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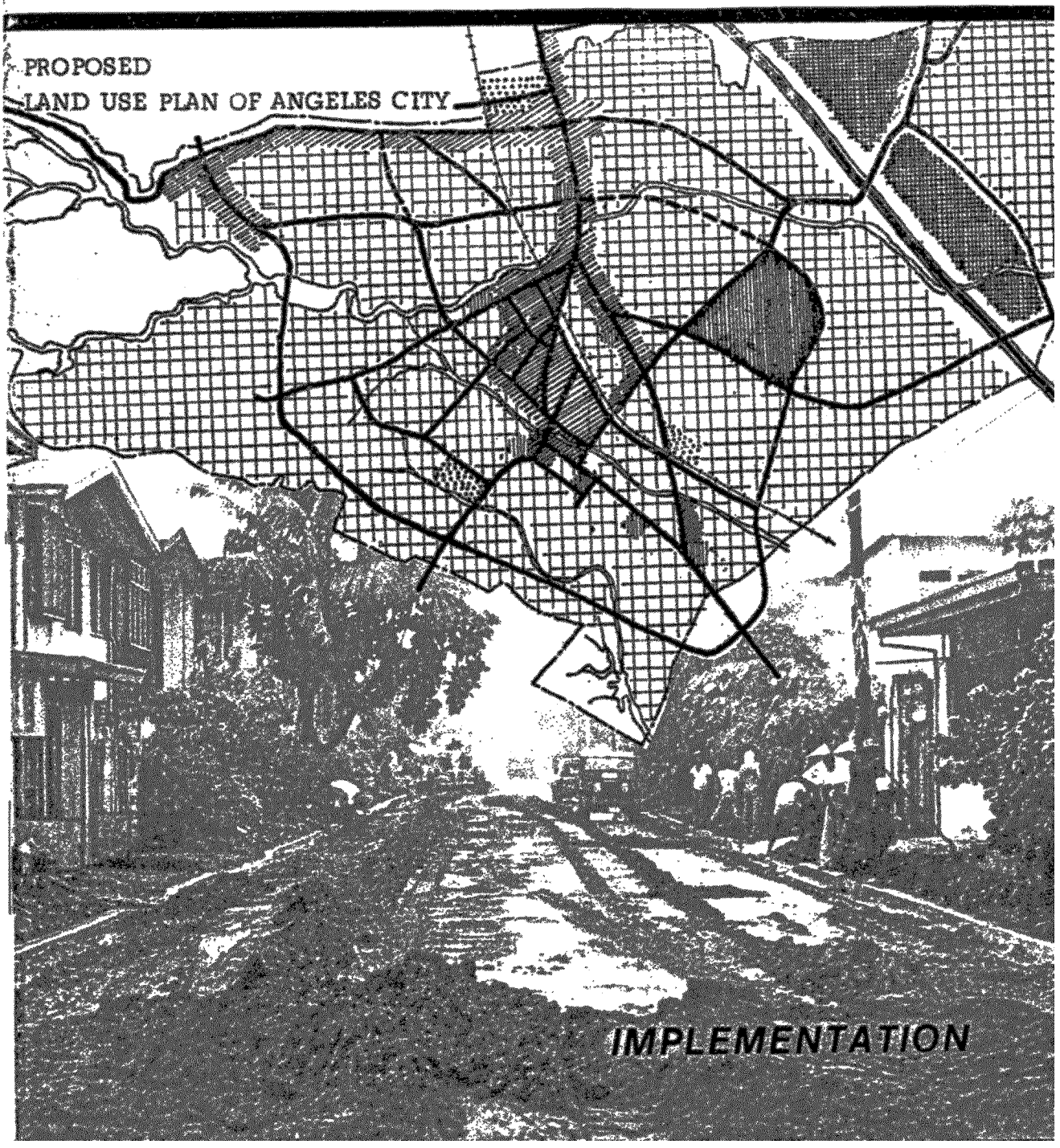

IMPLEMENTATION

PHILIPPINE PLANNING JOURNAL

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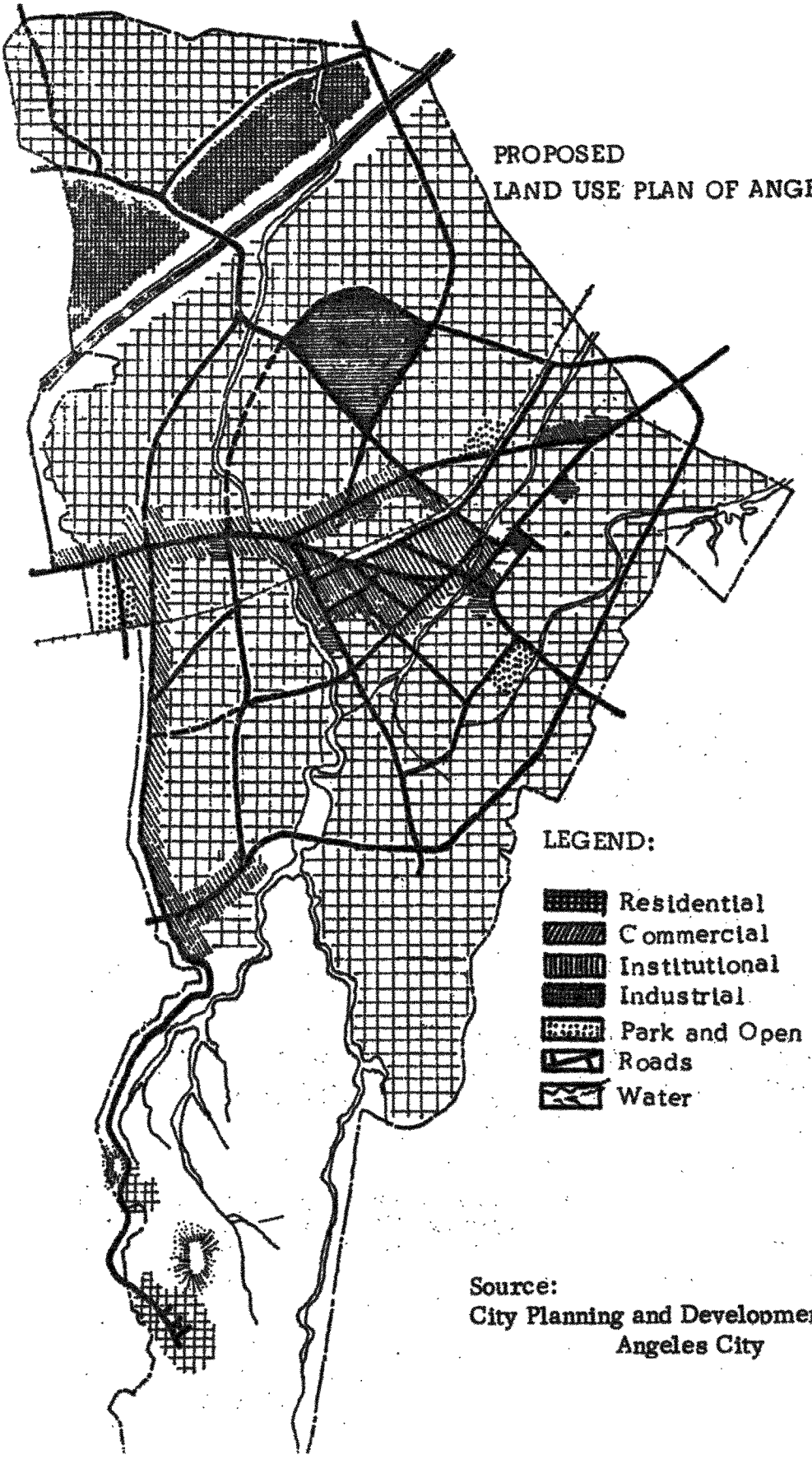

Source:
City Planning and Development Staff
Angeles City

PLAN IMPLEMENTATION:

A CASE STUDY OF ANGELES CITY

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Plan Implementation as an Area of Study

It is said that the true test of a good plan is in its implementation. Indeed, it would be a futile exercise to do any planning at all if the finished plan cannot be implemented. In the formulation of a development plan, the planner needs to assess the resources available and the prevailing political climate in the area so that proposed programs and projects can easily be executed. The plan may have grand schemes, but of what value will these be if the costs contemplated for the realization of such schemes are beyond the capacity of the political unit to shoulder?

In recent years, urban planning in the Philippines has been greatly accelerated by positive programs of the national government, such as the Town Planning, Housing and Zoning program of the Ministry of Human Settlements and the Pilot Cities Project of the Ministry of Local Government and Community Development. Under both programs, cities and towns have prepared their development plans. As of this writing, however, no information is yet available concerning the number of plans implemented.

It has been the experience in some countries that many plans collect dust in shelves. In some cases though the planners could be blamed for their failure to take into account in greater detail the implementation, such as: 1) imprecise definitions of objectives, 2) institutional inadequacy or lack of effective machinery to coordinate efforts systematically, 3) interdepartmental jealousy, and 4) inadequate involvement of the citizens in the planning process.[1]

Understandably, planners have expressed frustration over the non-implementation of several plans. The following observations, for instance, made by an Australian Planner, reflect a great deal of frustration:

> "Planning in Australia is the art of the impossible. We all place high hopes on our plans being accepted and implemented, yet the record shows that the majority of plans are destined to remain stillborn."[2]

Thus, another planner concluded, plans have become "graveyards of good intentions."

Critics of planning sometimes remark caustically that planners have become experts in designing plans which hardly achieve any tangible results. Oftentimes the statement is undeniably true, simply because planners exert little effort in analyzing conditions that affect the implementation of their plans. For instance, a common observation is that after the land use plan for a town or city is approved by the local law-making body, the urban planner just waits for things to happen in their own usual

[1]See C.P. Cacho, "The Road to Plan Implementation," *Finance and Development* (Vol. 12, No. 4, December 1975).

[2]From a colloquium of Australian planners published in the *Royal Australian Planning Institute Journal* (Vol. 10, No. 2, April 1972).

way. He tends to forget that desired private investments do not just come without attractive inducements.

At this stage of progress of urban planning as a governmental activity in the Philippines, a study of how plans in localities are implemented is not only timely but also an urgent necessity. Such a study can highlight pitfalls to smooth implementation of plans and, hopefully, can contribute to the increase in production of truly workable plans. It is with this sense of urgency that this researcher conducted a study on this subject in early 1979 utilizing Angeles City as a pilot urban community for investigation.

Focus of Study

This study takes the following for its focus: 1) the nature of projects and programs undertaken after the plan was officially adopted, 2) the preparation of the annual budget, 3) the planner's roles in the implementation of projects, and 4) the innovations introduced, especially in the management and control of the city's physical development.

An analysis of projects and programs undertaken can reveal what criteria were followed in setting priorities among projects. How were they funded? An examination of the budget-making process can portray sources of influence in the allocation of resources and can illustrate the utilization of the budget as a tool for implementation of plans.

The planner's roles in attaining development goals and objectives is in itself an interesting subject for research because one can gain insights into the weaknesses and strengths of the existing planning organization. For example, what functions are entrusted to the city planner? In what areas of city development are his skills needed? How much power or influence does he wield over the selection and implementation of projects?

Planning is said to be creative and, therefore, it encourages innovations both in community design and in the management of development. Information about planning innovations was sought from the planning office through interviews with the staff.

Angeles City: Its Development Goals and the Planning System

Angeles City is in the province of Pampanga and is eighty-two kilometers north of Manila. It is adjacent to San Fernando, the provincial capital, and its 1975 census population of 151,164 was the highest in the province. San Fernando had 98,382 population, next highest in Pampanga.

The City's area is only 6,438 hectares, which is certainly small if compared with the three biggest towns of Pampanga: Porac, 34,312 hectares; Candaba, 20,870 hectares; and Lubao, 15,557 hectares.

Of the total area of 6,438 hectares, 57 per cent is devoted to agriculture, 34 per cent to residential, 2 per cent to commercial and industrial, and the rest to government, institutional and other uses.

Angeles City is highly urbanized, with 90 per cent of its population concentrated in the poblacion and in barangays classified as urban. The agricultural sector has sugar for its principal crop, followed by rice, root crops and vegetables.

In the past, the City attracted in-migrants largely due to its proximity to Clark Air Base where 28 per cent of the City's employed labor force in 1975 was working. The annual rate of population increase from 1960 to 1970 was eight (8) per cent. However, this figure declined to only three (3) per cent after 1970.

As early as 1964, the mayor of Angeles City had already shown interest in the planning of this metropolis. He organized a city planning board and employed consultants to conduct studies and evolve standards for the construction of roads and for subdivision housing. However, this undertaking was aborted when a new mayor was elected in 1967.

Then, in 1975, the City joined the Program on Development Planning launched by the Ministry of Local Government and Community Development. The program imposed certain obligations to be met by the city administration, such as enacting an ordinance to create the city planning and development board and the city planning and development staff and sending personnel for training in urban planning, conducted by the Urban Development Division of the Bureau of Community Development, Ministry of Local Government and Community Development.

After completion of their training, the participants from Angeles City undertook a household survey and collected reports from various agencies and offices. The data collected became the bases for analyzing the City's problems and potentials and the principal output of these activities was a development plan.

The development plan considers Angeles City as a major growth center in its external relationship with surrounding municipalities. It is identified as a center for commerce, trade, and education and is therefore expected to extend its social and economic services to adjacent municipalities.

Internally, the plan proposes incremental changes determined by growth trends and basic needs. It also proposes the tapping of the City's potentials for the tourist industry, with emphasis on the provision of recreational and convention facilities.

Basically, the plan applies the problem-solving technique wherein problems of each development and service sector are discussed and dissected and solutions in the form of policies are outlined.

The development plan was evolved through the effort of the City Planning and Development Board, assisted by the City Planning and Development Staff. The Board came into existence by virtue of a city ordinance passed in July, 1974. Its membership consisted of heads of departments and representatives of the private sector. The membership, which was originally nine, was later increased to accommodate representatives of the Sangguniang Panglunsod.

Assisting the Board was the City Planning and Development Staff (CPDS). It was assigned to perform functions essentially related to research and design of schemes. In addition, the CPDS was expected to provide technical assistance to other city offices in the field of development planning. It should be stressed at this point that the CPDS, as provided for in the ordinance, primarily had functions supportive only to the Board.

Task Force committees, where citizens also participated, were organized to apportion the work among the members of the City Planning and Development Board in the preparation of the development plan. The Board was active during the early stages of the planning process. Later, however, it met only rarely. It appears that the Board was more useful during the preparation of the plan.

Summary of Findings

Project Priorities

Projects given high priority for implementation were generally those that could strengthen the position of Angeles City as a trade and commercial center of Pampanga and ultimately of Region III. Thus, among the first projects that obtained funding were the public markets. San Nicolas Public Market, located in the downtown core, was allocated ₱100,000.00 for the construction of additional stalls and for the widening of corridors or passageways. This market is the center of dry goods, fruits, and food catering. Improvements in Pampang Market, where perishable goods like meat, fish and vegetables are sold, cost the city ₱180,000.00. Further expansion of this market has been recommended with a loan of ₱1,050,000.00 from the Development Bank of the Philippines. Three subsidiary markets are to be opened in three residential areas: Balibago, Lourdes Sur-East, and San Jose, to minimize commuting by shoppers to the downtown area.

Next in the priority were projects of national agencies which required local support, as well as projects jointly financed by the city government and the central agencies as concluded in memorandums of agreement. The rationale for this priority was the desire of the Mayor to intensify the City's contribution to national development through the provision of facilities and of conditions which can accelerate economic growth and mitigate social problems. The principal projects were the BLISS[3] project of

[3]BLISS is an acronym for Bagong Lipunan Improvement of Sites & Services.

the Ministry of Human Settlements, the Real Property Tax Administration Program of the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Local Government and Community Development, and the Road Network Development Project, also of the Ministry of Local Government and Community Development.

The BLISS project is a relocation site near the squatter resettlement area. The six-hectare site, privately owned, was purchased by the city at ₱10.00 per square meter. The objective is to develop the area into a model neighborhood consisting of 130 families who will come from depressed neighborhoods but possessing skills in cottage industries. The Ministry of Human Settlements promised to provide capital for housing which can be amortized by the occupants on a reasonably long term basis.

The Real Property Tax Administration Program aims at the enhancement of the City's financial capability by conducting a survey of current assessment and preparing tax maps. Tax assessments will be revised based on realistic land values. The counterpart fund from the national government is ₱30,000.00 as *seed money* to stimulate local interest. The City has already spent ₱75,000.00 out of its loan of ₱300,000.00 from the Ministry of Finance but the *seed money* has yet to be released. The Assessor's Office hired casual employees for this project but their tax-mapping activity has been hampered by the uncertainty of the national counterpart fund.

The Road Network Development Project has for its objective the upgrading of the road network in the City. Origin-destination surveys were undertaken and the data, at the time of writing, were being processed and analyzed. This project turned out to be expensive but the City government feels that it has to fulfill its commitments as stipulated in the memorandum of agreement.

Other projects considered of high priority had for their objectives the enhancement of the City's environment and raising the level of adequacy of services. Initial steps toward the development of a government center three kilometers away from the city proper were taken with the purchase of the site at ₱210,000. The center will accommodate the city hall, city jail, sports center, courthouse, and the branch offices of the national agencies. The zoning ordinance, which regulates the physical development of the city, is now being enforced and non-conforming uses are being gradually eased out of the residential areas. A city library, likewise has been allocated funds.

As observed, the locally-initiated projects are strongly linked with the development plan. It is the introduction of the national projects that sometimes creates dysfunctions due to improper timing and delays in the release of financial aids. No one will argue against the beneficial effects of the national projects upon local development but these can also cause dislocation in local priorities, if not properly planned and coordinated with established local policies.

Budget Preparation

The annual budget is prepared under the direction of the City Mayor. Three months before the deadline set for submission to the Ministry of Finance, generally in February, the Mayor sends out notices to all departments to submit their budget proposals. The excess from operational expenses of the different units in the city administration is earmarked for infrastructure projects. The listing of the infrastructure projects is done in the Mayor's Office after the estimated cost of each has been studied by the City Engineer's Office.

The City Treasurer's function is limited to releasing funds when the projects are due for implementation. In the past, the preparation of the budget was a responsibility of the City Treasurer. The Budget Commission, in 1978, transferred this function to the Mayor's Office. In theory, the Treasurer's power over the budget has been clipped. In practice, however, the Treasurer remains powerful over budget matters since he exercises the authority to certify to the availability of funds collected from taxes. An uncooperative Treasurer can offer difficulty to the local executive by merely certifying to the unavailability of funds. Also, by making a very low estimate of the City's expected revenues, the Treasurer can keep the Mayor unaware of the availability of city funds which may accrue to the treasury due to the sudden rise in tax collection.

An examination of the City budget for 1978 will indicate the overriding concern of the administration for the development of the

City. The Mayor, through his budget message, expressed this concern:

> "This budget proposal is a thrust towards the development of our social and economic welfare directed to the improvement on the quality of life of our people. Fiscal prudence has been exercised in the preparation of this budget."[4]

The economic development sector obtained 27 per cent of the outlay, totalling ₱2,727,787.07. Major components of the economic sector were public markets, livestock improvement and food production.

Social development, mainly for health and educational services, shared 18 per cent or ₱1,762,278.16. Infrastructure projects had 19 per cent, with a total of ₱1,822,304.60. The rest of the funds went to expenses for city operations.

