

SOCIAL SCIENCE INFORMATION

VOL. 24 Nos. 1-2

January-June 1996

Also Inside

- Updates on PSSCouncil Members
- Mahar Mangahas writes on Fr. Frank X. Lynch
- Obituary: Elpidio R. Sta. Romana
- Basic Information on the Value-added Tax
- New Acquisitions: PSSC Frank X. Lynch Library

Manila

Iloilo

Cebu

Mindanao

Shifting Development Focus

Three hundred sixty five miles south of Manila, Cebu City booms into an industrial giant, while farther down south, the framework plan for Mindanao 2000 opens the backdoor to foreign investors.

Efforts at balancing national economic growth continue despite criticisms against lack of provisions for social development and equity, and threats from the Muslim separatist movement.



SOCIAL SCIENCE
INFORMATION

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THIS ISSUE of the Philippine Social Science Information features papers and reactions presented during the Local Scientific Session of the XIIIth General Conference of the International Federation of Social Science Organizations (IFSSO) held on October 3-6, 1995 at the Philippine Social Science Center. It was the first time that IFSSO, which has a Rome-based Secretariat, met in an Asian country.

The PSSC is a member of IFSSO which, in turn, is a member of the International Social Science Council (ISSC). Both IFSSO and the ISSC draw support from UNESCO in furthering social science work and exchange worldwide. Currently, IFSSO is headed by Prof. Carmencita T. Aguilar, former Chairperson of the PSSC Governing Council, who was elected IFSSO President for 1995-1997. The other officers are Dr. Takashi Fujii (Japan), Honorary President; Dr. Toshinosuke Kashiwazaki (Japan), First Vice President; Dr. Ayrton Fauso (Brazil) and Dr. Barman Chandra (India), Vice Presidents; Dr. Josef Blahoz (Czech Republic), Secretary-General; Dr. Enzo Bartocci (Italy), Treasurer; Dr. Marcos Formiga (Brazil), Dr. Thandika Mkwandire (African Region), Dr. Kanchara Ngourungsi (Thailand), Dr. Kim Young Pyoung (South Korea), Dr. M.J. Simoen (Belgium); and Dr. Eva M. Duka Ventura (Philippines), as Board Members.

IFSSO's XIIIth General Conference centers on the theme "Coordination, Cooperation and Conflict in Global Society." The speakers touch on challenging issues such as democratization and the decline of the welfare state; conflicts resulting from social policy issues in response to people's rising expectations; social inequality in utilizing skills in the labor market including that of women; ethnic nationalism; conflicting political systems; poverty, human rights and conflicting laws in a post-communist state; the global effects of the post-Cold War with focus on the Philippines; and people empowerment and environmental management in a Philippine community.

The Local Scientific Session organized by the Philippine Social Science Council includes papers from social scientists from Mindanao and the Visayas. Julkipli Wadi from the Institute of Islamic

Studies of the University of the Philippines discusses the emergence of political Islam, particularly the growth of Islamic fundamentalism which accounts, for the most part, for the continuing social and political conflicts between the Philippine government and Muslim Mindanao. He traces the roots of the more active Muslim movements to the transformation of modernist political Islam towards a more militant one, thus the rise of the revolutionary Abu Sayyaf.

The other paper on "Mindanao Initiatives for Development" by Eva K. Tan of the Notre Dame University in Cotabato outlines the various development programs initiated by the government to "effect the socio-economic development of Mindanao." She particularly focuses on the Mindanao 2000 Framework Plan which coordinates the efforts of both the private sector and the government to transform "Mindanao's fragmented economy into an integrated, dynamic and sustainable economy." The reaction paper by Maliton Juanico notes in particular, the lopsided focus of the Mindanao Plan on "global competitiveness and infrastructure development" with no apparent concern for people empowerment, sustainable development and rural human settlements.

Felisa U. Etemadi's paper on "Cebu's Economic Growth" discusses the phenomenal development of the island province propelled by its provincial and city governments. The reaction from Anna Marie Karaos significantly points out the unavoidable consequences of industrialization such as pollution, congestion, unemployment, poverty, crime and domestic abuse. If left unattended, the problem of balancing the costs and benefits of rapid industrialization just might defeat the aim of Cebu's "legendary" ascent to economic prominence."

As a member of the IFSSO, the Philippine Social Science Council co-sponsored the General Conference and organized the Local Scientific Session with financial support from the UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines. The PSSC

(Turn to page 35)



SOCIAL SCIENCE INFORMATION

Vol 24 Nos. 1-2

January-June 1996

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL * 2

XIth General Conference-International Federation of Social Science Organizations-Local Scientific Session

Cebu's Economic Growth: The Philippines' Legendary Best Seller * *Faisla U. Etemadi* * 5
Development Initiatives in Mindanao * *Evo K. Tan* * 20
Philippine Political Islam and the Emerging Fundamentalist Strand * *Jahip M. Wadi* * 26

Comments, *Ana Maria A. Karaos* * 18 * *Meliton B. Juanico* * 25

NEWS PSSC General Assembly * 45 PSSC Appoints New Executive Director * 46
Philippine Migration Research Network Launched * 46 New RAP Grantees * 46
AASSREC in Yogyakarta * 47 PSSC-SRTC Update * 47 Asia-Pacific Regional Conference of Sociology * 47
Evelyn J. Caballero Fellowship * 47 Asian Conference on Scientific Cooperation * 47

COUNCIL-MEMBER UPDATES UP-School of Urban and Regional Planning * 48
Philippine Business for Social Progress * 49 UP-College of Social Work and Community Development * 50
Philippine-China Development Resource Center * 51 Philippine Association for Chinese Studies * 52 National Tax Research Center * 52

ARTICLES On Survey-Interview of Filipino Political Elites *Elpidio R. Sta. Romana* * 36
Mahar K. Mangahas on Fr. Frank X. Lynch * 67

The PSSC Frank X. Lynch Library (New Acquisitions) * 59

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The *PSSC Social Science Information* primarily seeks to serve as a clearing house for the exchange of information, documentation, research activities, and news on people involved in the social sciences. Since 1973, it has endeavored to be a regular and comprehensive inventory of information and a catalyst of discussion.

The views expressed by the authors of articles in this publication do not necessarily reflect the policies of the Philippine Social Science Council, Inc.

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Felisa U. Etemadi

Cebu has been a thriving community since its recorded historical beginnings. Known as the "Queen City of the South", Cebu City is the center of trade and industry, the hub of sea and air transport and the center of education and culture in Central Visayas. In recent years this historic metropolis has acquired a multitude of names reflecting the vision, obsession and pride of Cebuano leaders and residents and the economic tempo of the island province. It has been described as "an island in the Pacific", "the vanguard of the country's economic recovery", "the economic phenomenon of the South", "the economic gateway of the Philippines", "a southern economic powerhouse", "the furniture capital of the Philippines", "the tourism gateway of the Philippines", "the next economic miracle of Asia", "the next tiger city in Asia", "the spiritual homeland of the Visayas", "the Philippines' Best Seller", "the Queen City of the Philippines", and the soon-to-be "Rome of Asia". The legend of Cebu's robust and vibrant economy dubbed as the "Cebu Boom" is built around such optimism and projection based on Cebu's economic track record.

On the other hand, other sectors in the community are not as enthusiastic about the "Cebu Boom". One environmentalist describes Cebu

as "a desert isle". Concerned citizens are wary that Cebu might become "another Manila". Others lament that it is already dead like Manila, but it has not been pronounced dead. More disturbing is an apocalyptic warning enshrined in an epitaph which reads: "Here lie the shreds of Cebu's economic boom—lost by a warm, graceful and talented people who failed to read the signs of the times" (Mercado, 1995). Progressive elements pause soul-searching questions such as "is there indeed a boom?" and "boom for whom?" Cebu is thus the theatre of a tug-of-war between those who would like to fast track its development to the optimum and those who would like to re-examine the course of economic development and to mitigate the situation while there is still time.

This paper examines this "boom or bane" controversy and related issues. What is the Cebu economic phenomenon? What are its comparative advantages? What factors and forces contribute to the making of this legend? Specifically, what projects have been or are being undertaken? What is the status of these projects and who are the principal players? What are the key concerns aired by the sectors in the society? The discussion concludes with an assessment of vital concerns and issues that must be addressed to sustain Cebu's economic growth and make the Cebu experience truly legendary.

The Cebu Phenomenon

Cebu's phenomenal economic performance in recent years is buttressed by impressive official economic statistics. In terms of output, existing data are disaggregated up to the regional level. Central Visayas has averaged 14 percent annual growth (in current prices) for the past six years, the highest in the Philippines. Selected data indicate that Cebu, Metro Cebu and Cebu City, in particular, play the leading role in the regional economy. Families in Cebu Province accounted for 63.3 percent share of the regional family income in 1991. Likewise, Cebu City families constituted 69.5 percent of the provincial family income. The city's total family income was bigger than the respective family income of the other provinces in the region.

The distribution of formal manufacturing firms in Cebu Province also reveals the economic role of Metro Cebu including Cebu City. Of the 1,523 firms in Cebu surveyed by the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) in 1989, 1,028 were located in Metro Cebu of which 543 were found in Cebu City.

The fastest growing economy in the Philippines, Cebu leads the country in export items such as furniture, fashion accessories, carageenan, processed foods, and gifts, toys and housewares. Its export growth has averaged 19.5 percent for the past five years, more than double the Philippines' average for the same period.

Cebu's population constitutes only four percent of the Philippines' total population yet, Cebu accounted for approximately 10 percent (US\$1.23 billion) of the country's total exports (US\$13.42 billion) in 1994. Of the country's four regular export processing zones, the Mactan Export Processing Zone (MEPZ) which constituted 53.4 percent of Cebu's total export in 1994 ranked only second to the Baguio Export Processing Zone in export performance last year, with US\$641.5 million compared to US\$665.1 million.

BOI-registered investments rose by 438 percent in 1988. From P700 million in 1987, the amount more than tripled (P24 billion) in 1994. The number of new businesses registered with DTI grew by 240 percent, from 1,836 in 1987 to 6,235 in 1994. Capitalization of new businesses increased by 182 percent, from P3.3 million in 1990 to P9.3 million in 1994.

Revenue collection of the Bureau of Internal Revenue (BIR) tripled from P2.2 billion in 1990 to P6.6 billion in 1994 while customs collection almost doubled (P1.2 million to P2.2 million) for the same period.

The island province is the base of about 85 percent of inter-island shipping companies throughout the Philippines. One of the over 40 destinations in the Philippines serviced by the Philippine Airlines (PAL), Cebu accounts for approximately 40 percent of PAL's domestic revenues. It is the primary destination of approximately 35 percent of all foreign tourist arrivals.

Comparative Advantage

The commercial and industrial advantages of Cebu relate to its strategic location, diverse industrial base, domestic and international access, communication facilities and skilled labor force.

Strategic Location. Located 365 miles south of Manila, this octopoid island is 300 kilometers long and 40 kilometers at its widest. Nestled in the center of the Visayas, Cebu is ideal for commodity distribution by air and sea to both domestic and foreign markets. Cebu City as the growth pole is a compact hub radiating proximately to adjoining "growth centers" such as Mandaue City and Lapulapu. Proximity and accessibility shorten travel time and facilitate business transactions, linkages, networking and local governance.

Diverse Economy. One of Cebu's strongest feature is the unique diversification of its economy. Capital-intensive sectors like coconut oil processing and shipping co-exist with labor-intensive industries such as furniture manufacturing and handicrafts. Outnumbering the corporate giants are the small and cottage industries which constitute the backbone of the province's economy.

Accessibility. International access by sea and air links Cebu to the rest of the world. The Mactan International Airport (MIA) is the second international gateway after the Ninoy Aquino International Airport (NAIA) in Metro Manila. The MIA handles about 340 domestic flights a week to 25 destinations. An average of 30 international direct flights a week originate from Cebu to Japan,

Hongkong, Taipei, Singapore, Malaysia, Australia and the US West Coast. A P2.6 billion expansion and modernization with funding and technical assistance from Japanese sources is scheduled to be completed by 1996.

Cebu has one of the best harbors in the country. The Cebu International Port, with a total area of 423,245 square meters, has a 3,831-meter marginal wharf and three-finger piers with a berthing length of four kilometers. There are three passenger terminals and warehouses with ample floor space. At full berth occupancy, the international port can handle an estimated three million tons of cargo annually. Twenty shipping lines traverse to some 40 local destinations.

Telecommunications. Cebu has one of the most modern communication facilities in the country for both national and international connections. Services such as international direct dialing, facsimile, telex, cellular phones, databank access via Internet, voice-data channel facilities, cable, worldwide express delivery service, postal service and telegram systems are available.

Skilled Labor. Cebuano workers are known to be industrious, productive and fast-learners. Investors can easily recruit enough skilled workers. The six universities and 11 colleges, two training centers and 14 technical institutes in Cebu churn out about 20,000 graduates every year. Many foreign firms are reported to have been able to expand and introduce complex production processes. These firms can also readily avail of the services of English-speaking middle managerial and technical personnel at comparatively lower costs than their Asian counterparts.

Furthermore, Cebu offers the amenities and conveniences common to cities yet manages to maintain the charm and character of a small town in its culture and among its people. A stable political climate and industrial peace further boost Cebu's image as an investment haven.

The Making of the Legend

Many factors contribute to the making of the Cebu legend foremost of which are political leadership, trade and industry promotion, metropolitan planning, partnership between the government and the private sector, databanking and management

system, resource generation, aggressive marketing and the Cebuano people.

Political Leadership. Political leadership plays a key role in spurring dynamism in Cebu's economy. The province and city governments have been headed by leaders who share a common vision for Cebu. Committed to the free market philosophy, both Emilio Osmeña, the Cebu governor (1988-1992) known as the "architect of Cebu's development", and cousin Tomas Osmeña, mayor (1988-1995), were very supportive of the business community. Generating foreign investments becomes a priority of the LGUs (local government units) in Cebu which matches heavy investment inputs with infrastructure support. Non-cooperation during the 1992-1995 interlude of the governorship of Vicente de la Serna who projected a pro-people orientation did not, however, derail Cebu's economic momentum. Cebu City Mayor Tomas Osmeña continued to blaze the trail with the same optimism and bullish projection. The vigor and conviction of the then Regional Director of DTI (also the former Assistant Secretary of DTI), Joel Mari Yu, was also instrumental in generating record-high investments and exports. The Osmeña-Osmeña tandem is now succeeded by a Garcia-Garcia tandem (former Congressman Pablo Garcia for the province and nephew Alvin Garcia, the former city vice-mayor for Cebu City). Political calm is again restored which is expected to further reinforce the resurgence of business climate.

Trade and Industry Development. The thrust of Cebu's economic development is to consolidate Cebu's position as the center of investment, trade and industry and tourism in Central Visayas with direct links to international markets. Efforts are directed to encourage the expansion and modernization of existing industries focusing on manufacture of processed food products, furniture, garments, fashion accessories, and gifts, toys and houseware. Priority areas identified for investment are new and emerging industries—light engineering (light manufacturing and precision assembly, manufacturing of spare parts and components), plastics and packaging, computer softwares, aircraft maintenance and related activities, shipbuilding, shipbreaking, ship repair and maintenance.

The Cebu Investment Promotions Center (CIPC), in coordination with the DTI, extends a package of services to assist foreign investors and

buyers transacting business in Cebu. It provides information for opening business in Cebu, conducts briefing for prospective investors and incoming trade missions and extends support services for the Bureau of Investments and related administrative procedures. The Center is presently financed by donations from three private companies (William Lines, Lu Do & Lu Yin and SM City) amounting to P3 million. Though the local government units of the cities of Cebu, Mandaue and Lapulapu and the municipalities of Consolacion, Liloan and Talisay have also pledged their financial support, no funding has been released since the Commission on Audit (COA) questioned the appropriations.

The Trade and Investment Development Division of the DTI promotes product-market linkage between municipal suppliers of raw materials and manufactured/processed goods to traders and exporters in Metro Cebu, Manila and other parts of the country and abroad. Three international trade fairs are held yearly—the Furniture Fair, Fashion Accessories, Gifts, Toys and Houseware Fair and Food Fairs. The Visayas Product Showcase held in 1988, 1989 and 1990 is to be revived to match producers of goods and services with markets all over the Philippines. Also to be reactivated is the Subcontractors' Fair for micro-cottage industries. The latter is part of DTI's effort to promote small and medium industries. Through advisory and information services, skills and basic management training, marketing assistance, seminars and workshops to organize sector associations, the DTI assumes its role in spurring livelihood opportunities for small and medium industries.

To discharge its functions, the DTI coordinates with the local government units and government line agencies, in particular, the Department of Science and Technology (DOST). Aside from hosting the Technology Business Incubator Center for aquaculture, DOST-7 supports the DTI's drive for diversification into plastics, metal and packaging. It has drafted a metal master plan for Cebu and intends to set up a common service facility for light engineering industries after conducting a feasibility study. Seminars on plastics and packaging are conducted regularly with the assistance of Japanese consultants. The DTI also networks with the Cebu Chamber of Commerce and Industry (CCI) for domestic activities, with nongovernment organizations for its credit assistance program and with Philexport for export promotion.

Ongoing is a benchmark survey on the state of subcontracting in export-oriented industries. Simultaneously, the Project Development Division of the DTI is in the process of constructing municipality profiles to explore the development of potential "growth centers" in selected municipalities as part of its new project, the Municipality Trade and Industry Development.

Metropolitan Planning. To sustain Cebu's economic growth, the government has embarked on a massive infrastructure development on a metropolitan scale. Cebu as the urban core or "metropolis" has spawned economic activities in adjoining "growth centers" primarily in Mandaue City and Lapulapu City and in the municipalities of Talisay and Consolacion to some extent.

To coordinate and integrate the efforts of these LGUs and to stimulate development in other potential growth centers, the concept of metropolitan planning has emerged. However, the Metro Cebu Development Project (MCDP) is still a project-based infrastructure package, not a city or urban plan though these projects transcend political boundaries. The MCDP funded by the Japan Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund (OECF) undertakes three project packages. MCDP I means completion consisting of 14.5 kilometers of road, traffic management system and the South Bus Terminal. Ongoing is MCDP II which includes more than 60 kilometers of urban road, two public markets (Talisay and Mandaue), the North Bus Terminal and solid waste management systems at Inawayan and Labogon. MCDP III has three components: the Cebu South Reclamation, the Cebu South Coastal Expressway and the Cebu Circumferential Road. A P10 billion loan was approved last August for the first two components with counterpart funds of P500 million from the Cebu City Government and an expected P700 million from the National Government for the Reclamation and Expressway respectively.

In addition to the Cebu South Reclamation, the government is spearheading the development of three major economic zones into industrial estates. These are 1) the expansion of MEPZ which entails the addition of 95 hectares of prime land located just about two kilometers from the existing 119-hectare site. Development is scheduled to start this year but 85 percent of the 43-hectare lot in Phase I have already been reserved; 2) the Mandaue Reclamation which consists of 300-hectare total

land space of which 200 hectares are to be transformed into an industrial site with the remaining area intended for commercial and residential units; and 3) the export-oriented Industrial Park which is a 1,600-hectare strip of reclaimed foreshore area located south of the municipality of Cordova in Mactan. This park will accommodate a super container port, commercial establishments, industries such as factories and assembly plants as well as hotels, resorts and other tourist amenities.

Other projects which are either ongoing or completed include the following:

1. The Cebu Trans-Central Highway, also known as Emilio V. Osmeña, Sr. Highway—a 40.5-kilometer road that links the eastern coast of Metro Cebu with the western coast. It aims to decongest Metro Cebu and expand industry to the western side of Cebu. The upgrading of this P420 million project is still in the bidding stage.

2. The MIA Rehabilitation and Airport Improvement implemented by the Department of Transportation and Communication (DOTC) and the Mactan Cebu International Airport Authority (MCIAA)—This P2.6 billion project entails airport runway rehabilitation, passenger terminal building construction and equipment and utilities upgrading. The target date for completion is December 1995.

3. The Second Mandaue-Mactan Bridge located 400 meters north of the existing bridge—The new structure is expected to meet an estimated traffic volume of 36,000 passenger car-units per day by the year 2000. Detailed engineering study has started and construction is to be completed in 1998.

4. The Kanirag Sports Complex and Development Project which covers some 800 hectares within the mountain barangays of Pungol, Sibuggay, Masubog, Babag, and Sirao—The Philippine Tourism Authority (PTA) has already spent more than P100 million for the acquisition of 325 hectares of land, and the infrastructure and development of the golf course. An addition of P30 million is needed to complete the project which is momentarily suspended. The PTA is negotiating with Filinvest to enter into a joint venture to improve the 117.4-hectare golf course facilities to meet world class standard.

The private sector has complemented government efforts with the following major real estate development and construction projects: 1) a 200-hectare industrial estate in Naga; 2) the Consolacion Port Reclamation Project comprising 100 hectares to accommodate modernized port facilities and commercial centers; 3) the Balamban project for heavy industries and shipbuilding; 4) the Cebu Business Park, a 44.6-hectare modern commercial complex; 5) the SM City Cebu, a 13-hectare commercial landmark located in the old Reclamation Area; 6) the three-hectare Gaisano Country Mall in uptown Banilad; 7) the five-star Shangri-la Hotel cum resort with a 300-room occupancy capacity located in Mactan; 8) a P500 million Monte de Piedad Center dubbed as "the first intelligent building in southern Philippines"; 9) a 15-storey office and residential condominium targeted for completion in February 1996; 10) a US\$180M aircraft maintenance complex; 11) a P2 billion Waterfront Airport Hotel; and 12) a P20 million world-class Marina.

Metropolitan planning on a macro and integrated level has not been officially practiced until the drafting of the Cebu Master Plan. However, sectoral planning has been pursued earlier by the Cebu provincial and city governments. Areas identified pertain to transport and traffic, flood control, drainage, water supply and even housing facilities. Cebu City's existing relocation sites include areas outside its jurisdiction—a 13-hectare area in Polpogen, Consolacion, one hectare in Paknaan, Mandaue and 4.5 hectares in Bulacao, Pardo.

