciplines that have the best prospects are those that will ensure a definite role in society through the provision of jobs that can be filled only by trained social scientists.

Having said this, however, progress is not inexorable as human decisions of the misguided type or the consequences of earlier wrong decisions may destroy the prospects of a discipline if not on a national scale, then on the institutional scale. Witness, for example, the unfortunate demise of linguistics in one university, once one of the centers of excellence in this discipline; now the department has been abolished with no prospect of resuscitation. Witness too the sad state of geography in the country. Departments come and go since they depend very much on the quality of the men in these departments and the vision of the central administrators in supporting these disciplines; not to go ahead or progress is to retrogress.

What we have to make sure of is that even if a discipline suffers attrition in one institution, that it will not suffer the same fate in another institution, for it is important that there be the 'the faithful remnant' of the discipline who will keep it going in spite of institutional myopia. This will be possible through strengthening the profession independently of the academic institutions and through such honorary social science societies as Pi Gamma Mu, where loyalty is not to the department or even to the institution of one's affiliation but to the discipline itself and to itself and to its continuing progress for the life of the Filipinos. ■

*Bro. Gonzalez is the Executive Secretary of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines, a regular member association of the PSSC. This article is a revised version of an address delivered during the Pi Gamma Mu (Beta Chapter, De La Salle University) inductor of new members on July 24, 1992.

(Following is Prof. Carmencita T. Aguilar's review of Dr. Remigio E. Agpalo's book entitled "Adventures in Political Science.")

I consider it a great honor to be requested by my most respected former Professor Dr. Remigio E. Agpalo to comment on his book that is being presented this afternoon. As the incumbent President of the Philippine Political Science Association, I also ac-

and Sciences and the University itself at a certain point in time.

The Political Science of Dr. Remigio E. Agpalo*

□ Carmencita T. Aguilar

knowledge with pride the fact that he is dedicating his book to the Association which he founded thirty years ago.

What I will do is to highlight the most important essence of his various writings as presented in the book which are his original contributions in developing the discipline of political science and the study of Philippine government and politics. These are his legacy to us who are in the discipline and to those who are fascinated by it.

The book is not only beautifully titled *Adventures in Political Science* — but it symbolizes the author's quest for scholarly perfection in his study and analysis of Philippine government and politics. The book provides a holistic and systematic study of Philippine government and politics as one reads through the various chapters made out of the many papers written by the author throughout his career as a dedicated scholar, political scientist and academician.

Part I of the book is an autobiography of how the author had pursued the higher values in life: knowledge, scholarship, political science justice, academic freedom and principles which he believed are correct, righteous and just. In all of these, he had preserved his integrity and dignity as can be gleaned from the narratives on the conflict and struggle in the academe — particularly at the University of the Philippines, even if it meant a choice of early retirement from the University, which I am sure, he loves to serve. The book therefore, also gives insight into the politics of the Department of Political Science and the decision-making process in the College of Arts

Dr. Agpalo had also contributed to the development of Filipino political ideas, an area of political science which needs most attention, by putting into systematic literatures the ideas of three Filipino political thinkers — Jose Rizal, Emilio Jacinto and Jose P. Laurel, Sr. He also wrote on the political science of Maximo Kalaw, although it is not included in this book. The three writings compose Part II of the book. To Jose Rizal, Dr. Agpalo attributed the idea of political modernization through "a new social order under the mantle of liberty

and wise and just laws which would eventually bring about unity, integration and nation-building in the Philippines." To Emilio Jacinto, he attributed the vision of achieving the rule of law, liberty, equality and social justice as the ideas that people should attain through a government that is subordinate to the laws and the Constitution. The analogy of *liwanag at dilim* (light and darkness) projects Jacinto's thoughtful warning that "glitters, dazzles and destroys visions while light is needed by the eyes to see the reality of things." Jacinto's thought was that "the people have worshiped glitter and rejected light — thus, they continue to live in grief and poverty." To Jose P. Laurel, Sr., the promotion of social justice which he desired was guided by the principle of *Pro Deo Et Patria* (For God and Country) by which he believed that the dignification of man should be the paramount concern of the State. According to Dr. Agpalo's study, "Laurel believed in a form of State Socialism by which the State is permitted to intervene and control in matters involving the promotion of economic security and social justice. He favored social and economic planning so that people may have ample opportunity for work, civilized life, security of homes, medical attention, modern education, social and economic benefits and security against old age and the unforeseen hazards of life." The idea of a National Economic and Development Authority as an economic planning body of the State was a Laurelian vision and Filipinism.

