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ARTICLES

PROFILES OF NEW PSSC ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

EDITORIAL

We bring you with this issue of the PSSC *Social Science Information* articles which have been presented by fellow Filipino social scientists in recent international and national conferences. The first paper, "*The Philippine Revolution (1896-1901) within the Context of Asian History: A Comparative Study of Anti-Colonial Movements in Asia, 1857-1918*" was presented by **Professor Oscar L. Evangelista**, PSSC Trustee at the 14th Conference of the International Association of Historians for Asia (IAHA) held at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok on May 20-24, 1996. "*Decentralization and Political Participation in the Philippines: Experiences and Issues in Societal Transformation*" served as the Philippines country paper contribution to the Conference on Cooperative Development and Peace in Asia held in Chandikorn, India on March 7-14, 1997. This paper was prepared by **Ms. Eleanor M. Gonzalez**, Outreach and Publications Director of the Institute for Population Democracy, who attended the India Conference as PSSC's representative. **Ms. Rowena N. Termulo**, Senior Research Associate of the Development Academy of the Philippines (DAP), was a member of the PSSC delegation that attended the Third European Conference on Philippine Studies at Aix-en Provence, France on April 24-27, 1997 where she presented her paper on "*Squatter Community Relations in the Philippines: Emergent Strategies and Responses in Relocation.*" **Dr. Delbert Rice's** "*Ethnicity: A View from the Kalahan Forest*" was among the papers presented at the PSSC Lecture Series on Ethnic Identities and Ancestral Domain. Held at the PSSCenter on March 21, 1997, the lecture was organized by Ugnayang Pang-Aghamtao, Inc. (Anthropological Association of the Philippines). An anthropologist and a long-term resident of the Philippines, Dr. Rice currently serves as Executive Director of the Ikalahan Educational Foundation.

In addition to other news and announcements on social science events and undertakings, this issue also features organizational profiles of PSSC's newest associate members. These are the *Center for Research and Extension Services of Aquinas University*, Rawis, Legaspi City; the *Division of Social Sciences, College of Arts and Sciences-UP Visayas* in Miag-ao, Iloilo; *the School of Economics of the University of Asia and the Pacific* in Pasig City, Metro Manila; the *Research and Development Center of the University of Negros Occidental-Recoletos* in Bacolod City; the *Social Science Research Center of Ateneo de Naga University* in Naga City; and the *UP Folklorists, Inc.* based in UP Diliman. We hope to feature in subsequent issues the other associate members of the Council.

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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.

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The Philippine Revolution (1896-1901) within the Context of Asian History: A Comparative Study of Anti-Colonial Movements in Asia, 1857-1918*

Oscar L. Evangelista

This paper situates the Philippine Revolution against Spain and the United States, 1898-1901 within the context of anti-colonial movements in Asia, 1857-1918. 1857 was chosen as starting point of the study as it commemorates the Indian (Sepoy) Mutiny of 1857-58, an important landmark in Asian History. It marked the intensification of Western imperialism in Asia, and served as a symbol of resistance against imperialism. In turn, 1918 was the end of World War I, another landmark which brought significant changes in the tempo of Asian nationalist movements and paved the way for later revolutions. The paper asserts that by examining the Philippine Revolution against the events of this period, we see that it was well ahead of its time. Other nationalist revolutions, with the exception of China, took place in the 1940s and 1950s.[1] To understand the place of the Philippine Revolution in Asian history, it must be compared with other anti-colonial movements in Asia that occurred during the period under study.

Anti-colonial movements took different forms. Before the advent of Asian nationalism in the mid-19th century, resistance against western imperialism was expressed through revolts, millenarian/messianic movements, social banditry, etc. The Philippines, colonized since the 16th century, recorded more than 200 revolts all over the county stemming from various motivations.[2] Indonesia, and Java in particular, had many peasant revolts in the 19th century,[3] again showing signs of anti-colonial discontent. Still, it may well be argued that no anti-colonial revolution took place in Asia before 1900, except that of the Philippines.[4]

A Western author considered 1900 as the beginning of the era of the "Awakening of Asia."[5] There is reason for this since nationalist movements had taken roots in India, China, and parts of the Arab World; and were beginning to be manifest in Burma, Vietnam, and Indonesia. But the only other political revolution during the period under study was the Chinese Revolution of 1911.

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*Paper presented at the 14th International Association of Historians for Asia (IAHA) Conference held at Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand, May 20-24, 1996. The author is Professor of History, Department of History, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City.

It is the therefore against the backdrop of mid-19th century pre-nationalist anti-colonial movements, and the nationalist stirrings between 1900 and 1918 that the place of the Philippine Revolution in Asian history will be situated. A survey of the tightening of colonial rule from the mid-19th century, and the corresponding responses of the colonized Asian countries follow, to further highlight the place of the Philippine Revolution.

The 1850s was a turning point in the expansion of Western colonialism in Asia. The Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution made the European powers stronger politically, and wealthier economically. Add to these factors the rise of European nationalism, with its emphasis on the glorification of the nation-state, and you have the motivations for more active colonial ventures. Petty economic concessions, and indirect influences over Asian territories no longer sufficed, as bigger stakes were in the offing.

The first country to "fall" was China. Between 1840 and 1860, China was subjected to political and military pressures through the Opium Wars, inevitably being opened up through unequal treaties imposed on her, first by Great Britain, and later by other European countries which invoked the "Most Favored Nation" clause to obtain similar privileges given to the British. This was to be the beginning of China's woes which will culminate in what is referred to as the "slicing of China like a melon" in the first decade of the 20th century. The Manchu leaders were, however, slow in responding to these pressures, although there were peasant uprisings which were more anti-Manchu than anti-western powers.

The first positive response to Western imperialism in China was K'ang Yu Wei's "100 Days of Reform" (1898) but since this was basically still in Confucian terms, the reform movement did not succeed. It was the entry of Sun Yat Sen and his *Kuo Min Tang* party that set the stage for the Chinese Revolution of October 10, 1911, and the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912. Of relevance to this paper is Sun's *San Min*

Chu I (Three Principles of the People) where he defined his concept of nationalism as one of love for China. The Republic unfortunately met one reverse after the other under Yuan Shih Kai. By 1916, China was a divided country with the northern area under Warloads, and the south under Sun While it is beyond the concern of this paper, the entry of Communism in China and its utilization as a nationalist ideology by Mao Tse Tung made civil war a necessity in the 1940s.

Japan was the next target in East Asia. In 1853, Commodore Perry became the instrument to likewise impose on Japan unequal treaties which forced Japan to terminate its seclusion policy started in 1640. Unlike the Chinese, the Japanese leaders responded more positively, and in the ensuing internal struggle for power, the Shogunate was abolished, and the western Daimyos spearheaded what would be called the Meiji Restoration.

The modernization of Japan and its victories in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, and in the Russo Japanese War of 1904-05 gave Japanese nationalism a different flavor. By becoming an industrialized country and assuming the status of the Western powers, Japanese nationalism became ultra-nationalism, paving the way for the expansionist moves of the Japanese leaders.

In Southeast Asia, Britain acquired Burma in a three-pronged annexation move: 1823, 1853, and 1886, to safeguard the integrity of the British Indian Empire against possible French

encroachments. The latter was slowly building its own empire in Mainland Southeast Asia by the conquests of Cochin-China in 1862; Annam in 1867, and Tonkin in 1883; Cambodia in 1863; and Laos in 1893. France's occupation of "Indo-China" was motivated by the need to have access to China.

To be sure, there was resistance from the local powers. Burma's *Konbaung* dynasty tried diplomacy and negotiation to ward off British presence in Burma, and in 1886, there was a rebellion in Lower Burma, led by the *Thugyis*, which lasted for five years.6 The Nguyen dynasty of Vietnam offered military resistance to the French, to no avail. These types of resistance, although anti-colonial, were defensive in nature, involved only the ruling class, and were not nationalistic in nature.

Burmese nationalism manifested itself in the first decade of the 20th century, and drew inspiration from Buddhism. One of the early arms of Buddhist nationalism was the Young Men's Buddhist Association, obviously patterned after the YMCA of the West. Until the end of World War I, no radical movement developed in Burma.

The tradition of nationalism in Vietnam had a long history, dating back from their long struggle against China. Vietnam was not lacking in reformers like Bui Quang Chieu and his Constitutionalist Party, and Pham Quynh's Tonkinese Party. As in Burma, no extremist group existed prior to 1925.[7] Ho Chih Minh used communism as a nationalist ideology in fighting French colonialism.

Siam remained independent largely because of its "remarkable kings and officials" for leaders,[8] and for its policy of "dancing with the wind". Sensing that the British were in an expanding mood, the *Chakkri* dynasty decided to give economic and extra-territorial benefits to the British. Under Mongkut and Chulalongkorn, Siam underwent a modernization process that opened up the country to western influences.

With a national identity securely in place, Thai nationalism was directed against Chinese interests in the early 1930s.

In Island Southeast Asia, the Netherlands East Indies had become a national unit, directly ruled by the Dutch Government by the mid-90s. Dutch colonialism in what would become modern Indonesia share similarities with Spanish colonialism in the Philippines. The Dutch East India Company (V.O.C.) started its commercial ventures in Java in the early 17th century, eventually moving into the outer islands, completing a process of colonization by the 1820s. While the Dutch ruled Java indirectly through the local rulers until the 1820s, the Dutch presence in Indonesia is almost as long as the Spanish presence in the Philippines. This is important to consider since the Philippines, Indonesia and Malaya were creations of Western imperialism. The process of becoming a nation was a long one considering the diversity of cultures and peoples that had to be welded together.

By the first decade of the 20th century, a form of cultural nationalism appeared in Java, with the formation of *Budi Utomo* in 1908 by Dutch educated Javanese. With the establishment of *Sarekat Islam* in 1912, a mass movement was gradually formed, and during its fourteen years of existence, "groups of every persuasion enrolled under its banner."[9] Starting off with anti-Chinese feelings, the issues expanded as the movement for change gained grounds, and the organization became militant. Local rebellious incidents in 1919 were met with force by the Dutch Government.[10]

British Malaya came into being with the incorporation of the ports of Malacca, Penang and Singapore into one unit, and the addition of the Federated Malay States (Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang) in the 1870s. Due to the nature of the plural society that emerged, with the Chinese and the Indians forming the community with the Malays in the lead, no visible nationalist movement emerged until the 1940s.

The case of the Philippines is the exception to the rule as far as colonialism is concerned. The Spaniards, who established a colonial government in 1565, managed to control most of the Luzon and Visayan regions by 1665, making *Filipinas* the first true colony in Asia. The establishment of a

centralized government, putting the different regions of the country under one system of law and administration, was a first step in gradually welding together the different ethnic groups. This was followed by the Christianization of the ethnic groups, again giving the Philippines a somewhat dubious distinction as the only Christian country in Southeast Asia. The 333 years of Spanish colonial rule were punctuated by revolts. By the middle of the 19th century, Spain succumbed to the lure of international trade, and had completely opened the country to foreign trade. This was a key factor that would bring dramatic changes to the economic and material life of some mestizos and natives who began as marginal recipients of the economic progress, and later became the intelligentsia called *ilustrados*.

In British India, the Indian (Sepoy) Mutiny of 1857-1858 is significant for the Indians as it is regarded by nationalist Indian historians as its war of independence.11 The British East India Company had ruled India since 1762, and the completion of the empire in the succeeding decades brought in several grievances of political, economic, cultural and military nature, resulting in a collective grievance against British rule. Although it was led by the Indian elites, and confined to Delhi, the United Provinces and parts of the central portion of India, the fact that the mutiny lasted for eighteen months was a testimonial to the support that it obtained from the different groups of Indians. For the British, the mutiny was the signal to terminate the rule of the British East India Company, and to put India under the direct rule of the British Parliament. Gradually, a core of educated Indians led in the development of Indian nationalism under the aegis of the Indian National Congress. Other Hindu-oriented groups emerged to give the early phase of Indian nationalism, a Hindu type of nationalism.

After 1900, B.G.Tilak espoused a radical type of nationalism, but it was Mahatma Gandhi's nonviolent movement that attracted the masses of Indians in India's fight to obtain *Swaraj* from the British. The base of the mass movement was in place by the end of World War I.

Over in West Asia, by the mid 1850s, the Ottoman Sultan had become a figurehead, with the Western Powers propping him up for their individual ends. Britain and French had shown interest in Egypt since the advent of the 19th century because of the strategic passageway that it offered through what would become the Suez Canal. France managed to build the canal, but the British maintained their presence, and when opportunity permitted with the bankruptcy of Khedive Ismail, a dual control of Britain and France was set-up, and in 1885, Britain occupied Egypt. British presence in Egypt lasted until the 1950s.

Russian interest in the area lay in its desire to have a passageway to the Black Sea, while Germany wanted to have public works concessions linking their other interests in the region.

In response to Western encroachments, West Asia resorted initially to Arab nationalism, a movement idealizing the greatness of the past, the common language, territory, culture, and aspirations for independence. The word "Arab" assumed a political, national character and became a basis for identity regardless of ethnic or racial background. H.A.R. Gibb thus defined Arab as "all those... for whom the central fact of history is the mission of Mohammed and the memory of the Arab Empire and who in addition cherish the Arabic tongue and its cultural heritage as their common possession."12 Syrian Christians influenced by the Syrian Protestant College, later to become the American University of Beirut, first broached the idea of Arab nationalism directed against the Ottoman Empire. Eventually, the direction turned to British and French imperialisms as the Ottoman Empire disintegrated after World War I to become secular Turkey, but the weakness of the movement lay in the national character of the supposed participants. Egypt had always been a reality as a badge of nationality from early times even when Britain and France had to carve up the Arab World into Palestine, Lebanon and Transjordan. Iraq was likewise a creation of the British which was an aftermath of the settlement with the Hashemite family for supporting the British through the Arab Revolt in 1916.

Thus far, the survey of the period 1857 to 1918 has the following implications:

1. The mid-19th century was a significant dividing line in Asian History since from that point there was an obvious tightening of Western imperialist control over Asian countries in response to the demands of international trade and the ensuing rivalry that it espoused. Aside from direct rule, as in India and the Netherlands East Indies, other forms of control were imposed. China, Japan and Thailand, among others, had to subscribe to unequal treaties; spheres of influence were set up in China; the Mandate system was used in West Asia.

2. Anti-colonialism during the period under study, took different forms: pre-and proto-nationalist revolts, millenarian/messianic movements, social banditry, brigandage, defensive wars; and the nationalist revolutions of the Philippines and China.

3. Nationalist movements before 1900 were confined to India, some parts of the Arab World, and the Philippines. After 1900, there was a general awakening of Asia as Burmese, Vietnamese and Indonesian nationalism began to stir; Indian nationalism became mass-based; Chinese nationalism was expressed through Sun Yat Sen's movement; and Japanese nationalism turned to expansionism.

Clearly, the Philippine Revolution stands out as the first nationalist anti-colonial revolution in Asia. Why is the Philippine Revolution a special case in Asian history?

First of all, compared to other colonized areas, Spanish colonization lasted for three centuries, longer than other colonized areas. The 333 years of Spanish exploitation and oppression brought both beneficial and negative results. On the beneficial side, the different ethnic communities were welded together into one community, under a common system of law and governance. The Catholic Church and the missionary groups did their share in molding a basically Filipino-Christian community. On the negative side, the three centuries of oppression and exploitation took their toll in providing common grievances against Spain, and help explain why the time was ripe for a revolution, given other factors that shaped the nationalist movement in the Philippines.

The Philippines benefited from the turbulent 19th century Spanish history where the struggle between the forces of liberalism, influenced by the ideals of the French Revolution, and the forces of conservatism represented by the Crown, the Church and the Military, affected Spanish plans and policies in the Philippines. For one thing, conservative and liberal regimes alternated with each other, bringing repressive regimes, and liberal ones. It was under a liberal administration that the Philippines was opened to World Trade, a momentous event because some Indios and mestizo sangleys benefited from the economic progress that followed the opening of Philippine ports to foreign trade. From these families came the ilustrados who led the campaign for reforms and conceptualized the idea of a Filipino Nation. These elites articulated the issues and fought for change. With economic progress, a leadership; an oppressed people; and the formation of a radical, mass-based organization, the way was paved for a revolution.

The first phase of the Revolution against Spain ended in a truce and by December 1897, the Filipino revolutionary leaders went on voluntary exile to Hong Kong. The Revolution resumed in May 1898 as an alliance was forged with America, then engaged in her own war against Spain. A "dictatorship" was initially formed, and as the revolutionary government replaced the dictatorship, and strengthened its hold against the enemy, Spain withdrew and America decided to keep the Philippines. The Filipino-American war was a one-sided affair, but the Filipinos drew a heavy toll against the Americans through guerrilla warfare.

The Revolution was a failure in liberating the Philippines from colonial bondage, but in the context of Asian history, it had notable achievement. Aside from being the first anti-colonial revolution in Asia, the Philippines was also the first country to declare its independence. A republican system of

government was established, guided by a constitution that recognized the separation of Church and State, gave more powers to the President because of the war-time conditions, had a cabinet, a supreme court, etc. It had an educational system from the primary to the tertiary levels, topped by the creation of *the Universidad Literaria de Filipinas*, the forerunner of the State University.

The Philippines is celebrating the centennial of the Revolution of 1896, but outside of Southeast Asia, the Revolution has not been given its due honors.[13] Asian history textbooks, specially those written by Western scholars, rarely mention the Philippine Revolution. Even Southeast Asian and Philippine history textbooks have confined themselves to stock knowledge about the Philippine Revolution, ignoring the changes in perspectives and recent studies that give new directions to Philippine nationalism and the Revolution.[14]

Presently, even Philippine history textbooks continue to perpetuate and accept as historical facts popular notions about the nationalist movement and the Revolution, such as the following: (1) Nationalism was first imbibed by the *ilustrados*, and later filtered down to the masses; (2) the leading propagandists were mere reformers; (3) the *La Liga Filipina* founded by Dr. Jose Rizal in 1892 was a reformist organization; (4) Andres Bonifacio and the leaders of the Katipunan, the secret organization whose aim was separation from Spain, were of plebeian origin; (5) the Katipunan membership was confined to Luzon, etc.

In the last fifteen years, mainstream research with new perspectives like the *Nouvelle Histoire* inspired by the French annales, and recent studies in the University of the Philippines (U.P.) Department of History under the perspective called *Pantayong Pananaw*[15] have enriched the literature on the Revolution, and provided revisionist interpretations of the perpetuated popular notions, and many more controversial issues.

On nationalism as an ideology, Romeo V. Cruz's pamphlet "Ang Pagkabuo ng Nasyonalismong Filipino" argues that the idea of nationalism first took root among the Peninsulares, Spanish residents in the Philippines born in Spain, who were then called "Filipinos." The Peninsulares were influenced by developments in Europe and in Spain as the ideals of the French Revolution spread throughout the continent. Cruz identified different types of nationalism starting out with the imperial type. The *Ilustrado* Propagandists exemplified the liberal-imperial type of nationalism. Radical nationalism emerged with the establishment of the Katipunan, and the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution in 1896. Cruz' contribution to our history was to show that nationalism did not begin with the *ilustrados*, but that the Peninsulares had a role to play in the development of Philippine nationalism.