However, in the process of implementing MCDP II, the need to draft a master plan was recognized by government authorities upon the prodding of the Japanese government. A master plan was to serve as basis to secure a functional and economically efficient urban development.

The Cebu Integrated Area Development Master Plan (CIADMP) prepared by the study team of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) is a long-term development master plan for Cebu Province up to the year 2010. It is an integration and sophistication of previous sectoral plans conceived by local planners with additional inputs from the study team using state-of-the-art facilities.

The main thrust of the JICA plan is industrialization, foreign investment driven industrial

estates are to be dispersed to the north and south corridors and the western seaboard of the island to decongest Metro Cebu. Other major thrusts include the strengthening of small and medium-scale local enterprises; the development of Cebu into a full-fledged international tourist destination with a target of "one million arrivals" in 2010; integration of agriculture and rural development by uplifting productivity; developing a functional market system; and promoting agri-business enterprises. The foreign team assisted by local technical working groups has also outlined the spatial framework and infrastructural development including land use, transport network, port development, mass transit system, water supply system, drainage and sewerage system, and power and energy system. Attention is also given to human resource development, environmental management and local government finance and administration.

The Cebu Master Plan remains a plan until it is adopted by the Regional Development Council (RDC) as the official blueprint for Cebu's development.

GO-Private Sector Partnership. Cebu showcases a record of strong partnership between the government and the private sector. Recognized as the "engine of economic prosperity", the business community has responded dynamically to the government's vision and its development efforts.

The Cebu Chamber of Commerce and Industry (CCCI) has committed itself to the continued improvement of the business climate in Cebu to enhance investment and employment. Established in 1931, CCCI accelerated its growth with the implementation of the Philippine-German Chamber Cooperation Program from 1986 to 1993. The project involved transfer of chamber management technologies, skills and capabilities to the CCCI from the Handwerkskammer (Chamber of Small Crafts and Trades) of Kassel, Germany.

"The voice of Cebu business", a professional organization, articulates the concerns of the four major business sectors of Cebu—agriculture, commerce, industry and the service sector. Service packages cover domestic and international trade information, investment promotion, business training, business consultancy, business plan preparation, loan linkages and assistance, small and medium-sized business credit guarantee program, fair exhibition organization, international fairs

participation and trade mission. The CCCI tops the list of Philippine organizations cited by the 1994 World Directory of Trade Promotion Organizations and other foreign bodies that offer services to foreign businessmen and trade organizations for export and import activities.

The CCCI joins forces with government agencies such as the DTI, the Cebu Investment Promotions Center (CIPC), the Department of Tourism (DOT), and the Department of Science and Technology in promoting investment. The CCCI-DTI information market link has just been finalized.

Chosen as the Most Outstanding Chamber of Commerce in the Visayas, the CCCI takes a bold step towards the democratization of chamber development by initiating the Regional Chamber Development Project (RCDP) in September 1995. Through the RCDP the CCCI establishes partnership with other chambers in the Visayas—Leyte, Bohol and Negros Oriental—to promote economic development in the region by sharing CCCI's experience and insights gained during the last seven years.

Databanking and Management System. Starting in the mid-'80s, development planners have begun to recognize the importance of database planning capability and resource management. The Cebu Provincial Government developed a databank system on socio-economic profile and set up the Geographic Information System (GIS) with the assistance of the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) in 1991. The GIS-Cebu Province was set up primarily for the Philippine-German Cebu Upland Project (CUP), an integrated area development project undertaken to improve the standard of living of target beneficiaries in the southeastern Cebu municipalities of Alcoy, Boljoon and Oslob by assisting them in rehabilitating and managing their diminishing natural resources.

The DTI maintains and updates its database on exports, investments and other trade and economic-related data. It is linked to both Nexus, an electronic communications network linked with Internet and to the Center for Network Management and Services (CNMS) of the University of San Carlos. Internet, an acronym for International Network, is composed of different organizations, groups, institutions and individuals

from all over the world. Now functioning as an Internet node of Philnet, CNMS is capable of local and global internet-working service.

Cebu City is the first among the cities to computerize assessment and appraisal of real property taxes which has increased the collection significantly (from P20 million in 1988 to P51.7 million in 1994) and reduced incidence of anomalies in real estate assessment. Barely two years in existence, the Geographic Information Center of the City Government has already quite an inventory of geo-reference physical maps needed for planning purposes including socio-economic programs. Included in the inventory are road networks, barangay boundaries, well distribution, tax mapping, map of homeowners' associations, socialized housing sites, Cebu City health centers, etc.

As part of its overall effort to make Cebu City "a city second to none", the City Government constantly undertakes innovations to improve its management system. Among these are computerized traffic management and shortening processing time for business permits from days to just 30 minutes.

Resource Generation. Improving the financial capability of LGUs is crucial in infrastructure development. To raise approximately P1 billion to finance various infrastructure projects, the Cebu provincial government, in joint partnership with the Ayala Land, Inc. (ALI) formed a corporation named Cebu Property Venture and Development (CPVD) in 1990. The Province contributed three prime patrimonial properties amounting to P747,992,000 which constituted 75 percent equity share of stock in CPVD; on the other hand, ALI contributed cash amounting to P252,008,000 which accounted for the remaining 25 percent.

To meet the first tranche of financial requirements, the provincial government floated P300 million interest-bearing equity bond to finance the remaining P700 million requirement. The remaining shares of stocks in CPVD were gradually sold to the public via secondary public offering through the local stock exchange.

Through these measures and land sales, the provincial government under the Osmeña administration, which started with a P26.9 billion

current surplus in general fund and infrastructure fund, ended 1990 with a P513.2 billion surplus, an increase of about 486 percent.

A significant increase in Cebu City's budget reflects the financial management capability of the City Government. The city's total budget of P145.4 million in 1988 hit the P1.0 billion mark in 1994.

Aggressive Marketing. Effective marketing program is sustained through persistent information dissemination and exposure of Cebu's potentials and strengths for industrial development through the joint efforts of the government and the private sector. Furthermore, trade fairs for domestic and international market linkages are organized regularly. Trade missions are mobilized to invite investors from Japan, Taiwan and Singapore.

Brochures and information materials are neatly packaged and readily available to guide prospective investors. The latest promo blitz is a 12-minute video documentary entitled "Cebu: The Philippines' Best Seller", featuring Cebu's economic growth and comparative advantages.

The Cebuano People. Cebu's primary assets are its people. The creativity, entrepreneurial spirit and resiliency of the Cebuanos are the moving force behind the transformation of this resource-scarce island into a viable and vibrant economic base.

This innovativeness is borne out of frustration and skepticism towards a centralized decision-making process originating from Manila, the country's capital. Since the country's independence, economic development in the Philippines has always been Manila-centric consistent with the country's power configuration. Relegated to a subordinate status, Cebu's political and business leaders have turned this adversity into Cebu's advantage. Distance from Manila has accorded them greater opportunity to undertake local initiatives. Decades of neglect have cultivated a sense of defiance against "imperial" Manila as expressed in various ways. Cebu was the homebase of the movement for local autonomy which finally snowballed into the Local Government Act of 1991. The Central Visayas Regional Development Project (CVRDP) concept is the country's first development effort which tries decentralized approaches to project implementation through the RDC in coordination with local governments and pertinent line agencies.

This penchant for being different continues today as reflected in the one-time intense drive to sing the National Anthem in the Visayan version; the use of English as the medium of instruction, in contraposition to the language policy; and the protest against lotto operations in Cebu. This sense of local pride constitutes an important resource to mobilize the people for economic, political and socio-civic actions.

The Cebuano business landscape has changed significantly following the entry of big businesses from Manila which crowd the local market. Initially, sales of local retail stores and food outlets were affected by this influx. Cebuano consumers were thrilled and attracted by the novelty of the mall culture, diversity of choices, attractive product packaging, and promotional campaigns. While there is no formal study on the impact of this tough competition on local businesses, observations and random interviews by the DTI indicate that local business management is exploring ways and means to respond to the challenge. Small businesses have learned to capitalize on their competitive edge of the human touch and lower pricing. Colon, the oldest street in the Central Business District continues to attract throngs of shoppers from the city and neighboring areas and provinces. On the other hand, chain stores in shopping malls have realized that they have to adjust to the buying habits and taste of the Cebuano consumers. For as long as local entrepreneurs, big and small, continue to adapt to the realities in the tradition of Cebuano residency, local businesses will continue to survive and flourish.

Sectoral Issues

Since the late '80s Cebu has been registering unprecedented economic growth based on selected key economic indicators. However, various sectors, particularly environmentalists, the academe, the nongovernment organizations (NGOs) and concerned citizens have raised their misgivings about the cost of the much vaunted "ecoboom".

Water. The most critical issue in Cebu's rapid urbanization, infrastructural development and investment promotion is water. Local water experts have warned that Cebu may face an acute shortage in the near future due to increasing saltwater intrusion (already two kilometers inland) into the aquifer apart from domestic and industrial waste. According to the Water Resource Center (WRC) of

the University of San Carlos (USC), 150,000 cubic meters of water is available for use daily but extraction by the Metro Cebu Water District (MCWD) and private well owners ranged from 150,000 cubic meters to 200,000 cubic meters. At present, MCWD produces an average of 104,237 cubic meters and supplies 33 percent of the total requirement. Projected water demand in the year 2000 outpaces projected water supply, 287,000 cubic meters, as against MCWD's production capacity of 214,000 cubic meters upon completion of Phase I of the Mananga River Dam Project. The P770 million Mananga mini-dam project is intended to benefit an additional 17,000 MCWD concessionaries in the municipality as well as to supply water to Cebu City and to light industries. Already MEPZ firms have to purchase 25 percent of their water requirement at P70.00 per cubic meter. Residents of Compostela, spearheaded by their mayor, continue to object to the opening of the 14 MCWD well fields which were completed in 1993.

Government officials and planners tend to downplay the gravity of the situation and have not taken concrete steps to address the urgency of the problem. On the other hand, a coalition of NGOs was formed following the disbandment of the Mananga Water Development Authority (MWDA) which advocated limited entry of housing and real estate development in portions of Cebu City uplands identified as critical watersheds. Three watersheds constitute Cebu's water source: the Mananga's headwaters in Cebu City with its river outlet in Talisay; Lusaran's headwaters in Cebu City and Balambanga; Kot-kot's which are partly in Cebu City with the river traversing Consolacion, Liloan and Compostela. Organized in January 1995, the Cebu United for Sustainable Water (CUSW) has initiated a series of consultation with different sectors for the drafting of a master plan to ensure Cebu's future water supply. Conflicting claims and contrasting theories have been raised by the land developers on the one hand, and environmentalists and NGOs on the other, regarding the kind of development that may be allowed in the watershed areas. The Ayala group which is developing the 200-hectare Cantos property in Sibugay propagates the "multiple use watershed management" concept. Essentially, this concept espouses that watersheds can be earmarked for a combination of compatible, controlled and sustainable uses to satisfy the needs of a wide variety of public, explained ALI representatives. Promoting "controlled development"

in Cebu City's mountain barangays is the position of then Cebu City Mayor Osmeña. The former mayor clarified "that the degradation of our watershed is not caused by development but by the non-development, the marginalized farming and the poverty of the people there. The development should be controlled to give maximum economic and livelihood benefits to the mountain barangays" (Osmeña, 1995).

On the other hand, environmentalists are apprehensive about the adverse effects of converting tracts of land into golf courses because they are water-intensive. The use of inorganic fertilizers to maintain the greens could also lead to ground water contamination. Besides, a 20-hectare golf course would mean a loss of 50,000 cubic meters of water a year or 5,000 cubic meters a month—a volume big enough to supply 200 households. Moreover, DENR-7 is also locked in a conflict with the City Government over question of authority to classify lands in these areas. DENR-7 cited an opinion of the Department of Justice declaring DENR to have jurisdiction over lands proclaimed as watershed areas—these are the Mananga River Watershed Forest Reserve, Kotkot-Lusaran Watershed Reserve and Central Cebu National Park. Thus these lands are of public domain and are not patrimonial properties of Cebu City. On the other hand, the City Government pointed out that the City Council enacted Ordinance No. 1372 on June 14, 1990 reclassifying the mountain barangays of Bahag, Malubog, Bombon, Sirao, Taptap and a portion of barangay Pung-ol Sibugay from "agriculture" to "industrial, recreation zone".

Aggravating the controversy is the discovery of discrepancy in the three maps of the 14,534-hectare Kot-kot Lusaran Watershed. A two-kilometer straight line in the "official map" of Presidential Proclamation No. 932 shows that only 20 hectares of the ALI project falls within the forest reserve. However, this map does not match the map prepared by DENR which is verified in a field survey. A joint team of the DENR-MCWD-WRC confirmed that "there is no dangling end and no loop but a 200-hectare bulge at the location of the straight line" (*SunStar*, February 16, 1995). About 160 hectares of the ALI project would fall within the perimeter of the watershed areas. Development in the area is temporarily suspended pending the final survey of the Kot-kot Lusaran Watershed boundaries which have yet to be endorsed by the RDC.

Notwithstanding an earlier statement issued by Bohol officials that they would not be willing to share their water resources, MCWD has just signed a memorandum of agreement with a US-based firm to study the potential of tapping the Inabanga river in this neighboring island to supply Cebu's future water supply.

Land Conversion. Due to increasing demand for land for commercial and industrial uses, land conversions have been taking place in Cebu. A study on land conversion revealed that 11 conversions have taken place without approval from the Department of Agrarian Reform (DAR). Among the alleged illegal land conversions are those of Hacienda Luisa of Rep. Celestino Martinez, Club Barili of Jesus Garcia et al., Andaya Property of EMRO which is reportedly owned by former Governor Emilio Osmeña and the Aznars, and the Sta. Lucia Realty and Development Corporation projects in Pardo (Bersales, 1994).

Despite the poor implementation of the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) in Cebu with a low accomplishment rate of 33 percent in 1993, the United Cebu Landowners' Association had appealed earlier to Congress to exempt Cebu Province from the coverage of the program. The landowners reasoned that CARP curtails the industrialization of the province and has failed to improve the quality of life of tenant farmers. According to them some lands in the province are not suitable for agriculture. Industries can provide farmers job with better income than what they can earn by selling their produce. On the other hand, the Farmers' Development Corporation (FARDEC), an NGO working among peasants, has voiced its strong opposition against the landowners' move and has asserted that industrialization should come only after agrarian reform.

The land conversion issue is not simply a conflict between land developers and farmers who are displaced and reportedly harassed in some instances. At greater stake is the public interest. Cebu City has been experiencing mudflows and flash floods in recent years. Though these problems may be attributed to the denudation of Cebu's mountain, soil erosion and clogging of drainage, the DENR has observed abnormal build-up of silt in creeks near big subdivision developments. Silt accumulated in the riverbed leads to the overflowing of rivers during continuous rain. In some instances, silt has clogged the drainage system

of the nearby areas. Five big subdivision projects are being developed in Metro Cebu. But the City Planning Office has yet to monitor three subdivision projects that are located in Cebu City after it has issued development permits, a function devolved to local LGUs.

While five lives were lost in the September flash flood in Minglanilla, the DENR and local officials are engaged in an argument. The DENR was criticized for the "failure" of the reforestation efforts in Cebu to which it countered that it has alerted local officials on nine flood-prone areas in Cebu as early as last year. Cebu Provincial Governor Garcia, Lapulapu City Mayor Ernest Weigel and Cebu City Mayor Alvin Garcia are petitioning the ouster of DENR Regional Office Director Jeremias Dalino.

Labor. While LGUs in Cebu capitalize on cheap labor as a strong selling point to attract investments, labor advocates maintain that real economic development must effectively address the problems of poverty and promote human development.

An inquiry into Cebu's employment structure reveals that while unemployment rate decreased from 6.3 percent in 1987 to 4.6 percent in 1993, underemployment rate rose from 21 percent to 22.8 percent. The implication is that decrease in unemployment does not necessarily mean increase in the number of available jobs but that new entrants to the labor force are less selective about the jobs that are readily available (Carnaje, 1994).

A study conducted by the University of San Carlos in September 1991 characterized the workforce and structure of employment in MEPZ to be low-paying assembly work with little opportunity for skills upgrading and upward mobility, with extensive practice of overtime work, insecure job tenure, unorganized labor force, and sexual division of labor where men are assigned supervisory work and the women to assembly line production (Thukinoy, 1991).

Whether the boom has trickled down can be gleaned from the NSO Family Income and Expenditures Survey. The total family income in Cebu City was P6,705 million and the average annual family income was P60,622.00 in 1988. In 1991 the total family income was P9,588 million and the average annual family income was P78,009.00. While nominal incomes increased

during the period, the purchasing power of the peso declined from P1.00 in 1988 (base year) to P0.60 in 1991. The real or adjusted total family income in 1991 of P5,850 million and the average family income of P47,595.00 were below the 1988 levels.

In 1991, the upper 20 percent families earning P100,000 and over accounted for 51.4 percent of the total family income while the lower 80 percent had a share of 48 percent. In comparison, about 29 percent of families earning P60,000 and above (with a similar level of purchasing power as the upper income group in 1991) had 65 percent of total income in 1988. The other 71 percent of families shared 35 percent of the total income.

A new phenomenon has emerged among Cebu's export-oriented industries. Subcontracting, also referred to as "casualization of labor", is a practice wherein a registered or unregistered enterprise hires contractual workers on the basis of need and are paid on a piecemeal basis. While the informal subcontracting arrangement has provided the export manufacturing firms such as furniture, garments and fashion accessories with the flexibility to adjust and grow despite fluctuating market conditions, workers are faced with the problem of security of tenure.

A situational analysis on child labor was conducted in 1991 by the Area Research Training Center of USC. The rapid appraisal survey of 600 households in Mandaue and Lapulapu cities indicated that the incidence of child labor is 22 percent with the children ranging from three to 14 years old. Working children were engaged in retan sanding, shell stringing and box pasting, broom making, stone craft and sea weed gathering, pyrotechnic production and informal vending activities (Remedios, 1991).

Housing. Cebu's economic prosperity has attracted a heavy influx of migrants from the rural areas and neighboring provinces. The decade of the '80s saw the proliferation of slums and informal settlements in Cebu. An informal land survey identified 561 informal settlements occupied by 61,940 families representing 57 percent of the projected household population in Cebu City's urban core (Thirrell, 1992). The average population density of 74,610 persons/square kilometer is 17 times the density of the city's urban population excluding informal land occupants or 40 times the population density of Cebu City (urban and rural).

at 1,849 persons/square kilometer. These settlements have limited access to basic services like water, sanitation, electricity and drainage.

While the Cebu government has already spent P20 million during Osmeña's term to acquire property for resettlement and housing projects for the urban poor, there is still a backlog of 10,000 units and an additional 1,000 units every year.

Although 464 homeowners' associations have been organized in the City, the Community Mortgage Program (CMP) is inadequate to address the housing needs of the urban poor. Housing advocates pointed out that at present only 15 percent of the national housing budget is allocated to CMP. Ratio-wise, Luzon gets the lion's share in terms of CMP take-outs (*CMP Bulletin*, 1994). The 1994 data show that the rate of CMP take-outs in relation to housing need was highest in Luzon at 73.4 percent, followed by Mindanao (60.0 percent), and the Visayas (23.5).

The new mayor, Alvin Garcia, intends to address the housing problem by tapping the 20 percent total cost of housing development undertaken by developers as provided in the Urban Development Housing Act (UDHA) of 1991.

Environmental Degradation. While Cebu is projected to be prosperous, its natural resource base is fast degenerating. Cebu has zero forest cover. Intensified land use has resulted in massive soil erosion, siltation and ground water pollution. Mangrove forests in all of Cebu's coasts have been destroyed to give way to fishports, fishponds and reclamation projects. Cebu's industrial projects have generated environmental hazards.

Some projects do not have enough feasibility studies balancing the economic and ecological consequences of development. Big establishments such as hotels, beach resorts, and shopping malls produce a big volume of waste water which goes directly to the drainage without undergoing treatment. Some were built even without an environmental clearance in violation of PD 1856 otherwise known as the Philippine Environmental Impact System. Others have their Environmental Compliance Certificate (ECC) processed in Manila. Unless Cebuanos act to control pollution, particularly air pollution, Cebu will soon be another Manila.

Social Cost. Some local planners assume that there is an apparent correlation between tourism and increased investments. However, the influx of tourists has led to the proliferation of sex shops masked as karaoke or sing-along bars. A study revealed a high incidence of drug addiction among the city's commercial sex workers and the high risk of HIV contamination (Wenceslao and Morgaya, 1994). The Narcotics Command (NARCOM) reported that with more international flights, the Mactan International Airport has become transshipment point for international shabu syndicates (*SunStar*, October 10, 1994). The "boom" years also witness the rising phenomena of juvenile delinquency, drug addiction, vandalism, street children, child abuse, domestic violence against women, and female-headed family households.

Assessment

Cebu's phenomenal economic performance and growth potential have ushered the expansion and development of neighboring "growth centers" spawned by local entrepreneurship and foreign capital. Industrial estates and economic zones, conceived as vehicles to develop outward-looking and world-oriented investment schemes, also provide employment opportunities and impetus to strengthen and expand domestic industries. Sustaining Cebu's economic momentum and forward thrust towards industrialization is envisioned to catapult the province to join the ranks of newly-industrialized economies in Asia.

Amidst this "growth mania", several themes have emerged from the Cebu experience in the past several years which could enrich our insights into urban planning and development.

1. Despite its lack of resources and neglect by the national government, Cebu was able to transform the island into a viable and vibrant economy.
2. Decentralization and local autonomy rekindle and reinforce local initiative and the spirit of self-reliance.
3. Political leadership steeled with political will can mobilize various sectors in society to translate its vision into reality.

4. A harmonious partnership between the government and the private sector is instrumental in harnessing the potentials and productive capacity of the economic base.

5. Human resources are the prime assets of a city/province/country. The entrepreneurial spirit, innovativeness and resiliency of a people enable them to transcend constraints and maximize opportunities.

The replicability of Cebu's showcase remains a matter of conjecture. Its uniqueness lies in the fact that a confluence of factors, forces and key players were operative at the same time—a conducive environment, visionary leadership, responsive private sector, availability of foreign assistance, funding and support, and a dynamic people.

