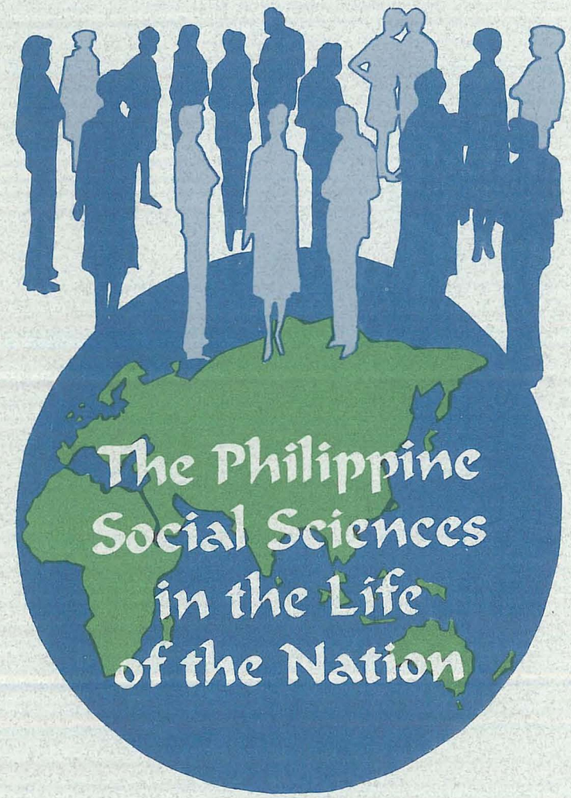
SOCIAL SCIENCE INFORMATION

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

May be opened for postal inspection

JANUARY–JUNE 1998
VOLUME 26 NUMBER 1

SOCIAL SCIENCE INFORMATION



Keynote Papers of the Fourth National Social Science Congress

Other Articles

Profiles of PSSC Associate Members

Vol. 26 No. 1 January-June 1998

CONTENTS

ISBN 0115-1169 *THE PSSC SOCIAL SCIENCE INFORMATION*

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

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

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

Editorial : Virginia A. Miralao, Lorna P. Makil, Elvira S. Angeles, Faith Anemone O. Estrella

Circulation : Milagros J. Tolentino, Ernesto S. Acosta

Editorial

The Fourth National Social Science Congress and the 20th Annual Scientific Meeting of the National Academy of Science and Technology

"The Philippine Social Sciences in the Life of the Nation"

The holding of National Social Science Congresses (NSSCs) was initiated by Filipino social scientists in 1983 with institutional support from the Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC), the National Research Council of the Philippines (NRCP),and the Pi Gamma Mu International Honor Society in Social Science - Philippine Chapter. The first NSSC held in November 1983 had for its theme "Towards Excellence in Social Science in the Philippines," while NSSC II, held in November 1988, focused on "Social Sciences and Economic Recovery." NSSC III was held in December 1993 on the theme "Empowerment and Accountability for Sustainable Development: Towards Theory Building in the Social Sciences."

More than a fulfillment of the tradition to hold social science congresses every five years, NSSC IV was organized this year as part of the celebration of the Philippine Centennial in partnership with the National Academy of Science and Technology (NAST). Quite fittingly, the theme chosen for the Congress was "The Philippine Social Sciences in the Life of the Nation." It is also the first time that the social sciences took centerstage in an Annual Scientific Meeting of NAST.

Three pre-congresses preceeded NSSC IV and the 20th NAST Annual Scientific Meeting (ASM). Held at the Philippine Social Science Center, the three pre-congresses each focused on a sub-theme as follows:

Pre-Congress I	"The History and Development of Social Science Disciplines in the Philippines" (30-31 January 1998);
Pre-Congress II	"The Social Sciences and Other Branches of Knowledge" (20-21 March 1998); and
Pre-Congress III	"The Social Sciences and Public Policy and Practice" (22-23 May 1998).

NSSC IV and the 20th NAST Annual Scientific Meeting was held at the Westin Philippine Plaza on 8-9 July 1998, featuring synthesis papers drawn from the papers and proceedings of the earlier pre-congresses.

All the foregoing events were well attended. The pre-congresses drew a total of 696 participants, with as many as 188 coming from regions outside the National Capital. NSSC IV and the 20th NAST Annual Scientific Meeting had 512 participants. Although social science scholars, faculty members, researchers and students comprised the majority of participants, scientists and scholars from other disciplines (i.e., the natural sciences and the humanities), government policy-makers and administrators, business and media people, and representatives from other sectoral groupings also attended the pre- and culminating congresses.

The success of NSSC IV and the 20th NAST Annual Scientific Meeting owes to the contributions of each of the social science disciplines and the cooperation lent by their professional associations and institutions, as well as to the support of colleagues in the natural sciences, humanities and other professions who generously contributed their time and expertise to explore the uses, relevance and impact of the social sciences.

The organizers of this Centennial congress included NAST, PSSC, the UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies, Pi Gamma Mu International Honor Society in Social Science and the UP College of Social Science and Philosophy. The organizers also wish to acknowledge the valuable support extended by the UNESCO National Commission; The Ford Foundation; The Japan Foundation Asia Center; the Fund for Assistance to Private Education; The Japan Foundation Manila Office; De La Salle University; Ateneo de Manila University; the United Nations Fund for Population Activities; the Commission on Population; San Miguel Corporation; and the Bank of the Philippine Islands.

The congress organizers will be publishing the papers from the NSSC IV and the 20th ASM as special volumes on the Philippine social sciences. Their publication is expected to provide a record of the progress and directions of the country's social sciences at the close of the millennium, their linkages and interconnectedness with most other branches of knowledge, and the role of the social sciences in public policy and practice. Meanwhile, *PSSC Social Science Information* takes pride in featuring in this issue the keynote addresses delivered by Academician Raul V. Fabella, UP President Emil Q. Javier, then NEDA Director General Cielito F. Habito and Academician Gelia T. Castillo at the opening ceremonies of the pre-congresses and the 4th NSSC and 20th NAST ASM.

This issue of *SSI* also features two other articles relevant to the country's centennary and the dawn of the coming millennium. These are *The Formation of the Philippine National Community in Historical Perspective: Problems and Prospects* by historian Oscar L. Evangelista, and *Living with Inauthenticities: Of IDs and Revolutionary History* by sociologist Filomeno V. Aguilar, Jr.

We are also featuring the organizational profiles of three PSSC Associate Members, namely the Center for Central Luzon Studies, Central Luzon State University; the Center for Institutional Planning, Research and Development, Angeles University Foundation; and the Center for Institutional Research and Development, Philippine Christian University.

We invite all PSSC Regular and Associate Members to share with us materials on their activities and organizations for future issues of the *SSI*.

The Philippine Social Sciences in the Life of the Nation: Selective Reflections

*Gelia T. Castillo**

When we planned this 20th Annual Scientific Meeting more than a year ago, we had envisioned a blue-blooded scholar to be a keynote speaker. Having failed in this part of our plan, I found myself performing this role by default and I wish we had not been so grandiose in our theme. Let me say however, that the steering committee who dreamed up all the events leading to this annual meeting have no regrets about having convened a series of roundtable discussions, workshops, strategy sessions, and three Pre-congresses. Even as social scientists who advocate participation, we do not engage ourselves in such exercises every year but being a Centennial Year we thought it would be fitting and proper to do so. All of these events were organized collaboratively by NAST; the Philippine Social Science Council; U.P. Center for Integrative and Development Studies; National Research Council of the Philippines; Pi Gamma Mu International Honor Society in Social Science; and the U.P. College of Social Sciences and Philosophy. We were extremely fortunate in having the following as sponsors: The UNESCO National Commission; the Ford Foundation; the Japan Foundation Asia Centre; and NAST. We also had several donors: The Fund for Assistance to Private Education; Ateneo de Manila University; De La Salle University; the UN Population Fund; the Commission on Population; Japan Foundation Manila Office; San Miguel Corporation; and the Bank of the Philippine Islands.

Organizing three Pre-congresses was not easy because in our search for participants who are professionally respected, academically credible but interesting, we almost always found individuals who are terribly busy but who, nevertheless gave of themselves. However, these efforts were more than amply rewarded by the content and intellectual quality of the papers and the discussions. There were new and unusual sources of ideas, world views and perspectives on social relevance. It was a real joy to recognize that our social scientists have not just watched the nation go by. They were there to participate in its "being" and "becoming."

