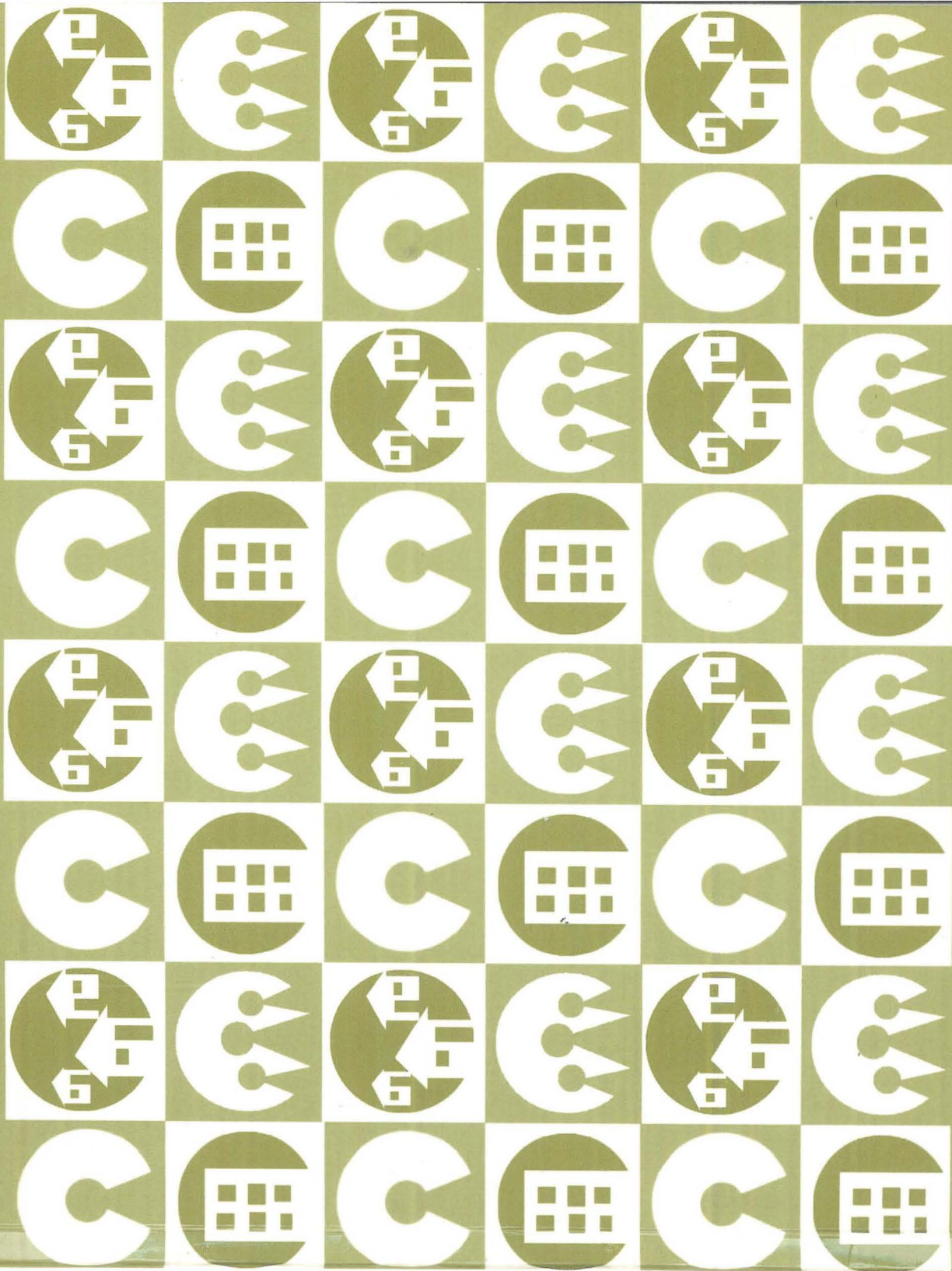


SOCIAL SCIENCE INFORMATION

VOL 33 NO 1 JANUARY - JUNE 2005



Civic Education for Democracy

PSSC SPECIAL LECTURE • CONFERENCE PAPERS OF PSSC
TRAVEL GRANT RECIPIENTS • TRIBUTE TO SOCIAL SCIENCE
SCHOLARS • NEWS • CONFERENCE ANNOUNCEMENTS



SOCIAL SCIENCE
INFORMATION

Philippine Social Science Council
P.O. Box 205, UP Post Office, Diliman, Quezon City 1101

May be opened for postal inspection

ISBN 0115-1160

THE PSSC SOCIAL SCIENCE INFORMATION

The *PSSC Social Science Information* is published twice a year by the Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC), with offices at PSSCenter, Commonwealth Avenue, Diliman, Quezon City; U.P. Post Office Box 205, Diliman, Quezon City 1101, Philippines.

In line with the mandate of the PSSC, the PSSC Social Science Information seeks to promote the dissemination of social science knowledge and research findings and their use in public policy-making.

The views expressed by the authors do not necessarily reflect those of PSSC or the authors' institutions.

Technical Assistance	:	JOANNE B. AGBISIT, KAREN N. AZUPARDO
Layout	:	JENNIFER T PADILLA
Circulation	:	MILAGROS J. TOLENTINO, ERNESTO S. ACOSTA

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Proper acknowledgements should be given to quotes taken from this publication.



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Opening Remarks

Virginia A. Miralao Ph.D.
PSSC Executive Director

It is my pleasure to welcome you to this afternoon's lecture on the Core Concepts of Civics Education for Democracy that will be given to us by an expert in the field, Dr. John Patrick. By way of introduction, I thought I should mention that the Philippine Social Science Council, along with the UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines, has been doing some work to try and shape the direction of social studies education in grade school and high school and of which civics education is very much a part. As everyone knows, the field of social studies offers very rich possibilities for going into those areas of learning and teaching that have much to do with developing in students their sense of identity and of place, or their sense of self and who or what they are. So, some five years ago, PSSC gathered experts from our social science community— historians, geographers, anthropologists, psychologists, sociologists and political scientists— to review and critique the existing textbooks and curriculum in basic education, and help identify exactly what might be the basic concepts or themes in their own disciplines that they think are worth incorporating or integrating into the social studies curriculum in the Philippines. Three related publications came out from this work of PSSC, which were meant to improve the learning content and processes of social studies education by using important concepts drawn from the social and human sciences. These publications, which PSSC has shared with teachers, textbook publishers and writers and the Department of Education, have been our contribution to new and ongoing developments in social studies education in the country today. I should add that PSSC's work on social studies education came out at a time when the Department of Education was contemplating changes in the basic education curriculum. Shortly after the release of PSSC's work, the various social studies subjects in basic education were integrated into one learning area known as *Makabayan* (patriotic/nationalistic) by the Education Department in its effort to reform and upgrade the curriculum.

Relatedly, I should mention that since PSSC began its work on reviewing the basic education textbooks and curriculum, we have had four changes in the Department of Education secretaries in addition to a change in the name of the Education Department from Department of Education, Culture and Sports to Department of Education. One can sense how difficult it is to sustain the thrust of curriculum reform under changing departments and leadership. This reminds me of what a friend and colleague, anthropologist Ponciano Bennagen, mentioned about how things change so fast and how things also do not change. He recalled that when we were grade school students back in the 1950s, we held school celebrations to mark July 4th as



Philippine independence day, our national day. And at that time, studying out there in the mountains— Abra where he comes from and Baguio where I come from— July 4th brought out in us students a sense of community beyond our immediate localities to something bigger and it did not matter to us that July 4th was American independence day which they also made Philippine independence day. Later, however, as we went on to high school and college, everything we were taught as civic virtues began to be denigrated, including celebrating Philippine independence day on July 4th. There ensued a new wave of nationalism and a new definition of civics and what good citizens are. And before we knew it, President Marcos came along with his authoritarian regime and then the curriculum changed again to emphasize other values and other rights. And in the post-Marcos era, students were being told yet another line— that to be a good citizen, one must be global, world class, competitive, and so on.

I am a thus little apprehensive that even as we attempt to reform and revise the curriculum, changes in the outside world to which the curriculum should be adapting itself is proceeding much faster that it seems we are forever being overtaken by events. It is for this reason that we can look forward to Dr. Patrick's lecture this afternoon so that we can revisit the core— what really are the basic things that students should be learning regardless of time, place and generation.

I would like to introduce our very eminent speaker, Dr. John Patrick, who has just retired as professor of education at Indiana University in Bloomington where he also served as Director for the Education Resources Information Center (ERIC), a clearinghouse for social studies and social science education. Dr Patrick is a leading scholar of civics and citizenship education, American political values, and American political institutions. He has written extensively on the subject and has been invited to various countries in Eastern and Central Europe. He was telling me earlier this afternoon that from here he will be going to the former Soviet Union to share his expertise in similar lectures and seminars. He is a member of several professional organizations in political science, history, and education, among them the National Council for Social Studies, the American Political Science Association, the American Historical Association and the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. My pleasure to present to you, Dr. Patrick.

Content and Process in Education for Democracy

JOHN J. PATRICK, Ph.D.

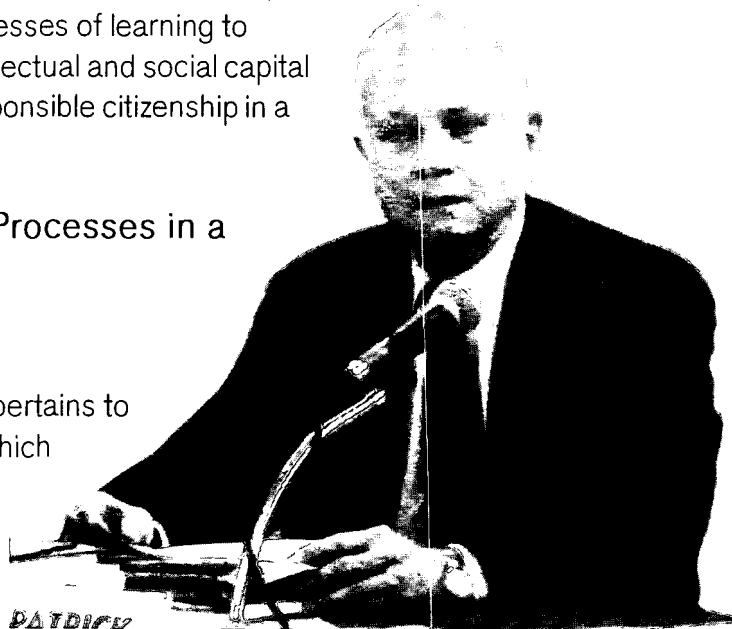
We live in a global era of transcendent democracy. According to recent surveys by Freedom House, most peoples of our world favor democracy over other types of government.¹

A global revival of education for democratic citizenship accompanies the worldwide resurgence of democracy. Diverse peoples in various parts of our world commonly understand that if there would be "government of the people, by the people and for the people," then there must be education of the people in principles, practices, and commitments of democracy. Both peoples in pursuit of democracy and those in debt to ancestral founders of it recognize that schools must teach young citizens the principles and practices of democracy, if they would develop, sustain, and improve its institutions.

The rising tide of international interest in democracy has stimulated fresh thinking about education for democracy in the United States of America. As educators from around the world have turned to us for advice about how to teach democracy, we Americans have been challenged to think more carefully about what it is, how to do it, and how to justify it. Ongoing discussions with colleagues in various parts of the world, for example, have led to the renewal and refinement of my thinking about education for democracy as the kind of civic education that belongs in the core curriculum of schools. I have thought and talked again and again with colleagues about two related questions. What are the characteristics of a good education for democracy? And why should this kind of civic education be at the core of the curriculum in schools? In response, I have constructed a four-component conceptualization of civic education, which conjoins core content with processes of learning to enable the development of intellectual and social capital required for competent and responsible citizenship in a democracy. *See Table 1.*

Conjoining Content and Processes in a Four-Component Model of Civic Education

The first component of Table 1 pertains to the knowledge of democracy, which involves teaching and learning systematically and thoroughly a set of concepts by which a democratic government in





today's world is defined, practiced and, evaluated. These concepts are: 1) representative/electoral democracy; 2) constitutional/limited government and the rule of law; 3) human rights to life, liberty, equality, and property; 4) citizenship, which entails civic identity and responsibility for the common good; 5) civil society or a free and open social order; and 6) market economy or a free and open economic order. Acquisition of such concepts as a set, a framework of connected ideas, enables learners to know complexly and deeply what democracy in today's world is. And what it is not; to distinguish democracy from other types of government; and to evaluate the extent to which their government and other governments of the world are or are not authentic constitutional and representative democracies. See the list of core concepts in Table 2. In this table, there are brief descriptions of the basic ideas by which democracy is defined and practiced in countries throughout the world.

The knowledge category of Table 1 includes questions or issues about the meanings and practical applications to political and civic life of the six core concepts. For example, how should we use these concepts in the establishment and development of our institutions of government? The knowledge category of Table 1 also includes ideas and information about the constitutions of government in a particular political system, such as the Republic of Panama, the Federal Republic of Germany, or the United States of America. And finally, the history of democracy and freedom in the world, and in particular country of the student, is an important facet of the knowledge that competent and responsible citizens in a democracy should acquire.

Basic knowledge of democracy, its principles, practices, issues, and history, must be applied effectively to civic and political life if it would be learned thoroughly and used effectively. Thus, a central facet of education for citizenship in a democracy must be the processes by which students develop the intellectual skills in the second component of Table 1. Cognitive skills enable students to identify, describe, organize, interpret, explain, compare and evaluate information and ideas in order to make sense of their political and civic experiences.

The third component of Table 1 treats participatory skills, which enable citizens to influence public policy decisions, to hold accountable their representatives to government, and to contribute to the common good. In combination with intellectual skills, participatory skills are the tools of citizenship whereby individuals, whether acting alone or in groups, can respond effectively to public issues. Thus, a basic part of education for democracy is the process through which students develop participatory skills in concert with intellectual skills.

The fourth and final component of education for citizenship in a democracy pertains to the dispositions or traits of character necessary to the preservation and improvement of a constitutional representative democracy. If citizens would enjoy the privileges and

TABLE 1
A FOUR-COMPONENT MODEL OF CIVIC EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

1. KNOWLEDGE OF DEMOCRACY

- a. Universal concepts and principles on the substance of democracy
- b. Perennial issues about the meaning and uses of core ideas
- c. Landmark decisions about public policy and constitutional interpretation
- d. Constitutions and institutions of representative democratic government
- e. Practices of democratic citizenship and the roles of citizens
- f. History of democracy in particular states and throughout the world

2. INTELLECTUAL SKILLS OF CITIZENSHIP IN A DEMOCRACY

- a. Identifying and describing information about political and civic life
- b. Analyzing and explaining information about political and civic life
- c. Synthesizing and explaining information about political and civic life
- d. Evaluating, taking and defending positions on public events and issues
- e. Thinking critically about conditions of political and civic life
- f. Thinking constructively about how to improve political and civic life

3. PARTICIPATORY SKILLS OF CITIZENSHIP IN A DEMOCRACY

- a. Interacting with individuals and groups to promote personal and common interests
- b. Monitoring public events and issues
- c. Deliberating and making decisions about public policy issues
- d. Influencing policy decisions on public issues
- e. Implementing policy decision on public issues
- f. Acting to improve political and civic life

4. DISPOSITIONS OF CITIZENSHIP IN A DEMOCRACY

- a. Affirming the common and equal humanity, dignity and worth of each person
- b. Respecting, protecting, and exercising rights possessed equally by each person
- c. Participating responsibly in the political and civic life of the community
- d. Practicing self-restraint personally and institutionally
- e. Exemplifying civic virtues
- f. Promoting the common good



rights of their democracy, they must take responsibility for them by promoting the common good and participating constructively in the political and civic life of the community. This kind of responsible citizenship depends upon the development and practice of civic virtues such as self-restraint, civility, honesty, trust, courage, compassion, tolerance, temperance, fortitude, respect for the worth and dignity of individuals, and subordination of personal interests to promote the common good. These traits of civic morality must be nurtured through various social agencies, including the school, to sustain a healthy constitutional representative democracy. Alexis de Tocqueville called these traits of responsible behavior the "habits of the heart" that represent the indispensable morality of democratic citizenship. Without these "habits of the heart" firmly implanted in the character of citizens, said Tocqueville, the best constitutions, institutions, and laws cannot bring about a sustainable democracy.²

Effective education for citizenship in a democracy conjoins the four components in Table 1: knowledge, intellectual skills, participatory skills, and dispositions through various kinds of activities. Thus, teachers should integrate core content with the processes by which skills and dispositions are developed by students in their preparation for citizenship in a democracy.

Core content, however, is the indispensable foundation of an effective education for democracy. Individuals who have a deep and abiding comprehension of the prevailing principles of democracy, the big ideas that define democratic government and citizenship, such as a propensity to vote and otherwise participate in political and civic life, political tolerance, political interest, and concern for the common good. Students who comprehend sets of core concepts, such as those in Table 2, tend to be more adept in their use of cognitive process skills to organize and interpret information; and they are more likely than others to know and retain information about current political institutions, personalities, and events.³ Thus, some knowledge is more worthy of emphasis in the school curriculum than other subject matter in order to educate competent and responsible citizens in a democracy.

Developing Intellectual Capital for Democratic Citizenship

Education for democracy, which fits the four-component model in Table 1, builds intellectual capital needed for effective leadership. Intellectual capital consists of knowledge and skills that enable individuals to make sense of their world, and to act rationally and efficaciously within it. The kind of intellectual capital needed for citizenship in a democracy is the knowledge specified by the first component of the model in Table 1 and the cognitive capacity to apply this knowledge to the public affairs of one's civil society and government. The core concepts in Table 2 are especially important. This is an essential, if not exhaustive, inventory of concepts in the intellectual capital of a well-

TABLE 2
CONCEPT AT THE CORE OF EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

1. REPRESENTATIVE/ELECTORAL DEMOCRACY (REPUBLICANISM)

- a. Popular sovereignty (government by consent of the governed, the people)
- b. Representation and accountability in a government of, by, and for the people
- c. Free, fair, and competitive elections of representatives in government
- d. Comprehensive eligibility to participate freely to vote and campaign in elections
- e. Inclusive and free political participation for personal and common interests
- f. Majority rule of the people for the common good

2. RULE OF LAW (CONSTITUTIONALISM)

- a. Law-based authority in government, society and economy
- b. A government limited and empowered to secure human rights and maintain order
- c. Equality, liberty and justice under law
- d. Separation and sharing of powers as a means to limited government
- e. An independent judiciary, power of judicial/constitutional review
- f. Negative and positive constitutionalism

3. HUMAN RIGHTS (LIBERALISM)

- a. Natural rights/constitutional rights to liberty, equality, and justice
- b. Political or public rights
- c. Personal or private rights
- d. Rights associated with negative and positive constitutionalism
- e. Individual and collective rights

4. CITIZENSHIP (CIVISM)

- a. Membership in a people based on legal qualifications of citizenship
- b. Rights, responsibilities, and roles of citizenship
- c. Civic identity
- d. Citizenship in either a unitary, federal, or confederated system of government
- e. Means and ends of political and civic participation

5. CIVIL SOCIETY (COMMUNITARIANISM)

- a. Voluntary membership in nongovernmental organizations or civil associations
- b. Freedom of association, assembly, and social choice
- c. Pluralism, multiple and overlapping group memberships and identities
- d. Social regulation for the common good (rule of law, traditions, morals)
- e. Civic participation for the personal interests and the common good
- f. Free and open social system

6. MARKET ECONOMY (CAPITALISM)

- a. Freedom of exchange and economic choice through the market
- b. Protection of private property rights
- c. Freedom to own and use property for personal gain and the public good
- d. Economic regulation for the common good (rule of law, traditions, morals)
- e. Free and open economic system
- f. Free and open social system

educated democratic citizen. The kind of "verbal cognitive proficiency" that enables one to use core concepts to interpret information and act effectively in political and civil life "is the most relevant cognitive ability in relation to democratic citizenship."⁴

Citizens in possession of ample intellectual capital have the capacity to pursue time-honored purposes of constitutional government in America and to be self-governing citizens capable of "enlightened political engagement."⁵ Intellectual capital is related positively to one's propensity to participate in political and civic life, and it enables one to make sound decisions about when and how to be engaged civically and politically. And intellectual capital is correlated with various attributes of good citizenship, such as political tolerance, political interest, and sense of political efficacy. "In short informed citizens in a number of ways consistent with normative and pragmatic notions of what constitutes good citizenship."⁶

Those with less of the intellectual capital needed for constructive engagement in political and civic life have less opportunity to seek and gain the benefits of democratic citizenship. For them, democracy in America does not work as intended because they lack the capacity to participate effectively within it. This situation is grossly unjust say political scientists Michael X. Delli Carpini and Scott Keeter, who contend that, "For citizens who are the most informed, democracy works much as intended, while for those who are the most uninformed, democracy is a tragedy or a farce."⁷ E.D. Hirsch speaks for many when he claims that a fair opportunity to acquire and use intellectual capital is a "civil right" that should be readily available to all.⁸

Development of intellectual capital for democratic citizenship—essential knowledge in concert with cognitive skills—is accomplished most effectively through a curriculum anchored in the core concepts of academic disciplines. Well-designed and delivered courses in civics/government, economics, geography, and history—including ideas, information, and issues about democracy—enable students to acquire a fund of knowledge to use in comprehending the challenges of political and civic life and coping with them. According to John T. Bruer, a leading cognitive scientist, "Expertise [development of intellectual capital] depends on highly organized, domain-specific knowledge that can arise only after extensive experience and practice in the domain [the academic discipline]. Strategies [and skills] can help us process knowledge, but first we have to have the knowledge to process."⁹

Development of cognitive processes and skills among learners is very dependent upon particular structures of knowledge, such as frameworks of academic disciplines. It cannot proceed satisfactorily unless the learner knows sets of concepts and facts related to the question, issues, or problem under consideration. Thus, intellectual processes and skills are most effectively introduced and developed within the conceptual structures of history, economics, geography, and civics/government, the core subjects of social studies curriculum in schools.

