FILIPINO GENERATIONS
IN A CHANGING LANDSCAPE

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INTRODUCTION

FILIPINO GENERATIONS IN A CHANGING LANDSCAPE

Amaryllis T. Torres

As long as there is life on earth, every living thing is in a state of flux: growing, decaying, or dying; adapting, transforming, or mutating. Changes do not only occur in the physical universe; it is also evident in human society and its various organizations. Culture, norms, and values; social structures, interpersonal relationships and lifestyles; language and communication; philosophical and practical knowledge; power, authority, and governance; production, wealth and the economy, are among the factors in human life that are in constant flux.

Changes in society can be examined from different angles. One approach has been to examine changes and continuities in terms of generations, taking into acount the defining characteristics of a set of individuals within a given period. The concept of generations is nuanced: it can be used to refer to kinship ties, bound by the average period between the birth of parents and the birth of their offspring. It has also been used to refer to particular age groups, or cohorts, who share certain historical and social characteristics (Biggs, 2007; Pilcher, 1994). However, there is a close overlap between the two definitions: it is difficult to study the shared characteristics of age cohorts without also considering the phenomenon of adult aging and intergenerational relationships (Biggs, 2007). In their study of Palaweños, Posadas, and Fernandez cite Bronfenbrenner (2005), who points out that each generation lives in a specific time dimension where attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors are influenced by various internal and external factors, from supposedly innate traits to familial, societal, cultural, and historical forces. Among these factors are globalization, individualism, consumerism, modernization, and technology. They bring changes in human development, and contribute to the formation and evolution of individual goals within and across generations.

These assertions are well-illustrated in the keynote message of David, who gives a thoughtful account of the angst and dilemmas faced by his children, as they entered the world of adulthood as the offspring of well-known personalities. Each one had to devise a strategy to assert their own identities, and to be respected for themselves and not merely in association with their parents. In an entirely different context, Bawagan recounts the struggle between generations of Mangyans, as

they negotiate their identities in relation to changing influences on their lives. These factors include access to formal education, acquisition of lifelong learning skills, increased interactions with lowlanders for work and other concerns, new forms and relations of production, and the neglect of traditional practices in favor of 'modern' expectations and aspirations.

Apart from examining intergenerational relationships, the articles in this volume provide useful insights into the following processes of social change: continuities and discontinuities; adaptations and transformations; and new beginnings.

CONTINUITIES AND DISCONTINUITIES

Two studies on the Filipino Chinese demonstrate the range of methodological possibilities in the study of generations. Both Boncan and the tandem of Doblado and Evangelista used family history to trace continuities and discontinuities across generations. However, whereas Boncan focused on intergenerational changes experienced by one Chinese family from Spanish colonial times to the present, Doblado and Evangelista tell the story of four pioneering Chinese families in Puerto Princesa, Palawan, from the late 19th century to the contemporary period.

Boncan's account provide detailed descriptions of Binondo, and enables us to travel back in time through its streets, houses, commerce and landscapes. One is surprised to find out who the original residents of Binondo were; which include Chinese families who remain prominent today, and also well-known Spanish mestizos. Commerce defined Binondo in yesteryears, and this remains the "signature stamp" of the place, multiplied a hundred fold in terms of volume of trade and earnings. But we are saddened to learn that Binondo's narrow streets, jampacked with vehicles today, have replaced spaces formerly occupied by picturesque and tree-lined plazas. The streets, mostly renamed in recent decades, also tell us who the more important families of Binondo are today.

Doblado and Evangelista's account of the Tsinoy of Puerto Princesa dwells more on the families' movements, especially as they constantly traversed the distance between their former villages in China and Palawan. It describes how the choice of wives changed across generations: from selecting Chinese women from the mainland in earlier generations, to marriages with Filipino women in the present generation. They also describe the evolving identities of the Chinese, from that of being *jiuquiao* (a migrant), to being Chinese mestizos, to becoming assimilated as Filipinos. Similarly, Boncan describes the assimilation of the family of Ygnacio Jaobungcang into Philippine society, so that they no longer thought of themselves as foreigners but as "sons of the country."

Conversion to Christianity was one factor that hastened the assimilation of Chinese families into Philippine lifeways. Children were educated in Catholic schools, entered the professions, engaged in business, or became political leaders. Through baptism and generational change, the names of the Chinese clans also became Filipinized.

Doblado and Evangelista conclude that despite the inroads of cultural change, core Chinese values have remained unchanged in the clans they studied. Among these is the importance of close family ties. But it is not only the Filipino Chinese who place importance on the family. Sumagaysay relates that among the more common push factors for migration is the desire to help the family – by helping their families to overcome financial difficulties, through the provision of educational assistance, or by becoming family breadwinners. Very few said they wanted to work abroad for their personal advancement.

The continuing centrality of the family in Philippine society is likewise described by Ignacio in his study of a gated community. Middle-class respondents stated that they chose to reside in these spaces for the safety and security it provided to their families. The house and its gated surroundings became a symbol of a safe haven. Eventually, however, the gates became symbols of exclusivity, not only in terms of restricting access to the neighborhood, but also as an economic marker – that its residents could afford to sustain the costs of living within its walls.

Even voting patterns can be controlled by the family. Mangada observes that the family is the principal organization or base for a political aspirant. A candidate has better chances of winning if families of his/her constituency can be won over to provide support. However, there is the principle of reciprocity at work here: once voted in, the politician is expected to provide the families who supported the campaign with greater access to local government positions and other 'porks' or perks.

The importance of education is another value that spans across generations. Boncan, Doblado and Evangelista describe this in their articles on the Filipino Chinese. Bawagan notes that second generation Mangyans desired to have their children attend school, even if this required considerable financial resources. Sumagaysay reports that a desire to see their siblings or children through school is a motivating force in migration. However, better education may eventually lead to increased tensions between generations, leave little time for the transmission of oral culture, or initiate movement of the educated generation away from home, the family, and community.

ADAPTATIONS AND TRANSFORMATIONS

Politics in the Philippines has always been colorful, even if the shades have turned red in the past, with killings and ambushes occurring during the campaigns. But, according to Mangada, one

significant shift in political processes has been that political parties no longer play a significant role in winning local elections. Instead, the major responsibilities for the campaign are now placed on the shoulders of the candidate – including the material, emotional, and social costs of organizing local ward leaders in the run-up to elections. As earlier mentioned, however, traditional social expectations are at the core of these relationships. They affirm personalistic ties and strengthen patronage politics.

This situation can be contrasted with that of Ang Ladlad, a political party that aims to provide formal representation for the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender/transsexual (LGBT) community in the Lower House. Bernardo avers that, as a party-list candidate, Ang Ladlad had a clearly articulated platform. However, the 'novelty' of the advocacy for LGBT rights did not sit well with the more traditional commissioners of the Commission on Elections (COMELEC), who initially disqualified Ang Ladlad as a party-list. The bases for its disqualification included charges of immorality, being a threat to the youth, and the assertion that the LGBTs are not marginalized or underrepresented. This decision was eventually overturned by the Supreme Court, but there was little time left to campaign. Nonetheless, the political engagement and heightened visibility of Ang Ladlad has, in the words of Bernardo, "deconstructed and modified gender politics in Philippine society."

Gender sensitivity and increased awareness of women's human rights are among the welcome transformations witnessed among generations. Baywong and her colleagues report that, while both older and younger women in Ilocos Sur are aware of their reproductive rights, the associated behaviors and values differ between the two groups. For older women, the right to reproduction is associated with childbearing, child-rearing, and women's domestic roles. The younger age cohort, however, asserts this as a right that provides them greater freedom and control over their bodies, and associates it with women's empowerment and gender equality.

Another stream of scholarship into changes across generations has to do with language. Igno sought to establish to what extent Tagalog continued to be used in broadcast media as compared to Filipino. To do this, he studied changes in the way words were pronounced (*pagbabago ng tunog*), and in the way that foreign words were assimilated into sentences. He concluded that the words used were in the form of the Filipino language more than that of Tagalog, including the retention of foreign terms, which had been transformed though frequent and regular use in broadcast media.

In her study, De Leon undertook an exploration of the subculture of jeepney drivers through a semiotic analysis of signage hung across the vehicles. Local commuters are all too familiar with these, such as: "God knows Hudas not pay,""Katas ng Saudi," "Huwag masyadong

tumutok baka matepok," "In God we trust," or "Material Girl." They serve as reminders for passengers to pay, assert the driver's religiosity, or acknowledge the source of financing for the jeepney. At the same time, the signage functions as a window into the drivers' psyche, and may encapsulate their values and norms. Jeepney signage also become part of popular culture.

Yet another approach to the study of social change is to examine the interface between human society and physical space, between technology, its place in society, and the built environment. Kim Yee demonstrates how a neoliberal outlook led to the restructuring of urban spaces in the University of the Philippines Diliman, in pursuit of its desire to participate in the global knowledge economy. He traces the shift in the spirit of the University from that of being a Diliman Republic, "an enclave of isolation from the mundane concerns and conflicts of Philippine society," to the restructuring of its urban spaces toward increased participation in the global knowledge economy circuit. Thus, UP Diliman has succumbed to the pressures of the market by creating a built environment for the IT sector through the science park model.

But the character of capital and the market have also been transformed. In his incisive paper, Rafael traces the introduction of the concept of corporate social responsibility (CSR) to December 1970, when the Philippine Business for Social Progress (PBSP) was launched by fifty Philippine business executives who signed a "Statement of Commitment." It was a way for the private sector (principally the owners of capital) to respond to the growing radicalization of Philippine society in the face of deteriorating economic and political conditions. But while the discourse in the '70s had predominantly moralistic and altruistic overtones, this has now been replaced by a more explicit exposition of a business case for CSR. In the face of globalization, the logic of CSR has shifted from that of social investments to one of inclusive business. The current discourse is that poverty and other development problems can be solved through for-profit business operations that involve disadvantaged groups into the business value chain. From charity, to contestation, to capitalist development – the principles of the neoliberal market have taken over the directions of CSR.

NEW BEGINNINGS

The present generation is deeply embedded in the Information Age. These days, social media is as prominent (if not as influential) as mass media. One does not have to be a superstar to have followers who hang on every word or imagery you produce. Lucas describes how students and other ordinary individuals who become bloggers can attain their own sense of 'celebrity' status through social media. Moreover, FaceBook, Twitter, Instagram and other channels of social media have altered the celebrity-fan relationship from a "one-way delivery channel"

to a "conversation." It is not market research or telephone surveys which alter the bloggers subsequent entries; direct feedback from his or her followers facilitates this more quickly and to the point.

In another vein, Tablazon likens the "jejemon" to the stigmatized underclasses of the past – the indio, the bakya crowd or the jologs of past generations. In his perspective, the term jejemon describes a range of underclass youth cultures in the age of new media. Despite the dynamic textures and interstices of jejenese, however, it is still not acknowledged as a valid socioelect. Its 'otherness' is based on perceived discrepancies between original, first-rate, and exclusive commodities and their depreciated, coopted "counterfeit" renditions. He concludes that jejemons and jejenese disrupt the "seemingly calm surface of mainstream sign systems continuously set, normalized institutionalized and policed by hegemonic cultures."

CONCLUSION

The landscapes that describe Filipino generations are varied but constant, fluid yet bound, perhaps to some older aspects of our social, economic or political life. Old and new values collide, which may lead to tectonic disruptions between generations. It could also give rise to new formations that represent either negotiated terrains of thought and affect, or coalesced visions of what' should be' or 'could be' for all groups.

Change and transformation are not linear processes. They can be convoluted and iterative, even while remaining dynamic and mobile. We, in the social sciences can remain on the sidelines and observe. Or, we can use our collective wisdoms to map a purposeful course toward greater equality, peace, understanding, and social justice for all of humanity in a sustainable world.

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KEYNOTE MESSAGE

Generations:
The Tyranny of Expectations

Randolf S. David

I cannot help but think of the theme of this congress, "Generations," in personal terms, particularly since it comes on the heels of a recent social science conference on "Ageing." This, to me, is a clear signal that a successor generation is upon us, which now occupies the stage on which we used to strut, and that, whether we like it or not, it is time for us to say our goodbyes, review the work we have done or left undone, and offer words that, we hope, can pass for wise.

It is not the first time I have entertained these thoughts. They came to me unbidden years before I actually officially retired from full-time teaching in 2011. These days they come to me almost every time I am introduced at a public function. In academic circles, young people are wont to ask if I am the father of CP David, my geologist-son. On the other hand, in media circles, where I remain active, I am now better known as Kara David's father.

Of course, it is with no small amount of ironic pride that I accept this implied demotion, recalling how, not too long ago, my children used to feel annoyed when they were not being properly acknowledged for what they could do as their own persons because of the long shadows cast by their parents and grandparents. It was never easy for them to deal with this inherited identity—just as it was not easy for my wife, Karina, to be known as the daughter of her father, Renato Constantino. They all had to live with the unbearable burden of having to prove themselves, not just as qualified or competent students or professionals but also as worthy of a name or a memory. Such is the tyranny of genealogy.

On the other hand, while opening doors for them, the institutions, organizations, and communities in which they sought acceptance

tended to be skeptical and guarded against the presumed advantages of a familiar name. I first saw this when, on his initiative and without telling me, my son CP decided to apply for membership in my fraternity. Perhaps it was his quiet way of affirming the wisdom (or folly) of his father's choices as a young man. His gesture made me happy. But, alas, some of my younger "brods" in the fraternity did not see his frat application in the same light. And so, rather than treat him like any other neophyte, they decided to give him a hellish time. On the morning after the final initiation, CP came home and called me "brod." He wore the biggest smile on his face though he could barely get out of his dirty clothes because of his swollen limbs, which bore the unmistakable marks of a brutal final rite of initiation. I could only suppose that my fraternity brothers needed to prove to him that having a dad for a brod would not earn for him a free ride. Not in the democratic University of the Philippines (UP) anyway.

Pretty much the same thing happened to Kara when, after working for two years as a researcher at the Senate, a job she got on her own, she decided to pursue a career in the broadcast media. I was then already a major talent in the public affairs department of one of the TV stations, presenting the early evening news and hosting a weekly talk show. When my daughter applied for a reporter's job, the people in the newsroom gave her a battery of writing tests and subjected her to a series of interviews. I had let them know beforehand that, as a matter of principle, I expected them to assess her solely on her own merits. I did not need to.

At the end of this grueling application process, she was told that she did not make the cut. This experience greatly disappointed her, but it also strengthened her resolve to prove that she had what it takes to be a good journalist. Undeterred, she applied for work in another station and, again, she was rejected. Someone actually told her during the interview that some of the bosses thought she might be a spy for the network in which I was working. On her third try, in yet another station, she was finally taken in as a part-time production assistant in the election coverage for that year. This position is the lowest in the totem pole of any network's public affairs department, just a cut above that of an OJT (on-the-job trainee). Her job entailed basically preparing coffee for the guests, typing scripts, taking notes at meetings, and making phone calls—hardly the kind of tasks one prepares oneself for in a journalism course. A UP graduate would normally hesitate to take an assignment like this, but not Kara, who learned early that humility and patience are positive traits.

As luck would have it, she got her break, when, one stormy day, a boat sank somewhere off the Visayan coast, and there was no reporter

to make the calls and gather information on this breaking story. The desk ordered her to gather all the details of the disaster as they trickled in. Instead of offering these in bullet form, she took the further step of weaving them into a story. With little editing, a senior reporter thought her script to be good enough to read on camera. As a result, she earned a recommendation for a writing position in a show dealing with disasters and emergencies. That was the turning point for her; it was what she needed to prove that her qualifications had little to do with her being the daughter of a TV personality.

In one of our conversations at home, Kara's only child, the eldest of my grandchildren, butted in as her mother was recounting how she landed her first broadcasting job. Breaking her silence, twelve-year-old Julia said that she often found herself in the same situation. She said that her teachers somehow expected her to know certain things just because she was Kara's daughter. Her story made me realize why our four children, who studied in UP from grade school to college, grew up timid in an environment where they were expected to be assertive.

One day, in a class in Araling Panlipunan, Julia tearfully recalls, the teacher told the class to imagine they were reporting about a destructive flood in a community, and they were sent to interview a resident of the community. "What is the first question you would ask?" The teacher paused as she scanned the room. No hands were raised, everyone was quiet, and so she turned to Julia: "What do you think your mother would have asked as a reporter?" Julia felt a strong duty to answer correctly, but at that moment, her mind and her voice suddenly stopped working.

She froze as she groped for something to say, but her voice failed her. She turned pale and tears began to flow down her cheeks. "What made you cry?" I asked her. This was her reply: "My mind just went blank because everyone was looking at me and waiting for me to say the right answer. I just could not say anything. I felt that I had shamed Mama." From then on, Julia decided she should strive harder than everyone else in class to develop her mind, to know more, and to be more analytical and articulate. But, she never raised her hand in class ever.

The peculiar predicament of children of high-profile parents bears a close resemblance to the situation of the Jews in Europe, who had to get used to not being believed. Of them, Nietzsche wrote: "All of them have a high regard for logic, that is for compelling agreement by force of reason; they know, with that, they are bound to win even where they encounter race and class prejudices and where one does not like to believe them. For, nothing is more democratic than logic; it is no respecter of persons and makes no distinction between crooked and straight noses" (p. 348, *The Gay Science*).

In the face of the inevitable comparisons and inflated expectations to which they were subjected, my children learned to live with this reality by adopting certain defenses. Kara—and this is according to her—developed a strong stomach for failure. She began reconciling herself to the thought that people would always see her as an inferior copy of her parents. Thus, she lowered her expectations about being recognized for her own gifts, even as she always tried to do her best. CP surprised everyone by choosing the academic life. But he effectively stayed away from the social science world of his elders by becoming a natural scientist instead. Perhaps, one of the most satisfying moments of his professional career as an earth scientist was to be invited a couple of years ago to speak at a plenary session of the Philippine Sociological Society. My colleagues gushed over his command of environmental issues, which he communicated with dead-pan humor and simplicity. "He looks like you and Karina," they told me, "but also refreshingly different." I would have been disappointed if they told me he was merely an exact copy. I hope you will forgive me for being personal and self-referential in these remarks.

My third daughter, Nadya, did the same thing—that is, follow, but at the same time deviate from, the path taken by her parents—by embarking on a career in the arts. She chose to become an artist and a teacher, for which she needed a graduate degree. In the rarefied world of academe, she soon found out that it was not that easy to shake off her association with us. On her last semester as a graduate student, she struggled to convince her UP thesis panel for the Master's in Fine Arts that her theory of art was not "merely" sourced from sociology.

But perhaps the cleverest of them all—insofar as straying away from the parental path is concerned—is our youngest daughter, Jika, who took accounting at UP, did an MBA in another country, and chose a career in the corporate capitalist world—away from everything that remotely smelled socialist. None of our children became political activists. Even so, I think they have exceeded us in that department. One founded a grade school that specializes in the sciences and the humanities. Two set up foundations devoted to helping young girls from the poorest families get a good education.

As parents, my wife Karina and I decided early on never to force our children to become our carbon copies, or to tell them what careers they should pursue, or push them to excel in their chosen fields. We had had enough of that kind of pressure in our own time, and we were convinced that the only reasonable response to this form of tyranny was rebellion. The bigger tragedy, we thought, would be if our children, unable to muster the will to rebel against the tyranny of expectations, harbored

a lifelong resentment at being denied the chance to live their own lives. Our children did not rebel, and I trust that they are relatively free of any resentment. They know how much we love them. They trust our words and respect the choices we made in life because they know what it took to make and live with these choices. My small proof for this is that all of them consider teaching, the profession of their parents, the worthiest of all careers. They all want to round off their lives by finding a niche in the educational system.They like being Filipino, and they consider it their vocation to contribute to making this nation of which they are a part fulfill its highest potential. That, to me, is as amazing as it is gratifying.

All this sometimes makes me wonder if, being somehow a progenitor of what one might call an incipient "academic dynasty," I should be criticizing political dynasties. If there can be, and if we find nothing wrong in having generations of doctors, lawyers, businessmen, engineers, architects, artists, and actors descended from the same clan, why should not there be generational succession in politics? What is so wrong about it that it should be raised as the single most important issue in the 2013 election, albeit without much impact on voters' choices?

Let us review the arguments. I think that, first of all, what people find objectionable about political dynasties is that political recruitment based on kinship unduly restricts the field from which a society's leaders are selected for public service. In this sense, it runs against the constitutional mandate that bids the state to equalize opportunities for public service and widen the pool from which the nation's leaders are drawn. The unstated assumption here is that the larger the pool, the richer and more diverse the brains and the talents that can be harnessed for public service and national leadership.

My own take on this issue, however, is a bit more nuanced. I think that recruitment for political leadership is indeed the proper function of political parties, rather than of families or clans. Political parties, in theory, are aggregations of various interests, and so their field of selection is dictated by the diversity of their constituencies. But because serious political parties have failed to take root in our society, for some reason or another, political families or so-called dynasties became the most viable vehicles for political contestation in our society. I do not think this is a permanent condition. If the theory of modernity is correct, we may expect political families to die a natural death when more specialized organs, far more suited to broad-based political representation and competition, begin to emerge.

Right now, political families dominate the political landscape of Philippine society. We have mayor/vice-mayor, governor/vice-governor, governor/mayor, or governor/congressman tandems at the local level.

The sense of delicadeza does not seem to deter the new rich or the new powerful from claiming all the major positions in many of our provinces. At the national level, we are also witnessing the proliferation of various permutations of kinship in the legislature: husband in the Senate/wife in the House, or parent and child, or siblings, serving simultaneously in the same Congress. These, more than anything else, merely reflect the persistence of the patronage form of politics in our society, which, in turn, is a function of mass poverty and the sharp disparities in power and wealth.

We cannot hope to change a structure like this overnight by simply legislating the banning of close relatives in government, just as we have seen we cannot democratize access to political power by merely imposing term limits. Indeed, the practice of fielding spouses and children is the logical strategy for avoiding the consequences of legislated term limits.

The only way to undercut political dynasties—that is to say, the deployment of the family as the primary mechanism for political recruitment—is by nurturing the formation of serious political parties and, more importantly, by eradicating mass poverty. The latter—the end of mass poverty—is probably the more difficult of these two goals. It cannot be attained without altering the existing property system, and limiting the power of private wealth. But, short of a social revolution, the dawn of this new period in our nation's political life can be greatly hastened by a state that is, at the minimum, determined to deliver the basic needs of its people through the formal institutions of government, rather than through mechanisms, such as the pork barrel, that precisely perpetuate the culture of dependence and patronage.

We could be barking up the wrong tree if we thought that political dynasties were our main problem. The argument against dynasties, as I see it, revolves around two key issues: first, that many political families tend to foist their kin on the community without much regard for their qualifications or readiness for public service; and second, that our voters, not knowing any better, tend to choose candidates on the basis mainly of name-recall or popularity, and on what they can get from them in terms of short-term material gain.

As we may note, the first is not an objection that we can apply exclusively to political families. Even political parties and coalitions in our society are vulnerable to the same charge to the extent that they choose their candidates on the basis of "winnability," as measured by the surveys, and with little regard for qualifications. It all boils down then to the second—namely, the low level of political maturity of our electorate. This, admittedly, is something we cannot entirely blame on them. If

our analysis is to be complete, we should call into question the entire social system that has kept the vast masses of our people uninformed, dependent, and poor. The indictment would have to place the onus of the responsibility on the elite who wield wealth and power in our society, and on those who should know better: the people in charge of the mass media, the school system, the churches, and the intelligentsia.

I have long been convinced that the wealthy and the power elite in our society are incurably shortsighted. They would rather protect and expand their existing privileges than seriously work to develop a social system that is more politically sustainable in the long term. A society that offers equal opportunity to every citizen to develop his/her highest potential, and guarantees to everyone the delivery of the minimum basic needs. A society that can absorb a lot of complexity because it is not afraid to experiment with new arrangements. A society that educates its young to value the instincts of their ancestors while equipping them to live in the future.

Part of the outcome of the political class's shortsightedness is that most of its members cannot see beyond what is needed to ensure their reelection. They do not have the kind of awareness that nation-builders of the past possessed because their perspectives are shorter and narrower. They are familistic. They are incapable of forming visions even at the level of their social class or, even less, at the broad national level where they might begin to speak of a social compact forged with the various elements of society.

This mind-set, I'm afraid, can only spawn among the younger generation an even more individualistic and self-centered attitude toward life. In many leadership formation workshops to which I have been invited to speak, I have observed that the kinds of messages that move young would-be leaders today have little to do with building a nation. They are more concerned with building personal credentials and seeking valuable professional connections, than in exploring and creating grounds for solidarity with other members of their generation.

I know I am beginning to sound like a pessimistic old man who cannot see anything positive in the young generation. But I am far from pessimistic. I draw enormous pleasure from teaching because, once in a while, when I least expect it, I encounter students who seem like old souls, survivors of a thoughtful age when people lived not for themselves but for an idea or a vision. Nietzsche calls them "emerging late ghosts of past cultures and their powers—atavisms of a people and its mores." Their habits of thoughts and their traits might have been prevalent at given points in a society's past. But today they are rare. The present world resists them and cannot digest them, and so they either become

crazy or eccentric, or condemned to solitude. We try to find places for them in academe, where I think they belong.

Because we are a relatively young nation, no generation of Filipinos is ever far enough from that first generation that had the privilege of imagining the Filipino nation. Those who were born before World War II were possibly the last generation of Filipinos to be consciously imbued with the task of building a nation. My own generation, born just after the war, somehow imbibed the fading spirit of that quest and tried to incorporate it in the agenda of our personal growth. From then on, it slowly became unfashionable and forgotten, raised from time to time like a ghost from the past, to haunt those who have become oblivious of the tradition of patriotism in which previous generations of Filipinos were steeped. I guess the young have since began to think of themselves merely as individuals entitled to self-actualization and to emancipation from everything that appeared to shackle them.

But I suppose every passing generation predictably thinks of the new one always in this poor light. For this reason, we must resist the very real temptation of telling the young how to build their lives and make use of their own time. The problems they will face will surely be different from ours. If we leave them alone, they will develop their own defenses and necessities, and there is a great chance they will even shine. Indeed, Nietzsche's words are worth pondering especially when despair sets in: "Some ages seem to lack altogether some talent or some virtue, as certain individuals do, too. But just wait for their children and grandchildren, if you have time to wait that long: they bring to light what was hidden in their grandfathers and what their grandfathers themselves did not suspect."

Three Generations of Iraya Mangyans: Roles and Dilemmas in the Modern World

Aleli B. Bawagan

This paper is part of a bigger study on "Identity Construction and Culture Reproduction among Iraya Mangyans: An Educational and Cultural Process." Feminist ethnography was the primary research method. Research partners were three generations of Iraya Mangyans from two villages in Baco, Oriental Mindoro. One village is still practicing their traditional culture while the other village has already been influenced by the modern world. The study looks into the main articulations of Iraya Mangyans across three generations on what constitutes their identity and how this identity is passed on through the generations.

This paper examines the roles of the three generations of Iraya Mangyans in identity construction and culture reproduction and the challenges and dilemmas they face as they negotiate the modern world.

Keywords: Iraya Mangyans, identity construction, culture reproduction, intergenerational study

INTRODUCTION

Individuals assume various identities in their lifetime according to their nationality, race, gender, age, religion, civil status, class, and ethnicity. They likewise acquire a mixture of allegiances as they relate to just as many social groups, including family, age-group peers, schoolmates, church affiliates, and regional and professional organizations. Individuals synthesize these roles and statuses into their identity (Cohen 1994). The sense of a common ethnicity—meaning, having the same origin, descent, and ancestral territory—has remained to this day a major focus of identification for individuals, especially among indigenous peoples for whom ethnicity defines them as a common group (Hutchinson and Smith 1996).

Ethnicity is further highlighted in situations where there are minority and majority populations. Among indigenous peoples, ethnicity becomes very important as they assert their identity as minorities within state boundaries, especially if they are in a situation that is economically and politically distant from the majority population and victimized by discrimination and prejudice (CCA-URM 1983; Min and Kim 1999; TABAK 1990).

For ethnicity construction to be internalized by the younger generation, each group has its own methods of culture reproduction, which are processes by which the significant cultural values and norms are passed on from one generation to another. Culture reproduction refers to the mechanisms by which continuity of cultural experience is sustained across time (Giddens 1997). This also ensures that the lessons from the past that have been proven to be effective are learned by the young.

While "reproduction" connotes having an almost exact replica of the original (e.g., art reproduction or biological transmission), in culture it refers to both replication and innovation. Other authors use different terms for this process, such as cultural transmission, enculturation, socialization, and acculturation (Giddens 1997; Spindler 1974). Enculturation and socialization refer to the processes within one's own culture while acculturation and re-socialization involve external cultures.

Hence, culture reproduction occurs both within and outside the community, especially in places like schools, churches, and government institutions. In indigenous communities, the extent of exposure to other cultures becomes salient in evaluating whether its internal, community-based, and informal education mechanisms are still strong and relevant to the young or whether external teaching and learning mechanisms, such as those found in formal education, have become more influential

and have replaced the traditional forms in dictating the values, preferences, and choices of the next generation. The various forms of culture reproduction engaged by the community and by forces outside the community need to be reviewed as to their contributions toward the strengthening or erosion of their identity and ethnicity.

This paper examines the roles of three generations of Iraya Mangyans in Baco, Oriental Mindoro, in identity construction and culture reproduction. The research primarily used ethnography as its research methodology. It was conducted in a community that is still considered traditional (Sitio Mamalao in Barangay Mangangan 1) and in another community that has a relatively higher level of acculturation (Barangay Bayanan).

The research covers three generations: the first generation includes the elders in the community, who are roughly around fifty-five years old and over; the second generation are the children of the first generation and are around thirty to fifty-four years of age; and the third generation are those from fourteen to twenty-nine years old, both married and unmarried. Key informant interviews and focused group discussions were also used as methods of data gathering. Gender balance was always a consideration in the search for research participants.

This paper is divided into five main sections. The first section presents the identity construction of Iraya Mangyans, and the second presents the manner of culture reproduction across three generations. The third section discusses the causes of the changes over the years. The fourth section looks at the roles of the three generations and the dilemmas faced by the third generation. The conclusions are in the last section.

CONSTRUCTION OF IRAYA MANGYAN IDENTITY THROUGH PRIMORDIAL AND TRANSACTIONAL ELEMENTS

Commonalities in the construction of the Iraya Mangyan identity were found across three generations and two different communities. The Iraya Mangyan identity is generally a combination of primordial (Geertz 1996; Hutchinson and Smith 1996; Smith 1995) and transactional (Almirol 1977; Barth 1969; Cohen 1994) elements grouped into the following layers of identity: (1) fundamental inner core, (2) supplemental middle layer, and (3) survival outer cover (figure 1).

Fundamental inner core

When it comes to primordial characteristics, the following remain present among all the generations of both communities: (1) reference
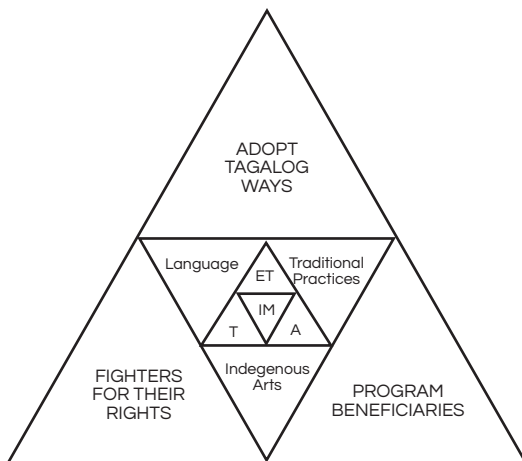
Legend: IM – Iraya Mangyan; A – Ancestors; T – Territory; ET – Emotional Ties

Figure 1. Iraya Mangyan Identity Construction

to their ancestors, (2) affinity with their territory, and (3) emotional ties. These three primordial elements form the fundamental inner core of Iraya Mangyan identity. These are undeniable elements that provide the very foundation of their being Iraya.

First, their ancestors as far as they can remember are all Iraya Mangyans. They can trace their relatives as far back as three or four generations and three or four generations forward even if they live far away from each other. Second, they define the upland areas as their territory, where their farms, watershed, and burial grounds are located. They know the mountain areas like the back of their hand. Moreover, their indigenous knowledge systems on farming, traditional medicines, and environmental protection are all rooted in their physical domain. Third, being an Iraya Mangyan is in the heart, meaning that emotional ties are attached to being one.

Supplemental middle layer

Three other primordial elements (language, indigenous arts, and traditional practices and beliefs) comprise the supplemental middle layer, adding character and substance to the fundamental elements. Whether or not they practice these fully or partially, these elements remain part of their heritage and are therefore important elements of their identity. The various influences over the years have caused the total or partial loss of some of these elements, such as the Iraya language, which only a few speak now. The members of the second and third generations of

Mamalao still understand many words, and their daily language has a sprinkling of Iraya here and there but those from Bayanan already call their language "tagraya"—meaning, Tagalog mixed with an Iraya accent or an Iraya word. Indigenous arts such as singing the *igway*, playing the *subing*, weaving the *balanan*, and *pamuybuyen* are still done in Mamalao but not in Bayanan. *Pagnganganga* and the weaving of *nito* plates are still done in both communities, except among members of the third generation of Bayanan. Lastly, their traditional practices and beliefs such as *pangako*, *tigian*, and *marayaw* are still performed in Mamalao and in the outlying villages of Bayanan.

Survival outer cover

The third layer of their identity consists of the following strategies: (1) fighting for their rights, (2) adoption of lowland customs, and (3) accepting social services and programs in their communities. These strategies evolved through transactions with other groups and help them survive as rapid changes adversely affect their lives. They have learned these strategies through frequent encounters with other groups and through the education and advocacy efforts of indigenous people's organizations who are fighting for their rights to ancestral domain.

The Irayas have now learned to fight for their rights, especially in defense of their ancestral domain. This is a radical shift from the experience of previous generations who just fled at the first sight of intruders into their territory. Having learned from indigenous peoples' organizations and partner nongovernment organizations (NGOs), they have organized and protested against groups who wanted to grab and exploit their upland territory and forest resources.

The Mangyans have also adopted some of the ways of the lowlanders, particularly those pertaining to religious rites, schooling, lowland political system, and the search for economic opportunities in the lowlands. These are ways for them to compete and survive in a modernizing world. Lastly, due to their low socioeconomic status, they continue to avail of social action programs and services (e.g., education scholarships, health services, and adult literacy programs) from various institutions, such as religious groups and NGOs. These are done to protect their young who remain physically vulnerable to their environment.

VARIATION IN CULTURE REPRODUCTION ACROSS GENERATIONS

The three generations of Iraya Mangyans have been exposed in varying degrees to different forms of traditional (Leeprecha 2004;

Tooker 2004) and modern (Bourdieu 1977; Spindler 1974) methods of culture reproduction (figure 2). The members of the first generation learned of their Iraya culture through the traditional forms used by their grandparents, parents, and other community members, such as storytelling and the observance of village rituals and customary laws. They were also exposed to the other institutions present in their community, such as the church and public schools. While they initially rejected the schools, they embraced the different religious denominations that came into their communities, such as the Evangelical Church in Bayanan and the Catholic Church in Mamalao.

The members of the second generation were exposed to additional modern forms of culture reproduction. Many of them had attended public primary schools, although most of them did not complete the six grades of elementary education. Whenever new institutions entered their communities, such as government institutions and NGOs, they were the recipients of new ideas related to different community projects, including agriculture, health and nutrition, and organization and advocacy for
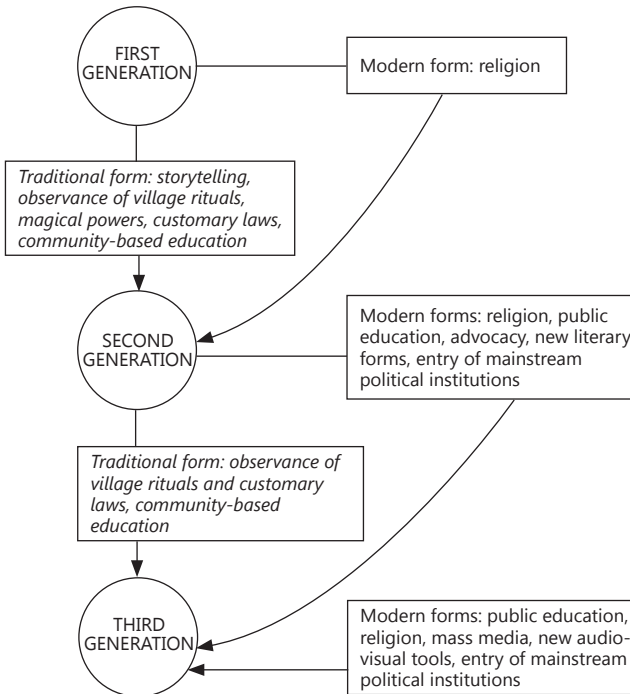
**Figure 2. Culture Reproduction Experienced
by the Iraya Mangyan**

their rights as indigenous peoples. They have manifested their exposure to new ideas, practices, experiences, and struggles through their composition of songs and poems that reflect their situation, which are radically different from what they see on the television and hear on the radio, two new forms of mass media that were first introduced to their generation.

The members of the third generation have been exposed to both traditional and modern forms of culture reproduction through their parents and grandparents. Their grandparents and other members of the first generation still have a strong influence, as they reproduce the traditional culture to encourage their young to preserve their way of life. Their parents, on the other hand, while still practicing some of the traditional forms, have also begun to adopt some modern forms of culture reproduction, to wit: (1) encouraging their children to go to school, (2) compelling their children to participate in community organization and advocacy, and (3) participating in the programs being introduced by other institutions.

The members of the third generation have also observed how their parents negotiate their Iraya identity around the lowland population when they enter the economic and political spheres of the lowlanders. At the same time, modern institutions continue to influence the young, such as the Sangguniang Kabataan (Government Youth Organization). They are also exposed to mass media through television and radio, which show them a kind of life that is very different from their own. Finally, they have learned how to use modern audiovisual tools, like videos and cameras, as educational materials that can help them convey their situation and identity.

CHANGES IN THE IRAYA CULTURE

Specific elements of the Iraya Mangyan identity remain constant in all three generations that participated in this study. The primordial characteristics common to the three generations are the following: knowledge of kin, territory, and emotional ties. Obviously, language is one element that has changed dramatically over the years. Tagalog is the lingua franca among the Mangyans of all generations. The extent of practice and belief in the cultural traditions, practices, and customary laws also varies between the two communities.

Among the characteristics arising from the transactional approach to identity construction, the experience of discrimination, being beneficiaries of services and programs, and being described as kind, polite, and patient were common to the three generations. However,

there is a stark difference between the responses of the first and second generations to problems related to the defense of their ancestral domain. Whereas in the past, the main response was "flight," members of the second generation have organized themselves to collectively defend and develop their ancestral domain. The extent of adoption of Tagalog customs also varies across generations and across the two types of communities.

So what caused the changes? What factors have led to their situation? In the 1980s, documents showed that the Irayas were already experiencing the loss of language and customs through acculturation. Jocano (2004) defines acculturation as phenomena resulting from continuous firsthand contact among individuals causing changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups. Like other ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines, the Iraya Mangyans have been subjected to various levels and intensities of acculturation from the prehistorical and colonization periods.

The current high level of acculturation among the Iraya Mangyans of Barangay Bayanan and to a certain extent the relatively lower level of acculturation in Sitio Mamalao and other Iraya Mangyan communities can be attributed to the following: (1) close interaction with Tagalog culture, (2) dislocation from their upland farms, and (3) the presence of other institutions (e.g., government and nongovernment organizations).

Close interaction with Tagalog culture

The very close interaction with the culture of the *tagbari* or outsiders—specifically, the Tagalogs who live in their community—is one major factor for the acculturation of the Irayas who now mingle with the Tagalogs almost daily. The Irayas have since acquired some of the Tagalog customs in terms of language, practices, preferences, and lifestyles. These can be discerned in their material culture, such as changes in their homes, their use of consumer goods, and their tastes in clothes, food, and music. The prevalence of the cash economy in the lowlands has also prompted them to regularly pursue jobs for much-needed cash. There have also been intermarriages. These have resulted in the formation of familial relationships among individuals from two different cultures that have hardly had any prior connection. In the past, any relationship would have been strictly political or economic if it even existed to begin with.

Dislocation from their upland farms

The dislocation from their own upland farms and home lots due to fraudulent sale and land grabbing started when Tagalogs set up their

small stores in Bayanan. The Mangyans were allowed to buy goods on credit, unaware that the interest rates were exorbitant. The Tagalog store owners then demanded their house or farm lots as the only acceptable form of payment for the debts they had accumulated. Most of them relinquished their property without any fight to avoid trouble. With the loss of their homes in the village center, some of them moved to other upland communities where only Irayas reside. Others stayed behind and are living like squatters in the area that had been designated as their village. Their dislocation was also caused by the logging and mining corporations that came to their villages to exploit their land. It was also caused by militarization, like what happened to the community of Talipanan in Puerto Galera where, much to their detriment, they were forced to relocate to the lowlands.

Having Tagalogs as neighbors has forced the Irayas to adjust to their new situation by adopting some of the ways of the more dominant culture to maintain peace and harmony. They are in a situation where they cannot totally insist on their traditional ways, such as chanting marayaw all night. Traditional practices require the sanctity of the place, which for the Mangyans can only be done in their own territories sans outsiders, lest they be ridiculed by Tagalogs who typically view them with condescension.

Presence of other institutions

Despite the fact that some Mangyan communities are located deep in the upland areas, mainstream institutions such as the government, various churches, and nongovernment organizations can still reach them. These institutions influence the traditional lives of the Mangyans. New ideas, practices, methods, and viewpoints have been introduced and accepted into the lives of the Mangyans through these institutions.

In Bayanan, the local government legislation has made inroads into the daily lives of the Mangyans. The recent ban by the provincial government of kaingin farming is being strictly adhered to by local Mangyan government officials, adversely affecting the Mangyan's main source of livelihood. The presence of local government officials in their barangay also dislodges the traditional system where elders decide on community affairs. They instead have to rely on the members of the barangay council, some of whom are Tagalogs and may not fully understand the Mangyan way of life.

Another institution that is making its presence felt in almost all Mangyan communities is the public school. The curriculum being followed is no different from what Tagalog children receive. The children go to school daily and therefore no longer work on the farms, unless their

parents decide to bring them to help with the farmwork. Those who only focus on studying are almost completely detached from the land that means so much to the older generations. Kaingin farming, taking care of the forests, and defending the land from intrusion have become quite alien to the younger Irayas, especially if they do not hear about these issues from their parents. They are now mostly concerned with finishing higher education and being able to land good jobs. A few NGOs focus on the formal education system and provide scholarships to interested Mangyans, inculcating a strong preference for formal education.

ROLES OF THREE GENERATIONS

The above discussion has referred to the changes that have been happening in the Mangyan communities and the factors that have caused these changes. Aside from looking at these changes, I also reviewed the data and observed some commonalities in terms of the roles of the three generations in identity construction and culture reproduction. I refer to these as the constants amidst the rapid changes in their environment.

First generation: Preservation of identity and culture

The members of the first generation are obviously the only ones left who have a very close affiliation with the past when things were simple and manageable for the Irayas. Though they did not have permanent settlements back then, they had more land to till and more space to move around. They did not have to go to school and mix with the lowlanders against their wishes. They spoke Iraya and sang igway, played the subing, kudyapi, and bangsi. Their parents told them Iraya stories, which they eventually passed on to their children and their grandchildren. They desire for the young to remember their heritage because they have observed that the generations after them have begun to forget the stories of their people. They want the young to continue learning about their past, their practices, and their beliefs in the hope that they will come to respect the old ways.

Even in their old age they try to teach the young the Iraya language and continue to share the stories of Alitawo, Dyaga, and Aybulangan. When they take care of their grandchildren and great grandchildren, they hum the igway and if a subing is available they play it and reminisce about the tunes and scenes of their younger years.

The Iraya identity they have developed is slowly transmitted to the young Irayas through the traditional modes of culture reproduction imbibed from their parents and grandparents. These forms are

storytelling, observance of rituals, laws and traditions, and informal community education such as learning crafts. If the elder is skilled in the marayaw, they will try to identify young Irayas who they think have the interest, aptitude, and attitude to carry on their work.

Second generation: Negotiation of identity for family survival

The members of the second generation are the ones who work to keep their family intact and to survive the daily struggles of domestic life. They work on their farms, a skill they learned from their parents, but they do not limit themselves to this kind of work because they know that it is not enough to put food on the table, especially for those who are still supporting their parents or siblings. Hence, they seek out other endeavors mainly through their transactions with lowlanders to earn more cash. They negotiate with the lowlanders to accommodate them as farmworkers. Since they are known for being hardworking and patient, they are usually given heavy work like logging and hauling farm products—such as coconuts, bundles of bananas, root crops, and abaca—from the mountains to the lowlands. They are also popular as farmhands in the lowlanders' farms. More recently, they have also been able to negotiate for other types of work such as *talok-ani* and *panghihimalay.* The Irayas from Bayanan have been doing these things longer than those from Mamalao, where only members of the second generation have learned these new agricultural skills.

The second generation hardly has any time left to spend with their children because of all their work, so they cannot tell them stories of the old days, sing Iraya songs to them, or teach them Iraya words. Moreover, due to their transactions with the Tagalogs, they now speak Tagalog more than Iraya. This does not mean that they do not participate in cultural activities and rituals, but they are not yet the ones who oversee these events because their elders are still alive. They, however, know that sooner or later they will have to assume these roles.

They interact with lowlanders not only in the economic sphere. They are usually the ones who are first approached to discuss project proposals in their areas whenever institutions like churches, the government, and nongovernment organizations arrive. Hence, they get exposed to new ideas, opportunities, and possibilities for the improvement of their community and their family. They would talk with these organizations about projects to help their children.

A few examples of these projects were the ones related to leadership development in the 1990s. The village leaders, almost all of whom are members of the second generation, attended various training sessions

to enhance their skills in leadership, community organization, and advocacy. Through these sessions and other activities, they were able to meet leaders of other Mangyan communities and other indigenous peoples like the Aytas and Lumads. They learned what other groups did to defend their ancestral domain and develop their communities.

Armed with new knowledge and the assistance of the first generation, members of the second generation have been in the forefront of the battle against corporations that wish to take over their lands. They now have the stamina, the skills, and the will to wage protest actions in defense of their land, which they hope their children will inherit.

They have also been able to negotiate the Iraya identity in the political sphere. Some of them have become local government officials while others are members in barangay committees. This is largely evident in Bayanan where the barangay chief, barangay secretary, and four out of seven members of the barangay council are all Irayas. In Mamalao, on the other hand, the barangay council in Mangangan 1 has designated Iraya leaders as sectoral representatives and members of the Lupon Tagapamayapa.

Through these interactions with the local government structure, the members of the second generation have learned to explore avenues to get benefits for their communities, such as PhilHealth membership, so that they can avail of discounts for health services and avail of medical expertise regarding difficult illnesses plaguing the community, like leprosy.

They have dreams for their children. Over the years, they have seen how difficult life is for them. They are always subject to the lowlanders' ridicule due to their low level of education. They therefore try hard to send their children to school, so that the next generation will not suffer as much as they have.

Third generation: Experimentation and decision making

The members of the third generation are exposed to both traditional and modern ways of culture reproduction, although the degrees vary depending on the community. Many of them still have their grandparents who share with them the Iraya life of yesteryears through storytelling or the practice of swidden farming and the production of household crafts. They also have parents who work hard for their families. They have been able to observe the role the older generations play in feeding their family and keeping the culture alive.

Majority of the third-generation Irayas have experienced public school education. They have also experienced helping their parents in the farm, which means that they know how physically challenging

farming is, especially when done on a daily basis. Their exposure to the modern world started at a young age. They have developed new habits, such as taking daily baths, washing their clothes, and keeping them clean.

As they mature, they have to make decisions regarding what to do with themselves and the community. They also face various dilemmas, to wit: the dilemma of formal education, choosing whether to work on their own farms or outside the village, the loss of traditional culture, keeping lowlanders out of their village, and whether to accept or resist changes.

The dilemma of formal education

Most members of the second generation recognize their children's need to finish formal education beyond the elementary level. They know that the farmlands will not increase in size and are always under threat from dispossession through the fraudulent schemes of the lowlanders or through collaborative projects between government and private agencies like mining concessions. Hence, they want to give their children options, including the ability to be able to find work outside of farming. They believe that formal education is the answer to this dilemma.

While the parents and their children are really interested in pursuing formal education, their irregular income puts them in a bind. Although public school fees are very minimal, it can still be problematic when they do not have the extra cash. If they ever receive a windfall, it is usually spent on food and other household expenses such as rice and salt. For the Mamalao children, finishing elementary education means spending the last four years of elementary education in Mangangan 1 Elementary School, which is located in the lowlands, so they have to hike for an hour per trip every day. Not all of the children can endure this—only the strong-willed and motivated graduate.

Once they are able to finish elementary education, they can pursue secondary education through the support of private agencies that provide scholarships to cover the cost of their tuition fees, school supplies, and board and lodging expenses. Of course, the parents still shoulder all the other expenses such as uniforms, school projects, and allowances, which can still add up to quite a hefty sum.

While finances are the major concern, the children also need to adjust to being away from home since the high school and the boarding house are both located at the town center. They can only go home when there are long school breaks. They can succumb to homesickness if they are not determined. Aside from being separated from their families, the children also have to contend with the daily taunts of their classmates,

who discriminate against them because of their ethnicity. Unless they are resilient, they can easily give up on schooling and return to the mountains and their families.

Since they cannot solely rely on the money their parents give them, the children have to look for other sources of income (e.g., doing domestic chores for some of their teachers, or working part-time in the store of a Tagalog). This goes on until their college years.

When they reach college, they may sometimes lose the ability to choose what course to take because of the requirements of the individual or institution that is supporting them. Their high school grades can also be a hindrance if these fall below the minimum grade requirement of the course they want to enrol in.

While many children want to pursue formal education due to the benefits it will bring them and their families, there are many problems and challenges that the young Irayas and their parents have to face.

Farmwork or work outside their village?

The way of life in Bayanan is obviously different from that in Mamalao. Unlike in Mamalao where the majority are still tilling and working on their own farms, many of the people of Bayanan work on the farms of either the Tagalogs or their fellow Irayas. They are paid on a piece-rate basis—that is, they get paid for each task such as getting a coconut from a tree, hauling it to the barangay center, or husking the nuts.

A number of the second generation and the married men of the third generation do not have their own kaingin anymore. Although they get hired, their wage is hardly commensurate to the hard work they render. A day's wage for farmwork often ranges between PHP 100 and PHP 120 while harvesting a kilo of calamansi nets a pay of PHP 10. There are even times when the Irayas are not paid on the spot but instead have to wait for at least three days for the trader to return from the markets in Batangas or Manila.

This situation puts the young Irayas at a disadvantage. Not all of them are able to go to school since their parents cannot afford the expenses. Once the children learn basic writing, reading, and calculating skills, their parents pull them out of school but when they have no farms to till, they resort to whatever jobs they can get to earn money even if the rates are exploitative. The prices of their products and their labor are hardly able to keep up with the increase in expenses for basic food and household needs. Their wage rates, which range from PHP 100 to PHP 120 or even as low as PHP 80 a day, have been constant for quite some time now. However, the prices of rice and other basic commodities have increased. They also do not earn enough to pay off the loans they have

accumulated. It has become a vicious cycle, and their debts just keep on increasing.

Since their skills are mainly agricultural, they have difficulty demanding higher wages from the Tagalogs who set their pay. While there is a law regulating minimum wage, this is more often ignored, especially in the rural areas.

The Irayas wish to have a regular paying job like the people who work in Calapan or Manila. They believe that this is the best way to help their families who cannot seem to escape from the vicious cycle of poverty because of the barrier posed by their low educational status. They are aware that even some of the college graduates have been having difficulty getting jobs. They have to maintain an effective balance between working and developing their farms and working outside of their village to earn cash even at exploitative rates. They also need to learn to assert their rights to better wages and better prices for their crops.

Loss of traditional culture

Most of the traditional beliefs are no longer followed and practiced by the second and third generations of Bayanan. Aside from their affiliation and emotional ties to their kin, there are a few indicators of their Iraya identity. They already have the same customs as the lowlanders when it comes to weddings, burials, baptisms, and birthday parties.

In Barangay Baras, another Iraya Mangyan village, which I briefly visited, I was dumbfounded when one of the members of the first generation requested payment when I asked her if she still remembered an igway, a traditional Iraya song. She was not embarrassed to ask for a fee for her igway. She said that she learned to ask for money from another old-timer in their village who did the same. I was, to say the least, surprised at her being so straightforward. She only sang the igway when I said that I would pay her.

In Mamalao, however, the children still share and tell stories about their mythical figures such as the Aybulangan, Dyaga, Alitawo, and others. The children are also able to draw what they imagine the monster Aybulangan looks like. They can also tell you what he eats, the appearance of his eyes, and the names of his wife and child while they are drawing him. They also observe the traditional rituals that are still being practiced in the village.

While there is still a semblance of traditional culture in Mamalao, the influx of modern ideas and influences is slowly leaving its mark through the presence of television shows, the formal education system, and the growing interest of the young in all things modern. The members of the

second and third generation have to be aware of the changing situation and how these can lead to further decline of their culture.

Some of the young are concerned that their traditions are being eroded but at the same time they also believe that some of the old traditions should be abandoned. One of these traditions is *katuros*. They believe that this practice is one reason why the Mangyans cannot develop since they are always on the move. They also think that burning a house down when a person dies is a waste of resources. Others just simply do not care about their culture and traditions and are more concerned with their daily mundane interests. They do not care that modern society is slowly creeping in and eroding their culture. This is an issue that members of the third generation have to grapple with. Others want to do something about it, but there are also others who are just turning a blind eye.

The continuing challenge to keep lowlanders out of their villages

Much of the homelands and farmlands in Bayanan have been taken over by the Tagalogs. At first, the mini-stores the Tagalogs set up seemed to be a harmless economic endeavor where Mangyans could buy goods on credit. This turned out to be a monstrous problem when they lost their lands to pay for their debts. Further, things began to change from the old ways when they started having Tagalogs as neighbors. They could not practice their old traditions because they did not want to do it in the presence of outsiders.

Mamalao prides itself in being able to control the inflow of low-landers to their village. Many lowlanders have asked permission from the elders to set up a small store where they can sell household goods, but the elders have remained steadfast in barring their entry. They have learned their lesson from Bayanan, which failed to control the inflow of lowlanders to their village. They value their ancestral domain highly and want to defend it from anyone who would try to take it away from them. For them, one of the important elements of the Iraya identity is their territory.

For the young in Mamalao, it remains to be a continuing challenge to keep the lowlanders away from their village. The current leaders are able to resist but the next generation will need a lot of willpower and strength as an organized group to be able to continue the second generation's work.

To accept or resist changes?

The entry of external influences is inevitable. It is more felt in Bayanan than in Mamalao. The young people of Bayanan, though they know that they cannot return to the past, have expressed their desire to live in a community with only Mangyans as neighbors.

How much influence the external world will have in Mamalao will depend on how the third generation continues the efforts of the second generation in defending their land. The internal strength of the Irayas will largely determine whether they will accept or resist the changes in their culture. They will need collective will, individual efforts, a deep love of their culture and tribe, and continuous reproduction of the Iraya myths, stories, traditions, and lifestyles to preserve their way of life. On the other hand, the external forces of change, such as religion, lowland culture, formal schooling, and globalization, are very strong and can easily overpower a weak countenance.

Leaders of the Mangyan Iraya sa Baco (MISB) mention the need to organize the youth. They need to understand the struggles of the second generation and they need to be trained in leadership and in the management of the affairs of their village.

The responses of the young are proof of a beleaguered generation. Others are willing to join, but others are still undecided.

Before they make a decision, they experiment to see how much of the non-Mangyan world they can take on and how much of it will accept them with equality. They know that they will have a difficult time based on the experiences of their parents. Those who did not pursue education beyond elementary and have their own families now follow the older generations in farming the uplands but those who are pursuing higher education find themselves in a predicament. They must decide whether to find work outside of their village and earn enough cash to help their families or to continue working in the village and suffer financial difficulties.

CONCLUSION

In summary, the three generations of Iraya Mangyans have been performing their different roles. Once the members of the third generation have decided on what to do, they will then assume the roles of the second generation. They will have to keep their families afloat while the previous second generation inherits the role of the first generation. A new third generation will then face new dilemmas regarding their lives and the changes in their communities.

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Palaweños, Do We Know Where We're Going To?: the Dynamics of Generations Y and Z

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Coinciding with the fast-changing world are people with vigorously evolving motivations. The Philippines as a developing nation is composed of individuals from different generations whose goals are largely shaped by various factors. This study aims to examine the factors that motivate Palaweños and how and why these factors impact their behavior. Perception of generations Y and Z about their priorities, means of achieving goals, and ways of dealing with challenges were gathered through surveys and focus group discussions.

Results show the dynamics of goal formation and goal-achieving behaviors of generations Y and Z, the interplay between internal and external factors that shape such goals and behaviors, and the existing similarities and differences between two generations.

Keywords: goals, generation Y, generation Z, Palaweños

INTRODUCTION

It is generally believed that each generation lives in a specific time dimension where attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors are influenced by various internal and external factors, from supposedly innate traits to familial, societal, cultural, and historical forces (Bronfenbrenner 2005). Globalization, individualism, consumerism, modernization, and technology are commonly acknowledged to bring changes in human development, which then contribute to the formation and evolution of one's goals within and across generations (Pickles 2007; Brown-Graham 2011). As rational beings capable of extracting meaning from the environment, humans may consider the experiences brought by these factors as tools for learning, adjustment, and goal attainment.

Beliefs that the future rests on the hand of the people of today have long existed in the literature (Rosario-Braid, Tuazon, and Lopez 2011; Brown-Graham 2011). For many decades, social demographers, social scientists, and economists have been preoccupied with quantifying and categorizing population in many parts of the world in terms of their interests, lifestyle, and behavior (Rock 2011). The descriptions of each generation since the 1920s up to the present and the differences within and between cohorts have caught the attention of marketing experts, especially in the West (Reeves 2006). Although several studies on Filipino youths' behavior and motivation within the context of society, family, and even the self have been conducted (Sta. Maria 1999; Lapeña et al. 2009; Reyes and Galang 2009), the psychological aspects of changing Filipino generations have been rarely explored, especially in Palawan.

This study aims to explore the goals of Palaweños, the factors that shape their goals, and the dynamics of the conception, formation, and realization of these goals.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Drawing the line between generations Y and Z

It may be hard to put definite chronological boundaries between generations as the classification varies in the literature (Reeves 2006; Schroer 2012; Krause 2012; Euromonitor International 2011). However, three generations—Generations X, Y, and Z—have been well identified. Generation Y (born in 1980–2000, also known as the Millennials) and Generation Z (born in 1995–2010, also known as the Net Generation) are children of Generation X or those born in 1966–1976 (Schroer 2012) or 1965–1979 (Krause 2012).

According to Grail Research Analysis (2007), each generation is characterized by different experiences that mold their outlook and

behavior. If this is so, as Taylor and Keeter (2010) put it, differences in beliefs, behaviors, and lifestyles within and across generations may no longer be surprising. Just like the former generations who laid the path for the present generation, the present generation may also provide direction for the upcoming generations (Milana 2008).

Moreover, Generations Y and Z may be considered core talents of the upcoming years (Thurloway and Stewart 2010). Generation Z are characterized as being technologically adept, independent, individualistic, family-oriented, impatient, materialistic, and open to experience. However, contrary to stereotypical characteristic of today's youth as rebellious, Gen Zs are actually community-oriented (Euromonitor International 2011). The previous Generation Y or the Millenials, on the one hand, are characterized as goal-oriented, highly mobile, and in want of life balance (Papp 2007). The older people's standards may not be applicable for Gen Y because environmental changes have changed their lifestyles (Taylor and Morin 2009). In addition, youth and young adults are more focused on their own career and work-life balance (Thurloway and Stewart 2010). Even though demographics tell us that both these generations are technologically oriented, not all of those who belong to these generations share common characteristics because there are still other factors that account for continental or cultural differences.

Nonetheless, there may also be little differences between Generations Y and Z because according to Settersten, Furstenburg, and Rumbaut (2008), adulthood may no longer begin when adolescence ends. Because of "emerging adulthood," it is not surprising if, in their early twenties up to early thirties, some people still choose to live with their parents while focusing on the pursuit of their personal goals, without necessarily including their family or the immediate context (Arnett 2004). This may also be the reason why Filipinos who have not yet established their own family choose to stay with their parents until they are totally prepared for the actual adult roles.

Influencing factors to development

Various factors influence the development of individuals, which in turn affect their values, beliefs, and goals. According to Taylor and Keeter (2010), the life cycle, period effects, and cohort effects all impact human development. Within a life cycle, a person, whether he likes it or not, undergoes physical and psychosocial changes while going through life transitions. There are also changing developmental tasks and expectations, which in turn affect goal development (Havighurst 1965; Hurlock 1982; Rodriguez 2009) and identity formation (Erikson 1982). On the other hand, scientific, medical, and technological breakthroughs,

which are commonly believed to have greatly influenced goal formation, are subject to period effects. Cohort effect occurs when historical events shape the minds of people born at about the same year, making them share the same experiences that also make them distinct from other groups (Cozby 2009). Despite all these, Ritzer (2007) argues that these three interrelated factors should all be taken into account.

Technology, family, and culture as agents of change and progress

External factors may influence all people of varying age groups, but the effects are likely to vary based on the individual's life cycle. These changes may be imprinted in the mind of a person in adolescence and young adulthood as these are the phases when values are being shaped (Rock 2011).