Roles of the Planner

One question that often predominates in the mind of students in planning has something to do with the role or roles of the planner in plan implementation. The prevailing belief, it seems, is that the planner's job revolves around the preparation of schemes of development and once the plan is approved by the legislative body, the planner looks toward the next cycle of the planning process wherein the plan is reviewed and amended or revised and goals redefined. The implementation of policies, programs, and projects is thought to be the area of the line departments. As stipulated in the Angeles City ordinance creating the City Planning and Development Board, the City Planning and Development Staff has limited powers and functions. It was intended merely as a technical staff of the Board.

It was part of this study to find out what the planner (the chief of the planning office) did insofar as the implementation of the plan was concerned. It was gathered from the interviews with the members of the planning staff that the planner performs a wide range of activities in relation to the subject under inquiry and, in fact, due to his multifarious activities, certain department heads felt that their functions have been encroached upon.

Based on various activities enumerated, the planner's roles can be categorized into the following: 1) disseminator of information about planning policies and principles, 2) technical adviser to the City Mayor in the field of planning, 3) integrator of sectoral proposals, and 4) implementor of development regulations and of feedback and monitoring mechanisms.

As disseminator of planning ideas and policies, the planner explains to inquiring citizens the contents of the development plan, especially its goals, objectives, policies, and strategies, and the benefits the community will enjoy if the plan fully achieves its objectives. This job is done in the planning office, in meetings, in seminars, and in school sessions where the planner is invited as lecturer. He attends to callers, usually businessmen, seeking information about land use and zoning regulations and on the latest studies on business, employment, and households profile. Visitors from other localities come to his office to obtain first-hand knowledge concerning Angeles City's experience in urban development.

The planner as technical adviser of the City Mayor provides the latter with results of studies conducted and informs him of the progress of planning cases and problems referred to him. He drafts policies to ensure proper implementation of programs, and either accompanies or represents the Mayor in conferences where the subject matter discussed is related to city development. Not infrequently, the Mayor asks him to review specifications and cost estimates of infrastructure projects.

National projects needing local participation are generally referred to the planner for study. In many cases, he prepares programs of work for their implementation, incorporating some guidelines. In this way, the planner tries to integrate national projects with the development programs of the city. During his

[4]Mayor Rafael Lazatin's budget message in the 1978 proposed budget.

visits to barangays he offers advice to the citizens and barangay leaders as to what should be done to solve local problems. Having a holistic view of city growth, he indirectly integrates barangay action plans into the City plan through his suggestions. The annual budget is a principal tool for integrating policies and projects and this is a reality in Angeles City because the planner is a member of the committee that decides on major items for capital expenditures in the budget.

The planner implements development regulations in his capacity as zoning administrator. One of the main sources of his power to regulate the physical development of the city is the ordinance of July 6, 1977 requiring the issuance of permits for the construction of buildings. The planning office, before a building permit can be issued by the City Engineer, has to certify that the proposed construction is in accord with the framework city development plan. Through his rounds of the city, the planner checks on violations to the zoning ordinance. Before a permit to operate a business is approved by the Mayor, the planning office has to look into the location of such a business enterprise and see whether it is in the proper zone or not.

Citizens play an important part in reporting violations to the zoning ordinance. The residents complain of nuisances created by certain economic activities of neighbors, such as pig raising, automotive repair, and rattan furniture-making. Complaints reaching the Mayor's Office are usually endorsed to the planning office for action or recommendation.

Innovations and Tangible Benefits

Innovations in community designs are difficult to notice at this early period of plan implementation. The effects of development controls on the quality of the environment may become evident only after years of strict enforcement. The government center where the city hall and other offices will be relocated has not gone out of the blueprint stage. Therefore, it is premature to attribute changes in the physical character of the City as direct consequences of good (or faulty) design.

On the management side, one innovation introduced worth mentioning is the practice of requiring establishment owners to get clearances from the planning office before the permit to operate is issued. This particular step taken by the City government has considerably increased income derived from business licenses and has checked somewhat the proliferation of non-conforming uses in residential neighborhoods.

Purely on the initiative of local banks, no loan application for real estate development can be approved without the borrower first obtaining a certification from the planning office that the proposed development conforms to the zoning ordinance and land use schemes. This move on the part of the lending institutions has greatly strengthened the position of the planner in implementing control measures aimed at the improvement of the City's physical structure.

Problems of Plan Implementation

One of the problems cited through interviews with the planning staff is the feeling of jealousy entertained by personnel of other agencies toward the planning office. This is caused, perhaps, by the fear of not earning credit for any success in the planning efforts exerted by the agency concerned. Proof of this jealousy is reflected in the seemingly uncooperative manner of the head of one agency in trying to withhold or delay the release of data needed by the planning office.

Another problem is the waning enthusiasm of the members of the City Planning and Development Board in attending sessions. Heads of city departments and of the field units of national agencies who are members of the Board either absent themselves in meetings or send subordinates to represent them. No meeting has been held for several months. If this condition prevails, citizen participation will be jeopardized since the Board is an important medium through which citizen involvement in community decisions can be channeled effectively.

The planning office has its own problems to contend with. It is losing some of its

trained personnel due to low salary rates. Its economist and its urban planner, for instance, have already joined the regional office of the Natio nal Economic and Development Authority in San Fernando.

A more serious problem that lately hurts implementation of projects is political in nature. For reasons of their own certain individuals try to discredit the activities of the planning personnel who are trying their best in implementing programs and projects. One of the critics of the incumbent Mayor's administration, for instance, wrote an open letter (for public consumption) criticizing the site for the government center as favoring a developer "at great costs to the city." It was claimed that the price paid for the land is excessive, and the site is unsuitable for a government center because of its distance from the city center and its deficiency in essential services.

Similarly, a group of market vendors has accused the Mayor of unlawfully causing the demolition of stalls in a public market, forcing them to relocate. The vacated stalls, as charged, were given to other vendors personally close to the Mayor.

In answer to the accusation, the Mayor explained that the market was due for repair and renovation and in the process the vendors had to be relocated. Too, because of reclassification of stalls by section the complainants could not return to their former stalls. The repair work, the Mayor added, was authorized by the Sangguniang Panglunsod, while a market committee was in charge of awarding the stalls. Moreover, the complainants were not ejected but were still occupying stalls in the said market. The complaints inevitably raised speculation that it was calculated "to harass and humiliate" the Mayor.

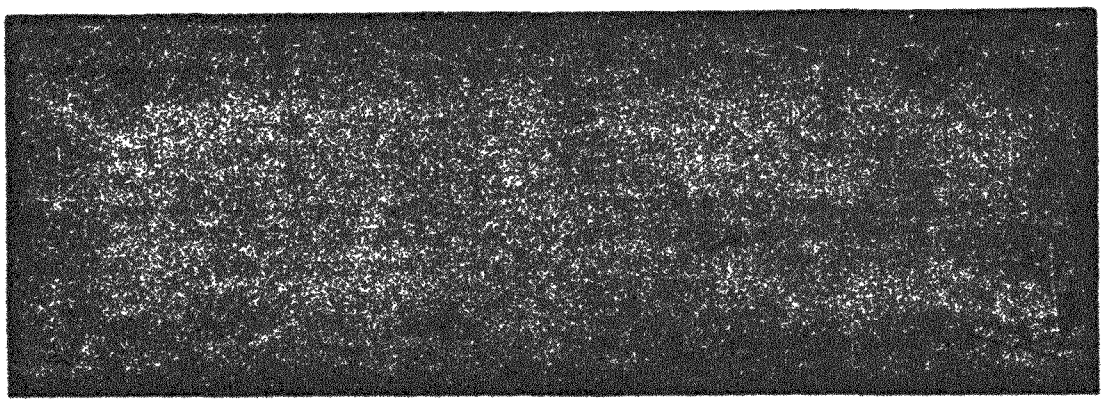
Conclusions

This study showed that the City Mayor was a key factor in the implementation of the development plan. The confidence and support he gave to the planning staff enabled this new "institution" to gain its legitimacy in the local bureaucracy and in the community.

The planner assumed vital roles in achieving development goals. These roles require a versatile individual trained in various facets of administration, in addition to the more specialized training in the understanding of urban growth and of planning techniques.

The place of citizen participation in plan implementation is still a hazy area. As one planner significantly commented: "You encourage greater participation of citizens and you will keep on changing the colors of your land use map." This, of course, represents one view. The other view treats people as competent enough to know their own needs. Nevertheless, without citizen involvement, how can the gap between the planner's perception of needs, problems, and desired goals and that of the people's be narrowed down?

Coordination among agencies has always been a knotty problem of administration in many countries. This is also true in the Philippines, and this problem is abetted by the existing structure of local authorities where heads of field branches of national agencies have remained loyal to the central offices. □



PLANNING FOR THE MANAGEMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF FOREIGN-ASSISTED

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Introduction

Multi-Year Development Plans—Multi-year development plans of developing countries, excluding the oil rich nations, are always constrained by the limited available resources, particularly financial, at the time they are needed. Hence, the development plans are characteristically goal-priority oriented; *i.e.* short, medium and long—term goals are prioritized according to the most urgent and pressing socio-economic problems, more particularly, domestic, that need to be resolved. This is the universal and traditional principle of planning, the problem-goal approach. Once problems are identified according to their urgency relative to the needs of the ever-increasing population and goals are prioritized to resolve such problems, projects are identified and translated into annual and multi-year development investment programs.

Expectedly, these annual and multi-year development investment programs, together with the regular expenditures of the governments, far exceed the projected national incomes derived from the traditional sources of revenues—taxes, levies/duties, fees, earnings, etc. To meet the investments required, the governments have to rely on other sources of funds, both domestic and international. The domestic financing sources for public investments of the developing countries are very limited and therefore the main source is foreign or international funding assistance. Thus, a greater package of the projects in the development programs of developing countries are co-financed by international fund assistance. The Philippines, like other developing countries relies heavily on international funding assistance to sustain the annual investment requirements of its multi-year development program.

Foreign Funding — There are three broad categories of international or foreign funding, namely:

1. Grants or donations where funds are granted free, with no obligation to repay whatsoever on the part of the recipient country. These funds are, however, generally earmarked to finance consultancy services for project preparation and feasibility studies, training/studies, setting up an organization or institution and in some cases, procurement of equipment or materials.
2. Private financing on a turn-key basis, where projects are financed and implemented by private investors, who manage and operate the project to recover the investments with profits through various means such as collection of fees/tolls and/or sales, lease or rental of properties. Examples of these are toll roads/bridges, reclamation and real estate development, industrial estates/commercial development, and utilities (telecom, transportation, water).
3. Loans or borrowings, in which funds are made available to the project as loans and amortized with interests over a period of time. There are generally two types of project loans; those which are socially-oriented and those which are financially viable and self-liquidating. The first is granted to assist the borrowers to carry out projects which are not revenue earning or self-liquidating, but are aimed towards upgrading the socio-economic and environmental conditions. In other words, geared towards the goal of social equity. The second type is directed

PROJECTS:

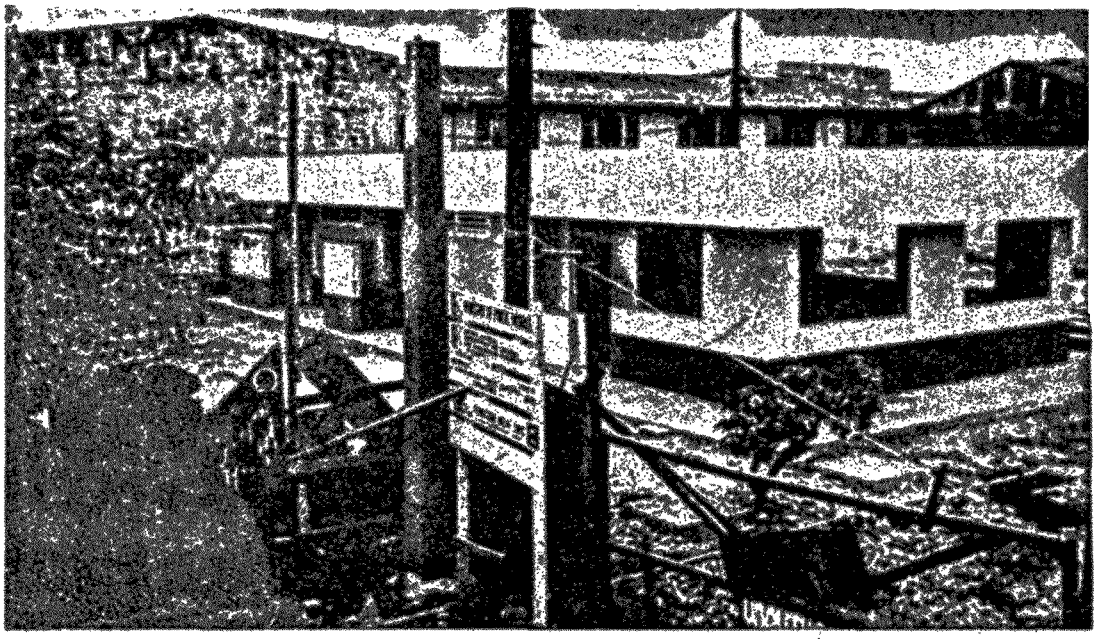
The Metro-Manila Urban Development— World Bank Experience

towards investments in financially viable projects which are actually revenue-generating and self-liquidating; *i.e.,* aimed towards the goal of rapid economic growth. These projects can easily amortize the loan out of their own earnings and do not entail huge government subsidy unlike the former. These are also intended to spur rapid economic development of an area or region.

Loans are either invested to implement projects (civil works), procure equipment and goods, provide services and training or made available directly to the beneficiaries to help them procure/purchase the necessary things to help them put up their own business or trades, or increase their per capita incomes. Examples of these are the housing and building materials loans, small business loans, etc. Others, however, are channeled to an agency to put up the necessary investments where the people could have greater opportunities for employment, etc.

Sources of International Funding — The most common sources of foreign or international funding are as follows:

1. United States Agency for International Develoment (USAID) which is totally US-financed and made available in the form of grants or loans to depressed and developing countries at very low interest rates and over a long repayment period. However, a substantial portion of this fund is earmarked for the procurement of services and goods supplied only by the United States.
2. Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund (OECF) and Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA) which are purely Japanese funded and where assistance is given in the form of either grants or loans, which are offered at very low interests and at very long repayment period. Usually, the grants are in the form of project studies and preparation, training, putting up institutions, or commodities (equipment and materials). JICA funds are basically grants for feasibility and engineering studies, and putting up institutions.
3. United Nations Organizations, where funds are usually in the form of grants for studies, research, planning, institution-building, training/fellowship, educational and social welfare programs, etc. The main UN organizations providing fund assistance are the UNDP, UNIDO, UNICEF, WHO, etc.
4. Bilateral Agreement, involving a Government-to-Government fund assistance such as the Danish Loan, Australian Grants, German Loans, etc. Some are in the form of grants, others, borrowings. Interests vary from none at all to very, very low rates over a long repayment period. There are some conditions, like materials, equipment, or consultancy services, which should be procured from the lending country.
5. Foundations, usually privately-owned, which provide grants/donations for special research/studies, or direct cash assistance to institutions, agencies, or individuals.
6. Foreign Financing Consortium, which is composed of private investors and



One of the MMETROFINDS Projects in Zone 80, Anak Bayan, Metro Manila.

financiers willing to finance highly profitable projects on a turn-key basis, such as mass transit system, land reclamation and real estate development, toll expressways, shipping and airlines operations, etc.

7. Asian Development Bank (ADB) and World Bank (WB), which are very similar in operations and requirements. Both provide assistance in the form of loans or borrowings, at interests lower than commercial rates and with reasonable repayment period.

The following discussion is centered on the management of World Bank-assisted projects based on the experience of the author in Metro-Manila and related urban development projects financed by the World Bank.

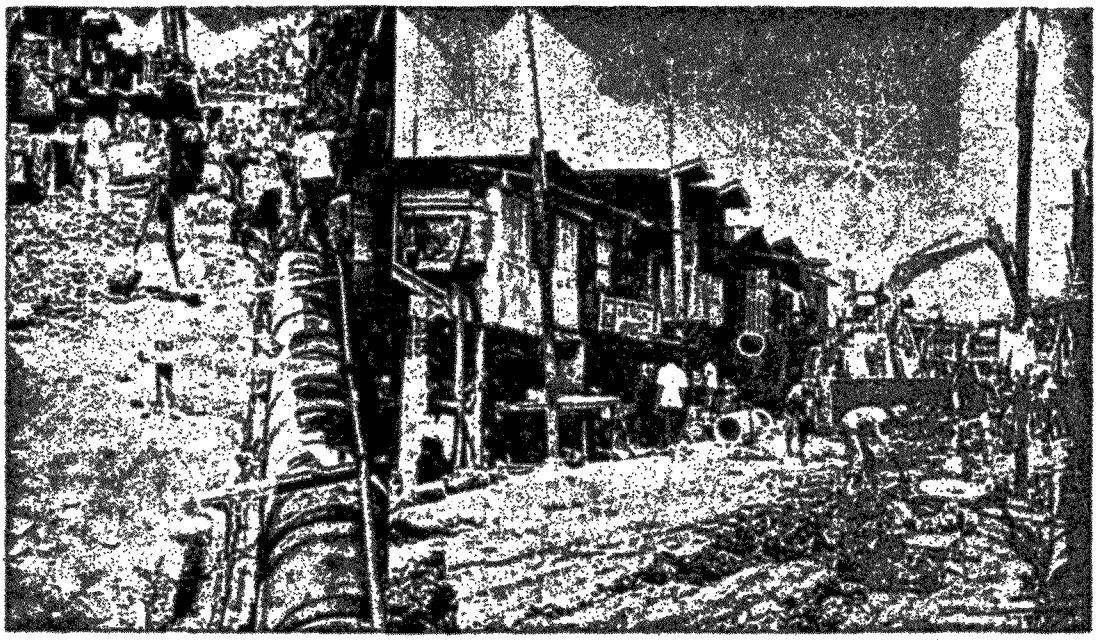
World Bank (WB) or International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)

Projects Eligible for Funding — The World Bank is an international lending institution which is supported by member agencies contributing funds. The developed, rich and industrialized countries are usually the major contributors. The borrowers are usually the poor country members.

Its main commitment is providing funds to the underdeveloped and developing countries to achieve their socio-economic goals thru investment in projects. The rich member countries actually co-finance the project investments of poor countries thru a long-term, low-interest loan.

Usually objectives, guidelines, and standards are set to assure that funds are utilized for projects that are geared to accelerate socio-economic development and are within the borrower's capacity to repay. The Bank's decision to lend relies heavily on socio-economic considerations.

The WB provides funds for both the socially-oriented projects and the financially profitable investments. However, any of these should be within the socio-economic development plan of the borrower's country. Basically, to be eligible for funding, projects should satisfy three (3) simple conditions: (a) high priority in the government development plan, (b) technically sound and feasible at cost commensurate to expected benefits,



Laying of pipes in Baltazar IV, Metro Manila.

and (c) government support (political, technical and financial) is assured.

The WB funding can either be Program Loan or Sectoral Project Loan. The former usually is a package of various components or projects spread over several areas/regions or in one specific site or area. Program loan is usually a composition of various related sectoral projects designed to achieve composite benefits to the community and the greatest number of people. Taken singly, these projects might be insignificant and not feasible to produce the necessary benefits. Examples of this type of loans are those of integrated area development and urban development and community services package (housing, social amenities, water, electricity, municipal/community roads, commercial development, livelihood and employment program, sites and services, etc.). Philippine IAD projects are the Mindoro development and other agricultural-industrial-road packages. Urban development projects currently undertaken in the Philippines are the Tondo Foreshore Development, Slum Improvement and Rehabilitation, and Urban III Metro-Manila Development (Zonal Improvement Program; Metro-Manila Infrastructure, Utilities and Engineering Program; Solid Waste Management; Sites and Services; Livelihood).