A consequence of the interrelated teaching and learning of core concepts and cognitive skills of academic disciplines is enhancement of the acquisition, retention, and effective use of intellectual capital. According to Alan Cromer, "The [effective] curriculum is concept driven. [And] all concepts are linked to experience through appropriate activities through appropriate activities." This kind of education "provides a consistent, coherent, and universal framework of basic knowledge on which individuals can build their own understanding of the world."¹⁰ Thus, citizens should be prepared in schools to know and constructively affect political and civic life through mastery of concepts at the core of education for democratic citizenship, such as the six core concepts in Table 2.

Proponents of developing intellectual capital through well-connected "domain-specific" learning experiences reject recommendations by some social studies educators for an "issue-centered" or "problem-centered" curriculum based on interdisciplinary organization of content and a generalized model of reflective thinking or problem solving, which elevates process over content. According to advocates of a comprehensive "issue-centered" curriculum, "The contents should be interdisciplinary...and the process of decision-making is the guide to classroom instruction."¹¹ Others stress that knowledge is ephemeral and only cognitive processes are everlastingly valuable components of education for democratic citizenship. Thus, they oppose the very idea of a core curriculum anchored in subjects that should be commonly and systematically learned by students.¹²

Contrary to the claims of its advocates, a curriculum pervaded by interdisciplinary courses on public issues, social problems, or trendy topics is **not** likely to yield substantial gains in students' knowledge of social reality in the past and the present. Research on the history of educational reform in the social studies indicates that this means of selecting and organizing curricular content has tended to produce "a formless curriculum from which students learned little and bored them."¹³ And teachers have tended to avoid this method of education because of conceptual confusion about how to organize and implement it.¹⁴

The issue-centered model of civic education is not well suited to the development of intellectual capital that students need to become responsible and effective citizens of a constitutional representative democracy. Weaknesses of the issue-centered model, however, should not drive civic educators away from inclusion of public issues or problems in the school curriculum. On the contrary, student inquiry about significant public issues of the past and present should be a prominent part of effective teaching and learning within conceptual frameworks of school projects, such as civics/government, history, economics, and geography. Let us heed the wise advice of Albert Shanker, the late and great leader of the American Federation of Teachers, who said, "throwing away disciplinary learning for youngsters who have not yet mastered the disciplines creates serious problems for teaching and learning."¹⁵



Developing Social Capital for Democratic Citizenship

Development of intellectual capital and social capital occurs simultaneously in an effective education for democracy. Social capital consists of participatory skills and civic virtues or dispositions that enable individuals and groups to achieve civic and political objectives.¹⁶ (See the third and fourth components of Table 1.)

Political scientist Robert Putnam explains how participatory skills and civic virtues or dispositions become social capital. "By analogy with notions of physical capital and human capital—tools and training that enhance individual productivity—social capital refers to features of social organization such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit."¹⁷ People who trust one another can cooperate to achieve common objectives. Conversely, alienated, atomized, or cynical people are likely to stay outside civil society in a marginalized realm of inefficiency.¹⁸ Robert Putnam's long-term research indicates that participation by citizens in a network of community-based voluntary organizations, the fabric of a democratic civil society, is the means to build social capital in combination with intellectual capital, which "makes democracy work."¹⁹ Through voluntary participation in civil society organizations, citizens practice skills and habits of behavior that enable them to be constructively engaged in political and civil life. So community-based voluntary organizations are public laboratories, in which citizens learn democracy by doing it, contributing mightily to the well-being of their civil society and government.

Development of social capital can be achieved through the school curriculum in concert with learning experiences outside the classroom. For example, democratic dispositions and participatory skills can be acquired through service learning experiences that connect academic lessons in the classroom with educational activities in the community outside the school. Regular participation in school-based service learning activities is positively related to development of political interest, political participation skills, and a sense of political efficacy. But service learning activities are not likely to be effective in development of students' social capital unless these activities are systematic and sustained.²⁰

Development of social capital proceeds most effectively when service learning experiences are connected systematically to the development of intellectual capital through lessons about academic matter. For example, principles and practices of democracy that students learn through formal activities in the classroom should deliberately be applied to service learning experiences in civil society organizations of the community outside the school. And students should be required to reflect upon the connections of core academic concepts and service learning experiences.²¹ Positive effects are greatest when educators provide for systematic briefing and debriefing of

learning experiences, which connect the formal program of studies in school to civic experiences in the community.²² Student participation in extra-curricular activities of the school is related positively to development of social capital needed by citizens for constructive engagement in democratic political and civic life. Participation in democratically run student organizations, and especially in student government activities, provides opportunities to practice the habits and skills of democracy. This kind of student participation in various school activities is associated with development of political interest, political efficacy, and participatory skills.²³ Educational outcomes associated with competent democratic citizenship are maximized, however, when there are strong connections between learning experiences within the curriculum and those in extra-curricular activities.

Social capital and intellectual capital are addressed simultaneously through active learning experiences that involve cooperation among group members to complete a project and through dynamic interaction among students in teacher-led discussions of public issues. Students' achievement of skills and dispositions through group processes is increased greatly when the teacher establishes and maintains a democratic ethos in the classroom, which encourages free and open expression of ideas, security for freedom of inquiry, and respect for the dignity and worth of each person in the group. However, when leading class discussions of current events or public issues, the teacher should remember the primary importance of content anchored in frameworks in core concepts, because this is the foundation of a sound education for democracy. Superficial discussions of trendy topics, current events, or public issues, which are separated from basic knowledge of the subject, are not likely to yield significant and enduring gains in the student's competence for citizenship in a democracy.²⁴

The ethos or civic climate of the school may be a powerful factor in promoting or inhibiting development of social capital needed for political and civic life. There seems to be a positive relationship between a democratic spirit or ethos throughout the school and development among students of participatory skills and virtues.²⁵ However, even in a school with a democratic culture, knowledge anchored in core concepts, such as the framework in Table 2, is the necessary foundation for development of intellectual and social capital.²⁶

Conclusion

Simultaneous development of intellectual and social capital among students and citizens is connected closely to overarching purposes and standards of good government in a democracy, such as protection of individual rights, promotion of the common good, and government by consent of the governed. The political rights of free speech, press, assembly and association mean little unless citizens have the intellectual and social capital to use them responsibly in their civil society and government. Further, the citizen's



rights to vote and otherwise participate in public elections are diminished if she or he lacks the intellectual and social capital to use these rights intelligently and responsibly. Through vibrant civic and political organizations, citizens may effectively and responsibly express interests to government officials and hold them accountable to their constituents. They may, when necessary, protect their rights to liberty by using the collective power of individuals in civic and political organizations as countervailing forces against encroachments by overbearing government officials.

Through an education for democracy in schools, based on the model in Table 1, students can learn that the future success of their government and civil society depends ultimately on citizens, persons who are just like them. However, unless they achieve in common a basic knowledge of democracy, skills of cognition and participation in democracy, and civic virtues of dispositions that buttress democracy, then individuals cannot form and maintain a community of citizens to sustain and improve their democratic institutions. Indeed, unless citizens possess in common essential knowledge, skills and, and virtues, they cannot create a civic community and are citizens in name only, because they lack the capacity and power to make good decisions in response to public issues, to carry out their decisions, and to influence their government, as citizens in a democracy should do. So, civic educators and leaders must resolve to do what it takes to provide our students with a good education for democracy that conjoins core content with intellectual and participatory processes to produce citizens capable of sustaining and improving their civil society and government.

ENDNOTES

¹ See the website of Freedom House to find statistics and commentary about the status of democracy and liberty in the world in different places and periods of world history: <<http://www.freedomhouse.org/>>. Freedom House is a nonprofit and nonpartisan organization that studies and promotes democracy and freedom around the world. Through its widely respected annual global survey, Freedom House tracks the progress of democracy throughout the world; see *Freedom in the World: Annual Survey of Political Rights and Civil Liberties*, 2002-2003 (Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2003).

² Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Volume 1 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), p. 299. [Published originally in France, 1835.]

³ Norman Nie, Jane Junn and Kenneth Stehlik-Barry, *Education and Democratic Citizenship in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). See also Judith Torney-Purta et al., *Citizenship and Education in Twenty-eight Countries: Civic Knowledge and Engagement at Age Fourteen* (Amsterdam: IEA, 2001).

⁴ Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry, p. 41.

⁵ Ibid, pp. 11-38.

⁶ Michael X. Delli Carpini and Scott Keeter, *What Americans Know about Politics and Why It Matters* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), p.19.

⁷ Ibid, p. 60.

⁸ E.D. Hirsch, Jr., *The Schools We Need and Why We Don't Have Them* (New York: Doubleday, 1996), pp. 43-48.

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¹⁰ Alan Cromer, *Connected Knowledge* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp.178-183.

¹¹ James Barth, "Beliefs that Discipline the Social Studies," *The International Journal of Social Education* 6 (Autumn 1991): 19.

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¹⁵ Albert Shanker, "The Power of Disciplinary Teaching," *American Teacher* 81 (January 1997): 5

¹⁶ Kenneth Newton, "Social Capital and Democracy," *American Behavioral Scientist* 40(March-April 1997): 577.

¹⁷ Robert D. Putnam, "Bowling America's Declining Social Capital," *Journal of Democracy* 6 (January 1995): 67.

¹⁸ Adam Seligman, *The Problem of Trust* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

¹⁹ Robert D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 181-185.



²⁰ Richard G. Niemi and Chris Chapman, *The Civic Development of 9th-Through 12th-Grade Students in the United States* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, 1999).

²¹ James Youniss and Miranda Yates, *Community Service and Social Responsibility in Youth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp. 135-137.

²² Mark Battersby, "Education for Citizenship: Service Learning and the Reflective Citizen," *Learning Quarterly* 2 (December 1998): 3-6.

²³ Niemi and Chapman, pp. 32-33.

²⁴ Torney-Purta et al., pp. 129-143.

²⁵ Ralph Moser, Robert A. Kenny, Jr., and Andrew Garrod, *Preparing for Citizenship: Teaching Youth to Live Democratically* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994).

²⁶ Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000): p. 35.

Discussion

Florentino Hornedo Ph.D.

University of Sto. Tomas

Dr. Patrick, friends, ladies and gentlemen. I received the outline of presentation (Table 2) ahead and I'm very interested in it. I must express my gratitude to Dr. Patrick for categorizing many things that in general may be floating around our consciousness but do not acquire a clarity unless they are put in categories that are both clear and within a context of dynamic interrelationships. I could not prepare a discussion paper well in advance because all I had was the outline. So my discussion does not follow very specific organization.

I would like to start with a recollection of statement coming from the World Economic Forum sometime ago where they admitted that in the past many years they have been explaining poverty in the world in terms of economic development or in other words, they look at the world in terms of what they call "haves" and "have-nots." And so because it was haves and have-nots, they always look to economists to find solutions. And we know very well that the economic solutions for the past 50 years since the United Nations started looking at the Third World, have not changed much. Third World countries, despite billions of dollars spent in them, have remained rather poor and in fact their debts increased. They came up with a new insight, I suppose it is not a new insight, but a new recognition of a fact that was there all the time.

Tyranny of the vocal

They said the world is divided between the "knows" and the "don't knows." There is a very strong— from my impressionistic view of things and from my readings and observations— correlation between poverty and the don't knows. This is why I am very enthusiastic to the idea of an intellectual capital. All these categories defined in Table 2 and Table 1 ultimately begin with some consciousness of things, the knowledge of things. Action and administrative policies may be possible within the context of these but they have to begin with consciousness. You see, it is very possible to have a democracy that is the tyranny of the vocal. The tyranny of the vocal is what I think, in many ways, happens to our people power. It is those who make the greatest amount of noise—without ever really looking at the actual nature of this voice, the proportionality and the representativeness of this voice that is heard. And if you begin to establish legality and legitimacy depending upon these vocalities, this loudness of voice then you might as well have a democracy by noise or sound rather than an essential democracy of the heart, democracy of the consciousness, democracy that springs from man's realization of his fundamental humanity. And this is why I think it is important to look at the idea of democracy who benefits those who know and puzzles those who don't know.

Aside from being a professor, I also work in development NGOs and we deal with grassroots people. I have also seen the correlation between poverty and engineered ignorance or incidental ignorance that comes from policy that is not knowledgeable. For example, if you look at the National Cooperative Law, it was built by lawyers who were thinking in vacuum and did not look at the patterns of existing local cooperativism. I come from a small village and from an island town where 40 years ago no one was homeless and no one needed money to build a home that was strong enough to resist all the typhoons that pass through the Batanes. Every single house was built by the community. What labor I can give today and you need it, I give it to you. It is a cooperativism that is built on the recognition of mutual aid. The civil understanding of people helping themselves. The government had nothing to do with the building of that tradition. It had been built by the people from the realization they had to cope with their needs. They were coping with harsh nature, and they were coping with isolation. And they had no idea what resources might be beyond their shores. And they built through the centuries this kind of custom, this tradition. But then comes a law coming from Manila that makes many of their practices illegal, non-viable for funding because they do not correspond to descriptions necessary for auditors and things like that. So in other words, it is a development by displacing the very existing patterns of civil society. And the law is in English and only those who can understand it will probably benefit from it and there is not much effort to bring it down to the level of those who do not know. When there is representation, it is again the government of the vocal. And there is a kind of vague community down there that is silent.

I worked in the Western Cordillera in the Cagayan Valley and in Batanes and my observation has been very consistent. The process also gets a kind of gradual subversion of local traditions. When we began a cooperativism project, we were saddled with two things— what the law says and what the custom says. But we begin to see a stratification of society, the traditional society, and those that come from another level of awareness that see the government as some kind of social welfare administration that hands out and trains people to be dependent rather than to be self-helping. I went to survey a water source near a village that had no water system. And eventually we proposed to them we might be able to help them get funds for cement and pipes, but they had to volunteer the labor. Somebody comes up, you might call him a rather vocal person, educated in ways of the law and he asked, "Is this tax money?" I said "No, it is private funds, it is NGO funds." And then he said "But if you are going to help us, why don't you help us all the way?" In the end, we could not help because we just had enough money for the logistics but not the labor. You can ask Secretary Abad of the Department of Education because he was my partner.

Creating habits of the heart

In many ways, this has been a problem. But I am putting education within the context of that community because I do think that any education that is not an education of the people, by the people, and for the people ultimately is futile. It is a problem when you impose an educational program that is cooked up in academic departments without knowledge of

the culture, the attitudes what I most enthusiastically believe here are the "habits of the heart," which are based not on the tendencies and values of the human heart but as they have been shaped by culture, by history that have hardened into ways of thinking, paradigms of understanding that affect the reception of communication from the educator. This is important, the habits of the heart, because you can convince people. If they do not feel they are stakeholders in what you are talking about, the interest does not come. They will say yes and they will sign the papers but when the job starts, they are not there, or it's half-hearted. So I think I am inspired to think of civic education as necessarily involving the atmosphere, the attitudes, the supportive attitudes and outlook of the community that reaffirms and reinforces the very lessons from the classroom. So the classroom can give them cognitive things, they make them understand the law, the principles, the ways of doing things, but the ultimate exercise of bringing this to life is outside the classroom. Of course the classroom is important in giving the exercise and experience of basic democracy, participation.

I also teach an outreach program for teachers in the province and one of the things that I found out when I made them undergo exercise-making is that many of them think that lesson planning is structuring or a structured series of question and answer, mainly cognitive in character. So that those who are tested are going to be topnotchers if they know the answers cognitively. But they don't have alternative ways of teaching. Lecturing is fine, but exercises are important because students get to discover things as opposed to teachers just telling them. When you feel a certain frustration and feel the joy and reward of having worked together then it does not only form a habit of the mind, it is creating the habit of the heart. This is why I am enthusiastic about the ideas because I'm a teacher and also a development worker, when I see the ideas, they necessarily fall into a dynamic interrelationship. One cannot simply accept them as concepts, but they are states of activity.

The other problem we have is the dropout rate of students. I have here the statistics of our public schools. There are 11 million in the elementary school, some 5 million of them in high school. I travel all over the country and there many places that have what we call multigrade classrooms. One teacher teaches grade 2, grade 3, grade 4 all together to make up something like 30 students. This arrangement is of course logistically and psychologically rather difficult. They tell us that the achievement in these classes are pretty good. I am not sure I'm optimistic about that, but the idea is that they will end up dishing out what the textbooks say in the form of sentences and so forth, understood or otherwise. The activities by which they become realized are not there.

Translating ideas into action

I'd like to revert to Dr. Miralao's statement about July 4 long ago. I do remember and enjoy the wonderful experience of the community coming together to celebrate themselves. In my village, in my town, they call it the Feast of Strength. Nobody called it the Independence Day because it was marked mainly by these athletic competitions of



everybody including an 80-year-old. It was not for prizes. It was for the simple pure joy of community participation. The date was transferred to June 12. Nice historical date, but people are not in class during or on June 12. So you cannot get the kids to participate in community activity. So they celebrate with raising the flag, with officials attending. It does not create that necessary psychological sense of bringing the nation together. My time is up but this is what I'm saying, we must translate the ideas into felt participatory activities that are not merely from a lesson plan, not merely cognitive, but affecting specifically the objectives of teaching, the affective ones that form the habits of the heart and the skills that bring into action the reality of these ideas. Thank you very much.

Ronald Holmes

De La Salle - Santiago Zobel School

I am a little bit more advantaged compared to Dr. Hornedo because I got a copy of the article that Dr. Patrick referred to. It is the one that is comparative and is about 36 pages if I'm not mistaken, delivered in a conference somewhere in Latin America in 2003.

I'm a political scientist. This year I was assigned to be the head of basic education institution. Though my 20 years of teaching has been largely at the tertiary level, I share the concern about promoting civic education that Dr. Patrick has worked on throughout his career. About a decade ago, we had the opportunity to be involved in a curricular reform program at the tertiary level. This was when the Commission on Higher Education constituted the technical committees or technical panels as they call them, which in our case was the Technical Panel for the Humanities, Social Sciences, and Communication. As a member of the committee in political science, we participated in the task of reviewing the general education program or the core curriculum for all degree programs offered at the college level. At the basic education level, former Secretary Pefianco was introduced a while ago, this refers to the scope and sequence. In the discussions within the Technical Panel we concerned ourselves about the subjects that should be included in the core curriculum and many of our colleagues, in the so-called professions—engineering, medicine, other applied sciences, were saying let's take away many of these social science courses. The social science courses of course include Philippine history and Jose Rizal, which we found out cannot be omitted because there is a statute that mandates its offering. Eventually we succeeded in convincing the other Technical Panels to still allot part of the core curriculum for social science courses which in the professions totaled to at least 12 units. For degree programs in the arts, the social science courses total to about 21 units.

Learning in a social context

I am not an education graduate, but my relatively recent foray into education administration has compelled me to read the literature with regard to education and learning. As an educator, I would describe the philosophy that I subscribe to as something that is more constructivist. Following this philosophy, I believe that learning does not in any way operate in a vacuum. Learning always happens in a social context. Applied to our concern for civic education, learning about democracy therefore has to put within the context of the communities that students are in. For students to understand what is meant by civic-spiritedness, this has to be connected to their own experiences, which they innately bring to the classroom.

Beyond a view of learning, constructivist philosophy has also conditioned my view of the learner. In this philosophy, the learner should be actively engaged in the process of learning. The view of constructivism really looks at learning as a process of construction from prior experience to more substantive explanation and subsequently, a level of deeper understanding, appreciation, and expertise. The constant challenge for educators then is to be able to facilitate the transition from existing knowledge to a much more reflective understanding, a more comprehensive understanding of concepts, experiences, and events. This is indeed a difficult task specifically when you refer to a very abstract and complex concept such as democracy. However, as our learners definitely have experienced forms of interaction or processes that could be deemed as political, such experiences could serve as basis to exploring further the meaning of democracy and what such entails, as duties or responsibilities, from each learner-citizen.