Reynaldo Ileto's controversial, if not monumental study, *Pasyon and Revolution* may eventually revolutionize the history of the development of nationalism as it debunks the earlier notion that the development of nationalism was an elite phenomenon. Ileto's study, using the "history from below" perspective, argued that the idea of *kalayaan* was indigenously imbibed by the masses through the *Pasyon*, the popular reading fare especially during the Holy Week. Christ was not only the martyred son of God, but was himself a revolutionary figure. Using the *Pasyon Pilapil* version, Ileto focused on the Lost Eden/Fall/Redemption sequence of the passion of Christ as argument for the revolutionary effects on the masses. To Ileto the idea of *kalayaan* among the masses was qualitatively different from the *ilustrado's* concept of *independencia*.

Onofre D. Corpuz's two-volume work *Roots of the Filipino Nation* published in 1989 puts in a new perspective certain aspects of the Propaganda Movement and the revolutionary situation. Where the Propaganda Movement tended to be called a failure in that it was directed at *Madre* Espana, Corpuz cites "unintended" effects like radicalizing some ilustrados, and politicizing young non-ilustrados in the Philippines like Andres Bonifacio and Emilio Aguinaldo. The twin developments "prompted the evolution of nationalism, from reformism, through radicalism to revolution."[16]

Some of the radicalized ilustrados who later joined secret societies and eventually the Revolution were Graciano Lopez Jaena, Antonio Luna, Jose Alejandrino and Edilberto Evangelista. Jose Rizal himself abandoned reformism when he left Spain to go to Hong Kong where he planned the formation of *La Liga Filipina*, on his return to the Philippines. The structure of the *Liga* was proof that he was no longer associating with Spain. That the *Liga Filipina* was a secret organization patterned after the Masonic structure was proof of the revolutionary character of the organization, and the change of heart of Rizal about reformism.

Where Teodoro A. Agoncillo speaks of the "Revolt of the Masses" and the plebeian nature of its leaders, there are now studies, among them Fast and Richardson's *Roots of Dependency, Political and Economic Revolutions in 19th Century Philippines*, showing that Andres Bonifacio was of lower middle class status based on his work as a bodegero and the salary that he was receiving. That Bonifacio and other leaders of the first phase of the Revolution were of elite status changes the nature of that phase of the Revolution as a mass-based movement in terms of leadership.

The foregoing samples of revisionist studies have been the product of mainstream research using the Positivist School of history, with the exception of Ileto's study which is social history, and therefore has made use of literature and related fields to reflect the history from below perspective. Another group based in the U.P. Department of History has come up with the *Pantayong Pananaw* perspective which is anchored on culture as the root of history, and is written in the Filipino language. It goes beyond the study of the document, and makes use of ethnography, ethno-linguistics, hermeneutics and other multi-disciplinary tools. A new periodization is presented in which continuity is the rule and colonialism as a landmark is not given the importance that most textbook writers have given it. The interpretations of this group on the Philippine Revolution add a new dimension to the continuing study on the Revolution.

The bulk of these "new studies" are compiled in the book *KATIPUNAN: Isang Pambansang Kilusan*, published jointly by the U.P. Department of History and the Historical group called ADHIKA in 1994. As the title connotes, the *Katipunan*, as operative in the Revolution of 1896, is seen as a national movement. Following the *pantayong pananaw* framework, the Revolution is no longer studied as a political phenomenon alone, but is seen in its totality, and in the lasting effect that it has had on the nation. The important point is that a regime fell and was replaced by a structure shaped by the revolutionists in the name of the people. The Revolution may have been waged by a small group, but in their movement, they formed a strong force that joined the fight against the Spanish Government.[17]

To that the *Katipunan* was not just Tagalog provinces-based, the book mentions initial studies of the presence of the organization in Batanes; in Piddig, Ilocos Sur; Bicol; Palawan through the more than 200 deportees in 1896 who had connections to the *Katipunan* and the Revolution; and in Cebu. There were uprisings in Misamis, in Cotabato, and in Zamboanga, all in the southern island of Mindanao, but these were not necessarily *Katipunan* inspired.

Ferdinand Llanes, the editor of the book, provides the various dimensions in the study of the Revolution. The "totality" covers such topics as local issues, cultural, intellectual, organizational, demographical, and sectoral (women, military, professional) concerns.

Between the mainstream and new studies on the Revolution briefly discussed here, one can see the changing face of the Philippine Revolution, and the interest that Filipino scholars and Filipinologists are giving to further stress the importance of that Revolution not only to the Philippines, but to Asian history as well.

In conclusion, this paper has examined the anti-colonial movements in Asia between 1857 and 1918, and has shown that the Philippine Revolution

was ahead of its time by being the first Asian country to wage a nationalist political revolution against Western Imperialism. Only China waged a similar revolution, but this took place in the next decade. Other anti-colonial agitations before 1900 were either pre- or proto-nationalist, while the period 1900 to 1918 witnessed either the beginnings of nationalist movements led by the elites, or the growth of mass-based nationalism as in the case of India.

As the Philippines celebrates the centennial of its Revolution, various dimensions and interpretations of the Revolution have come out to further put in place its role both in the country, and in Asia. Our Southeast Asia neighbors like Malaysia and Indonesia have recognized the place of the Revolution. It is our hope that as more Asian history textbooks are written by Asians, a better treatment of the Philippine Revolution will be made.

Notes

1. For example, the Indonesian Revolution against the Dutch began in1946, while the Vietnamese Revolution against France started only shortly after World War II and ended in 1954.

2. The revolts were caused by different motivations: (a) grievances caused by Spanish oppressive practices; (b) religious issues stemming from a desire to restore the old pre-Spanish religion; (c) agrarian problems; and (d) generally a desire to regain lost freedom.

3. See Sartono Kartodirdja, *Protest Movements in Rural Java*, Oxford University Press, 1973.

4. The Meiji Restoration of 1875 was in itself a revolution from the top, but since it was "self-induced" to make Japan at par with the Western Powers, it is an exception to the prevailing pattern of anti-colonial revolutions.

5. Jan M. Romein, *The Asian Century: A History of Modern Nationalism in Asia*, 1962.

6. D.G.E. Hall, *A History of Southeast Asia*, p. 693.

7. Hall, p. 718.

8. Milton Osborne, *Southeast Asia, An Illustrated Introductory History*, Allen and Unwin, 1988, p. 73.

9. Joel Steinberg, et al., *In Search of Southeast Asia*, Praeger Publishers, 1971, p. 294.

10. Steinberg, p. 295.

11. Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, Oxford University Press, 1985 edition, p. 323.

12. Quoted by Bernard Lewis in *The Arabs in History*.

13. For example, Michael Edwardes' *Asia in the European Age, 1498-1955*, Thames and Hudson, 1961, dismisses the Philippine Revolution with this one line: Revolutionary activities amongst the Filipinos resulted in some relaxation of clerical rule." G. Robina Quale's *Eastern Civilizations*, Meredith Publishing Co., 1966, had also one line in reference to the Revolution of 1896: "In 1896 armed revolts began."

14. See my paper "New Studies on the Philippine Revolution: An Analysis," read at the International Conference on Philippine Studies, held in Honolulu, Hawaii, April 14-17, 1996.

15. The *Pantayong Pananaw* was pioneered by Zeus Salazar and other faculty members of the U.P. Department of History in the early 1980s. The word "pantayo" is translated as "among us," connoting an inclusive relationship. Thus writing in the Filipino language addresses the Filipino people directly. The discourse is Filipino to Fili-

pino without pretensions to addressing the outside world, nor being apologetic or defensive for what the Filipino and his culture is.

16. Corpuz, vol. II, p. 193.

17. Llanes, p. iv.

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Decentralization and Political Participation in the Philippines: Experiences and Issues in Societal Transformation*

Eleanor M. Gonzalez

Decentralization and the development of civil society are two key ways of empowering people and communities and altering centralized forms of governance. Decentralization enables the state (through local government units or LGUs) to be more responsive to the needs and preferences of communities. It leads to more accountable decision-making and greater innovation in how public services are delivered. In turn, civil society structures, specifically, nongovernmental organizations or NGOs and people's organizations or POs, are critically important in two senses: they augment the role of LGUs as providers of public services at the local level, and they act as pressure points that compel local governments to be more efficient and effective in delivering local goods and services.

This paper hypothesizes that it is the synergy between decentralization and civil society structures that could pave the way for empowering people and communities. The congruence between decentralization and NGOs has its origin in a couple of breakthrough events in the Philippines The first is the phenomenal rise of NGOs during the Aquino administration, and the second is the passage of a landmark legislation, the Local Government Code, described as "the biggest and most ambitious attempt (by the Philippine government) for decentralization" (Lim 1992).

The paper is organized as follows. Part one explores the origins and persistence of the unitary, centralized bureaucracy in the Philippines and its adverse consequences. Part two describes the rise of NGOs and the decentralization initiatives of the Aquino administration. Part three examines the anecdotal evidence on NGO-LGU collaborations and their impact on governance and community empowerment. Part four examines some critical issues and proposes a number of policy recommendations.

PART ONE

An overcentralized state

Much like the government in many developing countries, the overcentralized state in the Philippines is a colonial legacy. The Philippines inherited a political and administrative apparatus whose locus of decision-making was Manila. This setup still remains in these modern times.

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In the four centuries of Spanish colonization, starting in the 1600s, the authority that ruled over the political, social, and economic life in the Philippines was vested on the *governadorcillo* or the governor general who was appointed by the King of Spain. The governor general controlled the country from Manila, the executive center. Most of the affairs of the state were conducted by the Spaniards, keeping the natives out of the government system. Provincial and municipal leaders were nothing more than executors of decisions on policies, laws, taxes, and governance made by the King or the *governadorcillo*.

When the Americans came in the 1900s, the center of power was retained in Manila. The American governor general took his mandate this time from the President of the United States. The government that the Americans instituted was a highly centralized presidential system. The Americans slowly incorporated the participation of Filipinos in governance. The first municipal elections were held in 1902. Philippine participation expanded in the legislature with Filipinos elected as representatives of their provinces, and then were elected as senators nationally.

The Americans played a pivotal role in framing the institutional setting for central-local government relations, according to Rocamora (1997).

Where the Spaniards had violently resisted the attempts of a nascent Filipino elite to be integrated into national colonial structures of power, the Americans carefully orchestrated this integration. Because few Filipinos held economic power that stretched beyond the local, it made sense that the Americans began the process with municipal elections. Provincial elections became occasions for coalitions of municipal elites. By the time a national legislative body was formed, the coalitional pyramid which became the characteristic structure of Philippine politics had been set.

The executive branch of government was handed over to the Filipinos after years of tutelage. The 1935 Philippine Constitution was patterned after the constitution of the United States of America. The constitution provided the president of the Philippines with executive powers not different from the office of the governor general of the Spanish and American occupation. The constitution continued to strengthen a central government with wide powers vested in the executive.

After the Philippines won nominal independence from the US in 1946, central-local government relations were largely defined by the flow of resources from the center to the localities. The central government, through the president and the executive branch, was able to build a multilayered system of patron-dependent local political factions by controlling the flow of funds earmarked for the budget of LGUs.

In the 1950s, it was also argued that centralized economic planning and heavy industrialization were the quickest path to development. Consequently, the need for a highly centralized bureaucracy and more concentrated economic power was stressed (Lim 1992). During the elections from 1970-1985, then President Ferdinand Marcos manipulated the elections by declaring martial law in the country and ensured his stay in power. He basically exploited the vast powers of the presidential system to his advantage. With martial law, the centralized form of governance was carried to the extreme. The president's power over local politicians reached its zenith during this period.

Low-level political participation

The underside of centralized governance is the sorry state of political participation at the local levels. In the words of Lim (1992), "Weak or nonexistent institutions at the local level contribute to the requirements of strong central bodies managing and controlling local affairs." This, too, has been a carryover of the Spanish period. Because the state's civil apparatus hardly penetrated the villages, Filipinos then scarcely had a chance to participate in the affairs of the state. Neither Iberian influences nor policies and mandates handed down from the central government in Manila disturbed their lives as farmers, fisherfolk, or hunters.

The "natives" were left alone as long as they provided labor when necessary, paid their dues and taxes as needed, and attended church services.

Americans, for all their "integration" efforts, did not really cultivate participatory processes in communities and villages. Instead, working mainly with a patron-client culture, the American civil authorities nurtured a rural oligarchy which also ran the local governments. Ruling landlords maintained vast areas of lands where tenant farmers provided labor in exchange for economic security and social protection by the landlords. This feudal situation allowed the rural oligarchy to control local elections as well, since tenants usually had no choice but to offer their votes for their landlords who ran for office. This practice to some extent remains to date.

Since independence, popular participation in decision-making over the allocation of goods and services has remained low. The organizational weaknesses of local institutions and their lack of political clout contribute to the low level of participation, but it is also the pronounced cynicism of people over the efficacy of the political processes which plays a major role in participation failures at the local level. For instance, people treat elections in instrumental rather than in substantive ways (Kerkvliet and Mojares 1991). According to Rocamora (1997), "since politicians do not have programs that they follow, voting on the basis of personal, clientelistic connections become the other major criteria for choice." Elections during martial law were marred by a high rate of violence and conflict as the elite quarreled among themselves.

It is not that popular groups simply did not exist. POs were especially active during the 1930s, which was a period of social unrest in the Philippines. They were also active as underground guerrilla groups during the Japanese occupation. But after the war, many of these groups were systematically repressed, especially those with communist leanings. Indeed, a group of socialists who were legitimately elected to the Philippine Congress in the early fifties found themselves legally disbarred from occupying their elective posts. Exclusion processes prevented many popular groups from participating in the formal political system. During martial rule, these instruments of exclusion were polished. To give a semblance of local participation, the regime coopted local politicians and prominent citizens, reorganizing barrios into political entities called "barangays." These often became the instruments of acquiescence to the regime's policies and programs.

The climate of repression ended in 1986, when a popular uprising led to the so-called People's Power Revolution that installed Corazon Aquino to the presidency. The revolt itself was a culmination of political participatory processes, some of which were organized underground, and others, the result of spontaneous, if sporadic, mobilization at the grassroots level.

The perils of centralization and lack of participatory institutions.

Apart from the evidence presented above, why are the two sides of the same coin—over-centralization and poor participation—politically and economically bad? Lim (1992) offers a number of reasons:

1. Without strong local institutions and organizations, it would be difficult for the centralized government to undertake distributional, equity, and regional development measures.

2. Without strong local organizations and institutions, regional and rural schemes can easily be manipulated by powerful local politicians to further their own ends. More obvious would be the corruption and abuse of power that a centralized government can be capable of.

3. A top-heavy centralized form of decision-making becomes overburdened with red tape and bureaucratic rules, breeding inefficiencies, unnecessary delays and misallocation of resources. In the Philippines, horror stories of long delays and shortages are merely due to red tape as well as overload and congestion in the channels of administration and communication between the national and local agencies.

4. Overcentralization creates wide regional disparities as the metropolitan center becomes more developed (since most of the institutions and power centers are there) and get a bigger share of revenues. Migration patterns exacerbate regional disparities as massive flows of people from backward and depressed areas to metropolitan centers overburden the centers of power and control.

PART TWO

The rise of NGOs and POs

It was during the time of President Corazon Aquino, 1986-1992, that democratic reconstruction took place: fair elections, independent legislature and judiciary, free press, free assembly leading to the creation of POs and numerous NGOs, to name a few. Democratic space widened, allowing media to proliferate. As prisoners of conscience were freed, peoples' assemblies were allowed. As a result, many POs blossomed and NGOs mushroomed in a determined effort to rebuild and strengthen democracy in the country (Pagsanghan 1994). It is the existence of these institutions which generate local support, participation and responsibilities.

NGOs are self-help institutions engaged in activities to promote better life at the grassroots level. POs are composed of grassroots people who undertake self-help activities. NGO networks are "umbrella" organizations through which individual NGOs and POs express their unity in vision, access funds and undertake projects together. POs and NGOs work and coordinate for a common vision such as human rights, freedom, improving economic conditions, gender equality, sustainable development, and stewardship of the environment.

NGOs in the Philippines fall into three broad groupings (Gaffud 1996):

1. *Relief and rehabilitation group:* those that provide welfare, relief, and rehabilitation services in times of natural and man-made disasters or the care of elderly and street children;

2. *Programs and projects group:* those that undertake programs and projects aiming to improve the quality of life of the poor, whether in the urban or rural setting through community-based self-reliant initiatives;

3. *Institutional and policy group:* those that seek changes in the institutional and policy levels consistent with greater local participation, initiative, and control through advocacy and lobby work.

The first cluster of NGOs are involved in short-term emergency relief work. They respond to felt needs requiring quick humanitarian action such as in areas destroyed by typhoons, floods, fires, earthquakes, or in conflict and war situations. With the continuing natural disasters, typhoons, floods, earthquakes that visit the Philippines, these NGOs continue their services and relevance to many urban and rural communities.

The second cluster could be classified further into areas of concentration: (1) enhancement of productive capacity, (2) social services delivery, (3) participatory research and planning, and (4) mass-based organizing. In the enhancement of productive capacity, NGOs implement programs aimed at farm productivity improvement, provision of agricultural and aquaculture support services, livelihood and cooperative development for landless agricultural farmers, plantation workers, urban poor, upland communities, and small fisherfolk.

The scope of NGOs doing social services are community health, housing and popular education. Health services are done through community-based health programs that incorporate indigenous health care practices and involve community residents as primary health care workers. Popular education techniques are used in information, training, and delivery of services. Housing projects are for the urban poor and internal refugees whose homes are destroyed by situations of conflict or natural disasters.

NGOs concentrating on research and planning focus on capability-building in area development planning, resource inventory and mapping, community-based research, and market development. Their efforts are geared toward strategies for sustainable development. Organizing of the different sectors in a community continues to be the basic work of this type of NGOs. Their efforts are concentrated on mobilization of sectoral groups, community-wide organizing, and people's enterprises such as cooperatives and self-help groups in the effort for people empowerment. People's awareness is geared toward the Filipino tradition of community spirit through community-based activities.

The third cluster of NGOs undertake their programs through national networks involved in policy formulation and changes. They are issue-centered. Examples are Congress for People's Agrarian Reform, Freedom from Debt Coalition, Green Forum Philippines, and National Coordinating Council for Local Governance. These are NGOs with national bases, but most of these NGOs and POs operate at the local level. It is estimated that altogether, about 65,000 NGOs and POs operate nationwide in the Philippines (Brillantes and Tigno 1993).