Technology has affected the life and aspirations of people from different age groups, especially the youth (Lapeña et al. 2009; Thurloway and Stewart 2010). It has both positive and negative influences on people. It introduced new communication channels that expose teens of today to other cultures and broader ideas (Thurloway and Stewart 2010). It was also found out that due to exposure to technology, lessened compliance to parental authority may be expected (Rosario-Braid, Tuazon, and Lopez 2011). Despite this, Taylor and Keeter (2010) stated that it is not just gadgets and the latest trends that influence people but also how individuals use them.

The Filipino family serves as social agent for identity and goal development (Garo-Santiago, Mansukhani, and Resurreccion 2009). They provide moral, emotional, and financial support. The parents may always have a say on their children's decisions and plans for the future (Liwag, dela Cruz, and Macapagal 1999; Eder 2000) as duties of children are met based on parental expectations. Whereas the development of individuals may be subject to multiple influences, which contribute to healthy and positive changes (Sta. Maria et al. 2009), a family dysfunction may put an individual at risk to unhealthy social adjustments (Van Rooi 2011). However, it is also argued that identification with the family does not hinder the Filipino youth from being autonomous, as their individuality still remains despite the strong filial connection (Garo-Santiago, Mansukhani, and Resurreccion 2009).

Aspirations may be culturally defined. While Australians and some Westerners want to leave home before the age of twenty-five and plan to own a house before age thirty (UMR Research 2012), in the Philippines, staying with parents even after earning a degree and landing on a job is typical. Because of the collectivist and interdependent nature (Triandis

1989; Markus and Kitayama 1991) of Filipinos, it is not surprising if they prioritize in-groups' welfare more than their own (Pentecostes 1999). Also, the debt of volition or debt of gratitude, as Mercado (1993) puts it, places a mutual contract between the individual and his/her family as it encourages reciprocity.

Moreover, a country's condition may also define the priorities of the youth. According to Euromonitor International (2011), teens in some Asian countries like China and South Korea focus more on education whereas in India, employment at a young age is rampant. Both of these are also true in the Philippines.

The weight of education and work

Education is believed to facilitate life goals (Reyes and Galang 2009). Its importance had been deeply embedded in Philippine culture (Botor and Ortinero 1994). Contextual reasons may have also motivated Filipinos to pursue educational goals. Together with internal factors like enjoyment and self-fulfillment (Hurlock 1982; Santrock 2008), work is prioritized by Filipinos because of the need to meet filial and familial obligations (Lapeña et al. 2009). Nonetheless, in some Western countries, the importance of education for Generation Z is no longer strongly emphasized because it is no longer seen as the only means for survival (Figueiredo 2011). Attention is shifting to technology itself (Figueiredo 2011). This is consistent with Bernardo's (2003) findings among selected Filipino youth in which education is seen as an alternative but not the surest way to success. Success is not based on educational attainment alone as there may be other means toward success. However, regardless of success or failure in a specific venture, familial aspirations remain (Reyes and Galang 2009). This may be due to the interdependent mind-set that has been deeply embedded in the Filipinos.

The role of self-regulation

One of the self-constructs of a Filipino (Sta. Maria 1999) is the persistent person who focuses on goals and does everything to succeed. Goal development is influenced not only by external and social factors but also by inner resources (Lapeña et al. 2009) and developmental strengths (Benson 2002) that come into play. Because of self-regulation and self-efficacy (Bandura 1989), goals are set and may be achieved through heightened focus (Ormrod 2008). Part of self-regulation is self-observation where a person goes through introspection and improves what has to be improved to attain the goal (Bandura 1989). Self-regulation tends to be more prevalent among early adults, whereas teens manifest self-responsibility (Lowe et al. 2012). Furthermore,

through internal attribution and outcome expectancy (Weiner 1985), a person may become more motivated to strive because of the positive emotion that the efforts may evoke when goals are personally achieved. Locus of control (Weiner 1985; Rotter 1990) facilitates self-autonomy and determination, which in turn help individuals achieve their goals (Vansteenkiste et al. 2005).

METHODS

This study employed a mixed method—i.e., focus group discussions (FGD) and survey—to gather data. FGD sessions were conducted for each of the three generations—X, Y, and Z—who were born and grew up in Palawan.

For the purpose of this study, the researcher delineates Generation Y as those born in 1980–1994, Generation Z as those born in 1996–2000, and Generation X as those born in 1960–1979. For the FGD, a total of six participants (three males and three females) comprised Generation Y whose ages range from twenty-three to thirty; five participants (two boys and three girls) from Generation Z are all sixteen years old; and four teacher participants made up Generation X. A purposive convenience sample of 200 secondary students who belong to Generation Z and 135 young adults who belong to Generation Y were surveyed about their priorities, factors that influence goal formation, and goal-achieving behavior. Forty-two teachers who belong to Generation X were also surveyed about the changing behaviors and attitudes of present and past generations.

For the FGD sessions, the researcher facilitated the discussion, kept the conversation flowing, and took a few notes to remember comments for clarifications. The discussions were audio-recorded, transcribed, and subjected to thematic analysis. From the transcribed data, the researcher studied the items repeatedly, and relevant extracts from the data set were collated to form themes. Data organization was done through "coding" and "mind-mapping." Verbatim statements were identified in the transcription to highlight the identified themes and categories. The quantitative data were then tabulated and interpreted to substantiate the qualitative data.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Goals do not just appear for nothing. Several factors that make up the goal's complicated dynamics interact with each other in both clear and unobservable ways. People identify, formulate, and attain goals depending on what factors are at play. The following sections present

the priorities of Palaweños, and the mechanisms behind their evolving aspirations. The results, however, may only be true for the participants and respondents of this study and may not be generalized to a greater population.

Aspiring for something is common for many people. Regardless of age, environment, or situation, goals play an integral part in human motivation. If there are motives that serve as push factors to behavior, goals serve as the pull factors. It was found out that the priorities of Generations Y and Z revolve around three major concerns: education, work, and family.

Education: Door to opportunities

Education has been part of Filipinos' lives and customs (Botor and Ortinero 1994). Philippine society has put so much value on it. Undoubtedly, many people see it as a means of improving oneself, a tool for realizing one's potential, and a stepping stone for success (Reyes and Galang 2009). As fourth year high school students, most of the Gen Z participants' aspirations lie in education. One of the participants said:

> Sa ngayon po 'yong goal ko maka-graduate at makahanap ng magandang school na makakabigay naman sa akin ng magandang quality ng education. (Z2)

This statement clearly shows that Gen Z participants are preoccupied with finishing high school and getting their way through college. Among the goals enumerated by Gen Z, the one that needs immediate fulfillment is education. Expectedly, academic stress is one of the top problems high school students face. Education tends to be prioritized by many because in the Philippine context, it is viewed as a means to getting a decent work. It also paves the way for the realization of other post-educational goals as well as social and economic progress (Reyes and Galang 2009).

Just like the Gen Z participants, those belonging to Gen Y emphasized the significance of finishing their studies. In their early twenties, they feel pressured to attain this goal (Y1, Y3, Y4). One of them said:

> Gustong-gusto kong makapagtapos. Ngayong ganitong edad ko na, siyempre unang-una 'yong makapagtapos. (Y4)

It appears that in terms of educational targets, the desire to finish their studies is more intense among participants belonging to Gen Y than those belonging to Gen Z. This is because Gen Y participants are in their early adulthood. People at this stage have developmental expectations to meet, which include establishing new patterns of living, assuming new

responsibilities, and being financially independent (Havighurst 1965; Hurlock 1982; Rodriguez 2009). Inability to finish schooling may prolong or delay the attainment of such developmental expectations, which in turn could result in uneasiness.

Although Gen Z and Gen Y participants seem to have concrete or elaborate ideas about their academic, career, and familial goals, it was noted that they have no clear vision of what their future will be. One participant (Z4) said that he has not yet thought of the future because he still has more important decisions to make, like what course to take or where to go in college. The uncertainty about the future may be due to preoccupation with transitional issues (Hurlock 1982).

Likewise, formal schooling is believed to be associated with social and economic progress, a view that has been inculcated in the minds of Filipinos and has been passed on through generations (Botor and Ortinero 1994). Accordingly, it may not be surprising that the two generations still hold on to this belief. Regardless of their developmental stage, the value placed on education's role in one's life also shapes the attitude and behavior of people. Financial stability may hardly be achieved without a good job and a good education. Also, higher aspirations may also be difficult without getting a formal education.

Work: Bridge to independence

Aside from being a goal in itself, work provides people the means to fulfill other aspirations. Individuals may have unique reasons for working as they may be driven by external or internal factors or both. Work may also have varying meaning for different individuals as it can be seen as a foundation for social recognition, status improvement, or merely a source of living (Hurlock 1982).

Participants view work as means toward autonomy, which for them signifies the capacity for independent living, which means not relying on parents to sustain their needs. Gen Y participants believe that work stability has to be secured to meet their goals for themselves and their family (Y2, Y5, Y6). Likewise, Gen Z participants think that work and career opportunities will enable them to be self-sustaining (Z1, Z3, Z4). One of them claimed:

> *Ah … sa akin ang career opportunities, ito 'yong magbibigay ng daan sa akin para mabuhay nang sarili sa hinaharap ko. (Z2)*

One of the reasons why people need to work is for them to earn a living (Santrock 2008). Having a job is a key to financial independence, which gives individuals the capability to fulfill other goals such as supporting the family. The attainment of some goals basically rests

on the availability of financial resources (Eder 2000). Thus, when lower goals are not attained, there is also the possibility for higher goals to not materialize. This is expected as almost half of the respondents from both generations consider career opportunities as leading to "success" (Gen Y, 44 percent; Gen Z, 43 percent), which for them means goal attainment.

Although Palaweños from both generations share the need for financial independence, it was observed that Gen Ys are more compelled to satisfy this need than their younger counterparts. This is because Gen Y participants are at their early adulthood stage; it is expected of them to personally establish their niche and achieve economic independence (Santrock 2008). Moreover, consistent with Lapeña et al. (2009), the need for financial stability is greater as one shoulders more responsibilities. This is clearly seen in the case of Y6, a single parent who is willing to shift to another work with higher pay and greater benefits if the opportunity comes.

Furthermore, aside from economic independence per se, the need to enjoy one's work is also important. In choosing areas of work, one has to make sure that it is along his or her line of interest (Y2, Y4, Y5, Z1, Z2, Z3). Z4 explained that happiness is not brought by money alone. He added:

> Hindi ako magiging masaya kung puro pera lang 'yong iniisip ko kasi kapag lagi ka naman na nai-stress, kahit mataas 'yong pera mo hindi ka magiging masaya kasi stressed ka. (Z4)

There is more to work than just money, as there are other intrinsic factors to consider like one's interest, happiness, and enjoyment. As seen in the survey, differences between two generations in terms of career goals to realize their potentials are minimal. As explained by John Holland (as cited in Santrock 2008), people also need to choose a career that fits their skills, abilities, interest, and personality, as occupational mismatch could lead to job dissatisfaction.

Moreover, although Gen Zs are aware of the rewards of financial independence, they admitted that they are not yet ready to leave their parents because they are still incapable of independent living. Aside from financial support that they get from parents, which is quite more dominant (54 percent) than emotional support (46 percent), the need for parental guidance was emphasized by Gen Zs. One participant said:

> May pera nga po pero may mga bagay na hindi pa rin po alam; kailangan pa din ng guide ng parents. (Z3)

Clearly, Palaweño youths are still dependent on their parents for guidance. This is expected because the teenage years constitute

a period of transition when identities, abilities, and decision-making skills are still evolving. According to Lev Vygotsky's social constructivist approach (as cited in Ormrod 2008), less skilled individuals need guidance from more knowledgeable persons until they learn the task at hand. In this study, the less skilled individuals are the Gen Z participants, while their parents serve as their guide.

Family: The envisioned beneficiaries of Palaweños' venture

In human development, family is the first and immediate context that shapes an individual's personality, values, and beliefs (Bronfenbrenner 2005). It may be inevitable that one's future expectations include the welfare of the family unit itself. The following accounts explain the hopes of the participants for their family.

Participants from both generations said that they want to help and support their family, a must-attain objective with or without their folks' demand. The family is central to the Palaweños' life mission and vision. Despite differing economic backgrounds and family experiences, participants maintain filial piety through family-oriented behaviors such as staying with parents, sacrificing for them, and expressing gratitude (Y1, Y2, Y4, Z1, Z3, Z4, Z5). One of them expressed:

> *'Yong isang goal ko na hindi nagbabago noon kahit noong teenager at noong bata ako ay 'yong pag-give back sa magulang. (Y2)*

Regardless of age, the expectation to give back to parents is strong. Twenty-five percent and thirty percent of respondents from Gen Y and Gen Z, respectively, stated that support for the family would be their top priority when career stability occurs. The participants' mind-set may be explained by the concept of *"utang na loob"* or debt of gratitude. The participants feel indebted to their parents; on their own, they will show generosity to the family unit whenever they can (Mercado 1993). Performing one's duty for the family is done for unselfish reasons, and not because they are obliged to do so. Nevertheless, the debt of gratitude may not be the only reason for family-oriented behavior. Reciprocity may also be explained by the sociocultural concept of "collectivism." Collectivism is characterized by sharing one's resources and acting in ways that portray concern and support for the members of one's group (Triandis 1989; Sta. Maria 1999).

Contrary to the the view of teachers from Generation X that members of the young generation are more rebellious and less family oriented than their older counterparts, it was found that 30 percent of Gen Z participants acknowledge the significance of family-oriented

behaviors, higher than Gen Y whose responses ranged from 19 percent when they were teens and 25 percent at the time of survey. This is because Gen Z participants may be driven by the concept of *"hiya"* or shame (Mercado 1993). As this has been central to the Filipino psyche (Enriquez 1994; Church 1987), there is that undesirable feeling of being unworthy when one cannot reciprocate to the family. Thus, to avoid conflict, family-oriented behaviors are manifested, especially when they acknowledge that everything they needed had been provided by the family (Z2, Z3, Z5).

While participants in the study aim for academic, career, and familial goals, the pursuit of one's own happiness and pleasure is not set aside. The desire for independence per se does not hinder the fulfillment of familial goals because these goals have intrinsic value and are not necessarily a hindrance to success (Sta. Maria et al. 2009).

The interrelatedness of education, career, and familial goals is apparent in this study. Value put on education is pragmatic, as it is seen as leading to professional achievement (Bernardo, Salanga, and Aguas 2008). Work serves as bridge to independence, which is one of the developmental tasks of emerging adulthood (Santrock 2008; Hurlock 1982). Financial stability, on one hand, enables one to meet the constant goal—to support the family. Major facet of career decision and goal formation should be congruent with one's values; when people know what is important for them, decisions are directed toward that goal (Santrock 2008), while interests rest also on the family and not just on personal goals (Mercado 1993). Among the themes, it is the value placed on the family that stands out the most.

THE DYNAMICS OF CHANGING ASPIRATIONS

Individuals undergo various stages and transitions throughout life. Choices and decisions are affected by factors like the family context, social expectations, personal experiences, learning, and motivation. Hence, goal formation follows a course where the dreamer and the desire itself are not the only prime movers. The following accounts explain how the goals of participants were framed.

Family: Fuel for goal development

As part of individual's microsystem, the smallest and most immediate social context (Bronfenbrenner 2005), the family has undeniable impact on a person's development. Families shape the beliefs and attitudes of the young. They have a major say on decisions and behaviors of the youth (Liwag, dela Cruz, and Macapagal 1999).

Majority of participants believe that their families have a major influence on their personal development. The family is seen as a source of encouragement, direction, and values (Y1, Y2, Y4). Y2 stressed that the value of moral support is greater than financial support, as financial assistance alone is useless. Similarly, all Gen Z participants see their parents the way their older counterparts do. They see them as their guiding light to the right path and proper decisions. Accordingly, all participants believe that the family is the basis of one's dreams, and the reason for them to pursue their ventures. One participant said:

> *Sa akin, sobrang nakaapekto sila sa pagbuo ng mga pangarap ko. Hanggang ngayon, sila pa rin 'yong naging source ng pag-fulfill ng mga goals ko. Sila pa rin, kasama sila doon; in some ways dinidiktahan nila 'yong puwede kong gawin papunta sa goals ko, pero hinahayaan. (Y1)*

Respondents' perception toward the roles of their family rests on emotional and moral support—50 percent for Gen Y and 46 percent for Gen Z. Contrary to the perception of Gen X about the negative impact of too much attention and support that parents give to their children, both Gen Y and Z participants see parental support in a positive light as they are more inspired than expected. This finding validates Sta. Maria, Mansukhani, and Garo-Santiago's (2009) view that the family is a significant resource for goal formation. However, despite assistance from family, the person remains accountable for one's decisions.

On the other hand, all Gen Z participants recognize that they still need to hang on to their families because of their inability to provide for their own needs. Relying on parents is stronger when there are things that are beyond their knowledge and understanding. According to them, their parents know everything, having gained wisdom from experiences through the years (Z3, Z4). One of the participants stated:

> *Di pa ako masyadong experienced kaya kailangan pa nila akong tulungan; iga-guide pa nila ako kasi bata pa lang ako... (Z4)*

Gen Zs are aware of their limitation as teens. Consistent with previous studies, for the transition periods, parents are still needed to provide guidance and support (Eder 2000). Moreover, during adolescence, identities are still evolving and situations could demand immediate decisions with regard to social, academic, or career transitions that teens cannot make alone. Seeking the help of an older counterpart may be common for a less skilled individual until he learns or masters the necessary life skills (Vygotsky 1997).

Developmental stages: The inevitable facets of goal formation

Together with a person's life-span development are specific stages when he or she has to acquire the necessary skills for intellectual, emotional, and social adjustment. There are developmental tasks that individuals have to pursue to lead them to contentment and success in their later duties in life (Uhlendorff 2004). Developmental tasks are guidelines that allow people to distinguish what society expects of them at certain stages (Havighurst 1965; Uhlendorff 2004).

It appears that ideas of both generations in goal-framing and achievement are linear. They are aware of the consequences of the present stage to later stages—i.e., the impact of their current roles and aspirations on their future. As Y2 noted, teens want to get a college education to land on a good job. When these goals are attained, they then aim for career stability. One participant expressed his awareness of the reason why he has to stay with his parents as well as the purpose of his venture. He said:

> *Di ko pa kayang mabuhay nang mag-isa, kasi kaya nga nila ako pinapag-aral kasi para balang-araw aalis ako sa kanilang poder at gagawa ako ng sarili kong tahanan. (Z2)*

Participants are fully cognizant of developmental expectations, that each stage has a corresponding task for them to achieve. These expectations work in terms of showing the individuals what is ahead of them and what is expected of them when they arrive at the next phase of development (Havighurst 1965; Uhlendorff 2004). Because transition from one stage to another and adjustment to new situations are not always simple and are usually coupled with emotional tensions, being mindful of what lies ahead can ease their adjustment (Hurlock 1982). This way, they can prepare for changes later in life.

As explained earlier, there are similarities in the goals of both generations. What makes a generation differ from another is the developmental stage where the goals are configured. Most of Gen Y participants admitted that in their adolescence, they were acting based on impulses without considering their impact on others (Y2, Y3, Y4, Y6). One of them said:

> *Dati wala naman ako iniisip kundi sarili ko, parang okay normal lang, ganito, ganyan. Tapos ngayon naman medyo nag-iisip na … kasi siyempre di ba nagiging matured ka na. (Y4)*

Participants are aware of their changing attitudes through the years. Seventy percent of the participants reported reconfiguration of their priorities from adolescence to early adulthood. Because each

stage has a characteristic behavior (Hurlock 1982), egocentric thinking is commonly experienced by adolescents (Santrock 2008). This may change or disappear depending on a person's resources for adjustment.

Furthermore, because their ages fall under the period of "emerging adulthood" (Arnett 2004), both generations are on the final stage of cognitive development, the formal operational thought (Piaget 1980). This is a stage when fanciful desires are replaced by abstract thinking, which might have assisted the respondents to think about their future and further plan of actions. Nonetheless, according to Piaget (1980), mature individuals are quantitatively more knowledgeable than youngsters. This may explain why Gen Y participants' idealism has declined and has been replaced by more serious and pragmatic thinking than their younger counterparts despite the fact that both of them have the same future expectations.

Experiential learning toward cognitive and behavioral change

It is an old adage that experience is the best teacher. When one is exposed to something over a period of time, learning may occur in direct or oblique ways. Direct learning transpires through following instructions, while indirect learning can happen going through circumstances such that individuals may not be aware that learning is already taking place until such time that a realization occurs.

After running away from home due to family troubles and financial problem, Y5 learned to live independently. Y6 also admitted that her experience had changed her. They recounted:

> *Hindi ko masabi talaga kasi nakagisnan namin war talaga sa bahay. Every night. Parang kasi ... dahil nga sa tatay ko, may bisyo siya dati so parang simula sa 'kin, tapos sa bunso, nag-aaway tapos siyempre malaki ang epekto noon. Di ba doon nag-i-start 'yong rebelde-rebelde. Pero sa 'kin, iniisip ko 'yong future ko. Na kahit wala sila kaya kong buhayin sarili ko, kaya kong makapagtapos. Ayoko 'yong ganito sa future ko, ayoko 'yong ganitong family. (Y5)*

> *Naniniwala ako ... ikaw 'yong gagawa ng buhay mo, di ba? Kung ako hindi naging pasaway noon, malamang hindi ako naging dalagang ina ngayon. Ngayon, masasabi kong matino na ako; kahit papaano nagbago na rin nang dahil din sa pagkakamali ko noon. (Y6)*

As one learns from experiences, plans are formulated to help cope with the constantly changing environment, and behavioral change

occurs consequently. In gestalt learning, it is said that an experience, be it desirable or not, is not wasted as long as the person restructures it to come up with an insight. However, insightful learning may not occur in the absence of circumstances, which in this study are the issues that participants have no complete control. Because family is a unit where all members are connected, it may be difficult for any member not to get affected even in minor ways. Moreover, in the modernist view of vicarious learning, an individual may get a full grasp of the situation by observing the behavior of other people involved (Bandura 1989). In this study, however, observational learning transpired but the observed conditions were not actually imitated; rather, it paved the way for the development of an insight. The insight in turn affected the decisions of the participants on how to adjust and run their lives. The formulated plans, on the other hand, led to modification of belief and behavior.

The family context, specific developmental stage, and the accompanying expectations, as well as learning, are inevitably linked with each other in facilitating the formulation of goals of the Palaweños. Consistent with previous findings of Garo-Santiago, Mansukhani, and Resurreccion (2009), seeing the family as source of motivation to strive may be inevitable because it is the first unit that molds the individual. Although society may have also contributed to their goal development, it is still the family that primarily influences them to think and behave in certain ways and in manners expected of them. In consequence, participants are aware of their roles as children, as family members, and as individuals in a specific developmental stage that they are in. That experience is the best teacher may also be true for the participants; in spite of undesirable experiences they have been through, they still chose to face them, learn from them, and use them to guide them through. By observing their family dynamics, they were able to come up with a new set of values and plan appropriate actions for self-improvement and goal achievement.

Furthermore, although the teachers involved in the study say that technological advancement is one of the reasons for the changing behaviors and aspirations of the youth, it was not emphasized by participants from the younger generations. Contrary to previous findings (Lapeña et al. 2009; Euromonitor 2011), the lives of Generations Y and Z in Palawan do not revolve around technology. While they see the importance of technological advancement, none of them claimed that it impacted them greater than their family and life experiences. This can be explained by the fact that during the 1980s and 1990s, only a few Palaweños experienced the benefits of technological advancements like cellular phones or the Internet.

GOAL-ACHIEVING BEHAVIOR OF GENERATIONS Y AND Z

Several factors facilitate goal achievement and hence lead to success. These may include self-regulation, self-efficacy (Bandura 1989; Ormrod 2008), locus of control (Rotter 1990), and evaluation of performance. These factors provide a person with necessary means of achieving the desired goals. Customarily, after identifying one's aspirations, formulation of plans occurs, followed by the pursuit of goal itself.

Active role and perseverance: Roads to success

Success may be one of many people's endeavors. It is widely known that aside from external factors, internal resources also enable individuals to realize their desires. Because garnering the fruit of success as believed by many makes one feel good, seeing people work hard for their dreams may not be surprising.

The goal-achieving behavior of both generations seems to be driven by their awareness of the impact of the "active role." Perception about goal achievement lies on the recognition that a goal cannot be attained without acting on it (Y1, Y3, Y5, Z1, Z3, Z5). Due to the belief that they are solely responsible for their lives and actions, the importance of persistence was greatly emphasized regardless of environmental conditions (Y1, Y6, Z2). Because of their need to finish studies, Y1, Y3, and Y4 focus and persevere to do well in school despite the various stresses in other areas of their lives. One of them claimed:

> *Sa pamamagitan ng pagpupupursige na makuha 'yon (goal), kasi kung may gusto ka, i-mind-set mo, hindi 'yong madali ka lang mag-give up ... Ah ... for instance, kunwari gusto mo ng phone, ipakita mo sa magulang mo na deserving ka magkaroon ng ganoon. Isa pang way, mag-ipon ka nang sarili mo; hindi 'yong aasa ka sa mga magulang mo at sa ibang tao para bigyan ka, 'yong mag-aantay ka lang ng Christmas. (Z2)*

This account illustrates that it takes both mental and behavioral efforts to reach the desired goal. This is not surprising as 54 percent and 66 percent of survey responses from Generations Y and Z, respectively, pointed out that focus and perseverance are important to get what they want. This is also consistent with the reponses of Gen X participants. The teachers also believe that regardless of the situation or opportunities at hand, it is still the person who can decide for himself and direct his life.

The belief of the participants on the value of the active role toward success can be explained by the internal locus of control (Rotter 1990;

Weiner 1985) and self-efficacy (Bandura 1989; Ormrod 2008). In contrast with fatalism, which happens to be part of Filipino culture, Palaweños use their developmental strength (Benson 2002) based on the belief that regardless of external circumstances, it is them who solely control their lives. Self-efficacy, on the other hand, has been revealed to be working on the participants' behavior. Even though some of them are unsure of the future as elaborated earlier, participants are still motivated to achieve through perseverance because they know that their efforts will pay off. This could also mean that hope and goal-directed behavior may not be hindered by uncertainty about the future.

Expected emotional payoff: Integral factor in motivation to achieve

Although assistance from others to achieve their dreams is acknowledged, the value of positive emotions when gathering the "fruit of their efforts" was emphasized more by younger participants than Gen Y (Z1, Z2, Z4). Achieving something out of one's own efforts gives a sense of fulfillment (Z4).

> *Mas masaya sa feeling kung pinaghihirapan mo talaga 'yon at ite-treasure mo 'yong bagay na 'yon. (Z1)*

The expectation of positive emotional outcome may influence the extent of one's efforts. The anticipated positive emotion upon reaching a goal triggers goal-oriented behavior. This mind-set can be explained by internal attribution, in which one's success is attributed to internal resources (Hareli and Weiner 2002), which pertain to their own ability. This may also be the reason why they feel more proud when they achieve something out of their efforts than with others' assistance. Because participants acknowledge the impact of their behavior, they act according to their beliefs on their own ability. Consistent with Benson's (2002) findings, in going through life's courses, internal resources are taken into consideration. These people manifest "personal agency" (Bandura 1989) by taking active steps to influence external circumstances and by making changes on themselves through various ways of personal adjustment.

Other means of achieving goals also emerged. These include introspection, sacrifice, and evaluation of the effectiveness of behavior. These were mostly elaborated by the Gen Y participants. They may also be expected to come up with these strategies because early adulthood is the stage of creativity and pragmatic thinking where emerging adults continue on applying knowledge that they have learned in the past (Rodriguez 2009).

CONCLUSION

Fulfilling educational, career, and familial goals is important for Palaweños. These goals are closely intertwined and are mostly shaped by their immediate social context, by the family, and the tasks expected from them. Knowledge from experience also molds Palaweños' goals. For them, a goal can be achieved by acting on it and by working hard to attain it.

In sum, goal formation may be a complicated dynamic process influenced by both external and internal factors. Societal and technological progress may be readily observable and are commonly seen as major factors of change, but it cannot be denied that there are unseen mechanisms at work that only the experiencing individual can reveal.

A particular developmental stage and expected developmental tasks may be an inevitable part of goal development. The impact of immediate context, especially of the family, may also be inescapable as it is in the family where values, beliefs, and aspirations are formulated. The family seems to be the core of Palaweños' life venture. Since it is the beginning and the driving force of almost every aspiration, it is not surprising that goals are directed toward them. Furthermore, the effect of collectivist culture may not be set aside, as it may be the reason why Palaweños are other-oriented, whose goals are defined by filial piety and other family-oriented behaviors. The environment may be continuously changing, but it still cannot erode the values brought by family and culture, which have been embedded in the minds of Palaweños for a long time.

Moreover, the study also emphasizes the crucial role of internal resources in the formation and attainment of goals. While there are external forces and changes that are seemingly beyond control, Palaweños still believe in their most precious resource—the "self," and their ability to take control over their lives.

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Tsinoy in Puerto Princesa: From the American Period to Contemporary Times, a Story of Two Generations

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This paper presents the changing roles of the Chinese Filipinos within the context of the socioeconomic conditions and development of Puerto Princesa during the American colonization toward the contemporary period. This is a baseline study of the life of the Chinese-Filipino families living in Puerto Princesa, focusing on their individual and collective socioeconomic contributions to Puerto Princesa as it transformed from a municipality under the Commonwealth era, the experiences of the postwar years, its establishment as a city in 1970, and the challenges brought by the modern times.

Using the generational study approach, the paper highlights the similarities and differences of the roles played by the Chinese community across two generations.

The paper limits itself to the time the Commonwealth government was established up to the time Puerto Princesa was officially declared a highly urbanized city.

*Keywords: Palawan, Puerto Princesa, Tsinoys,
Chinese mestizos*

INTRODUCTION

A major shift in Philippine cartography took place when President Benigno Aquino III signed Administrative Order 29 changing the name of what has been traditionally known as the South China Sea into the West Philippines Sea in all Philippine-made maps of the country, "which includes the Luzon Sea as well as the waters around, within and adjacent to the Kalayaan Group (Spratlys) and Bajo De Masinloc (Scarborough reef)." [1] This official act of the Government of the Republic of the Philippines is but the tail end of a series of events that started in the early part of the same year when different groups of Chinese fishermen repeatedly poached the waters of the disputed territory in the Spratly Islands; they in turn were boarded, apprehended, and appropriately charged by the Philippine Coast Guard in the provincial court of Palawan.[2]

With China as the undisputed regional power in the Southeast Asian region, the frequent flexing of its military power in the West Philippine Sea through the conduct of regular naval exercises and patrols in the area, made more frequent with the creation of the city of Shansa, a political body and governing local unit having administrative authority over the "Chinese territory in the South China Sea—including the Paracels and the Spratlys,"[3] contrasted sharply with the obvious military disadvantage of the Philippines, which projects an image of a puny island country being cowed by an overbearing bully.

It was not surprising that the weaknesses of the country, both diplomatically and militarily, that were laid bare and evident to us Filipinos, coupled with our national propensity to make light of things and find humor in even the most bleak situations that the nation has experienced, have spawned hundreds of jokes about a supposed imminent Chinese invasion, ranging from how the Philippines will eventually win the war because thousands of Chinese soldiers will literally die laughing when faced with the Armed Forces of the Philippines' antiquated weapons, or how our military will take a serious beating when pitted against the combined cinematic martial skills of Jet Li and Jacky Chan. With Spratlys as the more combustible flash point, it is logical then that any Chinese military move will be directed at the part of the national territory geographically nearest to the contested islands, which is Palawan.

A perceived threat of a Chinese invasion of the Philippines, taken seriously or not, is still a perception, and it brings to light how well we really know the history of the relationship between China and the Philippines—the significant role played by the Chinese in the history of the country, and the ties deeply rooted in trade and cultural exchanges

that were forged centuries ago. Filipinos at present may view the Chinese with suspicion or wariness because of the current events and alarmed by the increasing influx of Chinese nationals in the country, but the Chinese have a long history of incursions into the Philippines long before Western presence here was felt. These initial waves of migration established contacts with the native inhabitants through commercial activities, and the earliest Chinese settlements were created prior to the colonization of the islands.

THE CHINESE IN THE PHILIPPINES

Chinese relations in the Philippines date as far back to the Sung dynasty (960–1279) when the Chinese considered the trade happening in the "Champa coast (Vietnam) from Srivijaya (Palembang) and the Strait of Malacca …."[4] The emperor at that time sought to control it, and that "Mindoro (Ma-i) was part of that trade."[5] It is believed that Chinese merchants were in trading centers (markets) in the Philippines plying their wares from Sulu to the different provinces in the Visayas and Luzon. As noted by Cesar Majul, the Chinese Muslims were the earliest to bring Islam to Mindanao as attested by tombstones in the twelfth century.[6] In other areas, the discovery of Chinese vessels, precious stones, and jewelries provides evidence to the contacts made by the Chinese traders in the Philippines a thousand years before the Spaniards came.

The Spanish colonizers saw the importance of the Chinese and the local market they control in the establishment of the Manila-Acapulco galleon trade. Chinese merchandize, especially silk coming from China, was very much in demand in Mexico. To facilitate the entry of these goods, Chinese merchants were allowed to go to Manila during the trading season under strict monopolistic rules. The Chinese presence was grudgingly accepted by the Spaniards as a necessity since they perform the indispensable role of facilitating local trade—engaging in wholesaling and retailing, investing in basic manufacturing and crafts, etc.—and they became more important with the opening of the Manila-Acapulco link by acting as the vital cog of the trade wheel as suppliers, retailers, craftsmen, middlemen, and itinerant merchants in the lucrative enterprise.

Spanish trading policy changed in the early nineteenth century when the world market needed raw materials for their factories. In 1810, the Manila-Acapulco trade was officially abolished, which gradually gave way to the introduction of Manila to world commerce in 1840. This eventually resulted in the opening of other ports in Luzon (Sual, Pangasinan), Visayas (Cebu), and Mindanao (Zamboanga) and the integration of the local markets in these regions to the world economy.

Colonial policies toward the Chinese changed; they were allowed to go to the provinces to trade, with permanent residence being made open to them. A social transformation happened when immigrant Chinese males started marrying Filipinas, and a number of them were Christianized. According to Michael Tan, there were so many Chinese men who migrated to the Philippines and that the "Chinese women were not part of this migration. Many of these Chinese men end up marrying local women. More intermarriages occurred with the Chinese rather than with the Spaniards; 'mestizo' referred to those with Chinese blood."[7] A new social category eventually emerged; these were the Chinese mestizos. As early as 1741, "the Chinese Mestizos had been recognized as a distinct group in Philippine society, sufficiently numerous to be organized and classified separately."[8] These waves of Chinese migration, rising number of intermarriages, and the resulting settlements they established, while seemingly large, was only a fraction of the total population of the country and were usually concentrated in the island of Luzon.

Governor-General Narciso Claveria issued a decree in 1840 requiring all residents to have Spanish family names. This was the opportunity for Christianized Chinese to Filipinize their names, thus the Tanticos, Syquias, Tanbuntings, etc. Many of these families neither started as "inquilinos" or landowners but were gradually able to own vast landholdings, nor were they limited to renting out land. The combination of land ownership/renting out and middleman trading/retailing became the economic engine for the accumulation of wealth for this sector of society. Good examples of these were the inquilinos "north of Manila, the rich people of the towns of Tondo, Tambobong (Malabon), Polo, Ovando, Meycauayan, and Bocaue ... they combined inquilino income from the *kasamahan* system with profits from middleman trading."[9]

The story of the mestizo Chinese becoming Filipino is too familiar in the history of Philippine nationalism, where a number of ilustrados who formed and joined the reform movement had Chinese mestizo lineage— no less than the national hero, Dr. Jose Rizal, being the best example. Under the American rule, landholdings were subjected to Torrens title, making possible the legal acquisition of lands owned through rights. Many Filipino-Chinese families became leading entrepreneurs. Today the Philippine economy is in the hands of Chinese-Filipino taipans who control major corporations.

THE CHINESE IN PALAWAN (PARAGUA) CIRCA 1886

In Puerto Princesa, the oldest settlement and the houses of the town's pioneering families were located in front of the Immaculate Conception

Cathedral Church and its surrounding area. Geographically, Puerto Princesa was established on a high flat ground that has a commanding view of the Puerto Princesa bay. The Spaniards saw the strategic value of the location and chose it as the site of the colony it would create in central Palawan.[10] At the turn of the century, the town of Puerto Princesa was limited to the immediate port area. It was there where the local elite families lived side by side with the Chinese merchants Tan Kok Tee and Go Kiao who operated their general store. (See map of the area.)
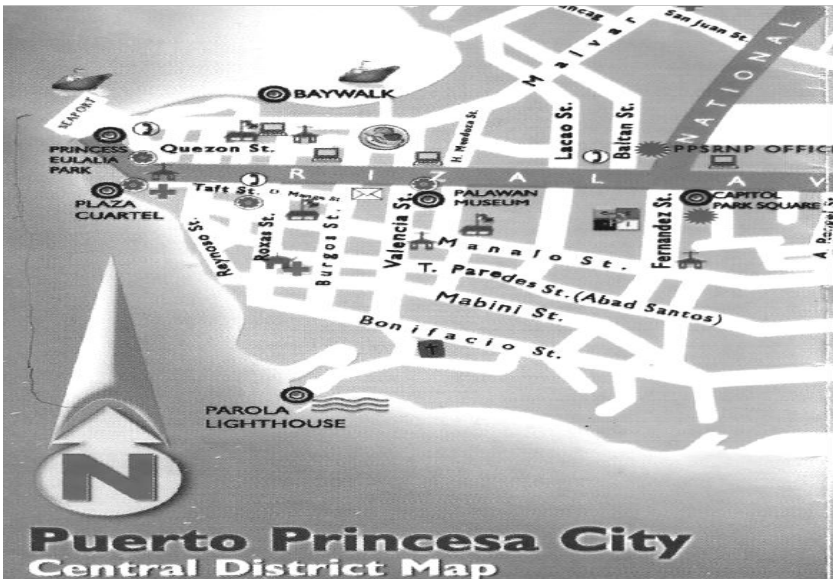
The Spanish census of Paragua in 1886 shows the immediate social stratification of the settlements where the population was made up of "68 Spaniards, 1,147 Indios … and 54 Chinese."[11] It also provides significant information about the nature of the Chinese trader (*comerciantes)*. There were several Chinese traders grouped according to the streets (*calles)* where they lived. There were the Tans and the Palancas; two prominent families bear these names in Puerto Princesa. According to Nilo Ocampo, there was a certain Leon Palanca who lived in a wooden house and was considered the richest Chinese in Palawan at that time.[12] The Tans either had houses that were made of wood or nipa. It is possible that those having wooden houses settled more permanently and were economically more well-off compared to those owning nipa houses. The census also mentioned the amount of money the Chinese

paid for their property. There were a good number of Chinese traders bearing Christian names, an indication that the practice of carrying the family name of their sponsors was continued and was widespread.

The current generation of Sandovals and Palancas/Pes were descendants of pure Chinese merchants and fortune seekers that migrated to the different parts of the province, like Aborlan and Puerto Princesa in the south and Coron in the north, around the late 1800s. It is not known whether any of those listed in the census presented by Nilo Ocampo[13] had connections with the current Tan and Palanca families.

This study aims to show the similarities and differences between two generations of Chinese families who lived in Puerto Princesa, in terms of marriage practices, sources of livelihood/business, and religious affiliations.

SCOPE AND LIMITATION

A Tsinoy is a term for a Chinese Filipino combining Intsik (Chinese) and Pinoy (Filipino). A Tsinoy is technically a *"jiuqiao"*—meaning, a longtime migrant—"those who migrated before World War II, those who fled from mainland China in 1949 before the communist army took over, and the refugees who left their homeland during the early stages of the communist rule there."[14]

Migrating from one's homeland to another country may result in different levels of assimilation. The first generation of Chinese mestizos might have continued to practice their old beliefs and practices, but their descendants who were born in the Philippines usually acquired aspects of the local Filipino culture. "Succeeding generations eventually became much assimilated to mainstream Philippine society, considering themselves different from the Chinese."[15] Furthermore, Michael Tan stressed that these Chinese mestizo were the ones who dared to use the term "Filipinos" to differentiate them from the other social classes of their time.

This paper studied four Tsinoy families within two generations who resided in Puerto Princesa from the American colonial times up to the contemporary period. Specific focus is on the similarities and differences in terms of marriage practices, sources of livelihood/businesses, and religious affiliations of a particular family across two generations.

The families of Tan Kok Tee and Goh Tian Suy represent the Commonwealth period and the prewar years, the Palanca family represents the postwar up to the 1970s, and the Pe/Pay family represents the early 1970s up to the present period.

METHODS

This research used purposive sampling by identifying the four pioneering Tsinoy families and selecting a key informant for each family. Each informant was chosen for his keen knowledge of his family's history and background. The respondents were interviewed, and secondary data were also used to validate and supplement the findings.

FAMILY HISTORY OF "OLD" CHINESE FAMILIES OF PUERTO PRINCESA

First generation

The Tan family: Tan Ka Wa, who was believed to have migrated to Palawan in 1873

Tan Ka Wa, together with his cousin Tan Seng Yee, migrated to Palawan from Amoy, China, around 1873 and started a lucrative trade business involving copra, almaciga, and *yantok* in Puerto Princesa. Although unconfirmed, it was said that Tan Ka Wa was an original member of the first Masonic Lodge of Palawan.[16] There was a Tan Goek Poey mentioned in the history of Palawan Lodge 99 as a contributor to the construction of the first Lodge in 1927–1928, but it is not confirmed if Tan Ka Wa had another Chinese name and if it was really the same person.[17]

Tan Ka Wa left Palawan when the Spanish-American War broke out for fear of being forced to support either side involved in the conflict. He returned only after the war, bringing with him his children Tan Co Ha, Tan Sing, Tan Kok Tee, and Tan Lee Sing. The sons of Tan Ka Wa settled permanently in Palawan and worked under their paternal uncle Tan Seng Yee.[18]

The Goh family: Goh Kiao of 1914

In 1914, another Chinese by the name of Goh Kiao migrated from Amoy, China, to the Philippines, landing first in Zamboanga and eventually transferred to Puerto Princesa.[19] "He built a nipa house and started a small business."[20] The business involved trading and bartering. Various forests products that were gathered, like almaciga, beeswax, and rattan, were exchanged for basic commodities.

Goh Kiao returned to China in 1918 and brought back to Puerto Princesa his son, Goh Tian Suy, and a nephew, Balthazar Goh. Goh Tian Suy became an assistant and understudy of Go Kiao in their family business. The general store was very successful that the Gohs were one of the town's earliest families who were able to construct a house made

of stone and concrete within the vicinity of the poblacion area, which even withstood the ravages of the Second World War. This ancestral house, which also serves as a store, still stands and is managed by the son of Goh Tian Suy.[21]

The Pes of Coron: Pe Tuanco (Papa-O), 1870

Pe Tuanco came from China as a seventeen-year-old boy in 1870 and tried out his luck in different parts of the country before settling down in Culion, Palawan. There he was baptized as Juan Palanca, and married Mamerta Rodriguez from the prominent Sandoval clan. Pe Tuanco pioneered in the bird's nest (Balinsasayaw) business and was able to prosper. He was chosen to be the *cabecilla* of the Chinese community in Culion; and when he transferred his entire family to the town of Coron, he later became its first municipal treasurer.[22]

The Palancas of Aborlan: Hua Kin Di Hi

A certain Hua Kin Di, a migrant Chinese in the 1890s, moved to the town of Aborlan, a small frontier agricultural settlement immediately south of Puerto Princesa. He had eighteen children from two wives.[23] One of the sons married the daughter of John Henry Fennigan, who was a Tagbanua princess. Mr. Fennigan was one of the Thomasite teachers who was assigned to teach in Aborlan and became the founder of the Palawan Agricultural School in 1914, which became the Western Philippine University.

Second generation

The Tan family: Tan Kok Tee

Among the sons of Tan Ka Wa, Tan Kok Tee was a former teacher in China when he brought his Chinese wife and his eldest son Ramon to Puerto Princesa, thus it was important for him that all his children be educated. After the Second World War, Tan Kok Tee borrowed five hundred pesos from his uncle Tan Seng Yee and established his general store near the Immaculate Conception Cathedral Church.[24] It was the first general store in Palawan, and his business dealings reached both the northern and southern parts of the province. His store is similar to the typical *sari-sari* store of the native Filipino today that sells general merchandise ranging from rice, canned goods, clothes, vegetables, construction materials, charcoal, etc.

Tan Kok Tee's brother, Tan Lee Sing, moved north to the town of Roxas and went into the silica mining business, establishing small concessions. In the family corporation they created, Tan Kok Teee was in charge of shipping the mined silica to Manila.[25]

The Goh family: Goh Tian Suy

In the 1930s, Goh Kiao went back to China and did not return. Goh Tian Suy, on the other hand, went to the mainland to "fetch his wife, Key Lee, and oldest son, Cheng Key, better known as Ampo."[26] Ampo married a Chinese girl named Kuana. Goh Cento was the original owner of the store that Goh Tian Suy bought, forming a corporation with his cousin Balthazar Goh, which was later joined by Ampo (Cheng Key adopted the Christian name Manuel Goh).

Balthazar Goh was instrumental in the history of Palawan Lodge 99. He became an officer of the lodge in 1926[27] and after the war became master of the lodge. He later on donated a 500 square meter lot to be the permanent site of the lodge's headquarters.

The Pe family: Daniel Sandoval

Papa-O's son, Pe Biawa, changed his name to Daniel Sandoval, adopting the last name of his baptismal godfather. He continued the bird's nest trade, which later expanded to include the export of sea cucumber; he acquired a large landholding that became a cattle ranch. He later ventured into the manganese mining extraction investment in the town of Coron in the 1930s.[28] He married a member of the Ortega clan, another influential family in the island; it was said that he had a first wife in Zambales, an Echague.

The Palanca family: Alfredo Palanca Sr.

Alfredo Palanca Sr. was an accountancy graduate from Far Eastern University; he was formerly a manager of a Metrobank branch but resigned to put up a grocery and was into the business of buying and selling corn and palay at the old Puerto Princesa Market.[29] A first cousin, Ramon Palanca, became one of the town councilors of Puerto Princesa.

Third generation

The Tan family: Eldest son Ramon Tan and his siblings

Ramon Tan, the eldest of Tan Kok Tee's children, was born in China. He did not earn a college education since he started helping with his father's business at an early age. Ramon was brought from the mainland when his father returned to the Philippines. The rest of Tan Kok Tee's children were born in Palawan. Ramon married a Chinese woman who hailed from Bicol. His siblings in order of birth are the following: Carmen Tee Tan Ong, a home economics major; Diana Tan Te Peng, an accountancy major; Carlos Tan, a medical doctor; Luis Tan, an accountancy major like his sister Diana; Choi Tan, the youngest, a commerce graduate, and

the only member of the family who broke tradition by marrying a native Filipina.

All of Tan Kok Tee's children were educated in Manila and spoke the Chinese language at home.[30]

The Goh family: Goh Tian Suy and Balthazar Goh

Goh Tian Suy was the most prominent of the sons of Goh Kiao since he established the most successful general store in the heart of old Puerto Princesa. His cousin and economic rival Balthazar Goh created alternative stores in the inner part of the town, which concentrated on construction supplies and automotive spare parts.[31]

The Pe family: Daniel Sandoval's children

Daniel Sandoval had fifteen children, five of whom are now living in Puerto Princesa: Perfecto Pe, Imelda Pe Arboleda, Rose Pe, Rolando Pe, and Renato Pe. The siblings who were left in Coron to continue and manage the family business are Nenita Pe Fernandez, Arthur Pe, and Rafael Pe. In the 1980s, their family tried to establish new lines of businesses in Puerto Princesa. They established the first handicraft store in the city and also started a restaurant aptly called Balinsasayaw. Perfecto Pe retired as a judge and ran for a council seat in the town of El Nido, Palawan, while Renato Pe is currently a practicing lawyer.[32]

The Palanca family: Alfredo Palanca Jr.

Alfredo Palanca Jr. was an electrical engineering graduate and married Karen Collo. His siblings Bea and Patrick, now living in the United States, acquired American citizenship through the Fennigan line of their mother Barbara.

Fourth generation

The Tan family: Edwin Tan and his siblings

Edwin Tan is the eldest of Ramon Tan's children. A graduate of the University of Santo Tomas, he married Gina Gamboa, from Silay, Negros Occidental, who holds an English literature degree from a university in Georgia, USA. Gina formerly lived in New York City and also had a teaching stint at Ateneo de Manila University.

The husband-and-wife tandem established Edwin's Restaurant and Disco shortly after they were married. Gina also set up a dress shop. Edwin added Electronico, a communications and electronic equipment trading and repair shop, which branched out into three shops. They were able to construct a modern four-storey commercial building at the heart of Puerto Princesa business district.

Charlene Tan became full-time store manager of Ramtan Enterprises, the general merchandise store of Ramon Tan located at the Ramtan Building. Charlene married a Chinese wholesale agent. Vivian Tan became a flight attendant and married an American. She used to manage the family-owned Tigman Beach Resort in Aborlan, Palawan. Evelyn Tan Banzon runs the Tropical Sun Pension Inn.[33]

The Goh family

Manuel Goh, who was also known as Ampo, the grandson of Goh Tian Suy, maintained the general merchandise store of their family at the old part of Puerto Princesa. Balthazar Go and his children are more aggressive, pursuing more diverse business ventures other than the traditional retailing. They went into the auto spare parts supply, motorcycle spare parts, construction materials/hardware store, pension houses, etc. They married into prominent families of Puerto Princesa, which include the Rodriguezes, Alarcons, Alagaos, etc. All except Monico Goh are college graduates.[34]

The Palancas: Anthony Palanca and Ramon Palanca

Anthony Palanca, son of Alfredo Palanca Sr., earned an accounting degree from De La Salle University and married Nina de Leon from Nueva Ecija, a graduate of Ateneo de Manila University. Inspired by his mother' cooking skills, Anthony put up Heavenly Desserts, an up-and-coming cake and pastries bakeshop in Puerto Princesa, which features some of his mother's cooking recipes.[35] Ramon Palanca, a cousin of Alfredo Palanca Jr., had several children working either in the Puerto Princesa City government or the provincial government of Palawan. One of Ramon's sons, Ignacio Palanca, had a long career serving as Puerto Princesa's city treasurer. A daughter, Rosario, served out her third and last term as chairman of the barangay where the Palanca family compound is located.[36]

Fifth generation

The Tan family: Edwin Tan and his children

Edwin Tan's children include the eldest Tiffany who works as a journalist, Tammy who became a fashion designer, Earl who directly manages the branches of Electronico, and another son who works in Manila.

The Goh family

The children of Manuel Goh, like their cousins in the Balthazar Goh line, tried their hand in various successful commercial ventures.

These include franchises of gasoline/diesel fuel stations, Golraz (San Miguel brewery products), Palawan Poultry (feeds, pesticides, and fertilizers), and Avenue Enterprises (automotive spare parts). All of Tony Goh's children are college graduates and run their own respective businesses.[37]

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Explaining the dynamics of changing practices across two generations

This paper studied four Tsinoy families within two generations who resided in Puerto Princesa from the American colonial times up to the contemporary period. Particular attention is drawn to the similarities and differences as well as the changes that took place in marriage customs, sources of livelihood and nature of businesses, and religious beliefs/practices of a particular family across generations.

On marriage practices

The first generations of Chinese migrants to Palawan and eventually to Puerto Princesa were all from Amoy, China. All sought ways to legally enter the country or through the process dictated by the regime controlling the Philippines at the time of their entry. Tan Ka Wa and Go Tian Suy were from Amoy and eventually came to know each other since Puerto Princesa was a very small frontier settlement and town. Hua Kin Di Hi of Aborlan had eighteen children from both Chinese and Filipino wives. Papa-O and his son Daniel both broke tradition by marrying Filipino women. Tan Ka Wa and Go Kiao had Chinese wives in the mainland; they returned to China to fetch them and resettled their children in Puerto Princesa. Their sons in turn became their assistants or understudies in managing the competing general stores they had built. Tan Kok Tee and Goh Tian Suy also had Chinese wives. Daniel Sandoval's children were already on their way to being Filipinized having chosen Filipinos as their partners, with only one opting to marry a pure Chinese. The Filipino branch of Hua Kin Di Hi (Palanca) of Aborlan transferred to Puerto Princesa and also married native Filipinos.

The third generation of Tans represented by Ramon Tan and his siblings followed the old tradition since all had Chinese wives, except for Choi Tan who chose a Filipina. The children of Goh Tian Suy also had Chinese spouses. The grandchildren of the Pes through Daniel Sandoval's children and the great grandchildren of Hua Kin Di Hi were fully assimilated and were already considered Filipinos.

Thus, three types of marriage practices emerged. The first is the traditional endogamous practice of marrying exclusively within the

Chinese community. The second is the modern version of the Chinese mestizo, which is the marriage between a Chinese and a native Filipino. The third is the total assimilation by being recognized as culturally Filipino, the result of consistent mixed marriages initiated by the first generation of Chinese migrants.

On business practices

The Tans and the Gohs were truly the first families to create general enterprises and trading stores in Puerto Princesa at the start of the 1900s. Their sons continued with their father's business setup and extended this virtual monopoly trading in both the northern and southern parts of Palawan. The brothers of Tan Kok Tee tried their hand in the silica mining business in Roxas and even intermarried there. Goh Kiao, Goh Tian Suy, and Balthazar Goh had different competing stores and consolidated these into the first local family business corporations, which, together with the Tan family, dominated the wholesale and retail trade of the old Puerto Princesa economy. The Second World War damaged and stopped the operations of the Chinese businesses, but these resumed immediately after the war.

Ramon Tan, who was trained by his father Tan Kok Tee, ran the family general store and was able to put up a building on the corner of Rizal Avenue and Valencia Streets (it was called the Ramtan Building from the combination of his name). Another was erected for business-leasing purposes, and it was named after Ramon's wife, Helen (the Helen Tan Plaza Building). Ramon would be one of Puerto Princesa's several Tsinoy residents to start a chain of buildings in Puerto Princesa. Instead of engaging solely in businesses, his siblings pursued different career paths. All became practicing professionals except Choi Tan, the youngest, who maintained a modest general store near their ancestral house at the location of the town square of the old Puerto Princesa.

Ramon's children representing the fourth generation were a further testament to the diversification of the pattern started by his generation. Both the eldest and the second children of Ramon Tan, Edwin and Charlene, inherited the general merchandise store. Edwin, although renting several spaces in his father's building, was a natural risk taker; he opened up a restaurant and disco joint (Edwin's Restaurant and Disco) and furthermore specialized in the sale and repair of electronic and communications equipment (Electronico). To concretize his success and show the strength of the Tan's family businesses he was able to put up his own building (the E-Tan Plaza), a modern four-storey commercial building at the center of Puerto Princesa, which leases spaces to several franchises and branches of large national companies such as

Smart Communications Inc., CD-R King, Greenwich Pizza, etc. It was not surprising then that Edwin's own children showed an independent streak like their father. One works as a journalist; another is a fashion designer; one son is based in Manila; and Earl, who seem to have acquired Edwin's acute business sense, manages the three branches of Electronico.

Edwin's sister, Charlene, on the other hand, with the help of her Chinese husband, is in charge of taking care of their aging parents and manages the day-to-day operations of the Ramtan general store. The second daughter, Vivian, is a flight attendant, and the fourth daughter, Evelyn, is involved in a successful pension house business (Tropical Sun Inn Pension).

The descendants of Goh Tian Suy and Balthazar Goh were more aggressive and created a family corporation of general merchandise store, which would eventually become a platform for branching out to different services and specialized stores as seen in the investments of the fourth-generation line, prominent of which are the gasoline stations they own and operate (Shell fuel stations). They are among the largest wholesalers and warehouse operators for San Miguel Brewery and Coca-Cola products sold in Palawan (Golraz). They operate one of the pioneering general poultry and fertilizer stores (Palawan Poultry), and a construction materials and automotive spare parts store (Avenue Enterprises).

The Pe's second generation maintained Daniel Sandoval's bird's nest and sea cucumber trading business in El Nido and Coron. As part-owner of Isong island, also located in Coron, they started a beach resort to cater to the growing number of tourists in the area. Anticipating the business potential of tourism, they invested in Puerto Princesa by putting up the first handicrafts stores of the city and also a restaurant featuring local cuisine. It is worth noting that the children of Daniel also took to other professions. One is an attorney and the other a retired judge who sought a local elective post.

The Palanca line who settled in Puerto Princesa totally broke off from the traditional business-oriented livelihood; instead they started a track record of serving in the public sector either as elected officials or career government servants.

On religious practices

The Tans were known to have been devout Catholic since the time of Tan Kok Tee; so were his children and grandchildren. Edwin Tan and his wife were very active in different church activities and joined Catholic-based organizations like the Brotherhood of Christian Businessmen and Professionals (BCBP), wherein Edwin served as an officer. This is true

even with the Gohs and the Palancas, the latter even having a priest in their family.

The Pes started as Catholics, but in the early 1980s, one of the sister who went home from the United States introduced a Christian denomination that recruited all of the women of the family; only their menfolk were the last holdout. The Balinsasayaw restaurant is considered by the Pes not only as a business activity but as part of their missionary work since it provides employment to a number of people. The restaurant doubles as the official meeting and worship house of the group.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The Tsinoys of Puerto Princesa followed the migration patterns and dynamics that the other Filipino-Chinese settlers have previously taken in other areas of the country. Their forefathers and the first generations of pure Chinese settlers might have carried with them the original cultural values and practices of their homeland. But significant political and economic factors like the strict Spanish immigration policies toward the Chinese, the need to circumvent the prejudicial business regulations toward the pure Chinese through intermarriage with native women, and the practical advantages of embracing the Christian faith and the attached provision of adopting Christian names have the effect of transforming or changing their original way of life, not to mention the creation of a new strata in the social structure.

The all-too-familiar story of the simple yet adventurous and enterprising "jiuqiao" seeking a better life in a foreign country for him and the family he left behind in China was also repeated in the Tsinoys of Puerto Princesa. Tan Ka Wa and Goh Kiao are both testament to this pioneering spirit, having built and established their businesses as the economic hub of an emerging settlement town at the turn of the century. The traditional initial business of a general merchandise store, wholesaling and retailing, and trading in forest products and the combination of these in the early 1900s gave way to family corporations and extensive diversification in the area of specialized stores, restaurants, resorts, pension houses, building spaces for rent or leasing, services, and utilities in the 1970s and the 1980s.

The Palanca family broke the traditional mold of those having Chinese ancestry or blood being businessmen, as exemplified by Ramon Palanca himself serving as municipal councilor and having most of his children pursuing an active role in the public sector in both elected capacity and career government service. It is also noteworthy that

the Palancas are directly related to the Marcelo family, among whom is Helen Marcelo Hagedorn, the wife of Mayor Edward S. Hagedorn. A cousin of Ramon Palanca tried her luck when she ran for city mayor in the May 2013 local elections.

The Tans, Gohs, Pes, Palancas, and their descendants have not really adhered to the traditional Chinese marriage practices. Only the Tan and Goh families seem to have consistently practiced endogamy extensively through succeeding generations. On the other hand, the descendants of the Pes and the Palancas were already completely culturally assimilated Filipinos as a result of repeated mixed marriages down the succeeding generations.

Education was given primacy by the second generation onward. Most of the children and grandchildren of each family acquired a college degree from either the Holy Trinity College (the oldest tertiary college in the province of Palawan) or from prestigious universities in Manila and abroad.

The prevailing religious affiliation of the families from the first to the present generations is that as Roman Catholics, except for the Pes of Coron who have been Christians since 1980s.

With all of these cultural changes, several important Chinese values remained and are very much evident throughout the different periods of the Tsinoys' family history. These are close family ties, respect toward parents and their elders, patience, hard work, persistence, and maintaining social network.

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16   Tomas Choy Tan, interview by the author, digital voice recording, Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, 2013.

17   *Palawan Lodge 99*, Commemorative Issue, Puerto Princesa, 2006.

18   Tomas Choy Tan, interview by the author, digital voice recording, Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, March 2013.

19   Tony Goh and John Goh, interview by the author, digital voice recording, Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, 27 March 2013.

20   Carolina F. San Juan, *Puerto Princesa during the Second World War: A Narrative History (1941–1945)* (Quezon City, 1998), 162.

21   Tony Goh and John Goh, interview by the author, digital voice recording, Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, 27 March 2013.

22   Fernandez, interview by the author, digital voice recording, Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, 2013.

23   Anthony Palanca, interview by author, digital voice recording, Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, 15 March 2013.

24   Tomas Choy Tan, interview by the author, digital voice recording, Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, March 2013.

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28   Fernandez, interview by the author, digital voice recording, Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, 2013.

29   Anthony Palanca, interview by the author, digital voice recording, Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, 15 March 2013.

30   Tomas Choy Tan, interview by the author, digital voice recording, Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, March 2013.

31   Tony Goh and John Goh, interview by the author, digital voice recording, Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, 27 March 2013.

32   Fernandez, interview by the author, digital voice recording, Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, 2013.

33   Earl Gamboa Tan, interview by the author, digital voice recording, Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, 2013.

34 Tony Goh and John Goh, interview by the author, digital voice recording, Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, 27 March 2013.

35 Anthony Palanca, interview by the author, digital voice recording, Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, 27 March 2013.

36 Ramon Palanca, interview by the author, digital voice recording, Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, March 2013.