In Part III, Dr. Agpalo analyzed Philippine politics and made an analogy of it with the native dance - Pandango Sa Ilaw — wherein the dancers hold glass oil lamps as they swing. To Dr. Agpalo, the

pandango dancers are the political actors represented by government officials and the citizens. The glass oil lamps which the dancers swing are the powers of the political actors. The stage where the dancers dance in the political arena where manipulation and maneuvering by politicians are done. According to Dr. Agpalo, "the pandango sa ilaw politics lack ideological doctrines which could guide and direct the political process." His view is that, "the legislators, administrations and judges are moved because of personalistic, concrete, material and non-ideological factors." The author's study of the local politics of Occidental Mindoro drew this conclusion.

He also wrote on the role of interest groups in development in the Philippines. He made some typologies of various interest groups which he identified to have contributed towards political development, although, he admitted that there were limiting factors during the martial law period. To Dr. Agpalo, political development must always be characterized by the rule of law, civility, and social justice. Without these three factors, there can be no political development. Interest groups have also contributed to the political modernization in the Philippines. The typologies of Philippine political groups that he developed are based on the indigenous sectors that they represent; and according to their structure and orientation. Thus, structure could either be unitarian or pluralian; and orientation could either be personalistic or impersonalistic. Finally, his typologies characterized the Philippine interest groups to be any of the following: communal group which is unitarian and personalistic; aggregational, which is pluralian and personalistic; monolithic group, which is impersonalistic and unitarian; and associational group which is pluralian and impersonalistic. He concluded that the political activities of interest groups have con-



Dr. Remigio E. Agpalo, author, "Adventures in Political Science (left) during the book launching at the U.P. Faculty Center Conference Room on January 18, 1993. With him are Dr. Jose V. Abueva, U.P. President (center) and Prof. Carmencita T. Aguilar, President, Philippine Political Science Association (right) as commentators.

tributed to the political development and modernization in the Philippines.

Dr. Agpalo is the only Filipino political scientist who has formulated a theory of Philippine government and politics and a framework for understanding the Philippine political system. His organic — hierarchical paradigm explains the role of the *Pangulo* (the Philippine Chief Executive) on top of the hierarchy as he adopts the politics of incorporation in running the political system. Dr. Agpalo has consistently built on his theory as he explains various aspects of Philippine political life and interaction of forces into and within the framework. Part IV is replete with the analysis of Philippine society and political culture and the development of the *pangulo* regime and the nature of the executive leadership in the Philippines. Dr. Agpalo's choice of the form of government for the Philippines is Filipino liberal democracy which should be based on the rule of law, civility, democracy, liberty and social justice. Under liberal democracy, Dr. Agpalo believes that modernization and political development had taken place in the country. Between modernization and political development, Dr. Agpalo, considers the latter, as the higher end of man.

Dr. Agpalo also raised issues of legitimacy of political regimes in the Philippines. In doing so, he presented models of legitimacy based on people's consent and people's participation and the ability of the government to govern. His typologies are as follows: Solid-Rock legitimacy, wherein the consent of

the people is high and the ability to govern is also high. Semi-Solid legitimacy, wherein the consent of the people is high and the ability of the government to govern is low; and Semi-Solid legitimacy where consent of the people is low and the ability to govern is high; and Fragile legitimacy where the consent of the people is low and the ability of the government to govern is also low.

Dr. Appalo considers the consent of the people as a stronger base of legitimacy rather than the ability of the government to govern. To him, governments with low ability to govern but enjoy high consent of the people are more legitimate than governments with

a Greek prefix *para* which means faulty, irregular or disordered. This fourth type, according to Dr. Appalo, would be the members of the Filipino political elites who are elected as members of the Congress and those who hold positions in other offices but have weak organizations and no ideology. After examining the Filipino leaders, Dr. Appalo made some conclusions: Bonifacio, Aguinaldo and Marcos were Supremos; Rizal was a Visionary; several are paradox which includes President Aquino.