Project Loans are extended to individual sectoral projects which are highly economically feasible and financially viable, examples of which are the ports and airports development, industrial estates, multi-purpose water resource development, major road and highway network system, irrigation, power, and water supply projects, etc.

Projects proposed for WB funding have to undergo several stages:

1. **Project inception and identification:** Based on objectives and goals set forth, and identified problems and needs, projects are conceived either solely by the borrower or together with a visiting World Bank Mission staying for as short as two to three days and longer. A long list of projects indicating their possible geographical locations and a short preliminary Terms of Reference for Project Identification are prepared.

   Project identification starts with the evaluation of a long list and trimming it to a manageable medium or short list, again either undertaken solely by the government-borrowing teams or with the assistance of a bank mission. The

Bank Mission stays longer, from one week to as long as one month, and assists the government staff. Sometimes, a private consultancy firm is hired to do the job for or assists the government, at the expense of the borrower, but usually financed under existing loans. Preliminary plans or engineering briefs are prepared together with preliminary cost estimates to get the magnitude and size of the project. Data accuracy tolerable goes down to sometimes 60%, if the projects are new and the period of investigation is short.

Project inception and identification may take a few weeks to six months. If the government has initially prepared projects (pipeline projects), then inception is skipped and project identification is shortened. Detailed terms of reference for the next phase is prepared.

2. Project preparation: This stage usually involves twelve to eighteen months' extensive and comprehensive close working arrangement with the Bank. Detailed feasibility studies, and sometimes detailed engineering plans, including financial and institutional (managerial and organizational) arrangements, implementation schedule, flow of funds, cost recovery and repayment schemes are required. All possible alternatives should be considered and the option selected should be justifiable in terms of costs and benefits.
3. Project Appraisal: The Bank sends an appraisal mission composed of experts as required of the projects. Projects are evaluated or appraised as to their technical, economic, financial and managerial feasibilities.

Among the major critical issues discussed are:

a. Planning and Design Standards — Are these low, right, or high? For socially-oriented projects such as housing and sites and services, Bank inclination is towards the low side to maximize benefits to the greatest number and yet upgrade living conditions from sub-standard, and within the affordable limits of the beneficiaries. For big engineering projects, the engineering designs should be technically sound and safe, but the planning standards should also be as low as possible to maximize the benefits to the greatest number or increase production targets at least costs to the beneficiaries, which in most cases, would necessitate some form of subsidy.

b. Cost Allocation and Cost Recovery —What project cost should be charged to which agencies, *i.e.* municipal government, national government, or government corporate agencies, or special organizations? What should be directly passed on to the beneficiaries and how much? Full cost recovery vs. partial recovery; Direct vs. indirect cost recovery; Sources of cost recovery and methods of recovery, *i.e.* direct user charges, special assessments, increased agency/municipal revenues thru additional taxes or special levies.

c. Loan Repayment — What is the mode of repayment, *i.e.* government appropriations, thru earnings or a combination thereof? Can the municipal government repay the loan out of its own existing revenues, or will it have to raise taxes, impose special levies, etc.? Can the corporate agency repay the loan from its own earnings or does it have to revise its charges to cover the cost, or will the national government partly subsidize the loan? Are the special revenue measures and user charges politically and socially acceptable and economically feasible? Will this require long, circuitous legislation or can these be imposed within existing laws and regulations?

d. Funding Requirement/Flow — Are the projects assured of fund support by the government and respective agencies? Will funds from the bank flow directly to the agencies concerned, or to the national government then released to the agencies as per program schedule? Will the loan be withdrawn directly from start of project or will it be on a reimbursement basis, *i.e.* the borrower advances disbursement and claims reimbursement on agreed terms and conditions? If it is a multi-sectoral project involving inter-agency work, will the funds be managed by a single lead agency or directly chan-

neled to respective implementing agencies? What are the sources of government funds, *i.e.* regular budget, equity/corporate funds, corporate earnings? The mechanics and methods of fund management should be detailed, precise and clear-cut. The details of the sharing of costs, item by item should be clearly presented in programmed form annually and quarterly, if necessary.

4. Loan Negotiation: Based on project evaluation, the WB Mission prepares a project appraisal report detailing the answers to the questions above. The appraisal report is the basis of the loan negotiation and the formulation of the covenants of the loan. During negotiation there could be changes in some aspects and the project accounting and disbursement monitoring system is clearly spelled out. Procedures on loan availment, claims, utilization and withdrawal are finalized. Negotiation usually does not take more than two (2) weeks.
5. Loan Approval: After negotiation, the loan agreement is drafted and presented to the Board of the World Bank for approval and then scheduled for signing by authorized representatives of the Bank and the Borrower, after which the loan becomes effective within a period of ninety days

Loan Components and Conditions

Following are some major loan components with their corresponding conditions:

1. Civil Works (Construction) —
   a. Depending on scale, magnitude and cost, either locally bid or open to international competitive bidding.
   b. Certain percentage of the total cost *e.g.* (30%, 40%, 50%, 60%) financed by loan, the rest by local counterpart funds.
2. Materials and Equipment—
   a. Directly imported items usually 100% of foreign expenditures.
   b. Locally procured items certain percentage of total cost.
3. Technical Assistance (consultancy, training, etc.)—100% of foreign expenditures and a certain percentage (up to 80%) of local expenditures are financed by the Bank.
4. Other components—as materials and small business loans, surveys, research, mapping, etc. are subject to negotiations.
5. Unallocated amount upon agreement of both parties which are intended for some justifiable change or reprogramming.
6. Other covenants on financial matters, disbursements and claims, procedures, reporting and repayment, auditing and accounting, etc.

The Need for Planning for the Management of Projects

It should be reiterated at this point that foreign or international assistance is resorted to by the developing nations only because of limited domestic financial resources. It is, therefore, very important that foreign-assisted projects should be efficiently managed and implemented. For this matter, there is no substitute for the formulation of a plan on how to manage and implement such projects according to the (a) requirements of the loan agreement and the government; (b) requirements of the projects; and (c) the circumstances and conditions that will affect the implementation of the projects.

Clearly and undoubtedly, there are distinct advantages and benefits that can be derived by planning well ahead for the implementation of projects, especially foreign-assisted, among which are:

1. Resources (funds, manpower, materials/supplies) and time are well spent and not wasted;
2. Unexpected problems are minimized and reduced to easily manageable limits;
3. Project implementation schedules and targets are met;
4. The foreign assistance agreements/covenants are satisfied without difficulty; and
5. Cash-flow and resource availability problems are reduced to the barest minimum thereby avoiding substantial re-programming of schedules and cost over-runs.

In a scarce-resource situation, projects compete with each other for funding support, and even if a project is foreign-assisted, there are corresponding local counterpart funds required which could be taken out of the national budget. Although estimates of the total and annual project requirements are indicated in the project documents, the actual annual cash requirement is still subject to final adjustments when the budgetary program is prepared. Hence, the actual cash requirement can only be released according to what has been programmed. Two things can happen here: either the programmed amount is shorter than what should be disbursed or bigger than what can be expended. In either case, the effect is undesirable. In the first case, the project is delayed, the loan agreement is not met, and the cumulative effect could be substantial delay, change orders, cost-overrun, inconvenience to the public and even non-completion of the project due to miscalculations. In the second case, the extra unexpended amount becomes idle and unproductive, other projects short of funds are sacrificed, corresponding changes in schedule and targets are also made which could lead again to additional costs.

A well-prepared plan for the implementation and management of projects would definitely help the Project Manager prepare realistic implementation targets, disbursement schedules, and subsequently more accurate annual and quarterly budgetary requirements.

Problems of and Pointers for Project Management

Following are some pointers/guidelines for planning for implementation of WB assisted projects, which are basically derived out of experience working with the WB Mission in Urban Development Projects.

Firstly, the plan for the management of the project should be in accordance with the requirements of the loan agreement and the government. The Project Manager should be familiar with the Bank Loan Documents and the Government requirements for project management. The loan documents consist of the Main Loan Agreement, the Subsidiary Agreements, the Project Appraisal Report, Bank Mission Aide Memoire, the General Loan Agreement Conditions, and various guidelines for civil works, procurement of services and goods, and disbursement procedures.

On the government side, necessary materials are the various laws, regulations, rules, procedures and circulars on contracting, project management, budgeting, disbursement of funds, accounting and auditing of expenditures, annual and 5-year infrastructure program, annual budget acts, and the like. The Project Manager need not know all the items in these documents by heart, but he should be able to relate his project requirements to basic provisions of these references in substance.

He should be able to draw up a guideline of actions to make the Bank and the Government requirements compatible and devise or formulate measures if there are some major inconsistencies or conflicts. The degree and magnitude of inconsistencies should give an idea on how these will affect the project, and whether such measures are pre-requisites to the implementation of the project.

From the Bank documents, necessary pre-conditions for the effectivity of the Loan Agreement are spelled out which must be satisfied within a specific period. Unless these pre-conditions are complied with, the loan is not effective, and the funds cannot be used or withdrawn. From the signing by the parties concerned, the loan can become effective within ninety days and therefore, if the necessary pre-conditions are not fulfilled within this period, the Loan effectivity lapses, and a re-negotiation will ensue. On the one hand, the borrower (government) will be put in an uncomfortable and even embarassing position.

The most common pre-conditions for loan effectivity are: (a) the legal opinion of the borrower-country, which in substance states that the agreement is in accord with the country's laws and constitution and is legally binding; (b) necessary subsidiary agreements and, if required, conformed memorandum agreements among agencies concerned; and (c) oftentimes a legal instrument creating the necessary institutional or organizational set-up for the management of the project.

The loan documents also outline other requirements which, although not pre-conditions to the loan effectivity, are pre-requisites to the start of operations of the project, contracting and withdrawal of bank funds.

Among these are: evidences that key personnel have been appointed as required; procedures for bidding and contracting have been prepared and confirmed by the Bank; prototype planning and design standards have been approved by the Government and the Bank; appropriate officials to sign for withdrawal of funds have been designated by the Government and forwarded to the Bank; and other necessary units within the project office have been established. All of these and others, although seemingly minor and simple, if overlooked will materially affect the implementation schedule of the project, leading to cash-flow problems and cost overruns.

These quasi-minor preparatory requirements, although mostly simple paper and desk work, are the basic propellants for the smooth launching of the project and more importantly the key determinants that will finally set the pace of the progress of project implementation. If these requirements are not fulfilled and no loan withdrawal is allowed, then the local counterpart funds are easily exhausted, and in no time the project runs short of funds. The local counterpart funds are subject to quarterly and annual cash disbursement ceilings, beyond which no funds are allowed to be disbursed. More so, government budget releases are itemized, and no funds from one item to another can be substituted unless of similar nature, *i.e.* funds for salaries and wages cannot be used for contracts or civil works, nor can funds itemized for equipment be expended for any of the other two. Further, local counterpart funds are essentially earmarked for office operations and administrative expenditures, office equipment outlays, and sundry expenses. On the other hand, loan funds cannot be used for regular office and project operations expenditure, much less for payment of salaries and wages, except for consultancy services which are very limited.

The main categories of loan funds are civil works, project equipment, goods and materials, training, surveys, and consultancy services. The range of percentage sharing between the Bank and the Borrower has been discussed earlier. All other costs incidental to the projects are borne by the Borrower.

All these vital information and a lot more are in the Loan Documents and have direct effect on the implementation of the project. These will give the Project Manager a clear vision of necessary preparatory activities required by the Loan Agreement which will have to be related to the government laws, rules and procedures on project and contract management, programming, budgeting, disbursement, and accounting and auditing of expenditures. Making these two requirements compatible is imperative in the sense that both the loan funds and the local budgetary counterparts should be mutually supportive and never independent of each other. A delay in availability and utilization of one will lead to the complete restructuring of the project schedules and the eventual cost over-run of the projects which is the bane of an efficient Project Manager.

From the Loan Documents, particularly the loan and subsidiary agreements and the project appraisal report, the project implementation activities are programmed with the corresponding disbursement and loan utilization schedules, which would serve as a guide for the programming of necessary local budget requirements. The loan funds are made available to the project either on: (a) direct fund transfer arrangement according to quarterly, semi-annual or annual expenditure, or (b) reimbursement basis where the borrower advances the loan cash requirement of allowable expenditures and corresponding reimbursement claims are forwarded to the Bank.

In the latter case, payments for reimbursements approved by the Bank go to the National Treasury (not direct to the agency) which can be availed of by the implementing agency upon submission of request for release of such funds to sustain the cash-flow requirement of the project. It should be emphasized at this point that these reimbursements transmitted by the Bank to the National Treasury cannot be released to the requesting agency unless such amounts are included in the approved current annual budget program. This is one major reason why government procedures should be made compatible with the Bank requirements and loan covenants.

Even if the case is of direct fund transfer according to project expenditure schedules, the loan fund is still tied up with the annual budgeting program and should be with the approved agency budget ceiling. Familiarity with the above-cited Bank and government requirement will give the Project Manager vital frame of reference to draft action plans for efficient management and implementa-

tion of foreign-assisted projects.

Secondly, the plan for the management and implementation of projects should be in accordance with project requirements, which could be summed up as land, labor and materials, management and capital.

A. Land: More often than not, projects are substantially delayed because of oversight or the false assumption that land, sites or rights-of-way have already been secured. The truth of the matter is that, while the project documents indicate the project sites or areas, there are a lot of verifications, checking and preparatory activities to be accomplished. It has to be determined first whether the identified sites are government lots or private properties. If it is the latter, then the mode of acquiring the properties should be established, whether expropriation, negotiation, donation or even land swapping. Expropriation is a more effective and faster way of land acquisition. It requires only a deposit of 10% of the total just compensation (usually lower than the market value) as defined by law and the possession of property is effected. However, only those land properly identified for "public purpose" are subject to expropriation, but while there are projects that distinctly fall under the legal definition of "public purpose", there are some "gray areas" which need further lengthy legal clarifications.

If it is established that lands needed are not covered by the power of expropriation, and if the owners are not willing to donate the property nor exchange it for another of the same value, then the next alternative is to negotiate for the acquisition of properties either by direct purchase or lease-purchase arrangement. This will require a series of procedural activities like gathering the necessary data on the assessment, declared and market values and negotiating for purchase price; public hearings represented by an acceptable number of total property owners involved; computation, projection and programming of necessary budget required; the legal and administrative machinery for the evaluation, processing and verification of documents and claims, and other related activities.

Even if the identified project site is government property, there are still legal and administrative procedures for the actual transfer to and possession of property by the project. In some cases, appropriate payments, although much lower than market values, are required by whatever suitable modes, *i.e.* cash, installments, swapping or agency-to-agency fund accounting, etc.

In both cases of government or privately-owned properties, the lots required should still be cadastrally surveyed and monumented, which also require technical supervision. Finally, after going through all the aforementioned and the properties are eventually transferred and ready for development, there is the problem of site preparation and topographic survey.

If the land is not vacant but developed, tenanted and with structures (particularly buildings), this has to be cleared. Where the tenants are squatters, appropriate sites for relocation have to be determined and prepared; in most cases even the transportation of the relocatees becomes the burden of the project manager.

All of the foregoing are problems to be anticipated in project management, which are preparatory or prior to actual technical supervision. If the corresponding activities to resolve such problems are not clearly and pragmatically planned, they will cause substantial delay of and cost over-run to the project.

B. Labor and Materials: Bank-financed projects are always undertaken by contracts, through competitive bidding, either local or international. The job, of the project manager is to come up with a realistic schedule of contracts to be let annually and over the whole project life. The contracts should be compatible with the disbursement schedule of the project loan agreement. It should be mentioned that while it seems a great accomplishment to see a project well ahead in physical progress although substantially behind in loan fund utilization and disbursement, this is not actually looked upon by the Bank as an evidence of efficient project management.

The project manager should be familiar with the government laws and rules and the international guidelines for contracting civil works and procurement of goods and commodities. There are specific periods on the various procedures and stages of prequalification, bidding and awards of contracts which should be strictly followed. There are bank conditions on the same matter.

C. Management: Usually, the loan project documents contain the agreed-upon project

organizational set-up and corresponding key staff with description of disciplines and skills required as well as the hiring or staffing schedules in accordance with the project activities. In most cases, regular government staff are preferred to work full time on the project with the idea of strengthening the capability of the implementing agency to handle such projects. This is particularly true for inter-agency projects, where secondment of personnel from participating agencies is preferred. However, in some instances, where secondment of government personnel is not possible, direct hiring is resorted to.

There are two big difficulties a project manager should anticipate in the staffing of the project. First, in case there are available personnel for full-time detail to the project, there is that recurring problem of how to get these persons detailed to the project, incentive-wise and procedure-wise. There should be appropriate incentives, either psychic or financial. Psychic incentives come in the form of furthering the professional and technological skills of the personnel and the prospect of later being promoted to a more responsible and managerial position although no additional remuneration is given for the project. Financial incentives become a condition, because the seconded personnel will be working with directly-hired staff and consultants who are paid much higher than the regular government staff. The seconded personnel, if they are of the top professional caliber, certainly would hesitate or even refuse to be detailed to the project if they receive much less compensation than their directly-hired and contracted colleagues. Working in a special project would also mean, in most instances, extra effort and work beyond the regular office hours, without overtime pay, except when proper authorization has been granted. Further, if the position given to a detailed staff means greater managerial responsibility, then certainly commensurate additional remuneration is expected.

The second problem is on the side of direct hiring of qualified professional staff, who can be lured to the project only on a contractual basis at rates almost equal to the hiring rate of other private companies. Contractual appointments for the project, practically are co-terminus with the project, which means financial security is at great stake. After the project, there is that big question of how these contractual staff would earn their daily bread, if there is no plan to absorb them permanently in the regular government office which is always a remote possibility unless a new unit is organized. On the other hand, regular government positions are less attractive to them due to the fact that they will be receiving lower pay than their present rates.

Thus, while there is available fund and authority to hire, there might not be sufficient financial offer to attract the right people for the positions. There is, of course, that option of getting young, bright and promising professionals fresh from the academe, who might bite at the offer, and can easily be trained within allowable periods without jeopardizing the project. This would mean a great supervision effort on the top and middle management. But then, there should first be experienced supervisors, who would either be seconded by agencies or, again, directly hired. In some cases, consultants may be called upon to divert some of their services to train these young professionals. This is a poor management style. Consultancy services, aside from being of limited tenure, are very expensive, and therefore, should not be relegated to training but should be fully maximized for the project. Such a recourse may even lead to jeopardizing the whole project. It should also be emphasized that in Bank—supported projects, the key staff required are spelled out as counterpart staff to the consultants and not as trainees. While there is that technology transfer responsibility of consultants, this should not be construed as training *per se* but as exchange of professional know-how which could be immediately applied by the recipient.

Aside from these problems of project staffing, the project manager has to carry the burden of getting and supervising the consultants, and of establishing a harmonious and productive working relationship between the consultants and the project staff. It is not uncommon to see consultants working aloof over the counterpart staff, particularly if they are enclosed in glass-panelled, carpeted and air-conditioned rooms, while the counterpart staff are sweating it out in the adjoining hot, crowded room. The job of the manager is to see to it that consultants are working with, and not giving orders to the project staff. The manager has to avoid inequity in the distri-

bution of work and responsibility, in access to office accommodation and facilities, and in the expression of professional opinion/ comments.