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Dynamics of Reproductive Rights: Mindscape of the Iloko Culture

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The study examines the awareness and practices of reproductive rights of Iloko women through generations, taking into account the dynamics of cultural adaptations to Western ideas. The study was undertaken in nine out of the forty-nine barangays of Santa Cruz, Ilocos Sur. Using the reproductive rights variables in the study of Malhotra (2003), the interview questionnaire was adapted, modified, and administered to mothers who were born from 1970 to the 1990s. In-depth, semi-structured interviews of women belonging to an older age cohort or mothers who were born from 1930 to the 1960s were also conducted.

The study found divergence in reproductive rights awareness and practice between the older and younger generations of Iloko women.

Keywords: reproductive rights, Iloko culture, traditional, contemporary

INTRODUCTION

A major international women's rights treaty was ratified by the majority of the world's nations years ago (Marshall 1998). However, despite workable actions done in empowering women, unwanted issues remain in different aspects of life, ranging from the cultural, the political, to the economic. A lot of localities still promote patriarchy, and majority of decision-making mechanisms are still controlled by men (Hoggart 2011). According to Knudsen (2006), the reproductive rights of women are advanced in terms of freedom from discrimination and improved social and economic status. However, for years, women have had to fight for the right to have control of their own bodies and reproductive choices. Birth control, other contraceptives, abortion, sterilization, and family planning are all considered under reproductive rights (Sunshower 2003).

In the 1940s until the 1960s, the United Nation Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights promoted women's equality and nondiscrimination, which also paved the way in defining women's reproductive roles and access to food, contraceptives, nutrition, and health care. Since then, there has been an increase in women's economic and political participation to meet national development goals. In the 1970s–1980s, the First World Conference on women was held in Mexico, and this has helped in addressing significant areas of concern—i.e., reproductive rights, community politics, and access to and control over factors of production and decision making. Indeed, this period saw development as empowering men and women toward greater self-reliance and assertion of their own capabilities.

The women in development (WID) approach is a paradigm of development that recognizes the distinct needs and capacities of women; it focuses on developing programs, projects, and activities that would make women an integral part of the productive sector. Since the late 1980s and 1990s, gender awareness has been integrated into mainstream development. During this time, there has been a shift from WID to gender in development (GID), a paradigm of development focusing on social, economic, political, and cultural forces that determine how differently women and men participate in, benefit from, and control resources and activities.

According to a study by the University of Toronto Counseling and Psychological Service (2010), abuse is the improper usage or treatment for a bad purpose, often to unfairly or improperly gain benefit. Physical abuse involves contact intended to cause feelings of intimidation, pain, injury, or other physical suffering or bodily harm. It can be manifested

through punching, hitting slapping, restraining, any unwanted physical contact, holding or hugging when not wanted, pulling hair, pushing around, hitting with objects, choking, kicking, breaking bones, abandonment in a dangerous place and the like. Emotional abuse is characterized by a person subjecting or exposing another to a form of behavior that is psychologically harmful. Such abuse is often associated with relationships and situations of power imbalance. Verbal abuse involves profanity that can occur with or without the use of expletives. While oral communication is the most common form of verbal abuse, it includes abusive words in written form. Abuse can lead to a pattern of behavior that can seriously interfere with one's positive emotional development to the significant detriment of one's self-esteem, emotional well-being, and physical state. It has been further described as an ongoing emotional environment organized by the abuser for purposes of control. Financial abuse or material abuse is the illegal or unauthorized use of a person's property, money, pension book, or other valuables. Sexual abuse involves forcing undesired sexual behavior by one person upon another, even if it falls short of being a sexual assault.

According to the Philippine Commission on Women (2012), verbal, emotional, and other forms of nonpersonal violence are the most common types of spousal violence, affecting 23 percent of married women. One in seven ever-married women experiences physical violence while eight percent experience sexual violence inflicted by their husbands.

Upholding women's rights as human rights has been championed by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFA), Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), and the Millennium Development Goals (Gable 2010). Programs and policies have been devised to counter laws, policies, and social and cultural norms that enforce subjective morality, exert control over reproductive behaviors and decisions, limit autonomy and privacy, and perpetuate stigma and discrimination against women due to their reproductive choices.

Gender norms and sexual scripts are not static; they vary across communities and have the potential to adapt to changes in the socioeconomic and political landscape, according to social constructions (Strebel et al. 2006; Reproductiverights.org 2012; Baporikar 2012). One study in South Africa reveals that violence, coercion, and male control, especially in the context of sex, were assumed to be part of normal heterosexual relationships (Shefer et al. 2000). However, research demonstrates that women are beginning to challenge this view (Foster 2000; Strebel et al. 2006; Mantell 2009).

The Philippines has struggled to fulfill its human rights obligation to its people, especially women (United Nations Population Fund 1998). In December 2012, the Reproductive Health Law was passed to foster and protect the reproductive rights of women. The value of women is undeniable but a lot of them remain inferior to men, to their husbands, and are deemed to be the "second class" (Marzulli 2005).

The theories considered in this study are those of reproductive justice, evolution, and radical feminism. The theory of reproductive justice recognizes that women's reproductive health is connected to and affected by conditions in their lives that are shaped by their socioeconomic status, human rights, race, sexuality, and nationality. Proponents argue that women cannot have full control over their reproductive lives, unless issues such as socioeconomic disadvantage, racial discrimination, inequalities in wealth and power, and differential access to resources and services are addressed. Therefore, all these biases should primarily be dealt with in order for women to fully enjoy their rights (Asian Communities for Reproductive Justice 2005; Ross 2006). Evolutionary theories are based on the assumption that societies gradually change from simple to more complex forms, which also mean progress toward something better. Talcott Parsons stressed the importance of cultural patterns in ensuring the stability of a society. Society has the ability to absorb disruptive forces while maintaining overall stability. Change is not something that simply disturbs the social equilibrium but something that alters the state of equilibrium so that a qualitatively new equilibrium results (Sociology Guide 2011).

According to Lewis (2001), radical feminism aims to challenge and overthrow patriarchy by opposing standard gender roles and oppression of women and calling for a radical reordering of society. Due to patriarchy, women have come to be viewed as the "other" and as such have been systematically oppressed and marginalized. Radical feminists also believe that eliminating patriarchy and other systems that perpetuate the domination of one group over another will liberate everyone from an unjust society. Colonization, as part of the Philippine cultural history, has contributed to the erosion of the reproductive rights of women (Mananzan 2001).

Women's reproductive rights encompass the following: the liberty to choose her spouse, when to have intimate contact, when to have children, how many children she should have, and what kind of child-rearing technique she should apply. According to Silverman (2011), Philippine marriages used to be facilitated years ago by parents. Dating was allowed so long as there was a chaperone. Traditional Filipino marriages were done out of obligation and not by choice. The selection of

spouse was subject to parental influence. Women challenge patriarchy today through advocacy of equality, individual advancement, feminist movements and campaigns, and, last but not the least, acting mainly at the grassroots while raising the issue of violence against women (Martin 1990; Igbuzor 2012; Levchenko 2012).

In the Iloko culture, women take charge of domestic chores like childcare, laundry, upkeep of the home, and meal preparations. Men, on the other hand, are expected to provide for the family through some kind of trade, usually agriculture. Children are seen as assets in the household. Nurturing and educating them as part of child rearing is perceived as an essential obligation of Iloko mothers. There is shared responsibility and authority of Iloko mothers and fathers over their children, who are expected to obey whatever decisions are reasonably made for them, such as choosing a life partner, career, or education.

Traditional Iloko culture pertains to the long-established, long-standing, and deeply rooted knowledge, and shared beliefs, customs, and values of the Ilocano people while contemporary Iloko culture refers to the up-to-date, modern, and current discernment and way of life of the Ilocano people (Vanzi 2003; Jocano 1990). In traditional Iloko culture, the husband imposes rewards and punishments to discipline his children, and also decides on the use of family-planning methods and childbearing. Women who assume traditional roles are more likely to experience physical, emotional, verbal, financial, and sexual abuse or violence.

Women who are employed, women who also do work on equal footing with that of men, women who have been earning a living alongside their husbands, as well as women leaders, are less likely to be subjected to the will of their husbands, less likely to be ignored in terms of decision-making processes, and also less likely to experience violence (Baywong 2012). Iloko women know this situation a lot since they are the ones in charge of managing family finances (Ilocano People 2012).

Ilocanos follow the Filipino norm when it comes to family roles wherein the father is the head of the family. The mother, on the other hand, is the "light of the home" who manages the household. The father has the power and authority when it comes to arriving at decisions regarding the affairs of his family. One may ask, with women's empowerment and the clamor for gender equality relative to decision making at home, what has become of the traditional Iloko culture?

This study compares and contrasts traditional and contemporary Iloko cultures in terms of the following: discipline of children, children's education, childbearing and child-rearing decisions, use or non-use of family-planning methods, freedom to select one's spouse, and whether

or not women experience violence or abuse in their homes physically, emotionally, verbally, financially, or sexually (Pacris 2011). The paper discusses how the Iloko culture has changed pertinent to the promotion of reproductive rights of the Ilocano women.

METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted in the municipality of Sta. Cruz, Province of Ilocos Sur, with a registered women population of 3,178. Respondents for the contemporary Iloko culture were chosen through random sampling from eight barangays of the municipality—namely, Camanggaan, Daligan, Lantag, Padaoil, Pinipin, Quinfermin, San Pedro, and Tampugo. A total of 180 mothers who were born from 1970 to the 1990s were given a survey questionnaire. Respondents for the traditional Iloko culture were chosen through purposive sampling of Ilocano married or widowed women who were born from 1930 to the 1960s or mothers who were at least fifty years old. Personal interviews of the respondents were conducted using a prepared questionnaire patterned after a study by Malhotra (2003).

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

Traditional and contemporary Iloko women's awareness of their reproductive rights

The Ilocano married women of the younger and older age cohorts are both aware of their reproductive rights. The survey results reveal that majority of the respondents from the younger generation are aware that their reproductive rights include their freedom or autonomy in making decisions regarding reproduction and control of their bodies. Family planning, use or non-use of contraception, and abortion are considered part of their reproductive rights.

Iloko culture has become more and more tolerant and accepting. Parents now allow their children to choose their own spouses, and women's capabilities are recognized in the domestic sphere and the public spheres of economy and politics.

In the study, almost all of the respondents from the contemporary period are aware of their reproductive rights. As embodied in the 1987 Philippine Constitution, reproductive rights mean inherent rights involving women's freedom in reproduction and control of her body; advocating gender equality and women empowerment; and encompassing family planning, use or non-use of contraceptives, and abortion. Lastly, these rights should be exercised so that women may develop their potential, harness their capabilities, and take part in the process of nation-

building. Respondents from the younger cohort are knowledgeable of their reproductive rights in these terms.

From the 1930s to the 1960s, there were no local laws on gender equality and women empowerment. Tradition was strong and patriarchy was accepted as the norm. Parents chose the spouse of their children and women were relegated to doing household chores. Respondents from the older age cohort believe that reproductive rights include only those that center on childbearing, child rearing, and household and motherly obligations.

According to Florentina Mangawang (eighty years old, married, with seven children), in their time, both husband and wife were involved in decision making when it comes to childbearing and child rearing; however, her mother decided on the number and spacing of their children because of their financial situation and also on account of her childbearing difficulties. She did not use any contraceptive and her husband was always the one who initiated physical intimacy. She told us that she was the one who selected her spouse. According to her, her parents should not be the one to choose whom she should marry. However, her husband has been dominant in all aspects of decision making in the family.

According to all the respondents from the older age cohort, physical intimacy has been initiated by their husbands most of the time, and they cannot complain about it because it is part of their wifely obligation. They believe that declining physical intimacies is a manifestation of disregard, disrespect, and neglect of the husband. According to Maricel Beli-ot (married, fifty-three years old), wives are submissive because of the belief that it is their obligation to obey and comply with their husbands' demands. It is considered as part of their vow of commitment. Women are given the privilege to make day-to-day decisions at home; however, in terms of major decisions involving financial matters, it is the husband who was followed.

Respondents from the older age cohort, including Josefina Barba (sixty years old, married, with five children), believe that profane language between spouses is to be expected; they do not consider this as a form of verbal abuse. According to one respondent (fifty-three years old, widow, with five children), she experienced physical, verbal, and emotional abuses when her husband was still alive. Janet Reynoso (sixty-four years old, married, with five children) said that men were very powerful years ago and they dominated women, from workplaces to politics to business and even at home. Women were confined to the domestic sphere, looking after their home, the husband, and the children. They called themselves *"dyosa ti balay"* (goddess of the home).

According to the theory of reproductive justice by Loreta Ross, women's reproductive health is connected to and affected by conditions in their lives that are shaped by human rights violations, gender discrimination, and inequalities in wealth and power. Women cannot have full control over their reproductive lives unless these issues are addressed. The present laws being forwarded, specifically those pertaining to reproductive health, can be distinguished from those implemented in the past as they carried different concepts and definitions of reproductive health.

All of the respondents are aware of their reproductive rights. The patriarchal culture, as reinforced by religious convictions, appears to be a general concern even among the older respondents. The older respondents were not generally given decision-making authority in the family unlike majority of the younger respondents who are part of minor or major decisions at home. Among the younger generation, decisions are made jointly or in consultation between husband and wife.

Decision making and reproductive rights

Mothers and wives of the younger age cohort decide jointly with their spouses when it comes to whether or not to use family-planning methods like withdrawal, calendar method, use of condoms, and taking contraceptive pills, including decisions on when to have a child, family size and spacing, and sexual intimacies. Older respondents said that most women in the past did not involve themselves in decision making regarding the use of any contraceptive method. The older respondents, like Caridad Jacusalem (eighty-three years old) and Erlinda Carino Abordo (sixty-one years old, widow with three children), believe that the number and spacing of children is the will of God. The religiosity of the older respondents is apparent as they would quote teachings from the church regarding submission of the wife to the husband. According to them, God provides and it is God who decides what happens to their life. They call this *"gasat"* (destiny or the will of God). Furthermore, while there were traditional family-planning methods such as abstinence, withdrawal, and calendar method even during their time, most women did not have a say in the use of any of these methods. Some women were also too afraid to use artificial contraceptives before because of their side effects, while others were entirely unaware of their availability considering lack of access to information in the provinces or localities. They subscribe to the idea that their husbands can freely decide on these matters as breadwinners and head of the family, while women should just take charge of household chores and nurturing the family.

Today, information on gender equality issues and women empowerment is accessible through the mass media and through local government programs and projects. Women's health issues and concerns have also been widely addressed. More importantly, we now see that there are more opportunities for women not only to gain employment but also to gain entry into the professions. In a typical family, it is the mother who assumes responsibilities for childbearing, child rearing, and the performance of household duties (Marzulli 2005), but she should not be limited to these. However, there are still cases from the study where women's rights are still undermined and abused, most especially in terms of control over their bodies. As noted in the study of Sunshower (2003), what women do to their bodies is their decision, but this is not always the case given traditional constraints. Elders in the community still prefer the traditional practices of the wife-mother staying at home to keep the family together for the benefit of the children. Through the years, women have had to fight for their rights to have control of their own bodies and reproductive choices. In this regard, the key concerns are birth control, the use of contraceptives, abortion, sterilization, and family planning, which are considered part of women's reproductive rights.

A large percentage of the respondents agree that family members have a great influence on their choice of spouse. In the local culture, family members largely affect one's decision of who to marry. For the older respondents, the influence was direct and explicit, almost dictatorial, as the parents were the ones who decided on who the children should marry, when, and how. For younger respondents, parental influence on the choice of spouse and the specifics of marital union has declined. With educational and employment empowerment, young men and women are more capable of making and asserting their own decisions regarding marriage and family life.

Lastly, when it comes to child rearing or the disciplining of children, according to the older respondents, they defer to the decisions of their husbands. In the Iloko culture, it has been deemed traditional and necessary for women to show respect toward the head of the family by allowing them to assume a dominant role in decision making. This is the reason why the husband assumes power and authority in the family.

On the other hand, contemporary culture now opens the avenue for women empowerment at home and greater participation in decision making in the household. This is to be expected in light of global women empowerment. According to Reuters (2003), we can no longer ignore the idea and the reality that the world community has been exerting efforts to uplift the status of women's rights.

Problems encountered by traditional and contemporary Iloko women

Raising children and the selection of spouse

The study validates the findings of Jocano in 1990. Iloko women assume responsibilities for domestic chores—like taking care of children, washing clothes, cleaning the house, and preparing food—while men are expected to provide for the family through some kind of trade, usually agriculture. Children are seen as assets in the household. Nurturing and educating them as part of child rearing is perceived as an essential obligation of Iloko mothers. According to Angelita Bullon (fifty-five years old, married, with two children), she has the primary role of looking after her children because the husband is out or away from home due to work, like farming. She said that raising children was never a difficulty during her time. For Corazon Omanito (fifty-eight years old, married, with five children), child rearing and child discipline are jointly decided by her and her husband; that is why she herself does not have difficulty in raising their children. In general, Iloko mothers and fathers both share responsibilities and authority over their children, who are expected to obey whatever decisions that are reasonably made for them, such as choosing a life partner, career, and education.

However, most of the mothers from the younger age cohort revealed that they have experienced difficulties in looking after their children. There are two common specific problems. First, in modern-day culture, according to our respondents, not all Iloko mothers and fathers share the same predispositions when it comes to rearing their children. As shared by some respondents, most Iloko husbands/fathers are strict disciplinarians while Iloko wives/mothers have a more liberal approach to discipline. However, despite differences in opinion on the children's upbringing, many respondents tend to abide by the decisions of their husbands to avoid further disagreements and misunderstanding. The second problem is basically socioeconomic in nature. As pointed out by Jona Racuya (twenty-seven years old, an indigent, and a single parent with four children): "It is unfortunate that our society still carries such view, but we cannot help it because it is reality. You have to prepare for it, but never be sorry for it." Apparently, due to her low socioeconomic status, Jona has been extremely challenged in asserting her reproductive rights as well as her right to freedom from discrimination.

On the other hand, in terms of the selection of spouse, most of the respondents from the younger age cohort personally decided on the choice of a life partner. The results of the study indicate that most of the Ilocano women of the modern-day period are given much leeway to

make up their minds in choosing their partner or better half. The same holds true for older respondents. Then and now, Iloko women have been given the freedom and discretion to choose their own marriage partners; however, young people seek the approval of both sets of parents. Both sets of respondents said that they chose their own spouse.

Factors affecting decisions on family size and spacing of children

Many factors affect decisions on family size and spacing of children such as financial situation, inadequate housing, desire for a son/daughter, family pressure, availability of family-planning services, abortion, and prevailing social norms. Among these, the financial situation of the family is the strongest factor affecting decisions of women on family size and spacing of children. In the study, both sets of respondents cited financial considerations in their decisions regarding the number and spacing of children. They are fully aware of the financial responsibilities that they have to bear in providing for the needs of the children since they are the ones who have to make both ends meet, given limited family finances. According to Angelita Bullon (fifty-five years old, married, with two children), during their time, it is difficult to have many children to raise given their financial and economic situation. This finding is similar to the study conducted in Southwest Nigeria (Olaitan 2011) wherein the family's financial situation greatly affects the number and spacing of children.

Violence or abuses at home

The survey reveals that many contemporary Ilocano women experience various forms of violence and abuse at home. Verbal abuse is the most common form of cruelty experienced by contemporary Ilocano women. Taking a second notch is emotional abuse followed by financial, physical, and sexual abuse. It should be noted that there are a number of Philippine laws in support of women's rights and welfare—for example, RA 9262 (An Act Defining Violence Against Women and Their Children), which provides protective measures for victims and prescribes penalties for perpetrators. However, various forms of neglect and ill treatment of women are still evident, preventing the exercise of their reproductive rights. For the younger set of respondents, verbal abuse is the most glaring and perceptible kind of abuse, followed by emotional abuse. Factors such as dominance, denial, blame, and the influence of alcohol—a number of them have drunkard husbands—lead to explosive arguments, making the wife verbally abused and emotionally pained. As reported, some husbands need to feel that

they are in charge of the relationship, that they should be the ones to make decisions for the family, tell them what to do, and expect them to obey without question. Meanwhile, some husbands are very good at making excuses for the inexcusable; they put the blame for their abusive and violent behavior on their wives. Even in the so-called modern-day Ilocano society, some households are still very patriarchal.

Very few of the older respondents reported experiencing verbal and emotional abuses, even in times of arguments and misunderstandings (e.g., when the family is facing financial problems). This is because women from the older generation tend to be submissive; they do not argue with their husbands so as not to prolong the disagreement. The absence of awareness and knowledge of present-day accepted rights is also a factor for their submission.

CONCLUSION

Respondents from the two age cohorts are aware of their reproductive rights. Women from the younger generations are knowledgeable of their reproductive rights on the following grounds: these rights are inherent, they involve women's freedom toward reproduction and control of their body, they advocate women empowerment and gender equality, they encompass family planning, use/non-use of contraceptives and abortion, and they are the corollaries of nation-building as women can contribute more once their potentials are given due recognition. Respondents from the older age cohort believe that reproductive rights include childbearing, child rearing, as well as household and motherly obligations.

Respondents from both the traditional and contemporary Iloko cultures have different concepts and definition of reproductive rights. In the past, tradition was so strong and patriarchy is the norm. Women were just taking care of their children and their husbands and managing the household chores. Today, as culture becomes more accepting, especially with regard to gender roles and equality, women and their potentials are increasingly given due recognition and this has helped them show that they are also capable of empowerment, not only at home but also in other aspects, such as the economy and politics. Moreover, it is also worth noting the presence of feminist movements and other local and international organizations in helping promote women's reproductive rights.

The concept of reproductive rights is much broader now and wider in scope. Compared to the older generation of women, contemporary women are better educated and have better access to knowledge and

information. Thus, the younger respondents have a more complex and elaborate understanding of their reproductive rights.

Based on the results of the study, it can be said that women are now moving closer to upholding more rights, may it be jointly with their husbands, or even independently. However, there remain cases of dominantly patriarchal households where present-day definition and practice of reproductive rights are being curtailed. Mothers in the past thirty to fifty years were expected to do more home chores than men. Women in the past were assumed to be passive, male-dependent, tied to home and family, concerned mainly about their looks, and intent on living a leisurely life. But constant efforts of modern groups and organizations advocating for the rights of women are gaining headway toward more visible societal manifestations of women empowerment. Advocates of gender equality have raised the class question in feminism and affirmed the need to restructure society and restructure gender, not just one or the other.

In terms of the problems encountered by Iloko women, raising children was considered as a major area of difficulty by the younger generation while those belonging to the older generation of Iloko women say otherwise. For both age cohorts, the selection of spouse is decided by the women themselves; however, the choice of spouse of some traditional Iloko women was still based on parental influence. In terms of violence and abuse at home, verbal abuse is the most prominent form of cruelty experienced by contemporary Ilocano women. However, only a few of the traditional Iloko women have experienced or have recognized such abuses. In the study, most of the traditional Iloko women disclosed that they are submissive to their husbands.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

To increase the level of awareness of women about their reproductive rights, information dissemination is needed. In this regard, television and radio broadcasts, house-to-house campaigns, postings, and barangay assemblies need to be maximized. Furthermore, to increase women's participation in the decision making within the family and to enhance the probability that their reproductive rights will be exercised, there should be more visible programs on women empowerment in the barangays such as promoting women's employment and implementing sanctions to those who would violate women's rights. A specialized agency should be created to take charge of monitoring the conditions of women and their children, and so that violence and abuses against women can be dealt with utmost attention.

Above all, the inclusion of more women in the country's process of legislation and decision making should be considered. Truly, there are male legislators who may be feminists, but women are the best ones to protect and promote the interests of women.

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APPENDIX A

I. Problems Encountered in Reproductive Rights for Contemporary Iloko Culture

QUESTIONS:	AWARE		UNAWARE	
Knowledge and Awareness	f	%	f	%
1. Inherent to every individual and protection of reproductive rights.	170	90.44	10	5.55
2. Entailing freedom of women/ autonomy toward reproduction and control of body.	166	92.22	14	7.78
3. Entailing empowerment of women through the advocacy of equality between genders.	163	90.56	17	9.44
4. Encompassing family planning, use of contraception and abortion.	171	95	9	5
5. Upon satisfaction, it aids women in finding their disposition in the society harnessing women's potential as part of human resource.	162	90	18	10

II. Decision Making and Reproductive Rights

	Husband		Self-Only		Jointly		Parents	
	F	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1. Decision making when it comes to the use and non-use of family-planning methods	11	6.11	10	5.56	159	88.33	0	0
2. Decision making on when to have children	4	2.2	10	5.56	162	90	4	2.2
3. Decision making when it comes to the discipline of children	3	1.67	13	7.22	164	91.11	0	0
4. Decision making when it comes to the selection of spouse	0	0	173	96.11	0	0	0	0
5. Decision making on family size and spacing	11	6.11	18	10	151	83.89	0	0
6. Decision making when it comes to the initiation of physical contact	61	8.89	9	6	111	61.67	0	0

	Peers		Others		Family		Doctor	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1. Decision making when it comes to the use and non-use of family-planning methods	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2. Decision making on when to have children	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3. Decision making when it comes to the discipline of children	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4. Decision making when it comes to the selection of spouse	0	0	0	0	8	4.44	0	0
5. Decision making on family size and spacing	0	0	0	0	1	.56	4	2.22
6. Decision making when it comes to the initiation of physical contact	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

III. Problems Encountered in Reproductive Rights for Contemporary Iloko Culture

Table 1. Raising Child/ren and Decision on the Selection of Spouse

SUB-SPECIFIC QUESTIONS	YES		NO		TOTAL	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Do you have problem/s in raising your child/children?	75	41.67	105	58.33	180	100
Do you have a hard time in choosing a spouse?	20	11.11	160	88.89	180	100

Table 2. Factors Affecting the Decision on Family Size and Spacing of Children

	f	%
Financial Situation	129	71.67
Inadequate Housing	19	10.56
Desire for a Son	6	3.33
Desire for a Daughter	9	5
Family Pressure	6	3.33
Availability of Family Planning Services	3	1.67
Abortion	1	0.56
Social Norm	2	1.11
Others	5	2.78
TOTAL	180	100

Table 3. Violence or Abuses at Home

	f	%
Physical	16	8.89
Verbal	51	28.33
Emotional	42	23.33
Financial	28	15.56
Sexual	1	0.56
No Abuse	42	23.33

On Migration Selectivity and the Propensity to Remit: Faces of Eastern Visayan Labor Migrants*

Marieta Bañez Sumagaysay

Eastern Visayas is a high-outmigration region. What factors affect migration selectivity, which in turn influence one's propensity to migrate?

Thirty-three migrant workers were interviewed in November and December 2011. Greater income differentials, higher expectations of future stream of earnings, and higher returns on migration as an investment cause more migration. Intervening factors such as human capital endowments, cost-benefit calculation (including risks of migration), the migrant's aspirations in life, expectations of better jobs/earnings, and the role played by social migrant networks likewise influence migration decisions. Variants of Lee's push-pull framework of migration was used in the analysis.

The migrants' remittance and its consequent utilization by recipient families were similarly looked into.

Keywords: migration selectivity, Eastern Visayan migrants

INTRODUCTION

The heavy and more frequent movement of Filipino migrant workers in search of higher-paying jobs has been generally considered a solution to ease economic difficulties at home. This phenomenon, though viewed as a temporary solution in the '70s and '80s, has seemingly become a course of action where there are high unemployment and underemployment levels. Fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters are leaving the country in order to earn more and, consequently, send money back home to help the family left behind to tide away economic difficulties.

For the period 2008–2010, Eastern Visayas registered a yearly average of about 51,000 overseas Filipino workers (OFWs) comprising 2.6 percent of the total national data on OFWs (NSO 2012). On a yearly basis, the figures dropped from 58,000 registered OFWs in 2008 to 55,000 in 2009, and to 41,000 in 2010. In 2011, however, the number went up to 43,000, which was approximately 1.55 percent of the total labor force. The upward trend is best seen vis-à-vis 2006 data when Eastern Visayas had only 16,084 registered OFWs (POEA 2012).

Objectives

Who are leaving? Why are some individuals more bent to leave, others do finally leave, and still others do not leave nor even think of leaving their homes in favor of work abroad? For those who find work in various areas in the global labor market, how much of their earnings do they send home? Do they plan to come back home soon? These are questions that this paper attempts to address.

Methodology

In this study, eleven volunteer economics students in their senior year and who have taken a course in labor economics qualified to become interviewers. Each one interviewed three of their closest relatives who are working abroad. The respondents were purposively chosen considering age, work experience, and country of destination. That the student volunteers were able to interview OFW is an indication of the high out-migration incidence of Eastern Visayas.

The instrument included questions on the demographic profile of the migrant worker, the reasons for leaving, remittances to the family in the Philippines, and plans as a migrant worker. The interview was done through the Internet: the Skype, the chat mode, or the Yahoo Messenger. Their life stories as migrant workers were recorded for those who were generous with their time. Data collection took place in November and December 2011.

Limitations of the study

Of interest in this paper are the push-pull factors of migration, the migrant workers' remittances and its utilization. The data generated were limited to the last twelve months prior to the interview. The respondents are contract workers and professionals whose permanent residence is in Eastern Visayas. The choice of respondents was limited to the closest relatives of the interviewers. The analysis focuses on the situation and experience of the individual migrant and not on the losses and gains of the sending and receiving countries.

WHO ARE LEAVING?

The migrant workers who served as respondents for this study are relatively young, mostly single, and generally with work experience before they left the Philippines.

Age and sex

There were more female than male migrant workers in the study. Female migrant workers were in the age range twenty-three to forty-six years old, while male migrant workers were relatively older at twenty-four to sixty-one years old (table 1). For both sexes, the highest proportion of workers was in the age range thirty to thirty-nine years old. The proportion tapers off as age increases.

Table 1. Migrant Workers by Sex and Age (N = 33)

Age (Years)	Sex				Both Sexes	
	Male		Female			
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
<30	3	9.09	7	21.21	11	33.33
30–39	5	15.15	10	30.30	14	42.42
40–49	2	6.06	3	9.09	5	15.15
50–59	1	3.03	1	3.03	2	6.06
60 & above	1	3.03	--	--	1	3.03
Total	12	36.36	21	63.64	33	100

Civil status

Most of the migrant workers are single for reasons that they are more mobile and more free, have less ties at the place of origin, and are more likely to take risks than those who are married. Unmarried females are proportionally higher than the unmarried males . On the other hand, among the married migrant workers, men are proportionally higher than

women. The gender role priorities of a woman as wife and mother seem to take precedence over productive work in the market. The father/husband has to work as dictated by social norms.

Educational attainment

Except for three, all the migrant workers interviewed are professionals, having finished a four- or five-year bachelor's degree, and/or having passed a licensure examination. Among those with less than four years in tertiary education, females are proportionally higher than males. A similar pattern is observed among bachelor of arts or bachelor of science degree holders who have taken licensure exams. Finally, there is an equal proportion of male and female migrant workers who finished a four-year college degree that does not require a licensure examination. As to the field of specialization, most of the migrant workers completed courses in management and accountancy (27.27 percent), followed by those in the medical and related sciences (21.21 percent), engineering (18.18 percent), and the natural sciences and mathematics (18.18 percent). The least proportion were those who completed courses in the social sciences and education.

Work experience

Thirty out of thirty-three respondents (90.91 percent) have work experience before leaving for various destinations abroad. The remaining three have no work experience; two were either directly hired by the companies where they spent their practicum while studying in college, or directly hired as a clerk by a travel agency abroad where a relative has been working for quite some time.

WHY ARE SOME LEAVING, WHILE OTHERS ARE NOT?

The oldest migration theory, advanced in 1885 by Ernst Georg Ravenstein in his "laws of migration" (Net Industries, n.d.), asserted that migration occurs in a series of waves, and that each migration stream produces a counterstream. The main reason for migration is economic. There are attributes of the place of origin that push natives out, to the place of destination, which likewise has attributes that pull/attract potential migrants (Thieme as cited in GLOPP 2007). The net effect finally influences the decision of the individual to move or not to move.

The theory is basically a descriptive and linear model of migration flow (Haas 2008). It does not consider the different propensities of individuals to migrate. It is generally held, however, that even if the individuals' characteristics in terms of age, sex, marital status, and

education are the same, each one may respond differently to the same set of push and pull factors.

Lee's (1966) model introduced two elements into Ravenstein's: (1) aside from the respective attributes of the places of origin and destination, there exist intervening variables that affect the decision to migrate; (2) migration is a selective process since different individuals possessing varied characteristics will respond differently to the intervening variables. This implies that a potential migrant's personal circumstances influence his ability to overcome the intervening obstacles and, ultimately, his decision to migrate or not to migrate. This neoclassical view looks at migration as an individual decision that is made toward maximizing incomes (Lewis 1952; Todaro 1969; and Borjas 1989 as cited in Haas 2008). Hence, differentials in wages and employment opportunities between areas, as well as the migration costs, influence the nature and extent of migration.

Reasons for migration

In this study, the findings show that migration occurs primarily because of economic reasons (table 2 and table 3). The economic motivation to move seems to be stronger because at home the potential

Table 2. Reasons for Migration: Push Factors at Place of Origin

Push Factors	Sex				Both Sexes (N = 33)	
	Male (N=12)		Female (N=21)			
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
ECONOMIC						
Financial problems/difficulty of the family	8	66.67	8	38.09	16	48.48
Need to send my brother/sister to school	1	8.33	5	23.81	6	18.18
Laid off; factory shut down			2	9.52	2	6.06
The family's breadwinner (single mom; single with parents are dependents)			3	14.29	3	9.09
Subtotal						81.81
PSYCHOLOGICAL						
Preference for a workplace abroad	3	25	2	9.52	5	15.15
Subtotal						15.15
SOCIAL						
To travel around the world and see places			1	4.76	1	3.03
Subtotal						3.03

Table 3. Reasons for Migration: Pull Factors at Place of Destination

Pull Factors	Sex				Both Sexes (N = 33)	
	Male (N=12)		Female (N=21)			
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
ECONOMIC						
More earnings	6	54.55	9	42.86	15	45.45
Job opportunity was waiting at destination	1	8.03	2	9.52	3	9.09
Subtotal						54.54
PSYCHOLOGICAL						
Will gain more knowledge	1	8.03	2	9.52	3	9.09
Will be able to enhance skills			3	14.28	3	9.09
Perceived better quality life	3	27.27	2	9.52	5	15.15
My goal in life will be achieved if I go abroad	1	8.03			1	3.03
To be with friends who encouraged me to work where they are working abroad			2	9.52	2	6.06
Subtotal						42.42
SOCIAL						
To help church in a village in Thailand			1	4.76	1	3.03
Subtotal						3.03

migrant is faced with economic problems (81.81 percent) such as the financial difficulty that the family is experiencing (48.48 percent), the need to send a sibling to school (18.18 percent), having been laid off and/or having been unemployed after the factory-employer has closed shop (6.06 percent), and being the family's breadwinner such as in the case of single mothers and the unmarried whose parents are his/her dependents (9.09 percent). The perceived wage and income differentials between the place of origin and the place of destination make the movement a final decision. Only 15.15 percent migrated because of the migrants' personal preference for a workplace in a foreign country (i.e., a psychological reason). One respondent migrated for a social reason: the desire to travel around the world and see more places. In a related study, Berry and Haklev (2005) further cite the incremental income incentive to be significantly higher even after correcting for purchase power parity (Desai, Kapur, and McHale 2001).

The pull factors are likewise mostly economic in nature. This is true for 54.54 percent of the respondents, where 45.45 percent moved due

to higher wages at the place of destination, while less than 10 percent moved because a job was waiting for him/her. The remaining 42.42 percent moved for psychological reasons: to gain more knowledge (9.09 percent), to enhance skills (9.09 percent), an expected better quality of life abroad (15.15 percent), perceived probability of achieving one's goal in life (3.03 percent), and to be with friends who are already working abroad (6.06 percent). Only one respondent moved because of a social responsibility—to help a church in a village in Thailand. Migrants are drawn to richer countries that offer higher wages, in the hope of maximizing their human capital, which may not be fully harnessed at the place of origin for various reasons such as underdevelopment of the economy. The wage differentials and the richer countries' need for workers seem to be the Eastern Visayan workers' main reasons for going abroad.

Sex differentials in migration behavior

The data show that proportionally more women are pushed to move out of their places of origin for economic reasons more than for any other reason. Women would usually prefer to stay home and take care of the children or the aging parents if it were not for the felt responsibility of making both ends meet. She may be the breadwinner or the only one in the family who has access to work opportunities abroad, the one who takes on the burden of sending siblings to school, or the one who can uplift the difficult economic situation of the family.

On the one hand, there are proportionally more men who are pulled to work abroad because of the lure of higher wages and income differentials. A higher take-home pay becomes the main reason for migration. For whatever reason the incremental income will be used for, it seems that the men do not bother much about the details of how the increment will be utilized, the way that women do in this study. Necessarily, it will be to augment family income. Wage differentials and better job opportunities at the place of destination are the dominant push factors for women. On the other hand, these are the dominant pull factors for men.

The migration decision-making process

The decision to migrate is either an individual or a family decision. The push-pull model is an individual choice and equilibrium model. Haas (2008) notes that this is consistent with the neoclassical perspective that explains migration selectivity. He posits that the extent of migration will depend on the "individual differences in human capital endowments and the discriminating aspects of the costs and risks associated with

migration." Hence, the more educated individuals may have better capacity to respond to the push-pull influences and are more able to overcome the intervening obstacles. They are also most likely to be able to afford the costs of migration, as well as take greater risks.

The New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) on the other hand, views migration as a household strategy "to reduce the family income risks and/or to overcome capital constraints on family production activities" (Stark 1991 as cited in Haas 2008). The decision to migrate is made jointly by the potential migrant and nonmigrant (Stark and Bloom 1985 as cited in IOM Migration Research Series 2008). In the case of Eastern Visayas, the latter are the immediate family members of the potential migrant. The members of the family pay for the potential migrant's travel expenses and predeparture needs, and they are ready to shoulder the migrant's living allowances temporarily, from the day he arrives at the place of destination to the time that he finds a job and/or gets his first pay. Almost all of the economic push-pull migration factors in this study imply a family decision—that is, financial problem/difficulty of the family, migrant being the family's breadwinner, to send siblings to school, and the like. The migrant, after having been helped by his/her family defray his or her expenses for migration, correspondingly is obliged to send money home.

Migration selectivity

Why do some individuals have higher propensity to migrate than others? Aside from wage differentials, what other factors influence the likelihood of migration?

Cost-benefit calculation of migration

Results of the study showed that 90.91 percent of the migrants had jobs in the Philippines before migration. This implies that they do not belong to the poorest of the poor in the population (Ang 2007). That is, those who have the economic capacity have the greater propensity to migrate. Migration, then, is not a desperate move to escape from poverty at home. It is costly to migrate. Whether the expenditures are made in cash or on credit, or through sales of the families' properties, these indicate that the migrant and his family have financial resources.

On average, by the time the migrant arrives in the host country, he must have already spent PHP 205,500 (table 4). At the minimum, the direct out-of-pocket cost of migration is PHP 42,000 but this can run up to PHP 382,500 at the maximum.

These estimates do not include the incidental expenses and implicit costs incurred in the process of preparing for migration. The costs and

Table 4. Estimated Predeparture Out-of-Pocket Costs Incurred by Migrants (N=33)

Items/Expenses	Estimated Average Out-of-Pocket Cost (PHP)	Estimated Range of Out-of-Pocket Cost (PHP)	
		Minimum	Maximum
Papers and documentary requirements	10,000	2,000	20,000
Fees for clearances	8,000	1,000	15,000
Trips to Manila/Cebu (e.g., to follow up papers)	10,000	2,000	15,000
Agency fee	80,000	7,000	150,000
New wardrobe	20,000	0	80,000
International airfare	40,000	(c/o company)	60,000
Send-off (despedida) party	6,000	3,000	8,000
Show money	500USD*	500USD*	500USD*
Medical and other incidental expenses	9,000	4,500	12,000
Total	205,500	42,000	382,500

risks of migration are high, and may not be affordable to the poor. The out-of-pocket costs shouldered by the migrant (and his family) are relatively big. Due to the high out-of-pocket costs incurred, potential migrants can afford to apply in only one job abroad. This is true for 70 percent of the respondents in this study.

What benefits do migrants gain from migration? More than the monthly pay, the migrants in this study believe that they get more benefits and better terms abroad than what they usually get in their jobs in the Philippines. A domestic helper is paid PHP 12,000 per month while a production engineer is paid PHP 225,000 per month. The wide range is explained by the difference in human capital endowment and the structure of the two labor markets. Nevertheless, compared to what their Philippine counterparts receive, the pay in the host countries is higher. Depending on the employer, other benefits include one or more of the following (table 5): emergency leave credits from eight days to thirty days per year or salary settlements only, free accommodation or a housing allowance, vacation leave with pay, health insurance for the worker and/or his family. In some cases, the allowances and the perks are included in the salary package. The simple cost-benefit calculation that the individual migrant does is a rational act, assuming free choice and

Table 5. Benefits Derived by Migrant Workers in Their Host Countries

Benefits	Particulars	Range	
		Minimum	Maximum
Wage/salary	May be paid per hour or per month	12,000/ month	225,000/month
Leave credits	- Emergency leave only - Fixed number of days/year -Salary settlements only	8 days per year	30 days
Housing/ accommo- dation	- Housing allowance - Free; provided by the company - No allowance; no free use - Loan grant	4,000/month	20,000/month
Vacation leave	Fixed number of days None	1 month/ year with pay	3 months/year with pay
Health insurance	For the worker only For the whole family		
Return trip	Not for all companies	None	1 return trip/year
Housing/car loan	Depends on the company		
Subsistence allowance	Depends on the company		
Other allowances	To include: Transportation allowance Food and grocery allowance Car and fuel allowance EUR 100/week; GBP 20/week; USD 300/month	None Inclusive in salary package	PHP 1,000– PHP 5,000 transportation allowance; or any amount depending on the company
Tips from customers	Cash and noncash	Not always	
Discount on items sold by the company	Given to employees of the company	20 percent discount company product (e.g., IKEA)	

full access to information (Haas 2008). Individuals who experience lesser cost and/or greater benefits from migration have higher propensity to migrate in search of work.

Expected stream of permanent incomes

Aside from the current benefits that migrants receive, expectations of future earnings also influence migrant selectivity. Those who expect to stay longer in the host country, those who expect to be promoted on the job, and/or those who expect to find better jobs in the future are

most likely to migrate. According to Todaro (1969 as cited in Haas 2008), the adjusted "expected income differential" refers to the probability of finding an urban employment (represented by the richer host country) and thus enjoying a relatively higher permanent stream of incomes. The migrants' optimism about income gains is more than enough to cover the costs and risks associated with migration. The future stream of expected income is likewise more than enough to cover the opportunity costs and incomes foregone during job search and job quits, if any, during the entire stay of the migrant in the same or in different host countries. The lost incomes for the duration covered from the migrant's date of arrival at the place of destination up to his first pay will also be more than compensated by expected gains and the future income differentials between home and host countries. These migrants view migration as an investment decision. They are willing to shoulder the costs because they expect higher returns in the future. Those who expect greater returns will have higher propensity to migrate.

Aspirations in life

Aspirations in life likewise influence migration selectivity (Haas 2008). The migrants' planned length of time to work abroad seems generally indefinite as to number of years. However, it is definite in relation to an aspiration in life. The attainment of these aspirations is intertwined with the attainment of higher expected stream of returns on investments. Generally, the migrants in the study have plans of working abroad for a longer time. Except for about 18.18 percent who plan to continue working abroad for one to five years hence, all the remaining 81.82 percent have their plans hitched to a certain goal in life. Examples of these goals/aspirations include the following: until I earn much money to build a small business, until I finish traveling from east to west/north to south, as long as my health is okay, until I get married, until after my children have finished college, as long as there are opportunities that need my skills, until I get my foreign citizenship, and until forever because I will bring my family with me abroad. When individuals believe that the probability of achieving their life goals is high, they are more likely to migrate.

Human capital differentials

Human capital is another basis for migrant selectivity. In the host countries, human capital has "increasingly been recognized as a crucial factor in the process of economic development of modernizing societies" (Becker 1962; Sjaastad 1962 as cited in Haas 2008). On the part of the migrants, their respective human capital have to match the labor market structure in the host countries in order for them to maximize

income. This explains why a nurse looks for a job in the medical labor market and not somewhere else. Once the migrant finds the right job and stays in it for a while, he starts to be concerned about his promotion. Otherwise, he plans to look for a better-paying job in the same country or in a different place of destination.

When asked about the age by which migrants plan to return to their homes in Eastern Visayas, the answers ranged from forty-five to sixty-five years old. Two migrants, however, have no plans of returning. They plan to stay "forever" in the host countries. This implies that the best and productive years of the OFWs are spent abroad. They aim for job promotion. The respondents (45.45 percent) in the study believe that the worker's capability is the best indicator for job promotion. This includes his work performance, his technical know-how/skills, his training/education, and his being able to pass a licensure examination. Worker's attitude comes next with 30.30 percent of the respondents believing that patience and hard work, obedience to the supervisor, industriousness and dedication to the job, and being a consistent and smart worker are the factors that employers look for in an employee. It is, therefore, understood that the propensity to migrate is influenced by the differences in the migrant's human capital endowments.

Structure of the labor market

Migration selectivity is also dependent on the structure of the labor market in the host country, in as far as the migrant's chances of getting employed and, later on, being promoted on the job is concerned. Specific market segmentation and the immigration policy environment likewise can largely influence people's movements.

Bauer and Zimmerman (1998 as cited in Haas 2008) assert that a migration analytical tool should take into account the internal structure and segmentation of labor markets. This is not within the purview of the neoclassical theorists. It is the historical-structuralists who came in the '60s who stated that, in reality, migrants do not have free choice and the structures/policies make it possible for the unequal access to resources and to employment opportunities. Basically Marxist, the theorists believe that capitalism reinforces inequalities in society. Migration then results from the disruptions and dislocations that are inherent in capitalism (Massey et al. 1998 as cited in Haas 2008). The data gathered points to the fact that migrants who have less access to resources/information and those who have to struggle with immigration policies in the host countries are the ones who have lower propensity to migrate and/or to stay long at the place of destination. Of the thirty-three respondents, fourteen or 42.42 percent have experienced job quits

and, consequently, a job search. Job quits happened for economic, psychological, social, and political reasons—almost all of which are fundamentally constrained by structural forces.

One respondent wanted to move to Canada because he wants to be a Canadian citizen. The residence visa of three respondents expired and so they have to cross country. For eight respondents, migrating to another country (despite the costs and risks) was triggered by better market structures in the second place of destination.

Social networks

According to Salt (1987 as cited in Haas 2008), social networks create new migration patterns. The social networks are formal or informal groups of migrants—most often the pioneer migrants from Eastern Visayas in a certain place of destination.

They are generally temporary migrants, being in the host countries primarily for work. As a group, they provide each member with the comfort of home and the bond to help them face the challenges brought by work, their migrant status, and other sociocultural issues and concerns. They provide each other financial assistance during emergencies and whenever there are family-related problems back home. On the lighter side, they organize socio-civic events for purposes of linkaging, networking, and basic socialization.

Beyond their respective groups, they are on the lookout for information and access to resources in the hope that they can take advantage of opportunities that will make life better for them—like how to apply for resident status/citizenship, how to bring more *kababayan* back home in search of work abroad, how to send money/remittances the fastest and easiest way, and many more. On the other hand, family, friends, and relatives back home are waiting for information and news from loved ones working abroad. Success stories encourage migration. Sob stories have temporary dampening effects. Interested would-be migrants have high hopes that should the time come for them to work abroad, the situation would be better.

The social network makes succeeding migration of family and friends easier and less costly. They offer their spaces for accommodation (no matter how small), their personal wardrobe, and winter clothes. They go off-duty to fetch a *kababayan* from the airport. They share food while the new migrant has not received his first pay yet. He is given tips on how to move around conveniently. Most of all, the company they provide makes the new migrant less homesick. The social network is a social capital.

According to Massey et al. (1993 as cited in Haas 2008), "networks are interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through bonds of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin." The already settled migrants' role is to serve as "bridgeheads," thus reducing the risks as well as the material and psychological costs of subsequent migration (Becker 1994 as cited in Haas 2008).

In this study, the networks are not "gatekeepers" who block interested family/friends from migrating and/or are hesitant to assist a migrating kin. They are more of "bridgeheads." It is recognized that the stronger the social network connection of a would-be migrant, the greater the probability for migration to take place.

HOW MUCH ARE THE MIGRANTS SENDING HOME?

Migrant workers remit their earnings to their families in Eastern Visayas. These remittances, whether sent regularly or not, are used for various expenses incurred by the families in the migrants' place of origin. This is one of the many forms of interaction of the international diaspora with home countries and culture. Directly, they bring home the money where it is scarce and/or they inject investments where there once was none.

Money remittances as a proportion of income

Not all migrants send remittances, particularly in those cases when the stay in destination countries is short (WB-INTECA, n.d.). This observation is validated in this study. A further reason is noted: when the pay of the migrant worker is low due to employment-status-related circumstances. As a proportion of income, remittances range from 10 percent to 80 percent of monthly incomes (table 6). As to the amount, the reported minimum regular monthly remittances range from PHP 3,000 to PHP 22,500. On the other hand, the maximum monthly remittance ranges from PHP 4,500 to PHP 85,000. On average, a migrant worker sends home a minimum of PHP 10,437 monthly remittance to a maximum of PHP 43,250. This implies that a local economy can expect a monthly regular remittance of PHP 26,843.75 to each of the migrants' households. This amount is expected to have direct economic impact and multiplier effects on the local economy through the household-beneficiaries' investments and consumption spending patterns.

On the psychological and social aspects, the remittances likewise induce changes in needs and wants particularly of spouses and children, which lead to lifestyle changes. At the macrolevel, there may be changes in the family's social status and on how they relate to their

Table 6. Proportion of Migrant Workers' Income Remitted to Families in the Philippines through Formal Channels (N = 33)

Proportion of Income Remitted to the Philippines through Formal Channels (%)	Reported Monthly Remittance (PHP)		
	Minimum	Maximum	Average
<10	4,000	10,000	7,000
10–20	6,000	45,000	25,500
21–30	3,000	6,000	4,500
31–40	10,000	30,000	20,000
41–50	20,000	60,000	40,000
51–60	6,000	30,000	18,000
61–70	22,500	80,000	51,250
71–80	12,000	85,000	48,500
Average	10,437.50	43,250	26,843.75

community and how the community relates to them in turn. Studies by Devesh and McHale (2005 as cited in Berry and Haklev 2005) show that in some parts of South America many migrants have undergone profound social changes. "Full of nice houses paid for by remittances, these villages house families that live on money abroad, while waiting to emigrate themselves."

There are proportionately more migrant workers who remit from 11 percent to 20 percent of their incomes. In many cases these are the singles who are sending to their parents back home. Cases were noted where regular monthly remittances are low but bigger remittances are sent on a semiannual basis such as for the payment of tuition fees of children, or for house construction. Moreover, it will be hasty to say that remittances are low based on the figures above, which are limited to remittances sent through formal institutions. These figures do not reflect the amount sent through informal channels/networks.

Amount of remittances

The Philippines is reputed to be the world's fourth highest remittance-recipient country after India, China, and Mexico (Pernia 2008). However, it is difficult to ascertain the amount of remittances that migrant workers send. Even the International Monetary Fund (IMF) only reports data on official work remittance flows—that is, remittance monies transmitted through official banking channels (Adams 2003). It is recognized that a large and unknown proportion of remittance monies is sent through informal channels. Hence, remittances on record is far understated (El Qorchi, Maimbo, and Wilson 2002 as cited in Adams 2003).

During the preceding twelve months from the time of the survey, the average cash remittances ranged from PHP 3,000 per month to PHP 80,000 per month. The domestic helper, even if she allocates 60 percent of her income for remittances, can only send as much as PHP 6,000 per month. On the other hand, the nursing assistant who has a part-time job allocates only 10 percent of her income for remittances, yet she can remit more—that is, PHP 10,000 per month. These data are further proof that the human capital differentials are a key factor for wage differentials.

In terms of sex distribution, it is observed that females remit a greater proportion of their income than males. Generally, at all levels of remittances as a proportion of incomes, females outnumber the males. However, despite this fact, it turns out that the total female migrants' remittances amounts to only PHP 354,500 per month while that of the male migrants amounts to PHP 448,500 a month. This finding implies that females are in lower-paying jobs than the men. Notably, there were more females in the study who have part-time jobs and are spending longer work hours. Remittances are sent to someone in the household who takes charge of budgeting and housekeeping. Males tend to remit to their wives or their mothers for those who are married and single, respectively. On the other hand, females tend to remit to their mothers, or to a spinster sister, or to the eldest daughter who is in her late teens or early twenties. They send regular remittance to family members who are responsible for keeping the family intact, and who take care of the house and the children. A separate remittance goes to the husband, although of a much smaller amount. Cases when the whole amount of remittance goes to the husband were relatively less. Sending remittances to women helps ensure the greater probability that the money will be spent for the benefit of the children and the household (UN-INSTRAW 2008a as cited in IOM 2011). A gender lens in analyzing remittances will give a better picture of the household dynamics and the impact of remittances on family welfare and/or the community.

Remittance utilization

If we subscribe to the conventional macroeconomic model, remittances have an expansionary effect on the economy. The multipliers are expected to be greater if these remittances are further spent on investments or saved in the formal financial sector. Syred (2011) argues that statistics on remittances might support the contention that remittances can positively impact on the lives of the poor in poor countries of origin. Nevertheless, without the remittances, recipient households feel that they are "very poor." Wucker (2004, as cited in

Berry and Haklev 2005) cites the Philippines as a "famous example that bases substantial portions of income on remittances." The more migrant workers in the family, the better the income position of the household.

Remittances are vital to the consumption and investment behavior of migrant households (Adams 2003). Remittances spur consumption spending, and fuel high rate of household savings and investment (Rapoport and Docquier, forthcoming; Roberts 2004 as cited in WB-INTECA, n.d.). Regular monthly household expenditures include tuition and other school fees of children, food for the family, medicines/vitamins/other health needs, utilities and bills, and an allowance for miscellaneous expenses. The migrant worker also sends additional money for other expenditures on several occasions during the year: house construction; house repair; emergency health needs; tuition fees (if paid quarterly or by semester); solicitations coming from churches/charities; purchase of appliances/gadgets; support to parents (elderly); and for special family events/occasions such as birthdays, anniversaries, fiestas, and graduation (table 7). Other remittances come annually, and these are in bigger amounts. The money is used for any of the following: investments in business, travels and family vacations, payment for pre-need plans, and other special events in the family like weddings and deaths.

There are uses of remittance money that may be paid monthly or on specific terms. Examples are tuition fees, health needs, investments, and bank savings. There are expenditures that could not have been made by the family had there been no remittance incomes. These are family travels/vacations, purchase of pre-need plans, purchase of gadgets, business investments, and bigger donations to church/charities.

Much of the expenditures on consumption generate income for the local economy. Indirectly, it also raises the income of nonrecipient households. House construction is one example. The local carpenters and construction workers indirectly benefit from remittance monies. Another example involves the jeepney drivers who get employed by the family who goes into the transportation business using remittance monies. It is likewise observed that the poorer households have lesser propensity to save and to invest. All remittance monies is used for consumption spending. This observation is consistent with the findings of WB-INTECA (n.d.), which show that remittances constitute a higher portion of consumption per capita for the poor than for the rich households. While in many cases the recipient families are able to increase their economic activities with the remittance money, there are reports about the dampening effect of the windfall family income. More windfalls may cause a reduction in the work effort of the recipient family.

**Table 7. Remittance Utilization by Migrants' Families
in Places of Origin (N = 33)**

Item	Estimated Amount (PHP)		Frequency of Remittance	
	Minimum	Maximum	Monthly	Others
Tuition fee for children's schooling	3,500	10,000	/	Monthly
	20,000	60,000		Every 6 months
Food for the family	5,000	20,000	/	Monthly
House construction	20,000	150,000		Depends on the progress of construction
House repair	1,000	40,000		When necessary
Health needs	1,000	5,000	/	Monthly
	5,000	10,000		As needed
Support to parents (for single migrant workers)	2,000	15,000	/	Monthly
Donations to charities/church	1,000	20,000		Upon solicitation
Bank savings	0	10,000	/	Monthly
	145,000	300,000		One time;
Investments in business	0	500,000		One time
	0	30,000		Regular; annual
Feasts, birthdays, special occasions	5,000	80,000		On special occasions (per year)
Travels and family vacations	0	150,000		Annual
Purchase of appliances, gadgets (e.g., laptops)	0	45,000		As needed
Pre-need plans (e.g., insurance, St. Peter plan, education)	0	70,000		Annual
Other special events and emergencies in the family	0	150,000		As needed
Miscellaneous needs of family	3,000	15,000	/	Monthly
Utilities and similar bills	2,000	10,000	/	Monthly

ARE MIGRANT WORKERS RETURNING BACK SOON?

While in the host countries, migrant workers retain a strong bond with their home communities. Almost all of them in the study spend at least a week's vacation every year with their families. This pattern is observed to strengthen the family/community ties as well as to prepare the migrant for return migration sometime.

Generally, return migration is planned after the economically active life of the migrant is over and has been spent productively in the host countries. Migrants plan to work abroad for as long as their health and the market opportunities allow; they want to earn more because they have to fulfill certain aspirations and goals in life.

Planning to put up a business

At what age do migrants start returning home? While the study did not ask for the specific age, the migrants' answers imply that they are coming home after their productive years. This is indicated by the following responses: after retirement, after the children have finished college, after I have saved enough to start a business, after I have gone east to west and north to south.

The usual answer regarding their plans upon return migration is to put up a business. Sixteen (48.48 percent) have clear ideas about what business to establish. Twelve (36.36 percent) are not sure; and if they do go into business, they have no specific plans. The remaining five (15.15 percent) have no plans of becoming businessmen.

Prospects of the planned business

The prospects of success of the planned business is contingent on the manager's or the entrepreneur's business acumen, his experience, and his training, among others. Data show that among the migrants, sixteen (48.48 percent) are planning a business that is not related to his educational preparation. Thirteen (39.39 percent) have no work experience relevant to their business plan. Three (9.09 percent) have planned businesses that are not relevant to their educational attainment but are relevant to their work experience abroad. Only one of the migrants interviewed has a business plan related to his academic preparation and work experience.

CONCLUSION

More issues and topics for further research emanate from this seminal paper on the international diaspora of Eastern Visayans.

- After more than three decades, is the local economy ready to manage return migration? How can it help return migrants make the best use of their hard-earned monies? A repeat of the migration wave of the '80s is imminent. Are return-migration-related policies responsive?
- What are the economic impacts of remittances at the micro (household), meso (policies and institutions), macro (economy), and meta (values and culture) levels? How can the marginal propensity to remit be increased?

- Migration selectivity is based on the following: human capital endowments/characteristics, expectations of future earnings, cost-benefit calculation (to include risks), the structure of the labor market, the aspirations in life of the migrant, and the role played by the migrant's social network. Which factor is the most significant?
- Is there a feminization of migration? A gender perspective in the analysis of migration processes, structures, and impacts is necessary. Consequently, more gender-responsive migration policies and programs are expected.
- Are migration databases complete and updated? Are these being used for research and further study? How are these disseminated and utilized?

The international diaspora of Eastern Visayans continues and will continue—mainly because of the push-pull factor differentials between the places of origin and destination. The wage differentials and the expectations of employment opportunities abroad run fit into the horizon of the Eastern Visayan who is in search of good and rewarding work for him/her to provide a better life for his family.

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Binondo Yesteryears Today: Continuity and Change

Celestina P. Boncan

In the nineteenth-century Binondo, one of the several suburbs of Manila, was the center of Chinese trade. Its location on the banks of the Pasig River complemented its distinct role. At present, Binondo remains as the premier emporium of Chinese commerce in Manila. After a hundred years or so, the daily busy exchange of commerce continues in the confined space where that same trade took place in the nineteenth century.

The paper captures the spirit of trade and social life in nineteenth-century Binondo through the life story of the family of Ygnacio Jaobungcang, a resident Chinese merchant. Based on family photos, house plans, business papers, and oral accounts, the paper "tours" the streets, alleys, and esteros (streams) of nineteenth-century Binondo, revealing what Binondo's yesteryears have become today.

Keywords: Binondo, Chinese, Sangley, trade, Parian, mestizo

INTRODUCTION

In the nineteenth-century Manila was a city center, with a rectangularly shaped stretch of land, located at the point where the waters of the Pasig River converged with the waters of Manila Bay. This was the site of an ancient Muslim settlement called Maynilad, which Miguel Lopez de Legazpi burned to the ground in 1571. Out of the ashes of Maynilad, Legazpi founded a Spanish city—Manila—on 24 June 1571.[1] Built in the tradition of a medieval city, Manila was surrounded by an imposing stone wall, which was broken at regular points by defensive structures like bastions, *baluartes*, and *revelines*.[2] Entry to the city was through *puertas* or gates at specially designated parts of the curtain wall.[3] Inside this core part of Manila, which was popularly called Intramuros (meaning, "city within the walls"), were principal government offices, churches, convents and schools, and residences of Spanish colonial officials and their families.

Outside the walls of Intramuros were districts, some with a few hamlets while others teemed with numerous inhabitants. These districts used to be part of a native kingdom called Namayan.[4] By virtue of the royal decree of 1 September 1859, these districts were made a part of Manila.[5] Called *arrabales* or suburbs, these districts constituted an extension of Manila's territorial jurisdiction. On the landside—that is, the eastern and southern sides of Manila—are found the suburbs of Ermita, Malate, Paco, Santa Ana, and Pandacan. The rest of Manila's suburbs lay on the northern banks of the Pasig River. These are the arrabales of San Nicolas, Tondo, Binondo, Sta. Cruz, Quiapo, Sampaloc, and San Miguel.[6]

Of these suburbs, Binondo is the most interesting. For centuries it served as the residential and mercantile enclave of a large population of foreigners—the Chinese. This paper draws a portrait of Binondo, Manila's Chinatown district and center of retail trade and business, based on the life and times of the family of Ygnacio Jaobungcang who was one among thousands of Chinese who came to the Philippines in the nineteenth century and settled in Binondo.