The task of organizing three Pre-congresses fell on three women, all social science scholars in their own right: Dr. Virginia A. Miralao of PSSC; Dr. Ledevina V. Cariño of U.P. Pahinungod; and Dr. Ma. Cynthia Rose B. Bautista of UP-CIDS. Even as they went

*This is the keynote address of NAST Academician Gelia T. Castillo, Professor Emeritus, U.P. Los Baños, at the 20th Annual Scientific Meeting of the National Academy of Science and Technology (Philippines), and Fourth National Social Science Congress, July 8-9, 1998, Westin Plaza Hotel, Manila.

through little nightmares, I am sure they would not mind doing it again for our next centennial provided we promise to be around. To them we say "thank you" for producing the content of NAST's annual meeting. And to show you how much enthusiasm has been generated by these events, we agreed that this is not the end but rather the beginning of our common future with doctors, lawyers, humanists, media practitioners, engineers, architects, science and math educators, and hopefully, scientists in agriculture, fisheries, forestry, etc.

Having been a practicing social scientist for almost half a century, perhaps entitles me to do some selective reflections on the role Philippine social sciences have played in our national life. Let me underscore selective reflections because there is no claim to either comprehensiveness or complete objectivity in my selections. Although my social science credentials may be considered as RURAL - in election lingo, *PROMDI* - my choices hopefully will neither be parochial nor personality - centered. My paper today will focus on history; economic and social development; community development and community-based approaches; farmers, farming, agrarian reform, and rural-urban interdependence; and interdisciplinary research initiatives.

A. Historians and Philippine History

Let me begin with the question: *Paano ba maging isang Pilipino - sa isip, sa salita at sa gawa*? (How does one become a Filipino in thoughts, in words, in deeds?)

A sense of history, of where we came from as a people is essential to our identity as Filipinos. Even if they do not always agree among themselves, our historians have provided us analysis and accounts of our past and the men and women who shaped our nation so we could celebrate our centennial - whether it is a celebration of our independence or of our revolution. It has been said that "it is the contending schools of thought that give the discipline (history) its soul." Of all the social science disciplines, history has a special role in this centennial but we also have a rich harvest of Centennalia - from the *KASAYSAYAN*, to the Red Cross, the Centennial Palaro and most of all - a Centennial Woman. Even the University of the Philippines launched a hundred books program. *Barong Tagalogs* and *kimonas* have never been more sold than they are today. Maria Clara as the image of the Filipina has all but disappeared but Maria Clara - the Filipina dress - is worn more elegantly now than ever before because the wearer is a woman of the 90s who can be what she wants to be.

We have managed to re-humanize our heroes, great or small, male or female, and to discover new ones who were otherwise unknown. Many of them seem to have displayed greatness in their youth. Whether this is a matter of demographics or of early courage does not diminish the value of their role. Because these heroes are sufficiently dead, they are unable to commit any further mistakes and any further heroism hence their virtues are reinvested virtuously and their misdeeds probably magnified or mollified.

Unlike the heroes of the revolution against Spain and against the United States, the heroes produced by the People Power Revolution have moved on to become Presidents, Senators, Congressmen, etc. but because they are still alive, they have "feet of clay." The one acknowledged hero is dead. The others have fading powers of anointment. But who knows, perhaps a hundred years from now, they will be heroes all over again. What about the RP-US Bases Talks? Do we have any heroes from those negotiations (Benzon 1997)? Or was Mt. Pinatubo the ultimate hero?

In the wealth of the historical literature, including its share of controversies, "errors cited, errors committed and erroneous sources" (Giagonia 1998), there are five things I found quite interesting: first, that General

Emilio Aguinaldo was the first RP dictator. As of May 24, 1898 our government ceased to be styled as the Revolutionary Republic of the Philippines and was called the Dictatorial Government of the Philippines (even if provisional in character). This was justified in terms of "the troubled times which called for a leader who could act more decisively without being hampered by the checks of a legislative and judicial body" (Ocampo 1998).

Second, in the Declaration of Philippine Independence from Spain in 1898, the signatures only of men appeared in the last seven pages. No women were allowed to sign the document, even those who fought in the revolution, hence we only had founding fathers, but no founding mothers for this nation (Ocampo 1998).

Perhaps such an omission would not be allowed if this declaration were to take place today.

Third, although rice has always been our major crop, even in the 1870s we had rice shortages and imports from French Indo-China, Siam and Burma (Corpuz 1997).

French Indo-China has become Vietnam, Siam has become Thailand, and Burma has renamed itself Myanmar but we are still importing rice from them. Are we such loyal "*suki*"? Are we not capable of producing more? This is an important issue to address because rice is an enduring part of our life and will probably outlast the next century.

Fourth, on December 10, 1898, the Treaty of Paris granted independence to Cuba and made Guam, Puerto Rico and the Philippines, US possessions. In the case of the Philippines, Spain received $20 million as indemnity. With an estimated Filipino population of some 10 million, the price came up to $2 per native (Farolan 1998) and we did not even learn Spanish!

But a hundred years later, debt service alone will cost us $6 billion for 1998. With 72 million Filipinos, the debt service burden is $83 per capita. Although we were worth only $2 apiece in 1898, we had a positive value. Now we are $83 apiece of negative value just for this year alone. But we are Proud, Free and Independent!

Fifth, in our search for non-violent approaches to social conflicts, a project on values education for peace and tolerance through history was pursued. Social scientists and humanists worked together within the framework of UNESCO's definition of tolerance.

> *"Tolerance has been identified as a tool for peace keeping. It is the offspring of continuous efforts to diminish and finally eradicate prejudices and insensitivities detrimental to human rights."*

> *The research project is an "initial speculation whether or not the historical milieu of the Philippine Revolution can be an entry point for tolerance and peace education."*

Licuanan argues that "history plays an important role in education for peace and tolerance... it is a source of identity essential to living affirmatively with others" (Quisumbing and Sta. Maria 1996).

These are just examples of how history allows us a perspective we could never have without a look at our roots as a nation. As we take on the issue of SUSTAINABILITY in the management of natural resources and in the design and development of social institutions, we must require of ourselves a historical analysis of the major and minor steps we take because sustainability has a historical dimension. Nothing can be regarded as sustainable if it has not stood the test of time

and the dynamics of context. We must learn from the lessons of history so we can better do the present and wisely define the parameters for the future.

B. Planning, Measuring and Assessing Economic and Social Development

In order to understand why our economists are the doyen among social scientists and sometimes prefer to be referred to as ECONOMISTS as a class by themselves, and not necessarily as social scientists in the more inclusive classification, let us find the historical roots of their role (Corpuz 1997).

> *"In 1935, the Commonwealth President Manuel L. Quezon saw the imprudence of formulating and adopting a Comprehensive Program of Economic Development due to the absence of adequate data and sufficient information about the different phases of Philippine economic life. In 1948 the census summary recorded that there were 26 economists in the country ... As late as the 1950s students in the introductory economics course in our universities were taught that economic activity began with a hunting and fishing stage, which was followed by a pastoral stage and then by the agricultural and industrial stages. It was unexciting and unedifying..."*
>
> *Before the 1950s closed, the macroeconomic perspective and the concepts and techniques of economic theory and statistics that had been developed in the industrialized countries - partly a by-product of advances in science, mathematics and technology in the course of the World War II effort - were brought home by students returning from graduate studies in American and other Western universities. Many of these returning economists were recruited into the government planning service. They and a generation of their successors drafted, under varying degrees of political direction, all the national plans since the 1960s with the latter expanded into economic and development plans. Each plan included not only growth targets for the economy but also social development goals."*

Although I do not always comprehend what economists do, how they arrive at growth rates, economic policies, long-term and short-term trends and how they project consequences into the future, I believe that economists and their statistical allies in the National Statistics Office and other data-generating offices are INDISPENSABLE to our national life. They monitor, measure and assess how the country is doing in terms of economic growth, equity, productivity, poverty, employment and human development in terms of health, education, and access to basic services. In carrying out these tasks, academic competence is not enough. Professional integrity is a *sine qua non*, not only with respect to the data but the analysis and interpretation of these data. Economists, however, have never been shy or lacking in self-confidence about their analysis or evidence, whether of poverty incidence, GDP growth or exchange rate policy (De Dios et.al. 1997) even as they become NEDA Director-General. If they cannot be fearless in office, they quit so they could be.