Even before this problem of consultancy vs. project staff relationship, the project manager is already confronted by procedural and administrative requirements (both bank and government) of getting the services of consultants, as well as the necessary terms of reference. Conditions, programs and selection for the utilization of consultants are oftentimes spelled out in the project loan documents and it is the job of the project manager to prepare these in detail for confirmation by the Bank. While this work could be assigned to a capable staff, it is not seldom that, due to lack of qualified staff to do it (because of constraints of hiring or detailing personnel), and the limited time to complete all of the preparatory work, the project manager has no choice but to do it himself.

Side by side with these management problems are the office operations headaches to contend with. These include the support administrative staff, office space, and facilities and logistics. These are requirements of the project, not part of the loan funds, but the full responsibility of the government. The greatest headache here involves administrative procedures. This activity is actually the greatest obstacle inasmuch as it means setting up the project office into initial operations. It is a one-man job, and there is no one who should do it except the project manager, at the start. Here the project manager is an all-purpose office personnel doing administrative work, preparing correspondences, preparing budget plans, and following-up papers (particularly budget requests), scouting for office buildings and personnel talents, etc. This could be the most taxing and frustrating work of a project manager, but there is no other choice. He has to prepare everything first, administratively, before he can get the people to support him.

On the other hand, this could be a most rewarding experience, because a manager who has undergone this work becomes so familiar with the minor administrative circuits, that when everything has been organized and the project is running, such administrative nuances which crop up from time to time can easily be handled by the manager not by doing it himself but by providing guidance and directions on how to tackle such matters. Administrative bureaucratic procedures cannot be dispensed with. However, familiarity with it makes it easier to handle. The idea is not to work against the system but work with the system and if there is an opportunity to improve it, to do so but never with an attempt to destroy the system. That is not the job of a project manager but rather to implement the project as required and planned. It is not rare to see project managers pre-occupied with trying to change the administrative system and machinery or fighting against it, rather than trying to find out ways and means of going through it.

D. Capital: The fourth and most important project requirement is the capital or budget both for current or operating expenditures and project investments (contract, civil works, equipment and goods). The issue is not the procedures and administrative processes for getting the funds, but rather the necessary requirements which should be complied with, before funds are released to the project from either source (Bank or Government).

In this regard, it is imperative that the project manager has to be familiar with the national budgetary process and system and the loan documents. On the local counterpart funds, it has been stated that no budget can be released to the project unless programmed in the current annual budget. It is the duty of a project manager, therefore, that the project budget is included in the annual budget, and that there is an appropriation for such purpose. Not a few are misled by the term budgetary appropriation which is commonly interpreted as annual budget program. An appropriation simply means that a corresponding amount has been allocated to the project out of the national budget. It does not mean, however, that although a sum has been appropriated for a project, the funds could be released upon request. It is merely a statement that an amount has been allocated and will be made available to the project, and that such amount can only be released to the project if included in the annual budget program. The appropriation which actually covers the whole fund requirement of the project has to be programmed and requested for release annually. The project manager has to prepare the budget program and then submit it for inclusion in the national annual program. Justifying alone the inclusion of the project in the program is already a herculean task,

especially if it is a new project. It has to be comparatively evaluated against the other priority projects. Chances of foreign assisted projects to be included in the annual budget program are high. However, there are certain papers/documents required, such as the loan agreement, the detailed breakdown of the budget (local and foreign), and even supporting papers/orders creating the project office, etc. It is sad to note that there are foreign-assisted projects which have available loan fund ready for withdrawal and yet cannot be used simply because the project offices are not in operation due to non-availability of local counterpart funds. This is because the bank's timetable of approving the loans falls within the first two quarters of the calendar year, which is also the Philippine fiscal year. Hence, while loan funds are available within the year, there is no appropriation on the part of the local support. Thus, it will have to wait for the next year to get an appropriation and be included in the annual budget.

This places the project manager in a quandary because the loan becomes effective after the government annual budget has been approved and therefore if the effectivity of the loan starts on the second quarter of the year, there will be no available local funds for the next three quarters of the year. In the meantime, there is a schedule of disbursement and project implementation to be complied with in the loan agreement.

There are several ways of resolving this. One is by having all components eligible for 100% loan funding be undertaken as scheduled and paid directly by the Bank. The problem arises if there are strict requirements before such loan funds can be used for the project, such as that the project office should be established and the key staff appointed; the necessary administrative support and logistics should be available; the project accounting and contract management units should have been created, and the like; all of which require local counterpart funds. Still, there are remedial measures which can be resorted to. Deeper scrutiny of the loan documents may reveal that some degree of flexibility is allowed. It is possible that: the loan fund can finance the initial compensation of key staff; a mobilization fee can be advanced to the contractors which could possibly cover the incidental administrative costs of the project; the agreement allows for advanced withdrawal from the loan; the requirement on the establishment and full operations of the project office can be waived, and the like. These courses of action can be availed of upon clarification with the Bank.

The second way is to look for possible sources of funds from various appropriations which are applicable like lump sum appropriations for foreign-assisted and special projects, or available funds in the treasury not otherwise appropriated. This will need, however, special authorization or clearance from the Budget Minister or no less than the President. The process of getting this authority/ clearance varies from a long tedious period of several months to about one month depending on the current budgetary and economic policies of government.

The third recourse is to take advantage of the re-alignment of the annual program which usually takes place in the middle of the year. There is a great possibility that the project, if the loan is approved, can be included in the re-aligned program, and that funds can be made available for the next two quarters.

If none of these courses of action are feasible, then the project manager should make the best use of lost time by planning preparatory work and coursing the project in full operation as early as the first month of the succeeding year and then catching up with the schedule. Necessary administrative and technical requirements for budgeting, funding, organization, and project management should be prepared and, if possible, completed so that the project could proceed efficiently and recover some lost grounds.

On the side of the loan fund for the project, there are certain requirements which should be complied with prior to withdrawal which have been sufficiently discussed along the foregoing, and if traced backward further would lead to both administrative and local budgetary counterpart support. Suffice it to say that if a manager has overcome the problems earlier cited, the problems concomitant with the use of the loan funds are automatically resolved.

It is worth mentioning that in most cases World Bank loan agreements allow for retroactive financing of projects and preparatory activities undertaken while the loan is not effective, back to a period of one year. This is important to a project manager, in the sense that if he has been handling the

project since the preparation stage, and has made necessary arrangements for release of local funds, there are expenditures which are eligible for retroactive financing by the loan funds. A project manager who has been with the project as early as the preparation and feasibility stage therefore should already make the necessary preparations to comply with the requirements of the loan and the project and exert every effort to secure necessary local counterpart support and start not only the project office operation but even start implementing some portion of the readily implementable project components. This would of course require consultation with and clearance by the Bank and authority to proceed from higher authorities. But this is not much of a problem.

If such is not possible, then the project manager has to prepare the necessary groundwork so that all resources will have been ready to be mobilized upon effectivity of the loan. Foremost of these would be seeing to it that the project is included in the current budget program when the loan becomes effective. If the project manager is designated only when the loan is signed/approved, then he will take over a lot of headaches and problems cited above especially if the previous manager did not prepare such things for him. Again this is no cause for despair nor fault finding; the project manager should take it in stride and start the ball rolling and move fast.

It should be emphasized that it is the duty of the project manager handling the preparatory stage to lay out the necessary groundwork discussed earlier even if the project will be passed on to another manager. After all, the real good manager always looks ahead and forward unselfishly to the efficient and smooth management of the succeeding activities no matter who takes over.

Thirdly, planning for the management of the project should be in accordance with the circumstances and conditions which are external to but which will affect the project implementation. These extraneous forces (not internal to the project) are requirements that should be complied with, such as permits for development, construction, entry into property, electrical, plumbing, excavation, etc.; provisions for insuring smooth flow of traffic, safety of the public, appropriate environmental protection, and the like; arrangements to facilitate installations of facilities and utilities during and after project implementation (electricity, water, communications, transportation, etc.) which usually are undertaken by private companies. Scheduling of the entry of these basic utilities into the implementation stream should be carefully laid out early and the project manager should draft his plan of activities on how to facilitate the participation of the private sector.

On the other hand, a project manager has additional responsibilities of assisting the contractors, whether foreign or local, in facilitating the entry of imported items required of the project, as well as making the necessary representations for easing or waiving some restrictions on the activities and items required of the project. It is a fatal blunder to assume that government projects are exempted from all of these requirements.

Conclusion

From the foregoing, it can be observed that the project management problems cited are not met during the implementation stage of the project nor are they the technical aspects of carrying out the designs and specifications of the project; rather, they are encumbrances prior to and during the initial operationalization of the project.

Indeed it is believed that the biggest and gravest headaches of the Project Manager occur during this stage of project management. Problems during the implementation and full operation of the project are mostly technical and can easily be handled by an experienced and good technical manager.

A project manager who has successfully passed through the trying problems heretofore discussed can adroitly implement the project with flying colors.

The nature of the foregoing discussion is towards the problems of project management and not actual presentation of plans for the management and implementation of project. This is based on the principle that management plans are formulated to overcome anticipated problems. The project manager should have the liberty and be more in a position to lay out his courses of actions according to his perceived problems ahead.

It should be stated that the project manager is also a resource person, facilitator, initiator, and foremost a doer. □

ACHIEVING NATIONAL INTEGRATION THROUGH EDUCATION IN THE PHILIPPINES

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Introduction

Kenneth Boulding, in making a distinction between social and economic policy, writes:

> If there is a common thread that unites all aspects of social policy and distinguishes them from merely economic policy, it is the thread of what has been called the "integrative system." This includes those aspects of social life that are characterized not so much by exchange in which a quid is got for a quo as by unilateral transfers that are justified by some kind of appeal to a status, or legitimacy, identity, or community. The institutions with which social policy is concerned...all reflect degrees of integration and community. By and large, it is an objective of social policy to build the identity of a person around some community with which he is associated... The success of social policy then, would be measured by the degree to which individuals are persuaded to make unilateral transfers in the interest of some larger group or community.[1]

This particular formulation of the characteristics of social policy, of course, has to be extended to include a consideration not only of the problems that are involved in achieving social policies but, more important, in defining precisely the methods of bringing about such success. In fact, persuading individuals to make those "unilateral transfers" in favor of larger, integrative entities becomes problematical especially as one starts to define the nature and strength of the forces that are involved in the transaction. Conceivably, there are individual loyalties to self or to certain groups that are weak, hence, easier to break in favor of larger allegiances. But there are also ties to groups, built on varying bases, which are stronger, probably as strong as what a call to nation or state would require.

Clifford Geertz defines these opposing forces in the following manner:

> It is the crystallization of direct conflict between primordial and civil sentiments—this "longing not to belong to any other group"—that gives to the problem...a more ominous and deeply threatening quality than most of the other, also very serious and intractable problems the new states face. Here we have not just competing loyalties, but competing loyalties of the same general order, on the same level of integration...[2]

But if the conflict is essentially of this nature, it is even intensified to a great extent in the new nations where the compensation of sovereign states seems to have exacerbated communal or parochial sentiments. Geertz attributes this phenomenon to the introduction of a "valuable new prize over which to fight and a frightening new force with which to contend."[3]

The Philippines may be considered to be in such a state. In fact, its experience over the last quarter of a century, especially in regard to what is conventionally called the "Muslim problem", bears out the above organization.

This paper is concerned with public policy that aims at reconciling the opposing forces noted above. Specifically, it attempts to identify and clarify the problems of integration in the Philippines. In the process, it will

[1]Kenneth Boulding, "The Boundaries of Social Policy", *Social Work* (January, 1967), pp. 7-8.

[2]Clifford Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution", in Geertz, (ed.), *Old Societies and New States* (Illinois: The Free Press, 1963), p. 111.

[3]*Ibid.*, p. 120.

look into the underlying philosophies, assumptions, and emphases of actual policies. Because of the broad nature of policies towards the national cultural minorities, the paper focuses on education, this being the single most important strategy employed for national integration, if only because it has been the oldest as well as the most sustained effort that has been maintained by the government. Although a case is made here in favor of cultural pluralism as a goal of integration, it nonetheless examines the government's position and tries to reconcile the educational goals with the latter. The paper is also concerned with recommendations for policy directions in the educational area.

An important caveat at this point is that the paper excludes from consideration the Muslim groups because of what appear to be good reasons to treat them as different from the other ethnic groups. Aside from the fact that the Muslims are the most seriously and extensively studied minority group—and the vast literature on them is an evidence of this—they also possess certain characteristics as a communal group that distinguish them from the others. They have the number, as well as the potential, and, probably at the present time, the actual capacity to claim autonomy from the rest of the nation. This is an important distinction from the other ethnic groups whose numbers and whose power have by no means reached the level where they can threaten the security of the state. Even if they were taken as a group, they cannot be considered to command enough clout to demand attention, on their own, to problems that they face. In addition, there is no common bond that can serve as a unifying link for all of them. For all intents and purposes, they are fairly isolated from one another. The same cannot be said of the various Muslim groups who have Islam that serves as a unifying force for them.

THE CULTURAL MINORITIES WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF PHILIPPINE SOCIETY

One has to view the problem of integration in the Philippines in terms of its dimensions, one of which is their distribution. The minority groups vary considerably in number. Apart from the Muslims, about thirty-seven pagan groups and a number of sub-groups have been identified.[4] The smallest group, the recently "discovered" Tasadays, numbered only twenty-eight as of the latest count. Other groups, of course, have fared much better in terms of gross numbers, like the Ifugao, Kankanay, or Bontok, who number in the hundred thousands. (Please refer to Table 1.) In relation to the total population of the Philippines, however, the proportion of these groups seems to have been decreasing. In 1927, Dr. H. Otley Beyer estimated these populations at 584,000, or about five per cent of the total population. In 1948 the Bureau of the Census and Statistics estimated them at 702,869 or about 3.7 per cent of the population.[5] The most recent estimate (1974?) places them at around four per cent of the total population,[6] which at the latest census was 36,684,486.[7] In contrast, the Muslims now compose about eight per cent of the population.

The numerical distribution in Table I is better appreciated when translated into geographic distribution, which is another dimension of the problem. The various groups are widely scattered in several areas throughout the Philippines. Such physical distribution can at least partly account for their relative isolation from one another. They are mostly concentrated in the Mountain Province, the interior hills of Mindoro and Palawan and in the mountain regions of Negros and Panay.[8] In the Mountain Province, there are five ethnolinguistic groups: Bontoc, Ifugao, Benguet, Apayao and Kalinga—who are

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[4]F. Landa Jocano, "Culture Change Among the Minorities", *Progress 1959* (Manila: The Manila Times, 1959), p. 100.

[5]*Ibid.*

[6]R.C.P. Tenazas and L.L. Ramos, "A Map of the Better-known Cultural Minorities of the Philippines", *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* (March-June, 1974), p. 3. Notations to the attached map estimates all minority groups to be about 12 percent of the population and the text states that Muslims constitute eight per cent of the population.

[7]This is the enumerated figure as of May 1970. See Philippines (Republic) Bureau of the Census and Statistics Special Report No. 4, "Population Projections: 1970-2000", p.i.

[8]Frank Lynch and Robert Fox, *Area Handbook on the Philippines* (Chicago University: Philippine Studies Program), p. 24.

Table I

Distribution of Philippine Non-Muslim Minority Groups by Language, Culture & Physical Type (Revised as of March 1, 1973)

Main Island Group	*Minority Group*	*Number*
Luzon	Isneg	33,060
	Tinguian	50,000
	Kalinga	63,780
	Gaddang	28,150
	Bontok	130,000
	Ikalahan	20,000
	Ifugao	120,000
	Kankanay	120,000
	Ibaloy	63,080
	Ilongot	15,000
	Aeta, Atta	8,700
	Agta-abiyan	25,000
	Agta	7,800
	Iwak	1,500
	Aborlin	500
Mindoro	Iraya-Nauhan-Pula	23,500
	Alangan	9,000
	Tagaydan	6,000
	Hanunoo	13,000
	Ratagnon	7,000
	Buid-Batangan-Buhid-Bangon	24,000
Visayan Islands	Sulod	7,200
	Ati-Ata	3,000
	Magahat	300
	Bukidnon	500
Palawan & Calamian	Tagbanwa	50,000
	Palawan	50,000
	Molbog	7,000
	Batak	5,350
	Cuyonon	70,000
	Agutaynon	30,000
	Kalamian	10,000
Main Island Group	*Minority Group*	*Number*
Mindanao	Subanon	90,000
	Bukidnon	60,000
	Mansaka	25,000
	Sangil	50,000
	Higaonon-Banwaon	60,000
	Kalagan	30,000
	Mandaya	15,000
	Bagobo	20,000
	Ata-Matigsalog	6,000
	Tiruray	60,000
	Manobo (Agusan)	10,000
	Manubo (Cotabato)	50,000
	T'boli	150,000
	Blaan	50,000
	Mangguangan	2,000
	Manubo Blit	4,000
	Tasaday	28
	Mamanwa	5,000
	Ubo	3,000

Source: PANAMIN, *Protecting Man's Right to Choice. (Manila: PANAMIN, 1973), p. 15.*

collectively referred to as "Igorot" by the lowlander[9] (although Beyer has used this term to refer specifically to the Kankanay and the Ibaloi groups).[10] In addition, Jocano lists the Kankanay and the Ibaloi as being in the same area.[11] All of these groups are flanked by the Gaddang on the east, the Ilongot to the southeast, and the Tinggian on the west. In Mindoro, there is another group collectively called "Mangyan", but whose members distinguish themselves as belonging to different groups, e.g., Hanunoo, Buhid, Draya, etc. Inhabiting the interior hills of Panay, Negros, and Palawan, are the Tagbanwa, the Batak, the Ke-ney, the Sulod, and the Bukidnon.[12] In Mindanao, scattered in various areas, are some eleven large groups and a number of small ones. These include the Subanon, who are found mostly in Zamboanga, the Tiruray of Cotabato, the Bilaan, Tagakaolo, Bagobo, and Mandaya of Davao, and the Manobo of Agusan and Cotabato.[13]

What confounds the situation is that while members of some groups may be concentrated in geographically contiguous areas or even settlements, there are groups whose members are scattered in different areas. The Negritos, for example, who are called Aetas in Luzon, are found in the mountain ranges of Zambales, Bataan, western Pampanga, western Tarlac and southwestern Pangasinan, as well as along the eastern margins north and south of the

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[9]William Henry Scott, *On the Cordilleras* (Manila: MCS Enterprises, Inc., 1966), p. 157.

[10]George Guy, "The Economic Life of the Mountain Tribes of Northern Luzon, Philippines", *University of Manila: Journal of East Asiatic Studies,* (January, 1958), p. 10.

[11]Jocano *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[12]Tenazas and Ramos, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[13]*Ibid.*

island of Luzon. They are also found in Mindanao, mostly in the Lake Mainit region, where they are known as Mamanwa.[14] It is not uncommon, therefore, to find in a single province several ethnic islands of these various minority groups Table II lists the different groups found in some of the provinces.

Perhaps the most significant dimension of the problem is the cultural variability of the groups. On a broader perspective, one could probably describe the Philippines as being culturally homogeneous, since close to ninety per cent of the population share essentially the same culture. While several languages have been identified as being in use in various areas (as of 1952 there were 75 main groupings and 32 subgroupings)[15], yet all of these belong to the Philippine branch of the Malayo-Polynesian family of languages. Even when physical characteristics are considered, members of various groups, including those of the dominant group, do not show significant differences. The only possible exceptions are the Negritos (or "little black people") and the Dumagats (who seem to be related to the Papuans of New Guinea) who together form only less than one per cent of the entire population.[16]

As one begins to examine the cultures more closely, however, particularly of the portion of the population belonging to the minorities, one finds great variability. Of course, there is a serious gap in knowledge in this area. Except for the activities of a few interested individuals and agencies, there has been no concerted systematic and widespread program of research since Dr. Jenk's series of studies for the U.S. Department of the Interior between 1906 and 1910.[17] But even in the now available contemporary studies on the minorities, one discerns a variability in cultural development ranging from almost stone age to the modern.