The NGOs' role in development has been given formal recognition by both the Aquino and Ramos administrations. NGOs now sit in national policy-making bodies such as the Philippine Council for Sustainable Development and the Agrarian Reform Council. In the recent Asia-Pacific Economic Council or APEC meeting held in Subic City, Philippines, NGOS were quite active either as "conscience blocs" within government (an environmental NGO, the Green Forum, managed to insert a sustainable development provision in the Philippine Action Plan) or as "alert groups" warning the government against the dislocating effects of trade liberalization.

The passage of the Local Government Code

A landmark legislation, the Local Government Code or Republic Act 7160, was also enacted during Corazon Aquino's term. The LGC is known as one of the more radical laws passed by the Aquino government. It is her legacy of strengthening the workings of democracy from below and hopefully effecting a sustained decentralized economic and social development. She called it the linchpin of her political program. The Code devolves power and resources to local government units at the provincial, city, municipal and barangay levels, and allows for people's participation in local governance and development.[1] The Code got its mandate from the 1987 Constitution which states that the territorial and political subdivisions of the Republic shall have "local autonomy" which Congress shall provide in a local government code. The LGC allows each local government unit to determine its own growht and directions according to its capabilities and resources.

With the passage of the LGC, the exercise of political power which used to be the sole privilege of the central government is now shared with LGUs. Examples of some devolved powers are to deliver basic services related to (1) health, including the running of hospitals for the provinces, (2) agriculture, (3) social services, and (4) tourism. It also includes the "right of the people to a balanced ecology, in their respective territorial jurisdictions."

Within their coverage areas the LGC also empowers LGUs to "ensure and support, among other things, the preservation and enrichment of culture, promote health and safety, enhance the right of the people to a balanced ecology, encourage and support the development of appropriate and self-reliant scientific and technological capabilities, improve public morals, enhance economic prosperity and social justice, promote full employment among their residents, maintain peace and order, and preserve the comfort and convenience of their inhabitants."

This general welfare clause shows that local governments can exercise just about any power as long as they adhere to the Constitution, national laws, public morals, and good customs.

The LGC has three main features. Cariño (1992) summarizes these. First, local governments can now control their own budgets, equipment, projects and personnel which were formerly with the national government. Second, the LGC increased the finances accessible to LGUs through a bigger proportion—upwards of 30 percent—in the internal revenue allotment.[2] And third, the LGC recognizes the significant role of the nongovernmental sector, in particular NGOs and POs, in local governance.

The third feature institutionalizes the presence of NGOs as active partners in local autonomy. NGOs, POs, and other members of the community can now participate in the planning and monitoring of local government projects through "Local Special Bodies." These bodies include (1) local development councils of the barangay, municipality, city and provinces; (2) local school boards; (3) local health boards; (4) local prequalification bids and awards committees; and (5)) local peace and order councils. The LGC also specifically asks for the inclusion of representatives from the women's and workers' sectors, the urban poor, indigenous cultural communities, and disabled persons in local legislative bodies. The community through their POs or NGOs can insist on being consulted before the central and local government implements any project in their area, specially projects that will have great impact on their immediate environment.

The NGOs, POs, and the local private sector can enter into an active partnership with LGUs in development work in terms of the following: (1) participation of NGOs and POs in local governance, (2) joint undertakings between NGOs/ private sector and the LGUs, (3) preferential treatment for cooperatives and marginalized sectors, (4) providing assistance to POs and NGOs for economic, socially oriented, environmental, or cultural projects, and (5) people empowerment and strengthening accountability of LGUs (Villarin 1996).

How have these partnerships fared thus far? Selected case findings suggest that frequent partnerships take place within the cooperative and socioeconomic sector. A number of NGO-LGU joint activities center on providing relief and rehabilitation to recent victims of calamities and on maintaining peace and order (Brillantes and Tigno 1993).

PART THREE

The variety of NGO-LGU collaboration

Taking stock of the degree of intensity and extensiveness of NGO-LGU collaboration is difficult because of the absence of a national survey of NGO-PO-LGU joint undertakings in the Philippines. Nevertheless, rapid field appraisals conducted by the USAID on decentralization in various regions of the Philippines, the GO-NGO Watch project of the Institute for Strategic and Development Studies, and other documents offer some evidence on the extent of NGO-LGU coalition in the country.

Participation in local governance. Participation in governance has opened up considerably. Policy positions developed through NGO networks are now raised in local government councils, which opened in 1991 to NGO and PO participation. The National Coordinating Council for Local Governance (NCC-LG), a nationwide NGO, has affiliates that are active in policy formulation and advocacy at the local level.

In different parts of the Philippines, NGO participation in governance is gaining ground as local special bodies begin to be organized. In Negros Oriental, for each of the seven district hospitals, a health board was created with several nongovernment representatives on each. In particular, the local health boards are now functioning. This is a result of an intensive effort by the Department of Health or DOH in late 1994 to orient and activate these local health boards. In most cases, health NGOs are very active in these local health boards. In the city of Dagupan, most of the legislation adopted by the city council come from the active participation of its newly accredited NGO members.

In Cotabato City, Muslims, indigenous peoples or Lumads, and Christian settlers have bound themselves for common projects such as health provision and participation in electoral governance through the Ummah Development Center. The Center relates with other interfaith groups of NGOs and POs and LGUs for common projects. In Puerto Princesa City, although the local development council meets only once a month, NGOs have been very active in drawing up the city's policies, especially on environment, tourism, land use and ethnic groups' affairs.

Delivery of basic services. There are examples of NGO-LGU partnership in the implementation of service delivery program and operation of public enterprises. In Albay, "Simon of Cyrene" (a health NGO) has attached its operation to the provincial hospital, so that referral on physical rehabilitation can more easily be accomplished. In Naga City, the NGO-LGU collaboration is basically in social service delivery and economic development-related activities.

The provincial governments and NGOs in the provinces of Negros Occidental, Cavite, North Cotabato, Palawan, Aurora, Surigao del Norte, Benguet, Camarines Sur, Nueva Vizcaya, and Davao del Norte have concluded comprehensive health care agreements or CHCAs with the DOH to implement health programs. The DOH provides grants to these LGUs which are required to put up counterpart money to continue the provision of basic health services to various communities.

Joint undertakings between NGOs/private sector and the LGUs. Development-oriented NGOs often tap private businessmen in funding local projects. In Guagua, Negros Oriental, private stallholders, encouraged by a local NGO, constructed a market on a lot owned by the municipality, with a seven-year rent holiday from the municipality as an incentive. In Benguet, the province has recognized NGOs involvement in monitoring major infrastructure projects in the province. In nearby Baguio City, collaboration with the private sector, particularly civic groups, has been strongest in the area of tourism promotion. This includes activities such as mounting of special events/festivals and the hosting of visiting dignitaries, as well as in the regular cleanliness drive of the city.

Preferential treatment for cooperatives. Cooperatives remain as the most visible area of economic partnership between NGOs and LGUs. In Juban, Sorsogon, the LGU and the Juban Agriculture Development Cooperative are collaborating in operating nurseries benefiting 53 lowland farmers. In Castilla, Sorsogon, the LGU-Sorsogon Integrated Hog Raising Cooperative partnership developed the corn belt area in Castilla and constructed feed and edible oil mills.

In the province of Davao del Norte, it has been reported that in the municipalities of Panabo, Carmen, and Maco, NGO-LGU collaboration is evident in livelihood projects such as in animal dispersal programs. In Tagum, the LGU and the Davao Federation on Non-Agricultural Cooperative, Inc. (DAFENACO) have gone into a joint venture for the construction of a Tagum Food Terminal. In Digos, Davao del Sur, a partnership between LGU and NGO emerged through the "ALIS PAGOD" Project where a cooperative is tapped as the municipal government's collector of market fees.

In Bulacan, the loans being offered to the cooperative sector are now managed by a trust fund guided by an all-NGO advisory council called the *Sangguniang Magsasako.* In Davao City, NGO-LGU partnership is exemplified by the following undertakings: (1) privatization of comfort room operation in Agdao district public market through a cooperative which is renting it for P10,000 per month and (2) privatization of the terminal building operation, also in Agdao district, through a cooperative which is renting it for P20,000 per month. Plans are underway to privatize its slaughterhouse and, eventually, its public markets.

Providing assistance to POs and NGOs for socially-oriented, environmental, or cultural projects. Some of the areas open for NGO-LGU cooperation are in social and environmental undertakings. Regional ecumenical councils composed

of Protestant leaders in different parts of the country form part of networks of church NGOs collaborating with LGUs and other NGOs in undertaking projects ranging from delivery of relief and rehabilitation services, health training in AIDS, herbal gardening, and community medicine to small livelihood projects such as marketing of rubber, advocacy for peace, and debt reduction. They are a nationwide network coordinating closely with the National Council of Churches in the Philippines. In Midsayap, South Cotabato, a number of professionals formed MIDSAYAP as a multisectoral group which aims to gather resources to contribute to the municipality's development. This group now regularly interacts with the LGU.

Sometimes, the relationship with the LGU is adversarial. Citizen's groups in Baguio City successfully opposed the top-down plans developed for Camp John Hay by the Tuntex Corporation, even though the local government was willing to accept those plans (given certain conditions). In Bolinao, Pangasinan, local opposition to a proposed cement plant prevented the project from being issued a certification of "social acceptability" by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources. The project had the support of the local government.

In several areas, such as Baguio City, NGO "re-greening" movements, which begin as citizen initiatives, pool national government expertise with resources raised from both the private sector and the local government. In yet another example, Plan International works exclusively with barangays in selected municipalities in Benguet as part of its child sponsorship program. Community organizing and preparation of a barangay development plan, which is a Plan International requirement prior to extending assistance, is done through the barangay captain and officials. Its projects include health camps, water supply systems, access roads, and multipurpose centers where (for infrastructure projects) the barangay's counterpart is labor. It also recently started a house building and toilet bowl distribution program for its sponsored children in Tublay.

Several government programs of Puerto Princesa City are implemented in cooperation with broad-based NGOs and POs. Among these are the *Bantay* Puerto Program, *Oplan Linis,* Poverty Alleviation Project, City Tourism Promotion and Development Program, and *Barangay Mangingisda.* NGOs have likewise been active in work among the ethnic groups residing within the city's boundaries and the prevention of slash-and-burn agriculture.

Like the city of Puerto Princesa, the provincial government has several undertakings where NGO support is considered vital. Among these projects are the *Bantay Gubat* Project (a resettlement project) and Support Services to Tribal Communities. NGOs join provincial government teams during inspection sorties under the *Bantay Gubat* and *Dagat* programs.

A joint program between the municipality and the Batangas Livestock and Poultry Association (BALPRA) stipulates that BALPRA shall actively support the municipality's drive to maintain environmental stability by monitoring compliance with the municipal ordinances relating to environment. The local federation of NGOs, the SANDIWA, has also supported the municipal government in its campaign to improve the environment.

NGOs cooperate with Palawan LGU in conducting information campaigns among *kaingineros* (slash-and-burn farmers), educating the latter on the need for more sustainable approaches to agriculture and fishing. HARIBON, Palawan has been exceptionally active in this area. In Eastern Visayas, NGOs actively support the implementation of health projects by spearheading information campaigns, providing vehicles, and mobilizing volunteers.

People empowerment and strengthening accountability of LGUs. The key to strengthening the NGO-LGU alliance is through capability building and human resource development. A group of NGOs (the Institute for Popular Democracy, Education for Life, and the Institute

for Public Governance) have participated in training local community leaders towards participating in the barangay elections in May 1997. The training includes leadership formation and electoral campaign management. Several of these training programs occurred in Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao. In Bohol, a joint undertaking of the province, coastal municipalities, and the PROCESS Foundation led to the organizing and training of fisherfolk to protect coastal resources. The resulting organization is now actively lobbying LGUs on issues regarding coastal resources.

The Jaime V. Ongpin Foundation or JVO likewise works at the barangay or community level. While its activities include mostly community infrastructure like roads and livelihood projects, it also conducts training and planning sessions with barangay and municipal officials and representatives. LGU counterparts for these are usually labor for the infrastructure projects and costs of travel for its participants to training programs or planning sessions.

Reinventing collaboration and governance

The decentralization of power and authority mandated by the new LGC has given community residents, through NGOs and POs, far greater chances than ever before of advocating their interests and demanding accountability from their local leaders (Racelis 1994). The trajectory of NGO-LGU cooperation now seems to go beyond the conventional idea that nongovernmental groups merely supplement government functions at the local level. The emerging partnership suggests that the NGO-PO sector can "have a substantive, dynamic and proactive role in community development just as well as government" and "have a strong capacity to underwrite governmental initiatives (e.g., delivery of basic services, relief and rehabilitation, socio-economic and entrepreneurial ventures)" (Brillantes and Tigno 1993). That would enhance their influence and political legitimacy at local levels.

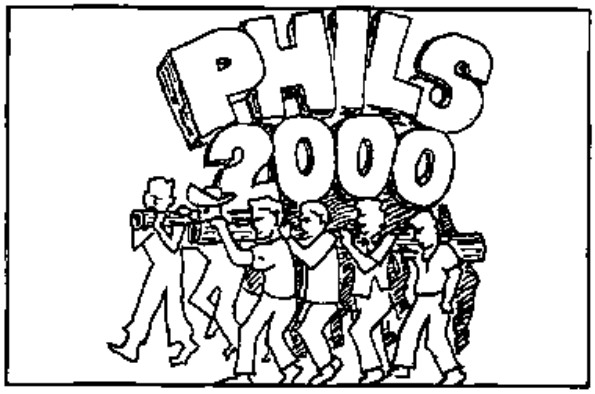
PART FOUR

Some critical issues

The biggest test facing NGO-LGU collaboration is whether the LGC will fall by the wayside as a result of efforts to resist decentralization. Already, there have been a number of bills being seriously considered by the Philippine Congress reclaiming for national agencies powers that have been devolved to LGUs by the LGC. So far, the Ramos administration has demonstrated strong political will by vetoing a major legislation aiming to recentralize health services. NGOs will always have to function as "alert mechanisms" which will warn policy-makers against insidious attempts to weaken decentralization in the Philippines.

Even if the partnership survives this test, a number of collaboration problems remain at various levels. On the one hand, NGOs fear, for example, that the mainstream bureaucratic tendency of LGUs might restrain NGO initiatives. On the other hand, LGUs are concerned that NGO thrusts in local governance are an intrusion on their traditional authority and tend to weaken their political power (Brillantes and Tigno 1993). At the other extreme is collaboration gone bad, when NGOs and POs are drawn into the political mainstream only to be manipulated for clearly vested political objectives.

NGO-LGU initiatives remain sporadic. They are not coordinated at higher levels. NGOs' participation often is at a project-to-project level rather than a full-blown effort to put forth an NGO agenda for local governance and development. In part, this is occasioned by a poor civil society structure in the Philippines. NGOs and other nongovernmental entities cannot match the breadth of the Philippine bureaucracy. In many parts of the country, NGOs are simply nonexistent. Where they have considerable presence, NGOs are often strangers to government mechanisms, are ineffectual in relating with local government officials, and



are at a quandary on the extent of opportunities offered by the LGC to advance the interests of the nongovernmental sector.

Local governments likewise often limit the collaboration to what is nominal or ceremonial such as attending meetings. Rather than harness NGOs for local governance, LGUs use them to "rubber stamp" policies already decided by local authorities. In some cases, LGUs tend to exclude NGOs whose political principles or operating ways are not compatible with those of the local authorities. Even politically friendly NGOs suffer from the impression that they are a cost burden and an unnecessary administrative layer at the local level.

Outside of the NGO-LGU partnership, NGOs face a serious dilemma in their own backyards. NGOs tend to direct, and impose on, POs. Tadem (1996) argues that NGOs, being managed by urban middle class and highly educated people, are able to articulate the sentiments and grievances of the voiceless and marginalized sectors of society. The high profile taken by NGOs has created relations of dependency with POs. Just as leaders of political organizations tend to dictate on their followers, so are NGOs also seen as supplanting POs and reducing them to a client status. This can be a potential area of tension, especially since in many cases, both NGOs and POs can have serious differences in strategies and goals. They also often compete for funding from basically the same sources.

Policy recommendations

In view of the aforementioned relationship existing among NGOs, GOs, and LGUs, as well as the effects of the LGC on political participation in the Philippines, the following recommendations are given.

1. *It is necessary to strengthen the legal framework for NGO-LGU collaboration.* NGOs have a demonstrated edge over local governments in many cases, especially in pursuing developmental goals. On the other hand, LGUs need the support of NGOs in catering to the needs and preferences of communities because of the latter's proximity, commitment, flexibility, and responsiveness to the people. NGOs, on the other hand, can benefit from LGUs' broad political mandate and resources to carry out its programs. Because both LGUs and NGOs can benefit from each other's comparative advantage, it makes political sense to fortify the NGO-LGU alliance. If the LGC is to be amended, it should be in the direction of giving more authority to both LGUs and NGOs, rather than in the direction of concentrating powers back to the center.

2. *Separately, NGOs as a countervailing force need to be given more legal support.* Apprehensions over decentralization often rest on the argument that the LGC would become an instrument for local authorities to strengthen their grip on power, and consequently use their control of local governments to sustain their own interests. After all, many local politicians are also political warlords. Yet what the LGC has done is to transform Philippine politics from a multitiered system of patron-client relationships into "complex, miniscule groups that are increasingly difficult to mobilize around old leaders, loyalties and symbols." Mojares (1995) indeed suggests that "while such disengagement from familiar loyalties makes mobilization difficult, it also makes for a more democratic situation." He makes the caveat, however, that without compelling principles to backstop the change, decentralization can also lead to depoliticization and demobilization.

In this context, the exposure of the NGOs in local governance can be considered as a countervailing force to check on abuse of authority by local government officials and make certain that the policy environment remains highly politicized. Cariño (1992) argues that NGOs should be able to choose to maintain their identity apart from, rather than as a part of, government, and use their membership in the local legislative bodies to see to it that actions of government at the local level are directed toward addressing the people's needs.

On their own, NGOs should be able to demand what is rightfully theirs under the LGC. While the LGC does provide them broad, unprecedented opportunities, the government can give them legal support in their quest to be accredited in the local special bodies, and to be proactive in the partnership.

3. *Confidence-building measures are needed to consolidate NGO-LGU partnership gains.* NGO-LGU collaboration must build on the positive attitude and sentiments of both the government and NGO partners. Constructive experiences shared by the partners should be highlighted and be made a model for other localities to follow. Some of these collaborative undertakings have been made possible even before the LGC took effect. The partnership situation can rely on more positive reinforcements, such as the ready availability of resources, and the elimination of red tape and dilatory bureaucratic maneuverings. Government can step in to sponsor team building sessions for LGUs and NGOs, and capability-building programs for NGOs.

4. *Indicators of the outcomes of NGO-LGU collaboration are important.* It will be vital to construct indicators which will chart the progress of the LGU-NGO partnership in terms of their intended outcomes. The indices should be able to measure how substantive the participatory process is and how sustainable the partnership would be. In the end, however, the collaboration should be evaluated by its social impact. Its success can be measured by rises in income levels and productivity in the localities, higher quality of life for the communities, increased quality and access to basic social services, and greater grassroots participation in decision-making. These indicators must provide the baseline data with which to monitor and evaluate the progress of the partnership.