Because poverty is of major concern to most of us, poverty incidence has been a preoccupation of social scientists. While the economists focused on quantitative analysis to monitor its magnitude, location and reduction (Balisacan 1993, and 1995; and UP CIDS and Yale University 1993) sociologists, anthropologists, social development specialists and the NGO community gave poverty a HUMAN FACE Dozens of studies have been done at the community, household, and intra-household levels in different socio-economic and ecological settings both rural and urban. The

poor are no longer anonymous and abstract. They are not mere statistical constructs. They are real people beyond Mang Pandoy, majority of whom are in the informal sector (Dela Cruz 1998). We also have a Social Reform Agenda and Poverty Alleviation Act plus many, many anti-poverty programs.

There are three important innovations in the measurement of human development. The first is the Human Development Index (HDI) which includes growth in real income per capita, level of skills, and the state of health of people. The Human Development Network has produced two Philippine Human Development Reports (1994 and 1997) with the second report extending the estimates down from the regions to the provinces, to enable planners and stakeholders to track down disparities across provinces and regions. It helps as a tool in monitoring the direction of devolution and how it impacts on human development at the grassroots. It helps focus attention on quality of life issues at the community vis-a-vis macroeconomic concerns. Furthermore, the report tracks human development disparities between genders with the use of the Gender-Related Development Index (GDI) a tool which was first introduced in the 1995 Global Human Development Report. The findings show that even in Metro Manila, the best performer HDI-wise, the GDI was only half the HDI. Gender disparity was greatest in Western and Central Mindanao.

This Philippine Human Development Report has become a model for similar endeavors everywhere in the world.

We would like to highlight here that in the past 15 years or so, women studies have blossomed with Filipino social scientists, humanists, and NGOs leading research, advocacy and social action with respect to women's work; women's health; women's legal and political rights; the feminization of poverty; the feminization of overseas contract work; and violence against women. In order to monitor what is happening to women, gender-disaggregated statistics have been produced and a Philippine Plan for Gender-Responsive Development was formulated. Furthermore, the General Appropriations Act starting 1995 directs all concerned agencies to allocate 5 percent of their total budget to women/ gender-related activities. At no time in our history have women issues been paid attention to as much as they have been in this period (Ofreneo et.al. 1996). We owe this to our social scientists and NGOs.

The second innovation in the assessment of human development is the Minimum Basic Needs (MBN) approach spearheaded by the Department of Social Welfare and Development. There are 33 indicators used to measure the extent to which disadvantaged families and communities are able to access basic services to meet basic needs. Results have shown that it is feasible to fast-track community-based poverty alleviation programs if they are designed to address unmet needs of these communities.

The minimum basic needs approach has shown its usefulness: compared to income as a single indicator. While income buys a lot, it does not buy everything. As Reyes (1997) puts it: "income is able to capture many but not all of the aspects of deprivation." She also believes that the MBN approach can serve as an alternative definition of poverty.

The third innovation is exemplified by the project on Micro Impacts of Macro Adjustment Policies. We have come to a point where decision makers and ordinary citizens are beginning to ask how a 5.67% growth in GDP translates into a better life for real people. The Philippine Institute for Development Studies is a development policy "think tank" for planners, policy and decision makers in government engaged in long-term policy-oriented research. In serving this role, PIDS taps the existing reservoir of research

resources in Philippine academe to focus on high priority development issues, including the economy, health, agriculture, housing, industry, employment, international trade, equity, poverty, etc.

The only misgiving I have about focusing on poverty is we have neglected to examine assiduously how the rich become rich and whether this process contributes to other people's poverty. How and where did the *nouveau riche* acquire their riches? We already have an analysis of how leading families within the landed segment of Philippine society with continuing ties to logging, mining, etc. dominated the import-substituting sector as capitalists. Now we blame the *kaingeros* for burning the logged-over areas (Rivera 1994).

Why do so many people want to run for public office? All of them say: "We want to serve the people." Somehow, their family fortunes seem to grow rapidly in the process of serving the people. If we can find statesmanlike behavior among our politicians, they deserve to be recognized as living heroes. In the meantime, poverty remains to be our most ubiquitous problem - despite the national statistic to the contrary.

C. Community Development and Community-Based Approaches

Ramon Magsaysay's presidency was short-lived but he left a legacy called COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT which was his centerpiece program in the mid-50s. The Community Development Research Council, then and years later, composed mostly of social scientists stimulated a great deal of research on rural communities and community development concepts and approaches. It is impossible to erase the influence of community development efforts, whether rural or urban for two reasons:

1. The community development program was the first significant systematic and national effort to reach and deliver social services to the *barrio* while at the same time trying to enlist *barrio* folks' participation. It was the first time the *barrio* had been the main focus of national development. It was the first major attempt to mobilize the *barrio*, to link it with the rest of the nation, as a development strategy rather than as a purely vote-getting exercise.

2. The CD program was the first major exposure of our national leadership, our professionals and politicians to the problems of the rural sector outside of the periodic election campaigns. It was the first national program, besides the public elementary school system which recruited college graduates to serve the rural areas as development workers. It started a tradition for students and academics to be involved in rural development, both personally and professionally. Without the CD legacy, even UP may not have conceived of the *PAHINUNGOD* volunteer service; Ateneo may not have come to its social immersion program, etc. WE must remember at that time, NGOs (civil society) were not yet in vogue.

Present-day community development approaches are almost always COMMUNITY-BASED whether in forest management (Borlagdan 1995); genetic resources conservation and use; natural resources management whether coastal (Delos Angeles 1995 and White and Bolida 1997); upland (Borlagdan 1987 and Duhaylungsod 1988); lowland; health services; urban land reform; housing; savings and credit (Yu and Indon 1998); agrarian reform (Delos Reyes and Jopillo 1991 and 1994); nutrition; child development, etc. The typical argument in support of the community-based approach is anchored on the "belief that local resident resource users and stakeholders

are the real coastal resource managers. Success is leveraged on transforming those closest to the resources into decision-makers on how best to protect and maintain the reefs, fish stocks, mangroves, and clean marine waters" (White and Bolido 1997).

In the case of community-based forest management (CBFM), it is the "national strategy to achieve sustainable forestry and social justice." This is a paradigm shift away from traditional, regulatory-oriented forest land management toward a people and service-oriented one. It extols a firm belief "in putting people first so that sustainable forestry may follow" (DENR 1997). In this paradigm shift, and in an earlier concept of social forestry (Aguilar 1982 and Rebugio 1984), foresters, environmentalists and NGOs were joined by social scientists (Borlagdan 1997).

At the moment, these community-based initiatives seem to have a checkered performance. Perhaps we are expecting too much too soon even if we have yet to learn how the scheme functions. And if a community-based project "succeeds," we are eager to scale it up or replicate it all over the country. On the other hand, we are reminded that particularly in natural resource management, we should be sensitive to location-specificity whether in working with ecological requirements or with forms of social organization. It has been argued that *"participatory approaches transfer principles rather than standard solutions, and make available a basket of choices rather than a set package of practices"* (Garrity 1998).

In social organization, do we have a *basket of choices* or a single approach, even if it is community-based?

We need to know a great deal more about COMMUNITY since everything is BASED on it in community-based programs. This is a definite "must" in our social research agenda but it should be pursued in collaboration with bio-physical and bio-medical scientists because the community is also a resource-based social entity.

Even as I argue that CD is a development legacy, I hasten to add that the vocabulary of current community-based programs is quite different. Some of the operative words are: Empowerment; Community Organizing; Participation; Negotiation; Process-Orientation; Equity; Human Rights; Social Justice; etc. EMPOWERMENT is the key word. The content and process embodied in empowerment as it relates to community-based approaches promise a complex and large research agenda for us. It is a challenge we must not ignore because neither COMMUNITY nor EMPOWERMENT is self-evident particularly to those in the community.