Table II

Geographic Distribution of Non-Muslim Cultural Minorities (1969)

Provinces	*Tribes*	
1. Cotabato	Bilaan	Sangil
	Manobo	Surok
	Tiruray	Iranon
	Tagabili	Maruray
	Tagakaolo	Isbanganua
	Bagobo	Dalangan
		Tasaday
2. Mt. Province	Kalinga	Ifugao
	Apayao	Kankanay
	Bontoc	Itawis
3. Davao	Kulaman	Bagobo
	Mandaya	Tagakaolo
	Ata	Karagan
4. Palawan	Tagbanua	Molbog
	Bata	Kanuy
	Palawan	
5. Agusan	Manobo	Bagobo
	Aeta	Panaw-on
	Mamanwa	
6. Bukidnon	Manobo	Bukidnon
	Talandig	
7. Abra	Tinggian (Isneg)	
	Kalinga	
8. Misamis Or.	Manobo	Bukidnon
9. Mindoro	Alangan	Bangon
	Batangan	Buhid
	Hanunoo	Barihim
	Tayadan	Batagnon
	Pula	Nauhan
	Iraya	
10. Quezon	Tinggian	Bontoc
11. La Union	Imbaloy	
12. Nueva Viscaya	Ilongot	Isinay
	Ifugao	Gaddang
13. Capiz	Sulod	
14. Negros Occ.	Aeta	Sulod
15. Antique	Aeta	Sulod
16. Isabela	Ibanag	Gaddang
17. Surigao	Mamanwa	Manobo
	Mandaya	Mansaka
18. Camarines Sur	Aeta	Dumagat
19. Cagayan	Ibanag	Kalinga
	Itawis	
20. Pangasinan	Aeta	Imbaloy

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] Lynch and Fox, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Milton Barnett, "Prefatory Observations on a National Policy for Ethnic Groups in the Philippines", Unpublished paper, n.d.

	Provinces	Tribes	
21.	Misamis Occ.	Subanon	Magindanao
22.	Nueva Ecija	Ilongot Dumagat	Aeta Tinggian
23.	Tarlac	Aeta	
24.	Ilocos Norte	Apayao	Tinggian
25.	Negros Oriental	Aeta	Sulod
26.	Pampanga	Aeta	
27.	Iloilo	Aeta	Sulod
28.	Zambales	Aeta	Ibeleng
29.	Rizal	Dumagat	Remontado
30.	Camarines Norte	Dumagat	Aeta
31.	Masbate	Mangyan	
32.	Laguna	Aeta	
33.	Bulacan	Aeta	Dumagat
34.	Marinduque	Mangyan	
35.	Bataan	Aeta	

Source: Leothiny Clavel, *They Are Also Filipinos* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1969), Appendix III.

At the lower end of the continuum of cultural development are the Tasadays, a group whose existence became known only in 1971. Described as very gentle, happy and contented, they were found to be still a cave-dwelling but sedentary people who use stone tools and make fire with a fire drill. They have no formal leaders and economically are described as food gatherers, lacking in the knowledge of hunting and agricultural techniques.[18]

Perhaps higher in the continuum are the few remaining, and still dwindling, Negritos and Dumagats who are still nomadic, subsisting on fishing, hunting, and food gathering. Many of the minorities, however, can be described as semi-sedentary and practising shifting agriculture which, in turn, is slowly being given up in favor of wet rice agriculture.

With regard to their social organization, Jocano writes:

> Community organizations do not involve clans or moieties. Kinship has a bilateral structure, is generally age-graded, loosely stratified, and predominantly egalitarian. There are no large corporate kin groups which can be described as forming "tribes" in the strictest sense of the word... Authority derives from group mores and personal qualities of men of ability rather than from an organized center...(and) the settlements or groups of settlements represent the basic political, religious, social and economic units.[19]

The level of cultural development does not only vary from group to group, but also within the same group (or classification) of minorities. Thus, while some Negritos may still be nomadic, others may already be semi-sedentary. The same variability within the same group is true also of many other groups, depending on the type, frequency, and intensity of contact with non-members.

The various groups also show different degrees of acculturation and assimilation into the dominant culture. In general, it has been observed that acculturation and assimilation tend toward two directions: in the southern regions of the country the direction is toward the Muslims, while in the central and northern regions it is toward the Christian groups. Among those who have been relatively more intensively assimilated into the Christian culture are the Ibanag, Gaddang, Aklan, Sambal, Isinay, Ivatan, etc. They have, in fact, been referred to as the "minor Christian groups."[20] But while these groups have been baptized as Christians and have adopted many aspects of the material culture of the dominant Christian group (for example, manner of dressing, use of cosmetics, tools, etc.) they have at the same time retained many of their traditional values. Because of this, they share with the non-Christian minorities some of the latter's conflicts with the dominant group.

The most common source of problems that is generally shared involves the ques-

[18]Carlos Fernandez II and Frank Lynch, "The Tasaday: Cave-Dwelling Food Gatherers of South Cotabato, Mindanao", *Philippine Sociological Review* (October, 1972), *passim*.

[19]Jocano, *op cit.*, p. 100.

[20]Lynch and Fox, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

tion of land ownership. The minority groups have their own traditional rules concerning land ownership which their members recognize and follow. There is, for instance, the practice of the Mamanwa whereby land is acquired through the right of first occupation.[21] There is also the property concept of the "Igorots" where a class of economic goods are given an "unowned" category, and over which free usufruct is exercised. Mountain lands, rivers, forests, etc. may be relegated to such category. In which case ownership by any individual is not recognized. That is, except in specified cases such as the *apa*, for instance, where an individual who feels he has been wronged by society suspends free usufruct over a piece of territory.[22] Like the Mamanwa and other groups, the Igorots also recognize communal property.

Such concepts and practices are different from the legalistic approach of Christians to property ownership. Often, the latter's recognized procedures are imposed upon the minorities, resulting in conflict. In several instances, members of the minorities have complained that they have been deprived of rights to lands which they have long been occupying. The Hanunoo, Isneg, Manobo, Bilaan, Tagabili, Bukidnon and others have been victims of this situation.[23]

It is perhaps at least partially a result of the above that several groups are now economically underprivileged. Because of their low level of technology, they need large tracts of land to sustain them, but with the incursions of the Christians into their territories, these areas are continually being reduced. Thus, many of them have been reported to be living on subsistence level, and poverty among them has been recognized by the national government itself as a major problem.[24]

This is not to deny the existence of some groups which have improved economically, nor to ignore the efforts that have been and are being exerted towards their economic well-being. There is, for instance, the assertion that the Igorots have already achieved integration into the Philippine national life because, among other things, they have achieved economic viability. William Henry Scott describes this development in the following manner:

> Economically speaking, no Igorot can reasonably expect to starve. Dr. Fox has already alluded to the spectacle of paved streets, two storey houses, and flush toilets in one of the most remote barrios on the Philippine road system, and there is no community of 100 people on the Cordillera without G.I. roofs, plastic bags, hot Tru-Orange, and *ginebra* San Miguel. Thousands of mountaineers are wage-earning miners, carpenters, truck drivers, road foremen, government clerks, school teachers, or college professors—or practice such profitable trades as doctor, priest, or bishop. Although I cannot claim there are old men in G-strings playing the stock market, I do know barefoot holders of Lepanto Mining shares.[25]

Finally, one has to view the situation of the minorities within the broader context of Philippine society. This is important in determining the prospects for sustenance, if not further improvement, of policies, and more important, the chances of success of programs and projects that might be undertaken in consonance with the desired goals.

On the whole, it can be reasonably stated that the issue of the cultural minorities in the Philippines has not been a live one. It has not been able to sustain enthusiasm and sup-

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[21]Marcelino Maceda, *The Culture of the Mamanwa* (Manila: Catholic Trade School, 1964), p. 63.

[22]George Guy, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[23]*Senate Committee on National Minorities Report on the Problems of Philippine Cultural Minorities* (Manila: Congress of the Philippines, 1963), p. 30.

[24]*Ibid.* See also Neri Diaz-Pascual, "A Report on the Socio-Economic Present Status of the Cultural Minorities in the Philippines", *UNITAS* (March, 1967), p. 207 ff.

[25]Wm. Henry Scott, "The Igorot: An Integrated Cultural Minority", *Philippine Sociological Review* (October, 1972), p. 357.

port. As Barnett has observed, public discussion on the question of the probable results of a program affecting ultimately several millions of human lives has been very scant.[26] Rather, the issue seems to have been incident-related. When dramatic incidents, such as periodic headhunting expeditions by the Ilongots occur, attention is turned to them.

Such a reaction on the part of the majority probably reflects the little importance that they attach to the problem, if not the prejudices that they, in general, have developed against the minorities.

How the majority perceives or feels toward the minority is obviously an important consideration to take, not only because such an attitude will generally dictate the nature of the policies and programs that will be enunciated, but more so because such attitudes will determine the nature of their contracts with the latter, enunciated policies notwithstanding. Personal interaction, reflecting favorable or unfavorable attitudes of one group or person towards the other, greatly influence subsequent attitudes and behavior. One notes, for instance, the case of the Hanunoo, where it was reported that

> Because of past experience of abuse and injustice, the Hanunoo Mangyans hold lowlanders in suspicion. The word *damuong*, or lowlander, has created a bad image in the minds of these people. In a way too the word "Christian" has assumed a bad connotation among them. These words represent all kinds of malpractices, such as cheating, stealing, landgrabbing, and even immodest practices.[27]

The existing prejudices of the majority against the minority have been reflected even in the press. In a study of the press coverage of the minorities, Gloria Feliciano[28] analyzed the contents of six years' issues of the principal dailies and weekly magazines of the Philippines. Her conclusions were that the coverage was entirely inadequate. In terms of space, the entire coverage for the period was only 14,130 column inches or approximately fifteen pages of a standard-sized daily. In terms of content, the articles were "seemingly far from objective" in that they emphasized headhunting, landgrabbing, the giving of aid to minority groups, and annual Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca and its problems, and the like. The terms generally used also reflected these: headhunters, decapitated, warpath, warlike, fierce, landgrabbers, etc.

The prejudices against the minority groups, reflected in the pejorative terms used in reference to them, as well as the weakness of the issue for their integration, reflect the position that they occupy in Philippine society. Such a position has been acknowledged even by anthropologists. For example, Jocano declared in 1959:

> Although considered Filipino citizens, these cultural minorities still form local societies which are rarely linked with the national government. If they are, such identification hold true only at the level of feeling. Actually, they are considered less an integral part than the Christian groups are in the emerging "national culture". They are still best known and designated by such names as Tagbanua, Ifugao, Tinggian, Isneg, Tiruray, Hanunoo, Buhid, Maranaw, Manobo, Bagobo, Sulod, Tausog, Samal, and so forth, and so conceive themselves.[29]

Of late, however, there has been a very noticeable change in both the frequency and nature of coverage given to the cultural minorities. Pictorials, articles, and news items frequently depict their life style, culture and activities in a manner devoid of emotionally-laden terms.

It is perhaps a result of all of the above characteristics—the minorities' limited number, their relative physical and cultural isolation from one another, their low socio-economic status, and the existing prejudices (if perhaps diminishing in intensity) on the part of the majority—that the minorities have lacked the necessary political resources that would enable them to thrust their cause before national attention. One can argue at

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[26]Barnett, *op. cit.*

[27]Emeterio de la Paz, "A Survey of the Hanunoo Mangyan Culture and Barriers to Change", *UNITAS* (March, 1968), p. 39.

[28]Gloria Feliciano, "Mass Media and National Integration", *Lipunan* (1966-67), pp. 18-28.

[29]Jocano, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

this point that this general weakness of these various groups has been the reason for the ease with which policies have been imposed from above, or alternatively, why there has been a general absence of input from below. A review of past policies and practices comes in order at this point.

INTEGRATION IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Within the context of the Philippines, the goals for integration have changed from one period of its history to another and efforts at integration have met with different degrees of success.

Historically, the existence of the various minority groups has always been recognized, but efforts to integrate them, or bring them into the mainstream of Philippine national life, have been generally weak, spotty, and inadequate. So that more than four centuries after the advent of the Spaniards, who saw the problem purely as a religious one, the different groups remain essentially alienated from the dominant Christian culture and remain, in the view of the government, in need of even stronger efforts for integration into the body politic and to Philippine society.

In line with the Spanish policy to Christianize the Filipinos, the *indios* (as they were called) were divided merely into those who had been converted into Christianity and those who had not. The latter group included those who resisted it, perhaps aggressively, such as the Muslims, and those living in the lowlands who also resisted Christianity and other impositions of colonial rule and fled to the mountains. Another group which was not Christianized included those who could not be reached by the missionary effort, and the principal ones were the various pagan ethnolinguistic groups that are now designated in official policy as constituting the national cultural minorities.

The Spaniards performed rather effectively the task of Christianizing the lowland Filipinos, altering in the process the very basic aspect of their settlement patterns. Where before Christianization Filipinos used to live in scattered settlements, with the introduction of Christianity, they were brought together "under the bells." The reference here is to the creation of the *poblacion* in the Philippine municipality, with the church and the municipal building as its center. Only by thus settling the people within the hearing distance of the church bells could the regime be assured of the observance by the Filipinos of the Catholic rites, hence, their continued membership in the church.[30] This particular innovation has, of course, become a permanent feature of Philippine life, representing what might be called a perfect blending between aim and method.

The effort, for all its persistence and durable effects, did not proceed further. Whoever were outside the pale of Christianity and of Spanish governance were effectively outsiders. Except for occasional military incursions into the territories of the various pagan groups, and of course, the more dramatic ones into Muslim territory, no other effort was devoted to bringing the "outsiders" into the national life. This total neglect of these groups underlines the nature of the situation when the Americans came.

The American colonial government paid more sophisticated attention to the minorities. Undoubtedly benefiting from their experience in dealing with the Indians in the United States, and probably from the state of the social sciences (principally Anthropology) at the turn of the century, the regime adopted specific objectives and policies directed at the minority groups. As a basis for policy, for example, ethnographic studies were undertaken for the U.S. Department of the Interior between 1906 and 1910 by Dr. Albert Jenks.[31] Individual scholars also privately undertook studies of the non-Christian peoples. These studies now constitute the most valuable and voluminous that have been made since.

The government created in 1907 the Department of Mindanao and Sulu. The name of the office is significant since it shows the attention that the American regime paid to the southern Philippines. It was at least a recognition of the resistance of the Muslims

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[30]John L. Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), Ch. 4.

[31]Rudolf Rahman. "Our Responsibility Towards the Cultural Minorities", *Science Review* (July-August, 1965), pp. 5-12.

to the Spaniards, and lately, their strong assertion of sovereignty with the change-over in colonial masters. As a territory considered in need of greater efforts at pacification, Mindanao was headed by a Military Governor, assisted by deputy governors for the sub-provinces of Zamboanga, Cotabato, Davao, Lanao, Agusan, Bukidnon and Sulu.[32]

In 1917 the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes replaced the Department of Mindanao and Sulu. Again, the change in name of the office probably signifies an appreciation of the existence of non-Christian groups other than the Muslims. This office was specifically charged with the task of continuing "to work for the advancement and liberty in favor of the regions inhabited by non-Christian Filipinos and to foster by all adequate means and in systematic, rapid and complete manner the moral, material, economic, social and political development of the regions, always having in view the aim of rendering permanent the *mutual intelligence between and complete fusion of all the Christian and non-Christian elements* populating the provinces of the Archipelago." (italics supplied)

It seems, therefore, that the kind of integration that the American regime sought to achieve was one that tended towards the "melting pot" goal .[33] The end in view was an amalgam of the various cultures, a common culture which would result from the fusion of the various elements of the different (sub)-cultures.

The instruments used by the Americans differed from those of the Spaniards'. Instead of altering settlement patterns and using forcible means, the public schools became the vital instrumentality for acculturation. The regime established a national school system from the elementary level to the university. The elementary schools were free and compulsory up to the fourth grade (there were six grades). It used English as the medium of instruction and was a highly centralized system with the curricula and textbooks uniform for the entire school system.[34] These were all compatible with the stated goal of integration, since through the school system, the natives would be exposed and socialized into a common set of values.

How effective the school system has been can be gauged from the effects it has had in literacy rates—upwards of 70% and considered high for an underdeveloped country—, the prevalent use of English throughout the country, and the general orientation of the Filipino towards the United States.

As far as the minority groups are concerned, the school system had the same effects as it had on the lowland Christian Filipinos. Schools were much scarcer in the mountain areas and therefore the acculturation there was weaker. Perhaps another major contributory factor to the slow acculturation of the minority groups was their own refusal to send their children to schools, as was specially true of the Muslims. However, at least in some regions in the Philippines, principally in the Mountain Province, the efforts of the school system were effectively augmented by the rather intensive missionary efforts in these areas. In the areas around Baguio City, for example, such missions still exist and continue to exert their influence through the schools that they have established. Tourists to these areas note the superficial effects of acculturation in the use of western clothes, the English language, and cosmetics. These are merely indications of the differential effects of various agencies of acculturation. On a deeper level, one could notice the absorption of members of the minority groups into the dominant Christian culture—not only their acceptance of Christianity but also their complete participation in the social, economic, and political life of the dominant group. Such upward mobile persons can, in fact, be hardly distinguished from their lowland brothers, and to that extent are probably alienated from their roots.

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[32]Cesar A. Majul, *Cultural Diversity, National Integration and National Identity* (Marawi City: Ansar El Islam, 1972), p. 15.

[33]This is contrary to Clavel's view that the goal of American integration in the Philippines was cultural pluralism. See Leothiny Clavel. *They Are Also Filipinos* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1969), Ch. 2.

[34]Manuel Lim, *Shortcoming of the Philippine Educational System* (Manila: Department of Education, 1959), pp. 20-25.

The newly-independent nation all but neglected the problems concerning the minorities. Governmental efforts were all taken up in the manifold tasks of nation building. In the meantime, the cultural minorities continued to suffer not only from prejudice but also from actual exploitation and abuse by Christian influentials. The most common cause of such abuses concerned the question of lands, and the most noticeable conflicts were those that occurred between Christians and Muslims. As post-war migration into Mindanao increased, pressure on the land began to be felt, and traditionally-held Muslim landholdings were being claimed by Christian settlers. The latter often had the advantage of possessing legal titles to the lands that they were claiming. Ironically, this state of affairs was legally facilitated by the Homestead Law which was passed by the Commonwealth Government to provide assistance to tenants in Luzon who had decided to move to Mindanao and Sulu. Designed to offset the agrarian upheavals in Central Luzon and in other parts of the country, this law, together with the Public Land Law, had the added effect of depriving the Muslims of some of their proprietary rights.[35] Under these laws, all lands within the areas occupied by the Muslims were considered public lands which belonged to the state, and which could be legally leased to the Christian migrants.

In the 1950's the tensions started to mount and Datu Kamlon launched his resistance against the government, an uprising that took a few years and a lot of lives to quell. As the conflicts between the members of the majority and the minority groups intensified, more serious attention was officially given to the minority groups. In 1954 the Congress formed a special committee to investigate the problem of peace and order in Mindanao and Sulu. The committee submitted its findings and recommendations which culminated in the creation in 1957 of the Commission on National Integration through legislation which is now more popularly known as Republic Act No. 1888. The Commission was charged, in words reminiscent of the functions of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, with the function of bringing about as rapidly as possible, "the moral, material, economic, social and political advancement of non-Christian Filipinos" and of making "real, complete, and permanent (their) integration...into the body politic."