In our country, we are fortunate that generally people could differentiate between a democratic system and that which is non democratic. In a survey done by the Social Weather Stations, people were asked to classify the early Arroyo administration and compare it with the Marcos administration on a 10-point scale, with 1 being non-democratic and 10 being democratic. The respondents generally placed the Marcos regime in between 2 and 3, and the Arroyo administration between 6 to 7. Again this tells us that generally Filipinos have an understanding of what makes a democratic government.

Developing civic-spirited citizens

Dr. Patrick provides a continuum of civic spiritedness. I would suggest a shorter continuum for educators who wish to bring forth a much more civic-spirited citizen. I see the continuum starting from a level of Comprehension, the learner/citizen gaining greater knowledge of democracy and having the intellectual skills of citizenship, and moving towards Appreciation, when his/her attitude towards the democratic political system is something that is more positive. Subsequently, the learner/citizen starts to



Practice the roles and work on the ideals of democracy. In short, the continuum calls the educator to bring the learner from understanding to action.

Finally, as I rapidly perused the materials provided to us for the forum, I found an interesting article entitled "Civic Learning and Changing Democracy: Challenges for Citizenship and Civic Education." In the article, there are two types of citizens described: the dutiful and the self-actualizing citizen. I found the concept of self-actualizing citizen more descriptive of the type of learner-citizen we are dealing with at present, more individualistic, in the urban areas with very minimal connection to their community. As such, the key challenge for us to be able to transform these self-actualizing citizens to become dutiful citizens. How do we engage these learners in the issues that go beyond their personal needs? I think I will leave that question in the open because as most of us here are educators, we could provide the responses based on our experiences. Thank you very much and good afternoon.

Open Forum

Participant: *Your talk mainly centered on civic education from the basic level. I'd like to ask if you have a civic education program for citizens who have already graduated from schools. Another question is, what conditions do you think should be present to promote popular engagement of citizens in a democratic process?*

Dr. John Patrick: In response to the first question, my main professional activity for almost four years has been the education of teachers, the civic education of teachers, both pre-service education and the last 15 years or so— I have emphasized to a great extent the professional development of teachers in the field— the in-service education. So from my university from which I have recently retired but still somehow work with, I have been in education beyond the elementary, secondary school range into the education of people who are preparing to be teachers or who already are teachers so that they can, I hope, as a result of the work that I and my colleagues do; be better teachers of democracy to the young. So there is that opportunity obviously for those engaged in the teacher preparation.

The second question may be more than I can answer. And it depends on a lot of context, that is, how one promotes civic engagement. There's a lot going from place to place. It has to do with tradition, it has a lot to do with the context, the history of particular place, and it has a lot to do with how affective our education is. I really can't say much more about it than that. But I do want to reiterate something my colleague here said in his remarks. Civic engagement is a good thing. Capacity for civic engagement is something that I want to nurture as a teacher. But I also want to be very, very careful that the person who is engaged civically knows what he or she is doing because an ignorant participant can be more harmful than good. And a participant who has not had a good character formation also may do evil rather than good. So it's not mere engagement that I want to encourage. It's enlightened engagement. It is morally grounded engagement. And how that takes place is going to vary from context to context.

Dr. Erlinda Pefianco, SEAMEO: *I used to be with the Department of Education, Culture and Sports. I am now with the Southeast Asia Ministers of Education. And so while I was listening to the talk of Dr. Patrick, I was putting myself in the region and I was telling my self we're still lucky in the Philippines compared to the other countries in the region. What I wanted to share, I am not going to speak obviously for the department, but just to update us that many things are going for the department that will make all of these things possible now. There is, for example, a new law which is the "Governance of Basic Education" which puts the push down to the school level so that*

the teachers now and the school and the community can craft, again based on a core curriculum, what is relevant and what will be responsive for the community. But that puts now the onus really on the teachers. So that brings you now on, 'Are the teachers prepared to take that kind of empowerment role?' And now here I am reminded by a study made actually by the group of Emma Porio from the Ateneo de Manila, when they made a study of a profile of the Filipino teacher. And the study concluded by saying that over the years our teachers have lost their leadership role in the community. They have lost their social capital, and a lot of things that it makes you worry about what happens then to this empowerment role when you have teachers like that. So you have all of that infrastructure but you have 450,000 teachers still with us, maybe who will be with us for the next 20 years. So you worry about the teachers now in service before you worry about those who will come in and all of that stuff.

But I think there is hope once the community realizes that they can now have control over the things that will be taught in school because of the laws to indigenize the curriculum to make it relevant and appropriate. That law talks about the goal of making our pupils productive citizens. It does not only talk about the usual achievement levels, but exactly things about democracy and citizenship. But as I said, the problem really is how do you make that happen?

Dr. Patrick: You did talk about giving responsibilities to localities. I'm a great believer in an idea that has a fancy name. It's called subsidiarity. It means that every thing should not be done at the center. Some things can only be done while at the center, but many things can be done well at the localities. And those things that can be done well through local responsibility should be encouraged. And among them is curriculum development. There can be national standards, there can be national guidelines, there can be national directions. But to make those things work depends upon the assumption of responsibility in localities and people have to be given the encouragement to do that and the empowerment to do that, the responsibility to do it. So I would encourage that way of viewing educational development. Some sort of good partnership between the center and the localities with as much responsibility as people can bear being out in the localities.

Dr. Florentino Hornedo: I think Dr. Pefianco's statement has as its background the Department of Education roadmap on how to get out of the educational crisis. I think the papers they have released are very instructive because the appendix to the roadmap and the program tell you how deep the problem is. You look at the National Capital Region. Every two students have one chair; the ratio of teacher to student is 1:83; and so on. There is a study at the Center for Independent Study (CIS) in Australia that talks about whether it is meaningful to talk about the ratio of teacher to students. Is there a significant difference between the quality of achievement where there are many students and few teachers or where you have a lower ratio? The finding of the CIS is

that there is no significant difference in terms of the number of students, but there is a significant difference in terms of the quality of the teacher, the professional quality and skills of the teacher in the management of the learning process. So I recognize the importance of devolution or you might say the decentralization of the core of educational activity, and decentralization that is less dictated. As of now, many of our teachers have to teach what the textbook says because they are afraid of a national exam. So they are teaching for the national exam rather than teaching for the skills needed by pupils in the local communities. That is why I think the idea of making an education for, by and of the people is important if that is the rationale of this roadmap. My feeling is that you can begin anywhere, but I think a very important place to start is to evaluate the current skills of the teachers, their intellectual capital, their social capital, the habits of the heart. It is there where you have to begin because I have seen teachers who can stay long hours without having to worry about the official time because they are dedicated and there are people who just watch the clock. And this is a matter of attitude too.

I teach theories of education in the rural graduate schools and I am aware of the textbooks and philosophy of education and theories of education and many of them dish out the standard things that really are from library to classroom, but there is no substantive way of getting or evaluating the theories and how they are supposed to bear fruit. So when my colleague talks here about constructivism, first thing that comes to my mind is Brummel for example. Marcos did try to think of that and his own interpretation was the New Society Program. But did he succeed? Well, he had his failures. But the question is no matter how much reconstructive it was, how much did the teachers buy into that program? Because if both their skills as well as their understanding, their convictions do not harmonize with the goals of the national educational program, you'll still end up with great generals who are sending into the field unarmed soldiers and the battle does not happen in the general's office, the battle happens in the battlefield, it happens in the classroom. In graduate schools that I'm familiar with, very often the dean is tempted to think that education happens in his office. It does not happen there. It happens in the forefront of education which is the classroom. It is a good point to reflect on. But my feeling is the teacher needs primary attention. The idea of training teachers is very important. I saw training in the provinces when *Makabayan* was started. It was supposed to be a training for team-teaching and the one who was conducting it was alone. The sound must seem an echo to the senses.

Professor Ronald Holmes: It's good to hear what the governance changes are but again I'll just echo what Dr. Hornedo has already mentioned. It's pretty hard to teach or to retool teachers, to begin with. Because in the process of retooling you tend to find out that the practices have not changed yet, that the practices, basically have been persistent from the past. And we do know those difficulties in our own schools, private schools, which are pretty small and you multiply that several times. My only source of

optimism right now is that the panel on teacher-training has also changed its orientation toward teacher-training. So that people would understand what is needed by our teachers. Because in the past it's been largely in terms of updating domain knowledge. Science and math have received the most attention. You had masters degrees that were given by a consortium of schools. I think if I follow what Dr. Hornedo said, matters of the heart, I don't know if I said that correctly, there is something that has to be done with regard to pedagogy. A while ago I was saying you have to engage the students. Eventually those engaged students would have to be also engaged citizens. And the first thing that I know that the teacher should more or less disabuse themselves from is this very formalistic view of the curriculum. Following what was given as an example, many of the things that we do actually are absorbed by the learners themselves. So if you have a teacher teaching about team-teaching and doing it alone or if you have a teacher practicing collaborative learning but eventually flushing everything that has been collaboratively-learned, I don't think that the value of collaboration would in any way be given any premium. So I think it is really evolving their view. It's just that I'm fearful that we don't have the resources to go over it.

Professor Meliton Juanico, Department of Geography, UP Diliman: *I am more concerned Dr. Patrick with the broader dimension of the civic education for democracy. I am more concerned with values, for example. I just saw this article last semester, "The American Mind" written by this Max Sullivan. And he was talking about this McGuffey's Readers that talk about the values of American society. And it contributed, according to him, to the foundation, to the formation of character and political guidance of the American public. Where it taught virtues, for example, of values like integrity, honesty, industry, temperance which you mentioned, you know, the upholding value of self-control, and then true patriotism, courage you mentioned, politeness, and other moral and intellectual values or virtues. Thinking of our history for example, if we go back to the time the Americans came, the Thomasites I remember I think in history, I presumed that they brought with them the values of McGuffey's Readers. And I think Camilo Osias was influenced by this because he has the Osias Reader. He talks about good manners and right conduct, civic values. So my concern is, and this is on a bigger aspect, why is it that we have not imbibed or internalized these values when the Americans came when they taught these to us? My question is, is it because the social context was incongruous with the teachings of the Americans? Was the social context bastardized or corrupted by the almost 400 years of Spanish cultural, historical, I would say, indoctrination? So, in fact, my point there is going even beyond the creating of intellectual and social capital, but even creating moral capital. Morally grounded engagement you said, you mentioned these words. So I don't know how you explain that. Because I believe that these virtues that are found here, the foundations of the American society had we imbibed this, had we internalized this, then we would be developed already at this time. These are the basic ingredients of development. I would like to say that the bottom line of development are*

really these values of the American society. How do you explain that until now we have not imbibed these? And how do we create, I would say, what you call a morally grounded engagement among students from the teachers? We have been teaching these things and yet we have not imbibed it, we have not practiced it, we're still very dishonest, graft and corruption, you know. Can you explain that to us, how do we imbibe these values in McGuffey's Readers?

Dr. Patrick: I'm going to say a few things generally. But I can't really speak authoritatively or wisely about Filipino society. My colleagues here have to do that if they wish to respond to your question. But then let me just say some things generally. You know the idea of teaching morality through the humanities is an old idea. In ancient times, in classical antiquity, this was done by the Greeks. In the theater, the Greeks were learning the moral foundations of Greek society and Greek culture by observing the drama. Someone called Plutarch wrote biographies for people to read so that they could be inspired by the virtues of those who lived them. And so those stories were told. And so it's an old idea that was practiced in the McGuffey's Readers that you were referring to. A very old idea that I can trace all the way back to classical antiquity of using that field of knowledge called the humanities. Drama, the arts generally, stories, biography, building these into the curriculum and having students read and reflect upon such stories that pertain to human morality or the lack of it. That's a good way to teach. Now insofar as does that apply or does not apply to the Philippines and the answer that you were seeking about, that matter I defer to my colleagues because they would know better.

Dr. Hornedo: You know all of us are born barbarians. And one generation does not confer on the next generation their values, their virtues unless it is inculcated in them. The torch has to be passed on. So the torch received by one generation, unless it is effectively handed over to the next generation, that next generation will grow up barbarians. This is the challenge of education. The good things of one generation must pass on consistently and persistently through the generations. It will adapt because change in time and situations will require certain adaptations. Our ancestors taught us how to use the Underwood typewriter. Mayo teaches them how to use the computers. These are just external symbols of that change. But the method of transmission must be consistent. For example, I agree with the problem of social scientists about Rizal being taught according to the law because I always asked my students which of the characters in the two novels of Rizal would you take as role models? And there is none of them because they are really the result of a literary use of what we call *leyendanegra*. So he chose in a kind of special logic of his own propaganda all the ugly pictures of the Filipino. He meant to teach the positive characters of the Filipino by satirizing the negative. And our students read all the bad Filipinos there, so you do not have a role model. You get angry rather than wise. You generate more heat rather than light. So I



agree with the social scientists in having serious problems with the curriculum item imposed by law.

But my main point is this, no matter how good the virtues of your grandmother and grandfather are if they have not been effectively transmitted to your father, and your father and mother have not transmitted it effectively to you, somewhere along the line it's going to fail. It's not like a gold earring that passes from generation to generation, becoming an antique but never changing its form, it even becomes more valuable. But as our lecturer has called, the habits of the heart even the habits of the mind are transmissible by a direct instructional process. I mean, your father may have four PhDs but you're going to be born barbarian. You will have to acquire your own education. And this is a big challenge because the challenges are passed on from generation to generation and they must be accepted from generation to generation. Never blame your ancestors, you blame yourself because you are the bearer and your children will blame you if you do not pass on.

Ms. Tina Bawagan, Philippine Science High School: *We teach social studies, all of us. And we were excited about this talk because last year or two years passed, we decided to devote the entire fourth quarter for outreach education for the students because we felt that we keep on teaching history but we always lack time and we have only about a day or two for them to sometimes visit hospitals or orphanages, things like that. But nothing really is systematic in the curriculum. Anyway, I would like to ask, I'm quite interested in knowing if you can cite any particular project. Dr. Patrick I understand has been talking in different parts of the world. Or maybe Dr. Hornedo would have some examples to share. Any particular project that students engaged in and the outcome of this so that we could gain from these experiences.*

Dr. Patrick: I'll mention a project that is associated with building capacity for civic engagement. You know, enlightened civic engagement. It's a curriculum material that has been developed by the Center for Civic Education in California. They have a website you can go and it's civiced.org, I think it's the website address. It's probably included in the packet that the Embassy put together because the Embassy does value the work of this place in America very much—the Center for Civic Education in California. They have developed something called Project Citizen. Project Citizen can be learned about by going to their website or you can even print out or copy of the student reader so you can see exactly what they would have on their hands to work with. But Project Citizen is a project that engages students in small group work where they identify a community problem that interests them and they collaborate together in learning about that problem and in identifying possible alternative solutions to the problem and then deciding upon one solution that they think is best and then working out an action plan that could be

used to put that solution into practice. Some very interesting way of teaching democratic citizenship processes by doing. And you might find that intriguing and interesting. And the way to learn more about it is to go to the website of the Center for Civic Education and find out more about them. So do it.

Dr. Hornedo: You know I'm interested. I've been doing, using integrative learning, so I'll give you just briefly an example. My main subject description is communication arts. I divide my class into four, five or six people each. And then they have an exercise, it's a lesson that involves a lot of things. The title is "Barangay sa Ilalim ng Tulay." So the outputs are plentiful. One, they'll have to present a composition out of it but they help one another. They present a multimedia thing. They learn photography, they learn video, they learn editing the video, and they are going to present. They may be there for a whole week and they produce a three-hour video. They have to edit it to produce a show in the class which is an output. They have the video output. And they have to present it in person so I can listen to the way they talk, correct their comments about their poise and so on, communication skills. But notice, they are going to observe in these squatters areas or slum areas living under the bridge. They have to choose their own bridge. They interview them in terms of their livelihood, their health conditions, their education, anything you want to put into that which is a sociological exercise. They learn it from there and bear it and see it from their own informants. And they come back to school with clear pictures of what it is to be poor. That was Ateneo, they come from a well-secluded home with airconditioned rooms with lovely gardens. They have the smell, the appearance of the community. It's a very affective one. Because the affective one, because the affective part could either be attraction or revulsion. Do they want this continue for their people? Do they want it to continue or they don't? What are they supposed to do? But they hear the people talking. Some of these interviews might be echoing in their dreams long after the exercise has been done. They learn photography, they learn a lot of things. They learn to cooperate, because they are going to evaluate one another. And their presentation will be evaluated by their fellow classmates and I'll also grade them. In fact, at the beginning of the semester, I practice peer evaluation. So I tell them, 30 percent of your final grade will come from your classmates' perception of your cooperation, of your leadership, your interaction and so forth. Because you are not only teaching them to know but you are teaching them to cooperate, and so on.

A leader comes to you and tells you, "My classmates are not cooperating." You tell him or her, "This is a leadership situation. Either you admit that you are not good enough for leadership yet and therefore hand over the leadership to somebody or you try to know how to lead." So it's a multilevel learning process. The outcome is communication, but there's a huge internal iceberg that you do not see which is happening in their hearts. Just one of those exercises. And so the last 15 years of my teaching in the Ateneo is very difficult for people there to evaluate in terms of formal book evaluation processes

because I was doing something experimental and it has been my pleasure to hear students calling me long after the fact telling me that some things they had picked up in my class did not mean much to them. Then suddenly they are in the real life, in the management world, in the political world, they said, "Now I know that is what it meant and thank you very much." I am not congratulating myself, but this is the process by which you can create the exercise I was talking about. Your tests are all cognitive, but you do not find citizenship in a test paper. But in this case you see the whole three-dimensional situation.

Mr. Dennis Gupa, Sibikang Kabataang Pinoy: *For 14 years we've been trying to mainstream creative arts in teaching civics among public high school students. Professor Holmes was posing a question how to engage students in teaching civics. Now this year we have this project called "Telon-telong Makabayan" or Curtain of Nationalism. So with this Makabayan basic education curriculum, Makabayan learning areas, we captured the processes, the dynamics of theater. So we gather teachers and we teach them theater arts, we teach them how to dance, we teach poetry. And then eventually out of that creative process, we indigenize or localize the curriculum. And it's a wonderful project. Now with the students of Makabayan, they devise, they become actors in their classroom, they help the teachers using creative arts. We train them for music improvisation, creative arts, visual arts. And the whole classroom becomes a spectacle.*

Dr. Patrick: Well, I say your thoughts are very inspiring. Thank you for sharing.

Ms. Lilia Casanova: *I worked for the United Nations but I have already retired. I was Director of the International Environmental Technology Center in Japan for many years. But I've been with UN system since 1982. I am indeed very impressed with the subject of promoting civic education for democracy. And the concepts that you outlined there are all very relevant. My comment is this. And I may be wrong because just like what Dr. Hornedo said, he just looked at the outline and so have I. I'm wondering where what Emery Logan describes as the natural capital, the environment, comes into the picture in your perspective of civic education for democracy. When we say democracy, for the common good, or trying to establish common good. We still don't know what is the common good. But among environmentalists, we say the common good is the natural resources, the environment of the world. And so in our discussion, and as I hear the comments from Dr. Hornedo and the others, we are trying to look for something concrete, for something visible, not just an abstract goal out there, to promote democracy. And that's why a colleague, a participant from the social sciences is looking for a project. Because they like to see something visible, something concrete, where they can visualize democracy as something good. And here is somebody from the theater arts who is demonstrating how to teach perhaps the values of democracy in their*

classroom by translating arts. Among environmentalists, we say that the environment perhaps is the best place for teaching and the environment is your education. Now, in the outline I'd really like to see how this natural capital can relate to social capital. There in your outline, it's very clear that you have a market economy. So perhaps you provide answers to what Dr. Hornedo has described as the world being divided into haves and have nots, developed and developing countries. There are no more Third World Countries, there are just haves and have nots, developed and developing. So the market economy could provide answers to the problems of how do we move towards economic development. But where do we find answers to promoting peace and harmony? Where do we find answers to protect the environment which is our common good? That is my question.

Dr. Patrick: I certainly do not have profound answers but I can tell you that what you had to say can be dealt with within the framework that I have presented earlier. I did not make that exclusive and it's so good that you have brought to our attention this natural environment concerns. But you know that category of civic education that I call civic dispositions certainly can be directed to that. You alluded to it yourself when you said that one could think of the common good as encompassing the concerns that you put forward. And students can be educated for the common good in order to recognize the aspect of the common good, the natural environment that you are talking about. Let's also take the concept of market economy that I did correlate with the practice of democracy. You know market economy and the capitalism associated with it can be an exceedingly destructive force. Exceedingly destructive of natural environment. It can be a force to tame through civic engagement in a healthy democracy. Because a market economy conducted according to regulation, rounded in the rule of law which comes about through participation and government of citizens, all of that can perhaps bend market economy toward the good in regard to natural environment concerns or it can go to another direction. So these are matters for education and civic education and it is very good of you to have brought that aspect of it to our attention.