D. Farmers, Farming, Agrarian Reform and Rural-Urban Interdependence

Nearly 35 years ago, we asked the question: *Who is the Filipino farmer?* At that time this was not an easy question to answer because farmers were largely anonymous. They were characterized by stereotypes and were presented mostly as statistics. Social research therefore was very necessary. In the early 1960s as a starting point toward understanding Filipino farmers, research centered on their lives as workers and producers of commodities like rice, corn, coconut, vegetables, sugarcane, etc. This was a pragmatic approach because social scientists wanted to contribute to the body of knowledge about who the agricultural scientists were developing technologies for; how agricultural production was organized; who decision-makers were at the farm level; whether they would adopt new technologies and what impact such adoption would have on productivity, income and well-being of farming households. Literally, hundreds of studies were

done on farmers' (particularly rice farmers') response to new agricultural technology.

First, the 'Farmer said No" (Madigan 1972); then the 'Farmer said Yes" to modern rice varieties and accompanying inputs including credit, extension, *Samahang Nayon*, etc., the consequences of which were labelled the green revolution. Despite the controversies, rice farmers proved to be enthusiastic participants in the use of the products of science (regardless of farm size, tenure status, education, region of the country, etc.). A revisit of those years showed little evidence of concern for environmental impacts. There was a single-minded pursuit of increased productivity which, in fact, succeeded. Socio-economists were very much involved in documenting and assessing patterns of communication, diffusion and adoption of the new technologies and their impact (Castillo 1975).

We developed then a certain level of depth in our understanding of farm households, farm labor and their agricultural production systems but that was sometime ago.

Significant social changes have occurred during the past four decades:

The urbanization process has made the rural sector a residual category. That which is not urban is rural. Rural-urban communities are no longer the separate worlds we defined them to be in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s such that rural sociology and urban sociology were separate fields of study. Rural-urban interactions are evident in such trends as (a) farming affecting more families as a partial rather than as a main source of income; (b) even in typical rice-dependent villages, rice income is less than 50 percent; (c) the role of remittances in the life of the rural household has increased considerably; (d) migration to urban areas (particularly female migration) contributes to the rural households' income, part of which is invested in farming; and (e) improved food production benefits the urban poor through lower prices. In the case of rice, for example, more rice is consumed by the urban than by the rural sector. An investment in agriculture and food security is as much an investment on the well-being of the urban poor as of the rural poor (Castillo 1995). In other words, *ERAP PARA SA MAHIRAP* has proven to be a powerful nation - wide message people could identify with, for many rural poor have also moved to the city to become the urban poor.

Changing land and labor relations have also been of major interest to social scientists and much research has been invested on agrarian reform and changing patterns of land use including the impact of population pressure and urbanization on traditional uses of land. *Landlessness, whether agricultural or residential will continue to haunt us into the next century although the traditional protagonists in the land tenure issue, i.e., landlord vs. tenants have now shifted to farmers vs. real estate developers.* The urban poor do not have the monopoly of no access to residential land. The rural poor also have no land on which to build their huts. The early leaseholders in the land reform program were called "Reluctant Rebels" (Delos Reyes and Lynch 1972). Now, those who seek land are neither timid nor reluctant as we have repeatedly seen whether in Manila or in Mindanao.

For the purpose of keeping in touch with the rapid socio-economic and ecological changes taking place in our communities, I wish some of our younger social scientists will commit themselves to longitudinal studies which will document significant happenings in Philippine society. Hayami and Kikuchi (1998) did a study entitled *A Rice Village Saga* based on recurrent surveys of one village for the past three decades. This study gives us:

> *"a microscopic view on the total complex of the process by which agricultural*

production systems, village community institutions and rural people's economic well-being change under the pressure of modernizing forces."

Such work has tremendous value for comprehending social change, not in terms of statistical trends but in terms of what happens to community institutions which govern people's lives. This is also Philippine history without necessarily producing heroes.

E. Interdisciplinary Research Initiatives

To find a niche in agriculture, health or bio-physical research is a dream some social scientists nurture while most prefer the purity of their disciplines because they do not want to be a handmaiden to others. For a long time, one role of social science was to monitor and analyze the communication, diffusion, adoption and impact of new technologies whether agricultural, bio-medical or mechanical. In the past 10 to 15 years a niche for social science has developed in interdisciplinarity with health, agricultural, and bio-physical scientists. That role brings users', farmers', patients' perspectives and circumstances into the agriculture and bio-medical research agenda.

Field-based interdisciplinary research starts with a diagnostic phase and situational analysis undertaken by a research team to identify and define the problem. All of these take place interactively and literatatively with the participation of the relevant community leading to the design and development of interventions or proposed solutions. Local knowledge, practices, and perceptions are taken into account to improve goodness of fit between problem and solution. In this process, there emerges a continuity and/or mix of local knowledge and modern science. Local people become active participants in R and D. Participation does not substitute for science. It simply enhances the exercise of the scientific method (UPWARD 1997).

Examples of these interdisciplinary research initiatives are as follows:

1. Banzon-Bautista et.al.'s (1993) vivid but analytical accounts of people's response to the Mt. Pinatubo eruption and their ways of coping with the disaster. Director Raymundo Punongbayan describes the book as:

"the full awakening of our scientists – the book embodies a seldom-achieved interdisciplinary cooperation among physical and biological scientists as well as the rapport that was established between the scientists on one hand and the communities at risk on the other."

The authors say that: "the long-drawn-out nature of this disaster makes the systematic effects of the volcano's activity and the responses of different institutions, groups and individuals necessary ... In itself the documentation promises to be a valuable record of the changing landscape in Central Luzon as well as its shifting social, economic and political history. Its immediate contribution lies, however, in the lessons to be drawn for managing the wreck in the coming years."

As some kind of a sequel to this study is the on-going research project on sweet potato production practices and tenure systems in lahar-affected areas in Central Luzon (Aganon, C.P. and P.G. Tangonan 1993).

2. The research thrusts of the Social Sciences Division of the International Rice Research Institute center on "bringing farmers' perspectives into rice research for sustainable food security." Filipino social scientists are involved in participatory technology design and development for women, and poor farmers. Natural resource management issues are addressed jointly by bio-physical scientists and socio-economists (IRRI-SSD 1998).

3. Insects and pests which infest crops have traditionally been controlled through prescribed chemical spraying administered in a calendar schedule. Nowadays we have integrated pest management (IPM) which is ecologically-oriented; farmer decision-making focused; community action-based; in a knowledge and learning-intensive approach. The content of IPM is based on studies of pest behavior, plant behavior and human behavior including farmers' perceptions and practices and farmers' response to pricing policies.

One pioneering effort in interdisciplinary research is the Rola-Pingali (1993) study on pesticides, rice productivity and farmers' health. One of their conclusions is that:

> *"The health costs associated with insecticide exposure overwhelm any productivity gains from their use."*

The results of such studies have contributed substantially to ecological pest management leading to a reduction in pesticide use.

4. The Malaria Study Group of the Research Institute of Tropical Medicine, Department of Health, embarked in 1991 on a multidisciplinary approach to the investigation of malaria in Morong, Bataan involving academe, the local government unit and the people of Morong. The objective of this study was to determine the factors affecting the transmission of the disease in the area to better develop control strategies. Bio-medical and social science research tools were used, including qualitative evaluation of existing malaria control strategies. Early malaria case detection and management by community volunteers were the major schemes implemented. Other methods were community education materials on malaria, special anti-malarial drug packaging and vector control measures organized and carried out by the community volunteers. On the second year of the Program, a three-fold decrease in the Annual Parasite incidence was observed. As of 1997, there were no reported cases even during the peak transmission months.

Some Concluding Remarks

Even on the basis of selective reflections, Philippine social sciences in association with health, agriculture, bio-physical scientists and humanists have contributed to the following life of the nation:

First, through history, we have been able to collectively trace our roots as a nation and as Doronila (1998) puts it:

> *"Being Filipino is enough. We have already found ourselves and we are what we are - Filipinos, unique, talented in some ways and flawed in other ways but we are what other people are not."*
>
> *"Our mission now is to determine what we want to be"* (Cristobal 1998).

Second, economists provide us tools for planning, measuring, and assessing national economic and social development. Other social scientists give economic growth, poverty, and human development a human face, including a woman's face.

Third, sociologists, anthropologists, and NGOs have made the community the focus of development so that people may come first.

Fourth, social scientists have identified for us the social issues in farming, agrarian reform, and the inevitable rural-urban connection.