In conclusion, it must be said that the essence of the NGO-LGU alliance is not to consolidate local power, important though it may be. Its substance is to harness local strengths and willpower in order to promote greater freedom and responsibility at the local level. ❑

Endnotes

[1]Barangays are the smallest political unit in the Philippines. Several barangays constitute a town or a city. Several municipalities and cities constitute a province. The LGC also recognizes the participation of local people's organizations (POs) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in local governance.

[2]The Local Government Code (LGC) provides for the increase of resources of local government units (LGUs) by (1) broadening their power of taxation; (2) increasing their share of national taxes, and (3) sharing a part of the income of the central government from the "national wealth."

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Squatter Community Relations in the Philippines: Emergent Strategies and Responses in Relocation*

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Introduction

The relationship between the state and the urban poor community in the Philippines for four decades now has been shifting and taking new dimensions. The two have been adapting to each other by employing various tactics and strategies to promote and defend their respective interests. Recent history shows that their actions and responses have been characterized by a cycle of submission, repression, confrontation, apathy and cynicism.

Resistance became manifest in the 1960s when government authorities adopted the simplistic slum clearance and eviction strategy in the absence of a sound policy that would deal effectively and humanely with squatting. Squatter settlements were seen as nothing more than an image of squalor. Hence, squatters were dumped in resettlement sites in the cities' outskirts.

In the 1970s, the squatter community began to take a more confrontational stance against the state. The community's struggle, as showcased by the squatter groups at the Tondo Foreshore which was considered the largest blighted area of Manila, was considered a momentous event in the history of the country's urban social movement as this effectively put political pressure on government. The result was the conception of "on-site" and "in-city" schemes which, because they were basically premised on the principle of maximum retention and minimal displacement, were beneficial to squatters. The urban poor were then able to successfully resist exclusion from lands in the city core. But the sustainability of these strategies proved to be difficult to the state as they were carried out with the help of foreign funding institutions. The state, confronted with a number of issues such as affordability of land, cost recovery and a host of bureaucratic and political considerations, later found it formidable to carry on such efforts on a significant scale.

The conflict of interests between the two and the inadequacies of the state persisted leading to a highly adversarial atmosphere. The state once again resorted to large-scale evictions to give way to major infrastructure projects. The squatters resorted to collective action, oftentimes setting up barricades, while the state used direct repression by arresting and detaining leaders of squatter groups.

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The scenario prevailed up to the eighties followed by indecisive and flip-flopping state intervention projects and outright evictions. Many relocatees eventually went back to squatting due to ineffective relocation efforts.

In the nineties, as squatters grew in number and gained more sympathy and support from various sectors, the state was forced back to the negotiation table. Consequently, Republic Act 7279, the Urban Development and Housing Act of 1992, was passed. The new law underscores adequate consultation with the squatter community and proper demolition and resettlement.

Lupang Pangarap, a relocation project undertaken in 1993 complied with the new legislation. This paper looks into *Lupang Pangarap's* innovations: (1) a collaboration among landowners, implementors and squatter organizations; (2) enormous funding from the government financial institutions, which owned the land from which the squatters would be evicted; and (3) a flexible, non-bureaucratic management style. The thesis of this paper is that these innovations by and large brought about significant changes in the state-squatter community relationship but redefined the relationship into one of cooptation. Cooptation is defined in this paper as the promotion of one party's interest through an irresistible proposition made to and accepted by the other. The acceptance of the proposition by the other party may not necessarily work to its advantage in the long run.

The assessment of *Lupang Pangarap* reveals that the innovations significantly brought about a non-violent relocation. However, the availability of huge financial resources was counterproductive and undermined the rest of the innovations as it was heedlessly used as an instant solution to most of the obstacles encountered during the implementation. It fostered a patron-client relation with the squatter community, thwarting the self-help and participative capacities of the squatters. The community was bought off as they acceded to the relocation in exchange for short-term material and financial benefits. In brief, the new relationship is characterized by the breakup of old confrontational forms, without its replacement with appropriate participatory forms. Money mediated the relationship. The emerging relationship is not desirable, and points to the need to design policies that would encourage more community participation and prevent further exclusions.

Past studies

The literature on approaches to squatter relocation strongly recommend effective partnership between beneficiaries and implementors, active community participation and self-help. Ignacio (1991) explains that collaborative efforts between government and communities succeed when the relationship between the two is a partnership, that is, communities are treated "not as welfare recipients but as responsible clients and partners in the undertaking". In order to make this partnership work, Viloria and Williams (1987) suggest that the following need be observed: (1) establishment of a firm agreement among the parties involved on the responsibilities each has in the project, from planning to implementation and maintenance; (2) free access and exchange of information among the parties; and (3) strengthening of the community organizations, not only those pro-government but also those established through the initiatives of the community.

According to Rondinelli (1990), among the most serious problems which led to the failure of slum clearance and public housing policies in developing countries was the resistance by squatters who exerted social and political pressures to prevent removal from their homes. Naerssen (1993) contends that social movements sooner or later will be confronted with the power of the state so that squatter groups would either be repressed, coopted or would align strategically with other social groups in opposition. Burgess (1982) points out that the state uses patron-client relationship to coopt squatters within the existing system.

The need to address interpersonal relations in order to facilitate people's participation in relocation, Bellone (1980) argues, requires a shift to another paradigm of implementation which entails a lot of flexibility or adaptation. Bellone echoes what others have been saying, that the failure of the organizational system requires innovation which could be carried out by changing structures in a centralized, hierarchical bureaucracy.

The relationship between state and community is defined by prevailing social and political structures and processes. A society is normally composed of several layers of organizations which interact with each other in a hierarchical manner. Carroll (1986) describes these organizations as interest groups which are linked from the top, at the national level, to the local (provincial/municipal) and down to the grassroots or community level. At the community level, the basic element is the bonding of people in groups with common interests. They recognize common concerns, lay down similar priorities, and face challenges and issues through a concerted effort. They deal with government and other outside groups with power and influence not simply in terms of patronage and favors but in terms of policy. The grassroots organizations, as Carroll stressed, may engage in conflict at times and may even put pressure on each other but are not inspired by an ideology of conflict. They rather seek to promote their interests within the democratic framework, i.e. with the recognition of the rights and legitimacy of other interest groups. Their relationship with government authorities is by and large cooperative.

Community participation in government housing and relocation undertakings is faced with several constraints. One of the constraints cited by Cheema (1987) is the internal sociopolitical hierarchies or political affiliations that lead to community factionalism. Factionalism leads to weak collective actions and inability of the community to exert pressure on implementors. Cheema importantly states that community participation is often dampened by the paternalistic tendency of bureaucracy by which squatter communities become mere recipients of services. At the local level, community participation is hindered by the difficulties in linking the community's activities with those of local governments. Likewise, community participation is blocked by the rigidity of existing government structures and procedures. The crucial factors that determine the success or failure of community participation are the leadership and solidarity of the squatter groups. Community leaders should establish good rapport among themselves and should have strong networks with authorities at higher levels in order to effectively communicate the people's needs and aspirations.

On-site upgrading and legalization of occupation have been cited in the literature as the most appropriate strategies for squatter relocation. For Cheema (1987), on-site development facilitates the emergence of "integrated community." In contrast, relocation could lead to "social instability in poor communities, the radicalism of squatter and the hostility of citizens to the government."

The sense of ownership and pride resulting from legalization paves the way for meaningful self-help as relocatees gradually invest their resources on their dwelling and community facilities (Burns and Ferguson, 1987; Cheema, 1987). In this way, government is relieved of some financial burden as costs are shared with the community. Smaller subsidies by government allow cost recovery, increasing the ability of government to replicate and sustain affordable housing and relocation projects.

Methodology and data sources

This paper makes use of data culled from the process documentation and survey done by the Development Academy of the Philippines, a government training and research institution contracted by the Public Estates Authority (PEA), to come up with an assessment of the relocation project. The relocation was carried out from March to October 1993 but the process documentation

only covered the activities from July to August, thus failing to chronicle the entire duration. This paper also makes use of data from the census of the squatter community conducted by PEA in 1992. The set of data used is highly qualitative.

The study focuses on the relocation of 4,546 squatter families or 35,000 warm bodies in the government-owned Finance Center at the Manila Bay reclaimed area which was being geared as the country's financial hub. The families were transferred to Paliparan, Dasmariñas, Cavite which is located 32 kilometers south of Manila. The relocation was largely participated in by government financial institutions (GFIs), the Public Estates Authority (PEA) and the National Housing Authority (NHA).

Empirical findings

Non-confrontational relocation

Lupang Pangarap was a joint undertaking of several agencies tasked to relocate the squatter community occupying the Finance Center at the reclaimed Manila Bay area. *Lupang Pangarap* was implemented with certain innovations in response to operational breakdowns encountered in previous relocation projects and in view of the prevailing cynicism, suspicion and resentment by squatters against government relocation efforts.

As mentioned, the relocation was jointly undertaken by the government financial institutions (GFIs), the Public Estates Authority (PEA), the National Housing Authority (NHA) and other government agencies. The collaboration was forged by a directive from President Corazon Aquino. These government institutions worked with the squatter community from the planning to the implementation stage in compliance with RA 7279. RA 7279 or the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1992 provides for, among others, adequate consultation with the community, presence of basic facilities and services at the resettlement site and monitoring and supervision of the proper conduct of demolition and other relocation procedures. The involvement of the above government entities and the squatter community, unlike in previous relocations, was defined by several memoranda of agreement among the participating agencies.

As in most relocations in the past, the implementation of *Lupang Pangarap* was beset by coordination problems. The agencies failed to interact with each other smoothly during the implementation. Chaos prevailed despite the policies and guidelines provided by RA 7279, suggesting that there were no clear-cut operational guidelines that would define the agencies' tasks and responsibilities. The GFIs and some of the involved agencies were inactive during the relocation. Most of the agencies functioned according to their individual structures and procedures, resulting in the usual overlapping tasks and other administrative difficulties typical in a bureaucracy.

As the lead implementing agency, PEA ultimately aimed at a non-confrontational/non-violent deal with the squatter community. PEA had to remove the squatter settlement in order to develop the place as the country's financial hub. It adopted a non-bureaucratic management style to overcome barriers in *Lupang Pangarap's* implementation. This necessitated the creation of a task force which directly sat down and negotiated with the squatter organizations and other government agencies. The task force was given the power to make decisions in solving problems in the field, including the discretion and autonomy in handling various implementation concerns. It paved the way for the adoption of a flexible management style which was basically a process of heavy negotiation and discussion with the squatter communities. The management style was conceived with a flat or non-hierarchical structure in mind. Lines of authority were simplified in order to facilitate process and clarify conflicts.

The management style importantly provided a mechanism for dispute resolution. It was able to handle the issues and concerns on tenurial status easily, the most serious concern which plagued the implementors. The implementors adopted a

"one-lot-per-structure" policy which resulted in feuds among the families who lived under one roof. Each structure in the squatter colony contained several households: those of the owner of the structure and those of renters and the sharers. Other structures, moreover, were found to have caretakers. Disputes rose when all the families and even absentee house owners surfaced and demanded equal bene-fits from the relocation project. The absentee house owners were obviously not bonafide residents in the settlement, and thus were not entitled to the project's benefits.

As the lead agency, PEA realized the need to undergo internal changes in its systems and processes to complement its strategies. As a government organization, it had to get around tedious and roundabout bureaucratic procedures. It sought ways to fast-track office requirements in order to speed up the relocation process. It even advanced money for the project when delays occurred in the release of funds by the GFIs. The PEA management stressed that relocation is not a routine task; it compels a lot of flexibility on the part of implementors.

Funding as incentive and remedy

Part of the strategy for a non-confrontational or non-violet relocation was the provision of massive financial resources made possible by the GFIs, the owners of the land. PEA was able to convince these government landlord-owners to fully subsidize *Lupang Pangarap*. The GFIs agreed to fund the relocation project in anticipation of the land's appreciation once it is emptied of squatters and fully developed. They decided to prorate their contributions according to the value of their property in the area.

The total cost of the project was initially estimated at P230 million (US$9 million) which soared to P370 million (US$14 million) towards the end of the project. Through this huge funding, the implementors were able to provide an attractive relocation package. Each squatter family was entitled to a 90-square meter lot (considered spacious by developing country standards), a disturbance compensation of P5,000 (US$192) and free hauling and trucking services to ferry dismantled housing materials and personal belongings to the relocation site.

Also through the funding, several material and cash incentives were provided to resolve implementation bottlenecks. Financial rewards were given to motivate the community organizations to assist in the relocation project. They were paid P1,000.00 (U$38) for every structure owner whom they were able to convince to avail of the *Balik Probinsya* scheme. The *Balik Probinsya*, which urged the squatter families to return to their home provinces, was an instant solution to the limited number of lots in the resettlement site. Homelots available in the resettlement site were not enough to accommodate the whole squatter community. A huge sum of P10,000 (US$385) was given to families who availed of the scheme. The families were also entitled to a transportation fare of P2,000 (US$77). In the same manner, to speed up the relocation, the implementors gave P900 (US$35) to organizations for every structure that they helped to demolish. This was really not necessary as structure owners volunteered to dismantle their makeshift houses on their own. A spot cash component of the relocation project further granted P10,000 (US$385) to squatter families who were willing to leave the site and go elsewhere.

The massive financial resources clearly served as an incentive for the families to leave the place and avoided a possible overcrowding in the resettlement site.

The role of local governments

At the local level, interaction among government institutions was beset by difficulties. For one, the local officials of Pasay City, where the squatter settlement was situated, complied but assumed a passive role in the relocation. It was a natural reaction on its part as the relocation meant losing the squatters as an electoral constituency. The squatters indeed served as rich sources of votes during election time.

The Dasmariñas government in Cavite, as the receiving end, initially refused to accept the relocatees. Only after it received concessions (once again made possible by the funding) from the implementors did it give its support to the new community. The chief local executive demanded and got three hectares of land and resources for basic amenities and infrastructure for his other homeless constituents.

The recipient local government had actually no choice but to attend to the need of the relocatees. The squatters now had to be treated as legitimate constituents of the locality.

Factionalism

The squatter organizations were not a unified group before and during the relocation. They maintained diverse interests both in the squatter colony and in the resettlement site. In the pre-implementation stage, most of them expressed reluctance to accept the relocation project.

Plans for the relocation started as early as 1987. Several relocation schemes were offered by the government to the community organizations. These include the "in-city" concept, on-site development, *Balik Probinsya* and *Lupang Pangarap*. Most of the organizations preferred either the in-city or on-site development but these were later abandoned by the implementing agencies due to spiraling urban land prices. Instead, *Lupang Pangarap* became the most feasible option to the government.

For several years after 1987, the organizations and the government could not come up with a consensus. In 1991, however, one organization which claimed to have the largest membership resolved to accede. This organization, the *KASAMA*, signed a memorandum of agreement with the government and took advantage of the offer. Through vigorous bargaining and negotiation with the implementors, it was able to obtain massive grants from the relocation project. The organization received a P3 million (US$115,384.50) livelihood grant, an additional P2 million (US$76,923) specifically for its transport cooperative and an unspecified amount for its livelihood projects.

The other people's organizations followed suit in accepting the project when they saw these huge grants. This, however, later proved to be a headache to the government as not all of them could be given equally enormous concessions. The livelihood grant was based on the number of members that will be relocated with a prorata amount of P1,000. This applied to the rest of the organizations but, having fewer members, they did not receive as much as what *KASAMA* got. Hence, envy and rivalry sparked among the squatter organizations.

It can be seen that the incentives reduced the resistance of the squatter groups to the relocation and that the factions made it easy for the government to intervene. Factionalism, however, was further intensified causing adversities to the members of the squatter groups. There was a constant struggle for the benefits and burdens of relocation, which paralyzed the sense of community of the squatters. Those who belonged to organizations less powerful than *KASAMA* suffered new exclusions. The barricades and the hold orders issued by the groups' leaders during the relocation and at the resettlement site ironically prolonged the agony of some members who had dismantled their structures and were temporarily residing at a staging area in the relocation site. The simultaneous relocation and development of the resettlement site forced most families to wait awhile in the staging areas where the makeshift nature of the shelter units exposed them to many health hazards.

Clientelism and cooptation

The monetary incentives likewise aroused the individualistic tendencies of the groups. In the more powerful people's organizations, it was observed that not all members were truly represented. Their leaders worked to further their personal interests which was strongly manifested by their refusal to

hold consultations with their members. The smaller and less assertive organizations which appeared to be the genuine people's organizations, gained less in terms of material incentives from the government. They were more seriously concerned about their members' welfare and how the relocation will improve their lives than on mapping strategies to receive concessions from the relocation.

The more experienced squatters turned out to be the leaders of organizations. Experience has taught them how to deal with government in terms of pressure if not through favor or patronage. The leaders were considered as an elite, they being the educated ones who can confidently negotiate with government to assert their rights. They were confident, spontaneous and assertive in dealing with government. They have acquired such power and status such that dissatisfied members did not have the courage to question their decisions. The less educated leaders of the smaller organizations followed a slower route in decision-making as they first had to consult their members and seek assistance from supportive non-government organizations.

The effort to get as much incentives from the government by most organizations induced conflict in the relocation project. Those who got less resorted to protest rallies, print and broadcast publi-city and appeals to higher government authorities. Because of this the implementors had to face several inquiries and scrutiny by oversight government entities.

By "buying off" groups, the implementors undermined the self-help exhibited by the squatter community in the resettlement site. In many instances, the squatters have developed their own survival strategies. The provision of basic social services and livelihood is something they worked out themselves without depending much on the government. Perhaps a positive sign is that self-help was not completely eroded in the resettlement site. Having "settled down" to their new physical arrangements in Paliparan, they still managed to do improvisations, they formed groups by blocks to attend to their basic needs. Group leaders were assigned to collect fees for the installation of electricity and to ensure peace and order in their vicinity. A whole set of new community structures deve-loped as a kind of social protection for people excluded from better economic resources and social rights.

They also managed to shift to various livelihood schemes. Most of them especially the women were displaced from their sources of living which were mostly in services such as laundering, ironing, renting bicycles, etc. But they were able to put up "sari-sari" stores, food stands, hardware stores, bakeries, and beauty parlors to earn a living in their new community. Others continued with soap-making and rice-retailing businesses. Many of these improvised businesses were managed by women but this "feminisation of labor" in the relocation site was more the outcome of the worsening of the livelihood opportunities for the men.

There was no assurance that the livelihood funds granted to the organizations will equitably benefit the members since plans for livelihood remained ambiguous. There were claims that the funds only served the interests of a few particularly the officers and close associates of the leaders.