However, like any other metropolis, Metro Cebu, particularly Cebu City, the "urban core", is not spared from the problems and maladies associated with urbanization and industrialization. Metro Cebu has to contend with the birth pangs of a fast-track economic transformation. Several issues merit closer attention and require mitigating measures or actions.

1. Economic growth does not always reach the target beneficiaries equitably. Government planners tend to assume that the economic benefits will automatically trickle down and broaden the economic base. However, access to political and economic resources by the marginalized sectors including the informal economy remains limited. Only the upper crust of the poor has availed of the credit, financial assistance and training to uplift their economic plight.

2. While efforts are made to balance urban settlements by developing secondary and intermediate cities with growth potential, the need for a metropolitan authority (without sacrificing local autonomy) cannot be overemphasized; the form, mandate and jurisdiction are to be threshed out among the LGUs concerned. How to reconcile the parochial outlook of some LGUs vis-a-vis an integrated area development framework poses a challenge.

3. Metropolitan planning can be effective and efficient if the LGUs involved are ready. Building and strengthening the institutional capabilities of

the LGUs at the municipal level in terms of planning capability, infrastructure development, financial management system, personnel capabilities, service delivery, and project monitoring is a priority. The financial viability of LGUs is measured not only in terms of the ability to provide counterpart fund for foreign-assisted projects but also to generate recurrent budget to cover the operating and maintenance cost of these projects.

4. Policy conflicts and jurisdictional claims underscore the need to strengthen vertical coordination between the national, regional and local governments involved in planning and implementation; likewise, horizontal coordination among various agencies at the local level is needed to produce the desired result.

5. Investments in social services lag behind infrastructure development. Cebu's development thrust focuses on changing the physical landscape, promoting the business climate, and developing and reclaiming lands for high-end uses. Population growth and immigration have already strained existing social services. Safety nets are not adequate to mitigate the adverse effects of those affected or disoriented by development.

6. Research and Development (R&D) are indispensable to attain the goal of industrialization. Technology transfer from multinational corporations remains to be desired. Simultaneous with the development of industrial estates, technology parks must be set up to promote diffusion of appropriate technology and ensure the utilization of R&D outputs consistent with the development thrust.

7. Cebu's growth has surged so rapidly that metro planners are beginning to think in terms of a Greater Metro Cebu. However, Cebu has yet to draw a comprehensive land use plan and a master plan for water supply. Spatial development needs to be supported by economic and social policies. Policy gaps and inconsistencies require policy re-examination and reformulation. Mactan's existing land use exemplifies the need to clarify two seemingly contradictory priorities—developing this limestone beach island into an industrial site and tourism destination at the same time. Legislation is also needed to require MCWD, which is authorized to extract water, to reforest Cebu's bald mountains. Also to be resolved are sensitive issues that have emerged recently. Can other LGUs draw precious resources such as water from an LGU without its

consent? How about city-based activities that cause environmental hazards affecting other LGUs and their constituents beyond their boundaries?

8. There is a need to integrate environmental considerations in the development process even at the early stage of project design and planning. The DENR has revealed that the Cebu Trans-Central Highway was built without the benefit of an impact study. Social acceptability of projects needs to be considered too. Nonetheless, improving environmental stewardship often requires political acceptance of potential and demonstrated adverse effect, compromise becomes inevitable. At times government bureaucrats have to rely on political patronage to keep their positions.

9. Though political leaders are responsible for changing Cebu's physical and economic landscape, their involvement may not be entirely dissociated from their personal stake in Cebu's development. While it is a fact that GO-private sector partnership proves to be effective in promoting investments,

convergence of interests between politicians and the business sector has implications on the power structure which tends to solidify the influence of these two forces. Private sector representation in the RDC is dominated by business and civic leaders. The NGOs have complained that full council meetings are "controlled" by a powerful "few" and issues were reportedly "screened" by the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA).

IN its truest sense, the "Cebu Boom" pertains not only to the present economic transformation. It also embodies the hope of every Cebuano for what Cebu will be, or rather should be, in the years to come. Its future lies in the ability and willingness of the leadership supported by the different sectors in society to sustain Cebu's development not just economically but also socially, ecologically and administratively. The response to this challenge is a daunting task. The legendary Cebu or Cebu, a legend lost? The Cebuanos must make a clear choice before it is too late.



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Comment

Anna Marie A. Karaos

My knowledge of Cebu and the recent economic miracle now taking place in that island province is admittedly very scant. I used to spend summer vacations in Cebu as a child since my mother is a Cebuana, but the Cebu I knew and experienced then is an immensely different place; it is in a sense many decades behind, not only in chronological years, but more in terms of the great leap in the level of development it has reached within a short period. Thus I must say that Professor Etemadi's paper has given me a wealth of information about what is now going on in Cebu, its economic achievements in the last ten years, the factors responsible for this economic miracle, as well as the problems that this development has created.

Secondly, given the theme of this conference which is "Coordination, Cooperation and Conflict in Global Society," and my limited knowledge of the development processes in Cebu which is the topic of the paper, I am not quite sure how I should frame my reactions to Professor Etemadi's paper. Be that as it may, I would like to offer some of my own reflections and ideas on the "Philippines' Legendary Best Seller," as Cebu is now being called, touching on themes which are central to a sociological interpretation of urbanization processes today.

Professor Etemadi's paper gives the reader a good sense of what made for the success of Cebu's economic drive. It identifies the key factors and actors involved in this dynamic process and in particular, underscores the importance of political leadership, private sector cooperation, financial resources and management in successful development initiatives such as have been attempted in Cebu. By themselves, these factors

offer valuable lessons for local governments all over the country aspiring for some measure of economic prosperity in this highly globalized and competitive world order.

The paper also alerts us to some of the more serious environmental and social problems caused by Cebu's overdevelopment. There are impending signs of what could soon become an overheating economy driven to malfunction by the neglect of the social and environmental costs of rapid growth. This "other side" of the Cebu miracle completes the picture Professor Etemadi draws for us beginning from the opening paragraphs where she points to two widely differing perceptions of the Cebu phenomenon: one ecstatically optimistic, and the other thoroughly alarmed at the course Cebu's economic development has taken.

What seems lost in this presentation, however, is a sense of the social conflicts that have been or are being generated in the process of Cebu's economic growth. There seems to be a sociologically significant emergent phenomenon being highlighted by the Cebu experience. It is possibly the same phenomenon being repeated in many other urban places throughout the world but we see it so vividly happening in Cebu because of the exceptionally fast pace of development going on in that city. It is the phenomenon of people and communities living in rapidly modernizing areas losing control of the development processes happening around them. This control is not to be understood in a purely administrative or political sense, but in a real and immediate sense.

The whole development of Cebu is being planned around the expansion of corporate interests, of business and industry and it is not so

clear where people and communities figure in all this. It is shopping malls, hotels, office buildings, gigantic industrial complexes, even golf courses, gaining precedence over people's living spaces. By living spaces, I do not merely mean physical space or land, but the whole living environment which guarantees people an acceptable quality of life. The whole environmental issue as exemplified by the problem of water that Professor Etemadi mentions is an issue of living space. With the onslaught of typhoon Mameng, we saw how floods can devastate entire towns and wipe away entire villages in a matter of hours. Professor Etemadi says in her paper how floods are increasingly becoming frequent in Cebu. We can install the most sophisticated flood control systems yet still be unable to solve the problem of killer floods on the one hand, and water shortages on the other. The most crucial problem here I think is not only that water resources are fast being depleted, or that mountains are being denuded and eroded because of uncontrolled logging, or rivers are silting up because of industrial pollutants, but the fact that the local population has absolutely lost control of how resources, be it land, water, air, are being used and for what purposes they are being used. Governments and corporations have decidedly taken over the growth processes in our cities.

This is the bane of industrial modernity which our cities are experiencing. The problems of pollution, congestion, homelessness, unemployment, poverty, crime, domestic abuse, are not only unfortunate consequences of rapid modernization begging for solutions. They are, in fact, signs of a malfunctioning economic system which has so designed our cities to act mainly as growth machines, rather than as living environments for people. Based on this logic, the key decision-makers, the gate-keepers who control the direction of urban development, are the corporate and urban managers and the technocrats. This "cities as growth machine" logic is what needs to be challenged and reexamined. The problems we must contend with are only consequences of the fact that people have lost control of their urban environments.

And so the challenge that confronts governments, as well as city dwellers or citizens, is not only that of instituting measures to mitigate the harmful effects of development. The problem is not only a matter of compensating or balancing costs

with benefits or putting in place "mitigating measures." Ultimately it must be seen as a problem of involving the people in deciding the course of development.

I would like to know how much of this is being attempted in Cebu and whether Cebu's political leaders are willing to move more and more in this direction as modernization and economic growth accelerates. My own impression is that the city government was more accommodating of popular participation in the past than it is today. It is a fact that the local government has assumed a very aggressive and interventionist role in Cebu's economic take-off. As economic growth and urban expansion accelerates, what will become of this role? How is the government dealing with citizens' groups making claims on the state and on the resources of the city? How are the modes and systems of governance changing? Are they tending towards inclusion or exclusion?

David Korten, author of the book on NGOs entitled *Getting into the 21st Century*, wrote in an article for a Habitat II newsletter about the condition of cities in today's highly globalized economic system the way he saw it and I quote, "The breach between the people and their governments has become a great chasm. As that chasm grows, people are coming to realize that their future depends on reclaiming the inherent power of civil society from economic and political systems ruled in secret by distant and unaccountable global corporations and financial institutions."

In the context of our discussion here on Cebu, equally important would be to see what forms of popular actions the people, especially the disadvantaged sectors, are evolving to make their voices and their interests heard by decision-makers and development planners. Are there signs that people are asserting themselves to "reclaim the power of civil society," as David Korten put it? What are the people doing to gain control of Cebu's development? Answers to these questions just as crucial to Cebu's economic and urban trajectory as are the issues Professor Etemadi lists in the latter part of her paper. In this sense I completely agree with her that whether Cebu ascends to being truly legendary or descends to becoming a lost legend will ultimately depend on the choice that Cebuans themselves make.

Development Initiatives in Mindanao

Eva K. Tan

Immediately before and after the Second World War, the island of Mindanao was the focus of attention of a major government program. It was designated as the country's resettlement area. Thus, waves of migrating population from the Visayas and Luzon arrived to seek a better life in Mindanao.

Some migrants made it big in Mindanao. Others were contented to own and farm a piece of land, a dream which eluded them in Visayas and Luzon. Others became workers in plantations, a replication of the kind of life they escaped from. The natives, on the other hand, were at first happy with the exodus of new faces, until they realized that they were slowly being displaced from their ancestral lands.

Sociologists love to describe Mindanao as a melting pot of culture. It is an interesting study of how cultures blend, and how it boiled, literally. In the 1970s, the result of mishandling such major migration program became apparent. The government policy on Mindanao was not accompanied by any other development programs. Complaints of displacement by natives, non-provision of basic services by government, and a litany of neglect surfaced. There was a pocket rebellion among the native Muslim population which wanted to secede from the Philippine Republic. This became known as the Mindanao Problem. This problem is still under negotiation and

the results may alter to a large extent the on-going development efforts in Mindanao.

The Location

Mindanao is the second largest of the Philippines' 7,100 islands. It is located in the southernmost section of the country, comprising a land area of 102,043 square kilometers. It geographically includes the islands of Sulu, Basilan, and Tawi-Tawi. It is presently composed of four administrative regions (Regions 9, 10, 11, and 12) and one autonomous region (the Autonomous Region for Muslim Mindanao).

There are presently 14.8 million people belonging to the different ethnic groups in Mindanao comprising 23 percent of the country's population. A total of 26 local dialects are spoken in the area with English and Pilipino as the media of instruction in the school system. One-third of the population is young, aged 15-19 years old, with a literacy rate of over 90 percent.

Mindanao contributes 36 percent of the Philippines' total agricultural production. Its major crops are rubber, pineapple, cacao, banana, coffee, corn, coconut, and cotton. Most of these are bought and exported by transnational corporations. It is also rich in natural resources. Gold and nickel deposits have been found and are being extracted in the area.

The MEDCO

Against this backdrop of problems and potentials, the government is embarking on a new large-scale program for Mindanao. It has created the MEDCO (Mindanao Economic Development Council), to "promote and coordinate the active and extensive participation of all sectors to effect the socio-economic development of Mindanao". The MEDCO was created by Executive Order 512 on March 19, 1992 and has identified two main development strategies for Mindanao: 1. full physical integration through infrastructure projects that will better integrate the region's 15 million people into a vibrant economic unit and an attractive consumer market; and 2. strengthening of Mindanao's direct global trade and economic link, through the East ASEAN sub-region of which Mindanao is a component.

The MEDCO is headed by Presidential Assistant for Mindanao, Paul Dominguez. It is being assisted by the Agricultural Policy Research and Advocacy Assistance Program (APRAAP) and DMJM International in the formulation of the Mindanao Plan.

The Mindanao 2000 Framework Plan

A few years back, a framework plan for Mindanao was formulated by a group of foreign consultants and presented to the different regions. However, the plan was strongly criticized and MEDCO was forced to tap the local group (APRAAP) to revise the contents of the plan. This revised plan is now called Mindanao 2000.

The Vision and Mission

Economist Lourdes Adriano, the team leader of the local group, states the vision of the plan as follows:

The Mindanao 2000 Framework Plan sees agriculture and agro-industries to be the dominant sectors, complemented by a widening range of light manufacturing industries, tourism, finance, and other services. Sustained growth will be insured by increased capital formation through

public and private sector investments, human resources development, and the "judicious" use of Mindanao's natural riches.

The mission is the creation of the Mindanao, Inc., a unique island-wide economic entity whose immediate beneficiaries are all Mindanaons, with the private sector serving as the engine of growth. Its goal is the transformation of Mindanao's fragmented economy into an integrated, dynamic, and sustainable economy.

Anchored on private sector initiatives, it will pursue a "market-oriented diversification" towards higher value-added activities. Government will only provide the right environment for the private sector to flourish. Where interventions are needed, government action will be transparent so that bureaucracy can be held accountable by those who will be affected.

Strategies

The plan is market driven, export oriented, and investment generating. It's major targets are agricultural development and agri-industrialization; the strengthening of economic growth zones (EGZ) or clusters; and social development.

Seven economic growth zones have been identified in Mindanao. These are Socsoargen, Davao Gulf, Agusur, CIC expanded, Greater Cotabato/Illana Bay, Pangulil Bay-Mt. Malindang, Zamboanga-Zulu. Two of these growth zones, the Socsoargen (South Cotabato-Sarangani-General Santos area) and the CIC (Cagayan de Oro-Iligan City Corridor) have the advantage of being the priority areas in the Philippine Assistance Package. Billions of pesos have already been poured into these two growth zones for infrastructure projects.

Government Initiatives

The government is presently leading the way in four key areas to encourage private investment to follow. Major initiatives have been undertaken in the areas of infrastructure, trade (particularly in the BIMP-EAGA), peace and order, and policy reforms.

Roads, bridges, and ports. The government has programmed P4.9 billion worth of infrastructure projects in Mindanao under its "flagship programs". Most of the road projects are already under construction. It has also renovated many of the airports and terminals in Mindanao, and has started the international airport in General Santos City. General Santos City is also the site for the multi-million seaport and fishing port.

In addition to these "flagship programs", the government has earmarked P49.6 billion for road projects in Mindanao.

The BIMPE-EAGA. The East Asean Growth Area project is an agreement among four countries (Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines) to harness and develop the growth potentials of their contiguous areas within the eastern triangle. These areas are 1. Brunei Darussalam; 2. North Sulawesi, East Kalimantan, and West Kalimantan of Indonesia; 3. Sabah, Sarawak, and Labuan of Malaysia; and 4. Mindanao and Palawan of the Philippines.

Cooperation and integration through 13 working groups are now being held. These are in the areas of air linkages, sea transport and shipping, fisheries, tourism, people mobility, environmental protection and management, energy, construction and construction materials, telecommunications, human resource development, agro-industry, capital formation and financial services, and forestry. Several activities have been implemented in these areas with the lead country sponsoring the activity. In May 1995 alone, 11 activities were held ranging from the Meeting on Forestry in Sarawak to the Meeting on Energy in Balikpapan. In 1994, the First Mindanao Floating Exposition was held in Sandakan, Malaysia.

Policy Reforms. In support to the implementation of the projects under the Mindanao Plan, the government has undertaken policy changes such as 1. deregulation of telecommunications; 2. deregulation of the domestic shipping industry; (under MC #71-A and EO 185); 3. sea and air travel tax exemptions for Mindanao-EAGA routes (under MC #85); and 4. liberalization of domestic and international aviation.

Peace and Order. Still on the dialogue stage is the GRP-MNLF Peace Talks which the government is actively pursuing. Parallel to this is

the formulation of a Mindanao Agenda for Peace and Development which is the extension of the NUC (National Unification Committee) initiatives of the '90s.

Private Initiatives

The private sector, expected to contribute its organized efforts to the implementation of the development plan, has responded well particularly in the growth centers of Davao City, General Santos City, Cagayan de Oro City, Iligan City, and Zamboanga City. An example is the Mindanao Information Network for Development Center Foundation, Inc. or MIND Center, a newly-organized nongovernment organization which primarily aims to provide continuity and coordination to the development efforts in the Socsoargen area. The incorporators of MIND Center are the local and national government agencies, the private sector led by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, nongovernment organizations, and the academe. Since its creation, it has become an important center of business information for both local and foreign investors. It has also stepped up its trade and investment promotions and enterprise project facilitation services in the area. It is supported by the Philippine-German Cooperation Office which is funding a similar investment center in Iligan City.

Established to involve the private sector in the development efforts, these organizations have worked hand in hand with government in meetings, dialogues, and summits. They have been particularly active in the Human Resource Development Summits, in the Businessmen's Conferences, and in the Mindanao Agenda for Peace and Development.

Some Reactions to the Mindanao Plan

The major effort to develop Mindanao is viewed not only as a showcase of cooperation between government and nongovernment sectors, but as an integrated, people-centered development plan. When the framework plan was first presented to the public, there were strong comments on its lack of provisions for social development and equity. Thus, the plan was redesigned with the social aspect being taken care of largely by the Social Reform Agenda.

The Social Reform Agenda is the Ramos administration's commitment to attain balanced economic growth with social equity. It focuses on poverty alleviation and countryside development. Along these goals, a series of poverty summits and peace and development fora have already been conducted along with the BIMPEAGA initiatives. It is thus premature to judge the plan implementation at this stage when consultations are still underway.

However, there are some initial reactions from various personalities based in Mindanao.

On foreign investment

The plan opens the gate to foreign investment. In Davao City, for example, one island has been slated for development by Malaysian investors for tourism. In Socabgen and in Central Mindanao, mining and oil explorations are being undertaken by companies from Canada and Australia. From 1993 to 1994 alone, the percent increase in foreign investments is 133.33 percent. The pattern of foreign investment shows that these are largely on resource extraction/exploration and not on the export industries which the Philippines hopes to develop. The Mindanao Plan is therefore viewed by the alternative sector as an instrument promoting the exploitation of the multinational corporations.

On Women's Concerns

A women's group in Davao City has spoken up against the possible effect of tourism on women. Since Davao City has been slated for service and tourism, the group expects to have an increase in the incidence of prostitution, and the subsequent spread of AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases. Furthermore, support institutions such as day care and crisis centers for women are not yet adequate to service the needs of working women in an industrialized society.

On Manpower Development

The human resource development program to complement the developmental projects are still moving at a snail's pace. It will take time for training institutions to respond to the training needs of

workers. Several studies have pointed out the mismatch between outputs of the education sector and the requirements of industry, but this has not yet been addressed by the programs of the DECS or the TESDA. There is a danger that the management and skilled workforce of these export industries will be manned by people outside of Mindanao, depriving Mindanaons of the job opportunities.

On Land Use and Allocation

An expert on population in the region voiced the fear that with the increasing use of land for industries, Mindanao will be faced with a shrinking area for agricultural production. Since there is no large-scale effort to improve the irrigation system and post harvest facilities for agriculture, farmers in the "rice bowl" are slowly shifting to other crops. The spectre of a permanent rice importation seems to be in the horizon.

It is also possible that agri-industrialization will push people into marginal lands which are usually found in the less developed areas of Mindanao. This migration will be an additional burden to the poorer regions which are relying on regular government support. Although the poverty alleviation program of the Social Reform Agenda seeks to provide the equity that is demanded by people in the plan, this is not pursued with as much vigor as the move for industrialization. There is a need to plan out for the displacement of people due to industrialization, and for a land allocation plan which will maintain the required land for agricultural production.

Polarization Effect

The growth zone approach presents the danger of "polarization" in terms of population and investment. The four main growth areas of the plan—Davao City, General Santos City, Cagayan de Oro City and Ligan City—are the main targets of investment or "flagship projects". The strategy aims to develop these areas so that the development will "trickle down" or produce ripples to the other areas. This trickle or ripple is expected to hit other cities five, ten or more years from now. Meanwhile, cities such as Comabato City are starting to lose their businessmen and intelligentsia who are moving out to Davao City or General Santos City.

Program Sustainability

Below is an analysis of the Mindanao Plan using ten criteria for sustainability.

The vision—the plan for Mindanao is laudable considering that it aims to develop an area which has been neglected for long and to change the image of Mindanao as the "backdoor of the Philippines" and substitute the concept of "gateway to the Philippines". The fact that it includes the development of other depressed areas in the East Asian Triangle prepares the future generation for greater opportunities in the region.

Environment friendly—efforts are being taken to avoid the destruction of the environment which is usually the by-product of rapid industrialization. The government has held consultations on watershed preservation, and the Mindanao Agenda for Peace and Development puts environment as a priority issue. However, the foreign investments being attracted are mostly mining and exploration concerns, whose impact cannot be quantified at this stage. There were also protests from the residents of Cagayan de Oro and Iligan regarding the environmental impact of the development plans for the Cagayan de Oro-Iligan Corridor, the center of industrialization efforts.