Fifth, scientists from different disciplines have shown us that field-based inter-disciplinary research can productively address real problems in real communities and make a difference.

I have always believed that when the best of science and scientists are devoted to the problems of those who have less in life, that is equity and ethics at its best. If science is to serve a human purpose, what better human purpose is there?

References

Abrenica, M.J., E. de Dios, B. Diokno, E. Esguerra, R.V. Fabella, and M.C. Mapalad. 1996. 1995: A Tale of Two Semesters (A Policy Paper). Philippine Exporters Confederation, Inc. February.

Aganon, C.P. and P.G. Tangonan. 1998. Sweet Potato Production Practices in Lahar-affected Areas in Central Luzon (Progress Report). UPWARD Research Network.

Aguilar, F. 1982. Social Forestry for Upland Development: Lessons from Four Case Studies. Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture.

Balisacan, A. 1993. Rural Development in the Philippines: Patterns, Constraints and Responses (Paper presented at the Symposium on Structures and Reforms for Rural Development in the Philippines. AIT Hotel, Quezon City, 17 March)

_____. 1995. Anatomy of Poverty During Adjustment: The Case of the Philippines, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 44, No. 1, October, pp. 33-62.

Bautista, Ma. Cynthia Rose Banzon. 1993. *In the Shadow of the Lingering Mt. Pinatubo Disaster.* College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines.

Bengzon, A. with R. Rodrigo. 1997. *A Matter of Honor: The Story of the 1990-1991 RP-US Bases Talks.* Manila: Anvil.

Borlagdan, S.B. 1987. Working with People in the Uplands: The Bulalakaw Social Forestry Experience. Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University.

_____. 1997. Small-Scale Community Logging and Community-Based Forest Management, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of the Philippines Los Baños.

Campitan, D.M. 1995. Learning to Change and Changing to Learn: Managing Natural Resources for Sustainable Agriculture in the Philippines Uplands. Ph.D. Thesis, Wageningen Agricultural University, The Netherlands.

Castillo, G.T. 1975. *All in a Grain of Rice: A Review of Philippine Studies on the Social and Economic Implications of the New Rice Technology*. College, Laguna, Philippines: Southeast Asian Regional Center for Graduate Study and Research in Agriculture.

_____. 1979. *Beyond Manila: Philippine Rural Problems in Perspective*. Ottawa, Canada: International Development Research Center.

_____. 1983. *How Participatory is Participatory Development: A Review of the Philippine Experience*. Makati: Philippine Institute for Development Studies.

_____. 1995. "Rural Development Reconsidered: Some Emerging Niches for Population Studies," in *Essays in Social Science and Development*, Philippine Institute for Development Studies and International Development Research Centre, pp. 565-598.

_____. 1997. Beyond Manila: Reclaiming the Voice from the Countryside (Paper prepared for the Symposium in honor of Dr. Gerardo Sicat and Dr. Jose Encarnacion, Jr. on the Twentieth Anniversary of the Philippine Institute for Development Studies), Sept. 23-25, 1997, Makati City.

Corpuz, O.D. 1989. *The Roots of the Filipino Nation*. Quezon City: Aklahi Foundation.

_____. 1997. *An Economic History of the Philippines*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.

_____. "Keeping the Spirit of 1896 Alive," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, June 12, 1998.

Cristobal, A.E. Bonifacio: Plebeian's Ghost Haunts Other Heroes, *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, June 12, 1998.

CSSP-UP and CASA-UA. 1992. Alternative Rural Development Strategies: Findings from the Field (Joint Research Project on Agrarian Issues in Central Luzon), *Philippine Social Sciences Review*, Vol. 1 Nos. 1-4, Jan-Dec. College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines and Center for Asian Studies, Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam.

Datuin, F.M.V. "Revolution as Art, Women as Subjects in Kalayaan," *The Philippine Star*, May 1, 1998.

De Dios, E.S., B.E. Diokno, R.V. Fabella, F.M. Medalla, and S.C. Monsod. 1997. Exchange Rate Policies: Recent Failures and Future Tasks, *Public Policy*, Oct-Dec., pp. 16-41.

De La Cruz, R.V. 1998. A Ray of Hope for the Informal Sector, *Intersect: The Intersectoral Communicator*. Vol. 13, Nos. 4 and 5, April-May, pp. 3-7.

De Los Angeles, M.S. 1995. Sustaining Resources in Upland and Coastal Communities in Essays in Social Science and Development, Philippine Institute for Development Studies and International Development Centre.

De Los Reyes, R.P. and F. Lynch. 1972. Reluctant Rebels: Leasehold Converts in Nueva Ecija, *Philippine Sociological Review*, Vol. 20, Nos. 1-2, January-April, pp. 7-78.

_____ and S.M. G. Jopillo. 1991. Pursuing Agrarian Reform in Negros Occidental. Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University.

_____. 1994. Waging Agrarian Reform: NGO Initiative for a Tripartite Program in the Province of Antique. Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University.

DENR. 1997. Moving CBFM into the 21st Century: DENR Strategic Action Plan, Memorandum Circular No. 97-13. Department of Environmental and Natural Resources, Philippines.

de Quiros, Conrado. "Rizal: The Best the Filipino Could Be," in **"There's the Rub,"** *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, June 12, 1998.

Diaz, C.P.,M. Hossain, T.R. Paris and J.S. Luis. 1994. Adding Value in Rice Production: A Study on Utilization of Rice Biomass and By-products in Rainfed Lowlands in Central Luzon, *Philippine Journal of Crop Science*, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 127-140.

Diaz, C.P.,M. Hossain, J. S. Luis, and T.R. Paris. 1994. Knowledge, Attitude, and Practice of Seed Management Technologies in Rice Farming in Central Luzon, *Philippine Journal of Crop Science*, Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 87-99.

Doronila, Amado. "Being Filipino is Enough," in "Analysis," *Philippine Daily Inquirer,* June 12, 1998.

Doyo, M.C.P. Aguinaldo: He gave RP the First Taste of Liberty, *Philippine Daily Inquirer,* June 12, 1998.

Duhaylungsod, Levita. 1988. Confrontation with Commodization in a Philippine Upland Village. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Queensland, Australia.

Escueta, E.F. 1989. Second Generation Problems and Issues in Integrated Social Forestry Areas, Institute of Agrarian Studies, University of the Philippines Los Banos, College, Laguna, Philippines.

Farolan, R.J. "Personal Notes," *The Philippine Star,* May 1, 1998.

Garrity, D. and F. Agus. 1998. Natural Resource Management on a Watershed Scale: What can Agroforestry Contribute? (For Submission to *Journal of Soil and Water Conservation*), Jan.6.

_____, P.A. Mercado, Jr. and M. Stark. 1998. Building the Smallholder into Successful Natural Resource Management at the Watershed Level, in : De Vries, L, P. Frits W.T., Agus F. and Kerr, J. (eds.) *Soil Erosion at Multiple Scales: Principles and Methods for Assessing Causes and Impacts.* CABI and IBSRAM. (in press).

Gregonia, D. The Declaration of Independence: Centennial Update, *Manila Bulletin,* June 12, 1998.

Hayami, Y. and M. Kikuchi. 1998. *A Rice Village Saga: The Three Decades of Green Revolution in the Philippines* (A forthcoming book).

HDN. Philippine Human Development Report Launched: Focuses on Disparities in Human Development Across Provinces, Genders (Press Release 4 September 1997), Malacanang Heroes Hall.

Heong, K.L. 1995. From Ecological Research to Farmer Practice - An Example in Pest Management, IRRI Rice Research Seminar, 2 March, International Rice Research Institute.

_____. 1997. New Paradigms and Research Opportunities in Rice Pest Management (Keynote Address at the International Symposium in IPM in Rice-Based Ecosystems. Guangzhou, P.R. China, 20-24 October, Updated 03 April 1998.)

IRRI-SSD. 1998. *Bringing Farmers' Perspectives into Rice Research for Sustainable Food Security*. International Rice Research Institute, Social Sciences Division.

Lopez, R.M. 1971. Landlord-Tenant Relations: Their Effects on the Implementation of Land Reform and Production Efficiency in Central Luzon. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of San Carlos.

Madigan, F.C. 1968. Comment on "Some Missing Variables in Diffusion Research and Innovation Strategy, ADC Reprint. March. The Agricultural Development Council, Inc. N.Y.