In Part V of the book, Dr. Appalo discusses the three branches of government: first on the roles of legislators and their performance in office; second, on

"Dr. Appalo considers the consent of the people as a stronger base of legitimacy rather than the ability of the government to govern. To him, governments with low ability to govern but enjoy high consent of the people are more legitimate than governments with high ability to govern but enjoying low consent of the people."

high ability to govern but enjoying low consent of the people. In examining the legitimacy of the Aquino Government, he divided the period before and after the ratification of the 1987 Constitution. The period before the ratification was considered as the Aquino Government I and the period after the ratification was the Aquino Government II. The conclusion of Dr. Appalo's examination, was that, the legitimacy of the Aquino Government was a fragile one.

Dr. Appalo also created typologies of Filipino leaders based on organization and ideology. The choice of these two indicators according to him are based on the functions of serving the polity, such as integrating the nation, mobilizing support for the political leaders or the political institutions, and implementing the goals of the political leaders or the polity. Thus, his typologies of leaders are as follows: Supremo, Visionary, Organization Man, and Paradox. A leader with ideology and a strong organization would be a Supremo; one with an ideology and a weak organization would be a Visionary; one with a strong organization but no ideology would be the Organizational Man; and the last one, the Paradox, which is coined from a Latin term *dux* which means leader and

the powers and functions of the Chief Executive in the Philippines or the *Pangulo*; and finally the issue of a politicized judiciary in a decision made by the Supreme Court on whether to allow or not former President Marcos to return to the Philippines.

Dr. Appalo examined the roles of members of Congress as lawmakers, patrons, fiscalizers and articulators of interests. After interpreting the dynamics of politics as he saw practiced by the members of Congress, he concluded that such was nothing less than the politics of "*pandaygo sa ilaw*" characterized by skillful manipulation of political and social forces, expert maneuvering for control of the political center and adept application of patronage, bravura and magnificent show.

Dr. Appalo's examination of the office of the Chief Executive as it had evolved through the various stages of Filipino political experience, made him conclude that the Chief Executive in the Philippines until the time of President Marcos had always exercised strong powers as the *Pangulo*. Even while there was constitutional change in 1973 from a Presidential to a Parliamentary government, the Chief Executive had conducted himself as a *Pangulo* for the parliamentary

system was not really fully operational. The governments of the Philippines from President Quezon to President Marcos were Pangulo regimes.

In examining the case brought to the Supreme Court in Marcos vs. Manglapus, Dr. Agpalo concluded that the Supreme Court was also placed on trial by the result of the decisions made by the justices which was a tie of 7-7 and the tie had to be broken by the Chief Justice who cast his vote against the return of President Marcos. Dr. Agpalo considered the Chief Justice's decision political and partial. Dr. Agpalo is against the idea of a politicalized judiciary.

In Part VI Dr. Agpalo presented nine models of political systems which can also be useful tools in comparative governments. He examined political systems based on two dimensions — their stage of modernization and the scope of democratization. Both dimensions are divided into three. The modernization dimension is subdivided into traditional, transitional and modern. The democratization dimension is subdivided into totalitarian, authoritarian, and democratic. Thus the nine models are classified as follows: Classical Dictatorship — a polity which is traditional and totalitarian; Modernizing Totalitarian Polity — a polity which is transitional and totalitarian; Modern Totalitarian Polity — which is modern and totalitarian; Traditional Autocracy — a polity which is traditional and authoritarian; Modernizing Authoritarian Polity — which is transitional and authoritarian; Classical Democracy — a polity which is traditional and democratic; modernizing Democracy — a polity which is modern and democratic.

Applying the models to the development of the Philippine political system, Dr. Agpalo divided the Philippine political history into five periods as follows: pre-1571, 1571-1871, 1872-1901, 1902-1972, 1972-1977; and a prognostication for the year 2000. The period are characterized as follows:

Pre-1571 — The Philippines was a micro-traditional autocracies

1571-1871 — It was a macro-traditional autocracies

1872-1901 — It was still a macro-traditional autocracies (democracy was born in 1872)

1902-1972 — The Philippines became a modernizing democracy;

2000 — Modern democracy is anticipated to evolve.