R.A. 1888 did not specifically define integration and one has to use indirect methods to determine its meaning. Officially, there seems to have been some changes in the definition of integration. If such changes seem superficial, they are at least an indication of the direction of change. One such indication is the change, by an amendment in the law, of the term "non-Christian Filipinos" to a more neutral term, "national cultural minorities." The latter term has at least the virtue of removing the implication of the mission to "Christianize" the non-Christian groups, which is really erroneous, since nowhere in the legislation nor in the programs and policies that it defines, is there any provision to Christianize the pagan groups. On the other hand, there is no unanimous acceptance of the newer term. To some critics, the acceptance of the term "minorities" implies the existence of a dominant and superordinate majority. The criticism, of course, simply reflects the reality in Philippine society, but they would take the more idealistic view by removing any pejorative connotation from the terms used to refer to the minority groups. The more recent decrees, for instance, use the term "cultural communities."

One other indication of this shift in emphasis from an assimilationist to a pluralist position can be found in statements by those who headed the Commission on National Integration. Abraham Rasul, appointed to head the Commission in 1965, said on one occasion that integration meant "to make a modern Filipino out of a Badjao or an Ilongot or a Tirurai, i.e., to provide him with a piece of land, farm tools, working animals and seeds, give him the means to start a cottage industry or an individual enterprise, send him to school and help him in his legal problems, etc.[36] In this formulation, integra-

[35]Alunan C. Glang, *Muslim Secession or Integration* (Quezon City: R.P. Garcia Publishing Co., 1969), p. 14.

[36]Abraham Rasul, as quoted in *The CNI Bulletin*, May, 1965.

tion involved a full adjustment on the part of the minorities to the culture and level of development of the majority.

Mamintal Tamano, who succeeded Rasul as chairman of the Commission, held a different view. He narrowed the meaning of integration to refer only to political cohesiveness, while otherwise allowing for cultural pluralism. In his words, integration involved "the fusion of a nation's cultural groups—normally classified into the majority and the minority(ies)—into one body politic, with a view to granting the minorities under a common government all the rights and privileges in the usual efforts to further that nation's interest and wellbeing."[37] He realized that integration is a gradual process which must recognize the felt needs of the cultural minorities. He enumerated these needs as: (1) the need for accommodation; (2) the need to cultivate the virtues of the cultural minorities; (3) the need for greater educational opportunities; (4) the need to preserve the patrimony of the cultural minority; and (5) the need to attain economic equality.

This formulation represents a change over the first one. In it, the aim was no longer blanket assimilation but a narrower one which seemed to be the inculcation in the minorities of an awareness of political rights and obligations and developing among them an over-arching loyalty to the nation instead of to their small groups. This position implicitly accepted the reconcilability of small parochial loyalties and loyalty to the larger entity of the nation. It thus admitted the possibility of diversity in unity—preserving as much of the "native" among the minority groups and focusing on those items of improvement that could bring them closer to the larger body politic.

Basically the same idea was expressed by President Marcos in his speech at the eleventh anniversary of the Commission on National Integration on June 22, 1968. He stated: "We do not intend to convert anyone to any kind of religion nor to any kind of thinking, nor to any kind of culture... Our main task is to give the cultural minorities what they deserve of government for that is what they ask, which exists for them as much as it exists for the Christian majority..." Again elaborating on the concept of integration, he emphasized that integration "does not mean the disintegration or dissolution of the beliefs and values of the smaller culture groups, far from it. When we speak of unity in integration, we mean a pluralistic kind of unity, one that permits differences and even welcomes this as a contribution to the richness of society and only those that are disruptive of that society will be opposed..."[38]

However, despite this apparent change in the official formulation of integration, the philosophy of the law itself remained unchanged from that of an assimilationist stance. Its objectives, for example, still reflected the imperialist aim of "bringing up" the backward elements of the population to the level of the moderns, who by definition were those who had taken on the values and way of life of the Christian majority. Indeed, the minorities had been singled out for special treatment precisely because they had failed to adopt Western influences. The cultural minority, as defined in the June 26, 1962 memorandum of the Commissioner on National Integration had the following characteristics:

> It is a cultural minority in that its culture differs from that of most natives of the Philippines whose original native, or Asian-influenced culture has been strongly modified by many generations of contacts and changes in ethical, cultural, and religious beliefs, practices, law, customs, government, education, philosophy, arts, psychology, material, standards of dress, habitation and diet, amusement, etc., from Euro-American sources. The Native Asian basis has been Westernized so that the modern Filipino majority culture while still physically Asian and tropical is heavily weighted ethnically and psychologically by Euro-American and North Atlantic influences.

[37]Mamintal Tamano, "National Integration: Antidote to Separatism", *Sunday Times Magazine*, (September 1, 1968), pp. 12-13.

[38]Ferdinand Marcos, "The Problem of National Integration", speech delivered at the eleventh anniversary celebration of the Commission on National Integration, June 22, 1960.

> The cultural minority groups, quite simply, are those still ethnically and psychologically but little differentiated from the common South-East Asian Peninsula and Island civilization. They are guided, not entirely by the Euro-American based law prevailing in the Philippines, but by *adat* or native custom.

The Commission used three main bases of identifying the cultural minorities from the rest of Philippine society. These were: linguistic considerations, physical race, and the "conservative, unmodified Asian culture portions of the groups." Based on these criteria, the Commission officially recognized some fifty-four (54) groups and excluded others. Although the official list differs somewhat from those of the anthropologists' (whose lists also show differences) this action probably put an end to the confusion that has been going on over the classification and identification of the cultural minorities.

Table III

Officially Recognized National Cultural Minorities (Muslim Groups Have Been Excluded from this list).

Aeta (Negrito)
Apayao
Ata
Bagobo
Bananaw-on
Batak
Bilaan
Bontok
Bukidnon
Dulangan
Dumagat
Gaddang
Ibatan
Ifugao
Igorot
Iranun
Ilongot
Imbaloi
Kalagan
Ibangunun
Kalibugan
Kalinga
Kankanai
Kanuy, Kene
Kulaman
Ligad Batang
Mamanwa
Mangguangan
Mandaya
Mangyan
Manobo
Molguganon
Mundo
Palawano
Remontado
Samal
Sangil
Surok
Sulod
Subanon
Tagabili
Tagakaolo
Tagbanua
Talandig
Tasaday (added)
Tinggian
Tiruray
Tadag

Groups Declared Not Belonging to the National Cultural Minorities Were the Following:

Agutanon
Bantunon
Cagayanon
Capul
Gaddang
Hanitikon
Ibatan
Ibanang, Itawis
Isinay
Kamianan
Palananun
Teruatan
Yogad

Source: Memorandum of Commissioner Gabriel Dunuan dated June 26, 1962, as cited in Leothiny Clavel, *They Are Also Filipinos* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1962), pp. 2-3.

It was not until much later, during the Martial Law period, that the pluralist-society interpretation of national integration was formally adopted. On April 22, 1975, President Marcos issued Presidential Decree No. 690, which in effect, abolished the Commission on National Integration, among other agencies, and created the Southern Philippines Development Administration. As per the decree, the SPDA or "Administration" became responsible "for the initiation and/or implementation of development projects in such areas or fields where other government offices have not taken action or have failed to take effective positive action under such arrangements as may be agreed upon between the office or agency concerned and the Administration." Section 17 of this P.D. made specific reference to the Commission on National Integration. Paragraph 2 of this section read:

> All outstanding contracts of the Commission on National Integration, the Mindanao Development Authority, the Presidential Task Force for the Reconstruction and Development of Mindanao and the Special Program of Assistance for the Rehabilitation of Evacuees (SPARE), with other agencies and/or instrumentalities of the government or those with private entities are assumed by the Administration except, that in the case of the Commission on National Integration, all the latter's functions pertaining to the National Cultural Communities located in Luzon and Visayas under the provisions of R.A. 1888, as amended, and for this purpose the Department of Agrarian Reform shall establish a division for the National Cultural Communities.

After only a month, this provision was amended with the issuance of P.D. 719 on

May 30, 1975. The same paragraph, as amended, now reads:

> All the outstanding contracts of the Commission on National Integration, Mindanao Development Authority, the Presidential Task Force for the Reconstruction and Development of Mindanao and the Special Program of Assistance for the Rehabilitation of Evacuees (SPARE) with other agencies and/or instrumentalities of the government or those with private entities are assumed by the Administration, except that in the case of the non-Muslim hill tribes cultural minorities all throughout the Philippines, the powers, functions and duties of the Commission on National Integration as provided for in Republic Act No. 1888, as amended, insofar as these non-Muslim hill tribes are concerned, shall be exercised solely by the Office of the President through the Presidential Assistant on National Minorities.

With these two decrees, not only was the Commission on National Integration abolished, but a distinction was also officially made between Muslim minorities and non-Muslim minorities. While the Muslims were placed under the responsibility of the SPDA, the non-Muslims were placed under the responsibility of the PANAMIN.

Subsequently, on June 9, 1978, PD 1414 was issued, which defined the powers, functions and duties of the PANAMIN. This decree declared a policy of the State "to integrate into the mainstream of Philippine society certain ethnic groups who seek full integration into the larger community, and at the same time protect the rights of those who wish to preserve their original lifeways beside the larger community." At the same time, the decree also reiterated a policy of the government "to extend to the national minorities equality in stature, dignity and opportunity with all other citizens." Thus, the cultural minorities were now given the option by law to either be assimilated into the majority culture or retain their own culture. In any case, assistance and protection of their rights were to be extended by the PANAMIN.

The decree also defined the powers, duties and functions of the PANAMIN so that it may be more effective in the pursuance of its tasks. Among others, the PANAMIN was expected to: a) establish and maintain ethnographic research centers and museums for the purpose of preserving artifacts and other evidences of the lifeways of national minorities; and b) conduct, jointly with the Bureau of Forest Development, inspections of areas covered by applications for licenses, leases or permits granted under the Revised Forestry Code in provinces and cities inhabited by national minorities to determine the extent to which said applications would affect the rights of the resident minorities, and issue certifications of the findings; no such license, permit or lease will be granted without this certification by PANAMIN that no member of the minority actually occupies or possesses or has a claim to all or a portion of the area applied for. The PANAMIN was also given the "exclusive authority to issue certifications attesting to bona fide membership in a tribal or ethno-linguistic group considered as National Minorities for purposes of establishing qualifications for appointments in government and for other benefits as provided by laws."

NATIONAL INTEGRATION THROUGH EDUCATION

In compliance with R.A. 1888, the Commission set up various programs for the minorities. In line with the various objectives enumerated in the law, it established five divisions, namely: the Cultural and Educational Division, the Provincial Extension Division, the Arts and Industrial Division, the Legal Division, and the Agricultural and Rural Development Division.

Specifically, the Cultural and Educational Division was supposed to collaborate with other agencies of the government in the establishment of public schools in areas where cultural minorities were located; administer a scholarship program for the minorities; and assist other government agencies in the formulation of policies affecting the education of cultural minorities. The administation of the scholarship program was subsequently transferred to the Department of Education and Culture (DEC) with the issuance of Presidential Decree No. 193 on May 15, 1973.

Both the efforts in establishing more schools in areas of minorities and in granting scholarships to them indicate that schools are being used as a vehicle for social and cultural change to achieve the goals of integration. Undoubtedly, schools can potentially contribute much toward the realization of such ends, since schools have the capacity to mold and change not only overt behavior, but also, and more importantly, attitudes. Implicit in the action,

however, is the assumption that the goals of education are compatible with those of integration and that, therefore, education will, in fact, promote integration. While this assumption is crucial to the efforts at integration, its validity has been largely taken for granted. An attempt is made here to examine the validity of this assumption and to find out the extent or compatibility or incompatibility between the educational system and the goal of integration, which has already been defined as one of cultural pluralism.

A major difficulty faced in dealing with this type of analysis is in the definition of the goals. Usually, goals are stated so broadly, if ever they are stated at all, as to be of any real significance to the analyst. Indeed, this problem is so significant that it forms the basis of Rein's whole approach to social policy.

Rein agrees with Titmuss that the primary concern of social policy is social purposes, and is "much less concerned with clarifying the costs and benefits of alternative means of fulfilling those purposes where there is already substantial agreement."[39] Recognizing that social goals are generally multiple, vague, and even conflicting, Rein's approach consists in distilling and crystallizing social purposes as these may be reflected in objectives, procedures, and programs, and raising questions with respect to these goals. In cases where multiple desirable goals are conflicting, he admits the inability of social policy research to develop rules for choosing, or to establish criteria for resolving the conflict among the goals. Nonetheless, he insists on probing into the value assumptions underlying the development of policies "to explicate those areas where technicism has become a substitute for choice", and "to foster a better appreciation of the links and the disjunctions between programs and purposes."[40]

Utilizing Rein's approach in analysis, one finds that Philippine education is, in fact, assimilationist and therefore cannot serve the goals of a pluralist society. This assimilationist orientation of education is reflected in one of its aims, which is

> to carry on the Filipino way of life, retaining the priceless heritage of our basic Malayan Culture, especially the ethical virtues, while using to advantage the valuable experience of the human race.[41]

Within the context of the cultural diversity of Philippine society, this aim is vague, since it does not state which culture it is which is going to be preserved in the schools, nor does it define who will determine this "Filipino way of life" which is going to be a basis for teaching. An elaboration of this aim, however, is available, which could be taken as the official view. In a report prepared by the Magsaysay Committee on education, reference is made to the above as the culture that "although possesses Malayan culture... (has) been exposed to Anglo-Saxon and other European civilizations."[42] If one recalls that the minorities have been officially defined as those who have been least influenced by the Western culture, it is obvious that the description above fits the culture of the dominant Christian group. As interpreted, therefore, an aim of the schools is to propagate, even impose, the dominant culture in the society.

The effort to impose a common culture through the schools is also reflected in the language issue which has been one of the major concerns in the Philippine educational system. The Philippines probably stands unique today in its official sanction of the use of three languages in the elementary schools alone. The first of these is English, the use of which dates back to the introduction of public schools into the country by the Americans. In line with the efforts at integration, a common language was desired for all Filipinos, and for practical and obvious reasons, English was adopted. The second language in use is Pilipino, a Tagalog-based language which was incorporated into the curriculum as a subject in all the elementary grades during the Japanese occupation. Pilipino has since been declared as the

[39]Martin Rein, *Social Policy* (New York: Random House, 1971), pp. 7-12.

[40]*Ibid.*

[41]Magsaysay Committee on Education, *Towards a General Education* (Manila: University of the East Press, 1968), pp. 10-15.

[42]Ibid.

national language, and all efforts are therefore being made to promote its use. The third is a recent addition, the result of six years of experiments in the use of the vernacular (the language that the child speaks at home) as the medium of instruction. With the promulgation of an order issued by the Department of Education in 1956, English ceased to be the medium of instruction in the first two grades, although together with Pilipino, it was retained as a subject in the curriculum in all elementary grade levels. From the third grade, there is a shift in the medium of instruction from the vernacular to English.[43]

Of particular interest here is the fact that while subsequent experiments have proved the vernacular to be much more effective than English in the achivement of functional literacy by the child, the only concession given to its use so far has been only as far as the second grade. (The most recent innovation has been to use Pilipino and English as official languages, and the vernacular as an auxiliary language). It would seem that the increased learning capacity of the child gained by the use of his own language for instruction is being sacrificed in favor of the desire for the development or imposition of a common language and culture.

Although the contribution that a common language could potentially make towards the generation of national consciousness cannot be denied, the dysfunctions arising from its imposition must also be recognized. One notes for instance, the reported case of the Bontok children who showed disinterest in Pilipino. The report stated in part: "As long as Bontok boys hear the Philippine language in the classroom only, their interest in it can hardly be stimulated. This almost complete lack of interest in it makes the teaching of Pilipino useless work."[44]

Perhaps at the moment, non-Tagalog speakers do not feel the need to know this language because of the presence of other major languages (Ilocano, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, etc.) any one of which they can use to communicate with one another. Besides, there is English, which is the language of higher education and official life, and which has already gained widespread use even in the lower levels.

Inclusion of subjects perceived to be irrelevant or insignificant by the learners could only discourage them from going to school. Besides, the curriculum places unnecessary burdens on the child with the inclusion of two (three if he goes to high school where Spanish is added) new languages to be learned. (Please see Table IV). Furthermore, if the intent of developing a common language is to establish national unity, then having two common languages will not necessarily hasten the process. On the contrary, it can only hinder the learning of both, especially if neither is used outside the classroom, and to that extent will decelerate integration.

A third, and perhaps the strongest, indication of the assimilationist posture of the educational system is the administrative structure itself. The American colonial government had established a highly centralized educational administrative system in the Philippines and this has been essentially retained to the present. No less than the Philippine Constitution has vested the supervision and regulation of all educational institutions in the state. In practice, the Department of Education (now called the Ministry of Education and Culture) sets minimum curricular requirements for each level, and approves textbooks for use in schools. On the elementary level, the Department, through the Bureau of Public Schools, issues teacher's manuals and various teaching materials, ensuring uniformity in classroom programs, courses of study, and even methods of teaching.[45]

Within the structure, policies and programs are entirely elite-oriented and simply imposed on the whole national school system. Although feedback loops are provided in terms of teacher reports, the nature of the reports themselves is very structured and filtered through each of the administrative levels. By the time these reports reach the level of the decision-makers, they will have been so broadly

[43]Marcelino Cusi, "The Trilingual Scheme on the Philippine Public School is a Farce", *Philippine Journal of Education*, (February, 1963, pp. 618-620.

[44]John Van de Steen, *Critical Issues in Bontoc Education*, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Ateneo de Manila University, 1956, p. 85.

[45]Manuel Lim, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

summarized that they fail to show significant differences between regions and smaller subdivisions.

While this type of structure might have suited the purposes of the American colonial regime, it is not necessarily efficient for purposes of maintaining a pluralist society. It lacks the flexibility required in capably meeting the various needs of the different cultural groups. Nor does it even allow for inputs from its Christian clientele, much less from the minorities, to influence its policies and programs.

Anthropological studies have revealed certain incompatibilities that exist in varying degrees between the school system and the culture of the various groups. In some instances, the school calendar conflicts with important cultural or social events in the communal life of certain groups. Among the Bontoks, for instance, a major cause of frequent absences and low enrolment is the fact that certain observances and celebrations have to be made during planting and harvesting seasons, which incidentally are also school days. Since these people depend heavily on their harvest for survival, they have attached a great deal of significance to the planting and harvesting activities. These are usually accompanied by rituals, participated in by all the members of the community, including children of school age. Since the times of planting and harvesting differ from barrio to barrio and from year to year, a school calendar which is fixed for all schools results in attendance problems and discourages enrolment.[46]

For other parents, it is a choice between sending their children to school or letting them participate in economic activities for the benefit of the household or the clan. In addition, the rather rigorous discipline imposed in schools and expected of students has acted as deterrent among the Bontoks, the Hanunoo,[47] and other groups where children are traditionally accustomed to a life of almost unlimited freedom. But more than just the "disciplining" of children to the regulated life in school is the greater problem of recognizing the permanence and routinary nature of the school with the semi-nomadic/nomadic life of the minorities.