Dr. Hornedo: There is a structuralist material coming from Professor William Wileman's when he was studying Southeast Asia. And he divides our relationship who thinks outside of self into four: a) man and his relationship to transcendence, b) man and his relationship to nature, c) man and his relationship to others, and d) man and his relationship to self. Now, it involves educational reorientation because as I see and observe, both in the literature as well as in the public behavior, the relationship of Filipinos and nature, the relationship is a kind of we look at nature as a resource rather than as a whole. So in other words, we keep on maximizing the utilization of nature without thinking of generating it. So we kill trees without replanting trees. I saw a logging company in British Columbia, in Vancouver, for every tree that is cut, there are five new trees being planted. So every tree they have cut, they have replanted. But our illegal loggers are

hunters belonging to the Neolithic period. You harvest what you do not produce. And you cannot harvest what you do not produce without exhausting it. So our biology teachers, are they teaching the life cycle of fish in order that when they (students) grow up to be councilors and mayors, they know how to enact laws that will prohibit fishing of this particular fish in August and September because they are spawning period? Fish of this size and this type cannot be harvested because they have not spawned yet. That is genocide of the fish. In other words, our biology is descriptive, but it does not tell you an active preservation of that environment. It is a nature of theory, it is a question of theory and the attitude from nature as resource to nature, as our home which we should preserve. Don't destroy the floor under you, you are going to collapse. So in other words, we need a new philosophy of the relationship of man and nature and that should be social sciences and also the biology teachers, the life sciences. And man and the other portion, man and others. Look at our sociology and our social science courses and history. They do not teach you very much about the dynamics of interrelationships of human beings, they just describe them. It is descriptive, not dynamic. So when I bribe somebody, what happens to his morals, what happens to his attitude to me, what happens to his attitude to society? The history teachers are still teaching Bonifacio bearing the cedula, but they do not teach them that taxpaying is very important for the life of the nation. So what happens, we are subverting the very notion of our healthy relationship with our neighbor. So that portion of the relationship of persons to others is where social sciences are.

Now, psychologists deal with our relationship to ourselves. Many Filipinos think of themselves as artifacts. So when you are asking them to do something more like the teachers in some schools I teach, *Papaano naman ito ang aming until*, You know it is the wrong use of the word 'until.' When you ask them their meaning of until, it is *hangganang ng kanilang kakayahan*. So in other words they have decided that it is the end of their capacity rather than looking at themselves as a constantly dynamic reality. With more input, they can do more. If they think of themselves as finished products, then do not talk about change because they are finished products. So it is important, this intellectual habit of the nation, what we have been calling as the habits of the heart. That has to be changed. Because unless that is changed, we are stuck with a very addlebrained structure. That is why I appreciate the categorization of the views and how we apply them.

Closing remarks

Emma Porio Ph.D.

PSSC Governing Council Chairperson

All good things must come to an end. This afternoon's discussion about education and social capital is excellent. But this should not end here but should spur you to begin other fora, research, etc.

In behalf of the Philippine Social Science Council, I would like to thank the participants for coming here and participating in this stimulating discussion. Also, I would like to thank our brilliant discussants. They have given us excellent issues to reflect and perhaps to rethink some of our notions about civil society, education, government and social capital. Professor Ronnie Holmes, even though he has to drive an hour from De La Salle-Zobel School, Alabang, he honors us with his presence/talents, giving us excellent discussion points. And to Professor Hornedo, my former colleague at the Ateneo de Manila, I'd like to thank him for stimulating us with his ideas—giving us nuggets of wisdom about Philippine society and culture. He gave us a new term today, “the tyranny of the vocal” to characterize how one or two individuals in a particular organizations or locality dominate discussions and define the situation for the rest of the group! Indeed, this is a pattern in some of the so-called participation and consultation initiatives done by government and civil society organizations (CSOs).

And most of all, I'd like to thank Professor John Patrick for sharing with us his ideas on democracy, social capital, and civil society as well as for summarizing the various ideas of different educators/humanists on this issue. I think occasions like this make us think, rethink, and reconfigure our ideas about civil society, culture and politics and whether these are working for us. The Philippines has a vibrant civil society, according to some authors. In 1995, when I was doing a study on governance, there about 50,000 NGOs registered in the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC). As of the latest count by the Institute on Church and Social Issues, we have about 150,000 NGOs. Indeed, we have a very vibrant civil society and a very thick social capital that Robert Putnam talks about in Professor Patrick's paper.

So I'd like to thank Professor Patrick for reminding us of the connection and interaction between knowledge, intellectual capital and democratic practices.



Participation and disposition towards democracy are really constitutive of the democratic practices in everyday life. And I'd like us to think there are so many ideas of why there is no coherent connection of these factors in our socio-political life. As Professor Holmes alluded to there is also abundant negative social capital that is not taken into consideration by scholars of civil society, social capital and democracy. Actually, this will lead us to the other argument of Putnam regarding the connection between social capital, democracy and economic development as illustrated by Northern Italy. But this will be another seminar!

Again, thank you so much for coming to the seminar and sharing your incisive comments. We now invite you to a small reception for Professor Patrick in the next room.

The Philippine War Crimes Trials, 1947-1949

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The post World War II trials by U.S. Army military tribunals in the Philippines of key Japanese officers such as Generals Yamashita and Homma are well known. However, very little is known about the trials of suspected Japanese war criminals by the Philippine government. The Philippines became independent on July 4, 1946, and the Philippine government took responsibility over those cases which the Americans had not finished, and which involved Japanese atrocities perpetrated against Filipinos. It carried out its own war crimes trials from 1947 to 1949. This paper will examine the highlights of the trials conducted by the Philippine military tribunals, trials which were conducted by Filipinos, their outcome and impact.

Legal basis

President Sergio Osmeña established a National War Crimes Office (NWCO) to function under the Judge Advocate General of the Philippine Army on August 16, 1945, a day after Japan capitulated to the Allies. This office was tasked to work with the U.S. National War Crimes Office, also in the Philippines, to speedily carry out the just punishment of Japanese war criminals "guilty of atrocities, cruelties and acts of oppression against the people and armed forces of the Philippines, the citizens and armed forces of the United States of America in the Philippines and the citizens of other nations of the United Nations." No specific courts were created by this order, but the NWCO functioned independently of, but in close collaboration with the U.S. Army in compiling data relating to atrocities and assisting in the prosecution of Japanese in the U.S. war crimes trials in Manila.¹

In the Philippine Army, a War Crimes Division was formed, headed by Maj. Fred Ruiz Castro, also to investigate Japanese atrocities.²

After independence, a new NWCO was created on 29 July 1947, by President Manuel A. Roxas to carry out "the speedy trial of all Japanese accused of war crimes committed in the Philippines," including those who had planned or helped plan the war of aggression and those who had violated "the laws and customs of war," murdered, plundered, wantonly destroyed, exterminated, and enslaved the people, among others.³ Maj. Eleuterio P. Fojas



succeeded Castro as the head of the new NWCO. Fojas had been a prosecutor during the American phase of the trials, and had been successful in some of them.⁴

Taking responsibility

The U.S. Army had handled all cases of war crimes in the Philippines from the end of the war until the Philippines became independent, as per the Cairo Declaration of November 1943, which stated that war criminals would be judged "by the people they have outraged" and also pursuant to the Potsdam Declaration of July 1945. Unfinished cases were then transferred to the Philippine government to handle. The Philippine government did not have the machinery to handle such cases in 1946, and the U.S. military tribunals continued to handle cases until July 29, 1947, when the NWCO was formally created. With the creation of the NWCO, the Philippines took over all remaining war crimes cases from the Americans.⁵

The new NWCO was tasked not only with investigating and prosecuting these war crimes, but also in establishing military commissions which would try the cases. It was independent of the U.S., but maintained close liaison with the Legal Section, General Headquarters, Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, in Japan. The NWCO would use the Articles of War, which had been adopted by the Philippine Commonwealth government in 1938, buttressed by the Rules of Land Warfare as published in U.S. manuals and as recognized in international law.

The Philippine tribunals

The NWCO functioned under the Philippine armed forces' Judge Advocate General's Office. Lt. Col. Fred Ruiz Castro, a Bataan veteran and head of the first NWCO, was named Judge Advocate General in 1946, a post he retained until 1953. The chief of the NWCO was Maj. Eleuterio P. Fojas, who served in this post until June 1948, when the Assistant Chief and Executive Officer, Capt. Mariano A. Yenko, Jr., took over. Administrative Officer was German S. Wambangco, and Chief of the Prosecution Division was Capt. N. Maronilla-Seva. Chief of the Defense Division was Capt. Pedro Serran.

The military commissions rules and regulations were patterned after the U.S. Army practice. Each commission had, in addition to the military judges and the prosecution and defense panels, a legal member, a professional lawyer and military officer to decide on legal issues. The prosecution was handled by Philippine Army regular and reserve legal specialists. The members of the military commission were appointed by the President of the Philippines, or such person delegated by the President. Strict qualifications were set

so that the members would not be influenced by personal prejudices and interests. As much as possible, the heads of the courts corresponded with the ranks of the accused; thus in the trials of Japanese generals, Filipino generals were appointed to the commission. In the case of Admiral Takesue Furuse, the highest ranking Filipino naval officer, Commodore Jose V. Andrada, was named head of the military commission. In cases where the trial involved incidents which the commission members might have been privy to, the defense could and did ask the Filipino officers to inhibit themselves— which they did. As an example, in the case against Yoshio Tsuneyoshi, Capas Prisoner of War Camp Commandant, the legal member, Capt. Lorenzo Camins voluntarily inhibited himself after the defense asked if any member of the commission had been in Capas.

The defense panels were initially composed of Japanese, two lawyers per defendant. But when a number of irritants occurred, the Japanese were removed. These irritants were attempts to cause delays in the trials (probably in the hope that a formal peace treaty would be signed that would remove the legal basis for the Philippine National War Crimes Office). The Japanese asked for postponements for even minor reasons, causing undue delay. The Chief Prosecutor, Capt. N. Maronilla-Seva, went to the head of the Japanese defense staff— composed of lawyers from Tokyo— to complain in December 1947. As he stated his case, he was attacked from behind and thrown on the floor by one of the Japanese defense lawyers. One of the Japanese interpreters joined in and tried to kick Capt. Maronilla-Seva, while other lawyers pinned him down. A scuffle ensued, which was resolved by NWCO officers and employees.⁶ After this incident, the Philippine government removed all the Japanese from the defense panel and created an all-Filipino defense team instead with only one Japanese representative from Tokyo.

The head of the Philippine panel for the defense was Capt. Pedro Serran, who had been a staff officer in the guerrilla resistance movement in Panay. Although he knew first-hand about the Japanese atrocities in Panay, his commitment to justice and fair play transcended his own personal feelings. When asked about his views, he said, "I am not concerned with securing the acquittal of these Japs, but to assure them a fair trial. That is what we fought for in the war: democratic justice, due process of law— even for the Japs."⁷ Other members of the defense panel included Capts. Jose G. Lucban and Artemio Alejo, professional lawyers but also officers in the Philippine Army. They carried the defense in the big cases with distinction— and without bias, even though the job was unpopular and seen by some as the end of their law careers.⁸

After the verdict was issued, it was still subject to examination by the Board of Review for the Commanding General, Philippine Army, after which it was passed on to the Office of the Secretary of Justice, representing the President of the Philippines, for review. In exceptional cases, the President himself could review the verdict and sentence.



Conduct of the trials and major cases

The NWCO attempted to strictly follow the rights of and proper procedure for the defendants, which included receiving a copy of the charges and specifications; representation by counsel; the right to testify in his own behalf and present evidence for his defense; the right to have all materials translated; the right to preliminary investigation; public hearings; and the right to have competent justices. In short, strict enforcement of due process would be followed as far as practicable. This was criticized by some as being in favor of the Japanese who themselves did not follow due process during the war. Despite this public sentiment, the NWCO tried to keep the trials above board.

The NWCO handled 73 cases involving 338 Japanese, from lieutenant general and vice admiral to privates and civilians. Many cases involved massacres but in a number of them, there were few witnesses, and the lack of evidence led to the closure of these cases. Another problem was lack of positive identification. Many of the commissions were strict on positive identification of the perpetrator; when such was lacking, cases were dropped. Further problems involved the lack of funds and transportation to bring witnesses to Manila from the provinces. Also, many of the prospective witnesses were breadwinners and could not be away from their families for a prolonged period of time. Without witnesses or sure identification, there could be no case.⁹ Where there were witnesses, another problem was that some became very emotional and tried to get their hands on the accused; they had to be restrained and the law allowed to take its course.

The NWCO immediately went to work and within one month had started actual trials. By January 1948, twelve cases had been tried, with six finished. The first cases to be tried and completed included that of Chushiro Kudo, the "Butcher of Bay." His trial began on August 25, 1947, and ended just more than two months later, with the first sentence promulgated by a Filipino military tribunal sitting on the war crimes cases: death by hanging. The second case, held from September 23 to December 3, was that of Sadakichi Takahashi, which also resulted in a sentence of death by hanging. The third case to be heard was the case of Shizuo Nakano, and the sentence was again death by hanging. The fourth case heard—Yoshiaki Kodama—resulted in a twelve-year prison term; Takefumi Fujita received a life sentence; Saburo Fujisaki, twenty years. Many of them were identified as perpetrators in massacres, or else were Kempeitai (military police) officers.

Where the prison sentences were to be served was unresolved at that point. With Japan still under Allied occupation, the convicted war criminals were held at the New Bilibid Prison in Muntinlupa, just outside Manila. With the signing of a peace treaty with Japan, however, there was speculation that the sentences would be served in Sugamo Prison in Japan where it was believed the Japanese would set them free. Philippine prison officials recommended that the Japanese convicts serve their whole sentence in the Philippines.¹⁰

Some of the cases lasted for months. Among the longest was that of Gen. Shigenori Kuroda who had been Commanding General of the Japanese occupation forces from 1943 to 1944. The shortest case was that of Vice Admiral Takesue, who pleaded guilty on the first day. The trial lasted just three days.

The cases can be grouped into two specific types: high ranking officers with command responsibility, whose cases usually had several specifications in the charge, such as maltreatment of Prisoners of War, massacres and tortures; and those cases involving junior officers and enlisted men who carried out smaller, localized killings. Two different cases covered the execution of Jose Abad Santos in 1942 and the camp commandant of Camp O'Donnell in Capas.

The most senior Japanese officers tried were lieutenant generals. One was Lt. Gen. Kuroda, whose case lasted for six months and was divided into an American phase and a Filipino phase. He was charged with killings and maltreatment which occurred under his command. Many witnesses were presented, but in the end his lack of attention to his duty (he was known as the playboy general during the war and played gold rather than inspected the defenses) saved him from the death sentence. He was given a sentence of life under hard labor. He maintained his innocence, however, and even after the verdict was handed down, continued to fight for his case. He was eventually given a special pardon in 1951.¹¹

Lt. Gen. Shizuo Yokoyama, commander of the Shimbu Group, whose command included the Manila area and Southern Luzon, in which many massacres had taken place, was directly under Yamashita. He was judged guilty and sentenced to death by firing squad. Another ranking officer tried was Lt. Gen. Kiyotake Kawaguchi, who was charged with the murder of Jose Abad Santos in 1942. Together with him in this case was Maj. Gen. Yoshihide Hayashi, Director General of the Japanese Military Administration in 1942. Contradictory testimonies of the two as to who was really responsible for the fateful orders led to Kawaguchi taking his own defense and pleading guilty for the killing, but not guilty for issuing the order. For this, and the efforts of his defense panel, Kawaguchi was given a fixed prison term (six years). Hayashi, because he did not tell the truth and consistently denied everything Kawaguchi stated, continually claiming innocence and ignorance of the order, was sentenced to life.

Adm. Takesue Furuse, who had been involved in the Battle of Manila but was specifically accused of massacres conducted by his men in Infanta, Tayabas (Quezon) in 1945, was the highest ranking Japanese Navy officer tried by the Filipino courts. Furuse pleaded guilty at the outset of his trial, despite warnings of the consequences by the tribunal. Even the prosecution had to ask him if he was sure. Before the court issued its verdict, Furuse announced to the court: "If death should be given me, I hope my death will be like oil poured on the troubled sea that represents the affairs of these nations. If my fate is

life, I shall dedicate the rest of my life to the atonement of my errors." The verdict was guilty, the sentence death.

Capt. Yoshio Tsuneyoshi, the "terror of Capas", Capas POW camp commandant in 1942, during which time tens of thousands of prisoners of war died, was meted life imprisonment. Because he had already been tried by the Americans and had been sentenced to life imprisonment, the defense lodged a long argument against double jeopardy, but they were overruled and tried.

Several of those tried were Kempeitai officers and men. Lt. Col. Hideichi Matsuzaki, had saved Elpidio Quirino (Vice President at the time of the trials) from arrest and torture, was aided by a personal letter by Quirino in Matsuzaki's behalf to confirm that it was Matsuzaki who saved him in Fort Santiago. But, due to other killings and brutal treatment elsewhere in the Philippines, he was meted life sentence. Others tried were pre-war Japanese residents of the Philippines who had joined the occupying Japanese forces as interpreters, agents and aided in torture and executions.

The last case heard was that of Maj. Gen. Kenshichi Masuoka, chief of the Kempeitai in Baguio. The trial ended in late 1949, and the last decision of the Filipino war crimes trials was ten years of hard labor. After this, the NWCO, its mission accomplished, closed down in March 1950.

Problems and issues

Apart from the difficulty of obtaining witnesses for the trials, there were other problems and issues which emerged. Among the legal issues were the constitutionality of the commissions, the absence of citations of specific violations of law, command responsibility, the problem of having to carry out illegal orders, the admissibility of evidence such as affidavits and others. A serious problem was also the difficulty of identifying specific perpetrators, as most massacre victims were not in a position to know the names of the Japanese.

Many Japanese accused the Philippine trials of being a vendetta, where Filipinos pointed to any Japanese just to get even. Misidentification of names and of units, was a constant problem. Filipinos were not familiar with Japanese names and sometimes gave other names, usually of those Japanese who could speak some English. But some of these problems were also caused by the Japanese themselves, as some used false names, gave false locations of their units and so on just to save their necks. Some of them were able to escape conviction and were even sent home, with the result that another Japanese was left holding the bag. It appears that there was lying on both sides. It was extremely difficult to get at the truth, especially with the limited time, budget, and under

difficult domestic problems. One Japanese wrote: "US forces did relatively correct trials. But after the Philippines became independent and our trials were transferred to the Philippine side, the trials had become completely absurd and unfair and I was convicted with the death penalty." (But this Japanese himself lied when he was interviewed years later). Some perpetrators were able to get away; others could not be tried because they had died in battle. ¹²

Executions were being carried out even as the trials went on: the first to be executed was Chushiro Kudo, the "Butcher of Bay", in August 1948. This was followed by two in November 1948, Tsukiji Teramoto and Shizuo Nakano, in November 1948.

The Japanese government, echoing public sentiment in Japan, ceaselessly requested the repatriation of the accused Japanese war criminals. Japanese who had befriended Filipinos before the war joined in the move, contacting their Filipino friends to hasten the process. Some Filipinos, in Congress or elsewhere, supported their Japanese friends' calls. ¹³

Most Japanese did not see the Japanese war criminals as real criminals, and saw them as victims— even martyrs— of the war. Many appeals were made on their behalf, and the continued trials and executions hindered the re-establishment of normal relations between the Philippines and Japan. The plight of the Japanese war criminals was heightened when a song was composed by two of them, and recorded in Japan by the popular singer Hamako Watanabe. The resulting song, "The Night Goes on in Muntinglupa" became a sentimental hit in Japan and furthered the call for their release. ¹⁴

Some time after the last execution in 1951, the appeal of a Japanese woman member of the Upper House of the Japanese Diet was published in a local periodical, urging President Quirino to order a retrial, and to wait some months before carrying out the next execution. To her, the Japanese war criminals were not criminals, as they had simply followed higher orders; she appealed to Filipinos to write Quirino and other leaders to reconsider the trial verdicts. But the Japanese legislator failed to consider the Filipino sentiment for justice and the hatred still burning from the unresolved issues and the sense of loss. Many Filipinos responded negatively to her appeal and refuted her claim that the accused were not war criminals, as they had enthusiastically carried out orders or more. The incident showed the gap in perceptions between the Japanese and the Filipinos: the Japanese thought that the Japanese could never have committed crimes on their own and should be granted clemency while the Filipinos sought justice and retribution for losses caused by Japanese operations and atrocities. ¹⁵

Not all Filipinos understood the need to be fair to the Japanese. Some wanted to kill any Japanese in revenge for the atrocities and killings they had committed. The Filipino defense panels received letters from irate Filipinos in the provinces, criticizing the Filipino defense panel as pro-Japanese. ¹⁶

Although the memories of the war were still clear, the Filipino defense lawyers took their job seriously and ably defended their wards, to the consternation and criticism of the people at large. There was no shortage of Filipinos who wanted to hang the Japanese convicts, but the Philippine government and the Filipino defense panel wanted to show the world that the Philippines could carry out impartial trials.¹⁷

A minority of Filipinos criticized the trials as victor's justice or vengeance, not dissimilar from the Japanese methods during the war. However, others criticized the slowness of the courts, and their seeming bias to the Japanese.¹⁸

The convicted war criminals were kept in Muntinglupa. Seventeen of the death sentences were carried out: the first in August 1948; two in November 1948, and the rest in January 1951.¹⁹

The convicts were treated humanely, and the press was allowed to interview them. Japanese Buddhist monks were allowed to visit, as well as Christian missionaries. Some of the prisoners were repentant; others insisted on their innocence; others emphasized that the Filipinos they killed were spies or guerrillas and not ordinary civilians. None of them complained of ill treatment in prison. Some of the Japanese accused were changed by their experience: some became Christians, while others became strongly Buddhist. At least one stated that if executed, he hoped it would serve as a lesson against war, and if allowed to live, that he would dedicate the rest of his life to peace. A few even volunteered to help the Philippine government fight the Huks, who were then fighting against the government.²⁰

Because of the good treatment they were given by Muntinglupa Prison Superintendent Alfredo Bunye, a special bond between the Bunye family and Japanese developed, which continued to this day.