Participatory approach—efforts are made to involve the people in the planning process as shown by the various consultations. However, there are complaints that in addition to government, the same people (usually big business) were asked to participate, with small business relegated to the sidelines. On the other hand, some participants complain that suggestions given during consultations are not included in the resolutions.

Economic viability—in terms of cost and benefit effect of the projects envisioned in the plan, these were thoroughly studied by a team of economists. The system of determining the "flagship projects" carries with it the certainty that these are economically viable. The private sector investments, on which the whole development efforts depend, however, remains to be studied and analyzed.

Culture-based—this is not explicit in the plan although the tourism target capitalizes on the culture of the tribes in Mindanao. Several sectors, however, lament the lack of importance given by MEDCO to proposals for uplifting the plight of tribal minorities.

Self-Sustaining—since the Peace Talks between the GRP and the MNLF are still on-going, there is no certainty that the plan will be self-sustaining. As one of the members in the peace panel confided, the results of the dialogue can unmake the whole development efforts in Mindanao.

Wholistic—the Poverty Summit and the Mindanao Agenda for Peace and Development attempt to make the plan wholistic. Those not addressed in the plan document are supposed to be covered by these. The document for the Mindanao Agenda for Peace and Development includes at this stage provisions for social, physical, and spiritual concerns which will complement the development efforts.

Responsive—the development plan is perceived to focus primarily on industrialization. It does not respond so much to global concerns for women, children, technology transfer, and labor. However, the participatory process being undertaken is surfacing these concerns.

Program Transformation—the plan is designed to be a turning point towards progress, not only for Mindanao but also for the rest of the East Asian region. Its vision of making EAGA the new tiger of Asia will certainly be a transformation.

Replicability—the growth center concept being adopted in the plan has potentials of replicability not only in other parts of the Philippines, but in other countries as well. However, the process of implementing the plan is crucial to its replicability, since similar plans have failed before. At this stage, other parts of Mindanao which are not beneficiaries of the flagship programs are impatient to know if the ripples will reach them soon, or a century after.

THE development effort in Mindanao is viewed as a "refreshing wind of change" which will put Mindanao in the forefront of the drive to NICHood as envisioned by Philippines 2000. I have just presented a summary of the plan and the initial reaction of people who will be affected by the plan. These reactions may yet be addressed by the implementors in the near future, but it will be proper to say that we have called attention to concerns which might be overlooked to make the process of development more sustainable.



Meliton B. Juanico

Professor Tan has cited in a fairly exhaustive manner the deficiencies in the Mindanao 2000 Framework Plan. I agree with her that it is about time that the government redresses its long-standing negligence of Mindanao since Spanish times. As many know, Mindanao has historically been deprived of the full and honest government attention that it deserves. It has been mostly viewed by "Imperial Manila" as a land to be selectively exploited and be the dumping ground of the excess population of Luzon. One can still remember the government's LASEDECO and NARRA resettlement programs under the Magsaysay administration. The selective exploitation has resulted in uneven development in the so-called "Land of Promise" as seen in the high incidence of poverty, inequality and unemployment among the people.

Professor Tan has cited aspects that, if left unattended, will nullify the development efforts of the government in the long run. These neglected dimensions include paying lip service to questions of equity and poverty alleviation; more preference given to the elite/formal sector in investment opportunities; over participation by multinational corporations in the development of the island's natural resources; undesirable effects of tourism activities on women; mismatch between educational training and industrial requirements; shrinking area for agricultural production that has pushed people to the uplands as well as displaced indigenous communities from their ancestral lands; and undue focus or dependence on the growth center strategy and its assumed economic trickling down effects. These are valid complaints which indeed need the immediate and synergistic attention of the government. These deficiencies, however, need to be fleshed out in Professor Tan's paper in order to provide policy-makers with more concrete guides for action.

From a broader perspective, I should like to add my own observations about the deficiencies in the government's framework plan initiatives. Using the government's goals/strategies as contained in its Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan, i.e., the goals of global competitiveness, people empowerment, sustainable development and food

sufficiency, I should like to point out that the Mindanao Plan focuses lopsidedly on global competitiveness and infrastructure development. The first goal is too business- and economically-oriented and the focus on infrastructure can drastically drain scarce resources since such activity is capital-intensive. There appears to be no balanced attention to people empowerment, sustainable development, food sufficiency (if not food security) and rural human settlements. The government must also make the people participating partners in development, otherwise, such a development will be short-lived. Economic efforts should have an eye on the wise management of natural resources, or there can be no sustainable development. Insurance of enough, if not surplus, food supply must be pursued for both social and strategic reasons. Overdependence on the growth center strategy as inspired by the neoclassical economic growth model without the complementary use of alternative rural center models can result in stagnant development. Thus, a true development scheme for Mindanao should be multifaceted, i.e., aside from the economic sense, in the socio-political, environmental and spatial sense.

Thus, the above observations point to certain directions that public policy should take. Sectorally, there should be more people empowerment as granted by the government and particularly focused on poverty-alleviation and employment-generation programs. More importantly, there should be a type of empowerment where the people themselves initiate their moves to insure that the trickling down effect from the upper to the lower classes will occur. Environmentally, there should be a strict implementation of land use and environmental policies that would rationally use the land in terms of protection, production (especially food), industrial and settlement uses. This further means that there should be a balance between business investments, technology and cultural values. In the spatial sense, there should be equal focus on the development of rural centers where developmental impulses should be brought directly and where selective closure strategies should be implemented to prevent the leakage of factors of production back to the large urban centers.

Philippine Political Islam and the Emerging Fundamentalist Strand

Julkpli M. Wadi

The resurgence of dominant belief systems characterizes domestic and world politics at present. It manifests in various forms and in varying magnitude, among which is political Islam. Although a relatively new phenomenon, it is as a deeply-entrenched feature in Philippine Muslim struggle, as shown lately in the high degree of accentuation of fundamentalist strand in the spectrum of Muslim movements, specifically in their politico-religious rhetorics and dynamics.

It is the hypothesis of this paper that the emerging pattern of ideological thoughts of Muslim movements has thrived towards a more politically fundamentalist stance thereby showing a big mark from the Muslim movements before the 1960s and making an impact that is obviously difficult to deal with by today's *Realpolitik*. Apart from the present political configuration in the south, this ideological pattern of fundamentalist strand comes to fore as the atmosphere of Philippine politics is fertile with both internal and international confluences of political Islam.

Political Islam with its fundamentalist strand commonly labeled "Islamic fundamentalism" has created global and domestic stirrs. It has elicited a great deal of reactions from various persuasions. In the systemic level, the NATO identified "Islamic fundamentalism" as a force to reckon with after

the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union. In some countries in the Middle East, Africa, Eastern Europe and Asia, Islamic fundamentalism is conceived as the cause of political agitation while in some quarters, it is considered as a struggle towards a new alternative. On its part, the Philippine government admits that Islamic fundamentalism is a threat to national security. What is apparent is the fact that Islamic fundamentalism is part of the evolution of political Islam since the colonial era. While the feature of political Islam is relatively old in the Philippines, it has lately undergone a "paradigm shift." Unlike in the past, there is today a pattern of threshing out some Islamic ideological components among Muslim movements as justification for their struggles.

Concomitant with this development, a new wave of political dynamics enters the scene and radically alters the political configuration of peace in Mindanao. These dynamics are armed with a seemingly unconventional kind of politics with a relatively distinct ideological mooring and subsequently astride in a challenged poise against the wisdom of *Realpolitik*. This, in effect, leads to the repositioning of government policy towards the age-old "Muslim Problem" in the country. Such repositioning is precipitated by the evolution of Muslim political struggle from a relatively secular

standpoint towards a more pronounced religious tone in political rhetorics. Apart from the on-going surge of Islamic dynamics, it is precipitated by the emergence of the *Abu Sayyaf* movement. In so short a time, this movement has unleashed an impact reaching an unprecedented proportion. In 1994, for instance, the government spent some P360 million in its attempt to quell the Islamic advance. This is not to mention the continuing rage and the number of casualties inflicted by both sides and the dim prospect of foreign and local investments being shelved.

This paper thus focuses on the most recent fundamentalist strand of Philippine political Islam, its ideological pattern and dynamics, the brand of fundamentalist textual sources, how these are interpreted and how political rhetorics are employed. Eventually, some of its constraints and imperatives and its corresponding policy implications will be identified.

Convergence and Divergence

Today's political discourses are characterized in part by the impact of Kuhn's post-behavioralism capturing a holistic view of facts and values. In *Spiritual Politics*, Mc Laughlin and Davidson (1994) underline the coming of a "transformational politics" which [sic] "is a more holistic approach, promoting a symbiosis between personal and social change." Armed with the "Ageless Wisdom Tradition," this kind of politics offers a "profound synthesis of spirituality and politics" deeply-entrenched in Christian, Jewish and Islamic mysticisms and other Eastern teachings on Hinduism, Taoism, and Buddhism. This tradition is extrapolated to present politics as "an interconnected, whole system of view based on mutual causality."

In a sense, it may be construed as a response to "permissive cornucopia" of liberalism and the continuing search for alternative political paradigm in the post-scientific society (Brzezinski, 1993). This realization produces a rush of civilizational values to reinforce the "cornucopia." Though not much of a "clash" but more of a "paradigmatic search" for their respective places in the new era of political development it includes the preponderance of Asiatic culture of Confucianism and Islam in world

affairs as shown in the emergence of soft-authoritarian regime in East Asia and the current advance of political Islam in the Middle East, North Africa, Central Asia and Southeast Asia. Thus, this trend reveals that there is a convergence of "paradigm search" of conceiving politics whether in the West or in the East.

The diverging line, however, lies in the fact that Islam has been emphatic, at least, in theory, with the holistic view of politics and values thus making it entrenched with a "continuity" that has existed since the dawn of Muslim history. This in effect, makes it easy for contemporary Islam to be politicized, thereby forming part of the ideological rhetorics and dynamics of Muslim politics. Lately, this continuity is obvious in the political characteristics of some Muslim-dominated nation-states and political movements (e.g., *Ikhwan al Muslimeen*, Islamic Salvation Front, *Jama'at al-Islami*, *Takfir wal Hijrah*, *al Jitad*, MILF, *Abu Sayyaf*).

Typology of Political Islam

Political Islam (*al-Islam al-siyasi*) is a doctrine and/or movement which contends that Islam possesses a theory of politics and the State (Ayubi, 1991). It is one of the attitudes of several intellectual and political manifestations of the interplay between religion and politics. It has gained full flowering since the First World war. Its slogan is captured in Islamists 3 Ds formula: Islam = *din* (religion) + *dunya* (world) + *dawla* (state). There is, however, no generally accepted indicators in determining the extent of influence of Islam in politics. In foreign policy, for instance, there is a "methodological ambiguity" in "determining whether Islam acts as a motivator, legitimator or simply a justifier for a particular foreign policy (Dawisha, 1983). In other words, to distinguish Islam as a motivator or whether it has a functional role in politics is a major methodological problem in political Islam. Nazih Ayubi (1991), however, presents three major criteria in identifying the extent of influence of Islam on politics: 1. In terms of the scope of political activity; 2. in terms of the degree of political control and participation; and 3. in terms of the type of socio-economic system and the scope of State intervention in the economy. These criteria are characterized by opposing positions.

In terms of scope of political activity, the crux of the issue revolves around the notion of "Islam as a complete way of life" thus encompassing a "holistic nature" of socio-political, economic, and religious aspects of human activities vis-a-vis the idea of separation of politics and religion. As to the degree of political control and participation, the question is on whether Islam espouses democratic ideals or totalitarian principles. In terms of State intervention in the economy, the issue is whether Islam serves the status quo or is a revolutionary paradigm *ad infinitum*.

Corollary to these criteria is a spectrum of political Islam represented by at least three major strands, namely, traditionalism, modernism, and fundamentalism (Binder, 1991; Che Man, 1990; Bauzon, 1991; Ayubi, 1991). The traditionalist strand is composed mainly of orthodox *Ulama* who views Islam as "a total way of life" but whose understanding of theory of politics and state is in line with the classical and politico-historical doctrine of Islam (e.g., institution of Caliphate). It views *taqlid* (imitation) as the essence of tradition. The traditionalists' operation of this principle to circumstances is fastened to the body of Islamic legal wisdom (Binder, 1963). It allows a lesser degree of innovation and employs a highly romanticized conception of the past. Since this view is far from being operationalized, traditionalists would normally turn passive and resign themselves from undertaking political activities. By employing the so-called politics of supplication, they are contented to undertake purely "religious" activities like conducting daily prayers in congregation and delivering *khotbah* (Friday sermon) to others.

The modernist strand is composed mostly of relatively secular-minded professionals, politicians, revolutionaries, businessmen who take democracy as a legal basis of consensus. Although they revere Islam, they reject a return to the old system of the Caliphate or Sultanate or the *datu* system. Modernists normally seek reforms in Muslim thought and institutions by asserting that a reform is in accordance with the mandate of *shar'iah* (Bauzon, 1991). Although modernists are too rhetorical with Islam, there is less attempt from them, however, to thresh out many of the basic Islamic principles. Thus, among Muslim movements, achieving power is the aim of struggle and the institution of Islamic principles would be resorted to when the political

structure is already put in place. To say the least, they simply use Islam as a slogan or as a strategy. As they speak the language of *Realpolitik*, they are thus open to compromise with the status quo. Another corollary tendency of modernist Islam is indigenism. This sub-strand has its roots in local customs and traditions that have survived through time with the fusion of other cultural values. As a mode of thought and as a cultural process, Islam is prone to be overwhelmed by local customs and practices, e.g., *adat* (customary law) and folk Islam. To a lesser degree, indigenous culture may shape political Islam.

The fundamentalist strand is characterized by a strict adherence to the so-called 3 Ds formula. It is relatively parallel with the French *intégrisme*. Its Arabic term equivalent is *al-usuliyun*. There is a debate, however, whether words other than fundamentalism can be used to capture a phenomenon brought about by Islam since fundamentalism as a phenomenon is attributed to the rise of Protestant Christians in the United States in the early twentieth century. Chandra Muzaffar, for instance, traces the contemporary usage of Islamic fundamentalism to have been transferred to West Asia from the United States in the late '70s when the Iranian revolution gained ground (Aba Sulayman, 1987). Thus, in an attempt to come up with terminological alternative, a host of other labels crop up (e.g., "Islamic resurgence," "revivalism," "rebirth," "renaissance," "revitalization," "resuscitation," "reawakening," "extremism"). Other scholars like Ziauddin Sardar (1988) do not agree that such Islamic phenomenon is captured by these labels. However, the study of the American Academy of Social Science shows that there is no alternative term other than "fundamentalism" to describe today's proliferation of "religious" belief systems shaping political affairs. Thus, it maintains the use of fundamentalism to describe the impact of "religion" not just on Islam but on practically all dominant belief systems (e.g., Protestantism, Roman Catholicism, Jewish Zionism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism). Its findings show that fundamentalists:

depict revealed truth as a whole, unified and undifferentiated; gradually modify or deemphasize extreme doctrines or practices and separate true believers from outsiders;

employ dramatic eschatologies; setse upon particular historical moments, matched to sacred texts and traditions, and interpreted according to uncanny calculation of time and space; name, dramatize, and even mythologize their enemies; set boundaries, protect the group from contamination, and preserve purity; employ a missionary zeal; arise and come to prominence in time of crisis, actual or perceived; seek to replace existing structures with a comprehensive system; are selectively traditional and selectively modern; employ ideological weapons against a hostile world; are mostly charismatic and authoritarian male leaders; demonstrate a closer affinity to modernism than to traditionalism; resent modernity and exploit its processes and instrumentalities; draw upon modern organizational methods and structures; also benefited from the encouragement or direct support of colonial powers and later took advantage of the openness of secular democracies, among others (Marty and Appleby, 1991).

To some measure, these characteristics are obvious in the historical instances of Muslim political history as shown in the rhetorics and dynamics of movements like the *kharijites*, mahdi movements, *salafiya* circle, and many more. Recently, it can also be seen in the rise of the "neo-fundamentalist" movements like the *Takfir wal Hijrah* and the *al Jihad* in Egypt, the *Hamas* in Palestine and the *Hisbollah* in Lebanon. Those who composed this strand mainly come from politicized *Ulama*, intellectuals, and revolutionary youths.

Philippine Political Islam: Ideological Pattern

The impact of political Islam in the Philippines has long been felt since the rise of contemporary Muslim movements. In the past, Muslims had been rallying with the idea of political Islam, e.g., Sultanate system, *parang sabil* (religiously motivated armed struggle). However, it is not fully threshed out as a framework of political envisioning and activities. This is due to the late flowering of Islam as a politicized system since Islam was peacefully introduced into the island as early as the 13th century.

The Muslim apolitical stance was influenced by the coming of Islam through the works of Sufis known as the *Mokhdumtin*. Sufis were mystics belonging to a variety of religious circles who advocated spirituality as a means of proximating themselves towards a particular level of ideal and as a mechanism of social harmony. The thoughts of the sufis were influenced by a range of religious orders like the *Qadiriyya*, *Naqshabendiyya*, among others. As such, the manner of Islamic introduction in the island was along apolitical, non-violent and moderate line. Even the process of formation of polity culminating in the establishment of the Sultanates in Sulu and Maguindanao ushered in a relatively smooth phase.

This moderate character of Islamization took a new turn when the forces of colonialism reared its head. Islam, then, became a rallying agent of defense and served at times as part of challenge-response struggle between the Moros and the agents of colonialism. This led to the outbreak of Moro Wars since the early 16th century until the half of the 19th century with only a brief interlude in the middle. In the late 19th century until the early 20th century, the Sultanates were neutralized and later dissolved although some of these still temporarily exist at present. As such, the locus of old authority was undressed with power. However, in the attempts of some quarters to retain their identity, many Muslims adopted radical Islamic thoughts to legitimize and sustain their resistance. Such thoughts were subsequently translated into political action thus institutionalizing a kind of struggle known as *parang sabil*. The *parang sabil* was a mode of politico-religious struggle resorted to by the Muslims in the last phase of the Moro-Hispanic war and in the early phase of the Moro-American war. Corrupted into the so-called *Juramentado*, the *parang sabil* was launched under the blessing of the Panditas who "encouraged Muslims to take it an individual duty to repel the invaders" (Majul, 1973). In this form of warfare the Panditas served as the legitimizers through their knowledge of Islamic law. At that time, the primary character of *parang sabil* was purely reactionary and was not aimed at producing a political alternative. As such, through the continuous assimilation policy of the Americans this kind of warfare lost its luster. The reaction turned into sporadic and intermittent spark of resistances culminating in the Battle of *Bud Dajo* in 1906 and the Battle of *Bud Bagsak* in 1913 in Sulu (Hurley, 1936).

In the post-colonial era, however, a new consciousness among the Muslims took a new turn. Muslim movements ranging from parliamentary to revolutionary movements emerged. The battle cry was to gain a lost nation, a lost territory. In the name of *Bangsa*, many of them rallied in the Mindanao Independence Movement (MIM) and later the MNLF (Moro National Liberation Front). The rhetoric was highly shaped by nationalistic accentuation. Although the idea of *jihad* as Islamically-inspired continued to play part in several occasions and, in some instances, applied by some in their personal endeavor, there was less attempt to outline it and make it a basis of political thought and action.

Lately, in the wake of global Islamic resurgence, a new character of Philippine Islam emerged. In the apolitical, non-revolutionary sphere is the bulk of Muslim masses who remain content living with their normal, civilian lives. Except for Islam which is understood in its ritualistic, personal and pacifist sense they do not have a rallying paradigm as a basis of politico-Islamic identity. They failed to translate many of the tangible imperatives of Islam, e.g., systematization of *zakat* system, into a concrete national political program. Although the government, since the early '70s, has already shown positive recognition of these imperatives, these turned dormant and less efficient.

Among religious sectors like the *Ulama* groups, for example, many are content to simply conduct daily prayers in congregations, deliver *khutbah* and teach Islam in religious schools, while some of them are pretty successful in participating in the political process. Still, a variant of Muslim sectors grouped themselves and engaged in non-political but purely humanitarian cause and turned themselves into a peripatetic small religio-communal groups thereby attracting a great deal of professionals, youth, old people, and *Balik Islam* (non-Muslim converts to Islam). Some of these groups like the *Tableeghs*, *Khuruj* and *dais*, are *sufi*-type movements with no intention of even using politics as part of their vocabulary for the simple reason that it is allegedly "dirty." *Balik Islam* has now risen to 92,000 since 1986 and is spread mostly outside Mindanao (Rasul, 1995). Aside from personal initiative to embrace Islam, the *Balik Islam* phenomenon is attributable to the works of former Christian priests and

seminarians who turned experts on Islam. They are also helped by foreign-based Islamic organizations. Therefore, the rush of Islam or Muslim-related activities in the country is not a monolithic off-shoot of radical political Islam.

Lately, however, unlike the old Muslim movements in the '30s until the '60s, many *Ulama* groups have spearheaded today's reform and revolutionary movements. In 1984, for instance, students from Mindanao in the Middle East reached 300 in number. In 1990 alone, students studying at the *al-Azhar* University reached 400. Many of them became experts on Islamic and social disciplines. Like other professionals, they influenced the public through their thoughts and works. But due to what they perceived as negative socio-political structures some of them aligned their philosophy with political Islamic thoughts and gained inspiration from the way Islamic movements and governments conduct their politics. This was the case of the MILF which is conspicuous of ideology along Islamic lines, and to some degree, even among a sphere of religious circles of the MNLF. This development continued to characterize the pattern of Philippine political Islam. In 1985, in fact, Cesar Majul described the future of the emerging leaders to "have been educated in Arab countries and have been exposed to radical Arab organizations and movements. They might therefore make even greater demands than Misuari has made; they might build the MNLF into an even greater threat to the government than it has been under his name." This premonition is shown in the accelerating momentum of MNLF's diplomacy, the strengthening of MILF forces and the emergence of the *Abu Sayyaf* in the early '90s.