More germane to the problem than the technical problems mentioned above is the matter of content of instruction which is also uniform throughout the school system. What do schools prepare the children for? More particularly, are the schools promoting national integration by the things that are being taught to children? With regard to this, Cuyugan, a noted Philippine social scientist, makes the observation that the school system has, in fact, created disunity. Recalling the objective of the Americans to establish in the Philippines through its educational system a democracy styled after their own, mass education, rather than education for a privileged few, was the logical choice and that

> since the mass of Filipinos were Christian, the values, habits, and content of the mass educational program had to relate to the majority culture. The Americans were not interested in diversity; they were concerned with ironing out differences and coming out with an upright, civic-spirited, Christian Filipino citizen throughout the length and breadth of these islands. That there were so-called pagans and Moros was unfortunate; they had to be civilized by getting paganism and Islam out of their system.[48]

This attitude and the values associated with it were adopted by the Filipino educators who took up where the Americans left off. The result has been for mass education to create a cleavage between the "Western Christians", who have become more homogenized through the school and the "non-Western Christians" who were effectively placed outside the pale of the nation.

The realities of the assertion above are reflected in the findings of the Economic Development Foundation in its evaluation of the present curriculum. The Summary report read in part: "The general academic primary curriculum... prescribed by the Bureau of Public Schools for nationwide use... was designed with more developed areas and 'cultural majority' as frames of reference. As such, it is grossly unsuitable and fails as an instrument for conserving or transmitting,

[46]John Van de Steen, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[47]Emeterio de la Paz, *op. cit., p. 42.*

[48]Ruben Santos-Cuyugan, "Education for Unity", lecture delivered at the Benitez Memorial Series for 1974-75, University of the Philippines, September 11, 1974.

much less extending, indigenous culture..."[49] Further, it states that "while the curriculum is, per se, fundamentally sound for developing skills in the language arts, mathematics and other subject areas at the primary level, it fails as an instrument for education for cultural minorities. Being divorced from their condition, it fails to provide the existential context within which education can be effective and—for the culture within which it takes place—non-traumatic."[50]

Table IV lists the General Academic Curriculum prescribed by the Bureau of Public Schools of the Department of Education and Culture, and updated by Department memoranda in line with Presidential orders related to education.

The curriculum tells very little about the dominant cultural orientation of the teaching materials, and in no way reflect the cultural bias of the teachers. This fact has been recognized by some quarters who have initiated a move to rewrite Philippine history books from a perspective different from those of the colonial powers'. Thus, instead of being the villains, they will be the true nationalists who consistently and successfully resisted the impositions of foreign powers. There has also been a move to recognize their own heroes, and lately, special holidays for particular groups have been proclaimed to honor their heroes.

All of these are undoubtedly significant, but they fail to cover the entire range of the problem. Much of the reading materials still convey the values, norms, and ideals of the majority, and principles are put across within this context.

These differences in the cultural context are, in all probability, the reason why the minorities, in general, have not been performing satisfactorily academically. A series of studies on the American Indians present evidences showing that cultural and linguistic differences contribute to serious

Table IV

Prescribed Curriculum

Subjects	*No. of Minutes in Grade*			
	I	*II*	*III*	*IV*
Character education	20	20	20	20
Language Arts				
Vernacular	40	40	—	—
Pilipino	60	60	60	60
English	40	40	60	60
Social Studies	30	30	30	30
Elementary Mathematics	30	30	30	30
Health and Science	30	30	30	30
Music and Arts	30	30	30	30
Work Education	—	—	40	60
Physical Education	20	20	20	20
Total Number of Minutes Daily	300	300	320	360

educational retardation on tests of academic achievement.[51] The same could hold true within the context of the Philippines.

The generally poor performance of the minorities in the annual scholarship examinations had prompted the Commission on National Integration to lower the passing marks; otherwise, only a very insignificant number would qualify.[52] This, of course, has not been the only form of accommodation afforded to them. There is the Civil Service Law which permits the appointment of a non-eligible teacher if he belongs to the cultural minority. Republic Act 2260 provides that "in line with the policy of Congress to accelerate the integration of cultural minorities...the examination required in the Act when not practicable may be dispensed with in appointments within their respective province if such persons meet the educational and other qualifications required for the office for employment."

But even while these accommodations have been given in appreciation of the dis-

[49]Economic Development Foundation, Inc., "A Comprehensive Educational Program for Non-Muslim Cultural Minorities", volume I of a three-volume report submitted to PANAMIN, in May, 1974, p. 8.

[50]*Ibid.*

[51]Miles V. Zints, *Education Across Cultures* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1963), pp. 14-15.

[52]Interview with Atty. Cesar Alzona of the Commission on National Integration, June 13, 1974.

advantaged position of the minorities vis-a-vis that of the dominant group, they have been granted within the framework of an assimilationist policy. While their inability to absorb and to adjust to the dominant culture has been recognized and made allowances for (through the double standards), no attempt is made to *accept* the existence of several cultures, and to recognize the right of the minorities to retain their own. On the contrary, with these accommodations, incentives have been provided for those who are willing to be absorbed into the dominant culture and those who have undergone the process and are now ready to socialize or train the rest of their group for life in the dominant culture.

From an assimilationist point of view, such accommodation may be seen as catalysts that facilitate the entry and participation of the minorities into the mainstream of Philippine society. But even within this perspective, there are unintended effects arising from the action. One of these is to stigmatize the minorities. In the larger context of Philippine society and especially within the school system in particular, academic qualifications and achievements, which are highly correlated with economic and/or political power, are major determinants of status. This being the case, lowering the standards for qualifications of the minorities, who are economically and politically disadvantaged, could only serve to stigmatize them and further reduce whatever little status they have. There is therefore the issue of whether to adopt uniform standards for all and keep out the minorities (since very few would qualify), or adopt double standards and stigmatize them in the eyes of the majority.

Given that education is a major avenue for social mobility, and given, further, that schools carry the culture of the majority, it can be stated that under existing arrangements, the only way for the minorities to participate more fully in the mainstream of economic, social and political life in the Philippines is to be absorbed into the culture of the majority. Education, which has been offered as an opportunity for obtaining command of social, economic and political resources, has itself been made as a socializing agent for the dominant culture. By a series of work projects, exercises, and examinations, and through a process of formal and informal rewards and punishments, the child is slowly molded into the type of person idealized by the dominant group. If he shows deviant behavior, he is sent for counselling and guidance, and in extreme cases, is ejected or failed, and thereby loses his chance for socio-economic upliftment.[53] The child is also judged on the type and amount of knowledge that he acquires from school. If he comes up to par with expected performance, he graduates and is able to compete in the better-paying job market. Otherwise, he becomes a drop-out and reduces his chances for a better life.

The minorities, aside from having to hurdle the regular requirements for each level, have to pass an examination to qualify for scholarships. At present, the National Scholarship Center of the Ministry of Education and Culture administers two types of scholarships specifically for minority groups. These are the National Integration Study Grant Program and the Selected Ethnic Groups Educational Assistance Program (SEGEAP), which used to be administered by the PANAMIN. Both grants are applicable to either the secondary or the collegiate undergraduate level. To qualify, one must, among others, be a member of the minority group as certified by the PANAMIN; be of good moral character and unquestionable integrity as certified by the school principal or Barangay Captain; belong to the top 5% of the elementary or top 15% of the high school graduating class; and pass both the preliminary screening and qualifying examination. Awardees of such grants are also required to maintain certain averages for them to maintain their scholarships.

This highly selective process ensures that only those who have been properly socialized are given the opportunities for a better life. With the institution of the recently-introduced National Collegiate Entrance Examinations, this process of screening out the undesirable and the retention of individuals who have acquired the right type of knowledge and display acceptable behavior patterns is further strengthened.

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[53]Priscila Manalang, "The Constitution and the New Social Orientation in Education", Lecture delivered during the Benitez Memorial Series for 1974-75, University of the Philippines, September 28, 1974.

At the moment, there seems to be much evaluation and rethinking being done in the school system, as evidenced by the many changes and innovations that are taking place. On the curricular aspect, such topics as land reform, the constitution, population, nutrition, and work education have already been worked into the existing courses. With regard to teaching methods, such approaches and techniques as in-school off-school community approach, programmed learning, use of self-learning kits, and the concept of continuous progression and criterion-referenced norms are being introduced.[54] On a higher level, there has been an effort to effect a tie-up between education and national development goals. With the issuance of Presidential Decree No. 6-A, otherwise known as the Educational Development Decree of 1972, education was given an active part in the pursuance of national goals, which were enumerated as follows: "(a) to achieve and maintain an accelerating rate of economic development and social progress; (b) to assure the maximum participation of all the people in the attainment and enjoyment of the benefits of such growth; and (c) to strengthen national consciousness and promote desirable cultural values in a changing world."

Yet, even these latest innovations seem to depart from a point where the cultural level of the dominant group is situated. Thus, the child, whether he belongs to the dominant group or not, has to learn the intricacies of the latest economic, social and political innovations within the context of the majority culture in addition to the regular learning materials now included in the curriculum. The new methods, on the other hand, are just new ways of making them learn, if perhaps more efficiently, about the dominant culture, its concepts, values and institutions. There is still the seeming refusal to recognize the existence of several differing cultures, and to start from there. Finally, while a definite direction has been given to the educational effort by gearing it towards a national purpose, its aims and objectives within this framework are still so broadly stated as to be able to serve as guidelines for specific educational programs.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY DIRECTIONS

A major dilemma posed by the integration of cultural minorities within the framework of cultural pluralism is that under the existing national economic, social and political structures, a minimum degree of assimilation (or absorption) is required before the minorities can share the benefits of the larger system. Firstly, it has already been suggested elsewhere in this paper that even in the very basic matter of land ownership which is vital to the communal life, if not sheer survival of the various groups, the minorities are forced by circumstances to follow the legal procedures of the dominant group as the only means of acquiring security of tenure. The establishment of reservations, which seems to have been the standard government solution since the American colonial regime, has proved to be inadequate both in minimizing conflicts arising from land ownership and in providing the minorities with a desirable level of living. But other than its mere inadequacy in providing a permanent solution, the reservation has also given rise to issues of morality and justice. Secondly, this paper has argued that education, which is highly correlated with command of economic and political resources, is in itself a process of cultural absorption of the minorities into the dominant group.

It has to be recognized, of course, that with increased and increasing contacts between the dominant group and the minorities—through infrastructure development, extended and improved communications systems, and the apparent rising general interest in indigenous cultural items like T'boli cloth, Igorot art work and fabrics, etc,—there is bound to be some assimilation that will take place, and that in the long run, the minorities will catch up with the cultural development of the dominant group. It might even be argued that hastening and intensifying this process would be to the benefit of the minorities, since by it, they would be more likely to be in a position to share in the benefits of the society.

[54]Commission on National Integration, *Revised Rules and Regulations on Local Scholarships, 1969.*

The process, however, is not easily done. It is actually a very complex process involving social and psychological dimensions of individual and group adjustment to a new kind of life, as well as anthropological considerations of cultural change and processes. As an example, the case of the Menominee[55] tribe of Wisconsin, as described by Deloria, illustrates the futility of such a policy of termination.

What, then, should be the pace of assimilation, or in a broader sense, acculturation of the minorities? How much or how little assimilation is aimed for, and with respect to what aspects of culture: economics and livelihood, religion, systems of belief? What should be the role of education in the process?

The last question posed gives rise to other equally significant questions. One has to do with the function of education. Within the context of the dominant group, education has a modernizing role, and indeed actually serves as an instrument of change.[56] The child is taught the latest trends in skills, perspectives, methods, etc. Within the context of the indigenous groups, however, education serves as the guardian of tradition. The child is taught how to survive in his own community and is socialized into his future role as an adult member. Within the context of the efforts at integration, then, what function should education serve? Should schools preserve tradition and prepare the child in his society, or prepare him for some future condition of that society? More specifically, where fundamental values are in conflict with indigenous values, should schools inculcate values of the dominant culture?[57] Does education presume to know what is best for the minorities?

In seeking answers to these latter questions, one has to go back to the original ones concerning the pace and degree of assimilation. To these, the anthropologists seem to have the answer. According to Ralph Linton,

> ...studies of cultural dynamics show that adaptation is best fostered by allowing a people to select as possible what they want to retain of existing custom, and what they want to take from outside. This principle of "cultural self-determination" or "cultural independence" is put forward not just as a moral right but as a demonstrated fact.[58]

Linton also states that

> What anthropologists have emphasized is the principle or viewpoint that the existing culture of a people must be made the constant point of reference if administration and welfare work is to be intelligently planned and effective.[59]

These assertions logically follow from a series of propositions that various anthropological studies have tended to show. Since cultures are fairly integrated systems, changes in any particular aspect of culture will therefore often, if not necessarily always, lead to changes in other aspects. This interrelatedness of the aspects of culture is also the reason why cultural borrowing tends to be selective; the borrowed items must be satisfying within the context of the borrowing culture. In cases where values are involved in the borrowing, these should not run counter to any existing and strongly-held value. Otherwise, some form of modification may take place to reduce the conflicts generated by the process.

In the last analysis, it is the members of the society or communal group who must effect this cultural borrowing. On the individual or group level, the change involves an integration of the new element with the indigenous culture, and an adjustment to the change—e.g. in social relationships, in the acquisition of new skills, in terms of new values to be imbibed, etc—as may be involved. In short, new ways of acting, feeling, and thinking may be called for.[60] Where too rapid a change is involved, therefore, adjustment problems are multiplied on the part of participating individuals and groups.

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[55]Priscilla Manalang, *op. cit.*

[56]Vine Deloria, *Custer Died for Your Sins* (New York: McMillan and Co., 196).

[57]Priscilla Manalang, *op. cit.*

[58]Ralph Linton, "Present World Conditions in Cultural Perspective", in Linton (ed.), *The Science of Man in the World Crisis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 205.

[59]*Ibid.*, p. 203.

[60]A. Irving Hallowell, "Sociopsychological Aspects of Acculturation" in Linton, *ibid.*, p. 181.

What all of these imply for the problem of integration is that acculturation should be allowed to proceed at a pace that the receiving culture can absorb. Also, the items to be borrowed should be determined by the group concerned. Both of these reflect the active role that the minority groups will have with regard to the question of assimilation, and the supportive role the government agencies and institutions should perform.

Consistent with the above, education should be able to cushion the impact of acculturation, and to suitably and effectively meet local problems. The minority groups, being what they are, the educational program must therefore necessarily be different in curriculum content, approach, and methodology.[61]

With the above as point of departure and cultural pluralism as the framework, elementary education could conceivably be geared towards the following objectives:

1. To effect a better understanding among the different minority groups and between the dominant group on the one hand and the minorities on the other;
2. To develop among individuals and groups an appreciation of, and pride in, their cultural heritage;
3. To provide individuals with the necessary knowledge and skills for survival within a changing cultural context; and
4. To promote the development of psychologically and physically healthy and wholesome individuals; capable of relating themselves to others, and aware of their dignity as well as their rights and obligations.

These objectives are heavily based on the concept of cultural relativity. An appreciation of one's own culture is coupled with an acceptance of, and respect for, the existence of other cultures. It seems that it is only on this basis that people will relate to "outgroups" on an equal footing and with mutual respect.

The first objective is intended to make the individual aware of the existence of several cultures, and to develop an attitude favorable to acceptance of this fact. Within the context of the Philippines, this will mean that the minority group will not be made aware only of the dominant group, but also of other minority groups. Actual contacts and dialogues could even be encouraged among them to discuss common problems, and for themselves to seek solutions to these problems. This goal will also serve to widen their perspectives beyond that of the communal group, and will enable them to learn to adjust to situations outside the context of their own cultural milieu. Acculturation can then occur not only between dominant and minority groups, but also among minority groups.

On the part of the dominant group, such an exposure to the concept and fact of cultural relativity is expected to develop in the individual a healthy attitude, devoid of strong and unfounded prejudices against the minorities.

The next two objectives seek to familiarize the individual with his own culture to the extent that he becomes integrated, if he so desires, into his own group, build his identity around it, and operate effectively within it. At the same time, he is also prepared for changes that are occurring, or are expected to occur. The perspective taken is rather one of a dynamic culture.

The skills and knowledge necessary for survival will vary in various contexts, although they may be heading towards the same general direction. It is very tempting to state at this point that for the groups lower in cultural development, a necessary step is to prepare them for a transition from a barter to a cash economy since they obviously will have to operate in one if they are to participate in the national mainstream. Some groups, however, may not yet be prepared for this.

In general, these skills and knowledge would include those that will enable individuals to engage in economic activity within their own contexts. It will also include social skills and basic health practices for protection against diseases.

The last objective is perhaps better stated as an end product of the first three. If an educational program can be devised which is sensitive to both the cultural and psychological dimensions of social change, it can only result in well-adjusted human beings who may owe loyalty to their own primary groups but who, at the same time, recognize their status in the broader national context.

[61]The same recommendation was submitted by the Economic Development Foundation in its report to PANAMIN.

A program devised to meet these objectives must necessarily be backstopped by a research endeavor. Initially, research into the existing cultures will be necessary to provide the guidelines for the various curricula, materials to be taught and methods of teaching. Then, research will also be necessary to assess the outcomes of the educational program and to determine whether the desired condition is actually being attained.

It will also be necessary to have a complement of teachers who are trained not only in teaching methods, but also in the principles of cultural and social change, especially within an intercultural context. They will also need to know the nuances of the cultures where they will operate as teachers if they are to be effective.

Within the desired set-up, individuals can choose to study within a system that is suited to their own cultural development. Those with sufficient exposure and orientation to the dominant culture can likewise choose to study within that system, whether or not they are members of the dominant group.

Such a set-up, obviously, cannot be effected unless schools, particularly elementary schools located in areas where minorities reside, are given sufficient flexibility in the formulation of courses as well as in experimenting with various methods of teaching. Schools, by virtue of being located in the area which they serve, are in a better position than the MEC central office to conduct dialogues with the minorities to discuss matters related to the teaching of their children and to effect necessary changes from time to time. The set-up would therefore necessitate both a decentralized and a participative form of structure, with the participation coming from the groups being served.

Aside from the question of the schools, different types of services and protection will be needed from the government. There is the need for an equitable land policy, for instance, to protect the rights of those who do not subscribe to the dominant group's requirements for ownership. There is also a need for an agency to act as liaison for those who are situated marginally in the cash economy, i.e., those groups who do not by themselves operate on cash, but whose products find their way into the market.

Also related to the efforts at integration through education is the high positive correlation between education and socio-economic status. This, in itself, already places an advantage on those who are economically better off in the first place. Education, thus, serves to perpetuate, if not to accentuate, the stratification system. Because of this, the minorities are placed at a disadvantage. In the first place, they find it difficult to go through the whole process of education because of differences in cultural context. In the second place, they may not have the money to see them through college. In the third place, they may not even want to go through formal education because of perceived irrelevance or value conflicts. It is significant to note at this point that minority group members who have acquired education and have become successful in the conventional sense, are not accepted as leaders by their own indigenous group.[62]

Minorities, and even Christians, cannot be denied economic benefits just because they have not acquired higher education. Equal opportunity in education does not exist, despite all efforts directed at it. Perhaps a re-examination of the current wage and salary structure, which is heavily based on educational requirements for each position, is in order.

Obviously, an educational program based on the recommended objectives cannot fit under the existing educational administrative set-up. But questions of administration, financing, or even programming are perhaps best left to what Rein calls the "technicists"—those who operate from a point where the goals are given, and whose task is to look for the most effective and efficient means of achieving those goals.

Integration, too, cannot be achieved with only a close look at the educational system. Other institutions must also programmatically support it. Policies related to land and to income distribution through salaries have been suggested. These, however, by no means exhaust the list. Other institutional reorientation seems to be necessary, and this task remains open for those who might want to pursue the problem further. □

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[62]In a study conducted by Ruben Santos-Cuyugan in a Muslim Community, he found that Muslim political leaders who received western education were not fully accepted by their people.