The release of the convicted war criminals

In February 1951, President Elpidio Quirino pardoned one Japanese military officer who had been sentenced to 20 years of hard labor, provided he never return to the Philippines. Gen. Kuroda was released in 1952, just before a Japanese reparation mission (the Tsushima Mission) visited the Philippines.

Two years later, effective July 4, 1953, Quirino granted special pardon to prisoners with jail terms, and commuted death penalties to life imprisonment. All remaining terms were to be continued in Japan, and all convicted Japanese war criminals were returned to Japan that year on condition that they never return to the Philippines.

The decision was "motivated by humanitarian motives and the fostering of early restoration of normal ties between the Philippines and Japan." The Japanese were sentenced to either definite prison terms (27), life imprisonment (31) or death (56). They were to be delivered to the Japanese government and were to serve their sentences in Sugamo Prison.

A few months later, in December 1953 in one of his last acts as president, Quirino gave all Japanese convicts a special amnesty, thus ending the war crimes trials phase of the Philippine-Japan relationship.²¹

The timing of these releases can be linked with the signing of San Francisco Peace Treaty; with growing U.S. pressure for Philippines to abandon reparations claims in light of Cold War developments and the need for a friendly Japan. It can also be connected with the failure of the Japanese to acknowledge responsibility for the war and their for unwillingness to pay reparations.

Quirino was criticized by his opponents, who had hoped to use the war criminals as a bargaining chip for reparations. Politicians belonging to the rival Nacionalista Party believed that the Philippine position had been weakened by the release. On the other hand, it did pass the ball to the Japanese court and gave the Japanese the next move in the deadlocked reparations talks. Still, Quirino's move was not very popular with the Filipino people, although he was lauded in Japan. Quirino's public explanations— he did not want his children to inherit the hatred in others' hearts, especially since the Philippines and Japan were neighbors and nothing could change that; it was Christian thing to do, and so on— remained a difficult pill for Filipinos to understand and accept.²²

Summary

TABLE ²³		
	U.S. phase (1945-1947)	Philippine phase
No. of cases tried	88	73
Total no. of defendants	216	338
Sentences:		
Death by hanging	70	71
Death by musketry	9	8
Life Imprisonment	36	31
Fixed terms	74	27
Sentences disapproved	3	1
Acquittals	12	13
Cleared	—	187
Not tried	9	—
Cases dismissed	—	3

The Filipino courts emphasized fair play despite the loss of the Japanese defense panel. Why? The Philippines was a newly-independent country, and wanted to show the world that despite the popular anti-Japanese feeling, it was capable of conducting fair trials. The Philippine government did not want to host a kangaroo court, and wanted to keep the process strictly within legal limits. Even after the incident involving the mauling of the chief Filipino prosecutor, the Philippine government appointed Filipino defense panel with one Japanese. One journalist noted that despite the strong anti-Japanese sentiment of the country, the Philippine government bent over backwards to give the Japanese representation.²⁴

The Philippine government spent time and money to ensure a fair, judicially sound trial, as opposed to trials elsewhere, to show that the Philippines was a responsible member of the international family of nations. It recognized the probability of being accused of carrying out victor's justice, and tried to keep the proceedings proper. There were failures along the way, but many of the trials were indeed handled responsibly.²⁵

The trials were conducted at a time when the Philippines faced severe economic dislocation as a result of the war and the Huk rebellion (in which dissidents were often killed by forces and were not given justice – unlike the Japanese). Ironically, the Japanese were given the benefit of lawful process while the Huks were not.

As other more pressing problems developed, amidst the threat of a new war, interest in the war crimes trials receded. But the anger in many Filipinos remained for several more years. The Philippine War Crimes Trials Program was an attempt to prove that despite this anger, the government could still maintain a balanced view in terms of international justice, and towards Japan.

ENDNOTES

Note: Citations on specific cases are taken from the transcripts of the trial proper and will not be cited in full. The surviving transcripts are located in the Philippine National Archives in Manila.

Names in this paper are given in Western style, that is, family name last.

¹ Executive Order No. 64, *Official Gazette*(41:6 September 1945), pp. 414-415.

² Castro later became Judge Advocate General of the Armed Forces of the Philippines and still later rose to become Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Victor J. Sevilla, *Justices of the Supreme Court of the Philippines, Volume III* (Quezon City: New Day, 1985), p. 14; Teodoro M. Locsin, "Day of Reckoning," *Philippines Free Press*, 17 January 1948, p. 35.

³ Executive Order No. 68, *Official Gazette* (43:9 September 1947), pp. 3547-3553.

⁴ Such as the case against Col. Yamaguchi, commander of the Japanese forces in Negros Occidental; Yamaguchi was judged guilty and was hanged)

⁵ Guillermo S. Santos, "The War Crimes Program of the Philippines," *Philippine Armed Forces Journal*, (IV:2 January-February 1951), pp. 29-31; Locsin, "Day of Reckoning," p. 18-19.

⁶ Locsin, "Day of Reckoning," p. 19.

⁷ Locsin, "Day of Reckoning," p. 18.

⁸ Artemio Alejo interview; Lucban article in Shuroku Ruson. Despite losing some of their cases, the Japanese defendants were very impressed and were full of respect for the Filipino defense lawyers.

⁹ Locsin, "Day of Reckoning," p. 34.

¹⁰ Locsin, "Day of Reckoning," p. 34.

¹¹ Enrique B. Santos, "Conquerors No More," *This Week*, December 3, 1950, p. 11.

¹² Jintaro Ishida, *The Remains of War: Apology and Forgiveness* (Quezon City: Megabooks Company, 2001), p. 212. This particular Japanese said executions were carried out every Friday, which scared the accused war criminals – but actually they were only carried out only three times, and not all were on Friday.

¹³ Lydia Yu-Jose, "Philippine-Japan Relations: The Revolutionary Years and a Century Hence," in Aileen San Pablo-Baviera, and Lydia Yu-Jose, (eds.) *Philippine External Relations: A Centennial Vista* (Manila: Foreign Service Institute, 1998), p. 312.

¹⁴ Kiyoshi Osawa, *The Japanese Community in the Philippines Before, During and After the War*, (Manila: Joshu Bunko Library, 1994), pp. 235-236. NHK is doing a documentary on this, which will be scheduled to be shown in August, during the annual anniversary of the end of the war. Quirino was given a copy of the record, and some Japanese believe it moved him to release the accused Japanese in 1953.

¹⁵ "Letter from Japan," "FP Readers Reject Appeal for Jap Prisoners; Mrs. Kora and her Appeal," *Philippines Free Press*, 5 May, 26 May and 9 June 1951; Yu-Jose, pp. 311-312.

¹⁶ Artemio Alejo interview.

¹⁷ Executive Order No. 68; Piccigallo, p. 188, 190-191; Locsin, "Day of Reckoning," pp. 18-19, 34; Irene P. Bueno and Luis S. Balanon, "Let Me Hang Them!", *Philippines Free Press*, 28 February 1948, pp. 44-45.



¹⁸ Santos, "The War Crimes Program of the Philippines," pp. 29-31; Philip R. Piccigallo, *The Japanese on Trial: Allied War Crimes Operations in the East, 1945-1951* (Austin: University of Texas, 1979), pp. 195-196; Adamin Tallow, *Command Responsibility* (Manila: privately printed, 1965), p. 201.

¹⁹ Evening News, 4 July 1953; Yoshio Chaen, *BC Kyu Sempan Firipin Saiban Shiryo* (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1987). The last execution was carried out just before Allen Dulles visited the Philippines in a bid to get the Philippine government to accept the proposed Japanese peace treaty, in which reparations would be waived.

²⁰ Piccigallo, p. 194; Santos, "Conquerors No More," pp 9-12.

²¹ Yu-Jose, p. 312; *Official Gazette*, Vol. 47, No. 2, 2 February 1951, pp. xiv and 49; 47:12 December 1953, p.clxxxv; "Forgiving Neighbor", *Time*, 27 July 53, p. 15.

²² Yu-Jose, p. 312; Takushi Ohno, *War Reparations and Peace Settlement: Philippine-Japan Relations, 1945-1956* (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1986), p. 85.

²³ Santos, "The War Crimes Program of the Philippines," p. 27

²⁴ Locsin, "Day of Reckoning" and Santos, "The War Crimes Program of the Philippines" cite this.

²⁵ For claims of injustice, see Ishida, *Remains of War*. Ishida balances these claims with Filipino views of the courts.

Ang Mga Bundok ng Rizal Bilang Isang *Frontera* sa Pilipinas

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Ang lahat ng mga matataas na lupain sa Pilipinas ay nagiging *frontier* na para sa sari-saring tao (Eder 2000:27). Wala na nga halos liblib na lugar sa Pilipinas na hindi pa nararating ng mga dayo na interesadong makahanap ng lupang sakahan at kumita sa iba pang likas yaman. Ang nagiging '*post frontier society*' sa mga lugar na ganito ay adaptasyon sa isang bagong ekolohiya ng napanot na lupa at sa isang lipunan na kinabibilangan ng halo-halong tao. Katulad nga ng napansin ni Eder, hindi na angkop gamitin ang kategorya ng Filipino na '*lowland Christian*'. Ang mga geograpikal na hangganan ay hindi na ganito kasimple (Eder 2000:3-4).

Ang mga bundok ng Rizal ay di nahuhuli sa mga prosesong ito, at matatagurian pa sa kasalukuyan bilang isang *frontier*. Ang *frontera* ay isang lugar na naging bukas sa pagpasok ng mga tao; nakita ito bilang malaya o 'tiwangwang na lupa' kaya'y nilipatan. Sa ganitong uri ng lugar, maaaring ang mga pamamaraan ng pamumuhay at pamamalakad ng lipunan ay ngayon pa lamang nagiging maayos. Hindi pa gaanong matagal ang paninirahan ng mga tao dito at mabilis ang pagbabago. Dahil malayo sa bayan, di nararating ng maraming serbisyo ng gobyerno ang lugar na ito. Sa pagdating ng mga baguhang tao at sa pagkakahalo-halo ng mga tao, maaaring magkaroon ng mga sariling sistema na naiiba. Sa ganitong lugar maaaring mga alternatibong paraan ng pamumuhay ay umusbong. Ang papel na ito ay batay sa pananaliksik noong Disyembre 2001-Marso 2002 sa San Ysiro, Antipolo City na isinagawa ng may-akda at ng 18 na miyembro ng UP Anthropology Field School.

Ang layon ng papel na ito ay magbibigay pansin sa ilang aspeto ng 'buhay bundok' kaugnay sa kasalukuyang mga proseso ng pagbabago sa mga bulubunduking lugar sa Pilipinas (o ang Philippine *uplands*) at bilang paglinaw ng mga prosesong ito batay sa isinagawang pag-aaral sa San Ysiro, Antipolo.

'*Out-of-the-way*' at mahirap marating ang San Ysiro, Antipolo, at kung may dumating nga dito ay talagang sinadya at di ito dinadaan patungo sa ibang lugar. Napakahirap ng daan paakyat sa San Ysiro. Katunayan ang mga bumibiyaheng jeep ay may kaha ng trak at malalaking gulong, at nilalagyan ng *chains* para madagdagan ng traksyon ang gulong at ginagamitan ng *winch* na kinakabit upang mahila ang sasakyan kapag maputik ang daan. Ang mga minsang nakakarating doon na di tagaroon ay mga medical mission at mga ilang extension worker ng gobyerno, mga maglalako ng ilang paninda (di madalas), mga military na naghahanap ng NPA, mga *treasurehunters* na naghahanap ng

kayamanan ni Yamashita, at mga nais magpalaganap ng mga alternatibong ideya halimbawa sa relihiyon o sa kabuhayan¹.

Sa sitio ng Canumay, dalawang uri ng tao ang kinikilala: ang mga 'dayo' at ang mga 'katutubo'. Ang mga kategoryang ito ay ginagamit bilang pantukoy ng mga taga-roon mismo. Nagbubunga ito para sa lipunan at mga lokal na sistema.

Ang mga taga-San Ysiro

Gubat pa sa San Ysiro noong bandang 1968—ganito kaikli ang kasaysayan ng paninirahan sa San Ysiro. Ang pamayanan ng Canumay ay nagsimula bilang isang lugar na nilipatan ng ilang pamilya na dati ay nakatira sa Tanay, Rizal (lalo na sa Cayabo at sa Tinukan, na kabila lamang ng mataas na burol sa bandang silangan ng San Ysiro). Sa mga lumipat mula dito at nanirahan sa Canumay, may nga 'katutubo' (mga 'Dumagat' noon), at mayroon ring 'dayo' na bago sa Tanay ay nanggaling sa ibang bahagi ng Pilipinas. Iba-iba ang kanilang mga dahilan para lumipat dito (upang umiwas sa gulo, upang makahanap ng lupang sakahan halimbawa). Sa kasalukuyan, nasa ikatlong henerasyon pa lang ang mga nag-settle sa Canumay.

Mababalangkas ang mga mahahalagang yugto sa kasaysayan ng mga katutubo at ng kapaligiran sa Canumay. Noong una ay dinadayo nila ang San Ysiro para sa pangangaso, at may mga Dumagat na palipat-lipat ng tirahan sa kagubatan. Subalit may mga malaking pagbabagong naganap sa kapaligiran ng San Ysiro sa loob lamang ng 30 taon. Ang isang malaking pangyayari ay ang intensibong pagtrotroso.

Ang mga tao (katutubo at dayo) na nagsilipat sa San Ysiro mula sa Tanay ay sinalihan ng iba pang mga dayo na nakabalita na makakakuha sila ng 'puesto' sa San Ysiro. Nagsimulang magbuo ang magkahalo-halong tao ng mga pamayanan sa San Ysiro: Canumay, Kasunugan, Libis, Pagsiko.

Pandarayuhan na mula probinsiya patungong probinsya (*rural-to-rural migration*)

Sa Canumay, mas nakahihigit sa dami ang mga dayo sa mga katutubo. Karamihan sa mga dayo ay mga Bisaya at ang iba ay nanggaling sa iba-ibang lugar sa Pilipinas. Makikita sa Hanayan 1 ang listahan ng mga lugar na ito.

Ang isang mahalagang pwersang nagtulak ng mga pamilyang ito palabas sa kinaroroonan nila ay ang kakulangan ng likas yaman at sa gayon ng kabuhayan para sa mga tao sa kanilang mga lugar. 'Masikip na' doon. Sa kabilang banda, mahalaga sa

HANAYAN 1: Lugar na pinagmulan ng mga dayo sa Canumay

Leyte	16
Tanay	10
Aklan	7
Antipolo	4
Manila	4
Quezon	4
Bulacan	3
Iloilo	3
Rizal*	2
Laguna	2
Albay	2
Batangas	1
Masbate	1
Camarines Norte	1
Negros Occidental	1
Ilocos	1
Marinduque	1
Pangasinan	1

* maliban sa Tanay at Antipolo
Mula sa UPAFS 2nd
sem 2001-02 census

pangingibang-bayan nila ang pagkakaroon ng mga *network* at ang mga puwersang humila naman sa kanila hanggang sa tumungo sila sa mga bundok ng Rizal ay kadalasan ang pagkakaroon ng kamag-anak at kakilala doon (Valdemoro 2003).

May kinalaman rin ang network ng relihiyon sa kasaysayan ng pamayanan sa Canumay. Marami sa mga unang lumipat sa Canumay ay mga Rizalista, kasama ang kanilang 'Nana'. Ikinuwento sa kin ng isang Rizalista kung paano ang mga tanawin ng mga palayan na makikita ngayon ay kanilang pinaghirapang hawiin mula sa kagubatan. Tulung-tulong hinila at tinanggal ng mga kalalakiang ang mga malalaking ugat ng mga puno upang magawang palayan ang lupa. Ang kababaihan ay nagluto sa bahay ng 'Nana' para pakainin ang lahat ng tao.

Sa kasalukuyan, gumagawa ng bahay at lumipat muli ang ilang taga-Canumay sa Pagsiko, isang pang bahagi ng San Ysiro, kung saan ipinatayo ang simbahan ng Rizalista, at ang lahat ng naninirahan doon ay Rizalista. Ang

'Nana' ang nagmamay-ari ng lupa sa Pagsiko, subalit siya ngayon ay namamalagi sa Tanay, at bumibisita na lamang sa mga takdang araw.

Isa pang dahilan ng paglipat ng tao sa Canumay ay ang paglikas mula sa lugar na maaapektuhan ng proyekto ng Laiban Dam na sinimulan noong panahon ni Presidente Marcos. Ang Presidential Proclamation 2480 noong Enero ng 1986 ay nagtalaga sa 4,424 hectares sa Marikina Watershed Reservation sa San Ysiro Valley bilang resettlement site. Noong panahong iyon, malaking bahagi nito ay kagubatan (*forest reserve*: 1,766.6 ha.), at ayon sa mga dokumento², malawak ang dalisdís o *hillside* (2,160.5 ha) sa reservation, at 278 ha. lamang ang kapatagan o *farms*.

Sa ngayon, nagiging masikip na rin ang San Ysiro. Marami ang nagkukuwento na noon, ang isang bahay ay wala pang kapitbahay sa loob ng sampung hektarya. Subalit ngayon, nagkaroon na ng insidente kung saan may namatay dahilan sa pagtatalo ng magkapitbahay tungkol sa tamang kalalagyan ng bakuran nila. Wala nang lupa na walang nag-mamay-ari, kahit na ito ay hindi pa sa titulo kundi '*rights*' lamang.

Subalit ang nais ng kasalukuyang Pamunuan ay dumayo pa ang maraming tao at magpatayo ng bahay sa San Ysiro. Sadyang hinahangad nilang dumami ang populasyon upang magkakaroon ng katwiran para humiwalay na barangay ang tatlong sitio ng San Ysiro sa napakalaking barangay ng San Jose (kung saan 49 ang bilang ng sitio).

Sa halagang P500 lamang, ang isang nagnanais magkaroon ng lote ay makakakuha ng 100 *square meters* sa dalisdis na bahagi ng pamayanan sa bandang likod ng eskwelahan. Subalit ang kondisyon ay kailangan itong patayuan ng bahay sa loob ng madaling panahon. Kinakailangan ring maging rehistradong botante ng lugar. Sa gayon maaasahang patuloy na dadami ang mga bagong tao sa Canumay sa madaling panahon, at lalong magkakaroon ng pagbabago.

Ang mga katutubo ng Sierra Madre

Ang mahabang bulubundukin ng Sierra Madre na gumagapang sa mga probinsya ng Quezon, Rizal, Bulacan, at sa hilaga-silangang bahagi ng Luzon ay kilalang lugar ng mga Negrito. Ang mga kagubatan sa bandang San Mateo at Boso-boso (bahagi rin ito ng Barangay San Jose, Antipolo) ay mga paninirahan ng mga Negrito na nabubuhay sa pamamagitan ng pangangaso at pangangalap ayon pa sa mga unang etnograpiya (Blumentritt 1980[1882]:20).

Ang iba't-ibang grupo ng mga Negrito ng Sierra Madre ay tinatawag na 'Agta' at 'Dumagat'. Ang mga Dumagat ay sadyang natatagpuan sa bandang silangan ng Luzon sa tabingdagat ng Pasipiko. Sila ay isang uri ng Negrito sa Pilipinas na hindi maliit (hindi *pygmy*) (ayon kay Fox sa Lebar 1975:26). Ayon naman kina Early, sa San Idefonso, Casiguran, ang 'Dumagat' ay pangalan na tawag sa kanila ng iba (dahilan sa paglalakad nila at paglilipat-lipat ng tirahan sa may tabing dagat), samantalang ang tawag nila sa sarili nila ay 'Agta' (Early at Headland 1998).

'Dumagat' ang isang pangalan na ginagamit sa mga mas orihinal na tao sa mga bundok ng Antipolo. Marahil may ugnayan ito sa nabanggit na mga una at makikita ang distansya ng narating nila bilang populasyon sapagkat malayo na sa dagat ang mga kabundukan ng Antipolo.

Ayon kay Avena:

"the geographical range of the Dumagat of Rizal extends from the uplands of Montalban to Antipolo and Tanay, located in the eastern half of Rizal Province that lies in the Sierra Madre mountain range."