International and Domestic Confluences

Several reasons have led to the accentuation of fundamentalist strand in the present Muslim movements in the country. In the international scene, the most obvious is the impact of Iranian revolution in 1979. This event led to the realization by politicized *Ulama* and idealist Muslim youth that Islam can serve as a framework of state formation and political system. The failure of many nationalist regimes in many countries to institute reform and

bring about integrative sustainable development contributed also to the emerging challenge from Islamist program. Ghassan Salame outlined a "triple embarrassment" of many Muslim governments:

First, because they rarely challenged the Western world view, they have failed to develop alternative legitimizing factors other than obsession with political independence and cultural authenticity. Second, the regimes have been unable to convince their peoples of any outstanding successes in the tasks they proclaimed for themselves ("liberation of Palestine," pan-Arab or pan-Islamic reunification, political participation, and social and economic prosperity). Third, they are relying, more and more, on foreign support to stay in power and to fend off their domestic opposition or their neighbors' aggressions (Salame, 1993).

These factors, coupled with the failure of many Muslim governments to extend a helping hand in the Afghanistan War, the "overkill" in the Gulf War, the tragedy in Somalia, the ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, among others, convinced some hardline Islamists that indeed the Muslim world was meek to exert its influence in world affairs. In the face of these constraints, Islamic movements organized the International Islamic Brigade. If reports were true, a number of Moro Mujahideen had participated in the Afghan War against the Soviets. In several of his speeches, Abdurajak Janjalani Abubakar was in all praise of the Afghan War against USSR, the FIS uprising against the Algeria military regime and other Muslim stirs in other countries. These factors influenced the political and psychological climate of Muslim movements in the country.

In the domestic scene, at least two interrelated major factors led to the transformation of modernist political Islam towards a more militant one: the GRP-MNLF Deadlock and the rise of politicized *Ulama*. Since 1974 the Philippine government has already engaged three times in a peaceful settlement of the Mindanao Conflict. After the 1974 War, the MNLF and the government negotiated for political settlement of the conflict culminating in the signing of the Tripoli Agreement in 1976. Since that time many MNLF members joined the government although a big number of them

remained with the Misuari-led MNLF. After the unilateral implementation of the Tripoli Agreement many MNLF hard cores took intransigent position while others blamed the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) in its failure to go beyond mediation as its thrust of peaceful settlement. In 1977, Hashim Salamat, who was a high ranking member of the MNLF Central Committee formed the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and Dimas Pundato organized the MNLF-Reformist group. Hashim Salamat, with his knowledge of Islamic law, was able to infuse Islamic ideological thought to the MILF.

With a base in mainland Mindanao, the MILF gained adherents from the broad mass of Lanao del Sur and Basilan and other adjacent areas. When Dimas Pundato joined the government, the MNLF-Reformist Group was practically lost from the scene. During the term of Corazon Aquino, the RP-MNLF peace negotiations bogged down. The government, however, pushed with the implementation of autonomy in Mindanao. Through a plebiscite, the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) was established in 1989 with only four provinces forming part of the regional government. During this period, the high expectation of some MNLF members for the implementation of the Tripoli Agreement receded. In Zamboanga City, Basilan and Sulu, many youth who have been sympathetic with the MNLF cause began to lose hope in the peace process. This psychological impact was precipitated when some MNLF sympathizers participated in the Regional Consultative Commission (RCC), a body tasked to draft Republic Act No. 6734 known as the "Organic Act for the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao."

Against this backdrop, many of the frustrated MNLF sympathizers shifted their activities to non-MNLF related activities. In deep soul-searching, they reactivated themselves by adopting Islamic rhetoric instead. Thus, the role of politicized *Ulama* became obvious. Although many *Ulama* were supportive of the leadership of Nur Misuari, young ones, however, became suspicious of Misuari for selling out totally the Bangsamoro cause. With this trend, they fear that the more the *sharia* would not be implemented. In this scenario, many of the young MNLF members began to take a radical stance. Some of them believe that even before the gaining of independence, it is imperative that the

fundamentals of Islam and other unoperationalized Islamic principles should serve as the framework of struggle. According to Abdurajak Janjalani, it is this failure to actualize Islamic imperatives that led to the failure of the contemporary Bangsamoro struggle.

The Abu Sayyaf: Textual Sources, Interpretations and Methods

The Abu Sayyaf is one of the current political fundamentalist movements in the country. The group was organized in the early '90s by a small circle of *Ulama* who were trained in the Middle East. Abdurajak Janjalani Abubakar, the ideologue of the movement, is a Tausug who grew up in Basilan. He studied in Libya, Saudi Arabia, Syria and other Middle East countries. The Abu Sayyaf is geographically diffused in the areas of Sulu, Basilan, Zamboanga City and mainland Mindanao.

Generally, the revolutionary project of the Abu Sayyaf is aimed at the following: to strengthen the Islamic faith in Southern Philippines; to eliminate the elements of oppression; and to establish a government in order to implement the *shari'ah* (Islamic law). Its strategy is two-pronged: building a rural/communal and military base to serve as a network center for conducting *da'wah* and military training; and creating an urban mobile force to be used in prozelitization, politicization and launching guerrilla warfare.

By rallying behind the idea of *jihad fi sabilillah* (struggle in the cause of God), the members of the Abu Sayyaf call themselves *Mujahideen*. Its brand of political Islam is similar to many Muslim movements adopting the revolutionary tradition of Sunnism. Its textual sources include the Holy Qur'an, Hadiths [saying of Prophet Muhammad (SAAS)], and a number of thoughts and teachings of the four schools of Islamic thoughts (Shafi'i, Hanbali, Hanafi, and Ma'lik). Abdurajak Janjalani adopts the teachings of Imam of Shafi'i on *jihad* specifically the Shafi'i's *Mumnil Mumtadz* and the *Haosatul Bujairami*. He is inspired by the thoughts of Said Saabiq, a contemporary Meccan scholar, who wrote the book *Fiqhus Sunnat* (Abubakar, 1990). With his mastery of Islamic political thoughts, Janjalani's philosophy is theocentric based. He adopts a platonic and Hegelian world view with

praxis. He also adopts an Asharites view of essence and attribute. Thus, he takes revelation, i.e., Qur'an, as supreme over reason. By and large, Janjalani views history as a linear process of *risalah* (prophethood) with the *Ulama* playing as successors of the prophets and the early *shahabah* (companions). By employing a "dichotomy matrix", he is emphatic with drawing the line between the *haq* (truth) versus *batil* (falseness) and the *halal* (lawful) versus *haram* (unlawful), the Muslims versus unbelievers (*kafir*; *sabruh*). His concept of justice is based on *qisas* (retaliation) and he justifies *jihad qitaal* (war against the enemy) as a means to eliminate oppression in Mindanao.

Like other Islamist charismatic leaders, Janjalani is selective in his use of Qur'anic verses and Ahadith. He is emphatic with Qur'anic and Prophetic tradition about *jihad*. Thus, his interpretation of Islamic sources is characterized by a "deconstruction" of passive *ta'wil* of *jihad*. By and large, he is good in employing the so-called *sorelian* myth by portraying the past Muslim grandeur and painting in its sad picture the condition of present Muslims. He also uses a martyr complex syndrome and the promise of paradise among his followers and sympathizers.

Before the Abu Sayyaf came to the open in the early '90s, Janjalani Abubakar declared in Zamboanga City a *fatwa* (ruling) by saying that *jihad qitaal* is *farid ayn* (personal obligation of Muslims in Mindanao). It is his justification for eliminating what he considers elements of oppression in Mindanao. He said: "Here in our place, I'm sure many would get angry with me if I say *farid ayn*... But they may get angry if they want to, the ruling is *farid ayn*." This ruling, he emphasized, is based on the writings of four schools of *fiqh* (jurisprudence), specifically the thoughts in Said Saabiq's *Fiqhus Sunnah*.

In August 1991, the Abu Sayyaf came to the fore when some of its members engaged in a grenade attack on a group of Christian Protestant Missionaries killing two individuals and 38 others due to an alleged un-Islamic remark of one of the Evangelists at the Western Mindanao State University (WMSU) campus that Prophet Muhammad is a liar. This was followed by a series of bombings in some religious sites and public places, kidnapping of foreign nationals, priests and

businessmen and sporadic wars with the military. The first military assault of the group was in response to an alleged massacre of some AFP members in Curuan, Zamboanga City. The latest and most tragic was the Ipil raid in Zamboanga del Sur on April 4, 1996.

Constraints and Imperatives

In the perspective of *Realpolitik*, the main constraint to political struggle infused by religious tenets is the question of threshold. Thus, when does politics begin where faith ends or vice-versa. In other words, when does a *Mujahed* know that he/she is still performing *ibadah* (worship) and not politics? Put in another way, can a boundless faith guarantee that the conduct of struggle would be spared from treading towards oppression? What then is oppression? What are the characters of oppression for *Jihad* to become *fard ayn*?

To say the least, there is no generally accepted response from a wide spectrum of Islamic thoughts on these questions. A range of interpretations is available in Islamic thoughts. But interpretations, most often than not, are subjected to the subjectivity of interpreters. From the modernist perspective, for instance, it argues that today's rhetorics of political *Jihad* is a misnomer. Aligning with the political realist view, modernists argue that *Jihad* is not anymore applicable in present time. It is because the character of international environment has already changed from the imperial system to balance of power system thereby allowing nation-states to determine, to some degree, themselves. Furthermore, they would argue that *Jihad* as an instrument between the *dar al Islam* (Land of Islam) and *dar al Harb* (Land of War) has been dislodged since the days of old (Abu Sulayman, 1987). It was only used during the height of the Crusades specifically from the 9th to the 13th centuries. This is the reason why other Muslim scholars highlight the *Jihad akbar* (self control; purification) than the *Jihad asghar* (struggle in war). The imperative, however, of political Islam is that it addresses a perceived social ill. And due to the seemingly unruly character of current politics, the ideals of democracy is stifled by power struggle thus making it a prelude to the fossilization of oppression

in a society. It is in this line that political Islam is capable of questioning socio-political structure. In Mindanao, it is captured by the age-old Muslim problem.

Implications

A varying character of political Islam is applied by some countries. There are also varying approaches by states faced by the rise of political Islam, especially Muslim movements. For states which have already gained independence, their application of Islamic imperatives ranged from applying some democratic principles of Islam like *shura* in the form of *Majlis* (congress) and establishing Islamic institutions and operating some Islamic principles like *zakat* system, *mudarahah* regulation, and *waqf* establishment, among others. The most vocal are some countries in the Middle East, Northern Africa and even in Southeast Asia. However, for countries challenged by political fundamentalist movements, the policies ranged from incremental reform, co-optation and repression (Dekmejian, 1988).

In the Philippines, these policies are preponderant, albeit muddled, in addressing the rise of political Islam. Since the '70s, the Philippine government has instituted reform and co-optation while conducting extensive militarization in Mindanao. In the reform and co-optation side, the government has instituted several concessions like the codification of the Muslim personal law, the establishment of the Amanah Bank, the creation of the Barter Trade System, and the recognition of Muslim holidays, among others. To say the least, many of these institutions today remain dormant for the simple reason that many of these have failed to address the needs of the time. Among other factors, there is a need for an integrative Islamic framework of development to serve as a long-ranged plan to address political Islam. This can be reinforced by the principles of people empowerment, decentralization, private sector-led development, democratic consultation (*shura*), and social equity (*Adl*). Concomitant with these is the idea of empowering the *Ulama*, institutionalization of functional Islam and the enhancement of the role of Muslim professionals.

Notes

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- _____, "Pagbaugbug sin Qur'an ha Ummat Akhir Jaman" ["Struggling With the Qur'an in the New Era"], a transcribed lecture delivered before a group of professionals, youth and students during a *Ramadhan* symposium in the early '90.
- _____, "Kalabbiyan sin Jihad ha Lawm sin Qur'an" ["Dynamics of Jihad in the Qur'an"], a transcribed lecture delivered before a select group of *Abu Sayyaf* core in Zamboanga City in the early '90.
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Editorial.... (from page 2)

acknowledges the UNESCO National Commission's assistance which also makes possible the publication of this issue.

This issue also includes an article by the late Elpidio Sta. Romana (1949-1996) on "Survey-Interviews of Filipino Political Elites" showing the degree of cooperativeness displayed by bureaucratic and political elites in answering administered questionnaires. The results counter the belief that political elites are difficult to handle as survey respondents. Likewise, two articles by Mahar Mangahas on Fr. Frank X. Lynch are reprinted here from his column in *The Evening Paper* to remember Fr. Lynch after whom the PSSC Library is named.

The PSSC Frank X. Lynch Library announces some of its latest acquisitions for the Filipiniana and Foreign sections.

Finally, this issue features updates on the ongoing research, training and publication activities of several PSSC member-organizations, namely, the UP-School of Urban and Regional Planning, Planades; the Philippine Business for Social Progress; the UP-College of Social Work and Community Development; the Philippine-China Development Resource Center; and the Philippine Association for Chinese Studies. The National Tax Research Center also shares with *SSJ* readers a basic information guide on the value-added tax (VAT).

**ELPIDIO R. STA. ROMANA
1949-1996**

The social survey research community lost a special individual last February 19th, when Dr. Elpidio R. Sta. Romana, political scientist, passed away.

Pids got his Ph.D. in International relations from the Sophia University in Tokyo. After his studies in Sophia, he joined the political science faculty of De La Salle University and was the first director of its Japan Studies Program. From DLSU he moved to the UP Department of Political Science, and after UP he became an exchange professor at the University of Tsukuba.

I think that Pids, who was fluent in Japanese, knew more than any other Filipino about Japanese opinion polls. He was particularly well versed on Japanese attitudes towards Filipinos and towards other nationalities. He had much to teach of how ordinary citizens abroad (as distinguished from the foreign media) perceive the Philippines and the Filipino people.

Pids became a Social Weather Stations Fellow in 1988, while still in Tsukuba. He moved back to the Philippines the following year, and worked both at SWS and at the UP Asian Center. But after a few years he returned to Japan to become a full professor at Fukuoka Prefectural University. Nevertheless, his SWS membership continued.

Mahar K. Mangahas

(Note: Reprinted here with permission from the SWS is Dr. Sta. Romana's article "On Survey Interviews of Filipino Political Elites," which came out as an SWS Occasional Paper in June 1993.)

**On Survey-Interview of Filipino
Political Elites**

Large-scale reliable survey interview of political elites like national legislators, cabinet members, and senior bureaucrats in democratic countries are rich sources of data for analyzing domestic political dynamics.¹ However, this kind of survey using open- or close-ended questionnaires are much rarer than public opinion polls in western democratic countries, and they are even rarer in less industrialized democratic countries.² Mailed questionnaires are used more often than actual interview because of budgetary and personnel constraints. In advanced democratic countries the response rates to mailed surveys tend to be relatively low, albeit often sufficient for analytical purposes.³ In less industrialized democratic countries the response rate for mailed questionnaires in most cases is zero. Mailed questionnaires also tend to be short, with about a dozen or so questions. Even with sufficient budget and personnel for actual interviews, getting an appointment with political big shots for a survey interview can be difficult. This problem is compounded by the possibility that some respondents will refuse to finish an interview. They view the interview as something for academic analysts only and thus, has little political value.

Nonetheless, mailed or survey interviews of political elites remain invaluable. This paper describes a large-scale survey interview of national legislators (members of the Senate and House of Representatives) and senior bureaucrats of the Philippine government. There are very few survey interviews of political elites in the Philippines. Comparative experiences with such surveys by analysts and scholars across countries are helpful in enriching research methods and procedures. Most that exist are rather short and largely confined to social background of political elites. They seldom dealt extensively with attitudes and perceptions of the respondents on a broad variety of issues.⁴ The

survey discussed here is a very extensive one that included not only the social background of political elites but also their attitudes toward and perception of the country's political dynamics. Specifically, this paper discusses 1) the research design, 2) sampling, 3) actual conduct of the survey, 4) response rates, and 5) reaction of political-elite respondents to the survey.⁵

Research Design

A near identical close-ended questionnaire was designed and administered by actual interview with legislators and senior civilian bureaucrats. The survey's objective was to probe into the respondents' 1) social, educational and family background, 2) career patterns, 3) perceptions of and involvement in top policy-making process, 4) perceptions of domestic political dynamics, 5) perceptions of access to higher decision-making bodies, 6) ideological orientation, 7) attitudes of legislators towards civil servants and attitudes of civil servants towards legislators, 8) attitudes towards their own profession, 9) measures of elitist and populist attitudes, and 10) general evaluation of the Aquino regime compared to the last year of the Marcos regime. In addition to this, legislators and senior bureaucrats of the Department of Foreign Affairs were asked extra questions on their perceptions of the country's external relations which were not asked of other senior bureaucrats in other departments.

The questionnaire for legislators had 114 questions, including the 16 questions on foreign policy. There were 100 questions for senior bureaucrats, except those from the Department of Foreign Affairs. Senior bureaucrats from the Department of Foreign Affairs were asked the same 16 extra questions on foreign policy asked legislators. Except for two or three questions on career pattern and attitude towards rank and file subordinates, the 100 questions for senior bureaucrats were identical with those asked legislators.

The respondents in the survey were members of the Philippine Senate and House of Representatives elected in 1987, and senior bureaucrats of the Philippine government. The term senior bureaucrat in the survey was defined as civil servants with the ranks of undersecretary, assistant secretary, bureau director, assistant

bureau director and service chief, or their equivalents in the central offices and line agencies of the Philippine government. In the Philippine government's organization, these ranks correspond to positions in the civil service called Career Executive Service (CES) positions. It is the country's elite bureaucracy. The Philippine civil service, like those in less industrialized countries, is generally inefficient, corrupt, and perceived as weak vis-a-vis politicians and economic elites. One of the most important attempts to reform it was in 1972 when the late Ferdinand Marcos established a training program called the Career Executive Service. Civil servants at the professional, policy-advising and/or highly technical work who voluntary train under the program can be permanently appointed by the president to these elite career positions in the bureaucracy. Upon appointment, they become Career Executive Service Officers or CESOs. (However, in actual practice, a large number of non-Career Executive Officers still occupy these positions at the time of the survey and until the present.) Specific positions and ranks in the Philippine government are legally designated as Career Executive Service positions. Other than the positions of undersecretary, assistant secretary, bureau director, assistant bureau director and service chief, Career Executive Service positions also legally include regional directors and regional assistant directors outside Metro Manila. The survey did not include regional directors and assistant directors. Neither were senior bureaucrats of government corporations included in the survey since the government's decision to include them in the coverage of the CES was only announced in late 1991, about the same time that the actual survey started.

The Sample

The sample size for legislators was 15 senators out of a universe of 24 members of the Senate, and 59 representatives out of a universe of 197 members of the House of Representatives. This is a total of 110 legislators out of a universe of 221 legislators. Legislator-respondents were randomly selected from the listing of the directory of Congress. Substitute legislator-respondents were also randomly selected from the directory. Actual interviews were conducted in the offices of the senators and representatives, in the session floor itself during recesses, and even during sessions.

The sample size for senior bureaucrats was set at 355 from a universe of 713 CES positions actually occupied at the time of the survey. Two listings of senior bureaucrats and the titles of their positions were obtained from the Career Executive Service Board which is in charge of the Career Executive Service Program. These two lists contained both the names of the occupants of the Career Executive Service positions and their equivalent ranks in the Career Executive Service organization. The equivalent rank was very important because the names of Career Executive Service positions frequently vary from agency to agency. For example, the highest Career Executive Service position at the National Economic Development Authority is a deputy director-general which in other cabinet departments would be the equivalent of undersecretary. In the case of the Department of Finance, the Bureau Director of Customs is called a commissioner, but his equivalent in other departments is that of an undersecretary. (Normally, a bureau is headed by a bureau director.) Using the names of Career Executive Service positions was the only way ranks of respondents could be standardized. Two civilian agencies in the survey were not covered by the Career Executive Service. These were the Department of Foreign Affairs and the National Security Council which is directly under the Office of the President. Separate lists of their senior bureaucrats were obtained directly from the home offices of these two agencies. Approximate Career Executive Service equivalent positions were used in their ranking in the survey.

The Survey

The questionnaire for legislators was pretested as follows: 14 questionnaires were self-administered among chiefs of staff of representatives, and actual interviews were conducted with five chiefs of staff of senators. For senior bureaucrats, 28 questionnaires were self-administered among regional directors and assistant regional directors who were undergoing Career Executive Service training at the Development Academy of the Philippines. Three interviews were conducted with three division chiefs, a non-Career Executive Service position immediately below the lowest Career Executive Service rank in the home offices. This was the closest the pretest could get to a very limited and highly specialized universe of respondents. Pretesting with actual potential respondents would

inevitably have duplicated some subsequent interviews and elicited negative reactions from busy legislators and senior bureaucrats. The most disturbing feedback during the pretest was that legislators will never have the patience to finish such a long interview. (This fear, however, later turned out to be unfounded.) There were minor revisions in the questionnaire after the pretest but the questionnaire was not shortened.

Perhaps the first most important methodological note of the survey is that the response rate of legislators and senior bureaucrats was heavily affected by the fact that the survey was conducted for the author by a highly reputable non-profit and non-stock research firm with a track record in the Philippines.⁶ The interviewers reported that they felt respondents were more accommodating than expected precisely because the interviews were under the auspices of this particular research agency. This confirmed the author's guess. A further guess on future surveys of political elites in the Philippines will probably confirm, too, that a prestigious university's name, foreign or local, may probably not elicit the same kind of accommodating response.

In principle, two interviewers were assigned for each respondent: one interviewer did the actual interview and the other observed the conduct of the interview. This procedure was an added safeguard for the integrity of the interview. The questionnaire and interviews were in English since the respondents were highly educated members of Philippine society. Interviews of legislators were conducted during the first two weeks of December 1991 and was timed to coincide with Congress' special session. Some interviews of legislators, however, had to be rescheduled for January 1992. Senior bureaucrats were interviewed from January to March 1992. The original schedule was to complete the interview of senior bureaucrats during the whole month of January 1992. However, this period was extended until the end of March because of difficulties in getting appointments with some senior bureaucrats. Interviews were deliberately avoided during the Christmas season.