PLANNING NEWS

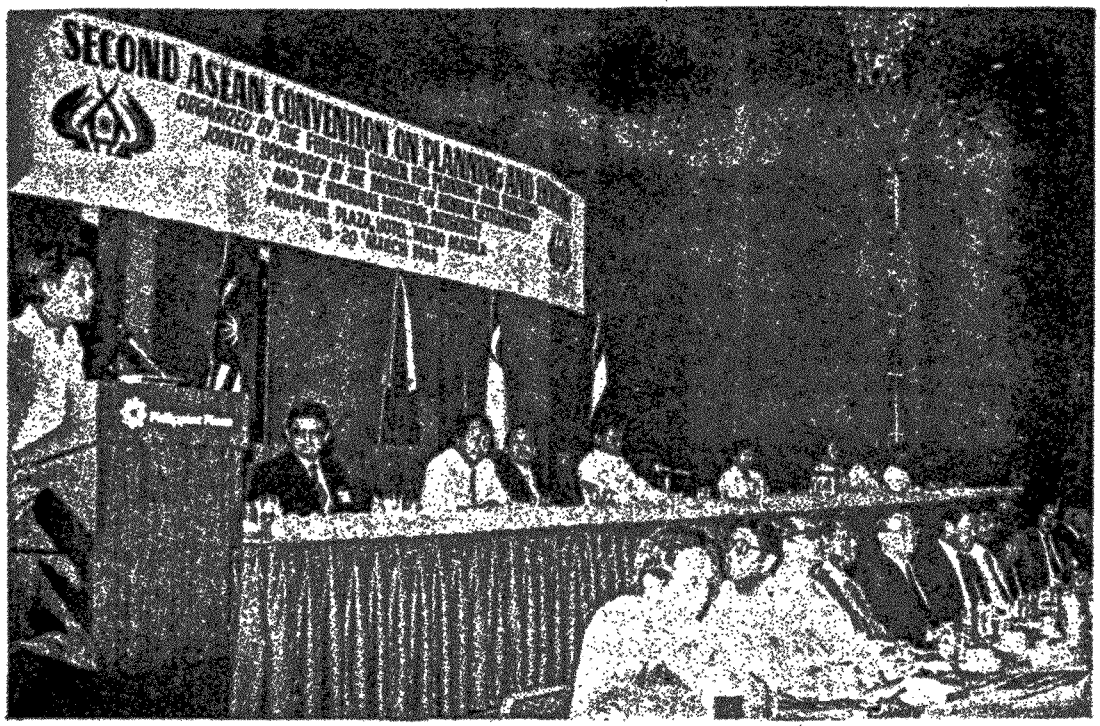
Second Asean Convention for Planning and Housing Held

The Second Asean Convention for Planning and Housing was held on March 17-20 at the Philippine Plaza Hotel. It had for its theme "Technology in Community Development in the Asean Region." Among the highlights of the conference were: the formal launching of the ASEAN Association for Planning and Housing (AAPH) and the election of the organization's first batch of officers; the presentation of country reports on the application of technology for community development; and the signing of LOI 1001.

The AAPH is intended to promote Asean cooperation in the fields of planning and housing. It is the first formal association of professionals and institutions which recognizes planning as critical in the development of the Asean region and each of the member states and housing as one of the more urgent social needs common to the region.

The elected AAPH officers are: Gaudencio Tobias, President Sardjono, Deputy President; Tungku Osman, Tan Kah Hoe and Nid Shiranan, Vice-Presidents; Jaime Venago, Secretary-General; Felipe Mendoza, Treasurer; and Tungku Osman, Auditor.

At the concluding dinner of the conference, President Marcos signed LOI 1001 which formally recognized the AAPH and provided for an annual grant of US$50,000 to the association to support its activities including the establishment of a regional Human Settlements Technology Center, and the undertaking of research projects and developmental studies.



Deputy Minister Jose Conrado Benitez of MHS delivers the keynote address during the Second Asean Convention on Planning and Housing in behalf of the First Lady, Mrs. Imelda Marcos. Listening intently are ten ASEAN delegates from Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines.

PLANNING NEWS

Confab Series Showcases Filipino Technology in the 80's

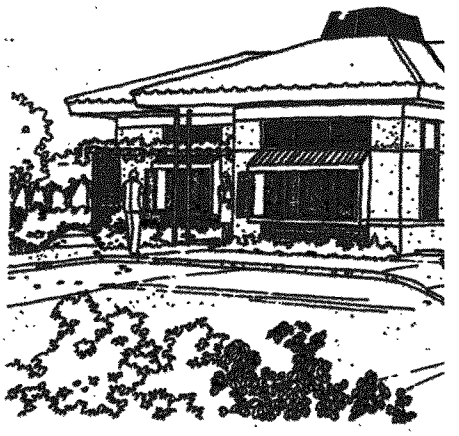
A series of conferences on Filipino technology was recently held in Metropolitan Manila to serve as a forum to bring technological advancements in architecture, resource development, and community development planning in the service of Filipinos in human settlements. The series was divided into: Conference I, Filipino Architecture in the 80's; Conference II, Resource Development; and Conference III, Community Development.

"Filipino Technology in the 80's" aimed to gain national and international recognition of the development of Filipino technology in fields closely related to human settlements development, to demonstrate the close collaboration of the government and the private sector in national development, and to demonstrate the increased cooperation among various professional organizations in projects of common interest and national priority. Spearheaded by the First Lady and Human Settlements Minister Mrs. Imelda Romualdez Marcos as Honorary overall chairman, the series featured exhibits, field trips, and open houses; as well as conferences, seminars, symposia and open fora on topics of public interest to allow interaction among the planners, professionals, implementors, and the public.

Conference I, which was held from December to January, featured developments in Filipino architecture towards energy conservation and community development, and advances in appropriate technology in architecture.

"Resource Development," the second conference in the series, was held in February. It opened with the Second Convention of Engineering and Allied Science Institutions of Southeast Asian Nations. Among the topics discussed were water, chemicals and minerals, forest, food, energy, atmosphere, land, soil and infrastructure and manpower development.

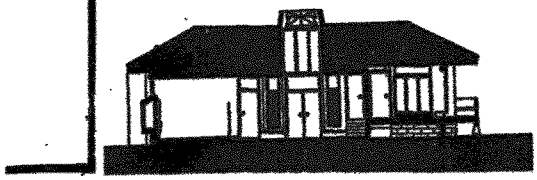
Last in the series was Conference III, which was launched in March with the belief that technology, by serving people's needs, promotes community development. Because community development refers to the total improvement of man in his environment, there is a need for a conscious effort among change agents such as the planners, policy makers and implementors to direct technologies and approaches towards the growth of man. Featured in this conference were Philippine experiences in three areas of application of technological advances, namely: housing, resettlement, and technology transfer. Model projects such as the Tondo Foreshore and Dagat-Dagatan Development Project; BLISS; Tadiac Sapang Palay, Carmona, and Dasmariñas Resettlement Projects; bio-gas production; recycling and solar energy utilization—were presented for discussion.

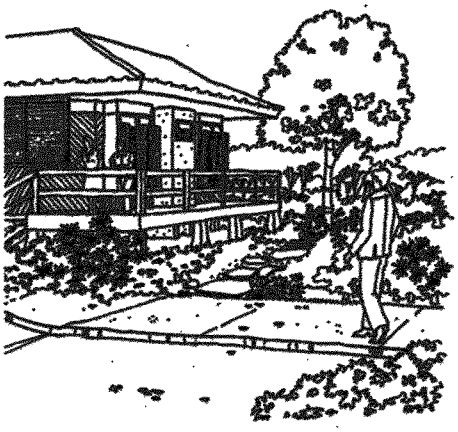


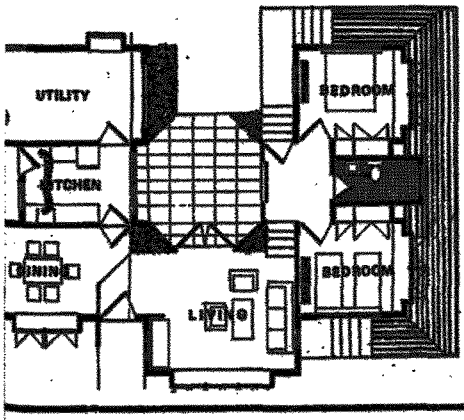
FLOOR AREA OF THE CNED URBAN HOUSE

Foyer	4.8
Living Area	17.5
Dining Area	16.0
Bedrooms	23.8
Kitchen	11.9
Toilet and Bath	6.3
Utility	15.0
Hall	7.0
Atrium	18.6
	120.9 m²

PLANNING NEWS







The Passively Cooled Urban House

The center for Nonconventional Energy Development has initiated a research and development project to build a model house for a middle-income family which incorporates design elements and devices that can passively cool the building. The research was undertaken by Urban Designers Associates, Incorporated with Geronimo V. Manahan as its research director. The result of this research is a design of an energy conscious house—*A passively cooled Urban House* designed by the research director himself, Archit. Manahan. A model of the house was constructed by F.L. Ramos for the center for non-conventional Energy Development on Marcos Avenue.

Technical description of the prototype unit is given in the following paragraphs.

Based on principles widely accepted for centuries, the passively-cooled urban house was designed to take advantage of wind flows, the use of insulating materials available in the market, and the application of modern methods of construction technology for building small structures. Orientation to the sun and the advantages of the terrain were important factors considered in site layouting. This was augmented by the appropriate landscaping to provide tree shades, and to bring down the ambient air temperature without preventing the natural air flows and solar access for the building. The nature of materials, their articulation and combination, such as the traditional and non-traditional use of lumber, can be seen in the building.

In a medium-sized home, space is a premium, so that certain window overhangs have been functionally utilized as seats or siesta nooks, much akin to our traditional *banggerahan*. The attic space is insulated with Siselation 431 draped over the purlins. This was aimed at reducing the inflow of solar radiation into the interiors of the building. At the same time, peripheral air vents along the eaves have been provided and two attic exhaust fans on the west ends of the roof have been installed to be operated when extremes of temperatures are encountered or when high humidities cannot be removed from the house by passive means. Fans actuated by photovoltaic cells will be tested in this house for wider applications.

A roof skylight appropriate for tropical climates was built above the living area. This will be monitored for its effectiveness and performance not only in providing natural illumination, but also in determining how skylight can be used as an air vent and how wind-blown rainwater can be prevented from penetrating the interiors. Air vents, ducts and plenums were located in the north and south sides of the building. In addition to roof and window overhangs, fenestrations were provided to encourage cross ventilation.

The sleeping areas of the house were raised on stilts, taking off from the concept of the *bahay kubo*. Floors under clothes cabinets, window seats and clearstory windows provide passage of breezes. The ground surfaces under the bedrooms were lined with clay tiles used in salt-making. These are expected to bring down air temperature during the humid period. During the hot-dry months of March to May the tiles can be sprinkled with water. Balcony floors beside the bedrooms have slatted floors and roofs with deep overhangs. This set-up is aimed at reducing the heat radiated from the ground entering the bedrooms.

The kitchen side located on the south elevation of the building has deep overhangs to provide outdoor service areas which are typical areas utilized by the Filipino family. The solar panels for a hot water system were used also as sunshading devices for these outdoor areas.

An atrium located at the core of the building and opened to the west has a deep overhanging roof on the living area side. This space is a convenient outdoor congregation or social area linked to the more public spaces of the house.

PLANNING NEWS

IEP Dean Presents Paper at EAROPH VII Congress

Dr. Leandro Viloria, dean of the U.P. Institute of Environmental Planning, presented a paper at the 7th Eastern Regional Organization for Planning and Housing held in Kuala Lumpur last March 9-15 this year.

In his paper entitled "Land Laws and Their Impact on the Process of Development in LDC's," Dean Viloria asserted that the existing land laws are inhospitable, even inimical, to the interest of the new urban majority in LDC's. The new urban majority consist of the urban poor, the squatter or slum dwellers who form the informal sector of the urban economy. This urban majority represent non-formalized, *de facto* tenure which is a threat to the traditional types of land tenure which tends towards private ownership. The latter type of tenure serves only the middle class which emerged from the development of capitalism and the industrial revolution in Europe. In as much as the existing urban majority in LDC's are not the target population of the transplanted land tenure system, Dr. Viloria called for an urban land reform strategy which has efficiency, equity and compatibility for its goals, and eventually will lead to public land ownership with leaseholds to private individuals and firms.

PCPH elects 1980 officers

The Philippine Council for Planning and Housing recently elected its set of officers for 1980-1981. Re-elected president was Major General Gaudencio V. Tobias. The other officers are: Deputy Minister Jose Conrado Benitez, Vice-President for International Affairs; Mr. Rodolfo G. Valencia, Vice-President for National Affairs; Mr. Jose P. de Jesus, Secretary; Mr. Mauro Biardony, Treasurer; Mr. Victorio Soliven, PRO; Mr. Jaime Cura, Archt. Felipe Mendoza, Archt. Manuel Mañoza, Archt. Cesar V. Cachela, and Archt. Norberto M. Nuke, members of the Board of Trustees.

The PCPH, under Memorandum Circular 1108 dated Dec. 15, 1978, was designated by President Marcos as the official professional forum for the review and discussion of proposed government policies and major programs in the fields of planning and housing. Very recently, a working arrangement between the Council and the IBP was established so that any important legislative proposal concerning housing may be referred to the Council for proper study and evaluation.

PIEP holds 5th Congress

The Philippine Institute of Environmental Planners held its fifth annual congress on March 14th this year. It had for its theme, "Planning Technology: The Philippine Experience." The main speakers in the day-long affair were: Mr. Sixto Roxas, who spoke on "Filipino Technology in Planning: Problems, Trends, Issues," and Chairman Adrian Cristobal, who spoke on "Challenge to Planning in the 1980's." Other activities included the election of officers, the oath-taking of new members and the awarding of plaques to PIEP fellows. The new set of officers are: Jose Valdecañas, President; Josefina Ramos, Vice-President; Ramon Faustmann, Secretary; Rafael Rueda, Jr., Treasurer and Gabriel Lopez, PRO.

PLANNING NEWS

31 Complete Special Course in Planning

Thirty-one trainees successfully finished the six-month non-degree Special Course in Urban and Regional Planning (SCURP). They received their certificates of training during the closing ceremonies at the Imperial Jade, Quezon City last March 20, 1980. Archt. Jaime U. Nierras of the MHS and UPIEP was the guest speaker.

The SCURP is a joint project of the U.P. Planades and UPIEP. This year's course had for its theme "Integrated Rural Development." The special course is under the supervision of Prof. Lita S. Velmonte, Director of Training of the Institute.

The following is a list of the successful trainees: Aurora N. Alcantara, Ido Anayatin, Noelina T. Baguinon, Pacifico M. Bantang, Lourdes G. Basug, Emelia A. Canar, Angelito C. Cañete, Belen Ceniza, Corazon B. Cruz, Ma. Lilian Castillo, Jovino B. Dauz, Fred C. de la Cruz, Akmad Dumama, Ma. Purisima Emoylan, Della S. Famatigan, Rosauro Gonzales, Teresita P. Matias, Elizabeth O. Marzan, Ma. Cynthia Navoa, Rogelio D. Paglinawan, Pamela R. Perez, Edna L. Portigo, Dante B. Potante, Josephine Regalado, Jesus Relleta, Armine R. Reyes, Mauricio Rosal, Generoso Sison, Fe T. Tuanda, Genaro M. Taibu and Wilson A. Villa.

20 New MURP Graduates

Twenty graduates were confered their master's degree in Urban and Regional Planning (MURP) at the UP graduation exercises on April 20, 1980. Twelve of the graduates finished their courses through the regular two-year graduate program while eight finished through the special MPWTC-IEP program. The graduates are: Arhleen Aguilar, Herminigildo Agustin, Apolonio Anota, Belen Anota, Josefina Castro, Angeline Chua Chiaco, Patricia Cordero, Zenonida Dizon, Flordeliza Gajeton, Zonia Galvez, Porfirio Limpiada, Imelda Lintag, Graciano Malapira, Alice Reyes, Luviamindo Rondael, Ronaldo Rogel, Victoria Santiago, Federico Sugue, Edgardo Villena and Florencio Wee.

Some participants of the fourth special course in Urban and Regional Planning with the IEP Training Staff.

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

APOLO C. JUCABAN is the Project Director of the Metro Manila Financing and Delivery of Services (MMETROFINDS) Project of the Ministry of Public Works. He works, at the same time, in three other World-Bank assisted projects of the Ministry: the Metro Manila Infrastructure, Utilities, and Engineering Project (MMINUTE); Regional Cities Development Project (RDCP) and the Program for Municipal Infrastructure, Utilities, Management and Engineering Development (PREMIUMED). Besides being a part-time lecturer at the IEP, Mr. Jucaban has served as consultant to several government projects. His attendance in international/local conferences and seminars has continually provided him with updated professional skills in planning government-sponsored projects. With a B.S. in Geology from U.P., he went next to Israel to attend the post-graduate course on groundwater resources and development. In 1973, he received his Master in Environmental Planning degree from IEP.

TITO C. FIRMALINO is an Associate Professor in the Institute of Environmental Planning. He obtained his master's degree in Public Administration from U.P. in 1960. Prof. Firmalino also holds a Master of Arts in Community and Regional Planning from the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada. He was a recipient of the United Nations Fellowship Grant to study Metropolitan Regional Planning in six selected countries and the British Council Fellowship Grant to attend the Special Course in Urban Planning in the University College London.

Prof. Firmalino was the Institute's Director of Training from 1971 to 1978. He also served as training consultant to the Bureau of Community Development under the Ministry of Local Government and Community Development.

He is, at present, a member of a United Nations Team which is assisting the Office of the Prime Minister of Tanzania in preparing training programs for planners and planning assistants at the district and regional levels. He has written numerous articles in the fields of public administration and town and regional planning.

DOLORES A. ENDRIGA is Assistant Professor and Director of Research and Publications of the Institute of Environmental Planning. She holds two master's degrees: one in Regional Planning from Cornell University and the other in Sociology from the University of the Philippines. She was a recipient of a fellowship from the United Nations Development Program from 1972 to 1974. Before she joined the faculty of the Institute, she was with the Department of Sociology, College of Arts & Sciences, U.P., where she taught undergraduate courses. She also served as assistant editor of the *Philippine Sociological Review*.

In addition to her duties in the Institute, she also currently acts as consultant to the Policy Study Group of the Commission on Audit.

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The Philippine Institute of Environmental Planners (PIEP) is the Philippines' national association of planning professionals and specialists. Its aims are:

To advance at all levels the study of national, regional and urban planning all encompassed in the term Environmental Planning, and the related arts and sciences.

To promote the comprehensive physical, economic, social and aesthetic development of the different regions, cities and municipalities of the Philippines and to encourage their balanced development in the best interests of the nation.

To raise the professional status of environmental planners, and to protect and advance the interests of the profession and of those engaged therein.

To promote professional relationships and understanding between its members and the members of other related professions.

To associate and to join efforts with other organizations that pursue related objectives and activities.

To establish by purchase, donation or other means a library of books, maps, plans, drawings and other documents and models and to ensure the maintenance, expansion and improvement thereof.

To study and bring to the attention of the governmental authorities and private entities and the officials thereof and to the people at large, matters affecting environmental planning for appropriate action.

To engage in such other activities as the Institute may deem pertinent to or incidental to the attainment of any of the above objectives.

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