"The semi-mobile Dumagat engage in shifting cultivation on almost barren hills, gathering uway (rattan), and buho (light bamboo) in rapidly

thinning forests, and in charcoal-making. Theirs is a precarious life lived one day at a time in the face of social and environmental forces threatening their survival... (Avena 1988:58)

Ang pag-aaral ni Avena ay ginawa malapit lamang sa San Ysiro, doon sa bandang Tanay sa lugar na apektado ng Laiban Dam noong 1988. Ilan sa kanyang mga kapanayam ay nakapanirahan rin sa Boso-bošo, Sto Nino (Antipolo), Puray (Montalban), Kalawis (sakop ito ng Antipolo), at Laiban (Tanay). Pinansin niya ang paulit-ulit na kasaysayan ng mga Negrito: natutulak sila mula sa kanilang lugar pataas at paloob (*displacement*), nadodolina sila at nasasakop ang kanilang lupang pinangangasohan. Subalit numinipis na ang gubat. Katagalan, wala na silang mapupuntahan.

"Indeed, there is a population pressure on the available natural resources in the Dumagat environment today, but the pressure is not due to the rapid growth of the local Dumagat population; rather, the pressure is due to the influx of the non-Dumagat population groups, including lowland migrants, loggers, miners, entrepreneurs and government people. With the overexploitation of the land resources, which the Dumagat depend on for their survival, and the absence of viable social, political and economic alternatives, the resulting environmental stress caused strains on the traditional culture of the Dumagat. (Avena 1988:141)

Kapag pinag-uusapan ang mga Negrito sa Pilipinas, dalawang tema ang palaging nababanggit. Ang isa ay ang "*extinction*" o posibilidad ng pagkawala nila bilang populasyon.³ Taliwas sa bilis ng pagdami ng mga Pilipino, may mga *subpopulation* sa bansa na ang tendensiya ay di dumami, dumami ng bahagya lamang o magkaroon pa nga ng *negative population growth*. Ito ay isang seryosong problema para sa maraming grupong Negrito.⁴

Sa kabilang banda, ang isa pang tema sa literatura tungkol sa mga Negrito sa Pilipinas ay ang pagbabago o *transition* (de Souza 2002, Rai 1990). Ang nangyayari ay ang pangangaso at pangangalap sa kagubatan ay nagiging mas mahalaga para sa mga produkto na maipagpapalit (sa pera) at hindi para sa pagkain atbpang mga pangunahing pangangailangan (o ang proseso ng *commoditisation* [Peterson at Matsuyama 1991]).

Sa tuluyang pagbabago o *transition*, hindi tuwirang mawawala bilang bahagi ng populasyon ang mga Negrito, subalit ang maaaring mawawala o maging *extinct* ay ang kanilang wika at ang kinaugaliang pamumuhay. Iwanan na ang kinagawiang pangangaso at pangangalap, at ang paglilipat-lipat ng tirahan (*nomadism*) at maghahanapbuhay na sila ng tulad ng karamihang Pilipino sa pamamagitan ng pagsasaka o pamamasukan sa trabaho, at maninirahan sa isang lugar lamang. Ito ang nangyayaring proseso sa San Ysiro.

Kung paano naging “Katutubo” ang Dumagat

Ang iwanan ang ilang mahahalagang aspeto ng kultura ay nangangahulugan ng malaking transpormasyon sa sarili. Kaugnay nito, ang kategoryang ‘katutubo’ sa Canumay ay isang makabagong pantukoy ng mga Dumagat sa kanilang sarili. Ang pagtawag nila sa kanilang mga sarili na “katutubo” ay bilang paglinaw na nagbago na sila, hindi na sila Dumagat. (tingnan si Tadeo 2003)

Para sa kanila, ang isang ‘Dumagat’ ay nakasuot pa ng bahag. Ang ‘Dumagat’ ay naninirahan sa kagubatan. Ang ‘Dumagat’ ay gumagamit ng wikang Dumagat. Samantalang, ayon sa kanila, ang isa nang “Katutubo” ay nagsasalita ng Tagalog, at naninirahan sa pamayanan sa piling ng mga dayo. Inilahad ni Tadeo ang mga tinig at pananaw ng ilang katutubo; sila raw ay lumabas na sa ‘madilim na kagubatan’ at nasasanay na dito sa ‘kaliwanagan’ o sa bukas na lupa na wala nang mga puno, at ang manirahan kasama ng mga Dayo. Tunay ngang madilim ang *tropical rainforest*⁵ at ang malaking transpormasyon sa kapaligiran ay nakapanibago. At maliban dito ay ang karanasan ng diskriminasyon.

Kung gayon nakapaloob sa kanilang paggamit ng katagang ‘Katutubo’, bilang pantukoy sa sarili, ang dalawang magkabilaang pahiwatig—ang kanilang identidad bilang ‘Katutubo’ ay nabubuo bilang pagkilala ng pagkaugat at ng pagbabago. Sa isang banda, nauna sila sa mga Dayo (na isa namang termino para sa nagkahalo-halong mga Waray, Aklanon, taga-bayan ng Antipolo atbp.) bilang isang grupo ng tao sa mga bundok ng Rizal—ang Katutubo ay ‘lehitimong taga-roon’. Sa kabilang banda naman, ang pagiging ‘Katutubo’ ay ang pagbabago, pagbabago hanggang sa pagiging iba na sa ‘Dumagat’; dumaan sa isang napakalaking transpormasyon ang kanilang kultura at pamumuhay, hanggang sa hindi na nila nakikita ang sarili sa ispesipikong identidad na Dumagat, kundi ay pinalitan na lang ito para sa isang *generic* na termino.

Maliban sa pananamit at ang pamumuhay labas sa kagubatan, marahil ang isang pinakamalaking aspeto ng pagbago ng identidad (mula Dumagat patungong ‘Katutubo’) ay ang wika na hindi na ginagamit. Di agad at mahirap malimutan ang sariling wika, subalit mahirap pang sabihin na kabilang sa isang natatanging grupong etnolingwistika ang sarili kapag mangyari ito.

Nagbubukas ang pananaw na ito ng mahahalagang katanungan sa konteksto ng Pilipinas at ang kategorya ng ‘*Indigenous People*’ o ‘IP’ o ‘katutubo’, at maging sa pandaigdigang diskurso tungkol dito⁶. Ang kinabukasan nga ba para sa kanila ay ang mawalan ng partikular na kultura kung saan ang pagiging ‘katutubo’ ay ang pagiging isa lamang uri ng ‘mahirap’ sa ating lipunan?

Ang sambahayan at kabuhayan sa Canumay

Sa ngayon, sa unang tingin, halos parehas ang pananamit at pamumuhay ng Katutubo at Dayo sa Canumay. Subalit mayroong ilang mahahalagang pagkakaiba sa pagitan ng dalawa. Unang-una sa lahat, ang mga Katutubo sa Canumay ay nagbubukod sa kanilang sarili mula sa sentro ng sitio (kung saan lahat ng bahay ay sa mga Dayo.) Ang lugar ng mga Katutubo ay nasa 'Ilaya' at sa daan patungo rito. Ang lugar na ito ay mas malapit sa natitirang gubat at sa mga kaingin. Sinasabi rin nila na isang dahilan ay upang umiwas ng gulo sa mga Dayo.

Isang obserbasyon ay kapag mag-asawa ang Katutubo at Dayo, 'Katutubo' ang nagiging katayuan nila; ang patunay ay doon sila naninirahan sa Ilaya.

HANAYAN 2: Mga Ulo ng Sambahayan
(household heads) sa Canumay.

Mga Sambahayan	Bilang
Mag-asawang Dayo	22
Mag-asawang Katutubo	12
Mag-asawang Katutubo at Dayo	18
Katutubo $\Delta = \bigcirc$ Dayo	10
Dayo $\Delta = \bigcirc$ Katutubo	8
Nag-iisang Δ Dayo	1
Nag-iisang Δ Katutubo	1
Biyudang \bigcirc Dayo	2
Iba: Bahay ng mga Guro	2
TOTAL SAMBAHAYAN	58

Δ Lalaki \bigcirc Babae = Nag-asawa

Ayon sa census ng UPAFS, nakararami ang sambahayan sa Canumay na parehong Dayo ang mag-asawa. Sa mag-asawang Katutubo at Dayo, may lalaki ang katutubo at babae ang dayo, at mayroon ring kabaliktaran.

Sa mga sumusunod na hanayan nilalahad ang hanapbuhay ng mga ulo ng sambahayan (household heads) sa Canumay.

Sa mga lalaki na *household head*⁷, ilan ay may 'ibang trabaho' tulad ng *construction* o pagtatrabaho sa pabrika na nangangahulugan ay dumadayo sila sa bayan at sa

malalayong lugar (Cavite, Maynila). Mangilan-ngilan lang ang may trabahong ganito at sila ay pawang mga Dayo.

Sa mga babae na ulo ng sambahayan, marami ang nagsabi na nagtatanim sila ng palay o nagkakaingin. Subalit mapapansin na halos lahat sa mga babae na *household head* na Katutubo ay nagbubukid. Mas maraming Dayo kaysa Katutubo ang nagsasabi na "sa bahay lamang" sila. Ang dalawang Katutubo na kabilang sa nagsabi na "housewife" lang sila ay parehong asawa ng Dayo. Samantalang mapapansin na mas marami ang babae na humihila ng kahoy. Sila ay pawang mga Katutubo at ang isang Dayong babae na nagsabi na ito ang hanapbuhay niya ay gumagawa nito kasama ng kanyang asawang Katutubo.

HANAYAN 3: Hanapbuhay ng mga lalaki na ulo ng sambahayan

Hanapbuhay	Total	D	K
Palay	20	13	7
Kaingin*/gulay	7	2	5
Palay + Kaingin*	11	3	8
Palay + Iba*	5	5	0
Iba* + Palay + Kaingin	2	2	0
Hakot ng kahoy	2	0	2
Ibang trabaho	8	7	1
Construction*/Pabrika	4	4	
Driver	2	2	
Tinda ng gulay sa palengke	1		1
Guro	1	1	
TOTAL	55	32	23

*Kasama na dito ang pag-uuling.

*Hal.: nagsasawali, construction, pahinante sa jeep, kiskisan, ahente, missionary priest

*Sinama dito ang mga sumusunod: karpintero, mason, pintor, welding.

HANAYAN 4: Hanapbuhay ng mga babae na ulo ng sambahayan

Hanapbuhay	Total	D	K
Palay	6	3	3
Kaingin/pagtatanim ng gulay	9	2	7
Palay + kaingin	5	3	2
Sa bahay/housewife/"wala"	10	8	2
Sa bahay + bukid	5	5	0
Hila ng kahoy	3	1	2
Hilot/midwife	2	2	0
Nagtitinda/Negosyo	4	2	2
Nagtitinda + Bukid	3	3	0
Nananahi + Bukid	1	1	0
Dishwasher sa factory canteen	1	1	0
Paglalaba + Nagtitinda	1	1	0
Katulong	1	1	0
Guro	1	1	0
Sa bahay + Caretaker	1	1	0
Walang sagot	2	1	1
TOTAL	54	35	19

Sa gayon, mas nagsisikap at nagpupunyagi sa pagkakaingin at sa iba pang pamamaraan ng paghahanapbuhay ang mga kababaihan na Katutubo kaysa sa mga Dayo (Abiog 2003).

Kabuhayan bilang adaptasyon sa bundok

Sa madaling sabi, matatagurian ang San Ysiro na isang probinsya o *rural* na lugar, dala ang lahat ng konotasyon ng salitang "bundok" o lugar na may kalayuan sa 'bayan'. Ang pinakamalapit na bayan ay ang bayan ng Antipolo, na higit dalawang oras na biyahe sa jeep. Sandaang piso (P100) ang pamasaha balikan kaya di nakapagtataka kung mataas ang presyo ng mga bilihin sa sari-sari store sa Canumay kaysa sa bayan. Mahirap puntahan dahil lamang sa sama ng daan, hindi inaabot ng mga ordinaryong serbisyo ang San Ysiro; walang kuryente maliban sa dalawang *generator*, ni walang coreo, at malayo ang ospital.

Ang ilang mga tukoy na suliranin ng buhay sa bundok ang sumusunod: Saan ang maaring pagkunan ng pagkain? Paano ibabadyet ang pera at paano kukuha ng mga pangangailan doon sa bundok? Paano ang sistema sa pagpapakabit sa tubig, at sa kuryente. Kanino maaaring tumakbo kung may problema o kaguluhan? Paano ang gagawin kung sakaling may magkasakit?⁸

Sa pagkuha at pagseseguro ng kabuhayan at sa pagpapalano ng sambahayan mahalaga ang mga pangangailangan na nahahanap sa kapaligiran. Ang kahalagahan ng pera sa bundok ay naiiba sa bayan.⁹

Ayon pa sa census ng UPAFS, karamihan ng mga sambahayan—Dayo man o Katutubo—ay naghahanapbuhay sa pamamagitan ng pagbubukid at pangunguha ng mga likas yaman sa kapaligiran: nag-tatanim sila ng palay, nagkakaingin o may gulayan; ang ilan ay nag-uuling, nangunguha ng cogon at kahoy, at naggiginto. Sa parehong Dayo at Katutubo, mayroong nagsabi na may sarili silang palayan o kaingin, ang iba naman ay nagtatanim sa lupa ng iba o nakikiani.

HANAYAN 5: Mga sambahayan na may kabuhayan sa bukid at ang pagkakaroon ng sariling lupa

	D	K
Bilang ng nagbubukid: 45	25	20
May sariling palayan/kaingin	16	11
Nagsasaka sa lupa ng iba lamang	10	9
Di sinabi kung sariling lupa o sa iba	1	1
Hindi Nagbubukid: 13	10	3
D—dayo K—katutubo / *batay sa lalaki		

Kapansin-pansin na sari-saring mga pagkain ay kinukuha sa kaingin, at sari-saring gulay ay tinatanim sa gulayan o sa bakuran lamang. Para sa nagtatanim, mas mabuti kung

may sobra (*surplus*) sa ani na maibebenta sa bayan upang ipagpalit para sa ibang uri ng pagkain tulad ng karne, isda, tinapay at de lata. Ito rin ang basehan ng dalawang uri ng paghahanda ng pagkain—ang 'lutong bundok' na gumagamit ng mga sangkap na matatagpuan rin sa bundok, at ang 'lutong bayan' na nangangailangan ng mga biniling sangkap at na inihahanda lalo na kapag may okasyon (Danganan 2003).

Lumilitaw na ang pagplano para sa mga pangangailangan ay maaring tuwing buwan, linggo, araw, o taon; depende rin sa kita. Sa Canumay, ang pag-iipon ay kadalasang sa hugis ng bigas at hindi sa pera. Ang bigas ay maaaring itago ng matagal, at parang pera ay maaaring ipalit para sa bilihin sa mga tindahan sa Canumay. Kung may sobra sa pangangailangan, ibebenta ng pamilya ang bigas sa bayan. Subalit minsan nauubusan naman sila at kailangan mangutang (Ijiran 2003).

Kung ihahambing ang pinagkakagastusan ng mga sambahayan sa Canumay sa karaniwang sambahayan sa Pilipinas ayon sa National Statistics Office makikita na mas malaki ang gastos para sa pagkain sa Canumay kaysa sa pambansang *average*. Halos 3/4 ng kita ng sambahayan sa Canumay ay napupunta sa pagkain, samantalang sinasabi ng NSO na ang pagkain ay hindi aabot ng 1/2 ng badyet. Mahirap nga ang buhay sa Canumay kung nagbubukid na sila subalit kinakailangan pa ang kinikita na pera para sa pagkain. Maliit na ang maiipon o maitatabi ng sambahayan para sa iba pang pangangailangan.

Ang paghahambing ay nagbibigay pa ng katanungan kung ipaghambing sa mga kategorya ng NSO. Halimbawa, ang mga gastusin para sa alak at sigarilyo, na kasagaran ay mga bisyo ng lalaki, ay kabilang sa kategorya ng "pagkain" ng NSO. Ayon sa NSO ito ay maliit lang na bahagi ng gastusin sa 'pagkain' (1.1 % para sa '*alcoholic beverages*' at 2.1% para sa '*tobacco*' [NSO 2001]). Subalit sa Canumay maaaring ito ay malaking bahagi ng pinagkakagastusan ng pera kung ihahambing sa pagkain.

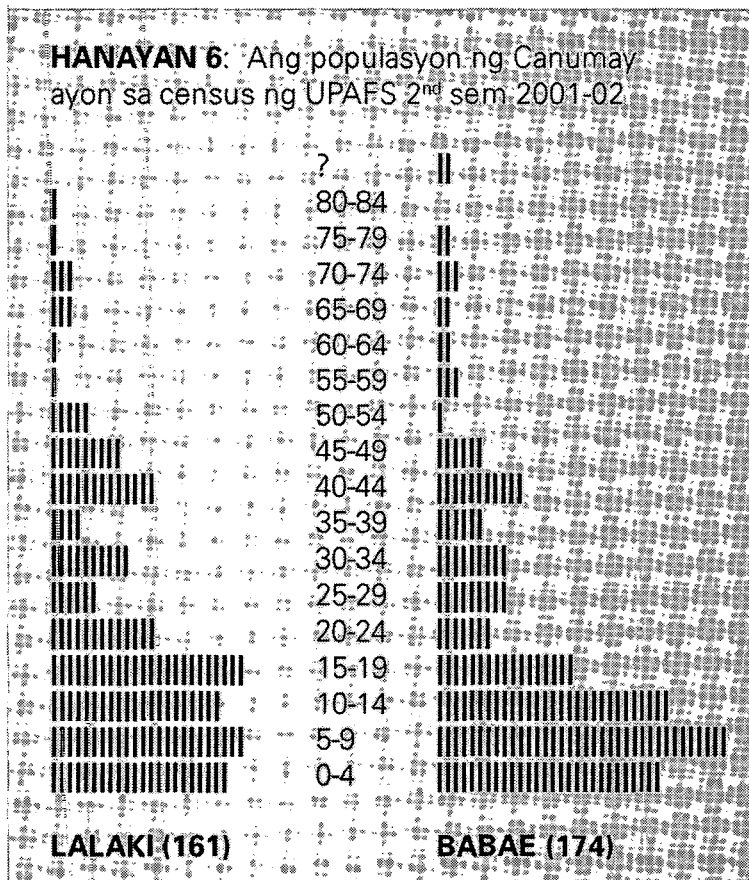
Sa mga partikular na kaso ng mga sari-sari store, makikita na ang mga ito ay may mga kasaysayan ng pagbubukas at pagsasara (Ceron 2003). Ang pagbubukas at pagsasara ng mga tindahan ay sumasalamín sa mga mahahalagang pangyayari sa Canumay, tulad ng pagkakaroon ng pera ng mga tao dahil sa kainitan ng pagtrotroso noong nakaraan. Ang mga pangyayaring ito ay nagpapakita rin ng pagkakaroon ng pagpapahalaga sa ugnayan sa pagitan ng mga nakatira dito dahil ito ay bunga ng pagpapahalaga sa "*pakikisama*". Nagsasara ang tindahan dahil marami ang nangungutang at nauubusan ng puhunan ang tindahan. Subalit mas gugustuhin ito ng mga may-tindahan kaysa mahiwalay nila ang kanilang sarili sa kapwa nila; ang pakikipag-ugnayan ay naroon sa antas ng 'hindi ibang tao' ayon pa kay Enriquez (1999).

Ang pagbibigayan sa pagitan ng magkakamag-anak ay isa pang uri ng adaptasyon sa kahirapan. Sa Canumay, malalaki ang mga pamilya; hindi uso ang mag-'*family planning*'. Mapapansin rin na magkakalapit ang tirahan ng magkakamag-anak (Bumatay 2003).

Marami-rami rin ang mga sambahayan na kasama ang iba pang kamag-anak (*extended family*). Halos isa sa bawat tatlong sambahayan ay *extended household*—halimbawa mga apo, anak na may asawa, magulang, tiyuhin, magulang o anak ng asawa sa iba (*stepchildren/parent*), at maging walang kaano-anu ('kaibigan' o 'kababayan').

Demograpiya at ang mundo ng kabataan

Maaagang nag-aasawa at nagsisimula ng pamilya ang babae sa Canumay, at umaabot ng anim hanggang sampu ang dami ng anak ng maraming ina. Malaki ang pagpapahalaga sa mga maliliit na bata na binibigyan ng maraming atensyon batay sa nakakayanan ng bata habang ito ay lumalaki (Guzman 2003). Marami ang mga bata, subalit nagkukulang naman ang nasa mga edad na 20-30 sa populasyon ng Canumay (tingnan ito sa Hanayan 6).