Table 1 below shows the patterns of setting appointments and conducting of interviews with the respondents. It was relatively easy to set appointments with and interview legislators since Congress was in session during the survey: 79.8

percent of the sample size for legislators were interviewed upon the first call. These were virtual walk-in interviews into the offices of the legislators or direct approaches on the session floor. Fifteen legislators, or 13.7 percent of the sample, were interviewed on the second visit, and seven legislators, or 6.4 percent of the sample, on the third visit. The mean number of calls or visits including the interview itself was 1.2 and the mode was 1.

For senior bureaucrats, interviews finished on the first visit or virtual walk-in interviews accounted for 178 or 50.4 percent of the sample. Ninety-two or 26 percent of the sample, were interviewed on the second visit; 68 or 19.2 percent, on the third visit; 12 or 3.4 percent on the third visit; and three had to be called or visited four times or more. The mean number of calls or visits for senior bureaucrats was 1.8 but the mode remained at 1. In general then, neither legislators nor senior bureaucrats were particularly difficult to contact and interview. Of the two groups, senior bureaucrats were slightly more difficult to contact. It did not matter either whether the legislator was a senator or a representative, or whether the bureaucrat was higher ranking or not when it came to ease or difficulty in contacting and setting interviews. Correlation between positions (senator or representatives) and number of calls was $r^2 = -.06$. For senior bureaucrats, correlation between number of calls and rank of senior bureaucrats was $r^2 = -.07$.

The mean length of interviews for legislators was 44.5 minutes for 114 questions. The mode was 40 minutes. The longest interview lasted 130 minutes and the shortest was 20 minutes. For senior bureaucrats, the mean time was 46.4 minutes and the mode was 50 minutes for 100 questions. The longest interview was 80 minutes and the shortest was 25 minutes. For senior bureaucrats at Foreign Affairs whose questionnaire had 16 more items than other senior bureaucrats, the mean length of interview was also 46.4 minutes and the mode was also 50 minutes. There was a number of instances when the interviewees refused the use of showcards, saying that they found it insulting. There were also times that the respondents insisted on reading and answering the questionnaire themselves. This probably accounts for some short interviews lasting approximately 20 minutes or so.

Table 1. Number of calls/visits for interview, actual interview included, and length of interview.

| Number of Calls/Visits | Legislators | % | Senior Bureaucrats | % |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|-------|--------------------|-------|
| 1 | 87 | 79.81 | 178 | 50.42 |
| 2 | 15 | 13.76 | 92 | 26.06 |
| 3 | 7 | 6.40 | 88 | 19.26 |
| 4 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 3.40 |
| 6 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.30 |
| 7 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.30 |
| 9 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.30 |
| Total | 109 | 100 | 353 | 100 |
| Mean of No. of Calls/Visit | 1.2 | | 1.8 | |
| Mode of No. of Calls/Visits | 1 | | 1 | |
| Length of Interviews (in minutes) | | | | |
| Mean | 44.5 | | 46.4 | |
| Mode | 40 | | 50 | |
| Maximum | 130 | | 80 | |
| Minimum | 20 | | 25 | |

Response Rate

Table 2 below presents the universe, sample size and response rate of legislator-respondents. The universe of senators was 24 and the sample size was 15 or 62.5 percent of the universe. The number of responses was 14 or 93.3 percent of the sample. The 15th interview was invalidated because the senator refused to proceed with the interview midway. No substitute could be found since all the senators became very busy with the May 1992 presidential campaign. The sample size for representatives was 95 or 48.2 percent of the universe of 197 representatives. Response was 100 percent. Finding substitute interviewees among representatives was rather easy because of their large number.

Table 2. Universe, sample size and response rates of members of the Senate and House of Representatives.

| | Total No. of Members | Sample Size | Sample Size as % of Universe | Total No. of Responses | Response Rate (%) |
|--------------------------|----------------------|-------------|------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| Senate | 24 | 15 | 62.5 | 14 | 93.3 |
| House of Representatives | 197 | 95 | 48.2 | 95 | 100 |
| Total | 221 | 110 | | 109 | 99.1 |

Table 3, showing the universe, sample size and response rate of senior bureaucrats, is divided into main respondents and substitute respondents.

Table 3. Universe, sample size and response rate of senior bureaucrats, according to department/agency.

| | Total No. of Positions | Total No. of Positions Vacant/ Occupied by OIC/Names Not Available | Sample Size | Sample Size as % of Universe | Number of Responses | Response Rate (%) |
|---|------------------------|--|-------------|------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| Main Respondents | | | | | | |
| Office of the President | 33 | 3 | 30 | 90.9 | 16 | 53.3 |
| National Economic Development Authority | 38 | 7 | 31 | 81.5 | 16 | 51.6 |
| Trade & Industry | 49 | 15 | 34 | 69.3 | 30 | 88.2 |
| Agrarian Reform | 32 | 8 | 24 | 75 | 23 | 95.8 |
| National Defense | 13 | 1 | 12 | 92.3 | 7 | 58.3 |
| Finance | 49 | 8 | 41 | 83.6 | 28 | 68.2 |
| Foreign Affairs | 41 | 1 | 40 | 97.5 | 21 | 52.5 |
| Public Works & Highways | 29 | 3 | 26 | 89.6 | 24 | 92.3 |
| Education, Culture & Sports | 36 | 5 | 31 | 86.1 | 25 | 80.6 |
| Labor & Employment | 45 | 4 | 41 | 91.1 | 31 | 75.6 |
| Commission on Elections | 21 | 0 | 21 | 100 | 19 | 90.4 |
| Civil Service Commission | 29 | 5 | 24 | 82.7 | 22 | 91.6 |
| Sub-total | 415 | 60 | 355 | 85.5 | 264 | 74.3 |

Based on the Career Executive Service Board's listing, the universe of Career Executive Service positions totaled 818. At the time of the survey, 105 of these 818 positions were either vacant, temporarily occupied by an officer-in-charge (OIC), and a few were occupied but the official listing could not confirm the names of the persons. (Temporary officers-in-charge invariably occupied another and an original Career Executive Service position in their respective agencies. They were listed in the survey on the basis of their original positions and not on their temporary officer-in-charge capacity.) This leaves 713 as the actual universe of respondents. During the survey, interviewers were instructed to check positions listed as vacant, occupied by an officer-in-charge, or with names unavailable. If the position turned out to have been newly occupied by a senior bureaucrat other than an officer-in-charge, then that newly appointed senior bureaucrat becomes a potential respondent.

Less invalidated
Questionnaire

2

Total Main
Respondents

262

Substitute Respondents

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|------|
| Office of the President | 55 | 5 | 50 | 90.9 | 11 | 22 |
| Agriculture | 54 | 7 | 47 | 87.0 | 2 | 4.3 |
| Budget & Management | 30 | 11 | 19 | 63.3 | 12 | 63.1 |
| Energy & Natural Resources | 40 | 1 | 39 | 97.5 | 0 | 0 |
| <hr/> | | | | | | |
| Interior & Local Gov't. | 26 | 1 | 25 | 96.1 | 15 | 60 |
| Justice | 40 | 4 | 36 | 90 | 23 | 63.8 |
| Health | 45 | 1 | 44 | 97.7 | 8 | 18.1 |
| Transportation & Communication | 31 | 0 | 31 | 100 | 3 | 9.7 |
| <hr/> | | | | | | |
| Science & Technology | 43 | 10 | 33 | 76.7 | 8 | 24.2 |
| Social Welfare & Development | 23 | 2 | 21 | 91.3 | 8 | 38.0 |
| Tourism | 16 | 3 | 13 | 81.2 | 1 | 7.7 |
| <hr/> | | | | | | |
| Total Substitute Respondents | 403 | 45 | 358 | 88.8 | 91 | 25.4 |
| <hr/> | | | | | | |
| Total | 818 | 105 | 713 | 87.1 | 353 | 89.4 |

The universe of 713 senior bureaucrats was divided into main and substitute respondents depending on their department or agency as shown in Table 3. The study decided on an original sample of 355 main respondents. The departments and agencies of main respondents were considered as slightly more significant politically and policywise than the departments and agencies from where substitute respondents were to be taken. The actual interviews first concentrated all efforts on contacting and interviewing these 355 main respondents. A total of 264 interviews, or 73.8 percent of the sample size, were actually completed. Two interviews were invalidated because two positions were mistakenly listed as Career Executive Service equivalent positions. This leaves a total of 262 interviews from the original 355 main respondents. The politically vital Department of Agrarian Reform had the highest response rate (95.8 percent) while the National Economic Development Authority, an equally vital agency, had the lowest with 51.6 percent. With all efforts initially concentrated on 355 main respondents, the response rate was very good with 73.8 percent.

In principle, there was a maximum of four attempts to make an appointment for an interview with a main respondent. If an appointment could still not be set on the fourth call, a substitute was selected from the pool of 358 substitute respondents. Table 4 shows the reasons for substitutions in the interviews of senior bureaucrats. Reasons varied, with being too busy or simply "unavailable" as the most common reason accounting for 52.7 percent. This was followed by outright refusal to be interviewed (18.6 percent), being out of town or country (9.9 percent), on leave (7.7 percent), just retired or resigned with no replacement yet at the time of the survey (7.7 percent), and others (3.3 percent). The basic rule of substitution was that the substitute respondent should be of the same Career Executive Service position as that of the main respondent (e.g., an undersecretary must be substituted by an undersecretary, an assistant secretary by an assistant secretary, etc.). If this was not possible, the next higher ranking respondent became the substitute (e.g., an assistant secretary substituted by an undersecretary, etc.). If the next higher

ranking respondent was not available, the next lower rank was substituted (e.g., an undersecretary substituted by an assistant secretary, etc.). A total of 91 substitute respondents were interviewed, or a substitution rate of 25.4 percent. This makes a total of 353 responses out of a targeted sample of 355, or a response rate of 99.4 percent. (Like in most countries, substitution rates for general public surveys in the Philippines are usually higher than specialized surveys such as this. In general, the substitution rate for public surveys in the Philippines reaches 50 percent or more.)

Table 4. Reasons for substitution of main senior bureaucrat respondents.

| Reasons for Substitution | Number of Substitutions | As % of Total Substitutions |
|--|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Too Busy! | | |
| Unavailable | 48 | 52.74 |
| Outright Refusal | 17 | 18.68 |
| Out of Town/Country | 9 | 9.90 |
| On Leave (Sick Leave, Study Leave, etc.) | 7 | 7.70 |
| Already Retired/Resigned at Time of Survey | 7 | 7.70 |
| Others | 3 | 3.30 |
| Total | 91 | 100 |

Table 5 shows the universe, sample and response rate of senior bureaucrats broken down according to the ranks of respondents. The response rate is somewhat skewed towards higher and middle senior bureaucrats: undersecretaries accounted for 45.7 percent of all responses, assistant secretaries for 48.4 percent, bureau directors for 60.4 percent, assistant bureau directors for 54.6 percent, while service chiefs, the lowest ranking Career Executive Service position, accounted only for 25.2 percent. The response rate across ranks is more than sufficient for analysis across ranks.

There were two advantages in dividing departments and agencies of government into main and substitute respondents based on their departments' relative political significance rather than randomly selecting senior bureaucrats from all departments and agencies. First, by concentrating initial efforts on main respondents, perceptions of senior bureaucrats were measured on a broad basis across departments and for all ranks in departments and agencies that are more important politically and policywise. Second, if the main respondent of a certain rank is replaced in the interview by a substitute respondent of the same rank, perception across ranks of the universe in the survey is strengthened in particular.

Backchecks were made after the interview, i.e., subsequent calls or visits after the interview by the

Table 5. Universe, sample size and response rate of senior bureaucrats, according to positions.

| | Total No. of Positions | Total No. of Positions Vacant/ Occupied by OIC/Names Not Available | Total No. of Respondents | Sample Size as % of Universe | No. of Responses | Response Rate (%) |
|-----------------------|------------------------|--|--------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Undersecretary | 99 | 16 | 83 | 83.83 | 38 | 45.78 |
| Asst. Secretary | 157 | 25 | 132 | 84.07 | 64 | 48.48 |
| Director | 274 | 34 | 240 | 87.59 | 145 | 60.41 |
| Asst. Bureau Director | 166 | 27 | 139 | 83.73 | 76 | 54.67 |
| Service Chief | 122 | 3 | 119 | 97.54 | 30 | 25.21 |
| Total | 818 | 105 | 713 | 87.16 | 353 | |

surveying agency to confirm the interview actually took place. For legislators, 37.7 percent of the respondents were randomly backchecked and all confirmed that the interview took place. Random backchecks for senior bureaucrats was 22 percent of the sample size, all confirming that the interview had taken place.

Reactions of Respondents

Since this type of survey is rather rare in the Philippines, it was worthwhile to rate the reactions or attitudes of legislators and senior bureaucrats to the questions and survey itself. Interviewers were asked to rate the reaction of the respondents in a separate sheet immediately after each interview. The separate sheet categorized reactions into very cooperative, cooperative, maybe cooperative/maybe not, uncooperative, and very uncooperative. ("Maybe cooperative/maybe not" refers to ambiguous reactions, or changing attitudes of the interviewee during the interview, say, from being cooperative to uncooperative.) Interviewers were also asked to list the questions where the respondents showed signs of apprehension and to write down comment on anything they deemed worthwhile in the reactions of the respondents during interview. This rating by interviewers was randomly done among 23 legislators who were interviewed a month ahead of senior bureaucrats. Later, the ratings were done for the whole sample size of 353 senior bureaucrats. Table 6 below shows the results of the ratings.

Approximately the same proportion (about 95 percent) of both legislators and senior bureaucrats were rated as very cooperative/cooperative, 4.3 percent of legislators showed some ambiguity during the interview as compared to 2.0 percent of senior bureaucrats. Only 0.6 percent of 353 senior bureaucrats were uncooperative or very uncooperative. There was not much apprehension that can become "statistical noise" or any specific question. In general, legislators showed much less apprehension. They showed apprehension in only 1.2 questions in the whole survey. For senior bureaucrats, the average was 11.2 questions. This figure of 11.2 questions has a slight upward bias since it included respondents from the Department of Foreign Affairs that had 114 questions whereas other senior bureaucrats only had about 100

questions. For both samples, the kind of questions that elicited apprehension, and even one or two instances of outright hostility, were usually questions on personal and social background, a section that was rather detailed in the questionnaire. This was followed by some apprehension on a pair of leader questions on the respondents' evaluation of the Aquino regime's last year compared with the Marcos regime's last year.

Table 6. Degree of cooperativeness of respondents.

| | Legislators N=23 | | Senior Civil Servants N=353 | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|-------|
| | | % | | % |
| Very Cooperative | 21 | 91.30 | 277 | 78.47 |
| Cooperative | 1 | 4.3 | 61 | 17.28 |
| Sub-total | 22 | 95.65 | 338 | 95.75 |
| Maybe Cooperative/ Maybe Not | 1 | 4.3 | 7 | 2 |
| Uncooperative | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0.6 |
| Very Uncooperative | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Sub-total | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0.6 |

As for comments of interviewers on the reaction of the respondents, 10 legislators and 125 senior officials were commented on. The most common comment was that the respondents often discussed the questions and their answers, that answers were quick, that the respondents found this type of survey interview important and praiseworthy enough to ask to be informed of the results. There were also a few complaints that choices of answers were limited or too general, and that the interview was too long. There were also several, mostly from the Department of Foreign Affairs, who asked for assurances of confidentiality. All respondents in both samples, except for one senator, finished the whole interview.

Summary and Conclusion

Survey of political elites is a rich source of data for analyzing domestic political dynamics. In the case

of a less industrialized democratic country like the Philippines, it was not particularly difficult to survey busy and important politicians and senior bureaucrats if the surveying agency is reputable enough. The response rate was high. It is possible to have satisfactory interviews both across departments and across ranks, with response rates for higher and middle ranking respondents being relatively high. In general, long questionnaires are workable with political elite-respondents. Almost all the political elite-respondents were cooperative. Of all the questions asked in the interviews, those on personal background were usually the ones that triggered some apprehensions on the part of respondents.

Notes

¹See for example J.D. Aberbach, R.D. Putman and B.A. Rockman, *Bureaucrats and Politicians in Western Democracies*, (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1981); Michio Muramatsu, *Sengo Nihon no Konryosei*, (Tokyo: Toyo Keizai Shimbu Sha, 1985), and Ikuo Kabashima and J. Broadbent, "Referent Pluralism: Mass Media and Politics in Japan," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 12:2, 1986.

²See for example Monte Palmer, Ali Leila and El Sayed Yassin, *The Egyptian Bureaucracy*, (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1983).

³In this author's experience, in the case of Japan, a mailed questionnaire survey of 15 questions can bring approximately 30 to 40 percent

response rate from senior bureaucrats. See Elpidio R. Sta. Romana, *The Politics of Liberalization of the Japanese Agricultural Market*, Papers in Japanese Studies No. 12, (Department of Japanese Studies, National University of Singapore, 1991).

⁴See *A Survey on the Attitudes of Philippine Legislators*, (Institute for International Social Research, Princeton, New Jersey, 1960), which focused on legislators' attitudes towards the United States. See also Joseph Hayden's study on Filipino civil servants in *The Philippines: A Study in National Development*, (New York: MacMillan, 1942); Gregorio A. Fernandez, *Higher Civil Servants in the Philippines: A Study of the Backgrounds, Career Patterns, and Attitudes of Filipino Higher Officials*, PhD Dissertation (University of Minnesota, 1959); Edward A. Masa, *The Higher Civil Service in the Philippines*, PhD Dissertation (University of the Philippines, 1976); Proserpina Domingo-Tapales, "Socio-Economic Backgrounds of Higher Civil Servants in the Philippines: Circa 1983", *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, 38:4, October 1984; Manuel A. Caoili, "The Philippine Congress and the Political Order", *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, 30:1, January 1986; and Olivia C. Caoili, "The Batasang Pambansa: Continuity in the Philippine Legislative System", *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, 30:1, January 1986.

⁵The study was part of a research project supported by the Masayoshi Ohira Memorial Foundation and by the Toyota Foundation.

⁶Social Weather Stations, Inc. conducted the survey for the author.

The Department of Sociology, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines invites applicants to the following positions:

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PSSC General Assembly Meeting

THE PHILIPPINE SOCIAL SCIENCE COUNCIL (PSSC) held its first General Assembly under its new by-laws last February 17, 1996 at the Alip Auditorium, PSSCenter. Sixty two percent of PSSC's 50 regular and associate member-associations attended the yearly activity.

Prior to the formal opening of the General Assembly, representatives of PSSC's associate member-organizations met to elect their representative to the Board of Trustees. Unanimously chosen was Dr. Eduardo T. Gonzalez from the Development Academy of the Philippines (DAP). They also discussed some issues for consideration by the Board such as funding assistance for possible out-of-town meetings with associate members based in the regions to maximize their participation in PSSC activities, and



the conversion of one of the Center's function rooms into a Social Science Club.



The business meeting started with the presentation of the Chairperson's report by Prof. Oscar Li. Evangelista. Professor Evangelista outlined the achievements of the Council in the areas of advocacy, research, publication, information dissemination, professionalization, institutional linkages, and PSSCenter management. Prof. Shirley C. Advincula, treasurer, reported on the expenditures and the funds currently maintained by the Council. The PSSC budget for 1996 was also discussed.

During the open forum which followed, the Assembly deliberated on the need for the creation of a National Academy of Social Science to accentuate the consciousness of the social science community.



The representatives of the regular member-associations also elected seven new members of the PSSC Board of Trustees. They were Prof. Felipe B. Miranda (Political Science); Dr. Felipe M. Medalla (Economics); Prof. Nestor T. Castro (Anthropology); Mrs. Patricia B. Luna (Social Work); Dr. Eduardo T. Gonzalez (for the associate members); Mrs. Carmelita N. Erica (Statistics); and Dr. Bernardita R. Churchill (History).

Dr. Mahar K. Mangahas, president of the Social Weather Stations (SWS) and member of the Board of Trustees, later gave a one-hour presentation on the information and research technology of the SWS.

PSSC Appoints New Executive Director

DR. VIRGINIA A. MIRALAO has been appointed Executive Director of the Philippine Social Science Council for a three-year term, effective 1 February 1996.

Dr. Miralao holds a Ph.D. in Sociology from Cornell University. She has taught and done research at the Ateneo de Manila University, the Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation and the University of the Philippines. She has also served as resource person and consultant to various inter-governmental bodies, national government agencies and nongovernment organizations.

Aside from the Philippine Sociological Society, Dr. Miralao is also a member of the Philippine Statistical Association, the National Research Council of the Philippines, and the Philippine Human Development Network.



Philippine Migration Research Network Launched

THE PHILIPPINE SOCIAL SCIENCE COUNCIL (PSSC) formally launched the Philippine Migration Research Network (PMRN) on February 24, 1996 comprising of 22 migration researchers and scholars, seven government agencies and 13 nongovernment organizations directly concerned with issues and problems on migration and migrant workers. The PMRN will implement the Philippine component of a regional project on New Migrations and Growing Ethno-Cultural Diversity in the Asia-Pacific Region being undertaken by the Asia-Pacific Migration Research Network (APMRN) under UNESCO's MOST (Management of Social Transformation) program. The PSSC serves as the national liaison committee for the social science initiatives of UNESCO in the Philippines.

Elected officers during PMRN's first general assembly were Dr. Benjamin Cariño (UP-School of Urban and Regional Planning), Chairman; Dr. Graclano Batistela (Scalabrini Migration Center), Vice Chair; Prof. Fe Arcinas (UP-College of Education), Treasurer; Dr. Lysander Padilla (UP-School of Urban and Regional Planning), Secretary; Dr. Aurora E. Perez (UP-Office of Research Coordination); Chairman for Research; Dr. Corazon B. Raymundo (UP-Population Institute), Chairman for Technical Support and Training; and Dr. Hector B. Morada (BLES-Department of Labor and Employment), Chairman for Information Dissemination and Institutional Linkage.

Dr. Aurora E. Perez also delivered a condensed version of the country paper on research issues in migration titled "Migration Research in the Philippines: Where From and Where To?" which was later presented during the first international meeting of the Asia-Pacific Migration Research Network held in Bangkok on March 10-13, 1996.

UNESCO-MOST's migration and ethno-cultural diversity project is participated in by networks in eleven other countries namely Thailand, Indonesia, Fiji, Singapore, People's Republic of China, Republic of Korea, New Zealand, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Japan and Australia.