The ones who suffered most from the relocation were those who were holding jobs in Metro Manila. Naturally, the city core remains the hub of labor demand for the poor people. They complained of longer travel time to and from their places of work and the substantial increase in transportation fare

The leaders of the groups were clearly coopted by the implementors through the huge financial and material rewards. Earlier demands for a sustainable relocation were given up by the community groups in exchange for short-term gains. The enormous concessions of the government to the squatter community were reflective of the perpetuation of a clientelist relationship which was exploited to no end by the leaders of the groups.

Assessment and policy implications

Collaboration and strategic management style

The collaboration between PEA and the community led to a positive outcome in the sense that the relocation was carried out in a non-violent manner. As the frontline agency, PEA carried out certain changes in implementation mainly to avoid confrontation with the squatter community.

The open and flexible processes adopted by PEA ably accommodated conflicts in the community. Despite the initial reluctance and resistance by the squatter groups, and although conflict later increased when channels of participation were opened to all the people's organizations, the implementors were able to attain their goal of a non-violent relocation.

The peaceful outcome could also be attributed to the well-organized "task force" created within PEA and to its creative and adaptive execution of loosely specified guidelines regarding the relocation.

The creation of such a structure with a high degree of flexibility is a notable accomplishment of *Lupang Pangarap*. This should thus be part of all government relocation efforts. A weakness, however, of the relocation project is that it capitalized on the factionalism in the community. Maintaining the factions was convenient but the community may be paying a high price for it in terms of uneven distribution of resources and diminution of bargaining power for the smaller groups.

Studies on relocation underscore the need for clear-cut policies and improved implementation since most undertakings encountered breakdowns caused by uncoordinated tasks and administrative difficulties by government agencies (Laquian 1972; Raralio 1982; Jimenez 1986; Maslang 1989). Government agencies have not ceased to commit bureaucratic bungling, resulting in a growing pessimism on the efficacy of inter-agency collaboration. Effective coordination among agencies in relocation until now has remained a myth. It is therefore best to accept and work on the reality that bureaucratic failure will never cease to exist. Yet at the same time, *Lupang Pangarap* shows that one agency can in fact do the job satisfactorily given a strong political will and sufficient back-up and resources.

Despite the mandate from the top to carry out the relocation, the implementors initially failed to gain the compliance as well as the support of the recipient local government. The local government should have extended its full and genuine cooperation as relocation and resettlement is part of local government responsibility. Yet the perception that the relocatees would only add to the cost of maintaining a constituency persisted. The relocatees were not seen as a potential human capital worth investing in.

There was an evident play of multiple interests among groups both at the national and community levels. At the national level, the broader interest was how to carry out the relocation project but there existed individualistic goals/objectives among the government agencies involved. The same is true in the squatter organizations. The common goal of the groups was to have a better life but this was pursued by the people's organizations in more personalistic terms within their own narrow social spaces.

Enormous funding

Unlike other relocation projects, *Lupang Pangarap* did not encounter funding problems mainly because the landowners willingly shouldered the cost (which is anything that could be justified by the eventual price of their property). Thus, with enormous resources, the implementors were able to ward off potential hindrances which led to the peaceful conclusion of the project.

The granting of financial and material assistance, on the one hand, proved to be an effective incentive in encouraging voluntary demolition and relocation in view of the squatters' negative perception of government efforts. On the other hand, these incentives also served as the bone of

contention among the squatter organizations. The massive financial resources did not only make the people expect more from and depend further on government, it also caused the implementors to waste available resources as seen in the implementation of the *Balik Probinsya* scheme and the granting of spot cash.

The enormous funding adversely affected the positive normative interaction among the organizations. Normally, grassroots organizations are cha-racterized by the bonding of people with common concerns and interests and concerted effort in dea-ling with government and other outside groups with power and influence (Carroll 1986). They pursue their interests not simply in terms of patronage and favor but in terms of policy. The presence of massive resources is quite unusual in social projects implemented by government so that this rare experience created a distorting factor in the normative interaction among the squatter groups. The groups pursued varying interests and concerns and dealt individually with the implementors.

The presence of this huge funding is actually the most salient but the weakest innovation of *Lupang Pangarap*. Past studies have stressed that relocation project should address the root causes of squatting. In spite of this, the relocation project still came up with a scheme that ignores this important lesson from previous undertakings. *Balik Probinsya* was a glaring proof of the project's social ineffectiveness since the beneficiaries of this scheme have certainly gone back to squatting.

The enormous livelihood grants to the organizations were ineffective as they gave no assurance of creating viable sources of income in the resettlement site. Despite the grants, their livelihood remains at risk. It is very likely that relocatees will sell their tenurial rights and leave the site if employment opportunities and delivery of basic social services in the vicinity fail to become stable.

The government failed to compel the squatter organizations to account for the huge livelihood grants to the organizations. Early on, the members of the organizations were already casting doubts on whether they would benefit from the grants or if the amount would only stay in the hands of their officers. At this juncture, social and ethical concerns began to hound the process of implementation. Did the relocation project use the right means to achieve the right end? Were resources equitably distributed to the beneficiaries?

The enormous sum given to the organizations, especially to *KASAMA*, might even encourage other landless citizens to squat just as the concessions obtained by the Dasmarinas local government might set a precedent for other local governments.

The huge funding is a rare ingredient in relocation undertakings but the case suggests that the utilization of enormous resources, if available, should be well-planned. The social costs and benefits of the project as well as its larger social implications should be given much thought. Targeting would also be crucial.

Self-help

Studies suggest that housing and relocations actually need not be costly (Gonzalez 1994; Rondinelli 1990). The implementors should have relied on participatory and self-help methods to draw on community resources which could have prevented costly expenditures.

The growth of an informal economy seen early in the resettlement site illuminates on the self-help capacity of the relocatees. The recolatees proved again their ability to cope and work out ways in order to survive. As new settlers in an outlying site from Metro Manila, they managed to gain employment of any kind just like when they were squatters in the Finance Center.

Despite *Lupang Pangarap*'s effort to involve people in the project, the impact of participation was marginal. The self-help capacity of the squatters was greatly undermined by the implementors. The indiscriminate use of the huge funding, particularly the buying off of the squatter groups, cultivated an unproductive and unethical value in

people. The use of money in the current system has had its share of demoralizing effect on the collaboration between government and the people in *Lupang Pangarap*. People's values were eroded by financial incentives. In a society where profit-earning takes highest priority, money could be used to lead people in a certain direction.

The leaders of the squatter organizations did not display a sense of community but individualistic or selfish interests. The promotion of the concerns of others was merely incidental. The strife and disunity among the people's organizations prevented them from integrating their efforts and from effectively demanding access to decision-making. Their interests and efforts were directed more at meeting their particularistic needs than pushing for broad social changes. They became too preoccupied in acquiring upward mobility in the current system.

The state should increase the poor's access to land to encourage meaningful self-help. Access to land by squatters through legalization of occupation will encourage people to invest incrementally on their dwelling units and community using their own resources (Burns and Ferguson 1987). This way, the state will no longer need to maintain housing subsidies. Through self-help and people's participation, the sense of community is solidified which facilitates and provides for minimal resettlement costs.

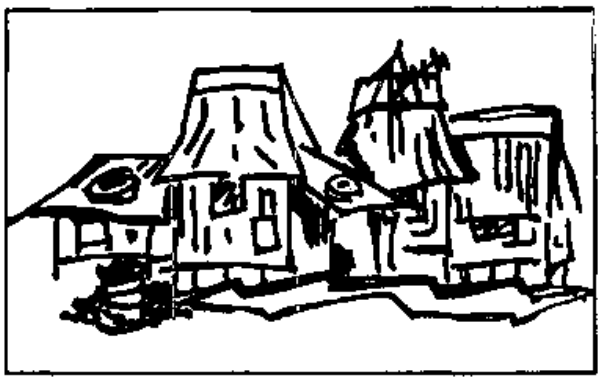
The conclusion that *Lupang Pangarap* has not really made a significant dent should not discourage innovations in relocation. This should neither lead to paralysis of action. Instead, efforts should be directed to more rigorous examination of persistently ineffective relocation projects which have spawned "professional squatting" in the cities. Many "experienced" beneficiaries of relocation projects have received homelots from government, sold their lots, squatted again, and organized and asked for concessions through relocation projects. Reforms must overcome government's inability to exercise control over the social consequences of its own relocation projects.

The perverse incentives and the current policy of no relocation without eviction have indeed encouraged more invasions because of the promise of owning land and getting compensation. The state's no eviction without relocation policy should be complemented with a firm and explicit message that squatting is not the solution and therefore not being condoned.

There have been a number of cases which came up with effective relocations but they seemed to have been forgotten. For instance, on-site upgrading or in-city relocation should have been an option for highly funded projects if sustainability is truly a concern of the state. Furthermore, the relocatees' livelihood should have been given enough attention, given that their economic assets are inadequate. Apart from access to land, access to job is an equally basic factor in relocation. Loss of employment leads to a loss of the ability to satisfy basic needs. A recourse to social assistance leads to a breakdown of relationships with family and community. Programs aimed at promoting livelihood are one of the most important ways of preventing social exclusion and integrating individuals into the economy and society (Bedoui and Gouia 1995). Relocation to outlying areas is feasible only if jobs are adequately available or could well be generated in the site. Livelihood provision needs to be at the core of relocation policy.

Over-all, the emerging trends in adaptations by the state and squatter communities as seen in *Lupang Pangarap* are not quite desirable. Solutions to the squatting problem are still palliative. The findings strongly indicate that the government has to seriously address squatting through job generation especially in the rural areas from where most of the homeless poor have fled. Alleviating widespread poverty in the rural areas is basic and essential in curbing the exodus of people to the metropolis. At the same time, the government should strongly enforce or exercise its police power to protect and uphold property rights without having to abandon the need to strengthen standards of material welfare and social rights for the urban poor. These are crucial matters which should be

promptly and consciously heeded in order to arrest the vicious consequences that were inadvertently engendered by the prevailing system. Sustained advocacy by representatives of the urban poor and access to decision-making are likewise important in increasing the bargaining power of the poor and in breaking the barriers to their continued exclusion. □



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Ethnicity: A View from the Kalahan Forest*

Delbert Rice

I appreciate your invitation for me to join this important discussion today and your inclusion of the Ikalahan in the area of study. I realize that I do not look like an Ikalahan but both my daughter and daughter-in-law are Ikalahan and two of my sons and four of my grandchildren are native speakers of the Ikalahan language. This, together with our permanent residence in an Ikalahan community for 32 years, should allow us to speak with some assurance of accuracy.

I shall not attempt to make precise anthropological definitions or break any new ground in anthropological theory. What I will try to do is express, as best I can, how the Ikalahan look at their own ethnic identity and how it applies to their ancestral domain.

I am sorry that the invitation came so late that I have not had an opportunity to have this brief paper checked by any of my Ikalahan co-workers as I usually do. They will check it later but I am fairly sure that they will agree with the few observations which I plan to make here.

The Ikalahan

The Ikalahan, as many of you know, reside in the Southeastern end of the Cordillera and Western portion of the Caraballo Mountain Ranges of Northern Luzon. In the northern portion, they sometimes refer to themselves as Kalanguya or, more properly, Kamankalangoya. They have their own language which is related to, but distinct from,the Ibaloy and Pangasinan languages.They invariably live in the upper forested portions of the mountains and their livelihood has always been based on swidden farming and handicrafts.By effective hunting and gathering, they have always been quite self-sufficient although not as well-to-do, economically, as some of the neighboring tribes.

Who is a member of the in-group?

Obviously, there is no reason for a person operating entirely within his/her own ethnic group to identify anyone as being *outside* of that group.Ethnic identity is only important when confronted with someone from another group. The first such "other" group from which they had to distinguish themselves was the Ipaway tribe, also known as the Ibaloy. The Ipaway lived in the *napaway* or open areas in comparison to the Ikalahan who lived in the *kalahan* or forested areas. They are actually cousins, being a different branch of the ancient proto-Benguet group conceptualized by several linguists and anthropologists including myself.

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*This paper was the author's contribution to the PSSC Lecture Series sponsored by Ugnayang Pang-Aghamtao, Inc. (Anthropological Association of the Philippines) on "Ethnic Identities and Ancestral Domain," and held on March 21, 1997 at the PSSCenter. Dr. Delbert Rice is an anthropologist who has lived among the Ikalahans since the 1970s.

Ikalahans> CF Dean Lucrecio Rebugio (extreme left), KEF Executive Director Delbert Rice (3rd from left) and UAP Director Romulo del Castillo (extreme right) with the cast of "Li-Tang" (or "Abundant Life," in the Ikalahan language, is a musical-drama depicting the struggle of the Ikalahan tribe) (Courtesy of the UPLB Newsletter Vol. 16, No. 28).

At the present time, the Ikalahan seem to distinguish their ethnic identity at three levels. At the first level, they would say concerning some individual, *"gaittayon Ikalahan"* or *"gaittayon kamankalangoya"* which means a fellow Ikalahan or a person who says "kalanguya" the same as we do. This is the narrowest definition.

At the second level, they would use the briefer statement *"gait iman,"* i.e., that person belongs to our group, and I have heard them use that phrase concerning Ikalahan, Ibaloy, I-wak, and Kankanai people. I have heard it a few times concerning Ifugao people but very seldom. I have never heard it used in relation to other tribes except on very special occasions when referring to very specific individuals.

At the third level, the Ikalahan use the phrase *"gaittayon inadontog"* or *"gaittayon minority"* which means a fellow mountaineer or a fellow cultural minority. These terms are used to refer to almost any tribe except lowland, majority groups such as Ilocano and Tagalog. When I left home two days ago, we had two Manobo visitors from Mindanao. Our people very readily used the third definition to refer to them, and they were readily accepted into the community.

At one time, many years ago, many of the Christian Ikalahan started using the term *"gait"* to refer to other lowland Christians of the same denomination. Then we were given a bishop who was very domineering. They did not like his attitude. They refused to call him *"gait,"* and when they excluded him, they also excluded all other lowlanders whether belonging to the same denomination or not.

When the communities where we live began discussing the establishment of their claim of ancestral domain, however, they were very clear that they wanted to use the first definition—the narro-west one—to describe their ethnicity. They also decided that they did not want to include the entire tribe in a single Certificate of Ancestral Domain Claim (CADC). They decided to break it down into units and this has been done. Unfortunately, bureaucratic problems forced them to break it up even more into fictitious units which is causing strife within the tribe.

Even though they have always recognized the I-wak and Ibaloy as very close to them and regularly call them *"gait,"* which is the word to identify another member of the same in-group, they preferred to draw the boundaries of the ancestral domain to exclude them although they share several boundaries with them.

Immediately to the North of us, in the municipality of Kayapa, is an area where Ibaloy, Ikalahan, and I-wak are intermixed very closely. They have a separate application for a CADC and I was curious as to how they would solve that problem. They have apparently decided to use a political term "Kayapa" instead of an ethnic term for their CADC and include all of the groups in the same ancestral domain. In this case, they are following the second definition given above. I have not had a chance to investigate why they have done this, but I believe it is just a simple case of geographic necessity. Their boundaries would be so confusing, if they tried to separate themselves, that

it would be unmanageable.Although each of the several sitios in Kayapa Proper is fairly homogeneous internally, i.e., each is either Ibaloy, I-wak, or Ikalahan, they are close neighbors and have developed very good relations with each other without losing their distinctiveness.

What are the values most recognized by Ikalahan?

The most important value for most Ikalahan seems to be the relationship of the individual to the community during public activities, specifically, the *tongtongan* or tribal council.

The term *li-teng* is frequently heard as something very highly valued. Its meaning is very close to the Hebrew concept of "Shalom" or "abundant life" and includes such concepts as "health," "peace," and "self-sufficiency." They distinguish other people from themselves by whether or not they participate in working for *li-teng* and accepting the decisions of the *tongtongan* to accomplish it.

In the past, one young man who was a native-born Ikalahan was referred to, rather derisively, as an Ilocano. He had received a good education while living for many years with an Ilocano family in the lowlands and had even taken the family name of his sponsors. When he returned to the upland community and married, he apparently expected his education to substitute for experience and did not really accept the wisdom of the elders as expressed du-ring the *tongtongan*.The people sensed that his values had been too much influenced by his education and so his advice during the meetings was not res-pected, although he was never insulted nor inhibited from speaking.

At the present time, there is a criminal case underway against a man who is biologically an Ikalahan but is a cattle rustler who stole a cow belonging to the community. *"Amon aliwan gait itan. Agto amtay tongtongan."* It is like he is not an Ikalahan. He does not respect the *tongtongan*. This is what they say about him because they held two *tongtongans* concerning the theft at the tribal court and he refused to submit to either. He is presently living in a borderline community, part Ikalahan and part Ilocano. I have overhead people talk about the case and when asked if he is an Ikalahan, the answer is usually "*Gait koma nem...*" Yes, he should be but...," implying that their acceptance of his ethnicity is grudgingly on the basis of blood and not reality.

In brief, even though the Ikalahan recognize biological kinship as a part of their definition of ethnicity, it is not the primary basis for distinguishing between an Ikalahan and a non-Ikalahan.

Fortunately, the Ikalahan that were recognized in the process of defining the boundaries of the ancestral domain claim were living in a fairly contiguous area comprising about 50,000 ha. A few families, and one entire sitio, not belonging to the Ikalahan group either biologically or linguistically were accepted as a part of the claim.They all belong to the groups identified in the second definition described above.

A special case has been made for the teachers in the Ikalahan Academy. Some of them belong to the Kankanai, Ifugao, or Ibaloy tribe although most of the teachers are now Ikalahan. Invited teachers are considered to be Ikalahan in relation to ancestral resources in spite of their original ethnic identification.

It seems to me that the primary determination of ethnicity by the Ikalahan is culture, of which language is a significant part.

Biology, geography or culture?

In order to expand this discussion beyond the Ikalahan to other tribes, allow me to share with you the results of an extensive workshop held by the Philippine Association for Intercultural Development, Inc. (PAFID) in Davao several years ago for tribal people in Mindanao. This issue was discussed rather thoroughly by the participants. A few years later, PAFID also conducted extensive research nationwide among several tribal groups in

Mindanao, Mindoro, Visayas, and Luzon to determine how they looked at the same issue.

There was no unanimity in the responses. Each of the tribes had enough unique values and unique experiences that their definitions concerning ethnicity varied slightly.

During the Mindanao workshop, most of the participants were very clear in stating that a biological member of their tribe who is no longer living in the ancestral domain but had taken up residence in the town or city should not be entitled to access ancestral resources. As I recall the discussion, however, it was not based primarily on geography but more on culture. This was primarily aimed at some of their influentials who pretended to represent the tribe but had actually taken up residence in the town or city. Such persons seldom visited the ancestral domain and had no intention of truly being a part of the community so should not be given access to the resources.

During our research, we found that most of the groups allowed a son-in-law or daughter-in-law who was not from the tribe to enjoy rights along with the spouse who belonged to the tribe. Some of the groups expanded that privilege to close relatives of the in-law but others did not. The latter group recognized that some marriages with outside groups took place primarily to give that group access to ancestral resources. They were careful to protect themselves against it.