Katunayan ay kapansin-pansin na sanay at batak sa mabibigat na trabaho ang mga kabataan at maaaring naapektuhan nito ang kanilang paglaki. Maliit tingnan ang mga bata subalit mataas na pala ang edad nila. Sinukat sa isang pag-aaral ang taas at timbang ng mga bata sa Elementary School ng Canumay ugnay sa kanilang edad at inihambing ito sa mga Batayan ng Taas at Timbang ng FNRI (Food and Nutrition Research Institute ng Pilipinas). Ayon dito ay naapektuhan nga ng mabibigat na trabaho ang paglaki ng mga bata sa dalawang kasarian at lalo

na ng mga batang lalaki sa Canumay (Cabrido 2003).

Hindi lamang trabaho ang inaatupag ng kabataan sa Canumay. Maraming klase ang kanilang paglalaro, may mga 'larong dayo' at 'larong katutubo' na nilalaro ng lahat ng mga bata (Te 2003). Subalit mas madalas na laruin ang mga larong dayo ngayon.

Ang pag-aaral ang isa pang gawain ng kabataan, subalit isang malaking hirap ang pag-aaral sa bundok sapagkat nanggagaling pa sa bayan ang mga guro. Ang mga guro ay umuuwi tuwing Sabado't Linggo sa kanilang mga pamilya at dahil mahirap ang daan, kung minsan nababawasan rin ng araw ang pagtuturo. Sa panig naman ng mga bata, ang mas malaking pangangailangan na magtrabaho kung minsan kaysa pumasok sa paaralan ay nariyan. Madalas nahihinto o di natatapos ng pag-aaral ang mga bata, lalo na sa parte ng mga Katutubo. Subalit nagkaroon ng mas malaking pagpapahalaga sa edukasyon mula ng dumating ang mga La Salle Volunteers sa Canumay upang magturo ng non-formal high school (Mendoza 2003).

Lalaki at babae sa Bundok

Sa paglaki, ang ilan pang mga aktibidad na pinagkakaabalahan ng kabataan sa Canumay ay ang paglalaro ng basketbol at ang pagdalo sa mga sayawan na inoorganisa para sa kanila sa iba't-ibang sitio. Ito ay pinapanood at binabantayan ng mga may asawa na. Bagamat minsan ay sumasayaw rin ang mga matatanda, ang sayawan ay para sa kabataan. Isa itong fund-raising na aktibidad at maaaring panoorin rin ito bilang isang pampublikong pagsasaad sa pagiging babae at lalaki sa kanilang lipunan. Malinaw ang istruktura sa pag-iiba at paghati-hati (*dichotomy*) ng papel at galaw ng bawat kasarian sa mga kaganapan sa sayawan—ang lalaki ang nagbabayad, ang babae ang sinasayaw. Tradisyunal at konserbatibo na pananaw tungkol sa pagiging lalaki at babae ang sinasayawan nila (Ng 2003).

Nagsisilbing isang pangunahing oportunidad ang sayawan para magkapagkilalanan ang mga binata't dalaga sa mga taga-ibang mga karatig sitio na dumadayo sa sayawan. Karamihan ng pagliligawan ay nagsisimula sa sayawan, at pagkaraan ng panahon ay maaari itong humantong sa pagpapakasal ng babae sa mura pang edad. Marahil, isang kaigihang dulot (o *function*) para sa lipunan ng pagdaos ng mga sayawan ay ang palawakin ang mundo ng binata't dalaga upang maiwasan ang makapag-asawa ng kamag-anak (o *incest*). Sa pagdadalaga ng mga Katutubo makikita na mura pa sila sa edad subalit marami na silang karanasan ng pagtrabaho at pamamasukan sa bayan. Kadalasan nauuwi sila sa maagang pag-aasawa sa eda na 14-16 (Mailig 2003).

Mula sa datos tungkol sa populasyon makikita na para sa mga babaing may asawa na, kadalasan sila ay nakapag-asawa bago pa sila umabot ng 18 anyos. Ang isa pang kapansinpansin ay kadalasang may agwat sa edad sa pagitan ng babae at mas nakatatandang lalaki na umaabot mula dalawa hanggang sampung taon (Utoalih 2003). Ang mga dahilan para sa pagpapasyang mag-asawa ay ang gastos sa pag-aaral, kahirapan ng buhay, pasya ng magulang, at mga di-inaasahang pangyayari tulad ng pagbubuntis. Subalit labag sa batas (ang Family Code) ang pag-aasawa ng maaga sa edad na 18. Ang batas ay nalalampasan sa pamamagitan ng 'kasal bundok', isang uri ng remedyo na may kahalintulad sa iba pang lugar sa Pilipinas na may distansya sa bayan at gayon sa estado (Mangahas 1998).

Mga sistema sa bundok

Gayong ang mga tao sa Canumay ay bago pa lamang nagsimulang manirahan doon at sari-sari ang mga alternatibo mula sa iba-ibang kultura sa lugar, masasabing ang mga sistema at institusyon ay kasalukuyan pang itinataguyod. Minsan wala pang sistema subalit makikita na higit sa isang pamamaraan ay nariyan sa kanilang lugar (may *plurality* ng pamamaraan), minsan maraming pamamaraan ay mapagpipilian, at may negosasyon sa kung ano ang mangingibabaw.

May mga alternatibo sa paggagamot ng maysakit: ang moderno at ang tradisyonal (halimbawa, pagtatawas). Ang pagpapadoktor sa bayan at mga modernong medisina ay mahal na pamamaraan para sa kanila kapag may nagkasakit, kayat laganap ang mga alternatibo (kabilang ang paghingi ng mga medical mission at kampanya ng isang guro na may propesyonal na pagsasanay sa modernong paraan ng paggagamot) (Canapi 2003).

Ang sitwasyong panrelihiyon sa Canumay ay napakainteresante. Karamihan sa mga taga-Canumay ay nagsasabi na sila ay Katoliko o Rizalista, subalit mayroon ring Born Again at mayroon ring Elder Lahi o Back to Christ na isang sangay rin ng Born Again. Kapansin-pansin na maraming di malinaw sa paniniwala at kaalaman tungkol sa paraan ng pananampalataya sa Canumay. Halimbawa, halos walang kaibhan o di maipaliwanag ang mga paraan ng panampalataya ng Katoliko at Rizalista. Kung minsan sinasabi na parehas na rin ito. Samantala, dagdag sa kalituhan, karamihan sa mga gawaing panrelihiyon, halimbawa pagmimisa at pagkakasal, ay ginaganap ng nag-iisang pari sa pamayanan na miyembro naman sa simbahang Independiente o Aglipay (Bonje 2003).

HANAYAN 7: Ang Relihiyon ng mga Ulo ng Sambahayan

Relihiyon	Katutubo	Dayo
Katoliko	24	41
Rizalista	4	12
Back to Christ	10	2
"Rizalismo/Katoliko"		2
Born Again		5
Independent		2
Iglesia	1	1
"Wala"	2	
"Wala / Back to Christ / Catholic"	1	
Walang Sagot	1	5

Sa katunayan, nagkaroon ng ilang mga sagot na 'wala' o 'basta mabuti kang tao', at 'pagmamahal sa kapwa' sa tanong tungkol sa relihiyon sa census na isinagawa ng Field

School. Ang mga nagsasabi na Katoliko sila ay nagsasabi na Rizalista rin sila. Tila hindi masyadong mahalaga para sa ilan ang pagsanib sa isang simbahan. Para sa iba naman, mahalagang mahalaga ang kanilang pananampalataya, kahit na hindi malinaw ang mga doktrina. Lumilitaw muli sa relihiyon ang mga tensyon sa pagitan ng katutubo at dayo.

Kung sa larangan naman ng supernatural sa kapaligiran, kapansinpinsin na wala masyadong uri ng 'di nakikita' na kinatatakutan sa Canumay. Sa aking palagay, ito ay sanhi ng baguhan pa ang populasyon sa lugar.

Makikita ang paglitaw at pagsasaayos ng sistema sa tubig, isang napakahalagang likas na yaman, natural na malaki ang pangangailangan ng mga taga-San Ysiro sa tubig para sa kanilang mga tanim at para sa bahay. May malaking ugnayan ang tubig sa pulitika: sa mga sistema ng koneksyon sa tubig sa pamamagitan ng mga linya ng hose; sa kasaysayan ng pagtotroso noong 1980s at ang naging epekto nito sa suplay ng tubig at mga sapa; sa pagsisikap ng bagong Pamunuan ng Canumay na bantayan ang kagubatan; at sa pagbukod ng mga bagong sitio at Pamunuan, kung saan makikita na may ugnayan ng tubig at ng kasarinlan (Olloren 2003).

Ang dalawang institusyon ng Pamunuan at ng Paaralan ay nagkakaroon ng malapit na ugnayan sa harap ng maraming mga isyu't usapin na hinaharap ng Pamunuan sa pagdaan ng panahon (San Juan 2003). Ang paaralan ay isang institusyon na nakakapagbigay ng malaking suporta at impluwensya sa Pamunuan. (Sa partikular, malaking bahagi na ng buhay ng mga kabataan sa Canumay ang mga Volunteers ng La Salle. Ito ay isang programa ng *outreach* na nagkaroon na ng malaking impluwensiya sa pag-unlad ng pamayanan.)

Panghuli

Makikita sa nauna ang ilang mga prosesong gumagalaw sa mga kabundukan ng Rizal na maitutulad, sa aking palagay, sa iba pang mga bahaging bulubundukin at/o malayo sa 'bayan'— mga kasalukuyang *frontera* sa pagbabago ng lipunan dito sa Pilipinas.

ENDNOTES

¹ Ito ay base sa mga kwento na malimit na mangyari ang mga panloloko ng ibang dumarayo tulad na lamang ng pagbibigay ng bayad upang maging miyembro sa isang organisasyon subalit sa kalaunan ay bigla na lamang mawawala ang mga nagpakilalang mga kasapi nito.

² Mga dokumento sa pag-iingat ni Ka Lino Añover.

³ Ayon pa kay Blumentritt, "*slowly but surely they [Negritos] are going to be extinct in the near future*" (1980[1882]:32).

⁴ Napakataas ng *malnutrition* at *mortality rate* (Early and Headland, Avena, de Souza), o kaya ay mababa ang *fertility rate* ng dahil sa *stress* (Eder).

⁵ Ang ekolohiya ng rain forest ay nilalarawan sa sumusunod: "Sa rehiyong ito (tropics) makikita at matatagpuan ang pinakamalagong halaman sa buong mundo. Dito'y masinsin ang mga sanga, at dahon ng mga punongkahoy kaya nagkakaroon ng closed canopy, kung saan bahagya lamang, kung mayroon man ang pumapasok na sikat ng araw. Sa pagkakataong magkaroon ng puwang dahil sa pagkatumba ng ilang puno, makikipaglaban ang mga bagong tubong puno sa espasyong nabakante upang maabot ang sikat ng araw. Ito ang dahilan kung bakit matataas, payat at karaniwang walang sanga ang mga tumutubong puno sa gubat. Dahil na rin sa paligsahang ito, naging kapunapuna ang masyadong mabilis na pagtubo at pagusbong ng mga halaman." (Palis. 1999:28)

⁶ "Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems".—United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations (Cobo 1987).

⁷ Binilang namin na 'household head' ang parehong mag-asawa. Sa census, marami ang sumagot na pareho silang nagdedesisyon sa bahay.

⁸ Madaling mailahad ang mga suliraning ito sapagkat ang paghahanda para sa mga ito ay pinag-isipan rin ng UPAFS.

⁹ Nais kong kilalanin si Prop. Aurora Vistro na tumulong sa pagframe ng pananaliksik tungkol dito.

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Bonifacio P. Sibayan 1916-2005

by Bro. Andrew Gonzalez, FSC

Linguistics Society of the Philippines

Bonifacio P. Sibayan dominated the field of Applied Linguistics in the Philippines from the 1960s and trained a whole generation of applied linguists who continue the work of empirically-based language teaching in the Philippines. He did this as Director of the Philippine Normal University (PNU) Graduate Program in Applied Linguistics and later as Professor Emeritus. A founding member of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines which was established in 1969, he continued to be active in the organization in various capacities until his health forced his retirement in his mid-eighties.

It was his work in the Linguistic Society of the Philippines which brought him to the Executive Board of the Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC) where he sat as the discipline representative of Linguistics from 1978-1979 again in 1986-1987. He was Chairman of the Council in 1982.

Sibayan's career as a scholar is interesting and shows the possibilities for a man of intelligence and creativity who is motivated to be an achiever.

Sibayan's work in applied linguistics brought international focus on the Philippines. His works on creative repetition in answer to those who said that Teachers of English to Speakers of other Languages (TESOL) consisted only of rote learning was anthologized in an international publication. Several of his articles have been published in international journals and collections of key articles in the field of applied linguistics. As the years went on, he began to limit his research and writing to sociolinguistics, in particular, to language planning. He is considered to be one of the pioneers worldwide in the new field of investigation, language planning. His research activities and mentorship of graduate students led to pioneering works in language surveys and to the production of learning materials which became a model for similar teaching materials in Southeast Asia.

Sibayan's career as a scholar is interesting and shows the possibilities for a man of intelligence and creativity who is motivated to be an achiever. He began as an

elementary teacher in the Mountain Provinces, became principal of the Bureau of Public Schools from 1949-1951. He went to the US to get a Master's degree in Guidance and Counseling from Missouri University in 1955 under the Fulbright Program. Working in the General Office in the field of language teaching he received an invitation to pursue his doctorate at the University of Michigan under Dr. Robert Lado. Dr. Lado sponsored his doctoral studies with help from the Rockefeller Foundation. On his return, he was placed in charge of Programs in Applied Linguistics at PNU. Later, he became dean and made the PNU Graduate Program among the centers of excellence in the country.

Professor Sibayan all his life searched for talent and did his best to cultivate it. He sent dozens of PNU faculty and students for advanced training locally and internationally and through his demands for strict documentation and rigor in research he brought the Graduate Programs of PNU to a degree of

excellence comparable to international programs; these made it possible to place the PNU Graduate School a Center of Graduate Education excellence in the country, attracting support from Ford Foundation and other foundations.

In addition to his being a world-class scholar and researcher himself, he was likewise, an institution builder. He was also an excellent teacher, though a very demanding and exacting one. Even in his senior years, past 80, he continued to publish, often collaborating with colleagues who continued to consider him a fruitful source of creative ideas on language teaching and on ways to reform the Philippine educational system.

Professor Bonifacio P. Sibayan's contributions to the social sciences through his works in linguistics and language-related issues in education constitute his legacy as a scholar to the world of academia in the Philippines.



Bing Dy writes 30 1948-2005 by Ramon Tuazon

Philippines Communication Society

*Just when the caterpillar thought it was the end,
a beautiful butterfly emerged.* - Anonymous

Prime time on television means peak viewing time. Programs with high ratings converge in these hours. It can be said that Dr. Mary Ebitha Y. Dy (who preferred to be called "Bing") was in her "prime time" when she decided to abruptly end her season (or was it in response to the call of the Greatest Communicator?).

Bing wrote 30 at the age of 57 on 02 March 2005. In journalism parlance, to write 30 is to end a story.

Bing's contributions to the communication field may be "modest" compared to those of the icons in the profession. But during her lifetime, she was a role model to students and colleagues. She was among the few academics who also actively practiced communication and the journalism craft. As a communication specialist, she worked as planner, manager and consultant in various development communication projects particularly in agricultural and rural development, health and nutrition, education, environment, children, among others.

Bing was a tri-media journalist. She was for sometime a correspondent of the Philippine News Agency. Her articles were published in national dailies and magazines. At one time, she was also hosting and managing a radio program. She was an officer of various professional media organizations including the Philippine Agricultural Journalists (PAJ), Philippine Association of Communication Educators (PACE), and Gumil Philippines.

But what she enjoyed most was teaching and it was as an educator that she chalked up untold accomplishments. At the time of her death, she was teaching at Miriam College (where she was chairperson), at the Asian Institute of Journalism and Communication, and at the Polytechnic University of the Philippines. Earlier, she was also in the faculty of UP College of Development Communication and the Mariano Marcos State University in her home province, Ilocos Norte.

Her motherly teaching approach endeared her to her countless students and trainees. She was easily among the most popular teachers in all the campuses where

she had taught. Mention her name to students or trainees and they will fondly recall her *mahiwagang bag* (magic bag) which contained tokens for students and trainees (young and old) who actively participated in her classes or training courses. Many of us have since copied her style.

As an academic, she was engaged in communication research. Her expertise and experience in this area encouraged her to write a book on *Communication Thesis: Form and Style* published by Miriam College. She authored and co-edited many other books some of which were included in the list of basic readings in communication by the Commission on Higher Education Technical Panel for Communication.

The Philippines Communication Society (PCS) was given a new lease in life when Bing took over the presidency in 2000. She succeeded in making the PCS an active professional organization under the wings of the Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC). She ably represented PCS in the Governing Council of the PSSC and was elected Chairperson of the Council's Research Committee.

In 2004, Bing was elected member of the Board of Directors of the Asian Media and Information Center (AMIC) based in Singapore. AMIC is one of the most prestigious professional associations of communicators in the region. Her election, of course, was in recognition of her contributions to the profession.

But to Bing, all these accomplishments pale in comparison to her achievements as a mother and grandmother (which she played single-handedly). In her speaking engagements, she would always ask that she be introduced in these two most important roles in her life. But I am sure Bing was fully aware that in fulfilling one's role as good educator, one is also fulfilling one's responsibility as a parent. In her case, she had a value-added, she was also an effective communicator. In fact, so effective was she that even after life, students and colleagues continue to learn a lesson or two from her examples. In which case, Bing has not really written 30.

PSSC Annual Membership Meeting underscores enhancing organizational capability



PSSC held its Annual Membership Meeting last February 28, 2005, which highlighted efforts at enhancing organizational capability. The gathering was attended by representatives of PSSC's regular and associate members.

Mr. Gervacio Selda presented the Treasurer's Report on behalf of Mr. Finardo Cabilao who was on a special social work mission. Mr.

Selda underscored in his report that the Council continues to enjoy financial health, due mainly to PSSC's continuing management of externally-funded projects, excellent sales of Book Center publications, and persistent demand for Philippine Social Science Center function rooms and facilities.

In the Chairperson's report, Dr. Emma Porio, PSSC Governing Council Chairperson, highlighted that the Council continues to take steps to ensure a "better organized, systematically managed" PSSC. She notes of initial discussions to amend the PSSC Charter to improve Council operations, and the clamor for the creation of the By-Laws Review/Amendments Committee to formally examine proposals for charter change. She also mentioned the structural changes at the Secretariat level aimed at improving Secretariat services.

Dr. Porio lauded the work of the various working committees. She cited the work of the Membership Committee which facilitated the acceptance of the Research and Development Office of the University of Northern Philippines, and continues to push regular members to release up-to-date journals. She also expressed appreciation to the Research Committee which selected the 2004 grantees of the Research Award Program, and the Grants Committee which sent a delegation of scholars to the 7th International Conference on Philippine Studies (ICOPHIL) in Leiden, Netherlands and to other conferences in Asia, US and Europe.

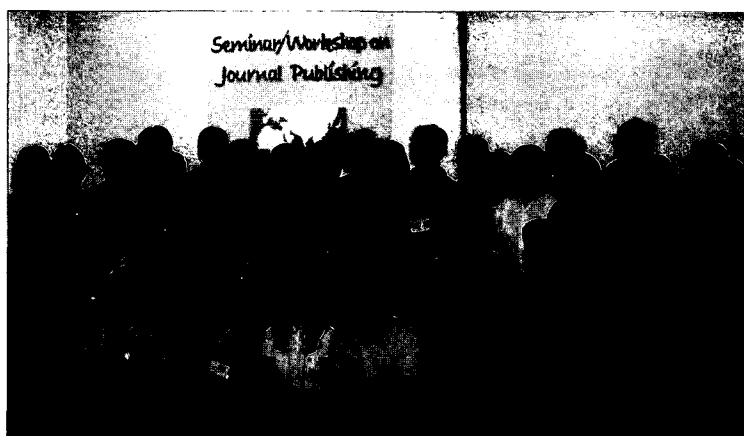
The Chairperson's report also highlighted the challenges faced by PSSC for 2005. These include negotiating and implementing the next rounds of the ASIA Fellows Awards and Ford Foundation International Fellowships Program; successfully conducting the Workshop on Publishing in Social Science Journals and the joint PSSC-ARI-KAS Workshop on Political Reform and Charter Change in the Philippines; and planning and preparing for the 19th International Association of Historians of Asia Conference slated in Manila in November 2006.

Dr. Porio credited Executive Director Virginia Miralao for "putting PSSC on the regional map" and generating worthwhile projects for the Council. She expressed optimism on the successful conclusion of activities lined up for the year and assured the general membership that the leadership is committed towards making PSSC a more responsive organization.

PSSC conducts workshop on publishing in social science journals

The PSSC conducted a three-day workshop on "How to publish in social science journals" on April 14-16, 2005, which sought to provide a framework for viewing the value and importance of social science journal publishing; provide appropriate and effective publishing-related knowledge, values, attitudes and skills; and establish linkages between HEI academics and social science journals in the Philippines.

The workshop team, headed by Philippine Population Association President and De La Salle University (DLSU) Professor, Dr. Romeo Lee, trained a total of 42 academics and professionals, most of whom are in the social science and education fields.