New Research Award Program (RAP) Grantees

SEVEN RESEARCH PROPOSALS were approved for funding in 1995 bringing to 412 the total number of RAP grantees since its inception in late 1972.

The new grantees are:

1) Jocelyn Buenafe (MA Communication Arts): "Komunikasyon at Panlipunang Pagbabago (Isang Pag-aaral ng Kaseysoyan ng Demilitarisasyon ng Sagada)";

2) Eflada Preclero (MA Developmental Psychology): "The Effects of Language on the Acquisition of Reading Skills Among Bilingual Children in Naawan, Misamis Oriental";

3) Annabel Maralo (MA Psychology): "Application of a Family Systems Approach to Counseling Families of Ex-Political Detainees";

4) Ariel Quinio (MA Industrial Relations): "Organizational Stress and Workers Dysfunctioning: A Study of Correlates and Its Moderators";

5) Francisco Magno (PhD Political Science): "Reforestation in the Philippines: The Politics of State, Environment and Civil Society";

6) Maribec Campos (PhD Agricultural Economics): "Economic Valuation of a Coastal Fisheries in Calauag Bay, Quezon"; and

7) Ma. Divina Gracia Roldan (PhD Philippine Studies): "The Role of Private Sector Organizations in the Pursuit of Economic Diplomacy: The Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Philippine Exporters Confederation, Inc."

AASSREC Executive Council Meeting in Yogyakarta

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL of the Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils (AASSREC) met in Yogyakarta, Indonesia on March 25-27, 1996 to discuss plans for its XIIIth General Conference which will be held in Beijing on October 13-17, 1997. The conference will include a symposium on the theme "Globalization and Local

Cultures: Emerging Issues for the 21st Century." PSSC, which has been serving as AASSREC secretariat for two consecutive terms, has prepared the guidelines for the country papers on the topic. A special panel discussion on "Asian Perspectives on Social Harmony, Stability and Diversity in Globalizing Societies" is also scheduled in the program with papers from South Asia, Southeast Asia, and East Asia.

The XIIIth General Conference will be hosted by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, AASSREC's member-council in China.

Present during the council meeting in Yogyakarta were Prof. Teng Tang (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), President; Dr. A.J. Gunawardana (Natural Resources, Energy and Science Authority of Sri Lanka), Vice-President; Dr. Vinod Mehta representing Dr. R. Radhakrishna (Indian Council of Social Science Research), Vice-President; and Dr. Virginia A. Mirelao (Philippine Social Science Council), Secretary General. Other participants at the meeting were Professor Joji Watanuki, Chair of the National Committee on AASSREC, Science Council of Japan; Dr. Arjuno Brojonegoro, Deputy Director of the Indonesian Institute of Sciences or LIPI, host of the meeting; Dr. Carunia Firdausy (LIPI); and Mrs. Lorna P. Makil, Executive Secretary of AASSREC (Philippine Social Science Council).

PSSC-SRTC Update

THE STATISTICAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING CENTER (SRTC), and the PSSC are jointly undertaking a research project on "An Assessment of Statistical Manpower in Government," to evaluate the manpower needs of statistical agencies and offices in government.

Phase I of the project which involved the design of the study's questionnaire and sampling frame was completed on January 31, 1996.

Phase II which involves both data collection and analysis began in April and is expected to be completed by December 1996.

Asia Pacific Regional Conference of Sociology

THE INAUGURAL CONFERENCE of the Asia-Pacific Regional Conference of Sociology (APRCS) was held in Manila on May 28-31, 1996 at the Philippine Social Science Center. An initiative of sociologists from the Asia-Pacific region and jointly organized by the Australian Sociological Association and the Philippine Sociological Society (PSS) the conference aims to provide a platform for the development of a forum between sociologists and

social science practitioners in the region and to more formally acknowledge the links which already exist and encourage their extension.

The conference program includes plenary sessions, thematic sessions, workshops, ISA (International Sociological Association) research committees, and field trips. Topical concerns taken up during the plenary sessions are Asian experiences and sociological thought, the contribution of sociology to sustainable development, comparative methodology and transnational collaboration, and future regional cooperation. The thematic sessions touch on environment and development, teaching sociology, gender relations, the growth of cities, ethnicity and nationalism, health education and welfare, class and economic restructuring, and theory formation in Asian sociology among others. The workshop program provides specialist courses in applied research methods for dealing with sustainable development and other issues. Workshop topics include, among others, rapid appraisal techniques, qualitative evaluation, survey design and analysis, social impact assessment, and multivariate techniques of data analysis.

Dr. Corazon B. Larnug of the University of the Philippines, Los Baños and President of the PSS served as Conference Coordinator with secretariat support from PSSC staff.

Fellowship

DR. EVELYN J. CABALLERO has recently been nominated to become a Fellow to the Society of Applied Anthropology. Dr. Caballero's nomination by Society President Jean Schensul was unanimously approved by the Board.

The Fellowship allows her to vote at the Society's annual seminar meeting and to become an officer of the organization. She can also participate in the various committees and programs and start special topical interest groups. As a Filipino anthropologist, she is also able to interfere with the general membership.

Dr. Caballero is currently associate professor at the Political Science Department, De La Salle University.

Asian Conference on Scientific Cooperation

DR. MA. CONCEPCION ALFILER of the UP College of Public Administration represented the PSSC at the Asian Conference on Scientific Cooperation in Japan from March 25-28, 1996. The meeting was organized by the Science Council of Japan to foster cooperation among social science councils in the Asia-Pacific.

Council-Member Updates

U.P. School of Urban and Regional Planning Planades

On-going Projects

Joint M.A. Program with the SPRING Center, Faculty of Spatial Planning, University of Dortmund

An M.A. Program in Regional Development Planning is offered jointly by the SPRING Center, Faculty of Spatial Planning, University of Dortmund and the School of Urban and Regional Planning (SURP), University of the Philippines.

Referred to as SPRING Asia (Spatial Planning for Regions in Growing Economies), this unique program for Asian students is one of the few degree offerings in German universities conducted in English. A major feature of the two-year master's program is the conduct of courses both in Germany and Asia. It also runs simultaneously with a parallel program for African students with the University of Science and Technology (UST) in Kumasi, Ghana as the African partner institution. During the first year, all students study at the University of Dortmund in Germany. In their second year, the African students will study at the UST in Ghana, while the Asian students will study at the SURP.

A formal Memorandum of Agreement between the two universities was signed early in 1995 with an initial effectivity period of five years. The joint program started in Dortmund in October 1995. The first intake of SPRING students at the SURP will be in the second semester of AY 1996-1997.

Other features of the collaboration include:

1. faculty and staff exchange to allow for the joint selection and examination of students and co-handling of SPRING Asia courses;
2. joint research projects that are problem- and region-oriented; and
3. joint conferences (referred to as SPRING Forum) which serve as a platform for the exchange of experiences among the partner institutions and the dissemination of the results of SPRING Asia to government officials and policy-makers.

Public Estates Authority (PEA) Diploma Program

FOURTEEN PEA personnel are completing their Diploma in Land Use Planning this Summer 1996. This Diploma Program is in line with the Memorandum of Agreement signed in 1995 between the Public Estates Authority and the U.P. Planning and Research Development Foundation, Inc. (PLANADES). It is offered by the SURP at the PEA for the benefit of PEA personnel who qualified for admission. The Director of Graduate Studies of SURP and the Executive Director of PLANADES constitute the Directing Staff which jointly administer the Program.

Special training modules/lectures of relevant application to PEA operations were designed based on the documents and materials on PEA provided by its Corporate Planning Staff.

Upon satisfactory completion of all requirements, the University of the Philippines (through SURP) will award the degree of Diploma in Land Use Planning to the graduates.

Formulation of a National Urban Policy Framework for the Philippines

IN DECEMBER 1993, Pres. Fidel V. Ramos instructed the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) to spearhead the formulation of a plan on urban development consistent with the Medium Term Philippine Development Plan. The NEDA, however, proposed to formulate a national urban policy framework which would then guide the formulation of an urban plan.

The School of Urban and Regional Planning is one of the agencies tapped by NEDA/UNDP to assist in the conduct of various policy studies and consultations. These input studies are intended to improve/refine the draft national urban policy. Directly involved in the project is Dr. Benjamin V. Cariño, SURP Dean.

Documentation of PEA Relocation of Displaced Families Occupying the Three Reclaimed Islands

THIS STUDY seeks to document and assess the project implementation process and to finally come up with a relocation planning and implementation model consistent with the policy of decentralization and beneficiary involvement. In line with this final output, the study specifically aims to:

1. fully document the planning and implementation of the relocation project with particular focus on the processes, management structures and resource support involved;
2. assess the effectiveness of the new approach especially in terms of project management structures, site and services support structures, and financial incentive package;
3. determine the impact of the project in terms of significant events and outcomes, issues and problems encountered, and the socio-economic welfare of the affected families;
4. present the results in a consultation workshop as a basis for the refinement of the study findings and recommendations; and
5. produce video documentaries on a) milestone events and chronological highlights of the

relocation process; b) success and failure factors that may have affected both the process and outcome of the project; and c) psychological and socio-economic impact of the relocation on the affected families.

Comprehensive Development Plan for the Province of Camiguin

SURP through its foundation, U.P. PLANADES, is in the process of formulating a Comprehensive Development Plan for the island province of Camiguin. In collaboration with the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM), the mission is to assist the provincial government in improving the economic status of the province by preparing its blue print of development. The design and formulation of the plan assumes greater urgency in the case of Camiguin due to its strategic role in Region 10 as outlined in the Northern Mindanao Development Plan (1993-1998) and its viability as a unique tropical destination in the regional tourism circuit as highlighted by the existing National Tourism Master Plan. This three-month undertaking shall be anchored on the following primary goals set for Northern Mindanao—human development, alleviation of poverty, and unified and sustained development.

Philippine Business for Social Progress

Research Activities (October 1995-April 1996)

The past year had been a busy one for the PBSP Research and Publications Unit.

The first quarter started with several evaluation, case writing, and documentation studies regarding the regular programs of PBSP. Specifically, the Provincial Development Strategy (PDS) 4 Earthquake Program Final Evaluation, the PDS 4 Upland Program Component Final Evaluation Study and Documentation, and PDS 4 Case Studies were conducted. The studies served as bases for the Foundation to refine and review its program implementation strategies.

In support of the Foundation's current five-year development thrust, a system institutionalizing the baseline data gathered from all program areas was also instituted in coordination with the Management Information System Unit during the second quarter. In addition, the Foundation also conducted an evaluation research for the Foundation for the Philippine Environment (FPE) in six of its project sites nationwide.

Towards the third quarter of the year, the Foundation's research unit focused on doing policy studies focused on GATT, gender, and local governance in order to determine their possible implications and impact on PBSP programs. A study on CALABARZON and other high growth areas in the country (i.e., Davao, Cagayan-Iligan, etc.) also commenced in order to search for possible areas of intervention for the Foundation. Based on its Technical Review Session held before the start of the new fiscal year, PBSP realized that the focus of its poverty alleviation programs should not only be centered on the rural areas but also in urban centers.

The new year marked the commencement of another focused-study on sustainable agriculture as it has some implications on the kind of technology that the Foundation will promote. The study involved the comparison of the various sustainable farm technologies employed by various farms in the country, in relation to the enterprise program of the Foundation, it also started, in cooperation with PHILDHARRA and NATCCO, a market consolidation study of nongovernment and people's

organizations nationwide. The study involved setting a database of agricultural products produced by NGOs/POs and comparing these with the demand of companies.

Until the end of the year, the Foundation's Research Unit will continue to pursue its operations-related research agenda and provide research assistance to other agencies and member-companies, if requested.

U.P. College of Social Work and Community Development

Training

U.P. Conducts Discussion on Feminist Theorizing

A ROUNDTABLE discussion on feminist theorizing in the Philippine setting was held on March 28, 1996 at the College of Social Work and Community Development (CSWCD), University of the Philippines, Diliman. This provided a venue for those engaged in feminist theorizing to share their thoughts and writings in a pluralist setting. It generated fruitful exchanges among women based in academe and those in the women's movements. It also started off a process of continuous updating and sharing for cross-fertilization of ideas as well as for re-examination and enrichment of feminist praxis. It looked at how feminist theorizing in the Philippine setting has moved on from 1989, integrating new elements (e.g., ecofeminism, postmodernism, postcolonialism, etc.) but remaining rooted in Philippine reality.

This was a sequel to the two-day seminar workshop on feminist theories held in April 1989 undertaken by the UP CSWCD Women and Development Program. Although various feminist theories were presented (liberal, Marxist, radical, socialist, etc.), the focus was on feminism in the Philippines in the Third World context. Selected papers were later published in the CSWCD Bulletin.

The roundtable discussion was sponsored by the Women and Development Program and the Research and Extension for Development Office (REDO) of CSWCD in cooperation with the University Center for Women's Studies.

UP-CSWCD Holds Field Exposure Program for Japanese Students

A PHILIPPINE FIELD EXPOSURE PROGRAM for Japanese students was conducted by the Research and Extension Development Office, College of Social Work and Community Development, UP Diliman last February 6 to March 15, 1996.

The program aimed at providing the 11 participating students from Nihon Fukushi University (NFU) in Japan with the chance to learn about Filipino socio-economic situation and the people's struggle toward genuine development. Likewise, it aimed at adding to the students' understanding of international relations and enhance their problem-solving capabilities.

Publications

UP-CSWCD Publishes New Works

The Research and Extension for Development Office of the CSWCD released its new publications including two books, the *CSWCD Development Journal* and *CSWCD Development Update*, a quarterly monograph/magazine on social development concerns.

The books are *Devolution of Welfare Services (Problems and Issues)* by Dr. Romeo C. Quieta and *Evaluation of Social Action Programs and Projects in the Philippines (Focus on Community-Based and Participatory Evaluation Schemes)* by Dr. Sylvia H. Guerrero, Dr. Ma. Theresa V. Tungpalan and Prof. Jocelyn T. Caragay.

For the first quarter, the *CSWCD Development Journal* featured NGO development in the Philippines and case studies on participation and environmental concerns, while the *CSWCD Development Update* focused on gender/women.

Philippine-China Development Resource Center (PDRC)

Publications

China Currents, a Philippine quarterly on China concerns. 1995 special issues: 1. "Women in China" (Vol. 6, No. 1) and 2. "Philippines-China Relations" (Vol. 6, No. 2). Annual subscription fee: P200.00 (domestic), \$18.00 (foreign, airmail), \$10.00 (foreign, surface mail). Back issues are available at P50.00 per copy.

China's Economy and Asia edited by Ma. Teresa D. Pascual (1995). 73 pages. ISBN 971-91251-4-4. P120.00 per copy. This collection of articles by noted economists and political scientists from the Philippines and China discusses the implications of China's integration with Asia's market economies. Topics include the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), Asian Free Trade Area (AFTA), growth areas and China's burgeoning market.

Deng Watch: Leadership and Succession in China compiled by PDRC (1995). P88.00 per copy. This 130-page dossier contains important articles, documents and news clippings and a nine-page bibliography on the leadership and succession issue in China.

Contemporary Political Attitudes and Behavior of the Chinese in Metro Manila by Aileen S.P. Baviera (1994). 87 pages. ISBN 971-91251-3-6. P120.00 per copy. The study, based on a survey of 346 ethnic Chinese living in Metro Manila in August 1992, attempts to explain how the Chinese think and behave as members of the Philippine polity. Political attitudes and behavior are observed towards determining the extent of political integration reached by Metro Manila's ethnic Chinese. Integration is measured by devising indices on the following political attributes: cosmopolitanism/localism, political information, citizenship duty, political efficacy and political participation. The author also examines how age, citizenship, area of residence, type of education, occupation and income relate to these attitude/behavior indices.

Black Cat, White Cat: An Inside View of Reform and Revolution in China edited by Teresa C. Cariño and Aileen S.P. Baviera (1993). 142 pages. ISBN 971-91251-2-8. P140.00 per copy. Is China still socialist? How fares the reform project? What valuable lessons can the Philippines

learn from the Chinese experiment? In this volume, noted scholars and practitioners such as William Hinton, Wu Qing, Stephan Ting, Li Erlin, Philip Wickeri and Jaime Flor Cruz give us an "inside account" of the social experiments taking place in China.

No Longer Strangers: Faith and Revolution in China, Selected Writings of Bishop K.H. Ting. Edited with an introduction by Raymond L. Whitehead. Asian edition published by PDRC, 1991. 199 pages. ISBN 971-91251-0-1. P100.00 per copy. The writings of K.H. Ting, China's internationally-renowned Protestant leader, testify to the evolution of the Chinese Protestant Church from missionary dependency to a self-administering, self-supporting and self-propagating church. Ting addresses such issues as the struggle to find forms of expressing Chinese Christian theology, and the role of the church in China. He also reflects on the themes of conscience and choice, encounters with imperialism, and solidarity with socialism, asking: "Whom do we serve in our endeavors, our search for peace, our proclamation of the gospel?"

Books for Sale

China's Economy and Asia edited by Ma. Teresa D. Pascual. Quezon City: Philippines. China Development Resource Center, 1995. ISBN 971-91251-4-4. P120.00 per copy.

China, Taiwan, and the Ethnic Chinese in the Philippine Economy edited by Ellen Huang Palanca, Ph.D. Quezon City: Philippine Association for Chinese Studies, 1995. ISBN 971-91333-2-5. P190.00 per copy.

Special Offer! Buy both books for only P280.00.

Acupuncture Training

PDRC will sponsor an Advanced Acupuncture Training on 22 July to 2 August 1996. Topics include the indication of the five shu points and the treatment of specific diseases such as gynecological disorders, manic depressive syndrome and trigeminal neuralgia. Lectures will be conducted in the mornings, while case discussion and clinical work will be held in the afternoons. Registration fee for the two-week training is P2,500.00.

Dr. Wu Xu, Head of the Research Institute of the Nanjing University of Traditional Medicine and Dr. Gu Yuehua, the Assistant Director of the Acupuncture and Moxibustion Section of the Nanjing International Acupuncture Training Center will be the main lecturers.

For more information, contact us at

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Email: pdrc@phil.gn.apc.org

Philippine Association for Chinese Studies (PACS)

Publications

China, Taiwan, and the Ethnic Chinese in the Philippine Economy, edited by Ellen H. Palanca, 1995.

Perspectives on Philippine Policy Towards China, edited by Theresa C. Carifio and Bernardita Reyes-Churchill, 1993.

China, Across the Seas/The Chinese as Filipinos, edited by Aileen San Pablo-Baviera and Teresita Ang See, 1992.

The South China Sea Disputes: Philippine Perspectives, edited by Aileen San Pablo-Baviera, 1991.

Philippine-China Relations, 1957-1988: An Assessment, edited by Bernardita Reyes-Churchill, 1990.

Social Change and Southeast Asian Chinese Literature, edited by Theresa C. Carifio, 1990.

National Tax Research Center (NTRC)

The National Tax Research Center shares the following

Basic Information on VAT (1996)

1. What is VAT?

The value-added tax or VAT is a sales tax on the value-added (excess of sales over purchases) by a firm.

2. What is the type of VAT being implemented in the Philippines?

The VAT which was implemented in the Philippines effective January 1, 1988 per Executive Order No. 273 is a consumption type of VAT (where tax liability is computed using the tax credit method, i.e., the VAT on all purchases or input tax including those on capital goods are creditable against the VAT on sales or output tax). Its rate is 10 percent of gross selling price in the case of sale of taxable goods, or gross receipts from the sale of taxable services, except on transactions subject to zero rate (generally export and export-related activities). For taxable imports, the base is the dutiable value, plus customs duties, excise tax, if any, and other charges prior to release of such goods from customs custody.

The VAT simplifies the tax structure as it replaced twelve (12) different types of indirect taxes. It also provides an audit trail for administrative purposes, eliminates the cascading effect of the previous sales tax, and promotes exports.

3. What is the expanded VAT Law or E-VAT?

The so-called expanded value-added tax law or E-VAT is Republic Act No. 7716, approved on May 5, 1994 and supposed to take effect on May 28, 1994 but was not implemented because of several lawsuits filed with the Supreme Court. The constitutionality of the Act, however, was upheld by the Supreme Court on August 25, 1994 and finally on October 30, 1995. The law, under the rules, took effect on January 1, 1996. RA No. 7716 amended the VAT Law of 1988 (EO No. 273) by, among others:

a. widening its coverage by including certain goods/services/transactions which were not previously subject to VAT nor to other percentage taxes; transferring taxability of certain persons subject to percentage taxes; lifting the exemption of certain items/persons under the National Internal Revenue Code (NIRC), as amended and certain special laws, including certain services within the ambit of VAT effective January 1, 1998;

b. providing for additional goods/transactions exempt from VAT;

c. providing for additional goods/transactions subject to zero rate;

d. prescribing for an annual registration and payment of annual registration fee of P1,000 for each separate establishment of VAT and non-VAT taxpayers;

e. revising upward the annual gross sales/receipts of persons exempt from VAT;

f. increasing the rate of tax payable by non-VAT persons whose gross sales or receipts in a taxable year is below the threshold, from two percent to three percent effective January 1, 1996, and four percent effective January 1, 1998.

4. What are the goods/transactions which were not previously subject to VAT nor to other percentage taxes that are now covered by VAT?

a. intangibles (e.g., patents, copyrights, trademarks, trade names, and other property rights);

b. sale of real property held primarily for sale to customers;

c. lease of real property held for lease in the ordinary course of trade or business;

d. warehousing services.

5. Who are the persons whose taxability was transferred from percentage taxes to VAT under RA No. 7716 (E-VAT Law)?

a. proprietors, operators or keepers of hotels, motels, resthouses, pension houses and resorts;

b. dealers in securities;

c. lending investors;

d. franchise grantees of telephone, telegraph, radio and TV broadcasting and other franchise grantees (except electric, water, gas utilities);

e. insurance premiums with respect to services of non-life insurance companies (except crop insurance);

f. proprietors, operators of restaurants and other eating places, including caterers and clubs;

g. operators of taxicabs, utility cars for rent or hire driven by the lessee, tourist buses, and other common carriers by land, air and sea relative to their transport of goods or cargoes.