MIMAP. 1997.MIMAP Findings on Poverty Monitoring, Micro Impacts of Macroeconomic Adjustment Policies. *Project Updates,* Vol. 4, No. 4, Dec.

MIMAP. 1997. Assessing the Social Agenda's (SRA) Flagship Project: Can the CIDSS meet its Target? Micro Inputs of Macroeconomic Adjustment Policies. *Project Updates,* Vol. 4, No. 4, Dec.

Nazareno, R. "Centennial Woman Exemplifies Filipino's Role in RP Society," in *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, June 6, 1998.

Ocampo, A. "Aguinaldo was first RP Dictator, *in Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 1998.

Ocampo, A. "Flag's Colors: RP Gratitude to America," in *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 26, 1998.

Ofreneo, R., R. del Rosario, D.A. Monares, V.N. Apuan and M.C. Cruz. 1996. A Woman's Work is Never Done: Review of Literature on Women 1986-1996. Human Development Network. Philippines, Quezon City.

The Philippine Institute for Development Studies. 1996. Annual Report.

Quisumbing, L.R. and F.P. Sta. Maria. 1996. *Values Education Through History*. UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines, Manila.

Rebugio, L.L. 1984. Towards a Better Understanding of Social Forestry in Tropical Asia: A System View. Paper prepared for the FAO Workshop on the Social and Economic Aspects of Community Forestry in the Asia-Pacific Region. 26 September to 03 October. Bangkok.

Rivera, T.C. 1994. *Landlords and Capitalists*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.

Rola, A.C. and P. Pingali. 1993. Pesticides, Rice Productivity and Farmers' Health: An Economic Assessment. International Rice Research Institute and World Resource Institute.

Tolentino, Lutgarda. 1996. The Reproduction of Petty Commodity Production Among Rice Farmers in the Philippines. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Flinders University of South Australia, July.

UPCIDS and The Council on Southeast Asian Studies. 1993. Perspectives on Philippine Poverty. Quezon City: The Center for Integrative and Development Studies, University of the Philippines; The University of the Philippines Press; and the Council on Southeast Asian Studies, Yale University, October.

UPWARD. 1997. Local R and D. Institutionalizing Innovations in Rootcrop Agriculture. Users' Perspectives with Agricultural Research and Development. Los Baños, Laguna, Philippines.

Ushijima, I. And C. N. Zayas (eds.). 1994. *Fishers of the Visayas: A Study of Visayan Maritime Communities*. Cebu: College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines.

White, A. and L.B. Bolido. 1997. Philippine Communities Reclaim their Reefs. *The Ramon Magsaysay Awardee*. January-June, pp. 20-21.

Yu, S.O. and R. M. Indon. 1998. The Payatas Savings Scheme: Collecting People Towards Development. *Intersect: The Intersectoral Communicator*, Nos. 4 and 5, April-May, pp. 10-13, and 18.

Incompleteness and the Social Sciences

*Raul V. Fabella**

Distinguished scholars, honorable members of the National Academy of Science and Technology (NAST), colleagues, ladies and gentlemen. Today we kick off the 4th National Social Science Congress (NSSC IV) with the first of the three pre-congresses planned in the run-up to the NAST Scientific Meeting in July 1998. The theme of this pre-congress is "The History and Development of Social Science Disciplines in the Philippines".

Permit me to start on a very personal note. When, just out of college with a philosophy degree, I was contemplating my next career move, I was confronted with several options: the job market, graduate work in either Psychology, Sociology, Business Administration or Economics. Why I chose Economics, about which I knew next to nothing, will perhaps remind you of the role played by happenstance in your own lives. Sometime before that in 1968, the Bank of Sweden had endowed a prize in Economics called "The Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Science". That to me set Economics apart from the other social sciences.

When I began to grow in age and wisdom in Economics, I realized that things weren't so simple. There were many methodological demons that the profession and discipline opted to simply set aside and ignore rather than exorcise.

Let us start with Economics' fundamental presumption. This is the "optimizing rational (self-interested) individual." If one pushes this idea far enough, one realizes that the "society" it underpins has no room for *heroism*, *altruism* and *cooperation*. Secondly, almost all hypotheses in Economics are derived from an equilibrium state. While this is an echo of the mechanistic principle (e.g., minimum potential) in the physical sciences, very few would admit to being in a state of homeostasis at any time. Within the discipline itself, the still widely popular "expected utility hypothesis" has little evidentiary grounding although it boasts of certain aesthetic and computational advantage. Prof. Jose Encarnacion, National Scientist, has waged a lonely battle against the use of this hypothesis. The use of unidimensional objective functions has also received Prof. Encarnacion's persistent sniping. There are other kindred problems in this category and cumulatively, they validate the question "How much of a science is Economics?"

Last Wednesday, while stuck in traffic with three other UP mentors, one of them, Prof. Benito Lim of the Asian Centre, piped to me in a naughty sort of way the question "So is Economics a science?" With two days to go before this keynote speech, that sounded to me like "Is Social Science a science?" The battle

*Keynote Address delivered by Dr. Raul V. Fabella, NAST Academician and Professor of the UP School of Economics at the opening ceremonies of Pre-Congress I of NSSC IV and 20th NAST Annual Scientific Meeting, Philippine Social Science Center, Quezon City, 30 January 1998.

was joined. His contention was not new but nor was it trivial: The predictions of Economics are so tenuous as to call into question the validity of the body of knowledge on which they are based.

This is only too true. NEDA growth predictions are regularly off the mark and how surprised would we be if for once they were spot on. The currency crisis besetting the East Asian region is a glaring case in point. In 1995, The World Bank and its legions of highly paid economists published a glowing accolade of East Asia's remarkable economic performance. In 1997, barely two years after, the ground seems suddenly to have collapsed from under the region. We at the UP School of Economics have consistently waved red flags over certain aspects of the economic growth of the recent past - the mounting trade deficit, the palpable shift of investment from tradeable to nontradeable goods sector - raising the issue of the sustainability of growth. These red flags were, needless to say, conveniently ignored and the UP School of Economics faculty portrayed as incorrigible spinners of doom. Yet, as glued as we were to the deteriorating fundamentals, we did not foresee the depth of the crisis. In the face of all these, how much, indeed, of a science is Economics?

Singularly prescient and perhaps inevitably, Francis Bacon's notion of science was defined by a method, the scientific method, which is "a process" rather than "an outcome." It is a sequence of steps from observation to modeling to testing to revision and so on, one that brings us to a better and better approximation of reality. Knowledge based on the scientific method is always on an asymptotic trajectory to reality itself - ever closer but never complete. Thus, predictions will always be noisy and heavily conditional. This is especially true of macroscopic predictions - those that go through many channels of transmission before the outcome is realized. For example, as sophisticated as the physical and engineering sciences have become and as precise as their predictions in the microscopic scale, they cannot predict the crash of a particular airplane. This is because a plane crash is subject to macroscopic factors - the weather, pilot disposition, air controller adequacy, etc., not all of which can be factored in. "Incompleteness" will always beset human knowledge, whether physical or social. The famous boast of 18th century French mathematician P.S. Laplace that he could predict the future and reproduce the past if he had on hand a complete description of the universe in the form of a set of differential equations is theology, not science.

Economics and the Social Sciences are faced with even greater difficulty. The reality they study, social reality, does not stand still. It is adapting and evolving at speeds that confound. Social Reality is a moving target whose core (whatever that is that relatively persists through time and space like the linguistic "core") may itself be shifting. A third source of incompleteness is specialization. Each social science discipline specializes on a slice of social reality and from that thin sliver, we dare infer outcomes that are properly of the whole. This is the case of economic predictions such as GNP growth.

But, having recognized "incompleteness" as the fate of knowledge, we should not let it detain us. For even Mathematics and Logic are subject to it. In 1931, a young mathematician named Kurt Godel stunned the world by proving that no encompassing axiom system (the equivalent of the Russel-Whitehead Principia) can decide on all interesting and relevant propositions in its purview (in particular it fails to decide on its own consistency!) This was the famous "Incompleteness Theorem." This proof killed the ambitious program of one of the greatest 20th century mathematicians, David Hilbert, pursuing the complete axiomatization of mathematics.