BINONDO YESTERYEARS

Binondo sits on a parcel of land on the right bank of the Pasig River. Actually, it is an island, the product of thousands of years of siltation by the Pasig River.[7] Two estuaries or streams of the Pasig River, the Estero de Santa Cruz and the Estero de Binondo, flow in such a way that their waters eventually converge, completely enclosing Binondo, making it an island.[8] Midway in its flow, the Estero de Santa Cruz breaks out into three

smaller estuaries—the Estero de Magdalena, the Estero de Meisic, and the Estero de San Lazaro—to form another island called Trozo.[9]

Estuaries dotted the landscape of both banks of the Pasig River, especially the right bank where Binondo is located. The presence of streams in Manila and its suburbs is largely due to their location close to the mouth of the Pasig River, making the land low-lying at many parts and even sandy especially at the point where the waters of the river formed a junction with the waters of Manila Bay.[10] Noting the numerous canals and streams in Manila, a late nineteenth-century American traveler compared Manila to a city in Europe with a similar environment:

> Water life gives Manila some claims to the title of "Oriental Venice." The general level of her streets is but a few feet above water and should some earthquake lower the plain ten feet or some tidal wave raise the water in the bay, there would be a permanent or temporary reproduction of conditions in the same Italian city.[11]

A common means of transportation in Binondo, set in a riverine locale, was the banca. The banca was a small, light, and slender boat propelled by an oarsman (*banquero*). The banca was a popular means of transportation, especially in Trozo where the Santa Cruz, Magdalena, and Meisic esteros crisscrossed. It was common for houses in this area to have their own banca and banquero, with the latter being treated as a regular member of the household. In fact, so important was the estero as a conduit of travel and trade "that a Spanish royal decree was passed and is yet in force, by which no building is allowed within ten feet of the bank of an *estero*."[12]

Different from the banca but likewise a form of riverine transportation was the casco. The casco was a flat-bottomed boat built to carry freight rather than people. In the casco, "the passenger is only incidental, the load taking up all the space," as described by one French traveler to the country in the nineteenth century.[13] The casco was sturdy enough to travel from the lake of Laguna and down the Pasig River bringing all sorts of produce.[14] Once at the Pasig River, the cascos carried inland these produce through the larger esteros of Quiapo, Binondo, and Tondo and henceforth to the smaller esteros.[15]

Bridges (*puentes*) connected the islands formed by the esteros. They also served as gateways to principal streets for those who traverse the district aboard bancas and cascos. They are made of stone and named after the street upon which they are found.[16] The more important ones are the bridges of Binondo, Jolo, Meisic, Trozo, and San Lazaro.[17]

At its location on the banks of the Pasig River, Binondo directly overlooked Intramuros. Access to Binondo from Intramuros was through the Pasig River over a large stone bridge called Puente de España (Bridge of Spain). In earlier years, only a series of pontoons served as a bridge from the Intramuros to Binondo. But from 1626 to 1632, during the time of Governor-General Juan Niño de Tabora (1626–1632), a stone bridge was built, which came to be called Puente de Piedra (Stone Bridge) or at times Puente Grande (Large Bridge).[18] The bridge acquired the name Puente de España in 1874 after it was rebuilt following its destruction during the 1863 earthquake that struck Manila.[19] The northern end of the Bridge of Spain opened up to Calle Nueva,[20] the "gateway" to Binondo.

Going down from the Bridge of Spain (Puente de España), the first principal street of Binondo was Calle Escolta,[21] which ran the length from Plaza Moraga[22] to Plaza Santa Cruz. The next principal street was Calle Rosario,[23] which started from Plaza Moraga to Plaza de Binondo.[24] Another principal street was Calle Anloague, the name derived from the Tagalog word for a native carpenter.[25] This street began from the banks of the Pasig River running north past all the way to the arrabal of Tondo. Still another principal street was Calle San Fernando,[26] which started from Plaza Calderon de la Barca[27] extending westerly up to the arrabal of San Nicolas. These principal streets complement the defining feature of Binondo in the nineteenth century—"where nearly all the trade is carried on and where nearly all the best Chinamen's shops are situated."[28]

Since the time Manila was founded in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, thousands of Chinese had arrived in the Philippines. Departing largely from the southern province of Fujian, they crossed the South China Sea to make their way to the safe shores of the Philippines. It was a journey helped in large part by a moderate wind that blew over these waters in most times of the year. The journey over the South China Sea was also hastened or delayed depending on which direction the monsoon blew—southwest from June to November and northeast from November to March. But either which way the winds blew, sea travel between the Philippines and China had become an often occurrence.[29]

The impetus to Chinese migration to the Philippines was principally provided for by the Manila-Acapulco galleon trade. The Chinese brought to Manila luxurious merchandise—such as damask, satin, linen, musk, ivory, tapestries of embroidered velvet, cushions and carpets, pearls, rubies, sapphires, fine crockery, pepper, and spices—that were loaded aboard naos or large ships called galleons bound for Acapulco where they were in great demand and fetched high prices in the city's *feria* (fair).[30] The Chinese also brought goods that the Spaniards needed but

which were not available in the country, such as wheat, flour, preserves made of oranges and peach, nutmeg, ginger, salted pork (ham), chestnuts, pears, pepper and spices.[31] They also brought iron, saltpeter, gunpowder, copper, nails, and other metals that the Spaniards in Manila needed for construction, defense, and other purposes.[32] The Chinese also offered various professional services essential to urban life[33] since among them were tailors, cobblers, bakers, carpenters, candle makers, confectioners, apothecaries, painters, and silversmiths.[34]

As there was no comparable Spanish mercantile class taking root in the Philippines, the Chinese easily established themselves as the principal agents of trade in Manila.[35] These Chinese merchants were generally called Sangleys.[36] Attracted by a lucrative trade, Chinese merchants began arriving in Manila in large numbers. By 1580 there were already so many Chinese in Manila. The presence of a large foreign population in their midst spread fear among the Spaniards. For their security and safety, the Spaniards needed to implement some form of control on the Chinese but without impeding the beneficial trade that the Chinese brought to the city. The means of control that the Spaniards implemented was to designate a place where the Chinese were to reside and engage in mercantile activities only, which Governor-General Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa (1580–1583) implemented in 1581.[37] These exclusive quarters reserved for the Chinese was located at first on the marshland just outside the convent of Santo Domingo along the river front and came to be called "Parian."[38]

By the first decade of the seventeenth century, the Chinese continued to arrive in large number. In 1603 there were twenty thousand to twenty-five thousand of them in contrast with the Spaniards who numbered only about six hundred.[39] Because of this, the Spaniards had no other recourse but to continue to implement the Parian system. In later years, the Parian was transferred to various places. Most often, the buildings that housed the shops and living quarters easily burned down as they were made of light materials. From its original site, the Parian was transferred to the vicinity of Bastion de San Gabriel near the Puente Grande (Bridge of Spain), then back to the area near Bastion de Santo Domingo, then to Arroceros,[40] and finally in 1759 to the Plaza de San Fernando in San Nicolas across the Pasig River where it came to be called "Alcaiceria de San Fernando."[41] The Alcaiceria was ordered constructed by the royal cedula of 14 November 1752. Its construction was started by Governor-General Pedro Manuel de Arandia (1756–1759) in 1756, but he did not live to see the building completed in 1762. The building was in the shape of an octagon with two floors. The first floor was dominated by a square at the center surrounded by porticos that

opened into shops and stalls all around. The second floor was divided into apartments for the stallholders. There were two entrances to the Alcaiceria. The one that faced the river was called *puerta del muelle* while the one that faced the street was called *puerta del tierra*.[42]

The Spaniards employed other means to control the Chinese. One other way was through taxation, which the Spaniards believed was not very hard for the Chinese to comply with. In exchange for permission to conduct commerce in the country, the Spaniards taxed the Chinese differently from the native population. Basically, the Chinese were made to pay more taxes than the natives. The Chinese paid a total annual tax of fifty-four reales. In contrast, the natives paid only fourteen reales consisting of the base tax of ten reales to which was added the cost of community works (*caja de comunidad*) at one real and the cost of Christianization (*sanctorum*) at three reales.[43]

While the Spaniards through the Parian system physically segregated the Chinese from the rest of the colonial population, they also implemented a policy of assimilating the Chinese into the Catholic fold. The Spaniards regarded the Chinese as foreigners, but nonetheless they endeavored to convert the Chinese to Christianity. This was in consonance with the overall goal of converting all heathens to Christianity. Similarly as what they did with the natives, the Spaniards placed the Chinese under the care of friars who taught them the doctrines of Christianity.

The task of Christianizing the Chinese in Manila was given to the Dominicans. Also known as the Order of Preachers, the Dominicans first arrived in the Philippines in 1587. The first batch of Dominican arrivals consisted of thirteen priests and two lay brothers led by Fr. Juan de Castro, the vicar general. The Dominicans conducted Christianizing missions in Bataan, Pangasinan, Cagayan, Batanes, and the Babuyan Islands. In Intramuros the Dominicans were assigned the building lot bounded by Calle Solana, Calle Beaterio, and the curtain wall facing the Pasig River for the construction of their church and convent.[44]

Aside from ministering to the spiritual needs of the Chinese, the Dominicans also took care of their temporal needs. The Dominicans built the Hospital of San Gabriel, which was located at the foot of the Bridge of Spain on the right bank of the Pasig River. This was during the time when the Parian was still located in this area.[45] The cost of maintaining the hospital's services was supported in large part by the fees collected from boats ferrying people and goods across the Pasig River. However, the collection of fees was discontinued after the Bridge of Spain was constructed. Instead, a fixed subsidy from the Parian was delegated for the hospital.[46]

Governor-General Luis Perez Dasmariñas (1593–1596) boosted the efforts of increasing the number of Christian Chinese. Basically, he provided an inducement so that more Chinese would choose to convert to Christianity. And this inducement was none other than allowing Christian Chinese to live outside of the Parian, freed from the restrictions and exclusivity imposed on foreigners. In 1594 he designated the parcel of land where Binondo is presently located as a settlement for Christian Chinese.[47] Binondo was not unfamiliar to the Chinese. In 1573, Legazpi saw a small Chinese community there, about forty of them together with their families.[48] The Dominicans continued to be assigned for the spiritual care of the Christian Chinese in Binondo.

At 66.11 hectares, Binondo is the smallest of Manila's arrabales. In contrast, the arrabales with large land areas include Tondo (865.13 hectares), Santa Cruz (309.01 hectares), and San Nicolas (163.85 hectares). In the nineteenth century (1873), however, in terms of population, Binondo had the largest—at 42,385. Tondo, which was thirteen times the size of Binondo, had a population that was only nearly half of that of Binondo at 26,366. Santa Cruz, which was four times the size of Binondo, had a population of only 14,258.[49] Out of the estimated population of 225,000 of Manila toward the end of the nineteenth century, 22,000 of them consisted of Chinese residing in the island suburb of Manila, Binondo.[50]

Ygnacio Jaobungcang was one among thousands of Chinese who came to the Philippines in the nineteenth century. He was a pure Chinese, born in 1833 in Tanqua in the province of Fujian in southeastern China.[51] Like many of his countrymen, he embraced Catholicism as a stepping-stone in securing a more stable life in his adopted country. Conversion to Christianity meant being classified as a *Sangley cristiano*. As a Chinese Christian, he was eligible for residence in Binondo. His house was located in Calle Rosario, which had acquired the distinction of being the place where the most numerous Chinese shops selling all kinds of merchandise were to be found.[52] These shops along Calle Rosario were not really very large, "for the most part not more than ten feet broad towards the street, and leaves but little space besides the doorway to display the attractions of their wares, for which the great object of the Chinese shopmen appears to be to show the most varied and frequently miscellaneous collection of goods in the smallest possible space."[53]

Over at Calle Escolta, most of the shops were owned by Americans and Europeans[54] and sold manufactures and produce from Manchester, Glasgow, Birmingham, and from many other European manufacturing marts.[55] One foreign visitor of the country called Calle Escolta a "fashionable street, bordered by the beautiful stores of the Europeans."[56]

Another found the shops in this street "surprisingly good for such an out-of-the-way place, and compare favorably with those of Hong Kong, Calcutta, or Singapore."[57] An interesting comment made by an official of the Tribunal of Commerce of Manila was that the Chinese were exclusively engaged in the selling of European dry goods and hardware in which the Spaniards have not succeeded.[58]

Binondo was also the center of Manila's foreign commerce. Offices of foreign commercial companies engaged in the import-export trade were in Binondo. The following were some of the foreign commercial companies that opened offices in Binondo: Butler Sykes & Co. in Calle Rosario; Holliday Wise & Co. in Calle Nueva; Ker & Co. in Calle Escolta; Martin, Dyce & Co. in Plaza San Gabriel; Constable Wood & Co. in Plaza San Gabriel; Antonio Barretto & Co. in Plaza San Gabriel; Philips Moore & Co. in Calle Anloague; Peele Hubbell & Co. in Plaza San Gabriel; Russell & Sturgis in Calle Barraca; Augusto van Polenen, Petel & Co. in Calle San Jacinto; Juan Augusto (Jean Auguste) Guichard in Calle Escolta; and Peter Jenny & Co. in Calle Anloague.[59]

Foreigners lived on the second floor of their two-storey offices in Binondo.[60] They found it advantageous to locate their offices in Binondo because on the shores of Binondo were numerous wharves where ships docked.[61] It was in the vicinity of these wharves where the foreign merchants maintained their warehouses. By locating their offices and warehouses in Binondo, the foreign merchants easily found themselves at the center where commerce in the city took place, with assurance of immediate delivery of their merchandise.[62] It was for this reason that owners of houses rented out to foreign merchants as offices charged higher rentals than in other areas.[63] Further down the river, toward the arrabal of San Nicolas was the customs house wharf where all passengers from steamers disembarked and had their papers checked and stamped at the office of the Capitania del Puerto. This place is where the old Alcaiceria de San Fernando used to be located. However, the Alcaiceria was destroyed by the fire that broke out on 20 May 1810, which completely gutted down the building.[64]

The layout of Binondo followed closely the pattern set by Spain for the founding of towns and cities in her overseas possessions. The Ordenanzas Generales de Descubrimiento y Nueva Poblacion directed *all pueblos* (towns) and *ciudades* (cities) to select a large open space to serve as *plaza mayor* or the principal square.[65] Building lots henceforth were to be assigned around the four sides of the *plaza mayor*[66] to the principal church or cathedral, the royal quarters, the municipal house, the arsenal, the customs house, and the shops and dwellings of the

merchants.[67] The street plan was to follow the grid pattern—that is, streets dissecting the stretch of the land horizontally and vertically.

The wide open space that served as the main plaza was called Plaza de Binondo and was located in front of the church of Binondo. The church is made of stone, with the facade built in Doric style with its doors facing Calle Rosario. Inside the church were two spacious naves.[68] The patroness of the parish of Binondo was Our Lady of the Most Holy Rosary (Nuestra Señora del Santisimo Rosario). This was the church built by the Dominicans in 1596 as part of their Christianizing mission in Binondo.[69] This was the church where Chinese Christians of Binondo like Ygnacio Jaobungcang went to hear mass as a way of reinforcing their faith.

Conversion to Catholicism also gave Sangley cristianos the entitlement of being married in the church of Binondo. Ygnacio Jaobungcang was married in this church to his wife Francisca Yap, like him a Sangley cristiano, officiated by Reverend Father Juan Santa Maria, O.P., parish priest of Binondo, on 2 July 1864. The last rites due a Catholic were also rendered to Christian Chinese. When Ygnacio Jaobungcang died on 23 May 1889, he received the blessings of the parish priest of Binondo. His body was interred at the church of Binondo where a mass and a vigil were also held. Lastly, he was laid to rest at La Loma Cemetery.[70]

By tradition, Sangley cristianos made sure to have their children baptized as Christians also. Such was the case of the children of Ygnacio Jaobungcang and Francisca Yap: Marcelo Liborio (born 23 July 1865), Catalino Francisco (born 25 November 1866), Fermina (born 24 November 1868), Juliana (born 8 February 1871), Emiliano Blas (born 3 February 1873), and Antonio Guillermo (born 24 June 1877). The first five were baptized at the church of Binondo while the youngest was baptized at the church of Tondo.[71] Baptism gave to second-generation Sangley cristianos a "higher" status. Unlike their parents, the six Jaobungcang siblings were now classified as mestizos.

Not content with becoming a Christian, Ygnacio Jaobungcang stepped up his assimilation to the colonial regime politically. He applied to become a naturalized Spaniard, a status eventually granted to him. By virtue of the royal decree of 16 July 1875, Ygnacio Jaobungcang became an *Español naturalizado* 4th class.[72]

Around this main square also called Plaza Calderon de la Barca were some of the principal buildings in Binondo. To the right of the church of Binondo was the La Insular Cigar and Cigarette Factory. This was a government-owned factory that received tobacco leaf grown in provinces earmarked for tobacco cultivation. The factory inspected all incoming tobacco leaf for suitability for manufacture.[73] Women

were employed to roll the tobacco leaves into cigars and cigarettes.[74] Right next to it was the Hotel de Oriente that was reputed to be the first large hotel in the country. One block from the church at Calle Anloague stood the building that housed the offices of the Administracion Central de Estancadas (Central Administration for Monopoly Goods) and the Hacienda Publica (Public Finance) of the Province of Manila.[75]

Radiating from Plaza Calderon de la Barca and the parish church of Binondo were numerous streets, "narrow and paved with rough cobble stones, rarely broad enough for two people to walk comfortably abreast."[76] Along these streets resided Binondo's denizens—Spaniards, Spanish mestizos, *mestizos de sangley*, natives.[77] The following are some of the listed residential owners:

Name of Owner	*Street and Number*[78]
Francisco Godinez	San Jacinto, 42[79]
Francisco Hernandez y Fajarnos	San Jacinto, 37
Fernando de Altonaga	San Jacinto, 32
Roberto Alas	San Jacinto, 31
Mariano Limjap	San Jacinto, 29
Mariano Limjap	San Jacinto, 23
Ygnacia Eusebio	San Jacinto
Bruna Tuason	Dasmariñas, 22[80]
Leoncia Conchu	Dasmariñas, 14
Antonio Casal	Carvajal, 33[81]
Mariano Limjap	Anloague, 22[82]
Telesforo Chuidian	Anloague, 17
Carlos Palanca	Anloague, 16
Victoria Butler vda. de Burke	Anloague, 15
Crisanto de los Reyes	Anloague, 8
Vicente Cuyugan	Anloague, 3
Victoria Butler vda. de Burke	Escolta, 37[83]
Ceferino Lorente	Escolta, 31
Gonzalo Tuason	Escolta, 27
Juliana Gorricho	Escolta, 17
Juliana Gorricho	Escolta, 15
Ignacio Gorricho	Escolta, 12
Juliana Gorricho	Escolta, 11
Ignacio Gorricho	Escolta, 10
Gonzalo Tuason	Escolta, 9
Ignacio Gorricho	Escolta, 7
Emilia and Gonzalo Tuason	Escolta, 3
Emilia and Gonzalo Tuason	Escolta, 2
Bruna Tuason	Escolta, 1
Eugenia Lichaoco	Rosario, 37[84]
Tomasa Tuason	Rosario, 34

Victoria Butler vda.de Burke	Rosario, 32
Emilia and Gonzalo Tuason	Rosario, 30
Benito Legarda	Rosario, 24
Emilia and Gonzalo Tuason	Rosario, 23
Gonzalo Tuason	Rosario, 22
Pedro Roxas	Rosario, 19
Emilia Tuason de Rocha	Rosario, 17
Carlos Palanca	Rosario, 14
Victoria Butler vda. de Burke	Rosario, 4
Mariano Limjap	Rosario, 1
Vicenta Roxas	Nueva, 29[85]
Vicenta Roxas	Nueva, 27
Alfonso Tiaoqui	Nueva, 25
Victoria Butler vda. de Burke	Nueva, 10
Victoria Butler vda. de Burke	Nueva, 7
Emilia and Gonzalo Tuason	Nueva, 1
Emilia and Gonzalo Tuason	Nueva
Emilia Yparraguirre	San Fernando, 63
Honorato Grey	San Fernando, 11
Mariano Limjap	San Fernando, 6
Victoria Butler vda. de Burke	San Fernando, 2
Vicenta Roxas	Plaza de Binondo, 30
Emilia and Gonzalo Tuason	Plaza de Moraga, 8
Luis Rafael Yangco	Jolo, 13
Luis Rafael Yangco	San Vicente, 22[86]
Trinidad Pardo de Tavera	San Vicente, 13

The following is a description of the two-storey house of Marcelo, the eldest son of Ygnacio Jaobungcang, located at No. 32 Calle Benavides.[87] The total area of the property is 230 meters and is rectangular in shape. The front measures 11½ meters and faces Calle Benavides. From the front, the property extends 20 meters to the back all the way until the Estero de Magdalena. The ground floor is divided into the following: two *entresuelos* separated from each other by a large passageway (*zaguan*) at the center, a courtyard (*patio*) on the left side followed by the stables for three horses (*cuadra*), a kitchen (*cocina*), and toilet (*letrina*) and opposite the courtyard is a storeroom (*bodega*) and quarters for the coachman (*cochero*) and the stable boys (*guarniciones*). A staircase (*caida*) from the zaguan leads to the second floor, which is the principal part of the house. From the caida, the second floor opens up to a large living room (sala) facing the street. Contiguous to the sala is one large room (*cuarto*) and a smaller room (*dormitorio*). Toward the middle part of the second floor is the dining room (*comedor*). Further back of the dining room is the kitchen (*cocina*) at the center, the toilet (*letrina*) and

the bathing room (*baño*) on the left, and the quarters for the servants (*criados*) and pantry (*despensa*) on the right. Contiguous to the kitchen at the center is the terrace (*azotea*) with a stairway leading to the estero below.[88]

There were owners of houses who rented out their properties (*alquiler*):

Name of Owner	*Street and Number*[89]
Maria Casas del Rosario	San Jacinto, 24
Manuel Genato	San Jacinto, 8
Gertrudis de Pardo	Escolta, 25
Gertrudis de Pardo	Escolta, 23
Raymunda de Roxas	Escolta, 16
Raymunda de Roxas	Escolta, 6
Raymunda de Roxas	Nueva, 47
Gertrudis de Pardo	Nueva, 5
Manuel Genato	Jolo, 20

However, there were those who did not have individual residences, for one reason or another. In such cases, shops were not only places of business but also places of domicile as can be seen from this account:[90]

A China shopkeeper generally makes his shop his home, all of them sleeping in those confined dens at night, from which, on opening their doors about five in the morning, as they usually do, a most noisome and pestiferous smell issues and is diffused through the streets.

Such properties designed for commercial activity and habitation were called *accesorias*:

Name of Owner	*Street and Number*[91]
Vicente Cuyugan	Nueva, 19
Vicente Cuyugan	Plaza Calderon de la Barca, 4
Victoria Butler vda. de Burke	San Vicente, 1
Miguel Fabie	Jolo, 4
Gertrudis de Pardo	Rosario, 51
Juliana Mauricio vda. de Alberto	Rosario, 31
Emilia and Gonzalo Tuason	Rosario, 16
Emilia and Gonzalo Tuason	Rosario, 15
Emilia and Gonzalo Tuason	Rosario, 14
Ramon O'Farrell	Rosario, 6
Ramon O'Farrell	Rosario, 4
Ramon O'Farrell	Rosario, 3
Ramon O'Farrell	Rosario, 2
Ramon O'Farrell	Rosario, 1

Benito Legarda   Rosario
Manuel Genato   San Fernando, 17
Mariano Limjap   San Jacinto, 40
Emilia Yparraguirre   San Jacinto, 28
Emilia Yparraguirre   San Jacinto, 26
Emilia Yparraguirre   San Jacinto, 24
Juliana Mauricio vda. de Alberto Sacristia, 4[92]
Juliana Mauriciovda. de Alberto Dasmariñas, 6

There were properties used as warehouses (*camarin*):

Name of Owner	Street and Number[83]
Emilia Yparraguirre	David, 8[94]
Pedro Roxas	San Vicente, 15
Emilia and Gonzalo Tuason	Jolo, 31
Juliana Gorricho	San Jacinto

Among all the other suburbs of Manila, Binondo had the most numerous and the most varied commercial establishments that catered to all classes of people, natives and foreigners alike.[95]

Name of Establishment	Street and Number
Bazaars (selling jewelry, ironworks, crystals, European fabrics)	
Casa de Berlin	Nueva corner San Vicnete
Español	Escolta, 14
Puerta del Sol	Escolta, 14
Elzinger Hermanos	Escolta, 27
Filipino	Escolta, 37
Soda Shop	
La Perla	Plaza de Binondo
Billiard Saloons	
Villa de Lequetio	Escolta, 33
Cafés	
Campana	Escolta, 33
Carriage Shops	
Garchitorena y Smith	Escolta, 30
Grocery Stores	
Amistad	San Fernando, 60
Arbol de Guernica	San Fernando
Bilbaina	Escolta, 40
Viuda de Gomez	Escolta, 33
Castellana	Escolta, 25
Confianza	Escolta, 22
Coruña	Sacristia, 9
Luna	Plaza de Binondo, 2

Confectionary Shops

La Campana	Escolta, 33
Iris de la Paz	Nueva, 15
De Jolo	Jolo, 38

Photography Shops

Honis	Escolta, 16
Universal	Escolta, 22

Bookstores and Writing Needs

Catalana	Escolta, 17
Ciudad Condal	Escolta, 37

There were establishments that sold liquor, firearms, glazed tiles, floor tiles, pumps for wells, carriage parts, naval effects, flour, ice cream, galvanized iron, musical instruments, sewing machines, bread, paper, perfume, paints, clocks, jewelry, ready-made clothing, wine, hats, and textile.[96] The following description all but attests to the vibrant trade taking place in the streets of Binondo:

> The streets of Manila (referring to the Walled City) have at all times a dead and dull appearance…. The basement-floor of the houses being generally uninhabited, there are no windows opened in their walls, which present a mass of white-washed stone and lime, without an object to divert the eye, except here and there, where small shops have been opened in them, these being generally for selling rice, fruit, oil, etc., and entirely deficient in the glare or glittering colors of gay merchandise, nearly all of which is confined to the shops of the Escolta and Rosario….[97]

At the time of his death in 1889, Ygnacio Jaobungcang had the following properties: a house in No. 8 Calle Hormiga worth 3,200 pesos, a house in No. 1 Calle Elcano worth 3,200 pesos, a lot in No. 7 Calle Dasmariñas worth 14,000 pesos, a lot in No. 5 Calle Dasmariñas worth 15,000 pesos, and a hardware store (*quincalleria*) in No. 24, Calle Nueva worth 15,900 pesos.[98]

The Chinese in Binondo were not only shopkeepers. A number of them were engaged in the coasting trade. This was a trade that brought to Manila the natural and industrial products of the provinces.[99] Through this trade, Manila received for its domestic consumption natural and industrial products from other parts of the country. For example, from the Ilocos came tobacco, rice, cotton, *panocha*, cow's meat, carbon, molave and narra logs, onions, indigo and *gaogao*; from Pangasinan came rice, sugar, coconuts, *sibucao*, indigo, cow's hides and *calamay*; from Zambales came carbon, rice, sibucao, onions, firewood, cured meat, molave, *baticuling*, and *banaba* timber; from Mindoro came

abaca, wax, cow's hide, tar, cotton, *balate*, *ipil*, and *yakal*; from Capiz came bird's nests, abaca, tobacco, tar, rattan, cotton, and cacao; from Samar came coconut oil, abaca, cow's hide, wax, and *gulaman*; from Batangas came sugar, cow's hide, tar, coffee, mongo beans, sibucao, cotton, onions, and cacao; from Cebu came sugar, coconut oil, abaca, cow's hide, tobacco, sibucao, *ube*, and cacao; from Albay came abaca, rattan, and *sinamay*; from Leyte came abaca, coconut oil, tar, cow's hide, sulfur, and cacao; from Bulacan came fish, rice, hats, and shellfish; from Pampanga came sugar and rice; from Cavite came dried fish, *bagoong*, fruits, and sugar; from Laguna came cows, coconut oil, fruits, rattan, *tampipi*, hats, coconuts, calamay, cheese, rice, coconut wine, indigo, and coffee; and from Bataan came wood, rattan, and sugar.[100] The trade likewise brought to the provinces the manufactured products of Manila.

The coasting trade was a domestic trade. At first, this trade was in the hands of rich natives and mestizos in the provinces and Spaniards and Spanish mestizos from Manila. However, as the trade progressed, especially in the nineteenth century, the Chinese of Binondo also started to participate. According to one observant/visitor to the country in the nineteenth century:

> The number of Chinamen in Manila and throughout the islands is very great, and nearly the whole provincial trade in manufactured goods is in their hands.[101]

Ygnacio Jaobungcang was one example of a Sangley cristiano who engaged in the coastwise trade. He brought various products like cacao, beer, cognac, and gin to the provinces. His trading activities brought him to as far as the Visayas—Tacloban and Carigara in Leyte and Calbayog (in Western Samar today) and Laoang (in Northern Samar today).[102] He also maintained warehouses for the safekeeping of merchandise. One such warehouse was in Dagupan, Pangasinan, worth 2,000 pesos.[103]

> The Chinese of Binondo were one step ahead of their nearest competitors—that is, the Spaniards and Spanish mestizos. This is because, unlike the latter, the Chinese have shops opened throughout the islands, their business being carried on by one of their countrymen, generally the principal person of the concerned, who remains resident at Manila, while his various agents in the country keep him advised of their wants, to meet which he makes large purchases from the merchants, and forwards the same to his countrymen.[105]

In this regard, Ygnacio Jaobungcang followed a business practice commonly patronized by other Chinese businessmen. This was maintaining trading contacts with resident Chinese businessmen in the provinces where they traded. Moreover, he even lent money to them, which was one sure way of making them to continue patronizing his merchandise, thus perpetuating the trade.

The Chinese easily found a niche in the coasting trade as they were also owners of large commercial boats that the trade needed to transport goods from the provinces to Manila. Ygnacio Jaobungcang owned two ships of the *bergantingoleta* class. The first was the *Pasig* and the second was the *Libertad*. The former was worth 10,000 pesos while the second was worth 3,750 pesos.[106]

BINONDO TODAY

Binondo is now one of the sixteen administrative districts of Manila covering ten barangays. It is part of the Third Legislative District of Manila, which includes San Nicolas, Quiapo, and Santa Cruz. With a population of 12,985 spread over an area of 66.11 hectares, it has a population density of 19,641.5 per square kilometer, making it one of the densest districts of Manila.

Binondo retains its distinction as the premier center of Chinese commerce in Manila. It bustles daily with the trade of probably every item of merchandise in an amount and volume nearly a hundred times more than in the nineteenth century. It attracts to its shops and stalls consumers from every walk and status in life. But while the trade remains the signature stamp of Binondo, many changes have since occurred from the time the first Jaobungcang settled in this part of Manila and established a progeny of mestizos out of second- and third-generation Boncans.

Easily the most conspicuous change is that of the new names that streets and parks carry. Starting off with the streets, Calle Anloague is now Juan Luna St., Calle Rosario is now Quintin Paredes St., Calle Nueva is now E. T. Yuchengco St., Calle Gandara is now Sabino Padilla St., Calle David is now Burke St., Calle Condesa is now Norberto Ty St., Calle San Jose is now G. Masangkay St., Calle Oriente is now V. Tytana St., Calle San Jacinto is now T. Pinpin St., Calle Sacristia is now Ongpin St., and Plaza Calderon de la Barca is now known as Plaza Lorenzo Ruiz.

However, the more significant changes have to do with the transformation of the physical landscape. The first is the bridge over the Pasig River. It is not just the name of the bridge that has changed—from Bridge of Spain (Puente de España) to Jones Bridge—but the location

as well. The Jones Bridge is located several meters to the west from the original location of the Bridge of Spain such that pedestrians and vehicles alight on Quintin Paredes St. (the former Calle Rosario) instead on Calle Nueva (now E. T. Yuchengco St.). The reorientation of Jones Bridge has made it possible for a "more direct descent" to Binondo.

Yes, there was traffic at the Puente de España a century ago. But it was traffic created by horse-drawn carriages (*carromatas*), which had been described as "formidable (because) the line of carromatas used to extend away back down the Bagumbayan Drive and people sometimes had to wait an hour for a chance to cross."[107] Today, the traffic ascending to Jones Bridge and going down is caused by gasoline-powered jeepneys, vans, and cars emitting noxious carbon dioxide fumes.

Once along the major streets of Quintin Paredes St. and Juan Luna St., the shops and stalls of nineteenth-century Binondo described so picturesquely—"few Americans can resist the interest found in the little Chino shops on Rosario and the piña shops on San Fernando…. all the goods are on plain sight, and tools and bits of wire and hose and dry goods are all within reach"[108]—are all but a thing of the past. They have been replaced by towering edifices that serve as offices and banks with their staid, somber, almost impersonal facades.

Over at the end of Quintin Paredes St. stands the church of Binondo. While the church retains much of its original structure, it is seemingly "misplaced" architecturally. Tall modern buildings made of cement, steel, and glass—the hallmarks of the twenty-first century—stand side by side with the stone and brick of nineteenth-century Binondo Church, as if belittling, if not challenging, the power and prominence of what this edifice held in the past. Gone are the majestic buildings of the La Insular Cigar & Cigarette Factory and Hotel de Oriente, which, together with the Binondo Church, gave this section of the arrabal its own distinctive architectural style.

Outside of spatial considerations, the Binondo Church has "grown." From a parish church of Binondo (*iglesia parroquial*) devoted to its patroness, Nuestra Señora del Santisimo Rosario, it is now the Minor Basilica of St. Lorenzo Ruiz devoted to Lorenzo Ruiz, a son of Binondo who died a martyr in Japan, for which the Catholic Church made him the first Filipino saint. As such, Binondo Church is now for all Filipinos and not just for residents and parishioners of Binondo.

A nineteenth-century visitor once said that "Manila streets make up for their narrowness by their occasional expansion into plazas that afford breathing places and opportunity to leave the carromata if necessary."[109] One such plaza that evoked a refreshing vista was the Plaza Calderon de la Barca with its lawn-covered ground surrounded by

leafy trees highlighted by a white-painted ornate stone fountain at the end facing the Binondo Church. This plaza has been renamed Plaza San Lorenzo Ruiz. The plaza is now narrower as more of its ground had been taken over by the street catering to much larger and heavier vehicles such as cars, jeepneys, pickup trucks, and vans. Here and there are carriages (*carretelas*) but there are so few of them to make a difference in the transit of people. Here and there too, the plaza bears reminiscent signs of the past such as the trees, though fewer now in number, and the water fountain facing the Binondo Church. The huge steel statue of Lorenzo Ruiz at the middle of the plaza and the pagoda-like memorial in honor of the Filipino-Chinese martyrs of World War II at the other end bring the plaza to contemporary times. Eateries offering a popular brand of hamburger, pizza, and coffee are found strategically located around the plaza where noodle houses (*panciterias*) once filled the stomachs of Binondo's denizens. These new establishments complete the trend of Binondo's trek to modernity and Western consumerism.

Juan Luna St. beyond Plaza San Lorenzo Ruiz is a haven for commerce. On both sides of the street are stores selling all kinds of merchandise ranging from clothes, footwear, fruits, bags, household and hardware items, and a hundred other more goods. The sidewalks and even the street itself have been taken over by sellers with their carts loaded with various merchandise, resulting in the daily production of tons of garbage. Intermingling with the sellers are a thousand pedestrians ambling along on this sea of humanity called Juan Luna St. In contrast, life and movement along Escolta and Rosario streets in the nineteenth century was like the following:

> a compact mass of pedestrians and vehicles: four-wheeled rigs drawn by a pair of small native ponies that an Indio coachmen in a *salakot*, a bowl-shaped hat, drives to the limit; lumbering bull carts loaded with sugar or abaca, the driver sleepily nodding in harmony with the measured pace of his carabao; Chinese coolies doubled under the weight of a shoulder balance dangling two baskets, and whom the Indio coachman whips once or twice in passing, if he does not actually overturn the load. On the sidewalk the European in his white suit and wide-brimmed straw hat rubs shoulders with the Chinese merchant hurrying to close a deal, the Indian and the *Mestizo* flaunting the loud colors of a *jusi* or *sinamay* shirt, and the Indian woman of the casually graceful gait.[110]

In many parts of the main streets of Binondo, the transaction of commerce takes place in a complex of shops called malls. Housed in

high-rise buildings, the malls are air-conditioned and well-lighted. There are escalators to make climbing and descending from one floor to the other easier and faster. A dining section, lavatories, and toilets make shopping a comfort and convenience.

Side by side with the malls is another type of high-rise construction in Binondo. These are the condominiums where most residents of Binondo now live. Gone are the days of nineteenth-century life in Binondo where residences of Binondo residents consisted of one-storey or two-storey *bahay na bato* surrounded by a modest lot (*solar*). Space is one commodity that has gone "out of style" in Binondo today. Construction has gone vertical to make the most out of much-needed but not available space.

The pursuit of trade and commerce in Binondo has come at a high price for the landscape. One feature of Binondo that is slowly disappearing is the network of esteros. The small and narrow esteros, which are but mere extensions of the larger esteros, have all but disappeared. Many buildings and factories have taken over an inch or two of esteros. Informal settlers squat on the once picturesque bridges over esteros, building makeshift structures made of plywood and covered here and there with used tarpaulin. These serve not only as their pitiful places of domicile but also some form of livelihood like selling cigarettes, biscuits, candies, and cheap meals and snacks cooked from a small portable gas stove. There are esteros that have not been spared from one or the other type of deterioration. There are those that are heavily silted thereby reducing the water flow to the barest minimum. In others the flow of water is slowed down by garbage thrown from contiguous establishments, making them a sight not to be seen and sources of infestation and disease as well.

What prospects await Binondo in the next half century?

CONCLUSION

Historic Binondo is a spatial creation designed to delimit the residence of a particular group of people, the Christian Chinese (Sangley cristiano). But while the original intention took into consideration the geographical factor, Binondo drew into its very own heartland nearly every class and status in nineteenth-century colonial society: Europeans, Spaniards born in Spain (*peninsulares*), Spaniards born in the Philippines (*insulares*, who were also referred to as Filipinos), Chinese half-breeds (mestizos de sangley), and Spanish half-breeds (*mestizos de español*). Some of the Sangley cristiano population for which Binondo was created experienced a social transformation, as what happened

to the descendants of Ygnacio Jaobuncang. They were born in the country. They were baptized as Christians from the time they were born. They carried Christian names. They were deeply religious and devout Catholics. They studied in prominent schools in Manila like the Ateneo Municipal and Colegio de Santa Isabel. They spoke Spanish. They dressed in the manner of the time as did the Spaniards and Spanish mestizos and Western-style clothing too when the country came under American rule. One served as *cabeza de barangay* of the Gremio de Mestizos in Binondo (Emiliano Blas Boncan). One became a lawyer after studying law, appointed a judge of the Court of First Instance and later elected as *representante* of the province of Tayabas in the Philippine Legislature (Marcelo Tomas Boncan). They found useful professions in the country—for example, as doctor (Catalino Boncan) and as accountant (Leopoldo Boncan). One joined the guerrilla movement in the Second World War but was fatally shot by the Japanese (German Boncan). As they were already second- and third-generation offsprings, they no longer thought of themselves as foreigners but as "sons of the country."

Today, commerce remains as the signature stamp of Binondo. However, it is commerce that is a hundred times more in terms of volume, which has inescapably brought about collateral effects to the life of the people and landscape of Binondo. It is commerce that requires the daily convergence of thousands of people in every street, nook, and cranny of Binondo who come to buy, to sell, to carry out professional services, to provide food, to transport goods, services, and people. It is commerce that has caused the rise of new places of residence and transaction of trade even if land is not abundant, so much so that construction has gone vertical to make the most out of much-needed space. It is commerce that has caused the deterioration of Binondo's prime network of streams and esteros that in decades past provided a natural means of transporting people and freight.

In many ways, the *Binondo of Yesteryears* where Ygnacio Jaobungcang made his home and from where he seeded a progeny of second-, third-, and even fourth-generation Boncans is but a memory in the *Binondo of Today*.

NOTES

1   Martin J. Noone, *The Discovery and Conquest of the Philippines (1521– 1581)*, in *General History of the Philippines*, part 1, vol. 1 (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1986), 410.

2   From the north clockwise: Bastion de Santo Domingo, Bastion de San Gabriel, Bastion de San Lorenzo (also called Bastion de Dilao), Bastion de San Andres, Bastion de San Diego, Baluartillo de San Jose, Baluartillo de San Eugenio, Bastion Plano Luneta, Baluartillo de San Juan, Baluartillo de San Francisco, Baluarte de San Miguel, Baluarte de Sta. Barbara, Baluarte de San Francisco; From the north clockwise: Revelin del Parian, Revelin de Recoletos, Revelin de Real, Reducto de San Pedro, Reducto de San Francisco.

3   Puerta del Parian in the east, Puerta Real in the south, Puerta de Santa Lucia in the west, and Puerta de Isabel II in the north. A fifth gate was the small Puerta del Postigo near the archbishop's residence.

4   Ramon Zaragoza, *Old Manila* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1990), 1.

5   Ramon Fernandez Gonzales and Federico Moreno y Jerez, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas* (Manila: Establecimiento Tipografico de Santo Tomas, 1875), in Facts about Manila, 157–61.

6   Jean Mallat, *The Philippines: History, Geography, Customs, Agriculture, Industry and Commerce of the Spanish Colonies in Oceania*, translated by Pura Santillan-Castrense (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1998), 107.

7   Alfred Marche, *Luzon and Palawan* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1970), 31.

8   Manuel Buzeta and Felipe Bravo, *Diccionario geográfico, estadistico y histórico de las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid: J.C. de la Peña, 1850–1851).

9   US Army Philippines Division, *Historical Notes Concerning Manila to Accompany the Index Map of Manila Issued in 1903* (Manila: Philippines Division, Adjutant General's Office, 1904), 7.

10 Robert MacMicking, *Recollections of Manila and the Philippines* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1967), 14.

11 George Miller, *Interesting Manila* (Manila: McCullough& Co., Inc., 1906), 175–76.

12 Ibid., 177.

13 Duc d'Alencon, *Luzon and Mindanao*, translated by E. Aguilar Cruz (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1986), 35.

14 MacMicking, *Recollections of Manila and the Philippines*, 16; Mallat, *The Philippines*, 63.

15 Miller, *Interesting Manila*, 176–77.

16 Ibid., 179.

17 Agustin de la Cavada, *Historia, geografica, geologica y estadistica de Filipinas* (Manila: Ramirez y Girauider, 1876), 59.

18 Miller, *Interesting Manila*, 177–78.

19 Gonzales and Moreno, *Manual del Viajero*, 157–61.

20 Spanish for new

21 Spanish for escort, consort, or guard; referred to the column of troops who escorted the governor-general in parades and marches (Alfonso Aluit, *The Galleon Guide to Manila & the Philippines* [Manila: Galleon Publications, 1968], 107).

22 Named after the Franciscan friar Fernando de Moraga, in the Philippines from 1597 to 1617, who journeyed to Spain to persuade King Philip III to retain the Philippines (US Army Philippines Division, 10).

23 Spanish for rosary, alluding as well to Our Lady of the Most Holy Rosary, the patroness of Binondo, who was enthroned at the church of Binondo located at the end of this street (US Army Philippines Division, 44).

24 The main square in Binondo.

25 A. E. W. Salt and H. O. S. Heistand, *The Street Names of Manila and Their Origins: In Focus on Old Manila*, ed. Mauro Garcia and C. O. Resurreccion (Manila: Philippine Historical Association, 1971), 260.

26 Referring to Saint Ferdinand, the canonized Ferdinand III, king of Castille and Leon.

27 Named after Pedro Calderon de la Barca (1600–1681), an eminent Spanish dramatist and poet (US Army Philippines Division, 9).

28 MacMicking, *Recollections of Manila and the Philippines*, 16.

29 Fedor Jagor, *Travels in the Philippines* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild), 24.

30 William Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York: Dutton, 1939), 27.

31 Domingo Salazar, O.P., "Relation of the Philipinas Islands" (1586–1587), in Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands: 1493–1898* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1903–1907, vol. 7), 34–35. This fifty-five-volume compilation of primary sources will hereinafter be referred simply as "Blair and Robertson."

32 Hernando Riquel, "News from the Western Islands" (1573), in Blair and Robertson, vol. 3, p. 245; "Relacion de Pacheco sobrelas Islas Filipinas"; Rafael Lopez, O.S.A., and Alfonso Felix Jr., trans., *The Christianization of the Philippines* (Manila: Historical Conservation Society and University of San Agustin, 1965), 132–33; Zaragoza, Old Manila, 25–26.

33 Hernando de los Rios Coronel, "Reforms Needed in Filipinas" (1619–1620), in Blair and Robertson, vol. 18, p. 308.

34 Domingo Salazar, O.P., "The Chinese and the Parian at Manila" (1590), in Blair and Robertson, vol. 7, p. 225.

35 Pedro Chirino, S.J., "Relacion de las Islas Filipinas" (1604), in Blair and Robertson, vol. 12, p. 200.

36 Mallat, *The Philippines*, 336.

37 Salazar, "The Chinese and the Parian at Manila," 220.

38 Hurtado de Corcuera, "Letters from Governor Hurtado de Corcuera" (1636), in Blair and Robertson, vol. 26, p. 139; Francisco Tello, "Letter from Governor Francisco Tello" (1599), in Blair and Robertson, vol. 10, p. 259.

39 Pedro Ortiz Armengol, *Intramuros de Manila: De 1571 hasta su destruccion en 1945* (Madrid: Ediciones de CulturaHispanica, 1958), 43.

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41   Alberto Santamaria, O.P. "The Chinese Parian (El Parian de los Sangleyes)," in *The Chinese in the Philippines, 1570–1770*, ed. Alfonso Felix Jr. (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1966), vol. 1, pp. 67–118.

42   Maria Lourdes Diaz-Trechuelo Spinola, *Arquitectura Española en Filipinas, 1565–1800* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1959), 35.

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44   Rolando de la Rosa, O.P., *Beginnings of the Filipino Dominicans* (Quezon City: Dominican Province of the Philippines, 1990), 60–61.

45   Guillaume Le Gentil de la Galaisiere, *A Voyage to the Indian Seas* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1964), 78.

46   Salt and Heistand, *The Street Names of Manila and Their Origins*, 321.

47   Diego Aduarte, O.P., "Historia de la Provincia del Sancto Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores" (1640), in Blair and Robertson, vol. 30, pp. 226–29.

48   Armengol, *Intramuros de Manila*, 24.

49   Gonzales and Moreno, *Manual del Viajero*, 173.

50   Miller, *Interesting Manila*, 16.

51   He was fifty-six years old at the time of his death in 1889 (*Juzgado de la Primera Instancia de Quiapo: civil dejurisdiccion voluntaria promovido por la viuda del chino Ygnacio Jao Boncan Doña Francisca Yap sobre declaración de herederos, Bienes de Difuntos*), National Archives of the Philippines; from hereon to be referred to as Juzgado: Ygnacio Jao Boncan.

52   Ibid.

53   MacMicking, *Recollections of Manila and the Philippines*, 17–18.

54   Miller, *Interesting Manila*, 17.

55   MacMicking, *Recollections of Manila and the Philippines*, 16.

56   Marche, *Luzon and Palawan*, 30.

57   George John Younghusband, *The Philippines and Round About* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1899), 51.

58   Rafael Diaz Arenas, *Report on the Commerce and Shipping of the Philippine Islands*, translated by Encarnacion Alzona (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1998), 74.

59   Angus Campbell, *The Manila Club: A Social History of the British in Manila* (Manila: St Pauls-Press, 1993), 3.

60   Ibid., 16.

61   Joseph Earle Stevens, *Yesterdays in the Philippines* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1968), 185.

62   Ibid.

63   Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga, *Status of the Philippines in 1810* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1973), 193.

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70 Juzgado: Ygnacio Jao Boncan.

71 Ibid.

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74 M. J. Lannoy, *The Philippine Islands, translated by Pura Santillan Castrense* (Manila: National HistoricalInstitute, 2003), 57; Cavada, *Historia, geografica, geologica y estadistica de Filipinas*, 52.

75 Gonzales and Moreno, *Manual del Viajero*, 157–61.

76 Younghusband, *The Philippines and Round About*, 51.

77 Stevens, *Yesterdays in the Philippines*, 185.

78 Lorelei de Viana, *Three Centuries of Binondo Architecture*, 1594–1898: A Socio-Historical Perspective(Manila: UST Publishing House, 2001), 230–38.

79 Calle San Jacinto: From Pasig River to Estero de la Reina (Miguel Cornejo, Cornejo's *Commonwealth Directory of the Philippines* [Manila, 1939], *Manila Street Directory*, LXV-LXXXVI).

80 Calle Dasmariñas: From the Customs House in San Nicolas to Calle Tetuan (ibid., *Manila Street Directory*, LXV-LXXXVI); named after Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, governor-general of the Philippines from 1590 to 1593, who commenced the conquest of Mindanao by appointing Captain Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa, killed by Chinese rowers who mutinied on the way to the Moluccas in 1593 (Salt and Heistand, *The Street Names of Manila and Their Origins*, 277).

81 Callejon Carvajal: From Calle Rosario to Canal de la Reina (ibid., Manila Street Directory, LXV-LXXXVI); named after Ciriaco Gonzales Carvajal, judge of the Audiencia (Supreme Court), appointed by Governor-General Jose Basco y Vargas as assistant director of the treasury (1784), first president of the Real Sociedad de Amigos del Pais, assisted Basco in the tobacco monopoly (Salt and Heistand, *The Street Names of Manila and Their Origins*, 271).

82 Calle Anloague (Juan Luna): From Pasig River to Maypajo Bridge (ibid., *Manila Street Directory*, LXV-LXXXVI).

83 Calle Escolta: From Plaza Moraga to Plaza Sta. Cruz (ibid., *Manila Street Directory*, LXV-LXXXVI); Salt and Heistand, *The Street Names of Manila and Their Origins*, 280.

84 Calle Rosario: From Plaza Moraga to Ongpin (Sacristia) (ibid., *Manila Street Directory*, LXV-LXXXVI).

85 Calle Nueva: From Pasig River to Estero de la Reina (ibid., *Manila Street Directory*, LXV-LXXXVI).

86 Calle San Vicente: From Rosario to T. Pinpin (San Jacinto) (ibid., *Manila Street Directory*, LXV-LXXXVI).

87 *Proyecto deuna casa de materiales fuertes que trata de reconstruir Don Marcelo Boncan sita en la calle de Benavides numero 32 del Arrabal de Trozo por el sobrestante de Obras Publicas IsabeloAsuncion, 1896, Construccion de Casas* (National Archives of the Philippines).

88 The family owned a banca, which they usually rode along the Estero de Magdalena from their house in going to Binondo church to hear mass (oral account of Josefa Boncan, granddaughter of Ygnacio Jaobungcang to her brother Leopoldo Eugenio Boncan and told by the latter to his daughter, the author).

89 De Viana, *Three Centuries of Binondo Architecture*, 1594–1898, 230–38.

90 MacMicking, *Recollections of Manila and the Philippines*, 17–18.

91 Ibid., 230–38.

92 Calle Sacristia (Ongpin): from Rosario to Plaza Sta. Cruz (Cornejo, *Manila Street Directory*, LXV-LXXXVI).

93 De Viana, *Three Centuries of Binondo Architecture, 1594–1898*, 230–38.

94 Calle David: From T. Pinpin (San Jacinto) to Pasig River (Cornejo, *Manila Street Directory*, LXV-LXXXVI).

95 De Viana, *Three Centuries of Binondo Architecture, 1594–1898*, 220–24.

96 Ibid.

97 MacMicking, *Recollections of Manila and the Philippines*, 20.

98 Juzgado: Ygnacio Jao Boncan.

99 Arenas, *Report on the Commerce and Shipping of the Philippine Islands*, 22.

100 Ildefonso de Aragón, *Descripción geográfica y topográfica de ysla de Luzón o Nueva Castilla* (Manila: M. Memije, 1819–1821).

101 MacMicking, *Recollections of Manila and the Philippines*,18.

102 At the time of his death, there were six sacks of cacao worth 320 pesos, one case of beer (cerveza) worth 9 pesos, five cases of cognac (coñag) worth 48 pesos and 75 centimos, and twenty-two cases of gin (ginebra) worth 165 pesos in his warehouse in Calle Dasmariñas (Juzgado: Ygnacio Jao Boncan).

103 Protocolos: Numeriano Adriano, 1887 (National Archives of the Philippines).

104 MacMicking, *Recollections of Manila and the Philippines*, 18.

105 Juzgado: Ygnacio Jao Boncan.

106 Ibid.

107 Miller, *Interesting Manila*, 179.

108 Ibid. 171–72.

109 Ibid., 173–74.

110 Duc d'Alencon, *Luzon and Mindanao*, 3.

OBER DA BAKOD
The Emergence of a Gated Community in the Philippines: The Case of Philam Homes Subdivision, Quezon City, Philippines

Louie Benedict Ignacio

The changing physical characteristics of the increasing urbanized communities affect not only the physical landscape of the area but also the social relationships of people occupying the space. The increase in the number of gated communities, horizontal or vertical, redefines this relationship between supposedly "neighbors." This study describes how these residential patterns, specifically its security features, such as its gates and walls, create the residents' understanding of the making of a gated community. Using primary and secondary data, this study concludes that the gates and the walls, as dictated by the residents' experiences, symbolize both physical and economic security, which established the residents' sense of an exclusive community.

Keywords: gated communities, urban development, middle class, segregation, security, exclusivity

INTRODUCTION

Gated communities today are increasingly defining the urban landscape and characterizing cities. Defined as "residential areas with restricted access in which normally public spaces are privatized" (Blakely and Snyder 1997, 2) or, according to Atkinson and Blandy, as "walled or fenced developments to which public access is restricted, characterized by legal agreements which tie the residents to a common code of conduct and (usually) collective responsibility for management" (2005, 178), these include residential subdivisions or gated or walled houses in urbanized areas, with their own and exclusive parks, clubhouses, shopping malls, chapels, and other recreation areas.

Gated residential patterns are increasingly visible in cities all over the world. In the Philippines, gated residential areas, townhouses, and condominiums are slowly covering Metro Manila, Metro Cebu, and Metro Davao. Manila, for example, is rapidly being segregated physically and socially because of gated communities. Tangible features such as high walls, guarded gates, buffing zones, and other security technologies physically segregate the population of these gated communities from the rest of the urban areas. This may both be caused by and an effect of the increasing population in the urban areas. Metro Manila's population is estimated at 11.5 million in 2007 with an annual growth rate of 2.11. This is two million more than the population estimated in the year 2000 with an annual growth of only 1.06. This continuous increase in population affects how the government responds to the services that urban dwellers need in order for them to survive everyday city life. Majority of the growing population in Metro Manila is composed of migrants from provinces expecting better opportunities in the city.

Various types of gated communities are built to satisfy the needs of residents from various social classes: exclusive gated communities and high-rise exclusive condominiums for the elite, gated communities with smaller lots and closely constructed houses for middle-class residents, and mass residential areas in compounds for residents from the lower classes.

The exclusion that the high walls and fences in gated communities offer leads authors like Atkinson and Flint (2004), Lemanski (2006), and Roitman (2005) to argue that this concretizes the inequality between the rich and the poor. Because not everyone can afford to live in these areas except those who are well-off, it reinforces the gap between those who can and cannot afford them. However, to understand the implications of the physical attributes of gated communities to the residents' understanding of their community, it is important to differentiate and describe the residents' main reasons for choosing to live in this residential

pattern and the factors that contributed to the existence and growth of these communities.

The main focus of this study is to describe how these residential patterns, specifically its security features, such as its gates and walls, create the residents' understanding of the making of a gated community. This research also deals with the experiences of the residents, focusing on how they perceive these walls and gates and how these affect the making of a gated community.

This study explored the emergence or making of a community, giving importance to how the experiences of the residents, before moving in and during residence, affect their understanding of their current neighborhood. The physical changes within an individual's environment greatly influence his or her understanding of his or her environment.

This study also contributes to the literature on urban communities, particularly focusing on the middle-class urban dwellers. Majority of the literature on urban settlements focus on urban-poor communities and the problems they are facing, but not much focus on this particular class or urban dwellers—the middle class.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the study of urban areas and societies, a number of factors are always taken into consideration, such as the size of the population, the range and the size of the area, and the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the people living in that particular area. This study, in analyzing these processes, utilizes the historical-structural approach as facilitated by other frameworks like the Giddensian framework of agency and structure, the social ecological approach of the Chicago School (in Lynch 1984), and the later social organization version of Gilbert and Gugler (1992).

Social ecology "assumes that the essence of the city lies in the concentration of a very large number of persons in a relatively small space." Using the ecological approach in studying urban areas, we try to understand the effects of the space people are living in on how they organize their relationship with people within the given urban space. The density of the places where different people live may have that essential effect on how they would approach different aspects of urban life and living. This approach compares not only cities within a particular society but also a particular society in relation to another society; this is with regard to the configuration and use of space. In this study, we looked at how the structure of the society (particularly the size of the population and its distribution), the city's limited resources (like land or space), and

the provision of services (like utilities and security) interplay with one another.

The basic tenets of the ecological approach would include concentration and deconcentration. These concepts describing the distribution of population in urban spaces are always interconnected. Concentration is the immature state of a city while deconcentration characterizes the mature state of a particular city. People concentrate on places where jobs and opportunities are plenty; consequently, other manufacturers and industries would want to locate in places where there are a lot of people, may be as a source of additional labor and also of consumers. Deconcentration occurs if the spaces are already saturated to accommodate more residential areas. Because of additional factors such as advancement in transportation, people will transfer to the immediate periphery of the center of cities or to locations that are still comfortably near—thus, suburbanization. The disorganization of the city because of crimes and delinquency pushed well-off families outside of the city, away from the poverty, chaos, and dirt at the center. It should be noted that people who transfer to less congested locations in the city's periphery are those who can afford to transfer given their established social and economic relationships in their place of origin. Because of the rapid urbanization of Metro Manila, rural dwellers swarmed the city for better employment opportunities. When the city reached its saturation point, when there are no more spaces for residential areas and the government can no longer provide efficient delivery of services, the well-off classes left the city and transferred to the suburb where it is less crowded, noisy, and polluted.

The social organization arguments of Gilbert and Gugler (1992) complement the arguments of social ecology. They argue that because of the features of the city—that is, stricter competition for resources and opportunities—people are more individualistic, and the possibility of forming social organization is slim. They further characterized specific urban phenomena explaining the behavior of people in terms of their immediate environment and issued the following observations: lifestyles vary to a considerable extent across urban agglomerations; most urbanites have a measure of choice where to locate themselves; a considerable variety of lifestyles are found within some neighborhoods; and urban dwellers, to the extent that they can take advantage of modern transport and communication, are not bounded by their neighborhood.

The everyday experiences of the residents, especially in the case of Philam Homes, shape how they perceive their immediate environment and the city in general. The residents' daily experiences also affect how they move around their neighborhood and the city.

The emergence of a gated community, specifically in the case of Philam Homes Subdivision, is based on the interplay of personal choices and urban historical and structural changes. The historical-structural approach argues that "our physical space and the symbolic meanings we give to them become influential parts of our actions and intentions" (Soja 2000, 7). The decision of an individual to live in a particular residential pattern such as a gated community is based on personal considerations. "However, our actions are not shaped exclusively by our spatiality but we are simultaneously bound to the historical and social elements of our existence in the society" (Soja 2000, 7). Most of the families who transfer to a gated community do so because of one or more of the following factors: security, acquisition of services, or the desire for exclusivity. However, another reason is worthy of note: the proximity to or the location of the gated neighborhood in the urban centers. All of these reasons are anchored on the changing needs of the urban residents as dictated by the changing structure of the city.

An individual's understanding of his or her community is affected by changes within and outside the community. Changes occurring outside, such as the continuous population increase and the higher incidence of risks, complement the reasons previously cited for choosing to live in a gated community. While changes in the external environment—which include developments in infrastructures and being in a location of proximity to basic services and amenities such as hospitals and educational institutions—lessen the chances of facing risks, thus complementing other factors mentioned (e.g., security purposes and acquisition of services) for living in a gated community.

Moreover, changes within the neighborhood also affect an individual's understanding of his or her community. The composition of his or her community and the modifications it goes through time defines its socioeconomic status; being classified as belonging to a particular social class also affects one's relationship with others in the same or another group or class. Furthermore, physical changes within the community also affect his or her understanding of the surroundings. The construction of physical security features, such as gates, walls, and closed-circuit television (CCTV) cameras, either creates or fulfills one's need for security.

The interplay of factors that influence or affect the decision to live in a gated community and the changes both inside and outside the neighborhood develop to shape the individual's understanding of what a gated community is, while the purpose it serves to a certain group of people who choose to live in such a residential pattern and the expected and actual benefits that accrue to them in doing so characterize the nature of a gated community in an urban area.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The growth of urban areas around the world has had consequences that are both beneficial and detrimental for its inhabitants. Economic innovations have brought significant investments and industries to the city, giving false impressions of opportunities for development. As people flock to the cities lured by these prospects, they are faced with scarcity of land for residences and unequal opportunities for employment and development. These are the two basic problems of urban dwellers: limited living space and the inequality (in opportunities) this may present.