6. What are the items/transactions which were previously exempt from VAT under EO No. 273 that are now subject to VAT?

a. Imported meat, pesticides, imported raw cane sugar and specialty feeds;

b. Importation of books, magazines, periodicals and newspapers.

7. What are the special laws (with exemption-from-VAT provision) that were amended by the E-VAT law?

a. Presidential Decree No.66—Export Processing Zone Authority (EPZA)-registered firms;

b. Presidential Decree No. 529—petroleum exploration concessionaires under the Petroleum Act of 1949;

c. Presidential Decree No. 972—operation of coal mines;

d. Presidential Decree No.1491—export-oriented industries in the Phividec industrial areas;

e. Presidential Decree No 1590-Philippine Airlines relative to domestic transport of goods or cargoes;

f. Presidential Decree No 6938—relative to non-electric cooperatives.

8. What are the additional services that will be subject to VAT beginning January 1, 1998?

a. Services performed by:

• actors, actresses, singers, talents, radio/TV broadcasters, etc.;

• professional athletes;

• bank and non-bank financial intermediaries;

- finance companies;
- professionals and registered professional partnerships;
- international cargo vessels, airlines, freight forwarders.

In the interim, these persons shall remain subject to the applicable percentage tax under the NIRC.

b. Lease or use by amateur players of sports facilities and equipment which are not exclusively for the private use of shareholders/members of the club

9. What are the transactions exempt from VAT under EO 273 and are still exempt under the E-VAT Law?

a. Sale or importation of:

- agricultural and marine food products in their original state; livestock and poultry for human consumption (except imported meat); breeding stock and genetic materials thereof;

- fertilizers, seeds, seedlings and fingerlings; fish, animals and poultry feeds (except specialty feeds for race horses, fighting cocks, zoo animals and other animals generally considered as pets); soya beans and fish meals;

- petroleum products (except lubricating oil, process gas, grease, wax, and petrolatum) subject to excise tax; and

- raw materials to be used by the buyer or importer himself in the manufacture of petroleum products (except lubricating oil and grease) subject to excise tax.

b. sale of non-food agricultural, marine and forest products in their original state by the primary producer or owner of the land where the same products were produced.

c. importation of:

- passenger and/or vessels of more than 10,000 tons, including engine and spare parts of said vessels to be used by the operator himself as the operator thereof;

- personal and household effects belonging to residents of the Philippines returning from abroad and non-resident citizens coming to resettle in the 54

Philippines which are exempt from customs duties under the Tariff and Customs Code; and

- professional instruments and implements, wearing apparels, domestic animals, and personal household effects (except vehicle, vessel aircraft, machinery, other goods for use in manufacture and merchandise of any kind in commercial quantity) belonging to persons coming to settle in the Philippines for the first time.

d. printing, publication, or sale of locally printed/published books or newspaper, magazine, review or bulletin which appear at regular intervals with fixed prices for subscription and sale and which are not devoted principally to the publication of advertisements.

e. services rendered by:

- persons subject to percentage tax under Title V of the NIRC, to wit:

- keepers of garage and common carriers by land, air or water for transport of passengers;

- grantees of electric, gas or water utility franchise;

- persons, companies or corporations (except purely cooperative companies or associations) doing life insurance business of any sort in the Philippines;

- agents of foreign life insurance companies;

- operators of cockpits, cabarets, night or day clubs, boxing exhibitions, professional basketball games, jai-alai, race tracks;

- overseas dispatch, messages or communications originating from the Philippines;

- banks and non-bank financial intermediaries (will be subject to VAT beginning January 1, 1998);

- finance companies (will be subject to VAT beginning January 1, 1998);

- international cargo vessels, airlines, freight forwarders (will be subject to VAT beginning January 1, 1998).

- actors, actresses, singers, talents, radio/TV broadcasters, choreographers, musical, radio, movie, television and stage directors (will be subject

to VAT beginning January 1,1998);

- agricultural contract growers and milling for others of palay into rice, corn into grits and sugar cane into sugar;

- medical, dental and hospital and veterinary services except those rendered by professionals (professionals and registered professional partnerships will be subject to VAT beginning January 1,1998);

- educational services rendered by private educational institutions, duly accredited by the Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS), and those rendered by government educational institutions;

- artists for the production of arts, literary works, musical compositions and similar creations, and the sale by himself of such creations;

- individuals pursuant to employee-employer relationship;

- regional and area headquarters established in the Philippines by multinational corporations not earning or deriving income from the Philippines.

f. lease of residential units, boarding houses, dormitories, rooms and bed spaces offered for rent by their owners at a monthly rental of not more than the amount under the Rent Control Law (by E-VAT Regulation).

g. transactions which are exempt under special laws (except PD Nos 66, 529, 972, 1491, 1590 and 6938) or international agreements to which the Philippines is a signatory. Lease of or use by amateur players of sports facilities, equipment which are not exclusively for the private use of shareholders/members of the club are exempt from VAT under RA 6847 but shall be subject to VAT beginning January 1,1998.

Some of the special laws which provide for VAT exemptions are:

- Fiscal Incentive Review Board (FIRB) Resolution No 17-87 National Power Corporation

- PD No 1442-Geothermal service contractors

- RA No 6715-Labor Union Organizations

- RA No 6810-Countryside and Barangay Business Enterprise (Kalakalan 20)

- RA No 6847-Philippine Sports Commission

- RA No 7103-Iron and Steel Industry

- RA No 7109-Local Water Districts

- RA No 7156-Mini Hydroelectric Power Investors

- RA No 7227-Bases Conversion and Development Authority

- RA No 7277-Disabled Persons

- RA No 7279-Project contractors (socialized housing and community mortgage program)

- RA No 7291-Veteran's Federation of the Philippines and members

- RA No 7308-Private sector of the seed industry

- RA No 7459-Filipino Investors

- RA No.7471-Philippine Overseas Shipping Enterprise

h. export sales by persons who are not VAT-registered; and

i. sales and/or services performed by persons otherwise subject to VAT but whose annual gross sales and/or receipts do not exceed P200,000. (The threshold was raised to not exceeding P500,000 under EO No 181, series of 1994.)

10. What are the goods/transactions added by the E-VAT law as among those that are exempt from VAT?

a. copra, ordinary salt, cotton and cotton seeds, in their original state;

b. sale of real property not held primarily for sale to customers or not held for lease in the ordinary course of trade or business or for low-cost and socialized housing;

c. prawn feeds and ingredients used in the manufacture of fish, prawn, livestock, poultry feeds;

d. importation of passenger/cargo vessels of more than 5,000 tons.

11. Apart from the additional transactions mentioned in 10 above, what are the other transactions considered exempted from VAT?

a. sale or rental of books by private educational institutions duly accredited by the DECS and government educational institutions;

b. agricultural food products which have undergone the simple processes of preparation and preservation for the market including those using advanced technological means of packaging (e.g., shrink wrapping in plastics, vacuum packing, tetra pack, etc.);

c. lease of residential units, boarding houses, dormitories, rooms and bed spaces at a monthly rental of not more than the amount allowed under the Rent Control Law;

d. foreign and local donations to, as well as, by religious institutions of religious articles (e.g., bibles, crucifix, vestments or similar articles), to be used actually, directly and exclusively for religious purposes and not done in the ordinary course of trade or business;

e. persons engaged in business(es) where the aggregate gross sales or receipts do not exceed P100,000 during any 12-month period (exempt from VAT and any percentage tax imposed under the NIRC);

f. books, magazines, periodicals, newspapers, including book publishing and printing, as well as their distribution and circulation (exempt from VAT pursuant to RA No 8047, approved on June 7, 1995).

12. What are some of the current requirements that a VAT taxpayer has to comply with?

a. registration with the appropriate District Office and payment of an annual registration fee of P1,000 for every separate or distinct establishment or place of business and every year thereafter on or before the 31st of January. However, he may opt to pay on a quarterly basis in the amount of P250 payable on or before the 31st of January for the first quarter and on or before the 20th day of the first month of the calendar quarter. A new taxpayer who registers after the first calendar quarter shall pay a registration fee in an amount proportionate to the remaining quarters of the year

b. posting of Registration Certificate and duly validated Registration Fee Return at a conspicuous place in his principal place of business and at each branch

c. issuance of duly registered receipt or sales or commercial invoice for every sale of goods and services

13. What are the transactions which are still not covered by the VAT or E-VAT?

a. persons otherwise subject to VAT whose gross annual sales or receipts do not exceed the amount of 50,000

b. keepers of garage and common carriers by land, air or water for transport of passengers

c. grantees of electric, gas or water utility franchise

d. persons, companies or corporations (except purely cooperative companies or associations) doing life insurance business of insert in the Philippines

e. overseas dispatch, messages or communications originating from the Philippines

Remembering A Favorite Jesuit

(Following are reprints of two articles by Mahar Mangahas on Fr. Frank X. Lynch after whom the PSSC Library is named which appeared in his column "Little History" for *The Evening Paper* on March 30 and March 21, 1996 respectively. The *SSI* remembers with fondness Fr. Lynch's birth anniversary on April 2.)

A Favorite Jesuit

Mahar Mangahas

IN A PREVIOUS COLUMN, "Mostly Catholics, mainly animists." I maintained that Filipino conservatism on matters like family planning, sex and abortion is due, not to the dominance of the Catholic religion but to the persistence of our animist heritage.

This animist heritage, common to present-day Catholic and non-Catholic Filipinos alike, must have come down to us from ancient times, long before the Spanish occupation. Not only is animism compatible with Catholicism, but, based on what Pope John Paul II says in *Crossing the Threshold of Hope*, it was probably conducive to Catholicism's being so readily adopted in the Philippines.

Last week, the following comment on that column came from a sociologist-friend, Fr. John J. Carroll, S.J., who is based at the Institute of Church and Social Issues, located at the Ateneo campus (but not part of Ateneo) in Loyola Heights:

"It reminded me of one of Frank Lynch's findings of many years ago: those who were closer to the Church (in terms of Mass attendance, etc.) were more open to family planning than those who were not; those who were closer at least accepted the rhythm method while those who were more distant did not. I'm not sure about details; perhaps this was a rural sample. But Frank concluded that opposition to family planning has more of a cultural than a religious base, and may be associated with a folk belief that anything done to prevent conception will bring gaba."

The word 'gaba' couldn't be found in any of the office's Tagalog dictionaries. One of the SWS staff, who is from Aklan, says that it is not Tagalog



but a word in both Aklan and Bicol, meaning something like 'punishment' or a 'bad karma'. (Observe that believing in *karma*, as so many Filipinos do, is not at all inconsistent with their being Catholics.)

John Carroll is speaking of the same Frank Lynch mentioned in my column "Let the people lead" two weeks ago, another Jesuit sociologist, who did much of his research in the Bicol region. Frank, who was of course fluent in Bicol, as well as Tagalog, had changed his citizenship from American to Filipino many years before his untimely passing in 1978.

I have a favorite memory of the hospitality of Frank and his fellows of the cloth from the mid-seventies, when I went to Camarines Sur to take part in a seminar he had organized, and was given lodging at the Ateneo de Naga.

There was an afternoon free for recreation, and we went first to pay our respects to the other Jesuits. That's how I discovered that the faculty quarters had a little air-conditioned den, where a quorum was playing mahjong. (Observe, therefore, that there are quite a few Filipino, including some Jesuits *pala*, who do not totally disapprove of gambling, which is quite consistent with the SWS surveys.)

I noticed that the players were using real coins rather than plastic chips, and they explained that the losers had to pay after each and every game—they couldn't be trusted to pay after the end of the whole session. That's how it is among Jesuits *daw*.

Then Frank took out his *pasalubong* to them, a bottle of Johnnie Walker. So one of them grumbled, "Why only red label now, Frank? Next time, you better bring black, OK?"

From there, Frank took me to town to see the Nora Aunor movie about the US military bases, *Minsa'y Isang Gamu-Gamu*, I think it was. The one really anxious not to miss this particular film wasn't me, but this Irish-Amerikano-Pinoy priest-sociologist.

On getting to the theater he immediately went ahead of me up the stairs, so I called out that I would be the one to take care of the tickets at the lobby. But Frank said, "No need, Mahar. In Naga the Jesuits don't have to pay."

Then, when I said that in that case I'll just get a ticket for myself, he quickly pulled me along, saying, "Don't worry—when you're with me, it means that you're a Jesuit too."

Let the People Lead

This column borrows the title of a study in the Bicol area by the sociologist Frank Lynch, S.J., whose point was that an effective 'change-agent' (in the dev-biz lingo of the '70s) follows where the people want to go.

Frank went ahead to the Great Research Project in the Sky over 17 years ago, leaving us—aside from the Philippine Social Science Council library, which is named after him in an extensive heritage of still-relevant research.

Using Frank's thesis, one can argue that Metro Manilans did not go to EDSA in February 1986 only because Cardinal Sin told them to. The reason they went was because, in their hearts, consciously or otherwise, they were eager to make a strong political statement appropriate to that critical time. And then the Cardinal, among others, gave them an excellent concrete suggestion of how to do it.

Now, Cardinal Sin, and more so the Pope, are very highly trusted by the Filipino people, these are survey-based facts. This explains why, when the Cardinal or the Pope try to head in directions that many of the flock don't agree with, they are just quietly ignored, rather than noisily denounced.

Let's take two cases, namely family planning and abortion. In the first case, demographers have known, from decades of research, that most Filipinos are in favor of family planning, including the use of contraceptive methods prescribed by the Catholic Church.

This was validated yet again by an item in the SWS national survey of October 1995, going as follows: "Some say that the government is right in promoting free choice of family planning method. Others say that the Catholic Church is right in promoting natural family planning as the only acceptable method. Which of these two is closer to your opinion?"

The result at the national level was that 60 percent of those surveyed said that the government is right whereas 38 percent said that the Church is right. Interestingly, the opinion-pattern was the same regardless of social class—the government-view vs. Church-view scores were 62-36 in Class ABC, 60-39 in Class D, and 61-39 in Class E. But Metro Manilans were unique in being the most independent-minded, with a score of 69-29.

On the matter of abortion, the survey respondents were asked which of the following three positions was closest to their opinion: (a) 'Abortion is wrong in all cases,' or (b) 'Abortion is alright when it is necessary to save the woman's life,' or (c) 'A pregnant woman has the right to decide if abortion is right or not, in her own case.'

Although 83 percent of Filipinos are Catholics, position (a), which is the Catholic Church's position, was chosen by only 50 percent of those surveyed nationwide, and by only 44 percent of those surveyed in the capital. Therefore there are quite a few Catholics whose views of abortion do not coincide with those of the Church. (When the data are cross-tabulated by religion, I would expect to find that, as on other moral issues, non-Catholics are *more* conservative than Catholics on the matter of abortion.)

Position (b) or 'it depends' was chosen by 32 percent, and position (c), which is completely non-judgmental, was chosen by as many as 19 percent. (The total only seems like 101 percent, due to rounding error; sorry about that.)

Finally, the October 1995 survey also asked whether the matter of moral acceptability ought to be legislated. There were only slightly more than one-third (35 percent) who said Yes. The answers were more or less the same regardless of social class.

Thus, who can tell the Filipino people what to do, or how to think? It seems clear that neither the dominant church hierarchy nor the legislature can do it.

The best advice is still that of Frank Lynch: just to try to be sensitive to what they want, and let the people lead.

NEW ACQUISITIONS

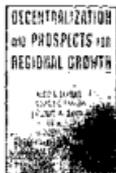
Filipiniana

Hermoso, Reuel R.
(Ed.) 1994

Development and democracy: a people's agenda. Q.C.: Ateneo de Manila Center for Social Policy and Public Affairs. 325 pp.

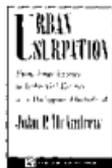


The book is a compilation and rationalized presentation of different development agenda formulated by people's organizations, nongovernmental organizations and cause-oriented groups. These agenda were born out of a need by these groups to influence meaningfully the formulation and implementation of government policies designed to uplift the conditions of majority of the Filipino people who remain impoverished and marginalized.



Lamberte, Mario B., et al. 1993
Decentralization and prospects for regional growth. Makati: Philippine Institute for Development Studies. 262 pp.

This comprehensive view of regional development in the Philippines includes a review of the attempts to promote balanced regional development and spatial equity in the country since the 1960s. Aside from administrative reforms like the regionalization of national administration and planning, the study also assesses macroeconomic and sectoral policies in terms of their contribution to balanced regional development and likewise identifies opportunities and constraints faced by various regions in the country.



McAndrew, John P. 1994
Urban usurpation: from friar estates to industrial estates in a Philippine hinterland. Q.C.: Ateneo de Manila University Press. 212 pp.

This study traces the emergence of friar estates in the early Spanish colonial period to the introduction of industrial estates in the Marcos era.

It demonstrates how the incorporation of Manila into the world economy and the successive roles it played in capital accumulation have had profound effects on land use, land tenure, and class relations in Cavite province.



Perterra, Raul 1995:
Philippine localities and global perspectives: essays on society and culture. Q.C.: Ateneo de Manila University Press. 216 pp.

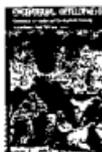
The book deals with the major issues arising out of research on the Philippines in the past twenty years. Using local examples commonly preferred by anthropologists, it explores the links between the local community and the broader structures affecting it. It also analyzes issues of national concern in the context of everyday life and shows the links between society and global forces. Finally, the book argues for conducting empirical research on the bases of a coherent theoretical perspective.



Scott, William Henry 1994
Barangay: sixteenth-century Philippine culture and society. Q.C.: Ateneo de Manila University Press. 306 pp.

This book presents a sixteenth-century Philippine ethnography based on contemporaneous sources. It does not attempt to reconstruct that society by consideration of present Philippine societies, or of features believed to be common to all Austronesian peoples, nor does it seek similarities with neighboring cultures in Southeast Asia, though the raw data presented should be of use to scholars who might wish to do so. Rather it seeks to answer the question: what did the Spaniards actually say about Filipino people when they first met them?

The first part describes Visayan culture on physical appearance, food and farming, trades and commerce, religion, literature and entertainment, natural science, social organization, and warfare. The second part surveys the rest of the archipelago from south to north.



**Barrig, Maruja and
Andy Wehkamp (Eds.).
1994**

***Engendering development:
experiences in
gender and development
planning.* The Netherlands:
NOVIB. 266 pp.**

This book brings together experiences of Latin American and Dutch consultants in the often strenuous task of incorporating the gender dimension in development projects, through which they have all "lived to tell the story." It covers a wide array of subjects, from conceptual aspects of gender and women's autonomy to planning strategies and evaluation methodology. It presents a view which focuses more on nongovernmental organizations, peasant women and cooperation agencies.



**Broderick, Carlfrid B.
1993**

***Understanding family
process: basics of
family systems theory.*
Newbury Park: SAGE
Publications. 269 pp.**

Family process or family systems theory is the basic theoretical model underlying most contemporary family therapy. The author explains how systems theory gave rise to family systems theory, outlines the basic propositions of family systems, and links it both to other family theory literature and to clinical practice. Topics include relational space, family boundaries, family stratification and child socialization. Family meanings and such shared realities as family folklore, stories, myths and memorabilia are discussed; and family rituals such as tradition, rites of passage and celebrations are explored.



**Dole, Angela and
Richard B. Dautes
(Eds.). 1994**

***Analyzing social and
political change: a
casebook of methods.*
London: SAGE Publications.
229 pp.**

This provides a clear and accessible guide to quantitative methods for the analysis of change over time and examines both the potential and the problems of relevant methods of analysis.

Outlining the techniques developed in response to significant methodological problems, this collection covers (a) the respective values of cross-sectional and longitudinal data in the analysis of change; (b) the variety of methods available for the analysis of change over time; (c) the kinds of research objective to which various techniques are suited; d) the limitations and constraints of individual methods; and (e) the different philosophies which underlie particular approaches.



**Haulin Murray,
Geraint Hughes and
Janie Percy-Smith.
1994**

***Community profiling:
auditing social needs.*
Buckingham: Open
University Press. 194 pp.**

The book provides a practical guide to the community profiling process for use by professionals involved in the planning and delivery of services, community workers, community organizations, and volunteer groups. It is an invaluable step-by-step guide to social science students involved in practical research projects. The book takes the reader through the community profiling process beginning with consideration of what a community profile is, defining aims and objectives and planning the research. It then looks at a variety of methods for collecting, storing and analysing information and ways of involving the local community. Finally, it considers how to present the information and develop appropriate action plans. Includes a comprehensive annotated bibliography of recent community profiles and related literature.



**Mosconi, Serge and
Willem Doise. 1994**
***Conflict and consensus:
a general theory of
collective decisions.*
London: SAGE Publications.
214 pp.**

The book presents a broad overview of the processes of collective decision-making that draws on theoretical influences ranging from group decision theory to the author's own social representations theory. The authors offer a novel analysis of group conflict and the construction of consensus to produce a general theory of collective decisions. Going beyond the traditional view that compromise is a negative process where group members merely comply in order to sustain cohesion, they argue that conflict at the root of group decisions can be a positive force leading to changes in opinion and innovation.

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Philippine Sociological Review, Vol. 41, 1992

Philippine Political Science Journal, Nos. 37 and 38, 1993-1994

Philippine Political Science Journal, Nos. 33-36, June 1991-December 1992

Philippine Population Journal, Vol. 6, Nos. 1-4, January-December 1990

Philippine Journal of Linguistics, Vol. 24, No. 1, June 1993
(Current Research in the Philippines)

Philippine Journal of Linguistics, Vol. 24, No. 2, December 1993.

Books

Empowerment and Accountability for Sustainable Development: Towards Theory Building in the Social Sciences
(Papers and Proceedings of the 3rd National Social Science Congress, Philippine Social Science Center, December 9-10, 1993)

Women of a Lesser Cost: Female Labour, Foreign Exchange and Philippine Development.
Sylvia Chant & Cathy McIlwaine, Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1995.

Madonnas & Martyrs: Militarism and Violence in the Philippines, Anne-Marie Hilsdon, Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1995.

Crime, Society, and the State in the Nineteenth Century Philippines, Greg Bankoff, Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1996.

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