Despite inherent drawbacks, as long as we hue closely to the scientific method, we will be sure to advance the frontiers of knowledge. Never mind that the proportion of what we know to what we need or want to know seems to remain constant. We will progressively whittle down the degrees of imprecision in our knowledge although certainty is forever out of reach.

It is our task in this pre-Congress to document our adventures in this disciplined pursuit, the little triumphs, the lessons learned from our mistakes and finally, where possible, identify the most promising avenues of discovery. Good luck and good morning.

The Social Sciences and Other Branches of Knowledge

*Emil Q. Javier**

When I was invited to this Pre-Congress way back in October 1997, I readily accepted. After all, I mused to myself, I work very well with social scientists. My administration is swarming with sociologists; the university's financial affairs - at the system level and at Diliman - are squarely on the lap of two public administrationists. Not only that, I have been very happily married to a psychologist for the last 28 years. Certainly, a speech on the significance of the collaboration of social scientists and other scholars would be a breeze.

Then last week, I attended the meeting of the convenors of the nine roundtable discussions (RTDs). I also received the papers of the RTDs and got a sense of the discussions that have taken place over the last three months.

My confidence started to erode.

The issues they raise about the interconnections between the social sciences and other branches of knowledge are substantive and complex, not lending themselves to easy summarization. They are intertwining yet disparate, some raking over old ground, others entering upon new territory. They are not a breeze, just as doing this speech is not the breeze I assumed it was. They are more like a strong wind that shakes dried leaves and rotting fruits from trees, almost destroying in the process of building, making it possible to start anew.

*University of the Philippines President Emil Q. Javier delivered this keynote address at the opening program of the Pre-Congress on "The Social Sciences and Other Branches of Knowledge," Module II of the National Social Science Congress IV and the 20th NAST Annual Scientific Meeting, March 20, 1998, Philippine Social Science Center Auditorium, Diliman, Quezon City.

Taking off from them, I have viewed as my task to discuss with you why the roundtables and this pre-Congress are significant for Filipino scholarship and for the nation as a whole. By scholarship, I include all contributions to knowledge by the sciences - that is, all the sciences, social and natural - and encompassing also the excellent work in the humanities, and in the professions.

Recognizing Each Other

The first point of significance is the simple human one of meeting and getting to know one another. Many social scientists have a dim view of physical scientists - they do not grant them feelings of compassion, conscience, and nationalism, which they assume they have a monopoly of. Many physical scientists return the compliment - they think that social scientists hold back the world because they are unable to understand the blessings science brings to society. They assume that social scientists are touchy-feely, emotional, not logical, incapable of detachment and objectivity.

On the other hand, social scientists feel that way about the artists and media professionals, while the latter, meanwhile, think about social scientists the way social scientists think about physical scientists.

None of them think much about lawyers - except that their regulations and interpretations make life difficult for all other professionals and scholars!

The series of roundtable discussions that preceded today's pre-Congress has given a lie to these stereotypes. One and all, participants of these discussions have happily found logical, committed, intelligent, and understanding human beings across the disciplinary divides. Sociologists have pleasantly discovered that engineers and architects see space as both a physical and social concept, and erect buildings not as monuments to their skills, but as facilities for the comfort and use of people. Health scientists have recognized that anthropologists and economists make it possible for them to discover new ways to heal, the former in the form of herbal medicine, the latter through the use of graduated fees and health maintenance organizations. And environmentalists have almost conceded that because of the heavy destruction of forests, all of forestry has become social forestry. Thus, hard and soft forest scientists have no choice but to work together.

Learning from Each Other

Beyond the destruction of these false and dangerous assumptions, the discussions have also made it possible for the disciplines to share how they have interacted with each other. Indeed, the starting points of the discussions were supposed to be the following questions:

- How have the concepts, theories and methodologies of one branch of knowledge illuminated the concerns of another?
- How has the application of theories of a discipline to real-life situations led to an appreciation of the models of a seemingly unrelated field?
- What factors have given rise to interdisciplinary collaboration and joint research, and with what results?

As Luis Teodoro wrote in his synthesis of the communication studies roundtable, these important questions were not raised by all the disciplines, nor were they all satisfactorily answered when they were asked. But since this was an initial coming together of persons who have traditionally separated turfs, we have to recognize the significance of two things: first, the fact that these important questions were thought of at all; and second, that many of the best minds from these heretofore alien

fields took time to discern the theoretical, methodological and empirical connections among their disciplines.

The easiest way to appreciate other disciplines is through borrowing methods and approaches. The experiments and quantification of the natural scientists have been the model for a lot of social science work. In turn, the survey method of sociologists and political scientists has found its way into communication studies. Ultimately, these things come full circle when literary outputs - such as protest songs or administrative novels - serve as data for social analysis. Recognizing what others do has been a way of enriching one's own work.

On the other hand, the mere availability of tools and theories from another field can make such borrowing uncritical. The positivist approach of physical science has been imported wholesale by social scientists, to their detriment. The assumption of a social vacuum results in the neglect of strategic factors like stratification, social structure and culture. Shearing values from social science makes it sterile, incomplete, dehumanized and dehumanizing.

But the failures of positivism should not stop the mutual learning. After all, the adaptation of theories from other fields can yield arresting insights, if not new social theories. Raul Pangalangan reports that Newtonian physics was the model for a well-known jurist's proposition of the changing curvature of human rights as a new law is introduced. Optics was the original source of the theory of prismatic society, a model of the development of simple communities into functionally differentiated complexities that influenced many political scientists and public administrationists in the 1960s. Remigio Agpalo used the imagery of the *pandanggo sa ilaw* to explain electoral politics and human anatomy to illumine political structure and leadership.

Perspicacious research of Leonardo Liongson, an engineering scientist, has unearthed long-forgotten maps of the extensive network of Manila's *tranvia*. These findings of a closet historian are of interest not only to present-day designers of road systems but also to anthropologists, sociologists and political scientists. It provides a clue to the preoccupation of many Filipinos of the late nineteenth century, since all the tranvia lines ended in a cockpit. Also, the disappearance of the tranvia in this century cannot be explained by reference to technological developments. Positivists would fault modernization, population growth and the increasing individualism of the people - if not the decreasing fascination with *sabong*. They could regard this as "benign" intrusions, although of course, being value-neutral, they would use no such adjective. Or one can produce "insidious" explanations like the oil cartel and the lobby of the American car industry, if one were a Marxist or critical theorist.

All RTDs have reported collaboration among social scientists and the scholars of the other fields. In a few cases, a new discipline has emerged to seal that partnership - for example, social forestry, agricultural economics, rural sociology, ergonomics (coupling engineering and sociology), human behavior in organizations (the union of psychology and management). The prime-movers for the roundtable on the Social Sciences and Engineering, Architecture and Technology felt like pioneers, but they quickly got over the seeming strangeness of their encounter by regularly meeting in preparation for their RTD, and by planning to continue their discussions beyond this pre-congress. They are infants compared to the health and social scientists who have already established their own professional association. Architects have expressed the desire to have social scientists teach in their college, and military administrators are seeking new partnerships

with those in economics and history. The roundtables may even follow the "law and" epidemic now raging in the United States. This refers to the rapid proliferation of courses in "law and economics," "law and sociology," and "law and anthropology."

It appears to me that one of the major results of the roundtables is the rediscovery, and the re-rediscovery of the importance - and need - for scholars of different disciplines to work together. Multidisciplinarity is not a fad of foundations that researchers tolerate in order to get funding. It is an approach without which we cannot grasp the complexity of a phenomenon. We must access and use it for the demands of social change and people empowerment.

My support of such inter-field exchange and teamwork comes not only from the lessons of the roundtables, but also from some of my frustrations as an agricultural and biological scientist, as former minister of science and technology, and as academic administrator of UP Los Baños and the UP System. You might say then that I am speaking as a reformed physical scientist in the remainder of my message this morning. This part is primarily addressed to the social scientists and will focus on what I see as your role - in tandem with us in the other branches of knowledge, in the advance and development of this nation. It is thus, in one sense, my tribute to you. At the same time, I hope it challenges you to regard your role with a more critical self-reflection.

The Roles of the Social Scientist: A Suggestion

It is appropriate that this series of assessments is being made in the same year we celebrate our centennial. For this is the opportune moment to recap the achievements of our people. We can do this best through the lenses of the social sciences which allow us to know of and analyze our history, culture, economy, our arts and our law.