In general, the people maintained fairly closely the same system of identification as the Ikalahan. That is:

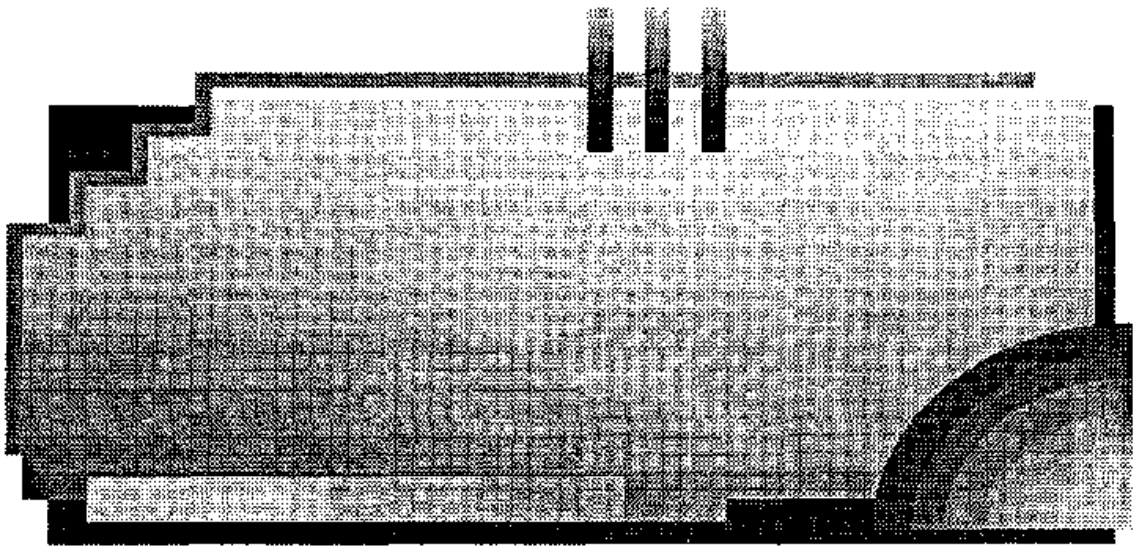
1. Biological identification is important but it can be made flexible.

2. Linguistic identification is very important. If a person cannot speak the tribal language, he/she has no claim to rights within the ancestral domain.

3. Culture and attitude are even more important. The person or family must have identified itself with the tribe by culture and by intention.

4. Geography is considered only in so far as a person who claims to belong to the tribe should be actually residing within the ancestral domain and intend to stay there.

In short, most of them would say, "To be one, you have to act like one." ❑



NEWS * NEWS * NEWS

PSSC Lecture Series

The PSSC launched last year its newest regular program—PSSC Lecture Series—which has become a regular monthly activity of the Council. Each lecture in the Series is sponsored by one of PSSC's member organizations. Since the beginning of this year, some seven lectures were sponsored under this program. These are:

• ***Gender Issues in Fertility and Reproductive Health***, sponsored by the Philippine Population Association (PPA) and held on 14 February 1997. The main paper presentor was Dr. Zelda Zablan, PPA President and PSSC Trustee. Panel discussants included Dr. Eufracio Abaya, Ugnayang Pang-Aghamtao (UGAT) President and Asst. Dean for Academic Affairs, UP College of Social Science and Philosophy; Dr. Grace Aguiling Dalisay of the UP Dept. of Psychology and Ms. Mercy Fabros of Woman Health.

• ***Ethnic Identities and Ancestral Domain***, organized by Ugnayang Pang-Aghamtao (UGAT) and held on 21 March 1997. A presentation of emergent ethnicity issues by Prof. Ponciano Bennagen preceeded the paper presentations of Dr. F. Landa Jocano on the Sulod community of Panay, and Dr. Delbert Rice on the Ikalahans of Northern Luzon. Paper discussants and reactors included officials/representatives from government agencies dealing with ancestral lands and ethnic communities. Among them were Joey Austria of the Indigenous Communities and Ancestral Domain, Department of Environment and Natural Resources (ICAD, DENR), Ms. Velma Daluping of the Office of Northern Cultural Communities (ONCC) and Ms. Grace Chaves of the Office of Southern Cultural Communities (OSCC).

• The third in the lecture series, held in the Philippine Social Science Center Auditorium on 8-9 May 1997 and sponsored by the Philippine Political Science Association (PPSA), which was also their second national conference, focused on the theme ***Furthering Democratization and Development through Elections***. Like their last conference, the 1997 National Conference brought together academic presentors and political leaders to present their views on a range of issues pertaining to the upcoming 1998 national elections. With more than 300 participants, the lecture series proved to be the most well attended conference in the PPSA's history. The PPSA hopes to produce another book that will include the refined conference papers before the end of 1997.

• ***Andres Bonifacio and the Katipunan: The Role in the Philippine National Development*** was the theme of the lecture sponsored by the Philippine Historical Association (PHA) on 27 June 1997. PHA President and PSSC Trustee Oscar Evangelista opened the lecture with an overview of the subject matter. This was followed by 3 other presentations on *Relics and Symbols* by DOM Ignacio Maria "Ambeth" Ocampo; the *Spiritual Aspect* by Atty. Pablo Trillana, III and the *Political Aspect* by Dr. Cesar Pobre. The open forum which followed the paper presentations and moderated

by PHA Board Member Dean Gloria Santos drew active participation of students and others in the audience.

• A seminar-workshop on ***Work Values In Social Work*** was the Philippine Association of Social Workers, Inc's. (PASWI's) contribution to the PSSC Lecture Series last 30 April 1997. PASWI President and PSSC Trustee Dr. Annabellee C. Singzon served as the workshop's resource person. The seminar-workshop was attended by around 40 social workers, several of whom are currently serving in the provinces and the regions.

• ***Language Agenda In the Third Millennium***, sponsored by the Linguistic Society of the Philippines (LSP) held on 26 July 1997. Papers presented in the panel discussions were: *Language Agenda for Filipino* by Dr. Teresita Fortunato of De La Salle University; Language Agenda for English by Dr. Wilfredo Alberca of the Polytechnic University of the Philippines; *Language Agenda for other Philippine Languages* discussed by Dr. J. Stephen Quakenbush of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and *Language Agenda for other Foreign Languages* by Dr. Evelyn Soriano of the Ateneo de Manila University. Dr. Emy M. Pascasio, LSP's Vice-President, of the Ateneo de Manila University, served as the moderator for the panel discussion.

• ***The Datuship as a National Cultural Heritage*** was the theme of the lecture sponsored by the Philippine National Historical Society (PNHS) on 30 July 1997. Dr. Samuel K. Tan, Director of the Mindanao Studies Program, U.P. Center for Integrative and Development Studies (CIDS), discussed the datuship as a form of pre-colonial social organization which appears to have been more widespread in the Philippines than it is today. He stressed the importance of understanding the datuship in planning and implementing programs of development in southern Mindanao. ❑

PSSC Research Award Program Grantees 1997

The PSSC Research Award Program (RAP) provides supplementary financial assistance to Filipino graduate students to complete their thesis or dissertation research in the Social Sciences. Of the 15 RAP applications received for 1997, 14 were approved by the PSSC Research Committee, consisting of 4 applications received from MA students and 10 from Ph.D. students. A total funding assistance of PHP 245,035.00 were granted to the successful applicants. The 14 new RAP grantees are:

• **Borcena, Patria Gwen M. L.** (MA Sociology, Ateneo de Manila University): "*Religious Socialization and Catholic Adult Religiousity from the 1991 SWS National Survey;*"

• **Coloma, Christian Philip P.** (MA Guidance and Counseling, Ateneo de Manila University): "*The Effect of Knowledge of Similarity in Cultural Background and Modeling in the Extent of Self-Disclosure among Ilokano College Seminarians;*"

• Delantar, Emilia G. (MA Language Teaching, Western Mindanao State University): *"SRA (Science Research Associates) Materials and Their Effect on the Reading Comprehension among Third Year Students of Western Mindanao State University;"*

• **Saplala, Jesus Enrique** (MA Psychology, Ateneo de Manila University): *"The Relationship of Spiritual Activities to a Prisoner's Resiliency: An Exploratory Study;"*

• **Agravante-Go, Tita** (Ph.D. Clinical Psychology, Ateneo de Manila University): *"Toward* an *Understanding of the Psychological Dynamics of Filipino Children of Separated Parents: A Clinical-Descriptive and Exploratory Study;"*

• **Basierto, Nimfa T.** (Doctor of Business Administration, University of Eastern Philippines): *"Professional Women in Business: Their Career and Role in the Business Management Operations;"*

• **Belo, Rosana Grace B.** (Ed.D. Educational Management, West Visayas State University): *"Career Anchor, Values Operation and Organizational Commitment as Correlates to Job Satisfaction Among Nurse Educators in Western Visayas;"*

• **Bravo, Marideth R.** (Ph.D. Urban and Regional Planning, University of the Philippines-SURP): *"Assessment of Agro-Industrialization as a Development Approach: Focus on the CALABARZON Areas;"*

• **Cronico, Rolando C.** (Ph.D. Philippine Studies, University of the Philippines-Diliman): *"Ang Pagpaplanong Pangwika sa Ikawalo at Ikasiyam na Kongreso;"*

• **Diamante, Alexis L.** (Ph.D. Educational Management, University of the Philippines-Diliman): *"Correlates of Teacher Performance among Faculty in the West Visayas State University;"*

• **Encarnacion, Ruben** (Ph.D.- Clinical Psychology, Ateneo de Manila University): *"The Filipino's Pursuit of Happiness;"*

• **Labrador, Ana Maria P.** (Ph.D. - Social Anthropology, University of Cambridge [Home University: Dept. of Art Studies, UP Diliman]): *"Representation of Bontoc Identity through Objects: The Selves in Material Culture and National Cultural Property;"*

• **Maylem, Minerva D.** (D.B.A. Business Policy, UP College of Business Administration): *"Determinants of Profitability of the Rice Production Projects of Selected Philippine State Universities and Colleges;"*

• **Villar-Singh, Ma. Veronica** (Ph.D.-Planning, University of Dortmund, Germany [Home University: UP SURP]): *"Transport Infrastructure Planning and Administration in a Decentralized System."* ❑

PSSC Publications

PSSC released or helped produce for member associations the following publications during the first half of the year:

• ***Meeting the Health Challenges of the 21st Century: Partnerships in Social Science and Health Science.*** This publication contains some 20 selected papers from those presented at the region-wide Asia Pacific Second Social Science & Medicine (APSSSAM) Conference held in the Philippines at the PSSCenter on 23-27 May 1994. The papers span a range of topics including traditional medicine, tropical and infectious diseases, reproductive health, gender and sexuality. Contributors include social scientists, health administrators and medical professionals from Australia, Bangladesh, China, Indonesia, India, Lao APK, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sri-Lanka, Thailand and Vietnam.

• ***Historical Bulletin***, Volume 31-32 (1995-1996) released by the Philippine History Association (PHA). The volume features articles on related Centennial themes as: a) *History as Illusion: Cry of Balintawak not Pugad Lawin*; b) *The Cry of Balintawak as a Historical Problem*; c) *Symbols of National Identification*; d) *Vigan During the Philippine Revolution*; e) *More on the "Cry" of 1896*, etc.

• ***Philippine Sociological Review*** (PSR), Volume 44 (1996) released by the Philippine Sociological Society (PSS). A special issue on "*Filipinos as Transnational Migrants*," the volume contains articles dealing with Filipino transnational migration streams and Filipino migrant communities in Italy, Canada, the USA, Australia and Hong Kong.

• ***Philippine Journal of Psychology*** (PJP), Volume 29 (1996) released by the Psychological Association of the Philippines (PAP). The theme of the journal is "*Focus on Educational Psychology.*" ❑

Annual Conferences Held

• **Philippines Communication Society (PCS), 8 January 1997**

The agenda included status reports, admission of new members to the Society, and elections of a new board and officers. The new officers are:

President - Alice Collet- Villadolid; Vice-President - Lourdes Illustre; Secretary - Maria Celeste H. Cadiz; Treasurer - Jaime Canatoy; Auditor - Fr. Pedro Arguillas; PRO- Exec. Dir. Reynaldo Hulog; Trustees-Michael Mastura, Honor B. Cabie, Jose Alagaran, Georgina Encanto, Ely D. Gomez, Florangel R. Braid, Fr. Ibarra Gonzales, S.J., Raul Ingles

• **The Linguistic Society of the Philippines (LSP), 25-26 April 1997**

The conference theme "Applied Linguistics: Focus on Second Language Teaching/Learning" was discussed by a panel of foreign experts in the discipline led by the Secretary General of the Association de Linguistic Internationale (AILA), Dr. Andrew Cohen who gave the keynote address

on "*Developing Pragmatic Ability*." Some 300 participants registered for the Convention.

- **The Philippine Society for Public Administration (PSPA), 25-26 June 1997**

The PSPA co-sponsored the 5th National Conference with the College of Public Administration, University of the Philippines which is celebrating its 45th anniversary this year. The National Conference with its theme "*Public Administration and Socio-Economic Transformation*" brought together around 300 participants composed of government officials, academicians and practitioners of public administration in the country. Discussed during the conference were significant areas of concern as the bureaucracy, the market and civil society; public policy issues and concerns; and academic streamteaching and research.

The Convention had Vice-President Joseph Estrada as Guest Speaker.

- **The Psychological Association of the Philippines (PAP), 3-5 July 1997 at the PSSCenter, Quezon City**

The 34th Annual Convention of the PAP had for its theme "*Advances in the Professional Practice of Psychology*," with papers on the topics *ethical issues in the practice of psychology*; *the practice of industrial/organizational psychology in the Philippines*; *psychology teaching and research*; *psychologists in the courtroom*; and *perspectives and issues on psychological testing*. Dr. Patricia D. Licuanan, President of Miriam College, gave the keynote address.

The PAP also honored the founding members of the Association. Dr. Jaime Bulatao, S.J., Dr. Alfredo Lagmay, Prof. Fe Domingo and Dr. Aurora Miñoza each received a plaque and a medallion for their role in organizing the PAP 35 years ago.

A special address to the delegates by Dr. Allen Tan, 1995 Outstanding Psychologist Awardee, was also featured during the Convention.

The final day of the Convention featured several workshops under PAP's Continuing Education Program. ❑

New Associate Members

Aside from the UP FOLKLORISTS, INC., which was welcomed earlier to the PSSC with the approval of its application by the General Assembly, five other organizations have joined PSSC's roster of Associate Members. PSSC's new Associatates Members are:

• CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND EXTENSION SERVICES, Aquinas University, Rawis, Legazpi City;

• DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, College of Arts and Sciences, UP-Visayas, Miag-ao, Iloilo;

• RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT CENTER, University of Negros Occidental-Recoletos (UNO-R), Bacolod City.

• SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS, University of Asia and the Pacific, Ortigas, Pasig City.

• SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH CENTER, Ateneo de Naga, Naga City.

The profiles of these new Associate Members follow on pages 47 to 56 of this issue of SSI. ❑

New Associate Members: Profiles

Center for Research & Extension Services (CRES)
Aquinas University, Rawis, Legazpi City

Aquinas University where CRES is located was established as the Legazpi Junior College in 1948, later renamed Legazpi College, and in 1968 was elevated to university status by the Department of Education. The University's mission/vision is to serve the educational needs of the people of Bicol and neighboring areas by offering the "maximum benefits of a formal education from secondary to postgraduate courses... to produce graduates who are forerunners of change in the social, political, economic and moral structures of society. Filipinos who are *maka-Diyos, makatao, makabayan and makalikasan.*"

CRES was designed to spearhead programs, projects and activities related to research and extension services. Serving as a conduit of Aquinas University's services to the community, CRES operates with five objectives:

1. To act as the central planning and coordinating body on research and extension programs of the university;

2. To strengthen the research and extension work capabilities of the faculty.

3. To conduct researches and provide extension service programs geared towards developing depressed barangays in Legazpi City or similar municipalities of the Province of Albay, in particular, and in the Bicol Region, in general.

4. To serve as the repository and data bank of documents on researches and extension service programs conducted by the students and faculty, and other vital information on the socio-economic variables of the region.

5. To enter into contracts with government, nongovernment or private voluntary organizations on services that the center offers like the preparation of project proposals, researches, management consultancy, data collection and computer data processing, training on extension programs and allied fields, with approval of the Office of the Rector.

CRES is headed by a Director, who is assisted by a pool of consultants and research specialists. The present Director is Dr. Raymundo M. Sta. Romana, Jr., who serves concurrently as Aquinas University's Vice-President for Planning and Development. The staff of CRES consists of Faculty Research/Community Service Coordinators drawn from the 10 Colleges and High Schools of the university which implement research and extension projects. CRES also has a Secretary/Record Clerk, a Research Assistant, and a number of Faculty and Student Volunteers.

CRES offers several packages of services or assistance to clients. These include:

1. Research and extension work in the areas of economics, industry, business, politics, education, public administration, engineering, and government service.

2. Training programs or courses on entrepreneurship, project development, trainors training, community development/community organization, extension services, physical settlement and development planning.

3. Management consultancy in personnel, production, marketing and financial aspects of business, school and other livelihood management/undertakings.

4. Community Organization/Community Development (CO/CD) trainings and related activities.

5. Development planning which includes socioeconomic, physical and other development plan components at the barangay, municipal, and provincial levels.

In addition to the services mentioned, CRES also has an Outreach Program for depressed barangays in the area. In 1995, a pilot approach in community extension work was launched by the university, and a pilot barangay was chosen in consultation with local government units. The pilot barangay is Bagong-Abre, five kilometers away from Legazpi City and along the slopes of Mt. Mayon. Bench-line research was carried out in the barangay by CRES through the Colleges of Nursing, Business Administration and Arts and Sciences. A Five-Year Development Plan was then prepared for the community. For schoolyear 1996-1997, the following projects are being implemented in Bagong-Abre: community theatre; training on Parliamentary Rules and Procedures; sports development; religious development (e.g., monthly mass and cathechism); mini-library; vegetable gardening; cooperative development; Barangay Health Station; training in primary health care; building construction and skills training; and technical assistance for flood control. CRES looks forward to expanding its Outreach Program beyond the pilot barangay so that the administration, faculty and students of Aquinas University will be more fully involved as volunteers in such efforts, just as it will also professionalize its work through the hiring of full-time extension workers for the communities.

CRES publishes its papers and other articles in the *Faculty Research Journal* in coordination with the Graduate School of the university. It has also conducted two research projects on the impact of community extension programs in the pilot barangay in the City of Legazpi. ❑

Division of Social Sciences, College of Arts and Sciences
University of the Philippines in the Visayas
Miag-ao, Iloilo

The Division of Social Sciences is housed in the Miag-ao, Iloilo campus of the University of the Philippines in the Visayas, 41 kilometers west of Iloilo City.