In this section, Dr. Agpalo also tried to examine the policy of modernization of President Marcos which he considered as a rapid modernization by which the constitutive elements, sectors, or forces were integrated into a harmonious system. The Marcos martial law government had carried out the politics of integration by exercising legislative and executive powers in one body. The Marcos objective was to reform the Philippine polity, society, and economy towards modernization which justified according to Dr. Agpalo, the iron logic of modernization.

Finally, the last portion of the book describes the state of the art of political science in 1984 and the problems that political scientists have to face such as lack of financial support and resources for professional growth. The course offerings of the Department are also described as they were developed by Dr. Agpalo who was the Chair of the Department in 1963 to 1966. In this aspect, Dr. Agpalo had contributed greatly in updating and modernizing the courses in Political Science.

What I have just presented in micro length is the Political Science of Dr. Agpalo which should serve as inspiration to all those who are in the discipline. Every political science scholar, practitioner, and student must have a copy of his book to experience the adventures that Dr. Agpalo is referring to which are the essence and dedication of his life and scholarship. The book can also be a mirror to politicians who wish to do better next time. Thank you. ■

**Professor Emeritus, University of the Philippines and National Social Scientist in Political Science chosen by the Philippine Social Science Council in 1990.*

AN INVITATION

The Association of Booksellers for the Academe and the Professionals (ABAP) cordially invites you to a two-day National Seminar on Enhancing Education Through Multi-Media Approach" on July 14-15, 1993 at the PSSC Auditorium, Commonwealth Avenue, Quezon City.

This seminar is in line with the governments' program to improve the quality of education and aims to enhance the knowledge of the participants on the latest state-of-the-art techniques and/or trends in multi-media education, thereby their appreciation of media.

The two-day seminar teams with resource persons and speakers who are distinguished experts and practitioners from the academe and the private sector.

Noted TV hosts like Loren Legarda of the Inside Story and Prof. Cecilia "Che Che" Lazaro of the Probe Team and other knowledgeable persons like Dr. Orlando Claveria of DECS, Ms. Fely Soledad of the Communication Foundation for Asia, Dr. Higinio Ables of the SEARCA, Mr. Amable Aguiluz of AMA Computer Center and Fr. Ibarra "Nim" Gonzalez of the Philippines Communication Society will surely make the seminar information-filled and highly interesting.

They will discuss the following topics:

An Overview of Multi-Media Education in the Philippines: Development and present Challenges (Dr. Claveria).

The Role of Multi-Media in UNESCO's "Education for All" Program (Representative from UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines)

The Use of Slides, Film Strips, Charts, Models and Related Tools in Multi-Media (Ms. Soledad)

The Continuing Relevance of the Print Media (Dr. Ables)

Effective Approach to Education Through the Use of Videos and Films (Ms. Loren Legarda)

The Use of Computer and Other Related Hardwares in Multi-Media Approach to Education (Mr. Aguiluz)

Prospects and Future Trends in Multi-Media Education (Prof. Che Che Lazaro)

Evaluation, Assessments and Recommendations (Fr. Gonzalez)

For Opening Ceremonies, no less than DECS Secretary Armand V. Fabella himself, will give the keynote speech while he will join Prof. Carmencita Aguilar of PSSC in assisting Dr. Lourdes Quisumbing in cutting the ceremonial ribbon.

To further strengthen the participants' knowledge about the topics of the Seminar and to familiarize them with the latest learning materials (books, slides, videos, audio-visual, etc), a major Book/Audio Visual

Exhibit and "Tiange" will be held on July 14-16, 1993 at the Lobby/Auditorium of PSSC Building, Commonwealth Avenue, Quezon City.

These and a lot more are in store for the participants.

The National Seminar on Enhancing Quality Education Through Multi-Media Approach is made possible through the cooperation of the Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS), the UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines and the Philippine Social Science Council, Inc. (PSSC).

For more particulars, please call up Ms. Lydia G. Wenceslao, PSSC Central Subscription Service, PSSCenter, Commonwealth Avenue, Diliman, Quezon City at telephone number 922-9621 local 338 or Ms. Dina Berioso, 817-1741; 812-4335.

Please fill up the Registration Form below and mail it back to the ABAP/PSSC Secretariat, c/o Ms. Lydia G. Wenceslao, PSSC Central Subscription Service, PSSCenter, Commonwealth Ave., Q.C. (FAX No. 988-876 on or before 21 June 1993. Thank you.

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