Housing as an aspect of urban development, as well as its proper planning as a solution to these issues, has been at the center of urban research and development, much of which focus on housing as a contributor to the development or underdevelopment of urban communities.

> Housing is one of the most important aspects of social development (may it be in urban or rural communities); it is not only a matter of shelter and space but also access to other material and social resources … it can influence consumption patterns and household incomes, affecting what people can do and who they can become. (Park 1998)

Various residential patterns—communitarian, open and public, individualistic and private—have been introduced to address the different needs of a diverse group of individuals or households in an urban setting, all of which are illustrative of closed, private, and individualistic gated communities.

Increasing population in the urban areas leading to increasing crime rates, violent acts, and the "chaotic" environment of the city poses a constant threat to the life and property of every individual living in it. Due to problems such as crowded residential areas and streets because of overpopulation, scarcity of resources, and lack of security, individuals and households who can afford to protect themselves from these concerns do so by taking advantage of the benefits that their privileged economic status brings. And one of the common choices for protection is the individual's or the household's choice of residence.

The concept of insecurity in the cities, despite the impression that cities are prosperous and economically stable, is attributed to structural and historical reasons. In São Paulo, Brazil, Caldeira argues that political forces brought about changes in the sociopolitical scene:

> Changes during the 1980s accompanied the consolidation
> of a democratic government in Brazil after twenty-one years

of military rule. On the one hand, elections had been held peacefully, regularly and fairly, and political parties organized freely. On the other hand, trade unions and all types of social movements emerged onto the political scene, bringing working classes and dominated groups to the center of politics and transforming the relationship between politicians and citizens. (2000, 85)

Despite these positive political developments, remnants of the military rule remained visible in the city. The police continuously abused their powers, and a number of cases filed against these ill-treatments have been documented. Incidences of "salvaging" were also rampant during those times, as well as militant killings.

Widespread criminality and violence labeled the city as dirty and chaotic. This gave the upper class enough basis to leave the city and reside in the suburban areas, which are relatively near the urban center but distant enough to provide a serene and peaceful environment, a form of respite and protection from emerging and growing urban issues. Caldeira further argues that this situation had been taken advantage of by developers of these residential patterns. They marketed these gated communities as a haven and a home that is secure, communities that "keep out the unwelcome, come with attractive amenities, and increase property values" (2000, 274).

Roitman, on her work in Mendoza, Argentina, argues the same— that security is "the most important motive within the structural causes and getting status and a better life quality appear as the subjective reasons for moving to a gated community" (2005, 315). It is important to consider the similarities of the context of time and political sphere in Roitman's study in Argentina and that of Caldeira in Brazil. The two countries experienced the same economic boom in the 1990s, and both have gone through political turmoil before that; this combination has given rise to gated communities in both cities. The same could be said for Buenos Aires, as discussed by Thuillier (2005).

It is important to note that the introduction of more efficient means of transportation convinced upper-class families to stay in their gated communities located adjacently outside the urban area. Efficient means of transportation are essential for security because people likewise believe that traveling is a vulnerable time when they could be faced with risks and crimes or any other forms of violence.

Security reasons are also apparent in large cities in North America. Atkinson and Blandy argue that "it is now well-documented that gated communities can be seen as a response to the fear of crime" (2005, 178). Most of the studies that refer to the attitudes toward and insights

on these gated residential areas suggest that "the perceptions of local authority officers, national housing organizations and, to a certain extent, developers, attribute security and exclusivity as the two most important aspects driving demand for gated developments. A number of planning officers identified a growing demand for what one termed 'total and absolute security'" (Atkinson and Flint 2004, 879).

This is where the concept of security is seen as a commodity that only a few can afford. This is true even to the extent that because of the mind-set that developers have made about insecurities in the urban environment, people from a city with low crime rates still chose to live in these residential patterns. This is shown in one of the cases that Atkinson and Flint have presented in their study. One of their interviewees, an environmental health officer, has this to say:

> It is not a high crime area, but gated development residents' perceptions that there is a lot of local crime and they feel more secure in their gated environments. They wish to protect themselves and provide security and equally important, obtain privacy. Many residents are celebrities, so privacy is as important to them as security. (2004, 880)

This is where exclusivity and segregation begin to become visible. The high walls, metal gates, electric security cameras, and roving security guards limited access to those who were not from these gated communities. These also provided lesser opportunities for interaction with individuals and families from inside the walls whenever they are at home. The barriers mentioned above serve as indicators of differences in socioeconomic status between the rich and the poor. Setha Low (2003) argues that the disadvantages of gated communities are very visible as well and are greatly alarming to the status of social interaction in the city. Low asserts that living in gated communities, rather than decreasing the notion of insecurity beyond the walls, only increases the residents' fear of the outside world. Because of the lack of interaction of people inside the gates with those outside and the inexperience of social institutions outside the gates to address this, residents are affected when they go out of their communities; this is true especially for the youth (cited in Atkinson and Blandy 2005, 81).

Atkinson and Blandy further argue that the rise of gated communities in the United States have shown the same patterns of increasing social and spatial segregation:

> Suburban areas with booms across private roads, housing estates with 'buffer zones' of grass and derelict land, and cul-de-sacs all express a mark of exclusion to non-residents with

varying degrees of efficacy. All those built forms suggest lack of permeability in the built environment directed at achieving increasing privatized lifestyles, predominantly through the pursuit of security. (2005, 178)

This irony in the rise of gated communities was also found in other fields of study; Samira Kawash, an anthropologist, states: "One particular significant tendency in residential development has been quite the opposite to that imagined by advocates of alternative housing: not to reduce separations between families and communities but to fortify them" (2000, 192). The exclusivity of these residential areas concretizes the gap between individuals and households of different socioeconomic statuses in the city and widens the disparity between the rich and the poor, thereby affecting how these two groups interact with one another. This exclusivity may even influence how they regard one another, all because of barriers constructed in pursuit of "total and absolute security."

Cases presented above provide different reasons why people choose to live in gated residential areas. These include the need for security, a private response to the government's inefficiency in providing basic services, strategic spatial location, exclusivity of the area, and the pursuit of a better lifestyle and higher social status leading to one basic consequence: concretized differentiation and segregation. Because these gated communities are spatially separated, they create social segregation and divide the urban society into different economic and social groups. With physical barriers such as gates, walls, closed circuit televisions, vacant (buffer) lots, and roving security guards, this segregation leads to a perception of the exclusion of those outside from the services and facilities available only inside the gated enclaves, and the protection of residents from the problems and chaos outside their fence.

This study focuses on the middle class and on middle-class gated communities rather than the elite's gated communities. The middle class in this study pertains to people who have the capacity to purchase necessities for everyday survival, and educated professionals with sufficient earnings to buy a house or to regularly pay for rent. Connell (1999) defines the middle class as associated with high-income levels, certain consumption patterns, and housing estates. Upper-class residents, on the other hand, are classified as having the same characteristics as those of the middle class and occupy an economically and socially advantageous position in the society (i.e., landowners, government officials, businessmen, etc.).

This study focuses on the middle class because of the growing visibility of middle-class gated communities. There is a growing number of low-cost housing projects that particularly cater to the middle class. Housing developers are particularly targeting the middle class in advertisements of their housing projects. This could be attributed to the growing number of Filipinos working abroad, earning enough to buy their own house in these low-cost middle-class housing projects. This behavior is the overseas workers' "imitation of the wealthy classes' way of living through affordable payment schemes and smaller apartment and house sizes" (Kuvaja 2007, 11).

Gated communities are becoming a "model community" even for the middle class. Despite economic difficulties, urban residents require security and services from their locality and community. This growing phenomenon of gated communities for the middle class responds to that need of being secure and provided with efficient services.

METHODS

Data for this study include the basic characteristics of Philam Homes as a gated community. Basic information includes its history (e.g., the year it was established, its developer, and the general description of the area before it was developed into a gated community), spatial characteristics, location, boundaries, the areas around the gated community, and the socioeconomic characteristics of its residents.

This research also utilized physical, mental, and symbolic maps. Physical maps provide the extent of the area that is gated, the part of the gated space that is secure and guarded, and the boundary that is exclusive. Mental maps, on the other hand, give a picture of how people living in the community conduct or go about their activities inside and outside their gates. And lastly, symbolic maps give an idea of how people interpret the physical features of their community, such as its gates, walls, and other amenities located inside. Data on the individuals interviewed include socioeconomic characteristics and residential history of the family (living in that particular community or in other gated enclaves other than the one they are presently residing in).

With the various experiences of the residents, this study explored the understanding of residents as to the meanings of the gates and the walls. The residents' opinions regarding the concept of differentiation were also obtained.

The researcher applied various methodologies, from the use of secondary data from agencies and institutions, participant observation, to interviews of key informants in the gated community.

To get basic information about the community, the researcher acquired documents from institutions and organizations like the Philam Homeowners' Association Incorporated and Barangay Philam. Physical maps, history, and statistics of the said community were analyzed to provide the necessary background of the subject in focus.

Another methodology used is participant observation. The researcher spent about a year in the community—participating in the daily activities of the residents and observing how the residents or their families interact with the other residents. By getting involved in the residents' daily activities, the researcher was able to identify specific events that initiate interaction among residents of the gated community. This method of direct observation was effective in illustrating what everyday life is for an "insider" while keeping the perspective of an outsider observer.

The researcher interviewed eight key informants (residents), selected according to their length of stay in the community. The interview guide used is composed of open-ended questions. From these interviews, the researcher acquired information pertaining to the respondents' basic socioeconomic characteristics, their economic and other socio-demographic attributes; details of their daily activities inside the community that are done individually, with other members of their family or household, or with other members of the neighborhood.

In gathering data, the research aimed to understand the emergence of a gated community based on the experiences of residents before and during their stay in the community—their reasons for wanting and choosing to live in such a residential pattern, and how they view particular features of their community such as the gates, the walls and other physical characteristics that promote security, privacy and exclusivity.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The common reasons for living in gated residential patterns include the need for security, access to better services, and attainment of a higher lifestyle status or prestige. These factors are influenced by conditions obtaining in a particular period and the consequent need to enclose houses in groups and build gates and walls around them.

What factors could have triggered the need for families to reside in gated communities? What factors made it imperative for them to do so? Were there issues of security during that period? Was it due to the lack of services that these residential arrangements have ways of making available? Or was the gated community only a symbol of prestige that

residents wanted to acquire or maintain? Answers to these questions are essential in determining the nature and purpose of these gated communities.

Search for a haven

It is every couple's dream to own a house, and finding a suitable place to establish a home and grow a family is their top priority. For pioneer residents, Philam Homes, then a newly established residential community, would provide a serene place to live in. Newly married couples would want to own and live in a house in a very good environment where they would feel safe and serene. Parents would want their children to grow up in a neighborhood that would help guide their children to grow properly.

A house is a physical structure that could provide or at least facilitate the acquisition of basic necessities for survival, shelter and protection from harmful elements, among others. Having a decent dwelling place helps in the personal and social development of an individual.

Consequently, the community where the house is located is as important as the house itself. "Although spatiality is produced at different levels of the society, the level of neighborhood provides a fundamental contribution as it is the primary source of socialization experience" (Harvey 1989, 119). The house, the family living in it, and the community where they are, serve as the first schools and sources of socialization of every individual. This remains one of the primary reasons for individuals and families to look for a decent and peaceful community.

Most pioneer residents, if not all, were newly married couples or families who were just starting with one or two children. These couples saw Philam Homes as a community where they would feel safe for their children and their family. Just like many of the families, Mrs. Leonora Bigay regarded safety as an important consideration when they chose Philam Homes as their residence. According to her, she was encouraged by the peaceful and serene environment that the community offers. Coming from the province and starting a new family, she wanted to make sure that her family, specially her children, would grow up in a more conducive environment.

Even for families who are already established, finding a serene place is constant need. The search for a haven for a family to live in is an obligation for the head of a family. In the case of Philam Homes, may it be for the pioneers or second-wave residents, the value of living in a quiet community is certain, even if they are already established in their respective former localities.

Based on the recollection of Mrs. Marin, they came to Philam Homes in search of a house for them to build a life for a family of their own, separate from her husband's family. Also, she had always wanted to get her mother from the province so they could be together. They were persistent in getting a lot in Philam Homes because they saw that the community was very peaceful and suitable for comfortable family life. Even her co-teachers, who were not residents of the community, admired the neighborhood their family belonged to. They observed that Philam Homes seemed to be known for its quiet and safe environment. Mr. Leonilo Santos, a second-generation resident, also took into consideration the good community living that Philam Homes Subdivision could provide in choosing it as a location for their home.

A haven can only be so if it provides both security and comfort. A house is a physical structure that protects its residents from harm or harsh elements of nature like the heat of the sun or the rains. Also, a house protects its residents from bad elements of society (e.g., robbers, assailants) and other law breakers. A house also serves as a good security for the future as an economic investment. And lastly, a house provides opportunities to form networks for the fulfillment of both personal and social needs. The responses of residents of Philam Homes echo the same themes.

Physical and economic security

A property would always have value, may it be economic or social, and the greater the economic and social value of a property, the greater its necessity and importance. In the whole life span of an individual, a house would be one of his/her most valuable and important properties. Families invest in properties like a house to establish a secure future for its members.

Owning a house provides greater opportunities for the acquisition of basic necessities and other services provided by the society and the government, like shelter, water, and electricity. The community that we geographically belong to also dictates what kind and what amount of these services will be made available to us. A primary goal of the family is to make sure that necessary services will be available for all of its members. And this is the reason why families look for a community that can readily provide access to these services.

Gated communities and physical security

The acquisition of a house gives certainty to various aspects of family life. Being in the safety of your own home provides both physical and economic security. Physical security ensures avoidance of risk and

danger from harmful elements. These risks include natural risks (like too much sunlight, rain, or storm) and man-made risks (like violence, robbery, physical injury, and the like). The physical features of a house, complemented by the physical features of a gated community, enhance the sense of security of the residence and the community. In the case of Philam Homes Subdivision, most families chose to live there for safety and security reasons.

It is commonly assumed that the primary function of a house, together with the community, is to keep its dwellers safe and secure. Living in a gated community like Philam Homes provides residents the choice to avoid risks, as well as the privilege of access to various comforts and amenities that the community can offer.

"As population grows beyond the opportunities the city can provide, the incidence of poverty (*and crime*) in the area is on the increase" (Kuvaja 2007, 6). All these have eroded security features of the city.

The gates are built mainly to secure the community from unwanted or unnecessary intrusion by outsiders. With or without taking the walls into consideration, a community with gates guarded by security personnel, roving and visible, posts a higher sense of security. These security features usually attract families to live in a gated community.

The gates and the walls generally keep residents safe and secure within the residential community. Ms. Gemma Marin said that she feels safe knowing that the subdivision is guarded by security personnel and surrounded by walls and gates that effectively prohibit or limit access to it. Ms. Celia Marin added that it was one of the reasons that their parents decided to reside in Philam Homes. Because people are screened before they are allowed to enter the premises, they are assured that residents are protected from robbers and other criminal elements.

The location of the community also provides additional appeal to would be residents. The proximity of a residential area to sources or providers of basic services like hospitals, schools, and markets is a good reason for people to choose to live in the area. Another important consideration is the length of travel from the residential area to these institutions. The shorter the commuting distance, the lesser the exposure of residents to possible harm and risks. A pioneer resident of Philam Homes, Mr. Damaso Tria, said that even then he felt secure for his children because of the community's location; it was easy for them to go to school through Highway 54 (now EDSA).

The avoidance of risks can also be attributed to the fact that these communities often come with other needed facilities like church, grocery stores, clinics, and banks within its walls. Thus, residents need not go out of the community to do personal and familial errands. According to

Mr. Damaso Tria, the gates of Philam Homes were already in place when they transferred, and for him this was a sign that the place is secure. For him, living in a gated community with services and facilities, such as grocery stores, church, park, and other amenities, makes him feel safer as they, he and his family, can avoid the risks of going out.

Another reason why residents choose to live in a gated community is the serene and peaceful environment that it provides. Being guarded and physically isolated from the larger community, the community is peaceful and quiet. It is also far from too much vehicular traffic, and thus, free from both noise and air pollution. Ms. Gemma Marin said that she can really feel the difference when she is outside the community. There is less noise and air pollution when she is inside Philam Homes than when she is outside, making her feel more secure. Most of these gated communities are also landscaped to be more appealing to potential residents. These communities have a greener environment, with parks and spaces, public or private, that are shaded with trees.

Living in a new community will be very difficult if you and your family are unfamiliar with the people living in the community. The neighborhood, the potential social community that will be established, is also a consideration in the choice of residence. Knowing that the neighborhood would be safe and quiet attracts more people.

Philam Homes was first offered to employees of PALICO and to a few government employees. Knowing that most of the residents came from the same company and the same line of work gave pioneer residents the assurance that they would be living with neighbors whom they know and whom they can trust. As the mother of Ms. Celia and Ms. Gemma Marin puts it: "If you feel at ease with the people around you, then you will feel secure."

Neighbors are expected to look after one another and also take care of the community's welfare. One feels comfortable and at ease with neighbors who are familiar and acquainted with each other. According to Mrs. Marin, she feels safe knowing that that the neighbors, as members of the community, are also looking for or taking care of each other's houses. The pioneer residents of Philam Homes, feel that they all belong to one big family; they all feel at home in the company of neighbors.

Gated communities and economic security

Residents also choose a gated residential area because it also provides economic security. Buying a house and a lot serves as an investment for families.

Mrs. Leonora Bigay narrated that getting a house and lot in Philam Homes was a major form of investment for her and her husband. At that time, she said, their family was growing; they thought they could still manage the expenses since they only had to think about feeding and raising three children. But things started to change when they unexpectedly had two more children after transferring to Philam Homes. And so they felt the crunch. After the dues for the house were deducted from her husband's salary, they had to make both ends meet with whatever was left of her husband's salary for the month. But despite this, they persisted in paying for the property, knowing that it was a good investment for the future of their children. They still live in their house and it is theirs. Looking back, she is fully convinced that they made the right decision to buy their house.

Security, both physical and economic, is one of the main reasons of the residents to live in a gated community. Their experiences from the past, their situation in the former localities, and the security features of these communities attracted the residents and provided them enough reasons to move into the gated community.

Residents defined the concept of security in terms of physical and economic security. They wanted to live in a gated community where they feel safe and guarded, given the gates and the walls that "protect" them. Economically, the feeling of security is obtained from owning the property and looking at it as a form of investment. They feel secure about their future because they own a house and a lot.

The case of Philam Homes residents is different from the cases of gated communities occupied by upper-class residents or the elites. Kuvaja in her study of two upper-class communities in Metro Manila argues that for upper-class residents, gated communities are more of a response to the decaying urban area and not merely because of the need for security and exclusion. The upper-class residents see the government as ineffective and inefficient in coping with the rapidly growing urban population and in keeping the city clean and safe.

Location is also a major feature that attracts families to reside in a gated community. The closer the community is to commercial establishments and other service institutions, the more appealing it is for would-be homeowners. The location of the community allows families access to other economic resources and social capital.

When Philam Homes started, its location was considered to be far from Central Manila, even if major colleges and universities, like the University of the Philippines, Ateneo de Manila University, and the University of Santo Tomas, were already accessible from the subdivision then. However, despite the distance from Manila, Philam Homes was

considered a prime residential location by the pioneer homeowners. It then provided the serenity and a quiet environment that most families were seeking for. For the second wave of residents who came in around 1980s, it is a different story. When the second wave of residents transferred to Philam, the surrounding areas were already congested because of migration. During this time, several economic hubs have also been established adjacent to the area. By the end of the 1980s, the proximity of Philam Homes to the growing and developing urban centers and to different establishments, such as schools, hospitals, and places of employment, attracted more residents.

DISCUSSION

The gates and walls that surround the community have different connotations for different groups of people. For the residents, the gates and walls are forms of security; the former, providing protection from unwanted circumstances such as incidents of violence and crime as well as environmental harm such as unclean air and noise that are often found in public spaces. Most of the respondents state that they feel safe and secure whenever they are within the gates of their community, demonstrating their understanding that these are installed to ensure that nonresidents are screened before being allowed to have access to the neighborhood. This means that everyone who comes in the community is identified or documented, and their purposes are made known even before they enter the gates.

For most of the pioneers, the walls and gates were not installed to exclude nonresidents but only to serve as markers of the community's geographical location. They contend that they feel safer inside the community than outside because of the company they have inside and not because of the walls that surround them. For them, the gates convey more of the physical exclusivity manifested in restricting the access of nonresidents to the community than the economic exclusivity of prohibiting people of a different social class to be given the opportunity to become residents.

The structural, social, and economic changes of the environment within and outside Philam Homes modified the nature of the neighborhood from being a housing assistance program to an "exclusive" residential subdivision owned by the upper-middle-class members of the society.

The changes in the socioeconomic environment outside the community also changed the residents' concept of security. The increasing incidence of violence outside and number of drug addiction cases prompted the residents to protect themselves from the chaos

outside their gates. This justified their desire to secure themselves by increasing the height of their gates and extending the walls that surround them.

Exclusivity was later on defined by the residents in various ways. Based on the narratives of the respondents, exclusivity is defined by its physical and economic aspects. Physical exclusivity means that entry to the gated community is limited only to a particular group of people—in this case, the residents. Nonresidents have to go through strict scrutiny before they are allowed entry to the area. Economic exclusivity, on the other hand, pertains to the socioeconomic status of the residents. A community may be considered economically exclusive if it caters only to a particular class or group of society.

The concept of exclusivity is both a reason for living in a gated community and a consequence of living in such a residential pattern. Physical security becomes a reason for residents to live in private enclaves if it is related to safety. Residents believe that if vehicular and pedestrian traffic is screened or restricted because of the exclusivity of the area, chances of exposure to risks, like robbery or other crimes, become limited. The location of the community, as surrounded by different neighborhoods of varying socioeconomic status, helps determine the nature of exclusivity that the residents may experience. Geographically, Philam Homes is flanked by relatively affluent communities at its west side and poorer neighborhoods at the northern side, which gives an indication of the volume of vehicular and pedestrian traffic inside and outside its gates. The subdivision's limited accessibility to nonresidents illustrates the exclusivity of the community.

Economic exclusivity is more of a consequence than a reason for living in a gated community. The changes in the socioeconomic characteristics of the area where Philam Homes is located served to define the composition of its residents from a modest middle-class to an upper-middle-class community.

Thus, in the case of Philam Homes Subdivision, the concepts of security, services, and exclusivity—presented in other studies as the main reasons why people live in gated communities—are interconnected with the location of the private enclave.

The various experiences of both residents and nonresidents help define their understanding of what the gates, the walls, and the community as a whole are for them. The continuous economic and social development of the community affects how residents went about their daily lives and interact with people from inside and outside the community. As the area beyond the gates of the community continues to expand, the increasing number of vehicles that pass by it and the

growing number of informal settlers suspected of sheltering criminals and robbers make the residents more anxious and conscious about security. The change in the nature of the community from a community project to an "exclusive" residential subdivision was also due to the physical changes within and outside the community.

These physical changes resulted in modifications in the social composition of the community affecting the extent of interaction and depth of relationships among residents. From an American-styled, friendly community, the management and residents of Philam Homes are now more wary of whom and how they should relate to the rest of the community. The experiences of the residents throughout their stay in the community define the reality that they are in and the neighborhood that they are a part of today.

Young residents are restricted to go out of the community because their parents see the environment outside as unsafe and chaotic, thus, nonresidents who work inside the neighborhood may still be prohibited from entering Philam Homes if they lack the necessary identification.

Another example of how the individuals' experiences affect their perception of their community is through their frequent interaction with their other neighbors. Most of the respondents believe that in addition to the security features of the community, the walls and gates, their interaction with the whole community defines their understanding of their neighborhood, especially since Philam Homes was originally constructed in a manner that would allow people to have greater chances of interacting with one another through sports (tennis and basketball courts), leisurely activities (park and clubhouse), or celebrations of their faith (Parish church).

Philam Homes Subdivision in Quezon City emerged as an exclusive gated community due to the dynamic interplay of the reasons people wanted to live in such a residential pattern, the sociopolitical and economic changes surrounding the community, and the area where it is located. The consequences of these transformations in the physical, social, and economic structure of the society also affected the composition and relationships of the residents as a community. All of these elements were taken into consideration as each resident defined, understood, and lived their daily lives in the community.

Defining Philam Homes entailed the understanding of the underlying factors that led residents to live in such residential pattern and their experiences living inside the community. Philam Homes for the residents is their structural and social home providing physical and economic security. It is the residence that gives them the privilege to acquire services delivered specifically for them. Lastly, Philam Homes

is the community that provides them the opportunities to interact with other families who belong to the same social class or group.

We can conclude that the emergence of a gated community was brought about by the dynamics between personal reasons and historical-structural changes in the society. Personal reasons of the residents include security, services, and location. These intertwined with changes in the society—physically, economically, and socially—that led residents to acquire experiences, individually or as a community, that eventually shaped their perception of the community.

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Configurations of Urban Spaces inside the University of the Philippines Diliman Campus in the Neoliberal Age: A Critical Perspective

Dakila Kim P. Yee

Neoliberalism and the scaling back of the national state in subsidizing social institutions have reduced the budget of tertiary education institutions. One of the calls in the neoliberal era is to utilize idle assets of tertiary education institutions. This paper will focus on the transformation of idle assets of the University of the Philippines (UP) as a means of supplementing its annual budget in light of reduced state funding. Based on the theory of "urban entrepreneurialism," this study will highlight the transformation of the urban spaces of UP Diliman campus to facilitate capital inflow. This paper is meant as a contribution to the body of literature on the impact of neoliberalism on the transformation of urban space in the Philippines, with special attention on the transformation of urban spaces in public educational institutions.

Keywords: neoliberalism, University of the Philippines, public university, urban entrepreneurialism, urban space

INTRODUCTION

The University of the Philippines (UP) Diliman is the biggest unit of the UP System in terms of land area (measuring 493 hectares) as well as in operations (the most number of students, faculty, and research output).[1] The university transferred to Diliman from its original location in Padre Faura on 12 February 1949.[2] The need for a larger campus to accommodate the expansion of the university was the main reason for the transfer.[3] The Diliman campus has undergone numerous changes, especially in its utilization of space. From the Diliman Republic of the 1950s to the Diliman Commune of the 1970s and into the UP science parks of the 2000s, space has been worked and reworked inside the campus, with variegating effects on its constituents.

The imposition of a neoliberal framework for growth, with its adherence to the free market ideology and its manifestations of deregulation and privatization, has transformed the public character of the university. This paper proceeds from current discourse on the relationship between neoliberalism and space, in an attempt to analyze how "actually existing neoliberalism"[4] is manifested through infrastructure projects implemented in UP Diliman campus and its subsequent impact on locals inhabiting the campus.

This paper is organized as follows: the next section provides a brief history of neoliberalism, with emphasis on the spread of this ideology to third world countries such as the Philippines; the third section tackles the effects neoliberalism on public universities; the fourth section discusses the role of neoliberalism in the changing utilization of space; and the last section analyzes the impact of neoliberalism on the utilization of space within the UP Diliman campus.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF NEOLIBERALISM

The emergence of neoliberalism can be traced to the early twentieth century when renowned neoliberal intellectuals, such as Friedrich Von Hayek, criticized the state-centric Keynesian models implemented by the New Deal in the 1930s and the Social-Democratic welfare states in the 1950s.[5] The late 1960s up to the early 1970s showed signs of the impending crisis in the Keynesian capitalist accumulation model, which eventually paved the way for new regulatory model called neoliberalism. Neoliberalism has been described as

> a theory of political economic practices which proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by the maximization of entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework

characterized by private property rights, individual liberty, free markets, and free trade.[6]

Neoliberalism stresses that the ultimate source of what is good and what is right in society lies in the market, and the principles of free trade and privatization are at the core of this ideology.[7] This has resulted in the deregulation of major industries, reduction of corporate taxes, enhancement of international capital mobility, and intensification of interlocal competition. The role of the state has been reoriented toward the maintenance of institutional mechanisms in support of free trade, including the setting up of military and jurisdictional institutions that are needed to protect private property and maintain security for supporting free markets.[8] The ideology also justifies the extension of market logic in domains such as education, health, social security, and even with environmental regulation.[9] Neoliberalism extends beyond the economic functions; it also enforces a disciplinary code legitimizing zealous proponent while ostracizing those who question its fundamental assumptions.[10]

The rise to prominence of neoliberalism has brought to the fore the increasing dominance of big businesses and transnational corporations. The scaling back of the welfare state, coupled with a much-weakened labor sector (given the attacks against trade unions), has been associated with a rise in social inequality and social fragmentation.[11] The scaling back of the state also had severe impact on projects of "nation-building" and other political projects pushed by collective action.

The geographical diffusion of neoliberalism was facilitated through the structural adjustment programs formulated by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization.[12] Through their extensive network of policy advisers, these multilateral institutions were able to institute changes that would steer public higher education institutions toward the neoliberal model.[13]

NEOLIBERALISM AND EDUCATION

The birth of the public university as an intellectual project during the nineteenth century coincided with the rise of the nation-state project.[14] Visions of nation-building facilitated the boom in the creation and construction of knowledge centers that would foster nation-state solidarity as well as develop scientific and technological innovations that would help propel the nation-state's industrial ambitions.

The public university is one of the few modern institutions that depend on the state. Universities were granted institutional autonomy in exchange for supporting the development of the national culture and

the populace as citizens of the nation-state.[15] The rise of the nation-state system also transformed the academic missions of universities—scholarship and the entire process of the production and dissemination of knowledge were geared toward social progress and economic growth.[16] This vision of the university as an engineer of development was not only limited to the United States and Europe but was eventually exported to third world countries. The university was seen as resting on the "alliance between modern knowledge and modern power."[17]

Neoliberalism's impact was the subsequent withdrawal of the state from directly subsidizing public universities. This was also reinforced by a growing dissatisfaction with the public sphere and its levels of spending.[18] The radical changes in the higher education in the third world countries were part of a series of market reforms implemented by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.[19] Developing and transitioning countries that faced balance-of-payments problems turned to these two institutions for funds needed to stabilize the economy. The marketization of public universities was institutionalized under the World Trade Organization regime,[20] where it was among the sectors identified under the General Agreement on Trade in Services. The transformation of the role of the state under the neoliberal regime had a radical impact on the nature of universities as they embarked on transitions into becoming corporate universities in order to adapt to the changing conditions.[21]

Neoliberalism has forced universities to become increasingly reliant on private sources of income to fund their operations.[22] The limited resources allocated by the state to public universities exerted pressure for them to produce output that would enhance economic development and at the same time generate financial resources for the university.[23] Some scholars have raised critiques regarding the direction that public universities have taken and its implication to academic freedom and intellectual enterprise. Gumport notes that flexibility and efficiency may have helped public higher education survive in the age of intense competition and higher accountability demanded by the public, but there is a "troubling" aspect since it can create potential damage to the intellectual enterprise of public higher education institutions, threatening the values of "knowledge as an end in itself."[24] There has also been criticism regarding the diminishing space for social critique due to the entry of private capital in education as research is increasingly being channeled into pragmatic output.[25] The increasing use of market discourse and managerial methods in restructuring universities may have the adverse effect of public universities losing their legitimacy by changing their business practices that reflect a shift from their historical character, functions, and heritage as educational institutions.[26]

The organizational structure of the university that emerged during the neoliberal era has been dubbed as the entrepreneurial university. This model was initially conceived in the United States of America but has since been diffused into major regional areas around the globe such as Europe, Latin America, and East Asia.[27] While there may be cultural, economic, and geographical variations of this model, the entrepreneurial university aims to facilitate regional economic development through technology transfers and to create a favorable environment for technology innovations such as science parks.[28] This shift in the orientation of the university results in a "triple-helix" of university-industry-government relations in the new knowledge economy; the university plays an important role in economic development through knowledge production and human capital formation.[29]

Throughout most of its history, the role of the University of the Philippines has been to educate and train the youth who would become the backbone for the political and economic development of the nation; hence, the state invested resources directly into the university.[30] However, during the time of UP President Emil Javier (1993–1999) the university increasingly adopted the framework of neoliberalism as a solution for the subsequent decrease of its budget allocation.[31] The adoption of the neoliberal framework enabled the university administration to pursue increase of tuition and other fees as well as the "commercialization" of idle assets to generate resources for its operations. Links between the academe and private corporations were intensified under the UP Plan 2008, wherein scientists and professors could easily render their services to corporations.[32] It is under this particular framework that we seek to understand the changing configuration of space within the Diliman campus.

URBAN ENTREPRENEURIALISM AND
SPATIAL CONFIGURATIONS UNDER NEOLIBERALISM

The different forms of capitalist accumulation necessitate different forms of production and governance of urban space.[33] The shift from a Fordist mode of capitalist accumulation to neoliberalism brought a change in urban governance from a managerial stance (defined by local provision of services, facilities, and benefits to the local population) to a more entrepreneurial stance.[34] Urban entrepreneurialism emerged in the 1970s as a response to economic, social, and political pressures brought about by a decline in national fiscal support and high unemployment rates resulting from deindustrialization that dominated during that time.[35] There is a certain ambiguity in defining

urban entrepreneurialism.[36] David Harvey, however, highlighted three key features that make cities entrepreneurial. First, he emphasizes the centrality of the notion of "public-private partnership," signaling the initiatives of local government authorities, in partnership with an "urban growth coalition"[37] such as private business association, to attract investments and new employment opportunities in a particular urban area.[38] A second feature is the engagement with speculative economic development rather than rationally planned and coordinated ones.[39] This will prove enabling for the economic enterprise, although societal benefits will be accrued through "trickle-down economics."[40] The last feature of urban entrepreneurialism is the focus on the construction of the political economy of the place rather than the political economy of territory. Instead of infrastructural projects, such as housing and education, aimed at the improvement of living and working conditions in a particular jurisdiction, urban entrepreneurialism focuses on economic projects such as construction of infrastructure that will benefit people who live beyond the immediate territory such as tourists and place mobile capitalists.[41] These projects include gentrification, cultural innovation, and physical upgrading of the urban environment as well as consumer attractions and other forms of spectacles, creating an innovative, exciting, creative, and safe city that will help attract consumer capital.[42] The entire process serves as a "spatio-temporal fix," a process of spatial reorganization and geographical expansion that resolves temporarily the crisis tendencies that accompany capital accumulation by reinvesting capital surplus into infrastructure projects and thereby allowing the restructuring of place to absorb excess capital, preventing the problem of overaccumulation.[43]

One of the effects of urban entrepreneurialism is the process known as "glurbanisation."[44] Glurbanisation refers to entrepreneurial strategies that aim to insert a given city into the division of labor in the world economy, securing locale's competitive advantage to capture mobile capital as well as in keeping local capital in place.[45] The innovation in urban form and functions has five fields according to Jessop and Sum: (a) the introduction of new types of urban place or space for producing, servicing, working, consuming, and living; (b) new methods of space or place production to create location-specific advantages for producing goods/services or other urban activities; (c) the opening of new markets in new areas and/or modifying the spatial division of consumption through enhancing the quality of life for residents, commuters, or visitors; (d) finding new sources of supply to enhance the competitive advantage (e.g., labor, financing); and (e) refiguring or redefining the urban hierarchy or altering the place of a given city within it.[46]

Urban entrepreneurialism can be observed in the contemporary knowledge-based urban development that is a component of the emerging knowledge economy. In the knowledge-based economy, knowledge is seen as a key component in technological innovations to enhance productivity and induce economic growth.[47] The emphasis of knowledge economy has shifted toward the increasing "metropolisation" of the economy—the concentration of research-intensive and knowledge-based economies in the city.[48]

Cities are important because it is where knowledge infrastructures (universities and research institutes), technological infrastructure, and well-educated people vital for the functioning of the global economy are concentrated.[49] Public-private partnership is an important component in the knowledge-based urban development in order to foster an entrepreneurial climate.[50] There is an emphasis on the role of local authorities in marketing the city as a "knowledge city" to attract investments and human capital that will drive the economy.[51] Restructuring of the urban space is a dominant feature in making the geography of the city conducive not only for business but also for leisure and recreation for the knowledge worker.[52] The result is a clustering of knowledge-based urban development infrastructure—such as social and creative hubs and cultural facilities, universities and educational facilities, and R&D institutions and businesses—thus enabling easy facilitation of interaction and ideas.

The role of universities in the emerging knowledge economy is crucial because they undertake basic research and also enhance human capital formation through higher skilled labor.[53] Because of the importance of universities in the development of the knowledge economy, there has been a corresponding transformation in the composition of built environments inside universities.

A science park is a form of property development geared toward supporting research-based entrepreneurial activity.[54] Science parks have two functions: first as "incubators" wherein they foster an enabling environment for the development of firms through innovation, creativity, and entrepreneurship; second, they serve as catalysts of regional economic development.[55] Governments pursue the development of science parks for three reasons: (a) to raise the level of technological sophistication of local industries through the promotion of industrial R&D, (b) to promote foreign investments especially in higher value-added activities, and (c) to accelerate the transition from a labor-intensive to a knowledge-intensive economy.[56]

Most science parks have formal and operational links with universities and research institutions. Universities play an important role

for the science parks because they serve as repositories of knowledge, enabling knowledge transfer into firms.[57] Universities and other academic institutions also help raise property rental values for science parks developers.[58] Many countries have established science parks as part of developing growth engines for economic development especially since the 1970s.[59] Universities have pursued the creation of science parks since the economic revenues generated are expected to augment the fiscal resources of universities that were affected by cutbacks in state funding.[60] The presence of entrepreneurial administrators is important in spearheading initiatives of universities in the creation of science parks[61] although in Asian context, government creates the conditions for the emergence of these types of facilities.[62]

RECONSTRUCTED SPACES
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES

Recollections of UP from the 1950s up to the 1960s highlighted the University of the Philippines' spatial configuration as that of the "Diliman Republic"—an enclave of isolation from the mundane concerns and conflict of Philippine society.[63] Several projects developed the greenery within the university such as the Arboretum and the building of a nine-hole golf course in the 1960s,[64] thus enhancing the myth of the "Diliman Republic." Since there were numerous spaces within the campus for intellectual debates, the university was also relatively insulated from the fierce policy debates that dominated Philippine politics.[65]

The surge of student activism in the university shattered the myth of the Diliman Republic. This found expression in the establishment of the "Diliman Commune," a barricade of the Diliman campus that occurred on 4–9 February 1971. The commune was marked by "liberation" of the spaces within the university such as the takeover of the radio station DZUP and the UP Press as well as student occupations of academic buildings.[66] The redevelopment and subsequent reconstruction of open spaces within the university through the construction of major thoroughfares, government offices, as well as the growth of informal settlements, have made it difficult for the university to maintain an idyllic setting for the pursuit of knowledge.[67]

One of the earliest projects to utilize the idle assets of the university was the construction of the Citimall building at the entrance of the Diliman campus during the Abueva administration (1987–1993). The agreement was to lease two thousand square meters for twenty years (with an option to renew for another twenty years) for PHP 960,000 for the first five years with a subsequent increase of 5 percent starting on

the sixth year. There was also an agreement for the construction of buildings for educational purposes.[68] The Citimall operators, however, failed to construct such establishments and also did not pay the lease as agreed upon, forcing the university to file legal cases against the operators.[69]

The Javier administration (1993–1999) decided to develop the idle assets of the university as a sustained and reliable source of income that would guarantee fiscal autonomy for the university.[70] The 1995 Commonwealth Property Development Plan (CPDP) allotted 98.5 hectares outside the core academic structures to be leased out, which included twelve hectares of natural rainforests and five hectares of forest buffer zone.[71] The minimum bid price was projected at PHP 5.5 billion, invested through the development corporation while the earnings from preferred shares that would accumulate to UP per year was estimated at PHP 600 million, with the lease period lasting up to seventy-five years.[72] Despite opposition from segments of the students and the faculty, the CPDP was approved by the university administration in 1997 but the onset of the Asian financial crisis prevented the realization of the project.[73]

The Nemenzo administration (1999–2005) attempted to create an environment that would not only foster academic research but, more important, would establish formal and operational links with technology-based companies so that faculty and student research may be put into practical use, especially in the information and technology (IT) field.[74] The model was based on the development of science and technology (S&T) parks. UP Diliman's undeveloped land would be leased to private IT companies, which would in turn generate additional financial resources for the university.[75] A Technology Business Incubator (TBI) was already operational during Javier's term. However, instead of pursuing serious research and development activity, TBI tenants were engaged in selling foreign equipment.[76] The Nemenzo administration aimed at developing two existing TBIs within the university: the North Park (located along Commonwealth Avenue), which would focus on biotechnology, biomedicine, educational technology, and energy systems; and the South Park (located along C.P. Garcia Avenue), which would focus on information technology.

A number of factors deterred the creation and operation of S&T parks during the Nemenzo administration. First, there were technical issues raised by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources such as resurveying the property and settling conflicting claims to the land with the UP barangay (which was claiming the land for resettlement purposes). Second, unlike President Joseph Estrada who was

enthusiastic with the creation of S&T parks for economic development, the succeeding president, Gloria Macapagal Arroyo, initially did not share the same interest and so did not intervene in settling controversial issues surrounding the project. Lastly, several sectors criticized the impending commercialization of the university as signaled by the growing links with the private sector through the creation of S&T parks.[77]

The UP–Ayala Land TechnoHub was built during the term of UP President Emerlinda Roman (2005–2011). The S&T park was formally inaugurated on 21 November 2008, with President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo in attendance.[78] The university leased 37.5 hectares of its property along Commonwealth Avenue for twenty-five years to Ayala Land Inc., the developers of the UP–Ayala Land TechnoHub.[79]

The UP–Ayala Land TechnoHub was designed to house (twelve) startups[80] in the following IT-related businesses: voice-based telemarketing services, web-based accounting services, legal transcription and research, web page design, software development, communication equipment, web and system development, B2B e-commerce, e-learning, IT-enabled services, product research and development, and IT solutions.[81] Administrators envisioned the TechnoHub to replicate the success of well-known science parks such as the Silicon Valley corridor based at Stanford University.[82] There was expressed optimism that technological innovations derived from science and technology parks would become the foundation for economic development.[83] The university will receive PHP 4.236 billion over a twenty-five-year lease for the use of the property according to the agreement signed between the University of the Philippines administration and Ayala Land Inc. in November 2006.[84]

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The decreasing state funding of the University of the Philippines necessitated various methods of place structuring and place marketing, resulting in the reconfiguration of spaces in the university aimed at capital accumulation.[85] In the University of the Philippines' case, the restructuring of the urban spaces is geared toward participation in the global knowledge economy circuit by creating a built environment for the IT sector through the science park model. The conversion of the Commonwealth property into a science park was a public-private partnership between UP and Ayala Land Inc.[86]

The resulting science and technology park complex, however, is also a reconstructed political economy of the place—there is an emphasis on enhancing consumption patterns and in place marketing

in the TechnoHub. The TechnoHub houses not only workplace offices but also retail establishments such as fast-food chains, fine-dining establishment, and gaming areas, enhancing the image of UP Diliman as a "dining & recreation" haven.[87] These establishments are part of a systematic scheme of place marketing designed to attract the increasingly discriminating consumer.[88]

The establishment of the UP–Ayala Land Technohub has the defining features of an entrepreneurial endeavor outlined by Jessop and Sum.[89] First, the TechnoHub is a product of place production for a new form on economic activity geared toward the production of knowledge—specifically, a built environment founded on up-to-date IT infrastructure.[90] Second, the park has opened new markets, modifying consumption patterns inside the university. Third, the location of the park enhances the competitive advantage of the emerging knowledge economy by linking up with a renowned academic institution such as UP, which produces skilled workers with high education. Fourth, there is a redefinition of the place of UP as a world-class university with high-tech infrastructure as well as an exciting array of amenities available at the park. What emerges is a new urban space for new forms of production, living, and consumption.

The creation of the TechnoHub has been part of the narrative rationalizing the reduction of state funding as the TechnoHub has shown that state universities and colleges can become more self-sufficient in resource generation through the development of its idle assets.[91] Various proposals and projects to develop the university's idle assets all over the UP System have already been initiated.[92] The hegemony of neoliberal discourse in the construction of the contemporary city ensures that this strategy of adaptation will be pursued especially as a significant component of economic development.[93]

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Building the Case for CSR: Philippine Corporate Discourse on the Role of Business in Social Development from the 1970s to the Present

Erwin F. Rafael

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) is a fluid and malleable concept. The dynamic—some would even say ambiguous—conceptualization of CSR stems from its socially constructed nature, which opens it to the influence of discursive practices and contestations of several actors, including business, social development practitioners, civil society, government, and the academe. This paper trains the spotlight on the business side of the discourse on CSR. The paper shows how Philippine companies, through their public communications, contribute to the conceptual construction of the role of business in social development and CSR. This is based on discourse analysis of corporate communications in the annual reports and select public documents of the Philippine Business for Social Progress, the country's largest corporate-led social development organization. The paper looked at thematic changes in Philippine business's CSR discourse from the 1970s to the present and found an increasingly explicit presentation of a business case for CSR over the decades.

Keywords: *corporate social responsibility, business and society, Philippine Business for Social Progress, social development*

INTRODUCTION

From 2006 to 2014, I have worked for the Philippine Business for Social Progress (PBSP), the largest corporate-led social development organization in the Philippines. The PBSP was organized and is operating on the premise that Philippine business has a role to play in the social development of the country. Numerous terminologies have been offered to try to capture this role, such as corporate social responsibility (CSR), corporate citizenship, and corporate social performance. The definitions of these terms are overlapping and constantly changing, indicating that the responsibility of business to society is dynamic—some would even say ambiguous (Coelho, McClure, and Spry 2003).

The CSR concept is socially constructed and, as such, is open to the influence of discursive practices and contestations (Okoye 2009). One of the oft-cited studies on this subject is Carroll's (1999) research on the evolution of CSR as a definitional construct in academic publications. Other studies have shown the influence of non-business actors in the discursive construction of CSR, like the business press (Buhr and Grafström 2009), management consultants (Windell 2007), civil society (Segerlund 2010; Burchell and Cook 2006), and governance institutions (Whitehouse 2003; Albareda et al. 2008). Still, the business sector is acknowledged as the primary driver of this process (Albareda et al. 2008; Herrera and Roman 2011), and this is supported by studies that analyze CSR discourses in corporate annual reports and public relations materials (Nik Ahmad, Sulaiman, and Siswantoro 2003; Branco and Rodrigues 2006; de Bakker et al. 2007; Belal 2008; Saleh 2009).

In this paper, I aim to contribute to the discussion by showing how Philippine business participated in the social construction of CSR through their public discourses. Specifically, I ask, what did Philippine business say about their role in social development? What did they put forward as reasons for playing the said role? How did they characterize socially responsible action and practice? And how did the answers to these questions change over the last four decades?

The four-decade evolutionary framework of Velasco (1996) is often acknowledged as the starting point in discussing the evolution of CSR in the Philippines. Roman (2007) modified the Velasco framework to include the 2000s, and to tweak the characterization of CSR trends in the 1980s and 1990s (table 1).[1] I used these frameworks to identify themes in the CSR discourse. However, unlike the Velasco and Roman studies, this paper analyzes CSR as it was conceptualized through linguistic discourse.[2] I proceed from the premise that studying discourse is integral to understanding CSR because the concept is imbued with meaning in communicative interactions (Ihlen, Bartlett, and May 2011).

Using Ruiz's (2009) sociological discourse analysis, I analyzed discourse data drawn from texts attributed to representatives of private businesses in the publications of the PBSP. These were chosen not only because of the PBSP's stature as the organized response of the private sector to the country's socioeconomic problems but also because its four decades of CSR advocacy made the materials amenable for longitudinal analysis. Because the materials were limited to PBSP publications, the characterization of Philippine business discourse in this paper is meant to be merely indicative of Philippine business discourse in general.

CSR AS AN ALTRUISTIC MORALISTIC RESPONSE TO THE THREAT OF REVOLUTION

The PBSP was founded during a turbulent period in Philippine history. The year 1970 started with the First Quarter Storm, a clear manifestation of the growing radicalization of various sectors bred by the deteriorating economic and political conditions of the country under the Ferdinand Marcos regime. The PBSP concept was formulated by a distinguished set of leaders[3] of the Philippine business community as a collective corporate response to the social unrest. The PBSP was formally launched on 16 December 1970, when fifty Philippine business executives signed a "Statement of Commitment"[4] (hereafter referred to as the "Statement") to the foundation. The "Statement" shall be my starting point for the discourse analysis.

The first proposition of the "Statement" extols the virtue of capitalist enterprise. The statement that private enterprise, through its operations, "generates employment opportunities, expands the economic capabilities of our society, and improves the quality of our national life" suggests that capitalist businesses are already contributing to development goals by virtue of their business operations alone. Performing social responsibilities is presented as an additional contribution by private enterprise to social development. The separation of CSR from the core business of the company is also reflected in the pledge to set aside a percentage of the "year's net profit before income taxes" for social development. Based on accounting convention, this implies that the CSR budget is treated as an "other expense," which is not necessary to the operations of the business.

The reasons forwarded for CSR at this stage are largely altruistic, which means benefits were presented as accruing primarily to other parties, as opposed to the business case, wherein CSR is presented as bringing economic benefits to companies. The altruistic case is complemented by the use of moralistic rhetoric, using phrases such

as "higher purpose," "well-being of the community," "well-being of the nation," and "a home worth of the dignity of man." The lone business case presented in the "Statement" refers to an environmental condition with no directly attributable impact to the financial bottom line.

The "Statement" emphasizes technology and managerial-skill transfer to depressed communities as the way for companies to contribute to social development. This forwards a peculiar framing of the problem of Philippine society as a problem of management and technical capacity. Philippine business suggests that its role in social development is as a mentor on capitalist business techniques, which is positively characterized as "creative" and "efficient."

The themes of altruism and capacity building were later captured in the catchphrase "helping people help themselves" (Philippine Business for Social Progress 1972, inside back cover). These themes were reinforced in succeeding annual reports up to the mid-1970s,[5] which present an image of a business sector that responds to the needs of the poor by promoting the values of self-help and self-reliance.

The preponderance of moralistic communication by business indicates that conflict with other sectors may be underlying the discourse[6] during this stage. Later anniversary publications of the PBSP suggest that the spectre of a communist revolution was foremost in the minds of the business leaders who spearheaded the formation of the organization (Velmonte 2000). In a speech delivered during the founding meeting of the PBSP, Sixto Roxas III of Bancom Development Corporation hinted at the influence of the threat of communist revolution when he peculiarly described impending problems as social and economic contradictions (Velmonte 2000, 7), a description rarely used in general business discourse but commonly used in Marxist revolutionary rhetoric.

The discourses in the early PBSP publications directly refute the negative image of private enterprise being popularized at the time by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).[7] The "Statement" defended the legitimacy of capitalist businesses. Moralistic, altruistic rhetoric described private enterprises positively in contrast to the exploitative image of business painted in CPP discourse. The discourse promoting solutions of self-help may be viewed as business distancing itself from traditional philanthropic giving, which was associated with acts of charity in a feudal class-stratified society (Velmonte 1999). In the initial years of the PBSP, the discourses of Philippine business about its social responsibilities appear to be aimed at constructing not just the concept of CSR but a positive legitimate image of capitalist private enterprise as well.

BUSINESS ASKS "WHAT'S IN IT FOR US?"

A decade after the founding of the PBSP, its Board of Trustees (1980, 18) candidly reported that "the interest and enthusiasm first generated and continued over the first few years has not been sustained." They offered the following arguments for the dip in member participation:

> Some of our members have informed us of the inability to contribute to the Foundation due to poor business conditions … The fact that membership in PBSP does not provide additional corporate exposure is another reason why members have dropped out or non-members hesitated to join … A third argument raised commonly by the membership and prospective member companies is that membership in PBSP has not relieved them of the numerous requests for financial assistance received from the government, church and other private civic organizations. (PBSP Board of Trustees 1980, 18–19)

This marks a substantial change in the discourse compared to the past decade, with companies now asking for a business case to rationalize their CSR engagement. CSR is not considered an essential component of business operations and is, thus, one of the first costs subject to justification in a time of economic difficulties (De Dios 1988).

The change in the projected rationale for CSR was manifest even in the manner of how the PBSP's founding years was recollected. PBSP founding member Henry Brimo (1981, 12) of Philex Mining Corporation recalled that "we genuinely desired to act in an enlightened social way, first because it was only right to help build a more humane, just and decent society, and second, because it made good business sense." Brimo (1981, 14) summed up the push for a business case when he said "the bottom line for members is what is in it for us?"

COMMUNITY RELATIONS IN A TIME OF DECENTRALIZATION AND TROUBLED LABOR RELATIONS

New developments in the CSR discourse emerged after Benigno Aquino Jr.'s assassination in 1983. The letter to the members of PCI Bank's Antonio Ozaeta (1985) contained the key ideas that would drive CSR discourse through the next decade.[8] Ozaeta's concepts were fleshed out by Angeles (1985, 30) as follows:

> The businessman is charged with exercising his economic functions with a sensitive awareness of certain humane values, foremost of which should be a sense of fair play, of sharing, and

of justice ... In actual terms, the most immediate and practical alternative for the businessman is to consider his own backyard. Therein lies a social market eager for his developmental products ... Should not the method of civic consciousness be changed, from one of charity to that of dynamic and innovative involvement with the poor?... It may even prove, ultimately, to be good business.

These statements suggest three important developments to the CSR concept. First, there are suggestions of decentralization of CSR, both geographically and organizationally. Second, the business case is forwarded with moralistic qualifications, emphasizing that the manner of executing one's operations—of whether it conforms to certain humane values—is important. Third, a targeted set of beneficiaries was identified, which suggests a new way of practicing CSR: community relations (hereafter referred to as *comrel*).

Ozaeta's concepts were reinforced by Rizalino Navarro (1987, 9) of SGV and Co. when he forwarded his concept of resource sharing:

The private sector, as an institution, constitutes the major resource-holder in this country. One of the fundamental reasons for the continuing poverty of large numbers of Filipinos is their lack of access to economic and political resources ... There are, however, a growing number of corporations ready and willing to engage in resource sharing with their community poor. Some are prepared to do it for the community peace it gives them. Others see new opportunities in such sharing: a way to put otherwise idle assets to productive use even if it does not accrue to the company, or to tie this resource sharing with the other aspects of business.

Navarro's and Ozaeta's messages represent a substantial modification of positions in business's CSR discourse. Business's diagnosis of the problem of Philippine society has shifted from a problem of human capacity to a problem of resource access. Corollary to this is a shift in the discourse on the primary CSR strategy from technology and managerial skills transfer to resource sharing through comrel. The pitch for ethical business practices and comrel implies an argument for the integration of CSR into the company's core operations, which is different from the previous framing of CSR as an activity that is in addition to the operations of a business.

The *PBSP 1986 Annual Report* is a landmark publication on Philippine CSR as it introduced concepts like shared value, responsible

business practice, corporate citizenship, and social investment, which would become popular in CSR discourse many years later. The PBSP 1986 Annual Report mirrors the innovative energies released after the collapse of the Marcos dictatorship and the restoration of formal democracy, which was also manifest in the renewed vibrancy of the nongovernment organization (NGO) sector (Herrera and Roman 2011). However, even with the introduction of different CSR models in the 1986 report, comrel still dominated the discourse up to the end of the 1980s.[9]

The push for comrel appears to be a response to yet another threat to the survival of the business sector. Statistics on strikes and lockouts from 1980 to 1990 (table 2)[10] show that the emergence of comrel in the discourse coincided with a marked increase in labor strikes due to the mobilization of militant labor movements (West 1997; Sibal 2003). Navarro (1987) and Soriano (1988) vaguely suggested that comrel is a labor relations strategy. In later PBSP publications, executives like Rogelio Salazar of Atlas Consolidated Mining and Development Corporation and Alfredo Yniguez Jr. of Pilipinas Kao Inc. were more explicit[11] in affirming the relation between comrel and labor unrest (Luz 1993a, 1993b).

THE EMERGENCE OF CORPORATE CITIZENSHIP AND THE SUSTAINABILITY DISCOURSE

The post-comrel stage in business discourse is marked by the emergence of corporate citizenship as the new buzzword. While the term initially appeared in PBSP publications in 1987, the 1990s saw the regular use of the term, especially in the messages of Andres Soriano III,[12] who served as PBSP chairman for more than a decade.

The business discourse during this period encourages private enterprises to exercise citizen rights through political participation. This is most evident in the reference to corporate citizens as a "third force in national development" (Soriano 1992, 7), which juxtaposes business to the first force (state) and the second force (civil society). Corporate citizenship extends the concept of CSR to include active business involvement in policy advocacy and multisectoral partnerships.

Corporate citizenship stems from a perceived need for long-term solutions to solving the development problems of the country. This corresponded with an increasing use of the term social investment, the concept of which was captured by Washington SyCip (1993) of SGV and Co. when he said "we will aspire for higher economic growth. But in order to do that, we must address some of the fundamental problems that will allow us to reap long-term benefits."

The emergence of corporate citizenship and social investment marks the start of an explicit sustainability theme in the discourse. Corollary to this, environmental concerns also started to emerge[13] (Soriano 1994; Sycip 1993).

The inclusion of environmental themes resonates concurrent trends in corporate reporting in other countries (de Bakker et al. 2007). The occurrences of natural calamities during the time may have contributed to bringing the environment into the CSR agenda. Notable in this regard were the destructive effects of Typhoon Ruping in 1990, the Ormoc flash floods in 1991, and the bouts of El Niño in 1993.

While the business discourse on CSR in the 1970s and the 1980s largely responds to opposing discourses from the communist and the militant labor movements, the corporate citizenship theme emerged from a virtual dialogue with the Philippine government. The Fidel Ramos administration provided the impetus for such, with business-friendly policies that pushed for deregulation, privatization, liberalization, public-private partnership (Bello 2004), and a stable macroeconomic environment during the years before the 1997 Asian financial crisis. The appointments of several business executives in cabinet positions[14] have also increased the confidence of business to engage in partnerships with the government (Soriano 1992). In a climate that is friendly to private sector participation in public affairs and to economic risk taking, the discourse on corporate citizenship and social investment had a room to thrive.

MAKING PROFIT WHILE DOING GOOD

Globalization has a large influence on the next major shift in CSR discourse. World Trade Organization (WTO) agreements fueled the drive to find organizational and product advantages that would enable firms to survive increased market competition. CSR was conceived as a possible source of competitive advantage. Soriano (2000) suggests that CSR practice should be expected to translate to benefits not just in the long term but in the short term as well through the enhancement of a company's social reputation. This would translate into direct positive impact on a company's profitability because "a company's social responsibility is fast becoming a major selling point for goods and services" (Soriano 2000, 16).

Globalization also injected to the local discourse new ideas developed in the West. For example, Soriano (2000, 15) alluded to the triple bottom-line concept of Elkington (1997) when he said, "costs of doing business will have to factor in operational as well as social and

environmental costs. Benefits are then gained in the form of a healthy and educated workforce, responsive social institutions, and available resources."[15] Soriano (2001) suggested a leadership role for business in relation to society in the age of globalization. The rhetoric of leadership is a reflection of the reality of globalization as a primarily corporate-led process (Bello 2004).

The PBSP 2006 Annual Report reiterated the market logic for CSR. Manuel Pangilinan (2007, 5) of the Philippine Long Distance Telephone Company, in discussing social investments in education, said that "the private sector, for its part, must see the value of investing in it [education] too, keeping in mind always that an educated citizenry means the availability of quality manpower and, ultimately, of a broader market for our products." In the same annual report, Luz (2007, 20) suggested a market-based approach on how the private sector can contribute to solving the education problems of the Philippines:

> The private sector has an additional competence it would be wise to share with public managers: corporate services or expertise that could help improve the infrastructure for education service delivery … Market approaches to the financing and provisioning of public education is a way by which costs in education can be brought down while expanding services at the same time.

The statement by Luz expands the concept of CSR to the sale of business products and services that contribute to development goals. Market logic is integrated into the development logic, which blurs the division between the altruistic and the business case for CSR. This would become a recurring theme in future discourses,[16] which shift the emphasis of business's CSR discourse from social investment to inclusive business as the endorsed model for business participation in social development.

Inclusive business refers to the concept of solving poverty and other development problems through for-profit business operations that involve disadvantaged groups into the business value chain. While the term inclusive business is rarely used directly in the discourse (except in Pangilinan [2013]), there is a preponderance of keywords in recent discourses that allude to the inclusive business concept, such as "business solutions," "bottom of the pyramid," and "doing good with the poor."

The trend toward the discourse of inclusive business corresponds with a global trend in conceptualizing private sector participation in social development. International development agencies have endorsed the inclusive business model, including the International

Finance Corporation (Hammond et al. 2007), the Asian Development Bank (2012), the United Nations Global Compact, and the United Nations Development Programme (GIM Working Group 2010). The policy environment in the Philippines during the Arroyo and the Aquino administrations recognize the profit motive, with the two administrations' explicit commitment to provide incentives to stimulate private sector participation (Public-Private Partnership Center). The currently less active moralistic opposition against capitalist business practices, in comparison to the relatively strong anti-business rhetoric of the 1970s and the 1980s, may have also influenced business to de-emphasize the moralistic theme in the discourse and to manifest the motive of short-term profit as the business case for engaging in CSR activities.

CONCLUSION: ALWAYS A BUSINESS CASE FOR CSR

The foregoing analysis of Philippine business's discursive construction of CSR over four decades showed variations in CSR themes and operational forms with a consistent underlying operational logic. Discourse in the 1970s had predominantly moralistic and altruistic overtones. Over the decades, the manifest altruism receded and gave way to a more explicit exposition of a business case for CSR.

Relating the discourse themes to events in the social environment, the altruistic case forwarded in the early years appears to serve the pragmatic logic of business survival and public relations. Philippine business's rationale for CSR over the past four decades has always been a business case all along. It is the discourse on the form that proves adaptable to changes in the milieu. CSR discourse also served as a dialogic tool for business to engage with different sectors. Table 3[17] summarizes the changes in the Philippine business CSR discourse.