Access to the University's pool of computer systems and various audiovisual facilities, including the impressive library collection and research vessel of the College of Fisheries, as well as the Western Visayas Studies Center in the Iloilo campus, allows the Division of Social Sciences to maximize its instructional and research functions in the region. The Division maintains a reading room with a collection of theses, journals, books, and other reading materials in the social sciences. It also has a collection of updated Philippine regional and global maps.

The 35 or so fulltime faculty of the Division of Social Sciences are involved in teaching and research in the disciplinal areas of the Bachelor of Arts program (single or double major scheme) which include the following: Anthropology, Community Development, Economics, History, Political Science, Psychology and Sociology.

A profile of the faculty's areas of expertise and interest reveals the wide range of variation characteristic of scholarship in universities, yet adapted to the local Western Visayas setting. Research on fisheries and fishing communities, for example, are informative of fisheries extraction, marketing and other economic factors affecting Visayan fisherfolk, including their world view and intergroup relations or dynamics. On the other hand, there are also studies of upland communities, of the Negros Aeta and of *Kaingineros*. Community development and community organizing activities benefit from this knowledge base and improve strategies for coastal resource management and social forestry. Health research is also carried out, with studies on primary health care, traditional health beliefs and practices, and perceptions of mental illness. Studies on special topics of local history culture and folklore contribute to and promote national and regional pride. Other research efforts include gender studies and studies of political attitudes. Faculty researchers also help in the evaluation of programs of government and private agencies in the region.

Research and other scholarly papers emanating from the Division's work are published in the *U.P. Visayas Forum*, a multidisciplinary journal of the University. Professor Rodelio F. Subade serves as current Officer-in-Charge of the Division of Social Sciences. ❑

Research and Development Center
University of Negros Occidental-Recoletos
Bacolod City (RDC-UNO-R)

Brief History and Objectives

The University of Negros Occidental-Recoletos (UNO-R) Research and Development Center (RDC) was established because there was a need for it. As an emerging institution of higher learning in Bacolod City, the University which was founded in 1941, had to perform three functions, namely, instruction, research and extension services.

In 1971 the University's research function was institutionalized with the establishment of the UNO-R Institute of Research. Although the Institute devoted its efforts primarily to institutional or internal research in the beginning, its mission statement of "*serving the upland, rural and urban poor through research and development work based on the life and teachings of Jesus Christ*" was gradually translated into action through expanded activities and projects. As UNO-R grew and strengthened its educational facilities such as its libraries, laboratories, and physical plant, so did the Institute of Research develop its capabilities for research and extension work.

The election of Fr. Jose A. Rodrigalvez, OAR, who had visited various countries in the Americas, Asia, Africa and Europe, as university president saw this growth in the research and development functions of the Institute, which also led to its being renamed the University of Negros Occidental Recoletos (UNO-R) Research and Development Center (RDC) to reflect the new thrust.

Activities and Programs

The UNO-R RDC, which is headed by the incumbent President, Fr. Hermenegildo C. Cenniza, OAR, is managed by a Chairman, Dr. Edgar L. Griño, in its day-to-day activities.

Besides carrying out institutional research such as "A Study on the State of Organization Development at the University of Negros Occidental-Recoletos" (30 June 1997), the UNO-R RDC links up with government and private bodies for joint project undertakings. Some of the joint projects which the Center has implemented in the past include organizing income generating projects for agricultural schools; setting up an employment center for UNO-R graduates and the unemployed in Negros Occidental; providing assistance to micro-entrepreneurs in Bacolod City; and organizing social credit programs for female market vendors in Metro Bacolod. The Center has also carried out *skill* development programs, such as a training program for CARP beneficiaries who became *owners* of a large Kabankalan sugarcane plantation, and training courses on computer repair and maintenance for credit cooperatives and rural banks of Negros Occidental. Past external research projects include evaluation, monitoring, or impact studies on ADB and OECF-funded reforestation projects in the islands of Negros and Cebu and US AID-funded social economic development assistance programs in Northern Negros, and livelihood training programs. The center has also ventured into surveys, such as a survey of small-scale enterprises and an opinion poll on current issues affecting the province.

Research findings and project results are disseminated by the Center through various printed reports and papers published in the *UNO-R Journal of Graduate Research*. ❑

School of Economics, University of Asia and the Pacific
Ortigas Complex, Pasig City

A Publication of the
Institute of Industrial Economics
University of Asia and the Pacific

The University of Asia & the Pacific

The University of Asia and the Pacific (UA&P) traces its roots to the Center for Research and Communication (CRC), a private voluntary organization established on 15 August 1968 to foster research, communication, and training in industrial economics with emphasis on private enterprise. CRC was then under the management of the Southeast Asian Science Foundation, Inc. (SEASFI), a private non-profit foundation accredited by the National Science Development Board.

In 1982, CRC moved from its original home in Malate, Manila to its present campus at Ortigas Complex in Pasig City. CRC was able to establish itself not only as a think tank but also as an educational institution, offering courses in liberal arts, values education, and other professional fields.

On 26 June 1995, CRC was granted university status by the Commission on Higher Education, under the name **University of Asia and the Pacific** (UA&P). On 28 August of the same year, Dr. Jesus P. Estanislao, former Finance Secretary of the Philippines and Trustee of the SEASFI, was installed as the first University president.

The College of Arts and Sciences (CAS) served as the main force behind CRC's conversion into a university. Established in 1989, CAS offers such courses as business management, entrepreneurial management, philisophy, education, political economy, communication, and information technology.

UA&P has four other schools: Education, Management, Health Sciences and Economics.

UA&P's Institutional Goals

UA&P believes that education is a lifelong process that should be focused on the individual. Since its foundation, the University has pursued the following goals: (1) promotion and dissemination of ideas oriented toward the common good especially the nurturing of moral and other humane values at all levels of society; (2) fostering of competent and socially-responsible private enterprise and of enlightened interaction between the government and private sector, through the introduction of more social content in business and economic thinking; and (3) development of innovative professional training, research, and communication programs in economics, business, education, mass media, international relations, and related fields.

The UA&P School of Economics

Aiming to become a leading economics school in the Philippines and the Asia-Pacific region, the UA&P School of Economics focuses on developing economics for strategic planning in industries within the framework of ongoing reforms in an emerging global economy.

For more than 20 years now, the School has been offering two graduate degree programs: MS in Industrial Economics and MS in Applied Business Economics. Many graduates of these programs now occupy important positions in private firms and government institutions.

The School has been known for the vital economic research it produces on such areas as:

- economic monitoring and forecasting

• industry monitoring and forecasting

• regional economics

• small and medium enterprises, including those in the informal economic sector

• socioeconomic issues (e.g., the just family wage, population and development, the role of women and NGOs in the economy)

• infrastructure development (water, energy, telecommunications, etc.)

• the ASEAN Free Trade Area, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation and the World Trade Organization

The research findings and the results of the School's projects are disseminated through: (1) textbooks; (2) publications and reports; (3) seminars and conferences on topics relevant to policymaking in the private, government, and academic sectors; (4) courses on economics education for teachers; and (5) articles and feature stories in local newspapers, as well as radio and television interviews.

The School has the following regular publications:

• *Industry Monitor*—Contains a monthly summary of news on industry development in the Philippines, Asia, and the rest of the world, as well as a brief analysis on at least two industries

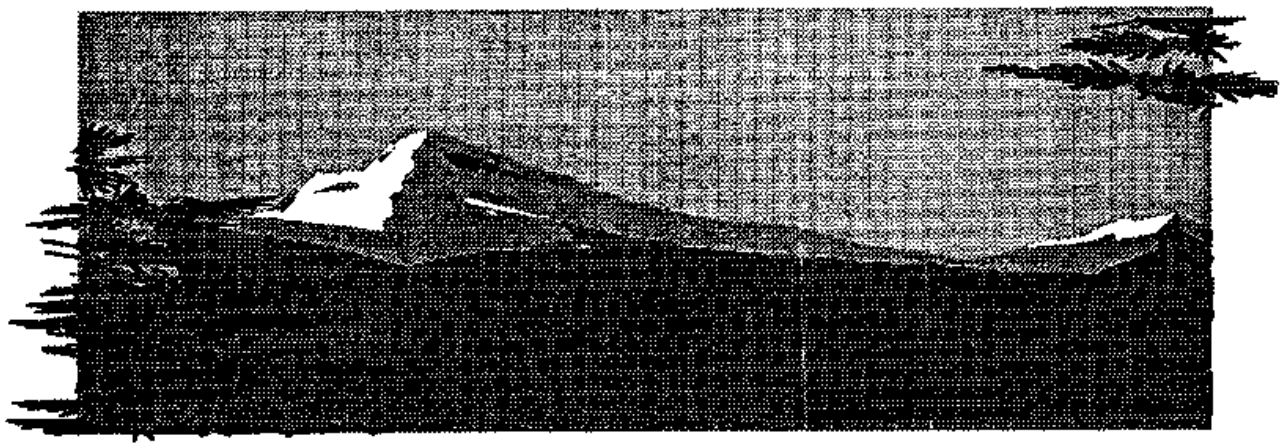
• *Recent Economic Indicators*—Provides updates, analyses, and forecasts on trends and issues on the macroeconomy

• *Regional publications (Regional Monitor, Indicators, and Bulletin)*—Keep readers in touch with economic and business developments in the Philippine regions

• *Prime Commodities Index*—Provides answers to questions on personnel management and wage determination

The School maintains linkages with reputable foreign institutions through such activities as: (1) training teachers from the University of Economics of Hochi Minh in Vietnam and Widya Karya in Malang, Indonesia; (2) exchanging research personnel with the Harvard Institute of International Development, the IFO in Munich, Germany, and the Instituto de Estudios Superiores de la Empresa (IESE) in Barcelona, Spain; (3) exchanging publications and visiting scholars with the Institute for Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore, the Institute for Strategic and International Studies in Jakarta, Institute for Development Studies in Kota, Kinabalu, and the Institute for Developing Economics, Sakura Research Institute, Nomura Research Institute and the Japan Economic Research Center in Tokyo.

The School of Economics now has 20 faculty members and 97 graduate and undergraduate students. Dr. Bernardo M. Villegas is the School's current dean. ❑



Social Science Research Center (SSRC)
Ateneo de Naga, Naga City

Historical Background

The Social Science Research Center began as the Research and Service Center (RSC) of the Ateneo de Naga which was created to assume the dual function of assisting the university administration in institutional planning and management, and undertaking community extension programs. For the first three years after its creation, RSC's activities were confined to studies that addressed the planning and community extension needs of the school. On its third year of operation (1973), the Institute of Philippine Culture (IPC) of the Ateneo de Manila University sought its assistance in establishing a research unit in Bikol to serve the needs of the Bikol River Basin Development Program Office (BRBDPO) which was created in the same year. Thus was formed the Social Survey Research Unit (SSRU) with the eminent anthropologist/sociologist Fr. Frank X. Lynch, S.J. as its first director. Based at the Ateneo de Naga, the SSRU engaged the services of a number of RSC personnel in conducting research studies for the BRBDPO. Consequently, the RSC through its tie-up with IPC-SSRU, became involved in survey work for BRBDPO from late 1973 to mid 1976.

The earlier activities of the RSC focused on the establishment of cooperatives in neighboring communities. In 1981, the arrival of four new graduates from the Ateneo de Manila University led to a significant expansion of the RSC's community extension program. RSC then paved the way for the creation of the Social Integration Office (SIO) as a separate school unit entrusted with the task of operationalizing the urgent thrust of Jesuit education for "the promotion of justice in the service of faith" through students formation. Subsequently, SIO was renamed Center for Community Development (CCD). Today, CCD is an accredited non-government organization pursuing community development activities among farmers, tribal groups, workers, the youth, and the urban poor in Naga City.

With the creation of the SIO (now CCD) as a separate school unit, the RSC continued to conduct in-house research for the school's corporate planning while shifting its focus to social science research. The shift was made possible following the phase-out of the SSRU in 1979 after the termination of its contract with the BRBDPO. This development enabled the RSC to engage the services of a pool of SSRU-trained researchers for its expanding research projects. In 1991, RSC assumed the name Social Science Research Center (SSRC) to express more accurately its new functions.

Since then SSRC has evolved into a foremost social science research institute in the Bikol region, having undertaken over forty research projects for local, national and international organizations beginning in 1976. Over the years, nationally-known social scientists and researchers have been associated with SSRC, led by the late Fr. Frank X. Lynch, S.J. and Dr. Wilfredo F. Arce of Ateneo de Manila University.

Mission-Vision-Goals

The SSRC shares the mission of the Ateneo de Naga in its commitment to local and national development and the upliftment of the general well-being of the population. It endeavors to work for a progressive Bikol Region anchored on sustainable and people-centered development. Toward this end, the Center undertakes community level studies on social development and is concerned with the articulation of indigenous learnings and insights, linking them with broader policy/paradigm issues.

Its overriding goals are: (1) to conduct research for local government units and agencies, non-government organizations and private institutions in response to the development needs of the Bikol region; (2) to establish a databank for relevant economic, political and cultural information on Bikol and to provide mechanisms for their utilization; and (3) to develop the research capabilities of units within the Ateneo as well as outside groups and agencies.

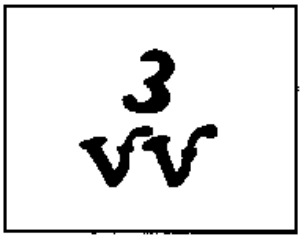
Organization, Linkages and Funding Agencies

At present, SSRC is headed by Dr. Rebecca C. Torres who serves as its Director. She is assisted by a deputy director and two full-time research associates. SSRC hires additional staff and research assistants as needed by projects, such as the "Survey of Market Conditions for the Development of Small Scale Enterprises in Bicol" for the LINGAP Pangkabataan, Inc. in 1994; "Bicol Multipurpose Survey 1994" for Yale University; "Young Adult Fertility and Sexuality Survey II" for the UP Population Institute" in 1994; and "Evaluation of the Cooperative Marketing and Production System Program of the ALAMAT Multipurpose Cooperative" for the Catholic Relief Services in 1995.

SSRC publishes a journal, *Bikolnon*, with the Ateneo de Naga Graduate School.

In addition to being a new associate member of the Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC), SSRC maintains linkages with the Center for Social Policy and Public Affairs (CSPPA) of the Ateneo de Manila University, the University of the Philippines Los Baños through its Bikol Studies program, and the Society of Jesus Social Apostolate (SJSA). SSRC also maintains active linkage with the NCR-based Urban Research Consortium through the newly organized Naga Urban Research Consortium (NURC). ❑

UP Folklorists, Inc.
c/o Department of European Languages
College of Arts and Sciences, University of the Philippines-Diliman, Quezon City



History

The history of the UP Folklorists, Inc. is closely linked to the beginnings of the formal study of folklore in the University of the Philippines (UP) and the organization of the Philippine Folklore Society.

The study of folklore as an academic discipline in the University of the Philippines began in 1910 when Dean S. Fansler, well-known American folklorist, offered 2 courses on Filipino Folklore in the Department of English. The courses involved "a study of the beliefs and customs reflected in the traditional literatures of the various dialect groups of the Islands....given in English and includes much practice for the student in putting his native speech into idiomatic English equivalent." Folklore courses were offered also by the anthropologist H. Otley Beyer as part of the instruction on ethnology and anthropology, and thereafter folklore courses became part of both the English and Anthropology curricula, with some students writing their theses on folklore, such as proverbs and folk songs. After the Pacific War when classes in UP and other schools resumed, the idea of organizing the Philippine Folklore Society was suggested, but this took place only on 9 August 1958. The Philippine Folklore Society, most of whose members were UP faculty, employees and students, had its headquarters in UP. Interest in Philippine folklore, sustained through the activities of the Philippine Folklore Society, became more professionalized through the training of 2 folklore scholars in the early 1960s.

Both of these scholars, Damiana L. Eugenio and Fr. Francisco E. Demetrio, S.J., trained at the University of California, Los Angeles and returned to their country where they continued to do folklore research and publish their works.

In 1980 the U.P. Folklorists was organized "to keep alive interest in folklore studies on the UP campus." Some of its members were also members of the Philippine Folklore Society. The new organization was supportive of setting up a Folklore Studies Program in the then College of Arts and Sciences. When the Folklore Studies Program was approved on 12 November 1980, Dr. Damiana L. Eugenio, then president of the UP Folklorists, was appointed Coordinator of the new program. The Folklore Studies Program, an interdisciplinary academic and research program, has been administered by the College of Social Science and Philosophy since 1983 when the College of Arts and Sciences underwent reorganization.

Objectives

The UP Folklorists' Articles of Incorporation lists the following as the objectives of the organization:

1. To establish a folklore archives in the College of Arts and Sciences, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City.

2. To coordinate the folklore research activities of the faculty and students of the University.

3. To establish folklore as an independent academic discipline in the University.

4. To sponsor lectures, seminars, workshops and other activities that will stimulate folklore research in the Philippines.

5. To support the activities of the Philippine Folklore Society.

6. To establish scholarly communication with folklorists in other parts of the world.

Activities

The activities of the UP Folklorists include meetings and study sessions, lectures on timely and significant topics on folklore, symposia, and publications to help stimulate folklore research in the Philippines.

In 1996-1997, the following lectures were given:

◦ **Katutubong Musika ng Probinsya ng Cagayan: BUKAL at Daluyan** by Prof. Pedro Abraham

• **Folklore in Children's Literature** by Prof. Ma. Elena Paterno

• **Lullabies and Socialization among the Tagalogs: Interaction between Tradition and Modernization** by Ms. Marialita T. Yraola

• **Mexican Folklore and its Social Influence in the Philippines** by H.E. Andres Peña , 2nd Secretary, Mexican Embassy
(*Pabitin* and *Pinata* were featured).

The UP Folklorists also participated in the National Conference sponsored by the Philippine Folklore Society in Puerto Princesa, Palawan on the topic "Research on Local Folklore and Culture."

The publications put out by the UP Folklorists are major sources of Philippine folklore, such as the 7-volume *Philippine Folk Literature Series* of Dr. Damiana L. Eugenio. Other recent publications include:

• *Proceedings of the National Conference on Folk Science and Folk Arts* at Faculty Center Conference Hall, October 21-23, 1992

• *Voices from the Lake. Proceedings of the Regional Conference on "Environmental Consciousness Through Folklore"* at Mindanao State University, Marawi City, June 2-4, 1994.