Dr. Allan Bernardo, DLSU Vice President for Academics and Research, gave an overview of publishing in scholarly journals and developing an effective social science journal article. Dr. Lee next discussed the basic parts of a social science journal article and Dr. Eufracio Abaya of the University of the Philippines gave a presentation on writing an effective introduction.

On the second day, Dr. Ma. Cecilia Conaco, UP Department of Psychology, and Dr. Filomeno Aguilar of the Ateneo de Manila University - Institute of Philippine Culture, briefed participants on how to write an effective data presentation and discussion, and conclusions and recommendations for quantitative and qualitative research.

The final day was devoted to the refinements of mini-articles for presentation. An open forum was also held, followed by the submission of articles. Professor Stella Go of the DLSU Behavioral Sciences Department gave a lecture on the ethics of journal publishing. *Philippine Sociological Review* (PSR) editor, Dr. Manuel Diaz, joined the resource speakers and shared tips and insights on the manuscript review process and how to get the interest of editors.

A good number of participants (79 %) said the workshop "to a large extent" provided them a framework within which to view the value and importance of social science journal publishing. They also felt that it gave them appropriate and effective publishing-related knowledge/skills, and values/attitudes (81%). Only half of the participants agreed that they were given the opportunity to forge linkages with social science editors in the country. According to one participant, "publishing remains a formidable task in spite of the workshop, but I am encouraged to try." Another said, "I've learned a lot these three days even if I've edited a number of journals already."

Nine grants conferred under the PSSC Research Award Program

PSSC recently named nine grantees under its Research Award Program. The program, which provides modest funding to qualified graduate students in the social sciences, will allow the grantees to complete their Master's theses or PhD dissertations. Six of the 2005 grantees are PhD candidates while three are MA students. They come from different social science disciplines and are focusing on different research topics.

Anne-Marie Jennifer Eligio of University of the Philippines-Los Baños will study group constructs in the discourse analysis of the Indigenous People's Rights Act. The study "aims to investigate group constructs from the stakeholders who were actively present in the advocacy of the law. These include the policymakers/legislators who sponsored the House and Senate bills, lawyers who drafted the policy document, IP leaders/representatives, NGO workers, government officials from the executive branch, and even those who were against the passing of the law (i.e. mining groups). Included also as participants in this study are the indigenous peoples who did not directly participate in the IPRA advocacy."

Mary Ann Ladia of Michigan State University will focus on the topic "Globalization of Health Knowledge in the Philippines: Tuberculosis and Infectious Other." Her research "explores the socio-cultural landscape of TB in the Philippines and focuses on ideas and impacts of the disease in the lives of women and the poor. It will follow an *anthropology of health knowledge* approach by studying both biomedical explanations and local understandings of tuberculosis across three levels of health-care system— policymakers, health providers, and laypersons and patients. The findings should contribute directly to programs involved with control/prevention and treatment by enhancing our understanding of the diverse *disease knowledges* held by key participants in the health care system."

Rosa Shao of Ateneo de Manila University will examine "Chinese-Filipino Adolescents' Developing Autonomy in the Context of Parent-Adolescent Conflict and Family Cohesion." The study "will look into parent-adolescent conflict and family cohesion as they relate to the development of Chinese-Filipino autonomy. It will address the issue of how parent-adolescent conflict contributes to the development of adolescent's individuation and relationship. It also examines how family ties, specifically, family cohesion, moderate the relationship between parent-adolescent conflict and the adolescent's developing autonomy."

Pia Bennagen of University of the Philippines-Diliman will explore the linkages among public opinion on the environment, public participation, and environmental policymaking in the Philippines. Her study seeks to "understand the role of public opinion in the policymaking process with a specific focus on the environmental arena. Through a

national survey, focus group discussions, key informant interviews, and library research, the study hopes to contribute to the understanding of the linkages between public opinion and policymaking process in general by exploring how Filipinos' perspectives regarding in/security arising from environmental threats could inform the policy process. The proposed study seeks to benefit policymakers by providing them with data that will give them insights into Filipinos' views towards the environment— information that may prove useful in the development not only of technologically-sound but also more appropriate and responsive natural resource management strategies. And by delving into Filipinos' opinions as regards their sense of in/security, this study would also contribute to the operationalization of the concept of human in/security."

Zainal Kulidtod of Mindanao State University-Marawi will study the "Perceived Strengths and Weaknesses of GRP Peace Initiatives: Basis for an Alternative Program for Sustainable Peace in Mindanao." The research will "attempt to find out the respondents' view about the nature of the peace initiatives (i.e., peace programs and policies) of the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) designed to solve the Moro problem in Mindanao; get the respondents' assessment on the present peace and order situation in Mindanao; identify the perceived strengths and weaknesses of the GRP peace initiatives; identify the right actors to be involved in the peace-building efforts of the government in Mindanao; find out some specific processes and procedures involved in building sustainable peace in Mindanao; and prescribe an alternative program of action designed to attain sustainable peace in Mindanao."

Jesus Enrique G. Saplala of Miriam College will delve into "Child Abuse, Mental Illness, Neurologic Status and Substance Intoxication as Predictors of Violent Behavior among Death Row and Life Term Offender." The study will "look into possible hypothesized predictors of violent behavior, namely, child abuse, neurologic status, substance intoxication and mental illness and whether these predict violent behavior. Specifically, the study aims to answer the following questions: (1) Are there differences in the profile of violent and nonviolent offenders who are on Death Row and life term at the maximum security compound of the New Bilibid Prisons?; (2) What are the processes through which these factors, namely, history of abuse or trauma, history of substance intoxication, mental health status including its history, and neurologic status including its history, lead to violent behavior?; (3) Are there other predisposing factors that contribute to predicting violent behavior such as demographic variables, criminal history and family history?; and (4) How do these predisposing factors contribute to violent behavior?"

Mark Dizon of the Ateneo de Manila University will look at "The Pahiyas Festival in Lucban as an On-going Process of Cultural Invention." The study will "attempt to locate the *pahiyas* in history. It is a ritual that has changed and continues to change through time. The *pahiyas* is tied to altering internal and external contexts. Consequently, the *pahiyas* can acquire different meanings for different actors in different times. Historical

factors that have affected the meaning of the pahiyas are transformations in agricultural methods, changes in belief, the introduction of tourism, and fluctuating population cycles in rhythm with urban life. By bringing the historical dimension to the fore, the pahiyas festival can be seen as vibrant and living tradition. It adapts to history and even changes the course of Lucban history."

Dino Mondarte of Silliman University will study the political history of the Municipality of Sibulan, Negros Oriental from 1947 to 2003. The study aims to "unravel the significant events and developments in the municipality from 1947 to 2003. It seeks to answer the following questions: Who were the local executives who served during the period? What were the achievements of each mayor in terms of projects and programs? What were the obstacles and challenges encountered by each administration?"

Renato Pelorina of the University of the Philippines-Diliman will work on the topic "Ang Pagbabalik-tanaw ng mga Macabebe sa Panahon ng Pananakop ng mga Amerikano (1898-1908): Isang Pagsusuri." The study will try to reconstruct the history of Macabebe in Pampanga at the turn of the 20th century, focusing on the role it played during the American occupation, and the relationship of the town's elite groups with the colonial government.

Seasoned researchers named ASIA Fellows

Six researchers have distinguished themselves as ASIA (Asian Studies in Asia) Fellows for the year, selected among 21 applicants endorsed by the PSSC to the Asian Scholarship Foundation (ASF) following a rigorous screening process and a panel interview in Bangkok. They are: Dr. Judy Celine Ick, Department of English and Comparative Literature, University of the Philippines-Diliman; Ms. Arlene Christy D. Lusterio, Technical Assistance Organization (TAO-Pilipinas, Inc.); Dr. Doracie B. Zoleta-Nantes, Department of Geography, University of the Philippines-Diliman; Dr. Loyd Brendan P. Norella, Social Development Research Center, De La Salle University; Ms. Ma. Corazon C. Rodolfo, Commission on Filipinos Overseas; and Ms. Cheryl Ruth R. Soriano, Presidential Management Staff.

Their research projects, lasting from six to nine months each, encompass areas as mental health, habitation, colonial education, migration, information and communication technologies (ICTs), environment and good governance.

Judy Celine Ick will focus on the topic "In states unborn and accents yet unknown: Colonial education and the case of Shakespeare in Anglophone Southeast Asia." Ick's research uses Shakespeare, a primary component of colonial literary tradition, as a lens through which to study the dynamics of colonialism in the Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore. Being a common denominator of colonial education in the region, Ick argues that a comparison of the various forms and uses of Shakespeare highlights the differences and similarities between colonial cultures within Southeast Asia. "In many ways, Shakespeare is a Southeast Asian phenomenon," Ick writes. Her study will examine the Asia that Shakespeare has created, how Shakespeare has become an instrument of entertainment in the hands of colonial policymakers and how he has become an instrument of contention and resistance in the hands of local directors, actors, teachers, students, and audiences. The work "aims to generate a more cross-national and interdisciplinary interest in Shakespeare as an Asian phenomenon. More significantly, it stretches the reach of Asian studies in Asia by including a western literary artifact and treating it as part of Asian culture."

Arlene Christy D. Lusterio's research will look into "Sustainable urban coastal human settlements: Design and development criteria." An architect and environmental planner working with urban poor communities, Lusterio believes that working on a definition of planning and design criteria for urban coastal settlements development "will bring the campaign for alternative development approaches in city centers to a higher level of advocacy, as well as raise the awareness of professionals and the government on the potential use of the 18,000 km. Philippine coastline." Lusterio's research will consist of fieldwork, ocular inspection and consultation workshops with existing settlements-on-water and photo documentation of settlements. Her preliminary analysis of consultation

results will be presented to the community for validation. The study is expected to contribute to planning considerations, development approaches and building/construction technology, and design standards to guide the formal development of settlements-on-water and facilitate the quality of life dreamed of by the target communities.

Loyd Brendan P. Norella will undertake an "Assessment of best practice community-based mental health projects in Thailand." Norella, who specializes in reproductive health and health social science methodologies, intends to consolidate existing mental health researches in Thailand, and to analyze at least three community-based mental health projects in the country. The findings can assist the creation of effective and culturally-sensitive models for enhancing the delivery of mental health services across countries in the region. The research can generate a database of actors in mental health research that would be integral to building a network of Asian scholars on mental health in Asia.

Doracie B. Zoleta-Nantes will be documenting the capacity of two watershed communities in Vietnam in monitoring environmental degradation. Zoleta-Nantes will specifically document community attempts at arresting environmental degradation in collaboration with local government officials to have a clearer idea on how communities in critical watersheds of Southeast Asia have been successful or constrained in keeping an eye on the debasement of their natural resource bases. She hopes that this will "contribute to a more comprehensive environmental and social development planning that will address and prioritize the primary needs of people in Vietnam and the Philippines, and in effect, systematize the institutionalization of good governance in the project sites."

Ma. Corazon C. Rodolfo will study "Indonesian women labor emigration and selected communities in Central and East Java." Rodolfo notes that studies of migration in Indonesia have focused mainly on internal migration, addressing the patterns of migration between provinces/islands, rural-urban migration and urbanization, transmigration and non-permanent mobility. But adopting a gender perspective in looking at Indonesian migration patterns, Rodolfo will be looking at the participation of women in overseas migration streams. Rodolfo will conduct interviews with female Indonesian overseas workers through various recruitment agencies as well as through selected communities in Banyumas in Central Java, and Biltar in East Java to obtain qualitative data and case study material on their motivation for migrating overseas, level of preparedness prior to deployment overseas, working conditions, support networks in the countries of destination and origin, particularly in their own communities in Indonesia and the conditions upon their return.

Cheryll Ruth R. Soriano's topic "Harnessing information and communications technologies for rural poverty reduction: A China case" will investigate China's ICT policies and strategies and how its experience can contribute to affirming the role of



ICTs in rural poverty reduction, with the goal of formulating a framework for optimizing ICTs potentials. China was formally acknowledged by the 2004 UN Survey of e-government as being an example of a best practice. The country has increased its e-government index of 0.416 to 0.435, above the world mean of 0.42. "As many ICT initiatives envision the creation of greater opportunities and ultimately creating a better quality of life for all, it will be pertinent to identify key components that could comprise an ICT strategy that could potentially reach these goals," Soriano explains in her proposal. "If this is not explored, ICTs will remain as meaningless gadgets to the poor and ICT development strategies will only prove to be wasteful investments," she stressed.

Forum on the 2004 Annual Poverty Indicators Survey and the 2003 Functional Literacy, Education and Mass Media Survey

PSSC, in cooperation with the Philippine Sociological Society, is holding a forum on the 2004 Annual Poverty Indicators Survey and the 2003 Functional Literacy, Education and Mass Media Survey on 27 August 2005 at the Alip Auditorium of the Philippine Social Science Center.

Ms. Carmelita ERICTA, National Statistics Office (NSO) Administrator and former Treasurer of PSSC, will present the results of the two latest nationwide surveys conducted by the NSO. The Annual Poverty Indicators Survey or APIS collates data on the socioeconomic condition of Filipino families, including their demographic and economic characteristics; health status; educational attainment; housing, water and sanitation; and income and expenditures. The Functional Literacy, Education and Mass Media Survey or FLEMMS, meanwhile, measures the population's functional literacy levels, educational and skills qualifications, and exposure to mass media.

Mr. Dennis Arroyo of the National Economic and Development Authority, Dr. Filomeno Aguilar Jr. of the Ateneo de Manila University- Institute of Philippine Culture, and Drs. Allan Bernardo and Pilar Ramos-Jimenez of De La Salle University will serve as forum discussants.



19th International Association of Historians of Asia Conference

22-25 November 2006

Manila, Philippines

PSSC to host the 19th Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia

The 19th IAHA Conference, which will be held in Makati City, Philippines on 22-25 November 2006 will be hosted by the Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC) in partnership with major history associations, institutions, and universities in the Philippines. The International Association of Historians of Asia (IAHA) Conferences offer a unique opportunity for scholars within the Asian region, as well as from other parts of the world, to discuss, share and gain new insights from their latest historical studies, and to foster solidarity and camaraderie among academics working on Asian history. For inquiries, please contact the Conference Secretariat:

19th IAHA Conference Secretariat
Philippine Social Science Council
P.O. Box 205, UP Post Office, Diliman, Quezon City
Philippines
Tel. No. (632) 926-2061
Fax No. (632) 924-4178
Email: iaha@pssc.org.ph

Call for Papers

The International Association of Historians of Asia invites proposals for individual papers and panels for the 19th IAHA Conference, which will be held in Manila, Philippines, on 22-25 November 2006. It will be hosted by the Philippine Social Science Council.

The IAHA is a loose network of historians and scholars whose geographic focus is Asia. Held every two years, the IAHA conferences provide Asian specialists an opportunity to come together and share the fruits of their scholarship.

The first IAHA conference was held in the Philippines in 1960, and the most recent was held in Taiwan in 2004. Following tradition, the 19th IAHA Conference welcomes paper

and panel proposals covering a wide spectrum of interests in historical research. Papers and panels will be grouped under the following main themes:

- Beyond Eurocentrism and Occidentalism: Asia-Europe Comparisons
- Intercivilizational Encounters: Religion, Language, Commerce, and Technology
- Framing Asia in Global History: Labor, Culture, Commodities, and Ideology
- Business Empires, Economic Networks: The Old and The New
- The Past in Current Social Conflicts
- Historicizing Gender Hierarchies
- Continuity and Change in Political Histories
- At the Margins, Borders and Interstices of Asian History
- Coping with the Vicissitudes of Everyday Life: Health, Environment, and Culture
- Revisiting Classic Texts in Asian History
- Literature as a Window to Asian History
- Visuality, Orality, and Literacy in the Reconstruction of the Asian Past
- Archaeological Illuminations on the Asian Past
- Heritage and Cultural Preservation: A Legacy for Future Generations
- Education and the Historical Profession

Submission of proposals

Individual paper presenters must submit a proposal containing (a) an abstract of at most 250 words, (b) a brief curriculum vitae, and (c) contact details, showing institutional affiliation and mailing address, email address, and telephone and fax numbers.

Colleagues are encouraged to form panels that coherently address topics of interest to scholars from several countries. A panel should have four paper presenters. One discussant may also be proposed as a member of the panel. Each paper presenter is required to submit a proposal similar to that expected of individual paper presenters. In addition, a separate description of the panel topic must be contained in an abstract of at most 100 words.

All paper and panel proposals must be submitted no later than 15 December 2005. Submission can be done via email to iaha@pssc.org.ph or sent through the post to:

19th IAHA Secretariat
 Philippine Social Science Council
 P.O. Box 205, UP Post Office, Diliman, Quezon City
 Philippines
 Tel. No. (632) 926-2061
 Fax No. (632) 924-4178

Panel and paper proposals will be refereed. Notice of acceptance of proposals will be issued by 31 January 2006.

More details may be obtained from www.pssc.org.ph/iaha.



Hawaii Filipino Centennial International Conference

13-17 December 2006

Call for Papers

In December 2005, the Filipino Centennial Celebration Commission in Hawaii will begin a yearlong observance of the 100th anniversary of the first Filipino arrivals in the state to work on the sugar plantations. The first 15 "sakadas" (farm workers) arrived in Honolulu on December 6, 1906 and were transported to the Big Island to work on plantations there.

The conference is scheduled on December 13-17, 2006 and part of it will run into the Closing Ceremonies of the Centennial Year on December 16-17. Dr. Belinda A. Aquino, Chair of the International Conference Committee in the Commission, will chair the conference, which will address the centennial theme "One Hundred Years and Beyond." It is expected to draw participants, Filipinos and non-Filipinos, from Hawaii, the United States, the Philippines and from various international communities.

This preliminary *Call for Papers and Presentations* on the conference, which could include but are not limited to the following topics:

- The annexation of the Philippines and Hawaii by the US
- Assessment of the Filipino experience in Hawaii after 100 years
- Places of origin in the Philippines of the first sakadas in Hawaii (Visayas, Ilocos, Pangasinan, Central Luzon, Bicol, etc.)
- Labor recruitment practices of the Hawaii Sugar Planters' Association from 1906 to 1946
- Conditions in the Philippines prior to recruitment (after Philippine-American war, etc.)
- Conditions on the sugar plantations in Hawaii (Big Island, Maui, Kauai, Oahu, etc.)
- Filipino labor strikes in Hawaii (1920s, 30s, 40s, etc.)
- Filipino labor history in Hawaii and US mainland
- Immigration waves from the Philippines before and after World War II
- Post-1965 immigration to Hawaii and US from the Philippines
- Social and political movements among Filipinos in Hawaii and US
- Early Filipino communities on continental US (California, Oregon, Louisiana, Washington, etc.)
- Filipino communities in comparative perspective (Middle East, Australia, Asia, Africa, Europe, etc.)
- Globalization and Filipino international migration issues
- The "balikbayan" experience and foreign remittances to the Philippines

- Returning Filipinos for retirement, business and other purposes
- Filipinos in US local, state and national politics
- Entrepreneurship in Filipino communities overseas
- Language, art, sciences, education and the professions in overseas Filipino communities
- Filipino cultural preservation in international settings
- Identity, family, generational and other issues in Filipino communities
- Filipino community organizations in Hawaii
- Filipinos in the US armed forces
- The future of overseas Filipino communities

The field is wide open for possible topics. The conference is broadly conceived and any topic which can be reasonably related to the centennial theme will be considered, but there is no guarantee of acceptance. Priority will be given to *Panel Proposals*, that is, a proponent should already have a full panel of 3-4 presenters on a particular focus, e.g. Filipino contributions to Hawaii labor history, comparative Filipino communities overseas, etc. Of course, individual proposals, especially those strongly connected to the theme, will also be accepted if meritorious.

If the date (December 2006) is not suitable for you, there will be other conferences/conventions in Hawaii earlier in the year that potential participants can attend: the Philippine Nurses Association in America (PNAA), the Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS), the National Federation of Filipino American Associations (Na-FAA which has both a global convention and empowerment conference), the Association of Asian American Journalists (AAAJ), the College Student Summit: Pamantasan 2006, etc. In this way, everyone will be given an opportunity to come to Hawaii at their convenience to participate in the Centennial. Exact dates are being worked out by the respective sponsoring groups and will be making announcements from time to time.

There will be no travel assistance available to potential participants in the conference. A hotel package, possibly for 5 days (from Wednesday to Sunday), registration details and the venue are being worked out. Registration fee will most likely be US\$175 for the 5-day conference period, including the closing ceremonies, but this is tentative.

For further inquiries on the conference, please contact: International Centennial Conference Secretariat, Center for Philippine Studies, University of Hawaii at Manoa (Attn: Dr. Fred Magdalena) at email: cps@hawaii or telephone (808) 956-2686.

For inquiries on the Filipino Centennial Celebration Commission, see our website www.filipinosinhawaii100.org or write to the Commission at 1617 Palama St., Honolulu, Hawaii 96817 with telephone (808) 847-7829 (Contact Person: Donna Kekauoha).

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