The business logic in CSR discourse remained consistent, not always in the manifest form but in the underlying substance. From a systems-theoretical point of view, the explicit business case that permeates the current CSR discourse may just be a belated acknowledgment that, in modern society, CSR is primarily an economic, not an ethical, communication and decision. While some might decry the increasing prominence of the business case in CSR discourses, this trend is, from a social systems perspective (Luhmann 1995), a positive development. Moralistic hypocrisy is lessened and a more constructive and practicable engagement with businesses regarding their contribution to development goals may be expected. Taking inspiration from Luhmann (1989), the significance of Philippine business openly presenting a business case for CSR in the discourse is a more controlled method of

discussing and creating CSR ideas, which can increase the probability of serviceable, sustainable, and attainable development results— and reduce the probability of creating useless and inflated societal expectations.[18]

NOTES

1   Table 1. Philippine CSR Evolution Framework

Decade	Velasco 1996	Roman 2007
1960s	The decade of donations: companies engage in sporadic and uncoordinated support for charitable activities	Adopted Velasco characterization
1970s	The decade of organization: multi-company CSR advocacy organizations setup including PBSP, Bishops-Businessmen's Conference (BBC), and Association of Foundations (AF)	Adopted Velasco characterization
1980s	The decade of involvement: companies focus on providing services to communities where they operate	The decade of citizenship: end users incorporated in the design and implementation of programs
1990s	The decade of institutionalization: companies encouraged to engage in long-term social investment and sustainable practices	The decade of continuous improvement: companies internalize CSR programs in policy formulation
2000s	Outside the scope of Velasco's study	The decade of engagement: companies increase multi-stakeholder partnerships and joint decision-making

2   The term discourse in contemporary sociological parlance has been extended to all acts and practices by which individuals imbue reality with meaning (Ruiz 2009). Du Gay (1996) has proposed distinguishing linguistic from nonlinguistic discourse. For this paper, my use of the term "discourse" generally refers to linguistic discourse.

3   These business leaders include Washington SyCip of SGV and Co., Jose and Andres Soriano Jr. of the Soriano Group of Companies, Howard Dee of United Laboratories Inc., Sixto Roxas III of Bancom Development Corporation, and Emilio Abello representing Eugenio Lopez Sr. of Meralco (Velmonte 2000).

4   Full text of PBSP Statement of Commitment:

We believe...

FIRST: Private enterprise, by creatively and efficiently utilizing capital, land and labor, generates employment opportunities, expands the economic capabilities of our society, and improves the quality of our national life.

SECOND: The most valuable resource in any country is man. The higher purpose of private enterprise is to build social and economic conditions which shall promote the development of man and the well-being of the community.

THIRD: The growth and vigorous development of private enterprise must be anchored on sound economic and social conditions.

FOURTH: Private enterprise must discharge its social responsibility towards society in a way which befits its unique competence. It should involve itself more and more in social development for the total well-being of the nation.

FIFTH: Private enterprise is financially and technologically equipped to participate actively in social development. In terms of scientific technology and managerial competence, private enterprise can help provide the total approach for social development in our depressed communities.

SIXTH: Private enterprise, together with other sectors of society, shares obligations and responsibilities which it must discharge to the national community. The ultimate objective of private enterprise is to help create and maintain in the Philippines a home worth of the dignity of man.

Therefore, to better fulfill its social responsibilities, private enterprise must assign a definite percentage of its resources for social development.

We hereby declare our commitment to the formal launching of Philippine Business for Social progress which shall be private enterprise's coordinating arm for social development. (Philippine Business for Social Progress 1970)

The last two paragraphs were later operationalized as follows:

Therefore: We hereby pledge to set aside out of our company's operating funds an amount for social development equivalent to one percent of the preceding year's net profit before income taxes, of which sixty percent shall be delivered to, and for management and allocation by a common social development foundation to be known as Philippine Business for Social Progress.

5   Following are examples of texts up to the mid-1970s, which exhibit an altruistic and moralistic theme:

The deeper we plunge into the task of helping our less fortunate fellowmen rise to a level of dignity and respectability, however, the more is demanded of us. The task of social development is a long and arduous task, demanding not only the bestowal of our material resources but also the transmittal of our skills and competence in the maximum utilization of the resources we have at hand … (Guevarra 1973, 3)

Because we have entered the scene, it has become our duty to see to it that our help, know-how and expertise continue to be available, because it has been proven that people need and want the kind of assistance we have made available, assistance that promotes self-reliance and capabilities, help that helps a man help himself. (PBSP Board of Trustees 1975, 16)

The principal function of PBSP is to be of service to our people in the particular manner that we have addressed ourselves to and that is the introduction of workable business and professional methods into needy communities. We feel that through these methods, community and human

development and dignity will be the result and that our beneficiaries will learn self-reliance and self-sufficiency. (PBSP Board of Trustees 1977, 10)

These examples of concern from our membership are serving to boost PBSP's stated commitment that private enterprise is technologically, aside from financially, equipped to participate in social development ... Our experiences have also reinforced the present role of the private sector as being not only in charity or dole-out work but in concrete and lasting programs of self-help. (PBSP Board of Trustees 1978, 16)

6   According to Luhmann (2012, 244), in this time of modernity, "morality now assumes a sort of alarm function ... morality takes on "polemogenous," war-generating traits: it arises from conflicts and encourages conflicts."

7   A few months before the founding of the PBSP, the book *Philippine Society and Revolution* by Amado Guerrero (1970) became popular among the social movements engaged in the mass protests. Guerrero traced Philippine society's problems to its semifeudal and semicolonial character. Complicit to the problem were the comprador big bourgeoisie, some of which were explicitly named by Guerrero. Most of the families named in the list—the Sorianos, the Yutivos, the Zobels, the Lopezes, the Oritgases, the Yutivos, and the Roxas-Chuas—are associated with the PBSP during its founding years. Majority of the corporations named by Guerrero also became members of the PBSP in its initial year of operation.

8   Ozaeta (1985, 6–7) said:

The work of the Foundation must be complemented by the member corporations in their respective areas and provinces. The task of national recovery becomes much shorter if only corporations can look at this as a primary task: to make profits with honor, and to look after its community poor and disadvantaged, rather than leaving the task to government or to the church or to PBSP or similar organizations.

9   Following are examples of texts in the late 1980s, which emphasize the comrel concept:

Member companies vigorously pursued community development projects. Main beneficiaries were groups of people called communities-at-risk who were either employees or residents in the proximity of plant facilities and offices. (Soriano 1988, 8)

Many corporations, including our membership, have long realized the need to undertake community involvement programs near or surrounding their plants, as in the case of Phinma, San Miguel Corporation, Pilipinas Shell and Pilipinas Kao, among others. In other cases, our members have expanded their markets and services to the communities through subcontracting arrangements, as in the case of San Miguel Corporation ... We exhort our membership to take a closer look at these arrangements since these complement their traditional corporate-giving activities. Furthermore, providing marketing access to organized farmer or fisherman groups will result in greater distribution of benefits to the communities. These arrangements will continue to have greater impact in the countryside and our membership is well advised to pursue this objective. (Soriano 1990, 9)

10   Table 2. Select Statistics on Labor Strikes and Lockouts in the Philippines, 1980 to 1990

Year	Strike/Lockout Notices Filed	No. of Actual Strikes	No. of Workers Involved
1980	362	62	20,902
1981	784	260	98,585
1982	743	158	53,824
1983	705	155	33,638
1984	960	282	65,306
1985*	**1,175**	**371**	**111,265**
1986	1,613	581	169,479
1987	1,715	436	89,574
1988	1,428	267	75,848
1989	1,518	197	56,541
1990	1,562	183	68,412

Source: Bureau of Labor and Employment Statistics website.
* Start of comrel discourse

11   Rogelio Salazar of Atlas Consolidated Mining and Development Corporation saw "community relations as a way of influencing workers to look at things more reasonably instead of resorting to mass actions and disruptions" (Luz 1993a, 39). Alfredo Yniguez Jr. of Pilipinas Kao Inc. believed that for businesses experiencing labor unrest, "companies with such labor problem would find it much easier to resolve if they have a good comrel program" (Luz 1993b, 258).

12   Following are examples of texts in the 1990s that emphasize corporate citizenship:

The problems that beset the Filipino poor are complex and interrelated. Isolated, short-term solutions, no matter how well intentioned, will not bail us out for long. Active citizenry is the core of the solution. We, both as individuals and corporate citizens, can become a third force in national development, a force transcending partisan and ideological boundaries on the premise that the things that unites us are more important than the things that divide us. (Soriano 1992, 7)

The heavy participation of both member and nonmember companies in the Consensus Group deliberations of our first National Conference on Corporate Citizenship last July 1993 attests to this. Participating CEOs, chairmen and presidents in that conference—and there were 69 of them—took time off to get to know the socioeconomic issues confronting the nation, even issues peripheral to bottomline concerns of company profitability. They explored the larger milieu in which their companies operated and looked at what they could do, beyond company interests ... Perhaps, it would be correct to say that corporate citizenship is an idea that has finally come of age in our country. We are seeing companies becoming more involved in the concerns of civil society. We are seeing them beginning to work with national government agencies, with local government, NGOs, and with peoples' organizations. (Soriano 1994, 6–7)

13   Following are examples of texts that show the emergence of environmental themes:

The pressure between a company's financial survival and the cost for being environmentally friendly will have to be weighed against the pressure of society for its just share of sustainable development ... in the end, sustainable development is about economic growth and the environment coexisting. The concept of sustainability will have to be one of living off of

the interest and not depleting the principal not only for today's generation but for all generations to come. Business must be prepared to take its place in this critical area of development. (Soriano 1994, 6)

We take a look outside our windows and see how far we have depleted our environment. The overuse and misuse of many of our natural resources and the pollution that is being produced is of alarming concern. Sustainable development is about meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs ... What will be the state of our environment, our lands, forests, seas and air, given how we use our resources today? What should Business be prepared to invest toward cleaning up our manufacturing and industrial processes? (SyCip 1993)

14 From PBSP member companies alone, key appointments to the Ramos cabinet included Roberto Romulo, Ramon del Rosario, Rizalino Navarro, Roberto Sebastian, Paul Dominguez, Jesus Ayala, and Daniel Lacson (Soriano 1992).

15 The text presents a sustainability argument paralleling Elkington's three Ps: Profit (operational), People (social), and Planet (environmental).

16 Following are examples of texts that emphasize inclusive business as a CSR strategy:

Our role in this effort is crucial, for as the World Resources Institute says, "successful business models—inherently versatile, innovative, and driven by profit motives—can sometimes tackle development challenges more quickly and effectively than government and aid mechanisms." ... Let me emphasize that our support for enterprise development does not flow one way. Our aid helps us too as more people from what the WRI calls the Bottom of the Pyramid are increasingly incentivized to improve their economic position. (Pangilinan 2008, 8–9)

PBSP's 8th Five-Year Plan outlines a broad strategy of elevating social development from an add-on function of corporations, to being central and strategic to business. This direction parallels PBSP's shift of focus from corporate social responsibility, which implies the obligations of business to the less privileged—meaning business doing good for the poor—to corporate citizenship which implies obligations of business to all of society, meaning business doing good with the poor ... These companies and many other realize that a greater alignment between a social development agenda and business objectives and operations ensures sustainability and greater effectiveness of their social investment. (Roxas 2010, 12)

We hope to redefine the impact of the business sector through collective rather than isolated strategies and utilize business solutions for social development ... This unexpected climatological development [referring to Sendong] will place new demands from us for better solutions, both for the survival of our nation and our own sector's sustainability. (Pangilinan 2012, 8)

Creating collective impact requires us to operate on scale and harness the collective efforts of multiple stakeholders. The development landscape, meanwhile, has shifted towards the call for more private sector contribution and inclusive business initiatives ... As our country achieves unprecedented growth we have not seen in decades, we in the corporate community must ensure that this growth benefits our people at the base of the social pyramid. (Pangilinan 2013, 4–5)

17   Table 3. Summary of Changes in Philippine Business's CSR Discourse

Stage	Preferred Form	Primary Discourse Audience	Rationale
1	Technological and managerial capacity transfer	Public vulnerable to CPP influence	Manifest: "higher purpose of business" Latent: business survival against communist threat
2	Comrel	Communities and employees that are exposed to militant labor influence	Labor peace
3	Corporate citizenship	Business-friendly government	Long-term sustainability
4	Inclusive business	Consumer-beneficiaries of development products and services	Profits while doing good with the poor

18   This line takes inspiration from Luhmann' defense of science. Luhmann has always maintained that science—sociology in particular—must be concerned with theorizing and not prescription if it is to perform well its social function of producing new and reliable knowledge. In *Ecological Communication*, Luhmann (1989, xviii) said:

Investigations that are inspired theoretically can always be accused of a lack of practical reference. They do not provide prescriptions for others to use. They observe practice and occasionally ask what is to be gained by making such a hasty use of incomplete ideas. This does not exclude the possibility that serviceable results can be attained in this way. But then the significance of the theory will always remain that a more controlled method of creating ideas can increase the probability of more serviceable results— above all, that it can reduce the probability of creating useless excitement.

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Grooming the Wards in Leyte-Samar Islands: What's New?

Ladylyn L. Mangada

At the local level, there has been a noticeable decline in the significance of political parties to winning an election. Election is no longer a competition between political parties but between political candidates or politicians. Electoral success depends a lot more on the political candidate's visibility and prominence in the community.

Political parties are initially visible during the campaign period while political candidates are touring the political jurisdiction at least eighteen months before the election. However, political parties no longer mobilize campaign workers, volunteers, and voters. The major responsibilities for an election campaign are shouldered by the political candidates themselves.

This paper will look into the changes or innovations in the recruitment, selection, and management of ward leaders in the provinces of Leyte and Eastern Samar.

The paper is based on interviews with political personalities in Leyte and Eastern Samar, as well as observations during the 2005, 2007, and 2010 elections, including the Sangguniang Kabataan (SK) elections.

Keywords: local elections, Leyte, Eastern Samar, political candidates, ward leaders

INTRODUCTION

Today, winning in an election means that political candidates have to rely on their own resources. They have to work through reelectionists, governing elites, and their armies of "professional vote-getters" or wards (*lider*).

The wards are committed individuals who think and act to gain votes for their chosen candidates. They are great assets in winning elections and wielding governmental power. Even political figures who know how to deal with citizen-voters and are perceived to be competent candidates utilize the services of wards. With the help of wards, politicians are able to effectively marshal available electioneering tools to ensure that they obtain a winning margin in the election.

The study looks into the changes in the processes and practices of recruiting and grooming ward leaders and the kind of relationships developed between politicians and wards.

The paper is based on interviews with political personalities in Leyte and Eastern Samar as well as observations during the 2005, 2007, and 2010 elections, including the Sangguniang Kabataan (SK) elections.

CHOOSING THE WARDS

As in the past decade, the battle for political power in the country, whether at the national or local level, is fought among those who have the means or resources to gain power and hold on to it (Anderson 1998; Quimpo 2005; Lande 1965; Franco 2001; Hutchcroft 1998; Sidel 1997). Among these resources is the ability to put up a political machinery, which entails attracting and hiring good consultants or ward leaders. Politicians rely on ward leaders to get them the votes they need to win.

Decades back, the training of ward leaders used to be the job of the local party chief or the standard-bearer in an election. Today, each candidate has his or her own personal organizational machinery and ward leaders. This is so because of the declining role of political parties in the electoral process.

As in the past, choosing or recruiting political wards does not entail a series of tests. It is not like a fraternity or a sorority where initiation rites are required for incoming members, or a private firm where probationary status is conferred to new members. Wards are initially screened based on proven loyalty and performance in the previous elections—i.e., one's demonstrated capability to promote the candidate and undermine the opponent.

The following are some of the characteristics of political wards as observed in previous elections.

- *They belong to large families.*

"More members of the family means more hands to help in working for the family's living." This aphorism's applicability is not only limited to helping the family in cultivating farmlands and harvesting rice but also in gathering votes during election periods. The politicians' need for many votes encourages them to tap or hire wards from large families. The chosen wards usually come from the dominant clan of the barangay or town, and are normally the parents or the patriarch. Parents are targeted as wards because family ties are strong in the province. Daughters and sons obey their parents. Parent wards are usually in command; they can persuade the entire family to vote for the candidate they are working for.

One parent from the Bar clan in the municipality of BA has been serving the municipal vice mayor. The Bar clan is one of the largest clans in the municipality of BA. Another ward from the Con clan was able to convince not only his family members but also his distant or relatives to vote for Mr. Gee in the past elections, and this contributed greatly to Mr. Gee's winning the election.

A smart politician would even go to the extent of dividing large clans just to make sure his or her opponent does not get all the votes. Such a move would result in internal disagreements and eventually in the division of the family, to the delight of the contending parties since no one controls the entire clan.

A case in point was Aunt. She was recruited by Mayor DL to be his ward, thinking that in recruiting Aunt, all of Aunt's relatives would take his side. But that did not happen. A brother of Aunt chose to side with the opponent of Mayor DL. The different choices of Aunt and her brother also divided the relatives.

- *They possess power and authority in the barangay.*

In the community, people respect and obey those who have imposing power and authority. It may be obedience out of fear, love, or trust, by virtue of the person's position of authority in the barangay. Respect is also given to those who have gained formal professional success or a benevolent public image. Such qualities make one an attractive ward for politicians.

Aspiring town mayors would target and naturally be "friends" with barangay officials. When election season sets in, their barangay official friends end up as their wards. These barangay officials are generally looked up to (*tinitingala*) in the community mainly because they have been in the political arena long enough; the people in the barangay must have developed debt of gratitude (*utang na loob*) to them because of favors received in the past. The positive image of the barangay

official extends to the politician they campaign for because residents readily assume that a benevolent barangay official would only support a politician who is just as benevolent.

Political candidates also have an eye for wards who are skilled in designing campaign strategies and are fearless in getting votes. This was the deficiency of Mayor DL in his bid for reelection; Mayor DL listened to his family and supporters who advised him to spend less on buying votes. But his opponent was more willing to take risks and spent sacks of money to "bribe" the voters. He was buying votes at a higher price than Mayor DL, and on top of that, he was knocking on every door to deliver cash. The voters need not go out and fall in line to collect the money. Predictably, the opponent of Mayor DL won. The ward explained that it is better to be broke but a winner rather than be broke and be a loser at the same time. After all, the ultimate goal is to win; any strategy that seems to work will and should be used.

The preference for barangay officials as wards rests on two major reasons: (1) they have earned the trust of the people and (2) they are familiar with the people (especially in their respective barangays), which means that they would know how to deal with them to vote for their candidate. The fact that barangay officials have smaller constituents make them more informed about the community; they can examine and monitor the behavior of citizen voters. Such knowledge certainly helps political candidates plan where and how to get more votes.

These are the reasons why four barangay captains in the poblacion of municipality BA were chosen to be wards of the current mayor. The current mayor is seeking reelection.

- *They are relatives, padrinos, and trusted friends of the candidate.*

"Blood is thicker than water"—a famous idiomatic expression that means family ties are important and most relatives help each other. Padrinos and trusted friends are considered part of the family, and families surely would support political candidates from their own bloodline.

Generally, people who are "*malakas ang kapit*" (well connected) with the politicians are relatives or close friends of the politicians themselves. They are the most committed wards during elections. They are there as *kapamilya* (family members) who will work zealously, sometimes even without pay, in the name of the family.

Freda, who is a sister of Representative Eve, said that it is her obligation to help the representative through thick and thin. When natural calamities hit the province, Freda led in the distribution of relief goods to calamity victims. The goods were usually packed in plastic bags

printed with Representative Eve's smiling face. Freda also facilitated the representative's donation to the Parents-Teachers Association (PTA) and for the construction of a new school building. When townspeople needed help like sponsorship of events and financial assistance, Freda readily responded in the name of Representative Eve.

In Barangay San Pablo, a candidate for barangay captain had his cousin spy on an opponent. The cousin found out that their opponent was buying votes for PHP 1,000, so his cousin-candidate raised his vote-buying price to PHP 1,100. In addition, the said cousin was also tasked to offer the voters on their enemy's side with cash and luxurious trips to other parts of Luzon.

During the SK election, the relatives of Bro, who ran for SK chairman, were the ones who actively took care of Bro's voters. Relatives were busy receiving and welcoming people whenever a "feast" was prepared. They also guarded the voters at night when they were camped in a house the night before election day.

During the municipal SK federation election, Bro aligned with candidate Russ. He was hidden by Russ's relatives. Russ's cousins on her mother side executed the plan, such as bringing the SK voters to Boracay for hiding. They returned a day before the election with excess pocket money and cell phone units. At the provincial level, a motorcycle was given to whoever cast his or her vote for a politician's daughter.

In another municipality, it was worse. The parents fetched their children from school to ensure that the youth would not be "kidnapped" by the other candidate. It was the parents who turned over their child to the candidate with whom they were siding. Talks have it that both the SK voter and the parents received money.

As it was said, "blood is thicker than water." Yet, money is thicker than blood.

A sister and a friend of a political candidate said, "Every time she wins the election, it feels like we are winners too." This perception/feeling encourages friends and relatives to be the wards of political candidates. But of course, there was a hidden truth in the quote above. The said friend and relative, after their candidate was seated in the municipal hall, got instant jobs. And with instant job comes money. Every time their candidate wins in an election, they feel like winners too—definitely! Having instant jobs would surely make someone a winner. For every help they provide, they get something in return. As the famous saying goes, *"wala nang libre sa panahon ngayon"* (nothing is free nowadays).

In previous elections, candidates would choose relatives and friends for wards because they demand less and provide extra work voluntarily. But things have changed. Political candidates get relatives and friends

as wards for the reason of *"pinagsamahan"* and sometimes because of *utang na loob*. Unlike before, the candidate's friends or relatives nowadays demand as much money as any ward leader.

A ward who is also a relative of one candidate said that he had the guts to ask for money because of his knowledge of the candidate's financial preparation. According to him: "No one seeks political office unless he or she is ready for the costs. Only wealthy individuals run for elective posts. They should shell out cash to us (relatives) than to people who have no stake at all. In our experience, they give us what we need."

• *Their loyalty has been proven.*

Politics is a game of powerful leaders and obedient subjects. The leaders' concern is to get loyal followers who are ready to jump into the fire for them. Likewise, the subjects think that their political leaders are lords and so they should prove their loyalty to them. If leaders and subjects find each other compatible, they will be able to survive the Machiavellian politics that we have today. Francisco was at the peak of his third term as town mayor in 2010. His vice mayor, Digoy, was his opponent for mayor for his two terms. Digoy, upon realizing that he will not win against Francisco, ran for vice mayor instead and won. Wittingly or unwittingly, Francisco put his *"kapartido"* (party mate) in office. He hired and appointed his people in the municipal office to positions occupied by permanent employees. The twenty-five permanent employees received no pay because the ones who received the salary and benefits were Francisco's "appointed" people. Unfortunately, the affected twenty-five regular employees happened to be supporters of Digoy. They complained to the Civil Service Commission and filed various cases, which reached the Ombudsman. Months later, Francisco was suspended from office and Digoy became the acting-mayor of the town until Francisco was completely removed from office. Now, the new mayor is Digoy who is enjoying the position, courtesy of his loyal supporters. These twenty-five employees are now known to be close to Mayor Digoy and are said to be *malakas ang kapit*. They would receive special treatment and are acknowledged during town gatherings. Digoy found followers who are ready to fight for him.

Wards who have served certain candidates in previous elections and were unsuccessful are rehired once the politician stages a comeback. Politicians are confident that these wards are trustworthy and would deliver the goods. Somehow, the wards stay with their boss in good and bad times.

Mr. Barata was rehired by one of the candidates for mayor in another election. The said candidate ran for governor in the 2010 elections, but unfortunately did not win. When he decided to run for mayor, he tapped

the services of Mr. Barata again as his ward. He said he knew where Mr. Barata's loyalty lies, and despite his loss in the previous election he was satisfied with the work of Mr. Barata.

- *Wards possess resources.*

Political candidates personally raise funds for their campaign/ election. Undoubtedly, a candidate-centered campaign is expensive, and the cost has been escalating. This drives the need for money, particularly for the resources needed during the so-called last hour. Expectedly, political candidates would find ways to look for wards and supporters (relatives and non-family members) who can contribute to the campaign kitty to last until election day. He must be in good terms with the wealthy. As experienced, more monies are needed if one is a challenger. It is difficult to overcome the advantages of an entrenched incumbent. It was disclosed that the businessmen are the appropriate people who can readily give cash anytime of the day. The businessmen readily says *"pira an kailangan nga kwarta para mambabus."* They give with no hesitation for they know that if their pawn makes it, their money will be returned several folds.

In one town, the businessmen who supported a politician can be named. One of them is Brown White, an American businessman who owns the biggest and most popular grocery store, Rainbow Trading. He hardly has a rival store, and no doubt that he is the richest person in town. Another is Mrs. Rockwell, owner of the most progressive store that sells animal feeds and medicines. The other is Mr. Ces who owns the biggest hardware store.

Their combined resources are enough to buy the whole town. And what they have in common is that they are all wards of Mayor DL. Each time DL sponsors parties with big-time politicians in attendance, the three businessmen offer him financial help (e.g., they shoulder the catering services). The big three are publicly acknowledged as sponsors of the celebration. Also, rumors persist that the big three do not lend money or goods to people if they are not certified supporters of Mayor DL. Those who are kapartido are readily *"pinapautang"* (allowed to loan), while those who belong to the other side can only borrow selectively and with higher interest. More important, during election time they contribute in the *"pakaun"* for the people so as to win votes for Mayor DL.

- *They come from the opposing party.*

Other political candidates take advantage of wards thrown out by the opposing group/person. In most situations, these "discarded" wards are willing to share their political expertise and winning techniques. The fact that they come from the opposing camp can help enhance

the effectiveness of their election campaign strategies toward beating the other side. A number of those who ran as councilors from the party of the current mayor of Ba lost in the last election. They felt betrayed and gave up the commitment they had for their former leader. And so they offered their services and are now associated with the candidate running against the current mayor. The challenger, on the other hand, accepted them to be his wards since these councilors can deliver votes geographically.

GROOMING THE WARDS

Wards are believed to be crucial in ensuring the electoral success of their candidate. They do not only support the candidate but also guard the whole lineup against the maneuvering of their opponents. They serve as "eyes and ears" of the candidate, for whose sake they are ready to pay with their blood and life, even to the point of sacrificing their own families. Wards, therefore, take on a complicated, enormous, and hazardous job. The risk is higher if one works for candidates running for a position in the municipal hall. However, politicians make the undertaking attractive, not scary. They do this by establishing personal beneficial ties that endure during and after election season. This is so because politicians need the ward not only for one election but for several elections, not discounting that he or she might be thinking of his or her family members to join him in the same political enterprise.

In nurturing a special relationship with wards, the techniques most politicians employ are still the same: (a) demonstrating closeness on the personal level, (b) extending material assistance, and (c) inviting them to family gatherings.

- *The "personal touch."*

Apart from showing people that a politician is powerful and authoritative, politicians also have to show people that they are compassionate. This serves to strengthen personal ties.

Congressman Eve sends personal notes or greetings on the birthdays of his wards. Also, politicians would release relief goods through their wards. In the distribution of relief goods, familiar gestures of concern and sympathy are exhibited, such as asking how the family is doing and posing for picture-taking. Sometimes conversations would be extended just to keep the other party feel light and important. Then, people would be talking about the benevolent politician, and his wards would be very proud to be associated with their political master.

Others would take time to join their wards in social drinking or host a drinking session on occasion. These also provide opportune moments for the politician and his wards to discuss confidential issues.

A ward named Lourdes reported handing out expensive umbrellas and fans to teachers as Christmas gifts of the congressman. She also relayed personal greetings on the congressman's behalf. Some mayors, on the other hand, would regularly give fruits or cold cuts to be distributed during the yuletide season.

Mayor DL would show his personal touch to his wards by attending their birthdays and other family occasions. For instance, when Trinity, the daughter of his ward, topped the Nursing Licensure Board Examination, Mayor DL made sure that he would be among the first to congratulate her on her success; he also attended the thanksgiving celebration. It was without a doubt giving a personal touch to his relationship with the ward and his clan.

Caring for the wards by political candidates is practiced everywhere. Politicians would stand as godparents in baptisms or weddings. They would warmly acknowledge their wards during public meetings and, in many ways, make them feel special or privileged. Others would spring a surprise visit to the house of their wards, talk to their family members, and express seemingly endless gratitude for the ward's contribution to their victory at the polls. In turn, the ward feels good and develops a stronger sense of attachment.

A politician allocates funds for weddings, birthdays, and funerals. Gifts are sent during weddings and birthdays while flowers and other burial needs are given during moments of grief.

- *Inviting the wards to special family gatherings.*

Politicians in not so rich municipalities treat the wards as part of the family. It is not just an ordinary friendship that is built. Most often, the ties are stronger than with other members of the clan. For instance, when either Mayor DL or Francisco celebrate their birthdays, the wards get special invitation in colored, glossy, and scented paper. Such invitation would be a big deal for his wards. They would brag about it. And they would talk about the party to the neighbors. A barangay captain babbled about it on his early delivery of vegetables to the market. Teachers had a class hour devoted to telling how fun the birthday party of Francisco was and emphasized that people should appreciate politicians who are not *kuripot* (stingy).

On the occasion of the fiesta, the mayor never forgets to pass by the house of his wards inviting them to celebrate the fiesta in their luxurious bungalows. In the politician's home, the wards are seated in the finer tables and are further acknowledged in front of relatives and other important guests.

The personal problems of wards are also attended/responded to or solved through the intervention of the boss. In Leyte, a ward leader

in Sagkahan district whose son got a village girl pregnant asked the ward leader's boss to negotiate with the family of the bride-to-be. The most common situations are family members getting sick and the boss paying for all the hospital expenses.

Political leaders declared that ties with wards should not be broken off after the polls. It is because most of them do not intend to retire after three terms. So politicians would secure their wards—the significant persons ensuring their success. They would show concern, kindness, and sincerity in special ways to remain with them.

- *Providing material assistance.*

 Politicians readily admit that many of their wards are poor who look up to them as their savior who can help change or improve their fortunes. Politicians upon assumption to office have to return favors to their wards who had helped them, through thick and thin. These favors should be sufficient to support the ward's family (if in need) and may come in the form of material things, money, and jobs.

Former mayor LT had wards in one barangay. At that time the place did not have a good irrigation system, and the residents would get water from the mountains. When LT heard about this from his close wards, he eventually constructed wells and faucets that enabled the public to utilize clean water. The same thing happened when Vicente asked for a water pump from the barangay captain; he was eventually given one and the water pump was put up for his family.

When barangay official wards hold sports tournament during fiesta, they would solicit money from their political leaders. These political leaders readily give them the funds to support the sports tournament. Some wards solicit traveling allowance to attend fairs and seminars. Others receive rice allowance.

The most widespread form of material assistance extended by politicians to their wards is employing them in the municipal office or in hospitals. In a district hospital, there are so many casual workers hired because of the political leaders' influence. Some of them were hired as janitors, assistant to the permanent employees, or bodyguards to their political leaders. Their salary is below minimum wage because the politician divides the regular amount to two persons. The wards also lose their job once the term of their political leader ends. This happened to the wards of Adal when he was dethroned as mayor.

A carpenter in Barangay 2 poblacion is now working as ward for a mayoralty candidate in the election. Carpenters in small towns can hardly get a job. They only have opportunity to work if someone in the town is constructing a house, but this rarely happens. However,

this carpenter has been living comfortably as a ward. He was given a communication device, and a regular transportation allowance.

Another ward is a retired policeman with a big family. He supports not only his children but also his grandchildren. He is receiving his pension, but still this is not enough to support his whole family. He is a ward of a town mayor who gives him financial assistance.

Before he was chosen as ward leader, Mr. Barata had no work and therefore did not have a permanent income. He has seven siblings, three of whom are unmarried; he is second to the youngest. He lives with the three unmarried siblings and with a very old father. He now stands as a political secretary and receives gadgets, transportation allowance, and cash.

Another ward is a former councilor. He lost in the last election, and because politics is the only way of living that he knew, he did not have any work after that. But the current mayor considers him a loyal ward so his wife was appointed in the municipal hall.

As noted by Gutierrez (1992), voters and political actors down to the grassroots level usually align or identify themselves with political leaders who are best able to dispense patronage.

As in the previous elections, party bosses interviewed affirmed that their organizations do not consider it important to give formal political training to the wards.

Briefings and one-on-one coaching are enough. Instead, they believe that a better option is to provide them tangible benefits such as allowances, food support, or scholarships for children (Lande 1965). Politicians have observed that given the material incentives, wards perform at their best, especially in devising strategies and techniques.

In the performance of their duties, the wards are given 'mobility' funds for *pantuba* (tuba wine), *pangkape* (coffee), *pampasahe* (transportation fare), *pansigarilyo* (cigarette), or *pang-snack*. These cash allotments are not audited. Winning politicians also give cash bonuses "after election" or during Christmas.

As early as eight months before the election, planning session would start. The discussion mostly centers on strategies to increase and consolidate voters. Previous election results are looked into. Voters in the precinct level are assessed and categorized as follows: (a) "intelligent voters," (b) supporters, (c) "contras," and (d) uncommitted voters. And the list is regularly evaluated. Less attention is spent on the first two because, first, "intelligent voters" stand up for what they know and believe in—in short, "*hindi madaling utuin*" (they are not gullible); second, supporters are already decided so that leaves the (c) and (d) on whom the wards should concentrate their efforts using soft and hard approaches.

The existing practices pertinent to grooming the wards have dual significance. On one hand, they could provide or augment incomes, ensure the survival of the politician or party, open access to powerful individuals, and strengthen the family as an institution. But these practices make elections very expensive; limit opportunities for public office to the moneyed individuals and families; and create an overstaffed, demoralized, mediocre, and inefficient bureaucracy.

- *Augmenting income*

To the impoverished people of the provinces of Leyte and Eastern Samar, the prospects of remunerated employment and patronage (*"may nasasandalang pader"*) are very desirable. Given situations where education and skills are insufficient to qualify them for jobs, no matter how risky and time-consuming are the services rendered to the boss, particularistic ties are strengthened and function as a channel for material support. This may also mean social mobility.

Politicians do this for the love of power, and they perceive it as "helping others" as well. But this reinforces two attitudes. One is fatalism ("*bahala na*"), which emboldens an individual to take risks in the face of danger and the possibility of defeat. The other is personalism, the benefits or rewards obtained from the patron who can enhance one's life with guarantees of intimacy, warmth, and secure friendships (Andres 1981).

- *Political survival*

As noted, wards are important assets of the candidate politician. Without them, politicians have no one to rely on during the campaign, especially in distributing money and acting as bodyguards and confidants. The wards, in return, express gratitude through their commitment/loyalty and shrewdness in making the candidate viable and strong among the undecided and apathetic constituents (Agpalo 1972). Hence, wards are truly important in the game of surviving politics.

- *Access to the powerful*

As disclosed in the interviews, the wards and his relatives are guaranteed a sympathetic response to their needs at every office in the local government unit or in the locality where his political patron is in command. Access means being able to advance one's interest and get protection for the wife, children, and parents, grandparents, in-laws, and even friends and associates. However, this "access" is often abused by wards. "*Malakas ang kapit*" encourages the ward do rash and clumsy actions.

"Access" shows the Filipino values of *"magaling," "malakas,"* and *"mayabang"* or *"masyadong mapagmalaki." "Yabang"* or

"pagmamalaki" may be considered as an expression of self-confidence. It is the refusal to be intimidated by clearly formidable odds (Laquian 1964). *"Galing"* can be manifested in acting as the "people's intercessor" to the politician for various particularistic and personalistic needs (e.g., solicitations for equipment, trophies, prizes for certain events and contests, and others).

• *Strengthening the family as a social unit*

As in previous elections, the family is the main form of political organization or base for political aspirants. The more relatives a political leader has, the more likely that he will be powerful. Normally, the family members are the ones who encourage a relative to seek, expand, and keep power. A family member who gets political power brings honor to the family. More important, it means "access" to the local government unit for the family. Laquian stressed that where political support is personal, kinship ties are of great help to the leader. Moreover, vote getting is also done by the family. As long as the people continue to prefer "personalized" political dealings and try to guarantee their maintenance, the family will remain the base for organizing political activities at the subnational level.

• *Expensive and elitist elections*

As revealed, money is a necessity in electoral campaigns. It is a major weapon in a politician's arsenal. Today, the stakes are higher. Candidates must be ready to spend more than in the previous electoral intramurals. The costs get higher each election. Candidates need to spend on daily maintenance of the wards and their families, and provide medical assistance, funds for ceremonial functions, and other matters. This, then, discourages even competent personalities with meager resources from seeking public office, thus allowing only the wealthy to compete in elections. Vatikiotis (1996) noted that democracy in the Philippines is dominated and manipulated by the rich and powerful.

• *Appointment of supporters to government positions*

As a consequence of patronage ties, civil service regulations on merit and competence are violated and innumerable undesirables, misfits, and incompetents are employed, making the government itself an incompetent one. Local bureaucracies become overstaffed with a large number of contractual and casual employees with no definite assignments, making the government spend more on undeserved wages. Also, promotion becomes a reward for personal loyalty, obedient service, and submission to the patron. Meanwhile protégés do not exert much effort in their work because of the *padrino* system.

It is rather a manifestation of the spoils system (*"palakasan"*) where opportunities and privileges are distributed among members, allies, and friends of the clique in power. And this system is what makes the people, especially job applicants, lazy. This is what hinders us from the progress the nation deserves.

CONCLUSION

This paper has shown that winning an election has become the major responsibility of the candidate. Also, electoral activities with regard to choosing and grooming, and maintaining wards have not changed. The candidate politician bears the material, emotional, and social costs in the recruitment, selection, and management of wards. These are activities that strengthen personalistic ties and necessitate a huge amount of resources. Today, the wards receive bigger allowances, cell phones, motorcycle, or travel incentives.

The escalating costs of grooming and maintaining wards requires more "pork" and the practice of patronage. These include money, food, jobs, and local projects. For the incumbent, the delivery of benefits to the wards is not a problem. Knowing when and how to secure and deliver such goods, he can effectively mobilize support or resources from other government agencies and functionaries. Others end up practicing the permanent bureaucratic disease: graft and corruption.

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Failure to Unravel Success:
The Difficulties of
Ang Ladlad LGBT Party
in Gaining Electoral Legitimacy

Daniel Z. Bernardo

This study documents Ang Ladlad's struggle in articulating lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender/transsexual (LGBT) interests and experiences in Philippine politics. The paper presents Ang Ladlad LGBT Party's journey in the 2010 party-list race. Dominant political institutions shape and create cultural patterns in society. Ang Ladlad is affected by the cultural values exhibited by representatives of dominant political institutions such as the Commission on Elections (COMELEC) and the Catholic Church. The abusive exercise of power by those in control of these institutions prolongs the marginalization of emerging parties like Ang Ladlad in Philippine politics. The presence of dominant political institutions hinders and complicates Ang Ladlad's achievement of symbolic power, institutionalization, and legitimacy through electoral success. In participating in the 2010 national elections via the party-list system, Ang Ladlad aims to uplift the LGBT community. The primary goal of Ang Ladlad is to end the discrimination and marginalization experienced by the Filipino LGBT community.

Keywords: LGBT, political participation, political culture,
new social movement

INTRODUCTION

In September 2003, Ang Ladlad was created to form a network for the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender/transsexual (LGBT) community in the Philippines. The organization advocates the protection and promotion of the human rights of the LGBT community. Among its goals is to raise gender awareness and sensitivity in Philippine society, free from oppression, discrimination, prejudice, and stereotyping.[1] Since then, the organization has successfully formed regional chapters and gained membership of over twenty-two thousand nationwide.

In the 2007 national elections, Ang Ladlad filed for party-list accreditation, but this was disapproved by the Commission on Elections (COMELEC) on the ground that the organization did not have adequate national presence. Continuing the struggle of the LGBT community, Danton Remoto (president of Ang Ladlad) attempted to run as an independent senatorial candidate. The COMELEC proclaimed Remoto as a "nuisance candidate" due to his presumed inability to organize a national campaign.[2]

On 17 August 2009, Ang Ladlad made its second attempt to file for party-list accreditation. Ang Ladlad complied with all the requirements but the Second Division of the COMELEC filed a resolution disapproving its party-list accreditation on the ground of tolerating indulgence in acts of immorality.[3] The COMELEC insisted that Ang Ladlad tolerates immorality, citing provisions in the Holy Bible and the Holy Koran.[4] The COMELEC (through the pronouncement of Commissioner Nicodemo Ferrer) also declared that Ang Ladlad is degrading to society and threatens the welfare of the youth. It was further argued that the approval of Ang Ladlad's resolution violates rights guaranteed under the Constitution and laws of universal application.[5]

Members of the LGBT community, human rights advocates, civil society groups, and some members of the House of Representatives contested the COMELEC's decision. In April 2010 the Supreme Court decided, by a vote of 13-2, to grant the petition of Ang Ladlad LGBT Party to run in the May 2010 elections, as long as it fulfills the legal requirements for accreditation under Republic Act (RA) 7941 or the Party List System Act.

Ang Ladlad LGBT Party was officially given accreditation to participate in the 2010 national elections. It was listed as "Ang Ladlad" on the COMELEC's official ballot and was assigned the number eighty-nine in the party-list race. However, based on the results of the 2010 elections, Ang Ladlad failed to gain 2 percent of the national vote (approximately 150,000 votes), which was required for it to secure at least one seat in Congress.[6]

In light of the 2007 and 2010 attempts of Ang Ladlad to join the national elections, this study seeks to provide answers to this question: why has Ang Ladlad, as a party-list representative of the LGBT movement in the country, failed to successfully secure a formal political position in the legislative assembly?

The paper argues that the articulation of societal values by dominant political institutions (state institutions, government branches, the Catholic Church, the academe, the media, and prevailing civil groups) limits what can be represented or not in existing structures of participation in Philippine politics. This argument proceeds from the works of Jeffrey Escoffier (1998)[7] and David Halperin (1995)[8] where it is asserted that the oppression and marginalization experienced by the LGBT community is caused by the dominant institutions' control of the network of apparatuses engaged in the production of knowledge and institutionalized power.

FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

The study highlights the significance of culture in defining the foundation of dominant state and political institutions, in terms of which constraints and possibilities to the political and electoral success of Ang Ladlad in the Philippines may be examined. The study focuses on three interrelated dimensions of success: (a) symbolic power, (b) institutionalization, and (c) legitimacy.

The study also draws from the new social movement theory in formulating recommendations for the emergence of a successful LGBT social movement and party-list group in the Philippines. New social movement theory challenges existing and dominant cultural presuppositions, which would be an ideal framework in redefining and reconstructing the present Philippine cultural setting to enhance the probability of effective political and electoral participation of Ang Ladlad.

The new social movement theory can explain and expand the role of culture in achieving symbolic power, institutionalization, and legitimacy for Ang Ladlad. The theory can define new arrays of political opportunities in reshaping the society's institutionalized culture, and in opening up other possibilities for the LGBT movement such as participation in national elections through the party-list system, Klaus Eder (1993) states that cultural traditions can be challenged by conflicting norms and values.[9]

First on the agenda is the articulation of the LGBT experience of oppression and marginalization. Attention should be drawn to the structure of social inequality and the resulting lack of opportunities for effective LGBT participation in Philippine politics.

The establishment of the LGBT movement is vital in bringing the aspirations and reform agenda of the community to a broader public. The goal of the movement is the attainment of political and social opportunities by means of electoral participation.

Participation in national elections through the party-list system has been the central agenda of Ang Ladlad. Electoral participation is the means for Ang Ladlad to maximize existing political and sociocultural opportunities. A clear indicator for success, gaining a seat in Congress, is essential to translate Ang Ladlad's aspirations into reality.

THE LGBT'S QUEST FOR SYMBOLIC POWER

To achieve symbolic power, the attainment of cultural capital is necessary. In this regard, the nonmaterial capital of members of Ang Ladlad (such as the presence of honor, prestige, knowledge, and education) and the pursuit of intangible aspirations (such as social recognition, gender equality, and respect) are key elements toward success. Gaining symbolic power is the first stage in Ang Ladlad's journey toward achieving electoral success. The main challenge is to make the broader public understand and recognize Ang Ladlad's advocacies, political platform, and reform agenda.

Most unfortunately, the expression of LGBT identity is considered a form of deviance. The need for liberation from gender oppression and homophobia is a prominent concern in radical homosexual discourse. The LGBT movement can draw lessons from the feminist movement in confronting issues of gender and sexuality. The most useful insight from feminism is acknowledging the existence of gender oppression and gender differences. Gender differences are cultural constructs that are ideologically established in all patriarchal societies.[10]

J. Neil C. Garcia, in his work *Philippine Gay Culture*, argued that the demonization and criminalization of homosexual acts in the Philippines is caused by the preservation of religious virtues and patriarchal power against any "imagined" enemies. Homosexuality does not escape the tirades of the Manila archbishop. The Catholic Church perceives homosexuality as a threat to the heterosexual family.[11]

Over the years, Ang Ladlad has attained a significant level of symbolic power. This can be enhanced through political participation. With the presence of symbolic power and cultural capital, Ang Ladlad aims to widen its social mobilization and gender awareness campaigns. Bemz Benedito, Ang Ladlad's first nominee and chairperson, said in an interview that Ang Ladlad wants to participate in the national elections so as the LGBTs can have access to the formulation of laws and public policies. The welfare of the LGBT community can best be addressed if

there is an LGBT party-list representation in Congress. An organization like Ang Ladlad can widely articulate LGBT issues in Congress because of the movement's history and experience in LGBT mobilization and social engagement.[12]

To achieve formal political representation, Ang Ladlad should be able to get party-list accreditation from the COMELEC. This will signify the group's institutionalization as a party-list candidate in the 2010 national elections. To gain accreditation, Ang Ladlad should be able to convince the COMELEC that the LGBT community is a marginalized and underrepresented sector. Having a party-list accreditation will definitely enhance the chances for Ang Ladlad to showcase its platform and reform agenda.

ANG LADLAD'S PARTICIPATION IN THE 2010 PARTY-LIST ELECTIONS

The first step to participation in the party-list elections is to file for accreditation with the COMELEC. The participation of Ang Ladlad in the party-list elections became very challenging. Danton Remoto filed the necessary requirements for accreditation a few months before the 2010 elections. Unfortunately, the COMELEC denied party-list accreditation to Ang Ladlad for the reason that the LGBT sector represented by Ang Ladlad is believed to be not marginalized and underrepresented.

COMELEC En Banc (SPP. No. 09-288) was the response to the motion for reconsideration filed by Ang Ladlad on 18 November 2009. The denial of the petition was based on the perceived immorality of the group—particularly, its being disrespectful of religious beliefs. The COMELEC cited Section 5 of Article VI of the 1987 Constitution, which provides for the establishment of a party-list system of representation. In accordance with this provision, Congress enacted RA 7941, also known as the Party List System Act. Section 2 of the RA states:[13]

> Section 2. Declaration of Policy. – The state shall promote proportional representation in the election of representatives to the House of Representatives through a party-list system of registered national, regional, and sectoral parties or organizations or coalitions thereof, which will enable Filipino citizens belonging to the marginalized and underrepresented sectors, organizations, and parties, and who lack well-defined political constituencies but who could contribute to the formulation and enactment of appropriate legislation that will benefit the whole nation as a whole, to become members of the House of Representatives. Toward this end, the State shall

develop and guarantee a full, free, and open party system in order to attain the broadest possible representation of party, sectoral or group interests in the House of Representatives by enhancing their chances to compete for and win seats in the legislature, and shall provide the simplest scheme possible.

Danton Remoto defined the LGBT community as a marginalized and underrepresented sector that is specifically disadvantaged because of their gender identity and sexual orientation. The petitioner characterized sexual orientation as the person's capacity for emotional, affectional, and sexual attraction to, and intimate and sexual relations with, individuals of a different gender, of the same gender, or more than one gender.[14] According to a COMELEC resolution (SPP Case No. 09-228), Danton Remoto indicated the following in his petition regarding Ang Ladlad:

1. That it has a membership of gays, lesbians, and transgender, like-minded individuals with similar interests and concerns, encompassing a bona fide sectoral organization;
2. That it seeks to partake in the party-list system as a sectoral party to represent the Filipino lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) community;
3. That it has nationwide constituency;
4. That petitioner "is not a religious sect or denomination";
5. That it does not promote unlawful means and violence to seek its goal;
6. That its party-list representatives and nominees have not violated or failed to comply with rules, laws or regulations relating to the elections;
7. That its endeavor is not to receive any support from any foreign government, organization, foreign political party, whether directly or through its officers or members or through third parties for partisan election purposes; and
8. That it is not a party organization that is an adjunct of, or a project organized or an entity funded or assisted by, the government.[15]

According to COMELEC Commissioner Nicodemo Ferrer, the petition of Ang Ladlad should be dismissed on moral grounds. The COMELEC emphasized that the LGBT sector makes it clear that the petitioner tolerates immorality, which offends religious beliefs. Commissioner Ferrer cited the verse in the Holy Bible, particularly Romans 1: 26, 27, where Paul wrote:

For this cause God gave them up into vile affections: for even their woman did change the natural use into that which is

against nature: And likewise also the men, leaving the natural use of the woman, burned in their lust one toward another; men with men working that which is unseemly, and receiving in themselves that recompense of their error which was met.

Commissioner Elias Yusoph used the Holy Koran to assess the level of immorality of Ang Ladlad Party. The Koran verses cited are as follows:

For ye practice your lusts on men in preference to women "ye are indeed a people transgressing beyond bound" (7.81). "And we rained down on them a shower (of brimstone)" Then see what was the end of those who indulged in sin and crime!" (7:84). "He said: "O my Lord! Help Thou me against people who do mischief"" (29:30).[16]

Furthermore, the COMELEC alleged that Ang Ladlad is a threat to the youth. It was argued that granting accreditation to Ang Ladlad will expose the youth to an environment that is against the teachings of religious faith. The state is accountable under Section 13, Article II, of the Constitution to protect our youth from moral and spiritual degradation. The COMELEC expressed its disapproval of the party for the reason that it cannot compromise the well-being of majority of the people, especially the youth.[17]

Commissioner Nicodemo Ferrer's cultural orientation—i.e., his social values, cultural upbringing, and religious orientation—must have influenced his decision to reject the party-list accreditation of Ang Ladlad. This is also the case with other commissioners—i.e., Ferrer, Melo, Tagle, Yusoph—who endorsed the ruling, with similar justification, against Ang Ladlad's party-list accreditation.[18]

RELIGION, CULTURE, AND THE DECISION OF THE COMELEC

The decision to reject Ang Ladlad's petition was led by Commissioner Nicodemo Ferrer. Commissioner Ferrer is also the author or *ponencia* of the party's disqualification. It was supported by three other commissioners—namely, Commissioners Lucenito Tagle, Elias Yusoph, and COMELEC Chairman Jose Melo. Majority of the votes (four against three) were cast in favor of Ang Ladlad's disqualification.

The decision of the four commissioners was heavily dependent on issues of morality and religion, even linked to Genesis 19—namely, the story of Sodom and Gomorrah. Also, Ang Ladlad's case was interpreted under Article 694 of the Civil Code, which classifies as nuisance "any act, omission, establishment, business, condition of property, or anything else which (3) shocks, defies; or disregards decency or morality."[19] Ang

Ladlad also allegedly falls under Article 1409 of the Civil Code, which provides that "contracts whose cause, object or purpose is contrary to law, morals, good customs, public order or public policy are inexistent and void from the beginning."[20]

In an interview, Commissioner Nicodemo Ferrer emphasized that, in their assessment, Ang Ladlad will promote immorality and indecency in Philippine society. Ferrer further elaborated that Ang Ladlad should not be given accreditation because it will just promote promiscuous sexual activities and same-sex relationships.[21] The mere institutionalization of Ang Ladlad through the granting of party-list accreditation will demean morality, religion, and even the politico-cultural facets of Philippine society.

In contrast, some COMELEC commissioners find merit to the accreditation of Ang Ladlad as a party-list candidate. Section 6, Article II, of the 1987 Philippine Constitution states that "the separation of Church and State shall be inviolable." Hence, Section 5, Article III, states:

> Section 5. No law shall be made respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever be allowed. No religious test shall be required for the exercise of civil or political rights.[22]

Commissioners Rene Sarmiento, Armando Velasco, and Gregorio Larrazabal (members of the COMELEC who voted in favor of the granting of Ang Ladlad's petition) considered that the reliance of the resolution on biblical and Koranic provisions to sustain its finding of immorality particularly blurs the separation between the Church and State. The utilization of biblical and Koranic provisions in deciding whether or not the petition should be dismissed is a clear manifestation that Christian and Islamic tenets are given undue importance, thereby giving the impression that these two religions are preferred over other religions.[23]

The employment of the Bible and the Koran as a foundation for the establishment of what is moral serves as an unconstitutional religious test. The COMELEC should not rely only on the Bible as its exclusive basis to uphold its finding of immorality. Religious teachings as expressed in public debates may influence the civil public order, but public moral disputes may be resolved only on grounds articulable in secular terms. Otherwise, if government relies upon religious beliefs in formulating public policies and morals, the resulting policies and morals would require conformity to what some might regard as religious programs or agenda. The nonbelievers would therefore be compelled to conform to

a standard of conduct buttressed by a religious belief. Governmental reliance upon religious justification is inconsistent with the policy of neutrality.[24]

The commissioners emphasized that there should be no religious testing to be employed in the decision making. The employment of religious values and cultural faith orientation will produce inconsistency and overlapping decision. The COMELEC should affirm its independent decision-making power in judging cases such as Ang Ladlad's accreditation. The COMELEC should not be influenced by other political institutions like the Church, media, and any branches of government. Indeed, it will be unconstitutional to employ any political institution's articulated interests in the COMELEC's ruling regarding Ang Ladlad's accreditation. Despite this, the COMELEC disqualified Ang Ladlad on "moral" grounds.

Very disappointed in the COMELEC's ruling, Ang Ladlad's leaders and nominees petitioned to the Supreme Court that they be allowed to run in the elections. The Supreme Court evaluated Ang Ladlad's petition and decided in favor of the group three weeks before the May 2010 national elections.

THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION AND SOCIETAL PRESSURE TO ALLOW ANG LADLAD'S PARTICIPATION IN THE 2010 PARTY-LIST RACE

On 4 January 2010, Ang Ladlad presented its petition to the Supreme Court to terminate the resolutions against the running of the group and order the COMELEC to grant Ang Ladlad accreditation. Ang Ladlad argued that the denial of accreditation for the reason of religious dogma violated the constitutional provisions against the intrusion of religion in state matters and decisions. The petitioner raised its constitutional rights to privacy, equal protection of laws, and freedom of speech, including international laws and obligations against discrimination pertaining to sexual orientation. The Office of the Secretary General (OSG) sided with Ang Ladlad's petition and argued that the COMELEC has no basis for allegations of immorality against the LGBT movement. It also emphasized that the LGBTs have specific interests and concerns that should be acknowledged by the COMELEC in a separate classification.[25]

The Supreme Court ruling promulgated a decision to grant the petition of Ang Ladlad to participate as a party list representing the LGBT sector in the 2010 national elections. According to the Supreme Court decision, the COMELEC refused Ang Ladlad's application for registration on the basis that the LGBT sector is neither specified in the Constitution nor in RA 7941. The Supreme Court declared that there is no

misrepresentation in the application of Ang Ladlad. Ang Ladlad's prior petition shows that the party never asserted to exist in each province of the Philippines. Instead, the petitioner claimed that the LGBT community in the Philippines was estimated to represent at least 670,000 persons, and it had 16,100 affiliates and members.[26] Ang Ladlad is a national umbrella organization composed of thirty-four LGBT networks with linkages all over the Philippines.

On the issue of religion as the basis for refusal to accept Ang Ladlad's petition for registration, the Supreme Court cited Article III, Section 5, of the Constitution, which provides that "no law shall be made respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The non-establishment clause requires the government to implement neutrality in religious matters. The COMELEC's dependence on grounds of religious justification contradicts the fundamental essence of the state. Furthermore, the Supreme Court mentioned that while it considers the religious nature of Filipinos and the increasing influence of religion in society, the Constitution's clauses on religion apply a certain extent of benevolent neutrality.[27]

The Supreme Court also pointed out the Equal Protection Clause being violated by the COMELEC against Ang Ladlad. Article III, Section 1, of the Constitution provides that "no person shall be denied equal protection of laws." The equal protection clause assures that no person or class of persons shall be deprived of the similar protection under the law enjoyed by other persons or other classes in the same circumstances.

According to the Supreme Court, the COMELEC did not respond to the legitimate state-interest agenda of the party but nevertheless expressed its disapproval and dislike of the party. The Supreme Court stood on a decision based on the recognition that lesbians, gays, bisexuals, and transgenders have valid interests in participating in the party-list system as other political parties. The higher court concluded that the general application of law should also be applied with equal force to LGBTs and that they are worthy to participate in the party-list system on the same basis as other underrepresented and marginalized sectors.[28]

The approval by the Supreme Court of Ang Ladlad's accreditation marked the party's institutionalization. The Supreme Court has acknowledged Ang Ladlad to represent the LGBT community as a marginalized and underrepresented sector in society. This is also an acknowledgement of the ideals, goals, and motivations of the party. With this initial success, the next challenge was for Ang Ladlad, as an accredited party list, to win at least one seat in Congress. This would signify success in the LGBT's struggle for electoral legitimacy.

ANG LADLAD'S QUEST FOR LEGITIMACY

Legitimacy is another dimension of electoral success for Ang Ladlad to gain full ownership of various political and social rights in society. Legitimacy ensures universal compliance in the provision of these rights among the leaders and citizens of the state. As one of the features of a democratic society, Filipino citizens have political rights, including the right to vote. The result of the elections would determine not only Ang Ladlad's electoral success but also its legitimacy as a political party.

ANG LADLAD'S PLATFORM IN THE 2010 PARTY-LIST ELECTIONS

Ang Ladlad aspires to widen its political and social horizon by participating in the electoral process. Ang Ladlad formulated its platform along five major issues and concerns. According to the official website of Ang Ladlad, the five major platforms the party wanted to project through its presence in the 2010 party-list elections in the Philippines are the following:[29]

1. "To promote and uphold the Anti-Discrimination Bill that gives LGBT Filipinos equal rights and opportunities. This bill will criminalize discrimination on the basis of gender identity and sexual orientation;
2. "To support LGBT-related and LGBT-friendly businesses;
3. "To build up livelihood programs and micro-finance projects for physically challenged LGBT Filipinos;
4. "To set up centers for abandoned and old LGBTs. The centers will also recommend legal aid and counselling, as well as information about LGBT issues, reproductive health, and HIV-AIDS. The said centers are proposed to be established in various cities all over the Philippines;" and
5. "To support the bill contesting the Anti-Vagrancy law that creates motivation for some unscrupulous policemen to extort bribes from gay men."[30]

ANG LADLAD'S CAMPAIGN AND PARTY-LIST RESULTS IN THE 2010 ELECTIONS

The earlier disqualification of Ang Ladlad by the COMELEC posed major challenges. The COMELEC's decision effectively restrained the campaigning of Ang Ladlad. Given the delayed release of the Supreme Court decision, Ang Ladlad nominees, leaders, and members struggled in deploying its electoral campaign machinery toward gaining support. The party had only three weeks to showcase its platform and reform agenda to the Filipino voting public. The party also had little time to

generate funding support. Most of its funds came voluntarily from its members, private individuals, and a few politicians. While some members of the business sector also supported Ang Ladlad, the party's lack of financial resources came evident.

Based on the COMELEC's Official National Canvass Report No. 11, Ang Ladlad earned 114,120 votes from the total Filipino voting public of 30,100,615 during the 2010 national elections for party list. Ang Ladlad failed to reach the 150,000 public votes needed to secure at least one seat in Congress, specifically lacking 35,880 votes. Around 187 party-list candidates competed for the party-list race in 2010. Ang Ladlad LGBT Party ranked 68th.[31]

According to Bemz Benedito, most of the votes earned by Ang Ladlad came not only from the LGBT voters. A portion of the total votes also came from straight men and women who believe in the advocacy of the party. In short, the votes for Ang Ladlad were also realized through the support of people from different sectors and classes of society.[32] However, the party failed to earn a seat in Congress. Nonetheless, Ang Ladlad members considered the party's performance in the 2010 national elections a humble success and definitely a good starting point toward the potential entry of an LGBT party in Congress.

ANG LADLAD'S FAILURE IN THE 2010 ELECTIONS

Ang Ladlad's failure in the 2010 elections was caused by external and internal problems in the party. The party experienced the following problems: (1) the COMELEC decided to disqualify the petition of Ang Ladlad on grounds of morality, being a threat to the youth, and the institution's belief that the LGBT community is not really marginalized and underrepresented; (2) Ang Ladlad LGBT Party is perceived as being solely a gender-based organization catering only to Filipino LGBT-specific issues; and (3) the party failed to consolidate and solidify the mass-based and community-based support of the entire LGBT community.

First, the decision of the COMELEC to disqualify Ang Ladlad is the primary reason why the party lost the election. The disqualification case caused tremendous delay for the party to organize a nationwide campaign. Ang Ladlad suffered due to lack of time and resources during their 2010 election campaign. After the Supreme Court's promulgation of its decision to allow Ang Ladlad to run, the party had only three weeks to campaign. The party had to maximize the remaining three weeks in disseminating information and mobilizing support throughout the country. The short campaign period affected the performance of Ang Ladlad in the 2010 elections.[33]

Second, Ang Ladlad has limited experience in political mobilization and sociocultural engagement. An emerging movement, having been established only in 2003, Ang Ladlad still lacks adequate political machinery and credibility in convincing the Filipino voting public that it would really represent and pursue broader Filipino interests. Many of the voters think that Ang Ladlad would only work for specific LGBT interests and will disregard other political, economic, and social issues.