Forthcoming publications include the following:

• *Proceedings of the Regional Conference on the Folklore of the Ilocos Region* held at the Mariano Marcos State University in Batac, Ilocos Norte, Jan. 26-29, 1995

• Compilation of the lecture series sponsored by the UP Folklorists

The set of officers of the UP Folklorists, Inc., for the year 1996 to 1998 are as follows: Dr. Elvira S. Verano, Spanish professor in the Dapartment of European Langauges, is President; Prof. Magelende M. Flores, Vice-President; Prof. Ruby G. Alcantara, Secretary; Prof. Ligaya T. Rubin, Treasurer; Prof. Dante Ambrosio, Auditor; Dr. Eufracio A. Abaya, P.R.O. and Dr. Ernesto A. Constantino and Prof. Felina V. Mapa, Archivists. The President Emiriti are as follows: Dr. Damiana L. Eugenio, Dr. Ernesto A. Constantino, Dr. Ma. Clara Ravina, Dr. Lydia Garcia (deceased), Dr. Ma.Lilia F. Realubit and Dr. Luzviminda Valencia. ❑

CALL FOR PAPERS FOR THE AFRO-ASIAN

PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PHILIPPINES

The PAP will host the 4th Congress of the Afro-Asian Psychological Association (AAPA) in 1998. The AAPA held its three previous congresses in Lahore, Pakistan, in Beijing, China, and in Selangor, Malaysia. The theme of the Manila congress will be "Psychology in a Changing Afro-Asian World." It is anticipated that around 300 delegates from Asian and African countries, including those from the Philippines will attend. Speakers from North America and Europe have also accepted invitations to attend the Congress.

The Steering Committee of the 1998 AAPA Congress is now accepting submissions of abstracts of papers and poster presentations for the Congress to be held on July 23 to 26, 1998, in Manila, the Philippines.

The Program Committee will accept abstracts for either (a) 20 minute paper presentations, or (b) poster presentations. The papers and posters can address any topic in any basic or applied area of psychology, however, preference will be given to research reports, and papers describing new theory, new research methods, new interventions and new applications of psychological principles.

The abstract must not be more than 200 words, and must be submitted to the PAP by December 5, 1997. The abstracts should be sent to **Dr. Conchita V. Umali**, Chair, Program Committee, PAP-AAPA Congress, PSSCenter, Commonwealth Ave., 1101 Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines. Abstract submission forms and other contact persons, addresses, telephone, and fax numbers can be obtained from the PAP Secretariat at the PSSC.

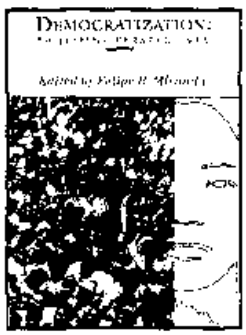
The abstracts will be evaluated by the Program Committee, and if the abstract is accepted for presentation during the congress, the author will be notified towards the end of January 1998.

Authors of the accepted abstracts must register and pay the congress registration fee by February 28, 1998, otherwise, the papers will be removed from the program and the abstract will not be included in the published book of abstracts.

For further inquiries regarding the 1998 Congress of the Afro-Asian Psychological Association, please contact **Dr. Milagros Catabona**, Congress Chairperson at San Sebastian College (742-7651), **Dr. Conchita V. Umali** at Assumption College (817-7773/ 817-4289), **Dr. Natividad A. Dayan** (721-721-7133, 705-358), or **Dr. Elena L. Samonte** (926-6590).

THE PSSC FRANK X. LYNCH LIBRARY

NEW ACQUISITIONS-Filipiniana



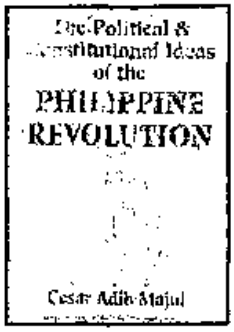
Miranda, Felipe B. (Ed.)
1997
Democratization: Philippine Perspectives.
Diliman,Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press. 349 pp.

The volume contains 10 studies which explore the historical course and trajectories of contemporary democratization in the Philippines. A comprehensive account of democratization since the 1986 overthrow of the Marcos dictatorship, its background, main issues, trends, and prospects for further consolidation are discussed in the paper of Jose V. Abueva. The study by Alex B. Brillantes, Jr., looks into local governance as a special dimension of democratization. The paper of Jorge V. Tigno focuses on the role played by nongovernmental organizations and people's organizations in democratic governance. Emmanuel S. de Dios' paper examines the relationships between types of political regimes and economic outcomes. Felipe B. Miranda's paper attempts a democratized political economic reading of Philippine society. The paper by Temario Rivera considers two rebel groups (the National Democratic Front and the Moro National Liberation Front) and the issue of their political incorporation within the democratic space which opened soon after the fall of the Marcos dictatorship in 1986. Renato De Castro's study focuses on the Philippine military and its experience in the last decade with democratizing regime. Renato S. Velasco looks into the promotion of democracy by the Philippine Congress. The papers by Steven Rood and Ronald D. Holmes attempt to delineate some areas where academic studies of Philippine democratization might be more productively undertaken.

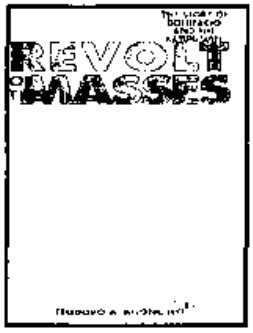
Majul, Cesar Adib.
Mabini and the Philippine Revolution
Philippine Studies Reprint Series, 1996
Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press. 404 pp.

The book was published originally in 1960 and attempts to view and analyze the great and dramatic events of the Philippine Revolution through the eyes and mind of Apolinario Mabini who not only helped trace the route of the Revolution but also left a record of his reflections upon its gains, failures, and tendencies. However, the book is not limited to the role of Mabini in the Revolution or to his reflections on the Revolution. It also discusses both Mabini's judicious prognostications and errors in the light of historical events and Philippine social structure during and after Mabini's life. Attempts have also been made to delineate three elements regarding the political principles and programs of Mabini. The first refers to his philosophical and theoretical conceptions; the second, with the manner in which some of these entered into the official proclamations and acts of the government of the Revolution; and the third, with how effective these official acts were in practice.

Majul, Cesar Adib.
The Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Philippine Revolution. Philippine Studies Reprint Series, 1996. Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippine Press. 237 pp.



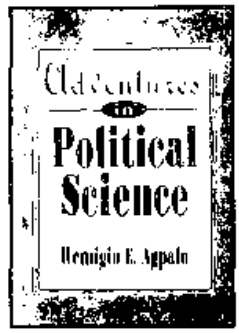
This nine-part book written in 1996 attempts to relate historical data with the movement of ideas intimately connected with events of the Philippine Revolution. Specifically discussed are the Philippine Revolution; man and society; the origin, necessity and function of government; obedience to law; revolution; church and state; the problem of church and state; and legislature or a dictatorship. The readers are given the opportunity to conclude whether or not the kind of community envisioned by our Revolutionary Fathers has been attained, and, whether or not the work of the Revolution has been terminated.



Agoncillo, Teodoro A.
The Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan.
Philippine Studies Reprint Series, 1996. Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press. 452 pp. with illustrations.

This volume, first published in 1956, is a public document which is of great value to a proper understanding of the cultural history of the Philippines. In dealing with Andres Bonifacio and the Katipunan, Aguinaldo gives more emphasis on the latter than on its founder for two major reasons: the dearth of materials on the life of Bonifacio and the author's belief that Bonifacio can be best seen against the backdrop of the revolutionary society. No controversial points are discussed in the main body of the book. Only the author's own conclusions are set forth, with arguments supporting them indicated in the notes.

Agpalo, Remigio E.
Adventures in Political Science. Revised Edition, 1996. Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press. 493 pp.



The first edition of this book came out in 1992. The 1996 edition has minor revisions and contains the 18 essays in the first edition, copies of which were sold out two years after publication. The book describes the experiences of the author in his studies and research in political science, politics, and government of the Philippines. The volume is organized of three adventures by the author in the realm of studies and research in politics. The first adventure focuses on the author's academic life. The second describes his attempts to study and teach politics and government of the Philippines through the use of native or local frameworks. The third adventure attempts the empirical focus of the author's study of politics and government in the Philippines by means of what he calls "normative dimensions," i.e., civilization or the analysis and assessment of evidence in terms of whether the thing being analyzed and assessed is good or bad. The volume has 7 chapters and contains essays published in various publications from 1963 to 1989.

Garcia, J Neil C.
1996. ***Philippine Gay Culture: The Last Thirty Years.*** Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press. 418 pp.

The two-part book discusses metropolitan gay culture as it has existed in the Philippines for the past 30 years. It hopes to offer a politics of gay representation which does not avoid the many contradictions currently festering in gay culture. The first part, history of gay culture, focuses on the popular and academic writings about homosexuality covering the period 1960 to 1990.

This history shows that Philippine gay culture in the last 30 years has been characterized not by a single but several expressions of the male homosexual identity. Some of the themes explored and analyzed in this section are the stereotypology of the funny gay, gay theatrical discourse, the church and homosexuality, swardspeak and the gay sexual (sub) culture. The second part analyzes the works of three early gay writers, namely, Severino Montano, Orlando Nadres and Tony Perez. This section attempts to come up with a specifically gay-autobiographical reading that reinstate their homosexual politics.

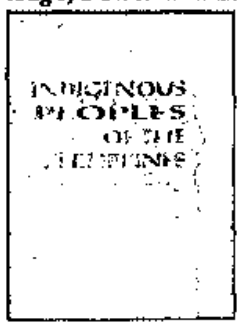
Ramos, Victor O.
1997. ***The Governance of Ecology; Struggles and Insights in Environmental Statesmanship.***
Diliman, Quezon City: Environmental Center of the Philippines, PSSCenter, Commonwealth Avenue. 179 pp.

Written by Victor O. Ramos who currently heads the Government's Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR), this book describes the author's experiences and insights gained in *ecological governance* or *environmental governance*, defined in his book as "the role of government in managing the inter-relationships between the various subsystems in nature, such as those within and among different species and ecosystems, including the economic, social, and cultural subsystems."

As DENR Secretary, Mr. Ramos realized early in his career that the nature of ecological governance is different from the conventional forms of governance. This inspired him to develop a framework of environmental leadership which is described in the succeeding chapters of the book, detailing how his Department made decisions concerning certain situations, some of them in crisis and which were managed well and which were less satisfactorily handled.

The book describes the environmental controversies and issues, as well as the DENR programs which have caught the attention of the public in the 90s. These inlude the proposed cement plant in Bolinao, Pangasinan; the Marinduque Mining Corporation (MARCOPPER) and the Makalupit and Boac Rivers; Community-Based Forest Management and Protected Areas or National Park Systems; indigenous people and the issue of Ancestral Land Domain; and the role of NGOs in ecological governance.

The author hopes that his readers will understand and appreciate what the government is doing to translate the concept of "web of life" to good environmental policy. Ecological governance indicates the government's role in these interrelationships of the various systems in nature including the different social sectors such as business, local governments and civil society.



Indigenous Peoples of the Philippines; Knowledge, Power and Struggles. Proceedings of the 18th National Conference of Ugnayang Pang-Aghamtao (UGAT), 17-19 October 1996, La Trinidad, Benguet
Diliman, Quezon City: UGAT Room 208, PSSCenter, Commonwealth Avenue, 158 pp.

The 11 papers in this volume touch on 4 general areas: (1) indigenous knowledge systems; (2) women and children, gender and sexuality; (3) impact of develoment projects on indigenous peoples, corporate mining and development assistance; and (4) policy issues of Ancestral Domain.

Nine of the papers deal with specific indigenous communities in the Philippines—Cagayanos; Tausug; Mangyan Patag; Agta of Iriga; Sulugnon Subanun; Tengyan of Abra; Communities in the Mountain Province; Palawan; and the Muslims in southern Mindanao. The two other papers discuss the forest ecology of homo sapiens, and the Philippine mining industry and the indgenous peoples.

Ferrer, Elmer Magsanoc, Lenore Polotan-dela Cruz, and Marife Agoncillo-Domingo (Editors).

Seeds of Hope; A Collection of Case Studies on Community-Based Coastal Resources Management in the Philippines. 1996. Diliman, Quezon City: College of Social Work and Community Development (CSWCD), University of the Philippines. 223 pp.

This volume contains the papers or case studies resulting from three workshops in 1995 on community-based coastal resource management (CBCRM) projects in the country. The first two workshops provided training to community organizers, environmental educators and livelihood and resource management workers—or what are referred to as "frontline development workers"—to synthesize and record their experiences and to draw lessons from the field for effective coastal resource management schemes. The third workshop featured the presentation of the nine case studies and reaction papers which make up this book.

The case studies cover the three main geographical divisions of the country where there are CBCRM projects.

Part I discusses two projects in Mindanao—(1) the 70-hectare marine sanctuary in Baliangao wetland park in Danao Bay, Misamis Occidental, and (2) community organizing efforts in Western Panguil Bay, northwestern Mindanao.

Part II consists of four case studies from the Visayas—(1) mangrove management in Cogtong Bay, southeastern Bohol; (2) women in a fishing communiy—Talangban, Batan, Aklan; (3) the Sustainable Coastal Area Development Program in Barili, Cebu; and (4) coastal resource management in eastern Samar.

Part III has three case studies—(1) the CBCRM Program of Pagapas Bay, western Batangas; (2) the coastal resource management experience in San Salvador Island, Zambales; and (3) the CBCRM Project in Bolinao, Pangasinan.

The Fourth National Social Science Congress (NSSC IV)

The Philippine Social Sciences in the Life of the Nation

NSSC IV is currently being planned by a Committee formed by the National Academy of Sciences and Technology (NAST) with members from different universities and social science centers and institutions. NSSC IV will constitute part of the Centennial Activities for Science and Technology. Scheduled for July 1998, the Congress Proper itself will serve as NAST's annual scientific meeting for 1998.

With "The Philippine Social Sciences in the Life of the Nation" as its theme, NSSC IV will focus its paper presentations, seminars and workshops on assessing the role of the social sciences in the life of a nation that is celebrating its centennial, and hence on the distinct contributions of the social sciences to nation-building and to national integration and development.

Organization of NSSC IV

The panels and sessions of NSSC IV will be organized along 3 topics/sub-themes. These are:

I. *An Assessment of the History and Development of Social Science Disciplines in the Philippines.* A focus on this3 topic is expected to highlight the theoretical and methodological developments in each of the 13 established social science disciplines (in PSSC) and in other emergent social science fields, taking into account the resonances of the universal disciplines in the Philippines and the peculiar contributions of the Philippines to global social science. Such focus should likewise draw attention to the changing philosophical bases and theoretical frameworks of the Philippine social sciences, and to their strengths, needs and future directions. The social science disciplines are: a) anthropology; b) communication; c) demography;d) economics; e) geography; f) history; g) linguistics; h) political science; i) psychology; j) public administration; k)social work; l) sociology; m) statistics; and n) emergent fields.

II. *The Interrelationships of the Social Sciences with Other Branches of Knowledge.* The panels and sessions on this sub-theme will tackle the reciprocal influences between the social sciences and other disciplines giving rise to multi- and interdisciplinary approaches to social-scientific analysis. In some instances, the substantive fusion of the social sciences and other branches of knowledge has led to the establishment of new fields of studies, i.e., Agricultural Economics, Social Forestry, Law and Society, Social/Literary Criticism and others. In particular, social science interfacing with other branches of knowledge will be discussed in relation to the following: a) Agricultural Sciences; b) Health Sciences; c) Management Science (both in Government Administration and the Corporate World); d) Environment Sciences; e) Information and Technology Development; f) Humanities and the Arts; and g) Others (i.e., Law and Engineering Sciences).

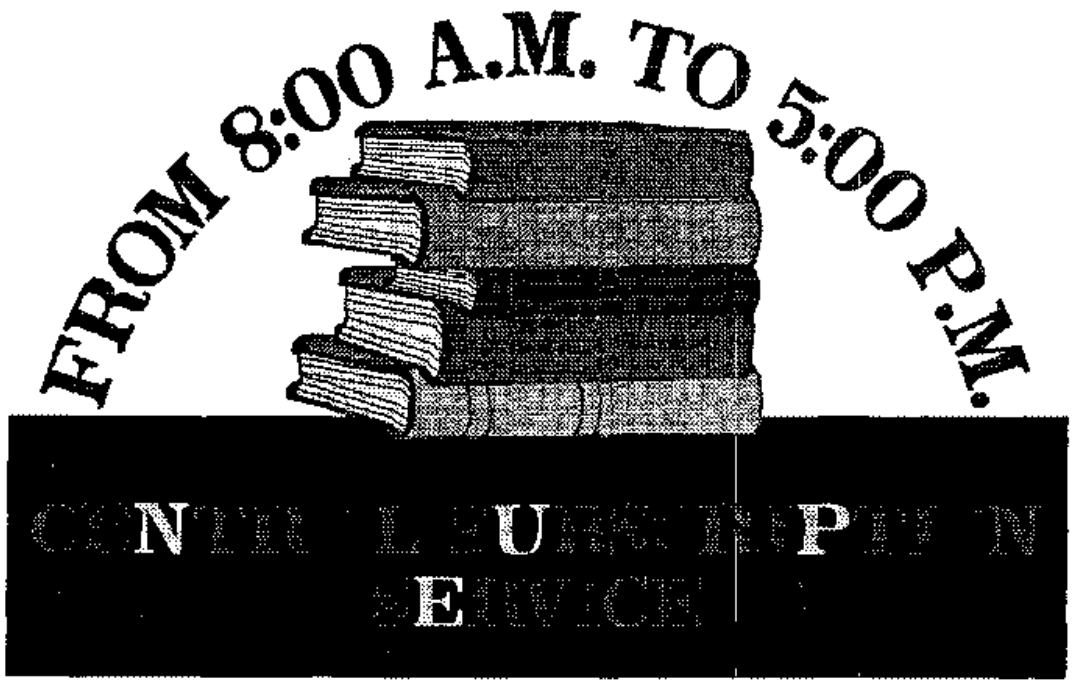
III. *The Social Sciences and Public Policy and Practice.* Discussions on this topic will similarly underscore the necessity of multidisciplinary

approaches in the social sciences but will be designed primarily to review major social science contributions to public policy development and practice. These will also take note of the influence of public policy on social science theories and research, as well as some of the inherent tensions arising from differences in the assumptions and perspectives of the social sciences and those of policy-makers and political or established authorities. Under this topic, separate panel s will be organized to discuss the mutual influences between the social sciences and public policy-making and practice in the areas of: a) Population, Resources, Environment and the Future; b) Values, Culture, History, and National Cohesion/Integration; c) Education, Language, and Communication Development; d) National Economy; e) Governance, Civil Society and Social Justice; and f) Public Welfare and Human Development.

As befits a Centennial activity, NSSC IV is envisioned to provide a forum for taking stock of the state of social science knowledge and the contributions and limitations of the social sciences in nation-building. NSSC IV should also provide the social science community an opportunity for charting its directions and imaging its role in the coming millennium when rapid changes and globalization forces are expected to present even more complex social issues and national situations than in the past. NSSC IV is expected to raise public appreciation of the theoretical perspectives and methodologies of the social sciences and dispel the common notion that the social sciences entail no more than common sense knowledge and a predilection for discussing social trends or public issues.

Structure of NSSC IV Activities

The conduct of NSSC IV will entail holding a Pre-Congress for sub-theme 1 on 30-31 January 1998, another Pre-Congress for sub-theme 2 on 20-21 March, and a roundtable discussion on sub-theme 3 in April, culminating in the two-day Congress Proper planned for July 1998. □



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