The perception that Ang Ladlad centers only on gender-specific issues may also be due to the party's failure to clearly formulate its reform agenda and effectively communicate to the Filipino voting public that its platform and advocacies are not only limited to LGBT concerns. The opposition of the COMELEC and the Catholic Church also gave weight to this presumption of gender bias of Ang Ladlad. It should be noted that the cultural orientation and ideology of most voters were already preconditioned by the value patterns imposed by these dominant institutions.

Finally, the major problem of Ang Ladlad was the party's failure to rally and mobilize its community-based voters. The party did not gain solid support from the Filipino LGBT community. They also failed to increase support from the grassroots level of voters both from the LGBT and the non-LGBT sectors. Majority of the supporters of the party came from the LGBT elites and middle class. The middle-class sector is comprised of professionals and educated individuals who have access to information and other forms of symbolic and cultural capital. Issues regarding class are also implicated in the outcome of Ang Ladlad's participation in the elections. Clearly, the party was not able to fully integrate its membership in order to form a concrete voting block.

CONCLUSION AND REFLECTION

The participation of Ang Ladlad in the 2010 party-list elections has generated significant intellectual discourse on the new social movement and gender politics. Being the first LGBT party to be listed on the ballots, Ang Ladlad's political engagement has deconstructed and modified gender politics in Philippine society.

The study examined the success of LGBT movement and party-list group in terms of legitimacy, which can be achieved upon acquisition of symbolic power and formal institutionalization in the electoral process. Ang Ladlad consolidated the variation of Filipino LGBT communicative experiences in one umbrella organization. The entry of Ang Ladlad into the political arena embodies the articulated experiences of the Filipino LGBTs' struggle against marginalization and discrimination.

The study was conducted to have a deeper understanding of LGBT struggle for political representation to promote LGBT aspirations, advocacies, and programs of action. Lessons must be drawn to avoid a repeat of the failure of Ang Ladlad in the 2010 national elections. Legitimate success of LGBT parties and movements will lead to an equal, democratic, and value-free society.

Ang Ladlad's struggle is part of the nation's continuing journey in eliminating barriers to democratic participation of the marginalized and underrepresented sectors of society. Hopefully, the LGBT community will stand united and proud as they march toward equality and freedom.

NOTES

1   Bemz Benedito, personal communication, 17 January 2011.

2   Danton Remoto, introduction to *Ang Ladlad 3: The Anthology of Philippine Gay Writing* (Pasig City: Anvil Publishing House, 2007), xiv.

3   OMELEC En Banc. SPP. NO. 09-228, 2nd Division 2009.

4   Ibid.

5   Remoto, introduction to *Ang Ladlad* 3, 1.

6   Bemz Benedito, personal communication, 17 January 2011.

7   Jeffrey Escoffier, *American Homo: Community and Perversity* (University of California Press, 1998).

8   David Halperin, *Saint Foucault towards a Gay Hagiography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

9   Klaus Eder, *The New Politics of Class* (Sage Publication, 1993), 161–62.

10   J. Neil C. Garcia, *Philippine Gay Culture: Binabae to Bakla, Silahis to MSM* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2008), 21–22.

11   Ibid., 415–27.

12   Bemz Benedito, personal communication, 17 January 2011.

13   Commission on Elections Resolution No. 09-228 (2009), In the Matter of the Petition for Registration of Ang Ladlad LGBT Party for the Party-List System of Representation in the House of Representatives.

14   Ibid.

15   Ibid.

16   Ibid.

17   Ibid.

18   Nicodemo Ferrer, personal communication, 20 December 2010.

19   Ibid.

20   Ibid.

21   Ibid.

22   COMELEC En Banc. SPP. NO. 09-228, 2nd Division 2009.

23   Ibid.

24   Ibid.

25   Remoto, Danton v. Commission on Elections, Supreme Court Decision G.R. No. 190582 (2010).

26   Ibid.

27   Ibid.

28   Ibid.

29   www.angladlad.org, accessed 20 January 2011.

30   Ibid.

31   Commission on Elections, 10 May 2010 National and Local Elections (National Canvass Report No. 11), COMELEC Election Record Service Division.

32   Bemz Benedito, personal communication, 17 January 2011.

33   Ibid.

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Filipino Fonoloji:
Ilang Pagbabago sa mga Tunog

Jay-Ar M. Igno

Ang Filipino bilang ating pambansang wika, ayon na rin sa itinakda ng Konstitusyon, ay itinuturing ng marami na pareho lamang sa Tagalog, at kung susuriin ang istruktura ng mga wikang ito ay hindi naman maipagkakailang naging basehan ng Filipino ang Tagalog. Sa pag-aaral na ito, itinuturing ng mananaliksik na Filipino ang ginagamit ng mga tagapagsalita na pinagkuhanan ng datos, at ito ay iba sa kilala ng iba na Tagalog. Ang pag-aaral na ito ay primaryang nagsuri sa wika ng brodkast-midya bilang basehan ng kalagayan ng wikang Filipino sa kasalukuyan, gayundin sa mga tagapagsalita ng Filipino na nakakasalamuha at naninirahan sa kalakhang Maynila.

Ilan sa pinagbasehang datos ay ang konstruksyon ng mga salitang hiram sa mga wikang banyaga na dumaan na sa proseso ng asimilasyon, gayundin ang pagsusuri sa mga konsonant-klaster. Ipapakita rin ang mga pagbabago sa pagbigkas ng /i/ na nagiging [ɪ] o [ɛ] sa pinal na silabol, reduksyon ng /ʔaj/ patungong [ɛ], at iba pang mga kapuna-punang pagbabago sa mga tunog.

Keywords: Filipino, phonology, fonoloji, Tagalog, tunog

PANIMULA

Ang Filipino ay isang wika sa Pilipinas na kabilang sa pamilya ng mga wikang Austronesian na ayon sa datos ng *Ethnologue* noong 2007 ay tinatayang mayroong humigit-kumulang sa 25 milyong tagapagsalita bilang kanilang unang wika (Lewis, Simons, at Fennig 2013) mula sa tinatayang 88.5 milyong populasyon ng bansa noong taon na iyon (National Statistics Office 2007). Sa kasalukuyang panahon na ang populasyon ng Pilipinas ay halos umabot na sa 100 milyon (National Statistics Office 2010), maaaring ang bilang ng mga tagapagsalita ng Filipino bilang Language 1 (L1) ay patuloy na dumarami, at kung idaragdag pa ang mga gumagamit nito bilang kanilang pangalawang wika (L2), masasabing laganap ito sa buong bansa. Isa sa mga pangunahing dahilan sa patuloy na paglaganap ng Filipino ay ang pagiging isa nito sa dalawang opisyal na wika ng Pilipinas, kasama ang Ingles, at ang pagtuturo nito sa primarya at sekundaryang paaralan. Ayon din sa *Ethnologue* (2013), batay ito sa Tagalog na mayroong mga salita at katangiang galing sa iba pang rehiyunal na mga wika.

Wikang Filipino rin ang pambansang wika ayon sa nakasaad sa Artikulo XIV, Seksyon 6, ng Saligang Batas 1987 at pormal itong kinilala ng sambayanan. Nagiging wikang katutubo ng mga ipinanganak sa sitwasyong mas gamit o ginagamit ang tinatawag na pambansang linggwa-frangka sa lahat ng larangan ng wika (Paz 1995). Sinasabing wikang pantulong sa komunikasyon ng mga taong may sari-sariling mga wikang katutubo ang pagkakaroon ng linggwa-frangka. Sinususugan sa papel na ito ang sinabi ni Paz na hindi imbensyon ng ilang mga linggwist ang wikang Filipino at hindi rin mga linggwist ang pinanggagalingan ng wika. Pinaniniwalaan na ang wika ay nagmumula sa mga tao at tao din ang nagbibigay-buhay dito ayon sa kanilang pangangailangan at sa kanilang gamit. Ang mga pahayag ni Paz ay susog din sa mga nauna nang pahayag ni Constantino sa paggamit ng mga wikang sinasalita sa buong bansa at natural na nabubuo sa interaksyon ng mga Filipinong magkaiba ang wikang katutubo (Constantino, Sikat, at Cruz 1974). Binansagan nila itong Filipino dahil nagmumula sa karaniwang mamamayan, bukas sa ambag ng mga wika sa Pilipinas at iba pang wika, at binubuo ng mga elementong komon sa karamihan sa mga wika sa Pilipinas (WP) o unibersal na nukleyus (UN) na tawag sa mga magkakaparehong elemento ng lahat ng mga WP, saklaw ang mga pangunahing bahagi ng gramar: fonoloji, morfoloji, at sintaks. Ayon kay Paz at batay sa maraming halimbawang kanyang ibinigay sa kanyang mga sanaysay, magkakapatid ang mga WP kung kaya napakadaling matutunan ang Filipino at napakadali

ring pasukan ng impluwensya mula sa mga katutubong wika. Ayon din sa *Language Universals* (Greenberg 1966), maraming mga bagay o elemento ang pare-pareho sa mga wika sa mundo, at hindi rito iba ang mga WP, partikular na ang Filipino. Kaya't sa bahaging ito, kinikilala rin ang Filipino bilang isang wikang buhay at bukas sa mga pagbabagong dulot ng pangangailangan sa pakikipagtalastasan, impluwensya ng kontak sa wika tulad ng panghihiram at indijinisasyon, pag-unlad sa agham at teknolohiya, at marami pang iba.

Sa puntong ito, ibabahagi ang ilan sa mga pagsusuri sa mga katangian ng kasalukuyang Filipinong ginagamit sa brodkast-midya. Sa pamamagitan ng mga datos, maaaring ikumpara at maihiwalay ang Filipino sa Tagalog na sinasalita ng mga taga-Katagalugan. Hangarin din ng pag-aaral na ito na mabigyang-linaw ang mga pagkakatulad at pagkakaiba ng katangian ng Filipino sa Tagalog na isa sa mga kontrobersyal na isyu pagdating sa usapin ng pambansang wika. Maliban dito, kabilang din sa mga dahilan ng pagkakaroon ng pag-aaral na ito ay ang mga kababayan nating patuloy na naguguluhan kung ano ba talaga ang tawag sa ating pambansang wika. Sumunod dito ang madalas na pagtatanong ng ilang mga kakilala ng mananaliksik ukol sa isyung ito. Higit sa lahat, upang magkaroon ng balidasyon ang mga haka-hakang nabubuo dahil sa pagiging partisipant-observer ng mananaliksik sa araw-araw na pakikisalamuha at pagiging ekspows sa dalawang wikang ito.

Isinagawa ang pag-aaral na ito sa pamamagitan ng pangongolekta ng mga pangalawang datos mula sa mga nauna nang pag-aaral, pagrerekord at pag-aanalisa ng Filipinong gamit ng brodkast-midya sa pamamagitan ng pagtingin sa balangkas ng mga salitang may mga klaster, asimilasyon ng mga salitang-hiram, istruktura ng silabol, at iba pang mga kapansin-pansin na pagbabago sa sistema ng mga tunog. Ang mga balitang kinuha ay mula sa mga reporter na sina Connie Sison-Escudero, Mel Tiangco, Pia Guanio, at Nelson Canlas, na lumalabas sa mga programa ng GMA 7 na *24 Oras*, *News on Q*, *Balitanghali*, at *Pinoy MD*, at sina Cecille Lardizabal, Jay Ruiz, Israel Malasa, Tina Ganzon, at Jeff Canoy ng *TV Patrol* sa ABS-CBN. Gayundin, isinangguni rin sa mga araw-araw na nakakasalamuha ng mananaliksik ang mga datos.

MGA DATOS AT ANALISIS

Hinati ang presentasyon ng mga datos sa mga sumusunod na bahagi: (1) ang pagbibigay ng mga minimal na pares sa Filipino upang maestablisa ang mga distingktiv na tunog, (2) ang pagbibigay ng mga klaster na nakuha mula sa transkrip ng mga balitang dinawnlowd,

(3) ang mga salitang hiram na ginamitan na ng mga afiks sa Filipino kasama ang asimilasyon ng mga tunog, (4) ang mga pagbabago sa pagbigkas ng /i/ na nagiging [ɪ] o [ɛ] sa pinal na silabol, (5) ang reduksyon ng /ʔaj/ patungong [ɛ], at (6) iba pang mga kapuna-punang pagbabago sa mga tunog ng Filipino.

Mga minimal na pares

Kumuha ng halimbawa ng mga minimal na pares upang patunayan na ang mga tunog sa ibaba ay distingktiv na mga fonim at makapagpapakita ng kontrastiv na distribusyon ng mga tunog. Ang mga halimbawa sa ibaba ay nilikom na mga salita mula sa mga isinulat nina Schachter at Otanes (1972), Santiago at Tiangco (2003), at Cubar at Cubar (1994).

Mga vawel

/a/ at /i/

/ba.ta/'child'	/mu.lá/'from'	/si.la/'they'
/ba.ti/'greet'	/mu.lí/'again'	/sa.la/'wrong'

/a/ at /o/

/ka.ni.na/'a while ago'	/ʔi.jan/'this one'	/pa.sá/'bugbog mark'
/ka.ni.no/'whom (QM)'	/ʔi.jon/'that one'	/pa.só/'clay pot'

/a/ at /u/

/ka.laŋ/'support'	/ta.láʔ/'note'	/ba.lak/'plan'
/ku.laŋ/'lack'	/tu.láʔ/'poem'	/bu.lak/'cotton'

/i/ at /o/

/li.bo/'thousand'	/pi.so/'peso'	/ka.si/'pagsang-ayon'
/lo.bo/'balloon'	/po.so/'water source'	/ka.so/'case'

/i/ at /u/

/ʔ.isá/'one'	/ki.lay/'eyebrow'	/bi.ko/'ricecake'
/ʔu.sá/'deer'	/ku.lay/'color'	/bu.ko/'coconut'

/i/ at /e/*

/bu.ti/'goodness'	/di.lis/'a kind of fish'
/bo.te/'bottle'	/ri.les/'railway'

/u/ at /o/*

/pu.lóʔ/'island'	/bu.tó/'seed'	/bu.láʔ/'bubbles'
/po.lo/'polo'	/bo.to/'vote'	/bo.la/'ball'

*mga near minimal na pares lamang ang mayroon

Mga konsonant

/p/ at /b/

/pa.la/'spade'	/ʔam.pon/'adopt'	/ta.lu.kap/'eyelid'
/ba.la/'bullet'	/ʔam.bon/'drizzle'	/ta.lu.kab/'crab's shell'

/t/ at /d/

/tu.laʔ/'poem'	/pan.tay/'even'	/bu.kót/'short-necked'
/du.laʔ/'play'	/pan.day/'blacksmith'	/bu.kód/'separate'

/k/ at /g/

/ku.lay/'color'	/la.kás/'strength'	/ta.ták/'mark'
/gu.lay/'vegetable'	/la.gás/'fallen'	/ta.tág/'stability'

/m/ at /n/

/maŋ/'Mang' (a respectful term of address used
        before the first name of a man)
/naŋ/'when'
/sa.ma/'accompany'
/sa.na/'expression of wish, desire, hope'

/n/ at /ŋ/

/sa.nay/'experienced'	/ʔi.lán/'how many'
/sa.ŋay/'branch'	/ʔi.láŋ/'desolate place'

/na.wáʔ/'may it be so'
/ŋa.wáʔ/'loud empty talking'

/s/ at /h/

/si.pag/'diligence'	/ba.ság/'broken'	/sa.las/'living room'
/hi.pag/'sister-in-law'	/ba.hág/'G-string'	/sa.la/'fault, guilt'

/l/ at /r/

/lo.lo/'grandfather'	/li.tó/'confused'	/ʔa.sál/ 'said'
/lo.ro/'type of bird'	/ri.to/'here'	/ʔa.sár/'teased'

Mga klaster

Ang mga klaster na tinatawag ay ang pagkakasunod ng mga konsonant sa inisyal at maging sa faynal na posisyon ng silabol (Cubar at Cubar 1994).

Ang mga sumusunod ang resulta ng isinagawang pagtatranskrayb ng mga balita:

Transkripsiyon sa Filipino	Kahulugan sa Ingles	Transkripsiyon sa Wikang Pinaghiraman
/pr/		
/pre.si.dent/	'president'	/'pre.zi.dənt/
/prɔ.dʒek/	'project'	/prɒ.dʒɛkt/
/prɔ.si.kju.tɔr/	'prosecutor'	/prɔ.sɪkju ː.tər/
/prawd/	'proud'	/praʊd/

/tr/
  /trɛ.sɛ/   'thirteen'   /trɛ.sɛ/
  /trɪ.pɔl/   'triple'   /trɪ.pəl/
  /dis.trik/   'district'   /dis.trikt/
  /strank/   'Strunk'   /strʌnk/
  /ʔak.tres/   'actress'   /ʔʌk.trɛs/
  /trej.nɔr/   'trainor'   /treɪ.nɔr/
  /mag.trej.nɪŋ/   'to undergo a training'   mag-/treɪ.nɪŋ/
  /ʔalastres/   'three-o-clock'   /ʔalastres/
  /tradisyunal/   'traditional'   /trə'dɪʃənəl/

/dr/
  /drag/   'drug'   /drʌg/
  /han.dred/   'hundred'   /hʌn.dred/
  /dres/   'dress'   /dres/

/kr/
  /kri.mi.nal/   'criminal'   /kri.mi.nʌl/

/gr/
  /gru.pɔ/   'group'   /gru.pɔ/

/bw/
  /bwɛ.na.ven.tuː.ra/ 'Buenaventura'   /bwɛ.na.ven.tuː.ra/
  /bwɛl.ta/   'turn back'   /bwɛl.ta/
  /bwɛ.lɔ/   'gain momentum/   /bwɛ.lɔ/
                        to prepare'

/tw/
  /twɛlfθ/   'twelfth'   /twɛlfθ/
  /twɛlv/   'twelve'   /twɛlv/
  /twɛn.tɪ/   'twenty'   /twɛ.n(t)i/
  /twɪ.ter/   'twitter'   /twɪt.ər/

/kw/
  /skwa.tɛrs/   'squatters'   /skwɔt(ɛ)rs/
  /ʔak.wa.tɪk/   'aquatic'   /ʔak.wɔ.tɪk/
  /kwi.ni.kwes.tjɔn/   'being questioned'   /kwi.ni.kwes.tjɔn/
  /bɛn.tɛ.kwa.trɔ/   'twenty four'   /vɛn.tɛ.kwʌ.trɔ/
  /kwar.tɔ/   'room'   /kwʌr.tɔ/

/pw/
  /pwes.to/   'position'   /pwes.to/

/mw/
  /mweb.les/   'materials for'   /mwɛb.lɛs/
                        construction
/nw/
  /ʔa.las.nwe.be/   'nine-o-clock'   /ʔa.las.nwe.ve/

/sw/

/swi.ner.te/	'to become lucky'	/swi.ner.te/

/pl/

/ʔeks.plo.ʃɔn/	'explosion'	/ʔeg.splo.ʃɔn/
/rɪ.plej/	'replay'	/riː.pleɪ/
/kum.ple.tɔ/	'complete'	/kum.ple.tɔ/
/ʔem.ple.ja.dɔ/	'employee'	/ʔem.ple.ja.dɔ/

/st/

/stɛɪt/	'state'	/stɛɪt/
/sta.tus/	'status'	/stɛɪ.tʊs/
/pag.stap/	'act of stopping'	pag/stɒp/

/sk/

/ske.dʒuːl/	'schedule'	/ske.djuːl/

/nj/

/njʊs/	'news'	/nyʊs/
/nja/	'of him/her'	/nja/
/ba.njɔ/	'restroom'	/va.njɔ/

Sa mga datos na ito, lumalabas sa wikang ginamit ng reporter na ang mga istruktura ng klaster na tunog ay bahagi na ng wikang Filipino. Ito ay sapagkat ang pagkakabigkas din naman sa mga ito ay hindi rin ayon sa wikang hiniraman nito; sa halip lumalabas na ang mga tunog na ito ay naindijinays na sa ating wika at sa sinasabing mga tunog sa Filipino.

Asimilasyon ng mga hiram na salita

Para naman sa mga istruktura ng mga hiram na salitang may klaster at walang klaster na nilagyan na ng mga afiks, narito ang ilan sa mga datos:

mag-*treyning*, mag-*pitch*, s-in-*eselebreyt*, pag-*stap*, at na-*stranded*

kung saan binigkas ang mga salitang ito hindi sa pamamagitan ng orihinal na pagbigkas partikular na sa wikang Ingles; sa halip naasimileyt ang mga tunog sa Filipino.

Gayundin sa:

mag-*shake-hands*, mag-*sori,* maka-pag-*parekognays*, mag-*redi*, d-in-*edikeyt*, in-e-*interbyu*, na-impres, in-evakyuweyt, na-*rekober*, at nag-*eryal*

kung saan ang mga salitang hiram ay mga binigkas din ayon sa tunog ng Filipino.

Napansin natin na dahil sa paglalagay ng mga afiks, lalong naging malinaw na hindi na nabigkas sa orihinal na tunog ang mga salitang hiniram; sa halip ito ay binigkas na ayon sa ating fonotaktiks.

Ang /i/ na nagiging [ɪ] o [ɛ] sa pinal na silabol

Ang fonim na /i/ ay nagkakaroon ng mga alofown na [ɪ] at [ɛ] sa Filipino. Subalit sa mga datos na nakolekta, lumalabas na [ɪ] ang mas madalas na alofown ng /i/ higit sa [ɛ].

Ipapakita sa mga sumusunod na mga rul ang mga kondisyon kung kailan nagiging [ɪ] at [ɛ] ang /i/ sa Filipino:

- /i/ → $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ɪ} \\ \text{ɛ} \end{bmatrix}$ / [+stap] ____(ʔ) #

  Hal. *gabi̱, sabi̱, lagi̱, hindi̱, malandi̱, sapi̱, tupi̱, laki̱, lalaki̱, munti̱, binti̱, hati̱, bati̱, ʔbahagi̱, ʔpundi̱*

- /i/ → $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ɪ} \\ \text{ɛ} \end{bmatrix}$ / $\begin{bmatrix} \text{-v} \\ \text{+frikativ} \end{bmatrix}$ ____ (ʔ) #

  Hal. *kasi̱, susi̱, pisi̱, sisi̱, ʔngisi̱, ʔbusisi̱*

- /i/ → $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ɪ} \\ \text{ɛ} \end{bmatrix}$ / [+aproksimant] ____(ʔ) #

  Hal. *lahi̱, iihi̱, ipatuli̱, ipagbili̱, madali̱, gawi̱, uwi̱, suhi̱, ʔsawi̱, ʔbuhawi̱*

Bagama't may mga kondisyon na nagpapakita ng pagkakaroon ng alofown ng /i/ na [ɪ], maaari pa ring magkaroon ng alofown na [ɛ] nang walang mangyayaring pagbabago sa kahulugan. Samakatwid, maaaring sabihin na ang mga alofown na ito ay mayroong fri-varyeyshon lamang subalit sa mga salitang nilagyan ng ʔ bago ang unang segment, ang pagbabagong ito ay maaaring kwestyonable pa.

Narito pa ang ilang kondisyon kung saan ang /i/ ay nagiging [ɪ] sa pinal na silabol kung saan ito ay nasa pagitan naman ng dalawang magkaibang konsonant.

- /i/ → $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ɪ} \\ \text{ɛ} \end{bmatrix}$ / $\begin{bmatrix} \text{+v} \\ \text{+aproksimant} \end{bmatrix}$ ____ [+ stap] o + $\begin{bmatrix} \text{-v} \\ \text{frikativ} \end{bmatrix}$

a. Bago ang stap
   Hal. *gili̲d, gali̲t, puwi̲t, tawi̲d, sahi̲g, pahi̲d, ?nakipagtali̲k, ?kuwi̲t, ?pawi̲d*

b. Bago ang voysles na frikativ
   Hal. *ali̲s, mabili̲s, matuli̲s, ?pawi̲s, ?buwi̲s*

- $$/i/ \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{ɪ} \\ \text{ɛ} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} -\text{v} \\ +\text{aproksimant} \end{bmatrix} \_\_\_\_ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{v} \\ +\text{aproksimant} \end{bmatrix}$$

Ang rul sa itaas ay nagsasabing ang /i/ ay nagiging [ɪ] sa kondisyon na ito ay makikita sa pagitan ng isang voysles na aproksimant at isang voys na aproksimant o isang voys na stap, subalit kwestyonable ang pagbabago ng pagbigkas nito kung ito ay magiging [ɛ]

Hal. *?dahi̲l, ?marahi̲l*

Gayundin, hindi kinakitaan na posibleng maging voysles na aproksimant ang nasa huling segment; hal. [h] ay hindi nakikita sa huli ng salita.

- $$/i/ \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{ɪ} \\ \text{ɛ} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} -\text{v} \\ +\text{frikativ} \end{bmatrix} \_\_\_\_ [+\text{neysal}]$$

Ang /i/ ay nagiging [ɪ] sa kondisyon na ito ay nasa pagitan ng isang voysles na frikativ at isang neysal. Karamihan naman ng halimbawang nakita ay kwestyonable kung bibigkasin bilang [ɛ].

Hal. *lasing, ?pansi̲n, ?asim, ?asin, ?kasing*

- $$/i/ \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{ɪ} \\ \text{ɛ} \end{bmatrix} / \ +\text{stap} \_\_\_\_ [+\text{stap}] \ o \begin{bmatrix} -\text{v} \\ +\text{frikativ} \end{bmatrix}$$

Ang /i/ ay nagiging [ɪ] sa kondisyon na ito ay nasa pagitan ng mga tunog na stap o sa pagitan ng anumang stap at isang voysles na frikativ. Lumalabas na sa opsyon na nagiging [ɛ] ay hindi pa ito ganoong naririnig o kung mayroon man, maaaring ito ay idyolek lamang.

a. Bago ang stap
   Hal. *banggi̲t, pahati̲d, pati̲d, tubi̲g, puti̲k, saki̲t, siki̲p, malapi̲t, saki̲t, ?mahigi̲t, ?buki̲d*

b. Bago ang voysles frikativ
   Hal. *ʔipiẕ, ʔrabiẕ, ʔlabiẕ, ʔmalitiẕ, ʔkamatiẕ*

Ang reduksyon ng [ʔaj] patungong [ɛ]

Karaniwang naoobserbahan sa Filipino ang pagbabago ng tunog na [ʔaj] na nagiging [ɛ] nang walang pagbabago sa kahulugan ng salita. Ang ganoong reduksyon mula sa pagiging diftong patungong monoftong ay nakikitang nagaganap sa unang silabol ng mga salitang mayroong tunog na [ʔʌj]. Sa roman na alpabeto, ang reduksyon ay mapapapansing nagaganap sa mga silabol na mayroong -ay- o -ai-.

Hal.
a. kailangan   ↔   [kɛ.la.ŋan]
b. kailan   ↔   [kɛ.lan]
c. baywang   ↔   [bɛ.waŋ]
d. mayroon   ↔   [mɛ.ɾɔn]

Walang nakikitang posibilidad na makita ang sinasabing reduksyon sa gitna at pinal na silabol tulad sa sumusunod na mga halimbawa:
a. away   [ʔa.waɹ]
b. saway   [sa.waɹ]
c. kawayan   [ka.wa.ɹan]
d. tinapay   [tɪ.na.paɹ]
e. sangay   [sa.ŋaɹ]
f. lakbay   [lak.baɹ]

Ang /r/ at /d/

Una, kung titingnan pa ang ibang mga salita na nakalap, lumalabas na bagama't hindi gaano sa mga reporter, marami na rin ngayon ang napapakinggan na gumagamit o bumibigkas ng /r/ na "*tap*" bilang "*rolled*" na pawang halos maririnig sa mga kabataan ngayon tulad sa:

para, maglaro, magsori, oras, turuan, at umarte

Gayundin sa alternasyon ng /r/ at /d/ ng /daw/ at /raw/, ng /din/ at /rin/, /dito/ at /rito/ay malinaw na /daw/, /din/ at /dito/ ang gagamitin kapag sumusunod sa konsonant at /raw/, /rin/, at /rito/ naman kapag sumusunod sa vawel tulad sa mga sumusunod na halimbawa:
di rin vs. hindi din
wala rin daw vs. wala din daw
mula rito vs. mula dito
di raw vs. di daw
nakaabang rin vs. nakaabang din, atmbp...

Kapuna-puna rin ang ilang salitang dating sinasabing /d/ sa salitang ugat, kapag nasa pagitan na ng dalawang mga vawel ay bibigkasin bilang /r/ tulad ng:

Dagat => karagatan vs. kadagatan
Daong => daraong vs. dadaong

Sa salitang dagat, ito ay binibigkas na karagatan sa halip na kadagatan subalit ang daong ay binibigkas naman na dadaong sa halip na daraong. Marahil ay marami pang katulad nito subalit hindi natagpuan sa mga balitang nakalap.

KONGKLUSYON AT REKOMENDASYON

Ayon sa mga datos na ibinigay, makikita sa bahagi ng presentasyon ng mga datos ang paggamit na ng mga tunog na /f, v, tʃ, dʒ, ʃ, z/; mula sa mga hiram na salita ang mga ito pero masasabi na nating mga fonim na ito ng Filipino sapagkat dumaan na sa proseso ng asimilasyon at regularisasyon. Sa halip na adaptasyon ang maging resulta ng panghihiram ng Filipino mula sa Ingles at iba pang banyagang wika, ito ay nagresulta na ng retensyon dahil sa regular na paggamit ng mga ito. Dahil dito, masasabing sa kabuuan ay may dalawampu't pitong fonim na ang Filipino kung saan ito ay binubuo ng limang vawel /a, e, i, o, u/ at ng labing-anim na konsonant /p, b, t, d, k, g, ʔ, s, h, m, n, ŋ, l, r, w, j/ na nabibilang sa grupo ng mga orihinal na fonim o sabihin na rin nating mga fonim sa Tagalog, at ang anim na konsonant na /f, v, tʃ, dʒ, ʃ, z/ ay nabibilang sa grupo ng mga bagong pasok na fonim o sabihin na nating fonim ng makabagong Filipino. Hindi na ito hiram; sa halip maaari na nating sabihing sariling atin.

Gayundin, sa kaso ng mga klaster, maaaring sabihin na malaya na nating nabibigkas o bahagi na rin ng ating ponotaktiks ang pagkakaroon ng klaster. Na kung ating papansinin sa ating mga ninuno, lolo o lola, partikular na sa mga Tagalog neytiv ispiker (higit sa labas ng Metro Manila) na hirap sa pagbigkas ng mga klaster, sa halip ay nagreresulta sa pagdadagdag ng vawel sa pagitan ng mga dapat ay bigkasin na dalawa o tatlong konsonant na magkakasunod. Sa kasalukuyan, partikular na sa bagong henerasyon, kung saan ekspows tayo sa maraming midya, sa maraming wika, at maraming pagbabago sa ating lipunan, natural lamang sabihin na nagbago na rin ang ating kakayahan sa pagbigkas ng mga salitang mayroong mga klaster. Partikular na dahil sa ekspows tayo sa iba't ibang programa sa telebisyon, marami tayong maaaring matutunan na malayo sa dati nating nakagawian, at hindi natin maikakaila na isa ang wika dito.

At sa patuloy naman nating panghihiram ng mga salitang banyaga, tulad ng karamihan sa salitang impluwensya sa atin ng mga Tsino, Espanyol, at Amerikano, darating ang panahon na mahirap na nating ihiwalay ang hiram at hindi. Maaari ding hindi na natin talaga malaman, liban na lamang kung atin talagang sasaliksikin ang mga salitang nagmula sa mga banyagang wika. Ang mga dating panghihiram lamang ay atin nang naasimileyt at dagdag pa dito ay ginagamitan na rin natin ng mga paglalapi ayon sa tuntunin ng ating gramatika. At matapos ang asimilasyon sa ating mga tunog at gramatika, ito ay nagiging regular na at bahagi na mismo ng ating sistema at pang-araw-araw na buhay.

Bagama't mayroong mga pagbabago sa mga fonim na /i/ na nagiging [ɪ] o [ɛ] at [ʔaj] na nagiging [ɛ], hindi naapektuhan ang kahulugan ng mga salita kung kaya masasabing ang mga pagbabagong ito ay ilan lamang sa kaso ng mga natural na pagbabagong pangwika, pagpili ng mga tagapagsalita ng mas madaling bigkasin para sa kanila at sa gayon ang paghahalinhinan ng mga tunog na ito ay masasabing mayroong fri-varyeyshon. Maaaring ang hindi pa ganoong katanggap-tanggap na pronunsasyon ng mga nag-lower na vawel sa [ɛ] ay wala pa sa kabuuang proseso ng pagbabago ng wika o pagkakaroon ng mga varyeyshon.

Para naman sa mga susunod pang pag-aaral, maaaring balikan ang mga pagkukulang ng pananaliksik na ito partikular na sa kaunting datos para sa ibang halimbawa. Gayundin ang pagtingin nang mas malalim sa ilan pang aspeto tulad nga ng alternasyon ng /r/ at /l/ at ang patuloy na pagbabago ng ilang mga tunog tulad ng tap o trill na /r/ na nagiging rolled para sa iba, at iba pang kahalintulad na kaso. Maaari ding palawakin pa ang sakop ng basehan ng datos, na sa halip na sa mga balita lamang ay tingnan din ang iba pang uri ng brodkast-midya tulad ng mga variety shows, sitcom, talkshows, at iba pang madalas panoorin ng mga Filipino sapagkat pinaniniwalaan na isa ito sa pinakaimpluwensyal na paraan ng pagpapalaganap ng wika at mga katangian nito.

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Sa Ibang Mundo, Sikat Ako: Isang Pag-aaral sa mga Biglang-Sikat na Social Media Celebrities sa Pilipinas

Jerome P. Lucas

Nais siyasatin ng papel na ito ang pamamaraan ng paggamit ng social media ng mga instant Internet sensation dito sa Pilipinas. Hangarin ng papel na mailarawan ang interaksiyon ng social media celebrities at kanilang fans o mga tagahanga sa pamamagitan ng social media at personal na komunikasyon. Layon din ng pag-aaral na (1) alamin ang pagkakakilanlan ng social media celebrities, (2) ilarawan ang kanilang paggamit sa social media—kung kailan at anong social network sites sila nagsimula, (3) suriin ang mga nilalaman ng kanilang social media accounts, (4) suriin ang diskurso sa pagitan ng social media celebrities at ng kani-kanilang fans sa mundo ng cyberspace, at (5) sipatin ang pagtatagpo ng social media celebrities at ng fans sa totoong mundo.

Mga Susing Salita: social media, celebrity, sikat, Internet world, komunikasyon, kultura, sosyolohiya

INTRODUKSYON

Kung hindi nagpapahuli ang Pilipinas sa bilang ng populasyon, lalo't higit sa bilang ng gumagamit ng social media. Sa katunayan, ayon sa Trendstream, isang consultancy firm na nakabase sa London, nananatiling pinakaaktibo ang mga Filipino pagdating sa paggamit ng social media at iba pang online activities. Ayon sa pag-aaral, 75 porsiyento ng kabuuang bilang ng social media users sa Pilipinas ay aktibo sa paggamit ng social media services. Ito ay mas mataas sa global average na 52 porsiyento (Technogra 2011). Sa katunayan, kinilala at kinikilala pa rin ang Pilipinas ngayon bilang Social Networking Capital of the World. Ayon sa kaugnay na pag-aaral ng 24/7 Wall Street noong 2011, ang Pilipinas ang may pinakamaraming Facebook users sa buong mundo; tinatayang 93.9 porsiyento ng buong populasyon ng bansa ang nakikinabang sa social media na ito (Russell 2011). Ito ay sinundan ng Israel (91 porsiyento), Turkey (90.9 porsiyento), Chile (90.2 porsiyento), Argentina (89.2 porsiyento), Malaysia (88.4 porsiyento), Indonesia (87.5 porsiyento), Peru (87.2 porsiyento), Columbia (86.9 porsiyento), at Venezuela (86.2 porsiyento).

Naging kapansin pansin ang pagkakaroon ng maraming social media users nang sumikat ang social network site na Friendster sa bansa noong 2003 hanggang 2007 (Global Voices Online 2011). Matapos mabansagang Friendster Nation ang Pilipinas, naging popular din sa mga Filipino ang Facebook at Twitter. Ito ang mga paboritong social media na naging bahagi na ng kultura at lipunang Filipino. Ito ay dahil na rin mababakas sa paggamit nito ang likas na pakikipagkapwa-tao ng mga Filipino.

Ang social media sa Pilipinas ay hindi lamang nagsisilbing tulay sa komunikasyon para sa milyon-milyong mamamayan. Ito ay bahagi na rin ng kulturang popular kung saan pinagpipistahan ang sari-saring kaganapan sa lipunan mapapulitika, mapa-showbiz, at maging ang personal na buhay ng ating mga kababayan.

Hindi gaya ng paghahangad na maging artista o sumikat sa mainstream media tulad ng telebisyon at pelikula, lahat ay may karapatang gumawa ng eksena sa Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, at iba pa. Ang isang ordinaryong indibidwal ay maaaring mapag-usapan sa isang bansa at sa buong mundo sa loob lamang ng ilang minuto.

Dahil itinuturing na ring isang karapatang pantao ang access sa Internet ayon sa United Nations (Jackson 2011) at dahil sa murang halaga ay maaari nang makagamit ng Internet ang isang Filipino, ang pagiging sikat ay hindi lamang nakabatay sa yaman, kapangyarihan at itsura. Tatalakayin sa pag-aaral na ito ang iba't ibang batayan at

karanasan ng pagsikat ng ilang indibidwal, gamit ang social media, sa modernong panahon.

Ang social media ay tumutukoy sa uri ng electronic communication (websites para sa social networking at microblogging) kung saan ang mga gumagamit nito ay bumubuo ng online communities upang magbahagi ng impormasyon, ideya, personal na mensahe, at iba pang nilalaman gaya ng mga larawan at video (Merriam Webster, n.d.). May iba't ibang uri ng social media ayon sa gamit nito.

Sa mga ito, pinakaginagamit ang blogs (Blogspot, Wordpress, Tumblr), social network sites (Facebook), microblogging (Twitter), at video sharing (YouTube). Dito rin umusbong ang social media celebrities dahil sa lawak ng atensiyon na kanilang nakukuha rito, idagdag pa ang tulong na patuloy na pagkilala ng mainstream media sa social media hindi lamang bilang kaagapay nila sa pagkalat ng impormasyon kundi bilang kanilang paksa na rin sa tuwing may isyung nagsimula sa social media.

Layunin at metodo ng pag-aaral

Hangarin ng pag-aaral na ito na ilarawan ang interaksiyon ng social media celebrities at kanilang fans o mga tagahanga sa pamamagitan ng social media at personal na komunikasyon. Sa partikular, layon ng mananaliksik na

1. Alamin ang pagkakakilanlan ng social media celebrities,
2. Ilarawan ang kanilang paggamit sa social media—sa kung kailan at anong social network site sila nagsimula,
3. Tukuyin at suriin ang mga nilalaman at paksa ng mga social media accounts ng social media celebrities,
4. Suriin ang palitan ng komunikasyon sa pagitan ng social media celebrities at ng kani-kanilang fans sa mundo ng cyberspace, at
5. Sipatin ang pagtatagpo ng social media celebrities at ng fans sa totoong mundo.

Piniling pag-aralan ang mga social media celebrity na Filipino at may dalawang libo o higit pang fans sa alinmang social media. Upang maisakatuparan ang mga layunin ng pag-aaral, kinapanayam ng mananaliksik ang mga napiling instant celebrities sa social networking sites. Tiningnan ang kanilang accounts at sistematikong sinuri ang nilalaman ng mga ito, maging ang nilalaman at paraan ng kanilang komunikasyon sa kanilang mga tagahanga o tagasubaybay sa social media. Gayundin, inalam ng pag-aaral ang uri ng komunikasyon o ugnayan ng dalawang panig sa totoong mundo.

Banghay at daloy ng pag-aaral

Dalawang teorya ang ginamit sa pag-aaral na ito: ang social information processing theory (SIP) ni Joseph Walther at ang symbolic interactionism (SI) ni George Herbert Mead. Inilalarawan ng SIP ang relasyong binubuo ng mga tao kapag sila ay nag-uugnay sa pamamagitan ng computer mediated communication (CMC). Ayon sa teoryang ito, ang face-to-face communication at ang online communication ay maaaring humantong sa parehong magandang kalidad ng relasyon. Gayunman, kailangan ng mas mahabang panahon upang mapantayan ng online relationship ang kalidad ng face-to-face relationship (Mazzula et al., n.d.). Ang ugnayan sa pagitan ng social media celebrities at kanilang mga tagahanga ay nagbubunga ng isang uri ng relasyon tulad ng mga artista at ng kanilang mga tagahanga sa tunay na buhay. Sa pamamagitan ng mga social media content tulad ng status, tweet, note, photo, video, at iba pa, naipapahayag ng social media celebrity ang kanyang sarili, bagay na nagugustuhan at kinagigiliwan naman ng social media users.

> Social Information Processing Theory believes the more people gain information and display greater self-disclosure, the closer the relationship becomes. Greater self-disclosure reduces uncertainty and allows for us to generate more accurate impressions of an individual. If an individual likes what they hear, read, and see, then attraction and closeness will increase within the relationship. (Future of CMC, n.d.)

Ang relasyon sa virtual world ng dalawang panig ay mahalaga para mapatibay din ang ugnayan sa tunay na mundo. Ipinapaliwanag ng symbolic interactionism kung paanong ang social interaction ay tinitingnan bilang symbolic behavior at kung paanong ang mga interaksiyon ay nababase sa shared symbolic meanings na natutuhan sa pamamagitan ng pakikipag-ugnayan sa mga tao sa lipunan (San Juan et al. 2007).

Ang online communication sa pagitan ng social media celebrities at users ang nagsisilbing tulay sa pagitan ng dalawang panig sa tunay na mundo. Sa pamamagitan ng mga temang tinatalakay ng social media celebrities sa kanyang social media account/s at sa pamamagitan ng mga komento ng social media users ay naipagpapatuloy ang relasyon, nakabubuo ng bagong realidad, at mas napapaunlad pa ang ugnayan sa iba't ibang paraan. Dahil ipinapahiwatig ng social media users na ang social media celebrities ay sikat, ito ay nagpapahiwatig din na sila ay sikat maging sa tunay na buhay. Sumikat sila sa tulong hindi lamang ng online communication kundi pati na rin ng mainstream media.

PAGLALAHAD AT PAGSUSURI NG DATOS
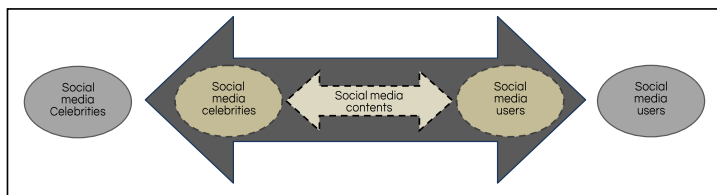
Sa tunay na mundo, ordinaryo lang ako

Social media has made the web all about me, me, me.
– Erik Qualman

Kayang pasikatin ng mga Filipino ang isang salita tulad ng "amalayer" dahil sa simpleng insidente sa LRT, ang isang grupo tulad ng "dancing inmates" ng Cebu dahil sa mahusay na choreography ng kanilang exercise routines, at maging "fliptopping" ng mga rapper na itinuturing ng iba bilang modernong balagtasan. Ngunit ang isang kapansin-pansing kakayahan ng mga Filipino ay ang magpasikat ng mga itinuturing ngayon na social media celebrities.

Ang isang celebrity ay isang kilalang personalidad sa larangan ng entertainment o sports. Maaaring hindi sila kasinsikat ng mga artista sa mainstream media ngunit dahil sa marami na rin silang tagahanga sa virtual world o social media, maituturing na rin silang celebrities. Tulad ng mga artista, nagsimula rin sila sa pagiging ordinaryong mamamayan.

Ang social media celebrities na naging bahagi ng pag-aaral na ito ay mga ordinaryong mamamayan din na nakasungkit ng bituin ng kasikatan. Si Alexis A. Lim ay dalawampu't isang taong gulang at nagtapos sa University of Santo Tomas ng kursong BS Management Accounting. Isang registered nurse naman si Moises John R. Bilang, dalawampu't tatlong taong gulang. Nagtapos siya sa STI College Rosario, at kasalukuyang nagtatrabaho sa isang medical and diagnostic center. Bachelor of Science in Tourism naman ang natapos ng social media celebrity na si Jayson Benedicto sa Polytechnic University of the Philippines. Siya ay dalawampu't limang taong gulang.

Dalawang kurso ang natapos ng dalawampu't siyam na taong gulang na si Bino Bautista: Bachelor of Science in Elementary Education sa Philippine Normal University at BS Computer Science sa Mapua Institute of Technology. Si Patrick James Acson naman ay labingwalong taong gulang at kasalukuyang estudyante ng BS Civil Engineering

sa Technological University of the Philippines. Art Studies naman ang natapos ni Marco Ho o mas kilala sa palayaw na Bogart the Explorer sa University of the Philippines. Si Marcelo Santos III ay dalawampu't dalawang taong gulang. Nagtapos siya sa Polytechnic University of the Philippines ng kursong Bachelor in Advertising and Public Relations. Nagtatrabaho siya ngayon sa Star Cinema.

Unang pagtipa ng pangalan

Litrato ni Juan
*Ang paghanga nila sa mga litratong aking binabahagi sa mga tao
ang nagiging motibasyon ko upang magpatuloy pa sa pag-blog
at galingan pa habang tumatagal ako sa mundo ng social media.*
– Alexis Lim

Ang pinakaunang social network site na pinasok ni Alexis Lim ay ang Facebook. Ito ay dahil sa impluwensiya ng kanyang mga kaibigan. Pagkaraan ng isang taon ay gumawa naman siya ng kanyang account sa Blogspot sa kanyang layuning maging mas malawak ang pakikibahagi sa social media. Ngunit hindi sa Facebook naging pinakaaktibo si Alexis. Sa loob ng apat na taon niyang pagiging mamamayan sa social media, sa kanyang Tumblr account at sariling website siya pinakaaktibo hanggang sa ngayon. Sa katunayan, sa loob ng tatlong taong pagiging netizen sa Tumblr, umabot na sa mahigit tatlumpu't tatlong libo ang kanyang followers.

Ayon kay Alexis, "Sa Tumblr kasi ay may tinatawag na 'Tumblr Radar' kung saan nakikita ng lahat ng users ang post mo kaya mas napapansin nila lalo ang blog ng may-akda. Madalas ako nailalagay noon (sa Tumblr Radar) sa tulong ng pinoy tumblr kaya napansin ng mga tao ang blog ko at finollow nila ako." Ito ang kanyang pananaw kung bakit sa tingin niya ay naging social media celebrity siya lalo na sa Tumblr.

Nagsimula ang kanyang pagiging celebrity noong 2010 kung kailan siya naging pinakaaktibo sa pagba-blog at madalas ay nailalagay siya sa Tumblr Radar na nagbigay sa kanyang blog ng mataas na readership. Ngunit masaya si Alexis Lim dahil hanggang sa ngayon ay tinatangkilik pa rin ng mga tao ang entries sa kanyang account.

Naramdaman pa rin ni Alexis ang pagkagulat dahil sa biglang paghanga sa kanya ng maraming tao dahil na rin marahil sa kanyang mahuhusay na litrato. Dahil dito, higit pang pinagbutihan ni Alexis ang posting sa kanyang Tumblr account; laging ang pinakamahusay at pinakapinag-isipang litrato ang kanyang ipinapakita sa mga tagahanga.

Inaamin ni Alexis na inasam niya talaga noon na magkaroon ng maraming followers sa Tumblr dahil ayon sa kanya, kapag marami kang

followers ay matinding motibasyon ito upang magpatuloy. Subalit hindi niya inaasahang lalaki ang bilang ng kanyang tagasubaybay sa mundo ng social media.

Bagotilyo

Pangarap ko talagang maging inspirasyon sa karamihan.
– Moises John R. Bilang

Taong 2010 din nang magsimulang maging netizen si Moises John R. Bilang. Ayon sa kanya, sa Facebook siya unang naging miyembro at hanggang ngayon ay dito pa rin siya pinakaaktibo. Ang kanyang pagiging aktibo sa mundo ng social media ay sarili niyang desisyon. Kanyang ipinaliwanag, "Gusto ko kasing maging aware sa mga nangyayari sa loob ng cyberworld, maging updated sa mga balita sa mundo, at malaman kung ano ang mga pinakausong gadget, fashion, books, etc."

Hanggang sa mga panahong ito, hindi pa rin itinuturing ni Moises na social celebrity siya bagama't may mga tagasuporta siya at tinatawag na followers. Ayon kay Moises, "Sa Wordpress mayroon mga bloggers na lagi kong nakakausap at nakakapalitan ng komento sa kanilang sariling blogsite. Sa Facebook mayroon akong sariling fan page. Hindi 'yon sapat para matawag na sikat pero hindi ko rin naman itatanggi na may mga ilan na talagang sumusuporta sa aking mga sinusulat at ginagawa." Higit sa anuman, ang kanyang kahusayan sa pagsusulat ang sa tingin niyang nagdala sa kanya sa estado ng pagiging "social media celebrity." Ayon kay Moises, ang kanyang Facebook fan page na nakapangalan sa kanyang pen name, ang *Bagotilyo*, ang naging simula ng kanyang pagiging sikat sa social media.

"Masaya kasi may nakaka-appreciate ng mga ginagawa mo. Na hindi nasayang ang mga pinagpaguran mo, na hindi nabalewala ang mga hinabi mong mga salita, mga pinag-isipang letra at mga akdang inukit gamit ang aking puso at hinulma ng aking malayang kaisipan." Ito ang kanyang pahayag sa kung ano ang kanyang reaksiyon sa paghanga ng mga tao sa kanya. Ang kanya ring mga tagahanga ang nagsisilbi niyang lakas at inspirasyon sa mga panahong tinatamad na siyang magsulat.

Nagpatuloy si Moises sa malayang paglalahad nang magkaroon siya ng maraming tagahanga. Aniya, "Kasabay nito ay ang pagiging responsable ko sa bawat salitang aking sinusulat sapagkat alam kong maaaring makaimpluwensiya ang mga sinasabi ko sa ibang tao."

Ayon sa kanya, lahat ng bagay ay pinagsisikapan. Inaamin din niyang gumawa siya ng paraan upang makilala sa larangan ng social media. Dagdag pa ni Moises, "Minsan hindi sapat ang talento

lamang para magtagumpay. Kailangan mo rin ng tiyaga at patuloy na magsumikap."

Ako Po si Jayson

Masarap sa pakiramdam ang ma-appreciate ng ibang tao maliban
sa pamilya at kaibigan ang mga gawa mo. Lalo na kapag may nag-aabala
pang magsulat ng mahahabang emails.
– Jayson Benedicto

Unang lumabas sa community blogsite na *Definitely Filipino* ang mga sanaysay ni Jayson Benedicto noong 2012. Marami sa mga nakabasa nito ang nagmungkahi na gumawa siya ng sarili niyang blogsite. Ngunit dahil nakita niya ang pagkakataong gamitin ang Notes application ng Facebook, ito ang naisip niyang mas mabisang paraan upang maabot ang maraming netizens.

Ayon kay Jayson, hindi niya alam kung ano ang parameters o standards para masabing celebrity ang isang social media user. Gayumpaman, ang Facebook ang itinuturing niyang kanyang entablado. Nauna siyang nagpadala ng kanyang mga sanaysay sa Definitely Filipino. Kinalaunan, pagkatapos ng ilang request, gumawa na si Jayson ng sarili niyang page. Sa note application ng Facebook niya naipaskil ang kanyang mga luma at bagong akda. "Hindi ko alam kung bakit pero kahit papaano, naka-attract ng ilang readers at nauwi na din sa pagpa-publish ng sarili kong libro," ani Jayson.

Bagama't hindi niya itinuturing ang kanyang sarili bilang social media celebrity kahit pa umabot na ng mahigit labindalawang libo ang kanyang fans sa Facebook, pakiramdam niya ay nagkataon lamang na maraming nababagot at nag-uumapaw ang free time kaya napadpad sa kanyang page.

Tulad ng dati, kung may isusulat na bago si Jayson ay pino-post niya agad ito. Nadagdagan lamang ng kaunting ingat sapagkat mas marami na ang sumusubaybay sa kanyang mga ipinapahayag.

"Masarap sa pakiramdam ang ma-appreciate ng ibang tao maliban sa pamilya at kaibigan ang mga gawa mo. Lalo na kapag may nag-aabala pang magsulat ng mahahabang emails," pahayag ni Jayson. Ang kanyang mga mambabasa ang kanya ring inspirasyon sa pagpapatuloy. Bukod sa pagpo-post niya nang daglian, nagiging mas responsable at sensitibo rin siya sa kanyang mga isinusulat. Aksidente rin lamang ang kanyang pagiging social media celebrity. Ayon kay Jayson, "Noong nagsimula akong magpasa ng mga gawa ko sa Definitely Filipino, gusto ko lang naman makita 'yong mga sinulat ko sa isang platform na hindi ako ang kumokontrol. In short, pansarili lang. Self-amusement."

Damuhan

*Dati kasi dalawa hanggang apat na views lamang ang stats ng
blog ko. Pero ngayon, umaabot na rin siya kahit papaano
nang libo kada araw.*
– Bino Bautista

Sa Blogger/Blogspot natuon ang pansin ni Bino noong 2005 kung saan puro trial and error ang kanyang ginagawa hanggang sa naitatag niya ang kanyang interactive website noong 2008. Kung susumahin, halos walong taon na mula nang magsimula siya sa social media.

Nagsimula ang kanyang pagiging bahagi ng social media nang imbitahan siya ng kanyang professor sa IT (information technology) na sumali sa isang dating social media site na Friendster.

Aktibo si Bino sa Facebook, Twitter, at Blog. Paliwanag niya, "Connected kasi ang mga 'yan para sa akin. Kapag may post ako, nagfi-feed 'yan automatically sa Facebook at Twitter." Ngunit sa tatlong ito, masasabi niyang social media celebrity siya sa Blogger. "Dito ko nabuksan nang buong-buo ang aking pintuan."

Kahit pa marami nang tagahanga, tinitingnan pa rin niya ang kanyang sarili bilang isang ordinaryong social media user. Aniya, "Siguro noong may mga baguhan at lumang blogger na tumatawag sa akin ng sir, boss, chief sa blogging. 'Yon bang ang tingin yata sa akin e high-profile blogger kahit hindi naman ako maikukumpara sa mga itinuturing talagang blogging celebrities." Ngunit para kay Bino, nang magsimula siyang makatanggap ng respeto sa kanyang mga kapwa blogger, doon nagsimula ang kanyang celebrity status.

Pinanatili ni Bino ang kanyang mga paa sa lupa at ang kanyang ulo ay hindi niya hinayaang lumaki. Ito ang kanyang patuloy na isinasabuhay sa kabila ng maraming papuring kanyang natatanggap sa mga tao. Ang blogging talaga ang nagbigay-daan sa kanya upang magkaroon ng maraming mambabasa at dito talaga siya nagbuhos ng kanyang oras.

Aksidente lang din ang kanyang pagkasikat. Ayon kay Bino, "Nagulat nga ako noong may mga nagkokomento at nakikipagpalitan na ng link sa blog ko, mga nag-a-add as a friend sa Facebook at fuma-follow sa Twitter."

Gitarista ng Diyosa

*Nagkaroon ako ng maraming likers sa Facebook fan page ko
dahil sa pagtugtog ko sa radio station.*
– Patrick James Acson

Nagsimulang maging malay si Patrick sa social media noong labintatlong taong gulang pa lang siya sa panahon kung kailan sikat ang

Friendster. Subalit sa Facebook na siya pinakaaktibo ngayon. Gumawa rin siya ng kanyang social media accounts sa Twitter, at YouTube.

Taong 2012 nang ituring ni Patrick ang kanyang sarili bilang isang social media celebrity. Nagsimula ang kanyang pagsikat nang bumisita siya sa isang radio station ng paborito niyang DJ. Sa madalas niyang pagdalaw sa radio station ay nadiskubre rin ang kanyang talento na nagdala sa kanya upang maging regular na bisita rito. Dumami rin ang kanyang mga tagahanga dahil sa marami ring tagapakinig ang nasabing istasyon. Ayon kay Patrick, "Nakaka-proud sa sarili pero kailangan pa rin maging humble." Patuloy na dumarami ang bilang ng kanyang mga tagahanga dahil sa regular niyang pagtugtog sa radio station tuwing Sabado at dahil unti-unti na rin siyang naiimbitahan upang maging extra sa mga programa sa telebisyon. Ayon kay Patrick, nais niyang ipagpatuloy ang kanyang pagmamahal sa larangan ng musika.

Upang maging mas marami pa ang kanyang mga tagahanga, gumawa siya ng fan page sa Facebook. Sa tingin ni Patrick, isang malaking aksidente lang ang kanyang pagsikat ngunit nang maglaon ay aminado naman siyang gumawa na rin siya ng paraan upang lalo siyang hangaan ng mga tao.

Bogart the Explorer

Masaya na natatakot kasi pribado talaga akong tao.
Pero natutuwa ako na isang bagay na nagbibigay-tuwa
sa akin na paggawa ng nakakatawang videos ay
nakakapagbigay-saya sa mga tao.
– Marco Ho

Nakilala siya sa pagkakaroon ng maraming videos tungkol sa kanyang paglalakbay tulad ng cartoon character na si Dora. Kasalukuyang nasa Davao ang social media celebrity na si Bogart the Explorer. Bagama't umabot na sa tatlong milyon ang views ng kanyang videos sa YouTube, tinangkilik din ng netizens ang kanyang Facebook fan page na umabot na sa mahigit limampu't anim na libo ang likes at ang kanyang Twitter account na may higit labinsiyam na libong followers.

Nagsimula siyang maging netizen noong November 2011 nang in-upload niya ang kanyang unang video hanggang sa nagkaroon ito ng maraming manonood at isinilang din ang Facebook fan page na ipinangalan sa kanya. Isang taon ang nagdaan bago siya nagkaroon ng Twitter. Ang kanya ring mga tagahanga ang nagtulak sa kanya para magkaroon ng social media account. Sa katunayan, ang kanyang mga tagahanga ang gumawa ng kanyang fan page, at ginawa lamang

siyang admin nito. Itinuturing niya ang sarili bilang celebrity sa YouTube at Facebook. Sumunod ay sa Twitter.

Isa siya sa itinuturing na pinakanakakatawang Filipino ng kanyang panahon sa mundo ng social media (Bogart the Explorer 2012). Nakagawa na siya ng iba't ibang pelikulang tumatalakay sa iba't ibang kaganapan sa Pilipinas pati na rin ang iba't ibang uri ng tao mula sa taong grasa hanggang sa konyong bata. Natalakay na niya ang pakikisalamuha sa buhay ng mga snatcher, elitista, kapre, at marami pang elemento ng kulturang lokal. Isa sa mga pinakabago niyang likha ay ang pelikula tungkol sa kung paano mahuhuli ang tik-tik, isang subspecies ng aswang. Dagdag pa sa kanyang pagiging celebrity ang kakaiba niyang atake gamit ang Australian accent habang nakasuot gaya ng pananamit ng wildlife expert na si Steve Irwin.

"Nag-post ng mga nakakatuwa na pictures sa Facebook. Nag-tweet ng mga nakakatuwang quotes. At gumawa pa ng maraming videos sa YouTube." Ito ang kanyang patuloy na gawain nang magkaroon siya ng maraming tagahanga. At naging mas matindi pa ang kanyang pagsikat, aniya, dahil sa application na "share." Bagama't natatamasa na niya ang kasikatan, hindi pa rin siya makapaniwalang magiging viral ang kanyang mga video sa YouTube at maaagaw nito ang atensiyon ng publiko.

Ako si Marcelo
We are not writers of our own love life.
– Marcelo Santos III

Sa Facebook siya nagkaroon ng unang account ngunit pinakaaktibo siya ngayon sa Twitter. Kilala si Marcelo sa pagiging malikhain na kanyang pinatunayan sa kanyang Love Story on Video (LSOV) series sa YouTube na umabot na sa dalawampung milyon ang nakapanood. Ang kanyang mga video ay may musikang tungkol sa pag-ibig habang may mga salita, parirala, at pangungusap na bumubuo ng love story.

Ayon kay Marcelo, "Love is the common denominator of people. It is realistic, so people will easily relate to your stories. The challenge is how to add a new flavor to any love story you create." Naniniwala si Marcelo na madaling maka-relate ang kanyang mga tagahanga sa kanyang mga post dahil universal ang tema ng mga ito.

Bukod sa Twitter at Facebook, itinuturing din niya ang kanyang sarili bilang social media celebrity sa YouTube. Noong 2012 siya nagsimulang magkaroon ng libo-libong fans, at ito ay kanyang ikinagulat dahil hindi naman niya akalaing mangyayari ang kasikatang iyon.

Ang kanyang husay sa pagsusulat, gaya ng ibang social media celebrities, ang nagdala sa kanya sa kasikatan. Ilan sa mga una niyang

nagawa ay ang mga video na naglalaman lamang ng mga salita at pangungusap para makabuo ng kuwentong tungkol sa pag-ibig.

Talaan 1. Ang mga Social Media Celebrities at Kanilang Accounts

Social Media Celebrities	Social Media	Account	Bilang ng Taon bilang Bahagi ng Social Media	Bilang ng Fans
Alexis Lim	Tumblr	litratonijuan.tumblr.com	3 taon	33,909
	Blogsite	litratonijuan.com	3 taon	33,909
Moises John R. Bilang	Facebook	Bagotilyo	3 taon	2,066
	Blogsite	bagotilyo.wordpress.com	2 taon	135
Jayson Benedicto	Facebook	Akoposijayson	1 taon	12,000
Bino Bautista	Blogsite	damuhan.com	5 taon	571
	Facebook	Damuhan	4 taon	11,186
Patrick James Acson	Facebook	Gitarista ng Diyosa	4 taon	4,800 +
Marco Ho	Facebook	Bogart the Explorer	2 taon	56,000+
	Twitter	@BogartdeExplorer	1 taon	19,000+
	YouTube	FrontActHecklines	2 taon	13,500 views
Marcelo Santos III	Facebook	Ako Si Marcelo III	4 taon	193,000+
	Twitter	@akosimarcelo	3 taon	153,000+
	YouTube	Marcelosantosiii	4 taon	23.5 million
	Tumblr	marcelosantosiii.tumblr.com	4 taon	17,000+
	Blogsite	marcelosantosiii.com	1 taon	650,000+

Post, like, share, and trend

Social media is about sociology and psychology more than technology.
– Brian Solis, Principal of Future Works

Dahil sa iba't ibang pagkatao ng social media celebrities, may iba't ibang tema rin ang kanilang posts sa kanilang social media accounts. Ang kanilang mga ipinapahayag ay nauugnay sa kanilang mga interes sa buhay. Sa kanilang mga pahayag sa social media makikita ang kahalagahan ng social media hindi lamang bilang teknolohiya kundi bilang mahalagang bahagi ng buhay ng indibidwal at ng lipunan.

May iba't ibang paraan kung paano pinoproseso ng social media celebrities ang kanilang mga gustong ipahayag depende sa kanilang social media account at depende sa uri ng kanilang nais i-post. May mga post silang mabilis na napoproseso samantalang mayroon ding

dumadaan sa mas masusing proseso. Kabilang sa mga mabilis nilang ma-ipost ay ang kanilang mga saloobin tungkol sa mga kaganapan sa kanilang buhay. Ito ay eksklusibo nilang ipinapahayag sa kanilang personal account/s. Sa kabilang banda, nagbibigay sila ng mahabang panahon upang makapag-post nang mahusay para sa kanilang mga tagahanga (talaan 2).

Talaan 2. Ang Social Media Celebrities at mga Paksa ng Kanilang mga Post

Social Media Celebrities	Social Media	Madalas na Uri ng mga Post	Paksa ng mga Post
Alexis Lim	Tumblr	Mga larawan	Tungkol sa reality, mga bagong lugar na puwedeng dayuhin ng mga tao.
	Blogsite		
Moises John R. Bilang	Facebook	Mga status	Personal experience, quotes, Bible verses, songs, etc.
	Blogsite	Mga kuwento, sanaysay, at tula	Life in general. Mga aral sa iba't ibang aspekto ng buhay.
Jayson Benedicto	Facebook	Mga sanaysay, status, at kuwento	Random lamang. Minsan tipong tungkol sa current news, relationships, mga okasyon, putol-putol na kuwento. Iba-iba.
Bino Bautista	Blogsite	Mga kuwento at tula	Tungkol sa personal na buhay at mga contest.
	Facebook	Mga status	Nakaka-inspire na mga mensahe at mga opinion.
Patrick James Acson	Facebook	Mga larawan at video	Tungkol sa paggitara at pagkanta ko.
Marco Ho	Facebook	Mga larawan	Philippine culture ... also mga bagay na nagpo-promote sa Philippine food at tourism.
	Twitter	Mga quotes	
	YouTube	Mga video	
Marcelo Santos III	Facebook	Mga quotes	Tungkol sa LOVE.
	Twitter	Mga quotes	
	YouTube	Mga video	
	Tumblr	Mga freestyle at larawan	
	Blogsite	Mga sanaysay	

SA IBANG MUNDO, SIKAT AKO!

Sa ngayon, ang celebrity-fan relationship ay nagbago na mula sa "one-way delivery channel" patungo sa "conversation" na uri ng komunikasyon (Clayton 2013). Ang mga celebrity maging sa telebisyon at pelikula ay tulad na rin ng mga celebrity sa social media sa kadahilanang sila ay tumutugon na rin sa mga mensahe ng kanilang mga tagasubaybay o tagahanga sa cyberspace.

Kahit ang social media celebrities ay may iba't ibang reaksiyong natatanggap mula sa publiko sa loob ng virtual world kahit pa ang ilan

sa kanila ay tagahanga na nila. Ayon kay Alexis, "Iba-iba din. May mga natutuwa at masaya sa mga pinaggagagawa ko. May mga hindi rin naman sumasang-ayon at nagtiyaga pang mag-email para sabihin ang kanyang galit."

Gayunpaman, malaking porsiyento pa rin ng kanilang fans ang naniniwala sa kanila. Patunay rito ang pahayag ni Alexis: "Malaki ang pinapasalamat ko dahil 90 porsiyento siguro ay papuri ang aking natatanggap at marami ang mga nagpapaturo sa aking tungkol sa potograpiya. Nakakatuwa na tinitingala nila ako sa larangan ng potograpiya kahit sa mundo ng social media lang nila ako kilala. Pero di rin maiiwasan na may sadyang ayaw sa mga gawa mo."

Hindi rin maikakaila ng lahat ng social media celebrities na hindi nawawala ang bashers sa social media at sa Internet sa kabuuan. Sa katunayan, mayroon silang mga kontrobersiyal na post na umani ng batikos mula sa netizens. Ilan sa mga ginagawa ng social media celebrities tuwing may mga naninira sa kanila ay hindi na lamang nila ito pinapansin; kung minsan ay ginagamit nila ang application na block kapag sobra na talaga ang paninira. Ani Moises: "Hindi ko na lang pinatulan. We are all entitled to our own opinion. Kung hindi nila kayang magbigay ng respeto para sa mga opinion ko, 'yon naman ang ipapakita kong kaya kong ibigay sa kanila." Dagdag pa ni Bogart, "Natutunan ko kay Maricar Reyes ang tamang ginagawa sa mga haters. Hindi pinapansin. Kapag ginawa mo ito, mamamatay na lang nang kusa ang issue at galit ng mga haters sa 'yo kasi hindi mo naman sila inaway sa kabila ng ginawa nila. Tumatalab naman."

Ang mga post ng social media celebrities ay nakakatanggap ng atensiyon mula sa netizens o mga mamamayan sa virtual world. Kahit may mga kontrobersiyal na posts ang celebrities na hindi nagustuhan ng ilang netizens ay mas nangibabaw pa rin ang positibong reaksiyon o pananaw ng netizens (talaan 3 at 4).

Karamihan sa mga mambabasa o fans ng social celebrities ay mga kabataang nasa edad labing-anim hanggang dalawampu't siyam. Para kay Jayson, "Karamihan sa kanila mga college students at mga OFWs." Para naman kay Bino, ang kanyang mga mambabasa ay maybahay, doktor, abogado, DJ, at marami pang iba. Karamihan sa kanilang fans ay nagmula sa Maynila kung saan maraming aktibo sa social media. May fans din naman sila sa iba't ibang bahagi ng bansa. Umaabot din sa iba't ibang bahagi ng mundo ang fans ng social media celebrities. Ani Bino, bukod sa Pilipinas, may mga mambabasa rin siya mula sa Gitnang Silangan, Singapore, Estados Unidos, Canada, Palau, at iba pang bansa. At dahil ang kalikasan ng media ay ang magpakalat ng impormasyon o mensahe sa mabilis na panahon, mabilis din ang

Talaan 3. Ang mga Social Media Celebrities at Kanilang mga Pinakanagustuhang Post

Social Media Celebrities	Pamagat ng Post	Tema	Bahagi ng Post	Pananaw ng Social Media Celebrities	Pananaw ng Social Media Celebrities tungkol sa Kanilang Post	Pananaw ng Nakararaming Fans
Alexis Lim	"The Painter" (Larawan)	Sining	----	Positibo	"Tungkol ang kwento sa isang ama na nasa katapusan na nang pinahiram na buhay sa kanya. Sa huli narealize ng matandang lalaki ang mga aral ng buhay na pinaranas sa kanya ng panginoon."	Positibo
Moises John R. Bilang	"Biyaheng Langit" (Kuwento)	Pananalig sa Diyos	"Dadaan ka sa lubak-lubak na panahon. Huwag ka sanang nakasinghal agad bagkus matuto ka sanang magtiwala. Ako ang drayber mo at kailanman hindi kita ipapahamak. Masaya akong nung mga panahong maulan ay payapa kang pumikit at nagpahinga. Salamat sa tiwala. Salamat sa pagbibigay mo sa akin ng lisensiya para patakbuhin ang iyong buhay. Pangako hindi kita lilligaw."	Positibo		Positibo
Jayson Benedicto	"Break na Tayo" (Sanaysay)	Pag-ibig	"Madalas ko pa ring tignan ang mga picture mo sa Facebook. Lalo na yung mga bagong upload. Maganda ka pa rin. O mas lalong gumanda dahil hindi ka na stressed sa akin. Minsan gusto kong mag-comment o i-like ang isa sa kanila. O di naman kaya ay padalhan ka ng private message. Kaso nakakatakot. Baka kasi pag natanggap mo, burahin mo agad kahit hindi mo pa nababasa. Isang reply lang naman. Solve na ako."	Positibo	"Essay yun kung saan binigyan ko ng nakakatawang twist ang mga popular na breakup lines. Marami yatang naka-relate."	Positibo
Bino Bautista	"Ika-Labing Apat ng Pebrero: Tula Para sa Araw ng mga Puso" (Tula)	Pag-ibig	"Ngayong buwan ng Pebrero, ang katorse'y muling sasapit Halina't ating ipagdiwang ng puro tamis, walang pait Ang ating anibersaryo ng pag-iisang dibdib"	Positibo	"Tungkol ito sa isang lalaking binalikan ang ang kanilang nakaraang pag-iibigan. Mula sa simpleng magkasintahan na dumaan din sa pagsubok hanggang sa sila'y magkatuluyan sa araw ng mga puso."	Positibo
Patrick James Acson	—	—	---	Positibo	Yung mga litrato namin ni DJ Chacha at ibang mga artista at mga achievements ko.	Positibo
Marco Ho	Mga larawan	Kulturang Filipino	---	Positibo	Mga "nostalgic" na bagay sa mga Pilipino. Mga dating laruan, lugar at iba pa.	Positibo
Marcelo Santos III	Mga quota-tion at video	Bigong Pag-ibig	---	Positibo	Tungkol sa mga breakups. Mejo emotional kasi ang mga tao sa internet.	Positibo

Talaan 4. Ang Social Media Celebrities at Kanilang mga Nabatikos na Post

Social Media Celebrities	Pamagat ng Post	Tema	Bahagi ng Post	Pananaw ng Social Media Celebrities	Pananaw ng Social Media Celebrities tungkol sa Kanilang Post	Pananaw ng Nakararaming Fans
Alexis Lim	Litratong nagpapakita raw ng "poverty porn."	Kahirapan	Here are some of my shots during the PedXing Photowalk. We saw this fountain full of kids and they really wanted to be photographed. Even though you can consider them poor, you can still see how free, happy, and contented with whatever they have. Seeing these images make me smile.	Positibo	Sa tingin ko hindi naman "poverty porn" ang aim ng aking mga larawan; gusto ko lang mapakita ang mga tao at maging bukas ang mata nila sa tunay na nangyayari sa ating kapaligiran. Pero yun, medyo nililimitahan ko na rin ang pag-post ng "extreme" poverty shots para makaiwas na rin sa mga issue.	Positibo
Moises John R. Bilang	"Ang Superman ng Manila"	Paghahanap ng trabaho	Interviewer: Why should we hire you? Bagotilyo I am vacant you know, I am hirable and free like Dora.	Positibo	"Tungkol ang post sa kalokohang mga sagot sa mga maaaring itanong sa isang job interview."	Positibo
Jayson Benedicto	"Post ng Ina Mo?"	Freedom of speech sa Facebook	Walang masama kung purong tagalog ang shout-out mo. "Wag matakot na sabihan nang "uy makata." Kesa naman panay nga ang english, sablay naman ang grammar at hindi kakikitaan ng sense ang sinabi. (Iba ang you're sa your.)	Positibo	"Tungkol kasi yun sa mga unwritten rules pagdating sa pag-gamit ng Facebook, Twitter, atbp. So karamihan ng mga nag-react malamang tinamaan. Nakakatawa naman yung approach na ginamit ko. At karamihan din sa mga nakasulat dun, e guilty ako. Hindi siya rant. Pero sabi nga nila, nakakkatawa ka lang hanggang sa puntong sila na ang punchline."	Positibo
Bino Bautista	Kapamilya, Kapuso, Kapatid, atbp.	Pagtatasa sa mga programa ng tatlong television station sa bansa	Educational Programs - Sineskwela, Bayani, Mathtinik, Epol Apol, atbp. sa Kapamilya. Art Angel, Jollitown etc. sa Kapuso. Sa Kapatid na network honestly wala akong alam. Sa tatlong network, mahusay ang desisyon ng ABS-CBN na dalhin ang kanilang mga programa sa eskuwelahan sa pamamagitan ng ETV.	Positibo	"Natatawa ako kasi tungkol ito sa tatlong TV station. Maraming nagalit na kapuso dahil bias daw ang opinion. Eh inaamin ko naman na kapamilya ako. At opinion ko yon na maaaring sumasalungat sa kanila."	Positibo
Patrick James Acson	–	–	–	–	–	–
Marco Ho	(Larawan ng isang kambing)	Hayop	–	Positibo	Imahe ng goat na na-stuck sa isang linya ng telepono at nilagyan ko ng caption about caldereta. Akala ng mga tao animal cruelty pero siyempre niresearch ko muna background ng imahe bago ko pinost. Buhay ang goat at unharmed na iba-naba dun sa linya. Na stuck siya dun kasi umakyat siya sa isang hill kung saan malapit yung linya at nadulas kaya na stuck yung horn niya. So sariling kasalanan ng goat at nagkataon lang na may dumaan na may camera. Akala ng mga tao eh pinagtripan yung goat. Misunderstanding lang pero okey na.	Negatibo
Marcelo Santos III	–	–	–	–	–	–

reaksiyon ng fans sa kanilang mga post. "Masasabi ko na nakabase sa bilang ng likes/notes ang reaksiyon ng mga tao; kung ito ay nakakuha ng mataas na numero, siguro nagustuhan nila ang aking post," pahayag ni Alexis. Pati naman daw mga bata ay nagiging tagahanga ni Patrick. Binanggit din ni Moises ang terminong "virality" na tumutukoy sa biglaang pagdami ng reaksiyon ng mga mambabasa. At maging ang mga sikat ay tagahanga rin daw ni Bogart. Itinuturing din nilang market o audience ang mga kabataan. Ayon kay Marco, "Ang kabataan ang mas active sa social media kaya isa sila sa mga dahilan kung bakit nandito ako ngayon."

Bagama't marami ang kanilang natatanggap na likes sa kanilang mga post, ayon sa social media celebrities, maliit na porsiyento lamang ito kumpara sa kabuuang bilang ng kanilang fans. At kahit pa sila ay celebrity nang maituturing sa virtual world, para sa kanila ay wala namang pinagkaiba ang buhay nila ngayon kumpara noon. Ayon kay Moises, siya ay naging mas maingat at responsable sa kanyang mga post. Mas madalas na ring makatanggap ng unknown notifications at emails si Jayson. Para naman kay Bino, inilarawan niya ang kanyang pagiging celebrity tulad ng celebrity sa telebisyon, na nawawalan na ng privacy at halos ang lahat ng post ay nakakatanggap ng reaksiyon sa publiko. "Bilang isang social media celebrity ay malaking pagsubok dahil marami kang dapat i-please. Dahil finollow ka nila, ibig sabihin bigyan mo sila dapat ng magandang output; kung hindi, ia-unfollow ka lang nila. Kailangan panatilihin ko at gandahan pa parati ang mga post ko upang patuloy nilang subaybayan ang blog ko. Hindi porke't nasa taas ka na titigil ka na sa pagbigay ng magagandang posts; dapat patuloy ka pa ring magbigay ng magaganda at bagong posts," pahayag ni Alexis. At ayon kay Patrick, "Kailangan palagi kang gumawa ng mabuti at ikagugusto ng mga tao." Pabirong sagot naman ni Bogart sa paglalarawan niya sa buhay ng isang social media celebrity, "Nakaharap sa computer o smart phone buong araw."

Kung paanong gusto nilang maalala sila ng kanilang fans ay mas nangibabaw ang pagnanais nila na mas maalala ang kanilang mga salita at aral. Ani Moises, "Hindi ako o ang pen name na bagotilyo ang gusto kong maalala nila kung saka-sakali mang marinig nila ang aking pangalan o maalala ang aking mga isinulat. Ang gusto kong maalala nila ay ang mga aral na napulot nila sa aking mga ginawa. Mga aral na aking natutunan na gusto kong matutunan din nila. Sa ganoong paraan, alam kong mawala man ang bagotilyo o ang isang tulad ko sa mundo, mananatili ang mga bagay at adhikaing patuloy kong pinaglalaban." Nais naman ni Jayson na maalala ang kanyang mga post bilang magaan, mapaglaro, at nakakatuwa.

WHEN SOCIAL MEDIA CELEBRITY MEETS HIS FANS

Hindi nagtatapos sa virtual world ang pagtatagpo ng social media celebrities at kanilang fans. Hanggang sa tunay na buhay o real world ay nagkakaroon sila ng ugnayan. Ayon kay Alexis, "Nagsimula ito sa 'meet-ups' na dinaraos sa Tumblr noon kung saan ako ay lumalahok upang ma-meet ako at maka-meet ng ibang mga Tumblr users." Dagdag pa niya, siya rin mismo ay nagdaraos ng mga photowalk upang makilala pa ang ibang photographers at tagahanga sa Tumblr. Madalas din siyang maimbitahan sa mga event kung saan siya mas nakikilala ng mga tao. Marami na rin silang nakilalang kapwa nila blogger mula sa iba't ibang grupong kanila na ring nasalihan upang mas maging malawak ang kanilang presensiya sa social media. Dahil naman sa kahusayan ni Jayson sa larangan ng pagsusulat, nabigyan siya ng pagkakataong makapagsulat ng sarili niyang libro at marami siyang nakilalang fans. Sa katunayan, marami siyang readers online na nagpunta sa Manila International Book Fair 2012 para magpapirma sa kanya. Para naman kay Bino, nakikilala niya ang kanyang ibang mga tagahanga sa mga bloggers' eyeball at blog awards.

Nagkakaisa rin ang mga reaksiyon ng mga tao tungkol sa posts ng social media celebrities. Humahanga ang mga tao sa kanilang mahusay na talento sa pagkuha ng larawan at pagsusulat. Dagdag naman ni Moises, "Hindi ako sanay tumanggap ng ganitong mga salita, hindi ako sanay tumanggap ng compliment. Kaya ginagamit ko na lamang ang mga sinasabi nila para lalo pa ako ganahang magsulat."

Kasabay ng pagbukas ng pinto ng kasikatan ay ang pagbukas ng iba't ibang pinto ng oportunidad sa social media celebrities. Nang dahil sa pagiging sikat ni Patrick, nagbukas na rin ang pinto ng showbiz at ngayon ay lumalabas-labas sa telebisyon kahit sa maliliit na role lamang. Natupad na rin ang pangarap ni Jayson na makapag-publish ng kanyang sariling libro. Batid niyang malaki ang kinalaman ng kanyang pagiging sikat sa online community upang makakuha ng mga tatangkilik sa kanyang libro at nagtiwala naman ang kanyang publisher. Para naman kay Bino, oportunidad niyang maituturing ang pagkakaroon ng mas maraming tunay na kaibigan. "Kung financial naman, kahit papaano ay nakakatanggap din ako ng ilan mula sa iba't ibang kumpanya. And because of blogging, Facebook and Twitter, mas madali akong makakuha ng part-time jobs," pagbabahagi pa ni Bino. Matibay ring ebidensiya ng oportunidad para kay Alexis ang pagkakaroon ng sponsors, mga brand na nagpapa-sponsor sa kanyang blog, at commissioned shoots. Bukod sa makilala pa ng maraming tao, oportunidad din kay Moises ang maging inspirasyon, ang maipahayag

ang kanyang sarili nang walang pag-aalinlangan, at higit sa lahat ay ang responsibilidad.

Sa lawak ng kanilang impluwensiya sa social media bukod sa dami ng kanilang ginagawa ay marami pa pala silang pangarap na magagawa upang mapaigting ang kanilang pakikipagkapwa sa loob at sa labas man ng virtual world. Plano ni Alexis na magpakilala pa sa mas maraming social media personalities. Gusto naman ni Moises na paunlarin pa ang kanyang kakayahan sa pagsusulat sa pamamagitan ng pagtalakay sa iba't ibang usapin sa paraang lalabas siya sa kanyang comfort zone. Podcast naman ang nais pang magawa ni Jayson upang masagot ang maraming tanong ng kanyang mga tagahanga. Paraan na rin iyon upang kanya itong masagot, at nais niya rin itong ibahagi sa pamamagitan ng kanyang Facebook page. Bukod sa sponsorships at endorsements, nagkaroon din ng pagkakataon si Marco na ipaliwanag sa madla ang kanyang kasikatan sa pamamagitan ng TV guestings at nabigyan din siya ng hosting jobs. Hangad naman ni Bino na sa pamamagitan ng social media ay makapag-organize siya ng charity events.

Sa pamamagitan ng mga kapaki-pakinabang na gawain, muling nag-uugnay ang social media celebrities at ang kanilang mga tagahanga. Bukas ang mas malawak na mundo para mapaunlad ng mga celebrity ang kanilang pagkatao at ang pakikitungo nila sa maraming tao.

KONGKLUSYON

Ang social media ay maituturing nang bahagi ng kulturang popular sa Pilipinas. Sa pamamagitan nito ay nagkaroon ng panibagong espasyo at entablado para sa pagtatanghal ng pagkatao, laluna para sa naghahangad sumikat. Ang ugnayan ng social media celebrity at ng kanyang mga tagahanga ay tulad din ng mga sikat na personalidad sa iba't ibang larangan. Gayunman, higit na mabilis ang pagsikat sa social media dala na rin sa kakayahan nito na kagyat magpakalat ang impormasyon sa iba't ibang panig ng mundo.

- *Pagkakakilanlan ng social media celebrities*
Ang anim na social media celebrities na naging bahagi ng pag-aaral ay pawang mga kalalakihan na nakatungtong sa kolehiyo. Bukod sa iba-iba ang kanilang mga pamantasang pinanggalingan, iba-iba rin ang mga kursong kanilang natapos, na karamihan ay malayo rin sa larangan ng media at communication. Tanging si Marcelo Santos III ang masasabing may pinakamalapit na kurso sa larangang kanyang tinatahak sapagkat ang kursong kanyang natapos ay advertising and

public relations. Siya rin ang maituturing na may pinakamaraming fans sa lahat ng social media celebrities.

- *Ang social media celebrities at ang kanilang unang paggamit ng social media*

Iba-iba ang gamit na social media ng mga celebrities. Umaayon din sa uri ng social media ang kanilang mga nais ipahayag. Ang Facebook ang social media na pinakakaraniwan sa lahat bagama't hindi pare-pareho ang dami ng kanilang fans. Ang bilang ng kanilang fans ay umaabot ng dalawang libo hanggang tatlumpu't tatlong libo sa Facebook depende sa social media celebrities. Hindi rin pare-pareho ang bilang ng fans sa kanilang iba't ibang social media accounts.

- *Ang mga nilalaman at paksa ng social media accounts ng celebrities*

Depende sa uri ng social media ang uri ng kanilang ipapahayag: mula sa simpleng status, sanaysay, kuwento, tula, freestyle blog, larawan, at video. Ang kanilang mga posts ay tumatalakay sa iba't ibang aspekto ng buhay tulad ng mga isyung panlipunan, pag-ibig, musika, at kultura ng bansa.

- *Ang mga diskurso sa pagitan ng social media celebrities at kanilang mga tagahanga sa loob ng Internet world*

Dahil madaling maka-relate ang mga tagahanga nila sa kanilang mga ipino-post, sila ay tumatanggap ng maraming positibong komento mula sa mga tao sa mundo ng Internet. Gayumpaman, hindi pa rin maiiwasan na may mga hindi maniniwala, sasang-ayon, o bibilib sa lahat ng ipinapahayag ng social media celebrities. Gayunman, mas marami pa rin ang may positibong pananaw sa kanilang mga posts na maaaring hindi tama para sa ilan. At bilang magandang modelo, hindi na lang nila binibigyan ng pansin ang negatibong pananaw ng iba. Karaniwang mga kabataan din ang kanilang mga tagahanga. Mayroon din silang mga tagahanga sa iba't ibang bahagi ng mundo partikular na sa Amerika at Gitnang Silangan. At dahil sa kapangyarihan ng social media na magpakalat ng impormasyon sa pinakamabilis na paraan at pinakamalayong lunan, mabilis ding nalalaman ng celebrities ang positibong tugon ng kanilang mga tagahanga. Ang celebrities ay may iba't ibang bilang ng aktibong tagahanga sa kanilang social media accounts.

- *Ang pagtatagpo ng social media celebrities at ng kanilang mga tagahanga sa totoong mundo*

Ang ugnayan ng mga sikat at tagahanga na napagtibay ng social media ay nagpapatuloy sa totoong mundo. Sa pamamagitan ng social

media ay napagkakasunduan ang mga paraan upang higit pang makilala ng dalawang panig ang isa't isa. Ang social media celebrities ay naiimbitahan din sa mga pagtitipon kung saan higit silang nakikilala ng mga tao. Sa tuwing nakakasalamuha na nila ang kanilang mga tagahanga sa tunay na buhay ay marami silang natatanggap na papuri tungkol sa kanilang impluwensiya sa social media. Dahil sa pakikipag-ugnayan nila sa kanilang mga tagahanga, marami na ring oportunidad ang nagbukas para sa social media celebrities. Higit na nakilala ang kanilang social media accounts lalo na ang kanilang mga ipinapahayag. Nabigyan na rin ng pagkakataon ang ilang celebrity na magkaroon ng sponsors, advertisements, at iba pang aktibidad na maaaring ikasikat pa nila tulad ng pagkaka-publish ng libro ni Jayson at ang paglitaw sa iba't ibang programa sa telebisyon ng mga katulad nina Marco at Marcelo.

Sa isang bansang itinuturing na kayamanan ang kasikatan, maraming maghahangad na sumikat sa anumang paraan. Ang social media ay nagbibigay ng bagong paraan at oportunidad sa iba't ibang uri ng mamamayang may talento sa mabilis at madaling paraan. Ngunit nakasalalay rin sa patuloy na pakikipagkapwa at pagbabahagi ng talento ang pagpapanatili ng kasikatan at pagdami ng tagahanga.

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Read between the Signs:
The Jeepney Linguistic System

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This study is an exploration into the subculture of Filipino jeepney drivers based on a semiotic analysis of jeepney signage. In particular, the study attempts to provide an understanding of the jeepney linguistic system through the lens of the jeepney drivers and owners. Research was undertaken in three jeepney terminals in Metro Manila: (1) Cubao to Antipolo terminal, (2) Crossing United terminal, and (3) Shaw Boulevard terminal. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with ten jeepney drivers, randomly selected from among those working in any of the three said terminals.

Keywords: semiotic reading, jeepney signs, social issues, Philippine subculture

INTRODUCTION

Even before the emergence of social media as a venue for expressing one's ideas, beliefs, and values to the public, there was the Pinoy jeepney. The similarities of these two different things, juxtaposed together, may seem vague at first. But as you observe the familiar letterings and inscriptions painted on many jeepneys that roam our streets, you will realize that Filipinos have long been creatively expressive in a lot of ways, the same way modern Filipinos flood the social media with personal "shout-outs" and viral memes.

Aside from being a regular means of public transportation, jeepneys are also being used for the transport of commodities from one place to another. The jeepney, in more ways than one, has been a part of the everyday life of Filipinos. Thus, it is not surprising that the Philippine jeepney has become a Filipino pop culture icon, known not just in the country but also around the world. This popularity has been highly attributed to the unique, colorful designs of the jeepney's interior and exterior. These include witty, humorous, and sometimes offensive lines and quotations such as "Basta Driver, Sweet Lover"; "God Knows Hudas Not Pay"; "Katas ng Saudi"; "Huwag Masyadong Tutok, Baka Matepok"; and "Don't Get Close to Me; Get Close to God." These signages are not just meant to catch people's attention but express something deeper that we will better understand as we read between the signs.

There was a reality show produced by MTV called *Pimp My Ride* wherein an old-fashioned, worn-out car was transformed into a stunning work of art and technology as it got redesigned. In the Philippines, either the owner or the driver makes the jeepney designs and hand-painted inscriptions until there is no more space—as Meñez (1996) puts it, the so-called Filipino sensibility for *horror vacui*.

In her essay, Meñez also noted that jeepney drivers are creators as well as users of the urban slang. One common feature of the jeepneys signage is linguistic play enriched by multilingual resources (Conklin 1956)—i.e., Filipino (Tagalog-based), English (second language), and Taglish (a colloquial of two languages), also called "mix-mix" (Marasigan 1986).

Jeepney signage should be considered not only in terms of its "pimp my ride" (makeover) function but also as a way of exploring the Filipino driver's psyche. As Dr. Michael Tan puts it, although the vehicle decoration may not be uniquely Pinoy, the inscriptions encapsulate many Filipino characteristics, even values and norms (Salazar 2012).

This paper presents a semiotic reading of jeepney signs. It explores the layers of meanings behind the jeepney signage, taking into account

the denotation or literal meaning of a sign and the connotation, involving the more abstract meaning.

The science of signs, or semiology, first appeared in Saussure's *Course in General Linguistics*. Hence, semiology aims to take in any system of signs, whatever their substance and limits: images, gestures, music, objects, and all the complex associations, which form the content of ritual, convention, or public entertainment that constitute systems of signification (Barthes 1964). In his book *Elements of Semiology*, Barthes mentioned that "if we confine ourselves to its written elements only, we are entirely ignorant of the linguistic phenomenon which plays an important role: the development of connotation or the second order system" (1964, 9). It is therefore difficult to determine what belongs to language and what belongs to speech. The nature of the "signified" in linguistics has given rise to discussions that focused on the degree of reality embodied in the sign. In semiology, we have to deal with mixed systems and it may be appropriate to consider all the signs such as verbal sign, graphic sign, iconic sign, the gestural sign, and all kinds of typical signs (Barthes 1964, 14).

Meanwhile, in Barthes's theory, signification, can be conceived as a process—an act that binds the signifier and the signified. Value in linguistics has been treated fairly as an abstraction; and just what Hjelmslev suggests, strata (the substance and form of signification) partakes the substance of the content while value deals with form (Barthes 1964, 15–17).

In Roland Barthes's *Mythologies*, he defined myth as a system of communication; a message that allows one to perceive the myth as a form, a mode of signification. Everything can be a myth provided it is conveyed by discourse, and since it is the study of a type of speech, it is but one fragment of this science of signs called semiology (Barthes 1972). Semiology postulates a relation between two terms: a signifier and a signified. In myth, there is a peculiar system in a constructed second-order semiological system in which a sign (the associative total of concept and image) in the first system becomes the signifier of the second. However, the materials of mythical speech are reduced to a pure signifying function as soon as they are caught by the myth. Moreover, everything happens if the myth shifted the formal system of first signification sideways. Barthes illustrated in his book the two semiological systems: the linguistic system or language object; and myth itself, also called the metalanguage (Barthes 1972).

1. Signifier	2. Signified	
3. Sign		II SIGNIFIED
I SIGNIFIER		
III SIGN		

Language
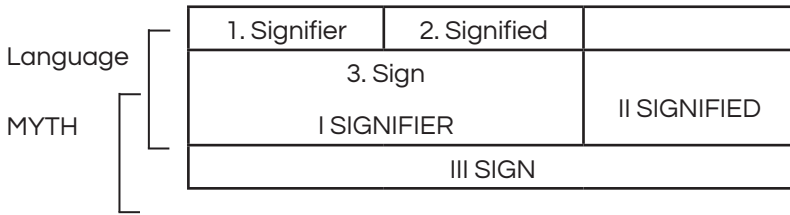
MYTH

Figure 1. Framework Taken from the Book *Mythologies*
by Roland Barthes

DENOTATION AND CONNOTATION

It is either you read between or behind the signs, and in this regard, semiotics may be helpful. Chandler (2007) noted that meaning includes both denotation and connotation. Denotation can be described as the definitional, literal, obvious, or common-sense meaning of a sign. On the other hand, connotation is used to refer to the sociocultural and "personal" associations (ideological, emotional, etc.) of the sign, which are typically related to the interpreter's class, age, gender, ethnicity, and so on. Connotations are not purely personal meanings—they are determined by the codes to which the interpreter has access. Cultural codes provide a connotation framework since they are organized around key oppositions and equations, each term being aligned with a cluster of symbolic attributes. Significantly, the Barthesian cultural myth that pertains to the connotation and denotation is described in terms of levels of representation (Chandler 2007). According to Chandler, Barthes adopted the concept of different orders of signification from Hjelmslev. The first order of signification is denotation, which consists of a signifier and a signified. The second order of signification is the connotative, which uses the denotative sign (signifier and signified). This framework shows that connotation is a sign that derives from the signifier of a denotative sign; also, changing the form of the signifier, while keeping the same literal signified, can generate different connotations.

THE JEEPNEY LINGUISTIC SYSTEM
AND THE BARTHESIAN MYTH

Chandler explains further that like metaphors, cultural myths help us make sense of our experiences within a culture. They express and serve to organize shared ways of conceptualizing something within a culture. He also noted that in the framework of Barthesian cultural studies, myth,

like connotation, can be seen as a higher order of signification. Chandler (2007) also mentions Hjelmslev, arguing that aside from the connotative level, there is also a so-called metasemiotic to which belonged such issues as "geographical, historical, political, sociological, psychological, and religious relating to such concepts as 'nation' region … the value forms of styles, personality," and many more.

There is a need to find meaning in jeepney signage that we usually take for granted. Through semiotic analysis of signage, this study aims to contribute to a better understanding of the jeepney linguistic system and the subculture of jeepney drivers.

The study was conducted in three selected jeepney terminals in Metro Manila: (1) Cubao to Antipolo terminal, (2) Crossing United terminal, and (3) Shaw Boulevard terminal. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with ten jeepney drivers, randomly selected from among those working in the said terminals.

THE JEEPNEY SIGNAGE

The coffee-table book by Emmanuel Torres stunningly captured not only the jeepney folk art but also the inclusion of the jeepney as a subject of analysis in sociocultural and art studies. Of interest in this study is the undisclosed spirit presiding in jeepney signs/signboards.

Jeepney is best known as the national icon (Meñez 1996) and also as the symbol of Filipino ingenuity (Torres 1979). The jeepney evolved from the surplus American military jeep in World War II to an artistic, well-decorated public transportation during the post-Liberation period (Meñez 1996, 2). The idea of the jeepney makeover was influenced by a covered riverboat or *casco* that became popular during the Spanish colonial period (Torres 1979). Hence, the jeepney has travelled with folk art and inscriptions courtesy of its owners and drivers. These artsy-folksy designs and inscriptions became the status update of the jeepney in different parts of the country.

There are various signs that can catch and captivate people's attention, including the play on words. In this regard, Meñez discusses the creativity of jeepney drivers:

> Linguistic play is a prominent feature in jeepney inscription, enriched by multilingual resources of the city, which exploit with remarkable facility. Jeepney inscriptions use the three dominant languages in the nation's capital—Tagalog (on which that national language, Filipino is based), English (which is still an official language), and Taglish (a colloquial mixture of the two languages. (1996, 6)

In jeepney inscriptions, Meñez presents the hybridity of the two languages in the Philippines (or as Marasigan [1986] coined it, "mix-mix"; better known as Taglish), which is part of mainstream contemporary life. It is common for professionals, students, and children to speak in this kind of hybrid language. Hence, the sign "No Parking sa Hindi Mo Darling" ("no parking on someone who is not your darling") indicates the driver's bilingual ability (Meñez 1996, 6). She also noted that punning is also a favorite form of verbal manipulation (Meñez 1996, 6). The use of verbal manipulation and play on words can be used to convey the subliminal message or the metanarrative of the jeepney signage.
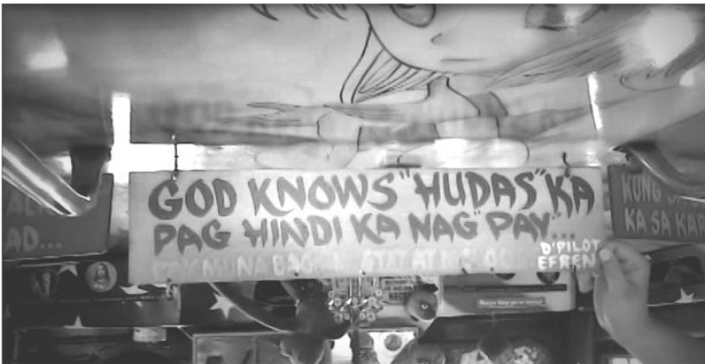
Figure 2. "God Knows Hudas Not Pay":
Mode of Operations and Linear Payment System

The foregoing sign admonishes the passenger to please not forget to pay as driving is a livelihood, not charity (Torres 1979), a pun that pertains to the Biblical villain who supposedly deserve eternal damnation. During fieldwork, four out of the ten jeepney drivers interviewed are carrying various versions of this message in their jeepneys: *"Ang Magpalusot sa Pamasahe Hudas ang Sarili"* (whoever does not pay is a traitor himself); *"Ang Pasaherong Dekalidad Pag-upo Bayad Agad"* (the distinguished passenger pays as soon as seated); *"*God Knows Hudas Not Pay (God knows who does not pay); *Bayad Muna Bago Magtext o Matulog"* (pay first before texting or sleeping); *"Kung sa Jeep Ko Nakalibre Ka, sa Karma Bayad Ka Na!"* (if you are able to ride in my jeep for free, in karma you will pay).

 A semiotic reading revealed the multiple layers of meaning of this signage. First, I looked into the denotation or the literal meaning of the sign *"*God Knows Hudas (who does) Not Pay.*"* Second, I examined the connotation of the sign; driving is a livelihood and you are required to pay for the service. Mang Dominador said that *"'yung iba hindi na*

nagbabayad nagpapalusot pa" (some not only do not pay but also make excuses). The most common tactic of passengers to avoid fare payment is to pretend to be texting or sleeping. When I asked Mang Antonio about this, he explained: "*kunwari nagte-text, tapos kapag nahuli n'yo, ay pasensiya na po busy ako sa pagte-text*" (the passenger pretends to be texting and when catched, he'll say sorry because he is busy texting). Meanwhile, Mang Ariel believes that karma will take care of the passenger does not pay. He said: "*Pagbababa ka, iisipin mo na hindi ka makakaligtas sa karma*" (When you get down, keep in mind that you cannot escape karma).

In this regard, Hinduism speaks out; Bret Wallach (2005) explains the powerful ideology of Hinduism:

> People who, by Western lights, live unbelievably wretched lives will feel no bitterness, will say that God's will must be obeyed, will say that their lifetime of suffering is the inevitable and just result of their actions—their karma—in a previous life. Besides, if they live ethically in this life, they will come back blessed in the next.

The above passage indicates the incorporation of the Hindu belief in karma in support of the mode of jeepney operations. Otsuka, Kikuchi, and Hayami (1986) explain that jeepney operations in the Philippines are typical of the "informal sector" in developing countries. Jeepneys are owned by private owners who are mostly petite bourgeoisie in local communities. Jeepney owners are required to secure a special licence plate called PUV (public utility vehicle) from the Board of Transportation (Otsuka, Kikuchi, and Hayami 1986, 280). The jeepney fare is determined by the government, and this is surprisingly well observed by jeepney operators despite apparent weakness in law enforcement. Significantly, most of my informants work under the boundary system; at the end of the day, they have to give boundary payments to jeepney operators or owners. In addition, as previously documented, jeepney drivers have to pay union fees, operating expenses, and the so-called grease money to traffic enforcers along the route (Meñez 1996, 3).

As noted by Otsuka, Kikuchi, and Hayami (1986), there are two forms of contract entered into by jeepney drivers. First is the leasehold contract—the driver pays a fixed sum of money to the owner for jeepney rental per day. Second is the share contract—both revenue and expenses are shared by the owner and the driver, with the driver typically paying the operating costs of fuel as well as personal expenditures—e.g., the costs of snacks, drinks, and cigarettes.

They also mentioned that the deduction of non-operating expenses implies that two-thirds of those expenses ensue to the driver in kind.

Furthermore, since the payment is independent of the jeepney's revenues, the share contract amounts to a much-discussed linear payment system (Otsuka, Kikuchi, and Hayami 1996, 286).

In my view, the signs help jeepney drivers impose the rules on payment. The signages empower the jeepney drivers to impose the payment system because the jeepney fare is essential for them to continue to function. This sign is used by the drivers to simply tell passengers to pay because if they do not pay, jeepney operations would really suffer.

Figure 3. "In God We Trust": The Power of Pat Signs

The variety of signages in the jeepney driven by Mang Leo caught my attention because the signage "In God We Trust" is positioned between the two popular song titles—"New Kid in Town" and "Material Girl." So what is the significance of placing this sign between the two other signs? Mang Leo explained to me the importance of God's guidance in driving as he said, "*Sana patnubayan tayo ng Diyos sa pagbiyahe*." (I hope that God will guide us in our journey). Literally, "us" refers to the driver and his passengers who are trusting God. This signage invokes the unseen Supreme Being who has the power to unite the people through faith.

West (2010) discussed functionalism, a powerful tradition in sociological theory. This sociological theory, which is associated with Durkheim and Parsons, views society as a system, wherein religion functions to create and maintain solidarity. Following Durkheim, West argues that society itself is defined by a symbolic differentiation between the sacred—symbols that demand attention and inspire reverence—and the quotidian profane. He also associated Durkheim's theory of symbols with the development of semiotic analysis and study of signs, citing the originality of Durkheim's theory of symbols often advanced in public seminars well-attended by other eminent intellectuals. Among other important influences cited by West were the development of

semiotic analysis by Ferdinand de Saussure and the study of sign processes by Roland Barthes (1964, 1972). As West (2010) noted:

> For example, Barthes illuminated the deep meanings that are central to consumption and contemporary identity including the religious-like worship of Citroën automobiles and insight into the grandiloquent character of professional wrestling for working classes.

The signage "In God We Trust" is a pat sign, as compared to the evocative vernacular *"Puwera Usog"*—an invocation against harm, or more precisely (especially uttered by a mother whose child was praised by others) against the evil eye (Torres 1979). Hence, pat signs show that Filipinos still believe in superstitions and also have strong faith in God. These precolonial beliefs are appropriated in popular culture through jeepney signs.

"**New Kid in Town** *Pasaway*," "**Material Girl** *Balahura*": Deviant Signs

Meñez pointed out in her study that female passengers are often the subject of jeepney inscriptions, which are probably meant to relieve the tensions brought about by urban life (Meñez 1996). Two signs caught my attention while doing fieldwork for this study. Both are song titles with accompanying rude remarks written in Filipino.

The first signage is "New Kid in Town Pasaway," while the second signage is "Material Girl Balahura." The first sign is drawn from the title of the song "New Kid in Town" by the American country rock band Eagles; its chorus goes:

> Johnny come lately, the new kid in town
> Everybody loves you, so don't let him down

On the other hand, the second sign is a popular song by Madonna, "Material Girl," the chorus of which goes:

> Cause we are living in a material world
> And I am a material girl

For the first signage, Mang Leo observed that *"'yung mga kabataan ngayon, pasaway na lang"* (the youth of today are stubborn). Meanwhile, the second signage, according to him is a comment and a reminder; he said frankly, *"'yung* material girl*, wala sa ayos"* (the material girl is unpleasant).

Underlying these two signs are traditional expectations that are seemingly violated, hence the need for reminders. These reminders serve

as a form of social control while highlighting deviant forms of behaviour. By carrying these signs, the driver has expressed his preference and regard for standards and traditions which should guide the behavior of the young, especially women.

David (2001) explained in his book, *Culture of Control*, that from the viewpoint of the new sociology of deviance much of what is considered as criminal conduct is in fact normal, healthy, and widely enjoyed—and not a dangerous pathology. In his view, the real problem lay in overzealous control and not in the deviance itself. However, it is interesting to note, as indicated in the jeepney signs and the personal views of Mang Leo, the Filipino jeepney is a conveyor of much that is traditionally valued and accepted in society.

In a fast changing world, the Filipino jeepney driver, is effectively engaged in the struggle over rule-making. As Migdal (2004) noted, the major struggles in many societies are struggles over who has the right and ability to make the countless rules that guide people's social behavior. The jeepney driver, in many ways, is a protagonist in these struggles.

Figure 4. "Playboy na Walang Tsiks, Sorry Girls No Time for Love":
Machismo Signages

Meñez (1996) mentioned in her essay that extramarital affair is a favorite topic for jeepney commentary. "Basta driver, sweet lover" is a familiar jeepney signage. In my fieldwork, this sign caught my attention: "*Playboy na Walang Tsiks*, Sorry Girls No Time 4 Luv." The signage shows the kind of language currently being used by ordinary people: text message shortcut, slang, and hybrid (Taglish)."

The word "tsiks" is actually an American slang for "girl" (Meñez 1996), the current use of which indicates the continuing prevalence of

machismo, a concept that was comprehensively discussed by Andres (1987, 1994).

One of the lingering effects of more than 300 years of Spanish colonial rule is the machismo concept…. Tomas Andres's *Dictionary of Filipino Culture and Values* defines machismo as the "belief in male supremacy and the relegation of the women to a domestic role and as second-class citizens."

Andres discusses how machismo has prevailed among Filipino men and influenced their treatment of women. According to him, machismo requires Filipino men to "engage in a sexual role which could only be verified by the peer group to which he belongs in terms of number of affairs he maintains and children he sires either with his lawful wife or his mistresses.

Machismo is closely linked to the *querida* system.[2] However, while men gain status by having mistresses, the legal wife is strongly admonished not to have an affair with another man. This double standard premised on machismo still exists in the subculture of jeepney drivers. One of the drivers confessed to me that he has a mistress. While being interviewed, he pointed out, *"'yung kundoktor ko na 'yan, sa totoo lang, bale sa second wife ko na 'yan"* (that conductor actually is my son with my second wife). He also added that he really loves women, especially when he was still in high school. He dated many girls when he was a young man many years ago.

The narrative of my participant unveils a metanarrative, as he was not only expressing his machismo but also those of his fellow jeepney drivers, not to mention his male passengers.

Figure 5. Advertisment/Sign Pickup Lines: Deployment of Gender

I found an attractive signage inside a jeepney in Shaw Boulevard. It is a pickup line printed in tarpaulin that says, *"Google Ka Ba? Lahat Kasi ng Hinahanap Ko, sa Iyo Ko Natagpuan!"* (Are you Google? Because all the things that I am searching for, I found in you!) This is just one of the pickup lines have flooded popular culture recently. According Mang Jerry, many of his passengers, male or female, find this amusing. He said: *"'yung mga pasahero natatawa"* (the passengers laugh at it).

Jeepney signs are parallel to social media shout-outs. These signs have been made to enforce the jeepney rules and regulations. It can serve either as a reminder to passengers or as plain information about something personal or some issues that need to be addressed.

Another prominent jeepney signage is the reminder "No Smoking Please." Mang Leo told me that this is now a rule that needs to be enforced. With this sign, jeepney drivers are finally made constantly aware of the dangers of smoking even to those who do not smoke (the passive smokers).

Figure 6. "No Smoking Please": Reminder, Personalized, and Curt Signs

The second signage carries the witty, tongue-twisting slogan, *"Dumating ng Walang-wala, Umalis ng Lulang-lula"* (arrived with nothing, left overwhelmed), and this can be seen either as a rant message or a status update for drunkards. Mang Eric, the driver of the jeep carrying this signage, told me that this is for *"mga matatakaw sa inom, nagkakasakit sa kakainom"* (the alcoholics and drunkards who get sick because of drinking). Another driver, Mang Leo, volunteered that the signage *"Pag Alak Wag Mo Akong Bibiruin"* (do not tease about a drink), was a sign made by his wife. This signage has multiple meanings. It may be viewed as a personal statement, a hint of Mang Leo's predisposition to drinking and his acknowledgment that drinking is his weakness. It can also be

**Figure 7. "Pag Alak Wag Mo Akong Bibiruin
(Do Not Joke Me about a Drink")**

interpreted as a reminder to fellow jeepney drivers of the general rule that one should not drink and drive.

Interestingly, when I asked Mang Leo about the meaning of the sign, he was defensive, *"iyon naman ang di ko ginagawa, ang mag-drive nang nakainom"* (that is what I do not do, driving when I am drunk). The signage is a reminder for drivers to obey the law and heed the message propagated even by visual or print media: "do not drink and drive," "drink moderately," or simply, "drink responsibly."

CONCLUSION

This study is an exploration into the subculture of Filipino jeepney drivers based on a semiotic analysis of jeepney signage. In particular, the study attempts to provide an understanding of the jeepney linguistic system through the lens of the jeepney drivers and owners. The discussion draws attention to jeepney signs as identity markers. Most of the signs can still be seen and have become a part of Filipino popular culture. These signs have important functions because they not only encapsulate the jeepney drivers' psyche but also embody a linguistic system within the sociocultural arena.

The subculture of jeepney drivers must be seen in relation to other subcultures in Philippine society, such as those of tricycle drivers and bus drivers, including the Tulaan sa Tren and other signage that can be read in the Light Rail Transit (LRT). The discussion highlights the need for social scientists and scholars to examine the signage found in public transportation and explore the metanarrative of the signs using

a different lens—i.e., taking into account the perspectives of jeepney passengers and commuters using other modes of public transportation.

Hopefully, this study will encourage social scientists and cultural studies scholars to read not only between or beyond the lines but also read between the signs, and in so doing contribute to a more in-depth understanding of the linguistic system of subcultures in the Philippines.

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THE JEJEMON AS SYMPTOM AND SLIPPAGE: NOTES ON ISSUES OF POWER AND IDENTITY IN MEDIA LITERACY AND (MASS) COMMUNICATION

Christian Tablazon

With their huge appetite for what popular culture has to offer and their emulation/interpretation of what they perceive to be hegemonic, plus with the lack of awareness and necessary skills to discriminate information and sort their media experiences, little access to knowledge structures, and their inability to distance themselves from media impositions, jejemons end up a "grotesque" *pastiche* of multicultural influx conveyed through various media channels juxtaposed on their more immediate cultural contexts. Jejemons are stigmatized and deemed by the othering dominant culture in the Philippines as "freaks," crude and appalling human assemblages like golems or Frankenstein's monster. *Jejemons*, however, are spontaneous, historico-cultural by-products whose conception marks the rupture amid the plethora of colonial, capitalist, modern, and globalizationist meanings that have been bombarding Filipinos through time, in the face of "third-world," postcolonial realities of the country.

Keywords: *bakya, Filipino underclass youth cultures, jejemon, jejenese, jologs*

INTRODUCTION

The most prominent of derogatory labels generally ascribed to the "masses" or to the lower classes in the Philippines across disparate periods include *indio* (the colonial racial term for the native peoples of the archipelago during the Spanish occupation that began in the sixteenth century); *bakya* (which gained currency in the late 1960s and 1970s [Lim 2004, 67]; originally referring to wooden slippers worn mostly by the rural folk); *jologs* (of indeterminate origin; coined in the 1990s and still widely used); and the most recent, *jejemon* (derived from jeje, an early jejenese* variant of "hehe," an onomatopoeia for the "sly" laughter, and the suffix –mon from the anime franchise Pokémon, a gairaigo portmanteau of "pocket" and "monster"). The admittedly dated term "jejemon," whose hype reached its peak in 2010, will be used in this essay in more general terms to describe a range of Filipino "underclass" youth cultures in the age of new media, and accommodate within its context the accretion of related stigmas previously attributed to the indio, the bakya, and the jologs.

In her essay "Cult Fiction: *Himala* and *Bakya* Temporality," Bliss Cua Lim (2004) revisits the more or less obsolete bakya and reworks it to encompass not only the referents to "the outmoded contours of yesterday's popular taste, but the [familiar, imperialist 'not yet'] which continue to inform the denunciation of the culture of the 'masses'" (68) "as people who are not just culturally and financially beneath, but also temporally behind" the "local elites who dwell in the 'now'" (69). This "style of popular culture, the sensibility of [...] masscult" [is] disparagingly characterized by most as "cheap, gauche, naive, provincial, and terribly popular" (Lacaba cited in Lim 2004, 67).

While members of jejemon subcultures are mostly teens, decidedly "metropolitan" in their aspirations, and arguably more heterogeneous in their influences and performance, they nonetheless share the basic propensities that constitute the bakya stigma. The more significant difference, however, of the jejemon from what Lacaba and Lim have delineated of the bakya is in how the former is primarily characterized through the curious language it employs—or better yet, performs—a codification largely shaped and determined by its symbiosis with technology. Here, mass media exercises a role more crucial and a presence more ubiquitous than ever in the form of its newfangled extensions—namely, new media and social media. It is most likely due to the jejemon's access to "democratized," reappropriated versions of

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* Somewhat similar to leet, jejenese encodes Taglish in a manner that demands excessive use of sticky caps, punctuations, and other symbols, and interplay between abbreviation and overly stylized and extended spelling.

these technologies and to the subsequent affordability (no matter how partial) of sociocultural "synchronicities" (notions of the new and the latest, the cool, the up-to-date, the à la mode) that its otherness from the bodies comprising the dominant classes lies not so much in temporal positionings (in contrast to the bakya condition, now the "financially beneath" is not always "temporally behind") than in the discrepancies between original, first-rate, and exclusive commodities and their depreciated, co-opted "counterfeit" renditions:

> Lacaba argues that the contempt heaped at bakya hardly stems from radical objections to colonialist mimicry or cultural imperialism; rather, it divulges the colonized imagination's cringing over poor imitation, its embarrassment over mimicry found wanting. (Lim 2004, 68)

"[T]he difference," Lim writes, between the neocolonialist appetite of the elite and the underclass "is that … the [latter] prefers 'ersatz' mimicry, whose obvious failure can have a parodic effect" (2004, 67). This, of course, resonates Homi Bhabha's prescriptions regarding the deployment of mimicry (that "ironic compromise") both as the Other's appropriation—"[C]olonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, *as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*"—and as a potent mode of subversion—"The success of colonial appropriation depends on a proliferation of inappropriate objects that ensure its strategic failure, so that mimicry is at once resemblance and menace" (1994, 85–92).

Despite the dynamic textures and interstices of jejenese (whose significations become far more estranged from their referents in an attempt to deconstruct language, perhaps as a means of defamiliarization, of reframing experience, or even of escape), and despite the jejemon's success in reappropriating its realities through this permutation, or (to the othering dominant classes) the transmogrification, of codes, it has been refused acknowledgment as a valid sociolect. To the legitimate cultural order, the jejemon and their devices remain problematic: their bodies out of shape, their voices inchoate.

This policing campaign by the official culture ("campaign," as efforts to lambaste and curtail jejemons have become not only organized [from online "jeje-busters"—that is, "netizens" commited to bullying jejemons] but institutional as well ["DepEd declares 'all-out-war' vs Jejemons," announces one news headline]) inhibits jejemons from "[exercising] the freedom to create new meanings for goods through their own idiosyncratic performance of everyday life" (de Certeau cited in Elliott 1997, 290), a freedom that allows "for collective and individual resistance

against the imposed meanings of the dominant cultural categories, particularly through the choice of style and the use of bricolage tactics" (Fiske and Hebdige cited in Elliott 1997, 290).

Deliberate or not, these tactics are inherent to the jejemon. Their penchant for excess and huge appetite for popular and consumer cultures, and their simulation and interpretation of the "cool" and elite result in a "grotesque" pastiche of multivalent influxes conveyed through various media channels (subcultures, genres, and subgenres [e.g., hip-hop, Pinoy rock, punk, goth, emo rock, reggae, hipster, K-pop, anime, kawaii]; industries [e.g., South Korean romance TV series, local television—especially dance contests, reality shows, and teen romance series—Hollywood cinema]; and technologies and interfaces [China-made consumer electronics, digital piracy, MMORPGs, YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter]) juxtaposed with the more immediate politico-cultural frames of gender, ethnicity, class, religion, etc. "Identity becomes infinitely plastic in a play of images that knows no end. Consistency is no longer a virtue but becomes a vice; integration is limitation" (Taylor and Saarinen cited in Elliott 1997, 289). The "hysteria" embodied in the jejemon and its multiphrenic constitution ("pure positive multiplicities where everything is possible, transverse connections, polyvocal conjunctions, included disjunctions" [Smith 2007, 75]) are predictably met with "official culture's anxieties concerning [disruptions … of] attempts to represent national modernity as homogeneous, and selfconsistent" (Lim 2004, 69). The stigmas heaped at the jejemon announce a refusal of the necessary obligation of those subject to the conditions of postcolonial modernity "to participate in the 'tolerance of incompatible alternatives'" (Lyotard cited in Elliott 1997, 286) and "the juxtaposition of opposites and contradictions" (Foster cited in Elliott 1997), despite the fundamental principle that even "language itself," which mediates and forms the real, "contains the contradictions and fragmentations of … power and meaning" (Kristeva cited in Elliott 1997, 288). Jejemons are thus detested and deemed freaks (hence, the derisive suffix –mon that spells out as "monster"), like golems and Frankenstein's monster that are "crude" and "appalling" human assemblages antithetical to the seamless "cellular" amalgamation of "naturally" or "organically" reproduced subjects—that is, Filipinos with "more competent" literacies. Not that high- and middlebrow subjects are truly and better assimilated in their constitutions; because their individuated constitutions conform to accepted modes of configuration, they are simply able to mask their sutures through a phantasmal facade of evenness and refinement woven and maintained by institutions of the official culture, allowing their own brands of multiphrenia to appear standard and normative.

Due to these irregularities in the jejemon repertoire that so distinguish its agents from the "seamlessly constituted" subjects that espouse official cultures, and despite their extensive exposure to media texts and channels, the jejemon has been relegated as having "only a limited perspective on the media" and "smaller, more superficial, and less organized knowledge structures"—ergo, they are dismissed as culturally deprived and perceived to be "much less able to identify inaccuracies[,] to sort through controversies" (Potter 2001, 10).

What is overlooked here is of course that jejemons are spontaneous, historico-cultural by-products whose conception marks the rupture amid the schizophrenic plethora of colonial, capitalist, modern, and globalizationist meanings that have been bombarding Filipino subjects across time, in the face of Third World, postcolonial realities of the country. As Žižek (2007) has said of "the inhabitants of slums in the new megalopolises" (56), "they are the true 'symptom' of slogans like 'Development,' 'Modernization,' and 'World Market': not an unfortunate accident, but a necessary product of the innermost logic of global capitalism." He further claims, echoing Badiou, the slums to be "one of the few authentic 'evental sites' in today's society" (Žižek 2007, 57). It is under the same conditions that "the consumption of symbolic meaning, particularly through the use of [mass media] as a cultural commodity, provides the individual with the opportunity to construct, maintain and communicate identity and social meanings" (Elliott 1997, 285). Through its mimicry, sociolect, and other forms of assault of its transgressive performance, the jejemon "continually [produces] its slippage, its excess, its difference" (Bhabha 1994, 85–92) that undermine "the imposition of [hegemonic] order[s] of meaning" (Price 1998, 23):

> Mimicry is also the sign of the inappropriate, ... a difference or recalcitrance which coheres the dominant strategic function of colonial power, intensifies surveillance, and poses an immanent threat to both 'normalized' knowledges and disciplinary powers. (Bhabha 1994, 85–92)

Just as "it is necessary to retain a sense of 'scandal in every translation'" (Chakrabarty cited in Lim 2011, 20) and in keeping with the kind of "translation in which the seams show, where the 'selvedges of the language-textile' come partly undone, so that the translation shows signs of 'fraying'" (Spivak cited in Lim 2011, 33), inadvertent sites of resistance manifest themselves in the sutures and fractures that are blatantly visible, as if the violence of the "schizophrenic plethora" of the aforementioned impositions have been reified, corporealized in the jejemon, assaulting the members of high- and middlebrow spheres

with its suggestive vulgarity (not because we do not possess the same vestiges of damage and reconfiguration but because we have managed to hide them), not only in its "transmogrified" codifications and utterances but also in the way the jejemon dresses and in the many other ways by which he or she manipulates codes to assemble and construct its personas. The graphic features of its expression point to what "Roman Jakobson called 'phatic communication,' in which the meaning of the act is the act of communication as such—establishing a link, creating the visibility of the speaker" (cited in Žižek 2007, 52); that is, an articulation of presence, an assertion of being in the face of the police, foregrounding the body within that "order of the visible and the sayable that sees that a particular activity is visible and another is not, that this speech is understood as discourse and another as noise" (Rancière 2005, 29). These makeshift bodies and "voices" disrupt the seemingly calm surface of mainstream sign systems continuously set, normalized, institutionalized, and policed by hegemonic cultures, upsetting notions of acceptability and appropriateness in communication, as if to remind us of the underlying wreckage of the third world, postcolonial Philippine society, recuperating still from waves of imperialism, negotiating national identity across archipelagic and multiethnic valences, and now incessantly flooded by insistent messages of globalization.

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FILIPINO GENERATIONS

IN A CHANGING LANDSCAPE

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