Yet on the eve of the new millennium, our tasks remain manifold. We must complete the unfinished revolution of the nineteenth century, clean out the baggage of the current century, and prepare for the challenges of the next.

The nineteenth century problem centers on our definition of our nation. We do not yet agree on the standing of Aguinaldo and Bonifacio. Worse, we are not even sure what this is a centennial of. Should we extol the Revolution or the Republic? Do we celebrate our nationhood or our independence? How can we have a hundred years of independence when we were in Hollywood for fifty years and under the Japanese gun for four? And more than events, is our definition of the Filipino nation as acceptable to the Moros, the Cordillerans, the Lumads, or the Tsinoys, as it is to lowland Christian Filipinos?

To the nineteenth century problem we add the struggles of the twentieth. We still have not accomplished agrarian reform despite social scientists hammering in our heads for decades that the reform in the distribution of assets is a necessity for both peace and development. Filipino is spoken from Batanes to Tawi Tawi, but language remains a divisive point. We have taught everyone in Asia how to grow rice but we are unable to produce rice sufficient for our population. We produce innumerable studies on graft and corruption, but have not managed to transcend our familism nor make the proper distinctions between private regarding behavior and the public good. We have mass poverty and a weak industrial base, even as we sit on rich resources, prompting one politician to quip that we are a rich country pretending to be poor.

And yet, we cannot just be autarchic and parochial. Staring us in the face is the shrinking of the world into a veritable global village, the incoming intense economic competition among nations, and the impact of

new science and technology on all aspects of human organization and existence. In a few years, we have to move what is essentially an agrarian society, to the industrial revolution, and finally to the third wave of civilization. Ours is the challenge to complete the transition in the first decades of the twenty first century.

Can we do it? Our stock answer is that we have so many problems, and indeed we do. At first glance, they need to be addressed by the physical sciences and engineering for it is in those areas that we are behind. But on closer analysis, we do not need technological fixes because the real problems that confront us are social and cultural in nature. Our agricultural colleges have solved the technical problem of rice production but our people still do not have enough to eat. That is not a question of science but of inequity, greed, poverty, and lack of political will. The metropolitan mega-issues of traffic, pollution and garbage are not a matter of developing or adapting the right technology; they are issues of unequal social structure, irresponsible uses of power, the people's lack of discipline, sense of inefficacy and insufficient capacity for commitments beyond themselves. What we need to do is to harness the natural scientists and engineers to work closely with social scientists and humanists so that these problems can be addressed from all angles. For social scientists, I suggest a strong problem-solving, mission-oriented outlook to complement your well-regarded capacity to analyze and criticize.

What then are the roles I see social science and social scientists playing as we move forward from the crossroads of these three centuries? Note that I give you a central role both out of my admiration of social scientists, and my frustrations as a natural scientist.

First, I would ask you to do what you are supposed to do better than any other scholar: ground us as a people into our own society and nation. Produce more studies that will allow us to understand the past and how we got to be what we are, describe our strengths and our weaknesses, and our potentials as a people. These are tasks that may be assumed not only by professional historians and anthropologists, but as Leony Liongson has shown, also by historically enlightened scholars of any discipline.

Your first task is thus to continue to illuminate our understanding of the human condition. Describe and analyze for us the world we live in, and the people who inhabit it. Deepen our knowledge of our values; give us the tools with which to confront the problems of our day. In doing so, do not neglect science and technology or literature or law as significant elements of the social landscape.

Second, and perhaps for you more important, do not let our appetite for application deter you from exercising your sociological imagination and laboring to produce theories and approaches that develop you as a science. One of the key words I have heard is "indigenization" which I understand to be developing propositions and models drawn out of our national experience and appropriate to our ways of thought. It is Filipinizing ideas without cutting us off from the universal disciplines. Sikolohiyang Pilipino is no less a contribution to psychology by being deeply rooted in Philippine society. So should the other efforts at social science theorizing be.

These should not be regarded as esoteric, irrelevant exercises. We do not have to go very far to refute that. The roundtables on culture and the arts and on communication studies show how knowledge of social science theories enrich literature and film. The discipline of law is taking on social criticism and policy science as approaches to complement their long-standing reliance on

precedents and established principles of jurisprudence. These illustrate how social science, by strengthening itself as a science, can infect and thus improve other branches of knowledge. The day is not far off when the physical sciences will take off from your theories also.

Third, and at last I come to the linkage between your kind of science and mine: help us to make full use of the findings and recommendations of the "other" sciences. We look to you to provide explanations of why technological innovations arising from scientific breakthroughs are or are not acceptable, why they do or do not work. For instance, new varieties of seeds will not increase productivity unless they are accepted by farmers. But such acceptance is affected by culture, social structure, past experience with innovations, access to economic and other enabling resources, patterns of diffusion of knowledge. Tell this to us not in general terms nor as platitudes, but in language that can be understood and applied in the region of Caraga, or in the Cordilleras.

Fourth and finally, round out the findings of the natural and physical sciences. Many of us assume that by producing applications out of theoretically supported findings, productivity will increase, incomes will rise and such other needed social change will emerge. This betrays a lack of understanding of the complexity and multidimensionality of the sector they work in. For instance, agricultural scientists tend to see agriculture only as an industry, as that business of growing crops, livestock, fish and trees. But social scientists must remind us that it is not just about making a living - it is also a way of life. A lot of our problems in agriculture emanate from our inability to recognize the reality of the dual nature of this sector. Although we are speaking of the same institution, the framework of analysis and appropriate responses are not identical if we look at agriculture as an industry, on one hand, and as a way of life, on the other.

As agriculture faces up to the challenge of modernization, there are a lot of important things that we may unconsciously let go of. This is expressed in the concern for the loss of agriculture as a way of life. The immediate obvious loss might be of native farm implements and traditional crops, accompanied by a decline in popularity of the countryside festivals. What would disappear along with them may be dimensions of Filipino culture that define our national character. We take for granted our community solidarity and the *pakikiramay* and *pakikipagkapwa-tao* that mark our relationships. We may not mourn until too late the weakening of the *bayanihan* spirit, the loss of sense of civil society, the break-up of the extended family system, the hollowing up of cultural communities. Through agriculture, our people recognize their intimate relations with nature and develop their affinity with the sacred. But as agriculture as an industry changes, our Filipino way of life may not emerge unscathed. This is where we look to social scientists for theories and guidance. Remind us natural scientists that we can only neglect the social, cultural and political aspects of agriculture and its attendant way of life to our peril.

Similar issues will arise out of the other sectors, but I have chosen to give you examples of the field closest to my heart.

Closing Reminders

I think I have provided enough unsolicited advice for one morning and I should stop while I am still welcome in social science circles. I am confident Alma will not divorce me, but I want to make sure I still have vice presidents and directors when I cross Commonwealth Avenue today.

Let me again congratulate you for bringing together the scholars of the social sciences and other branches of knowledge. Please recognize the chauvinism of calling all of us "other." However, since it does not have the double entendre of Randy Bulatao's threat to call his 1970s study, "Mothers, Wives and Other Women," I shall not chide you further about it.

If I can leave you with but one thought, let it be for you to further explore the nature and expanse - and yes, limits, - of interdisciplinary collaboration and multi-disciplinarity. Accepting the perspectives of others will be like the strong wind that will shake down the dried leaves and rotting fruits of our complacency and strengthen the trees of our knowledge and scholarship. A scholar can certainly work alone, but there will be deeper insights, more comprehensive understanding, and greater relevance when we work together. Trust the word of a natural scientist who has been civilized by his encounters with the world of social science.

The Social Sciences and Nation-Building

*Cielito F. Habito**

It is an honor and pleasure for me to be part of this Fourth National Social Science Congress and Third Pre-Congress of the NAST Annual Scientific Meeting, to address the role of the social sciences in public policy. Indeed, development planning, which is my main responsibility in government, is a public policy concern that benefits immensely from - or I should say depends crucially on - the body of knowledge collectively referred to as the social sciences. I take it to be my task before you this morning to share my own thoughts on how, from my particular perspective in public policymaking.

Exactly three weeks from now, we shall be celebrating our country's 100th anniversary as a nation. Thus, I think it only fitting to situate my talk to you today in the context of our Centennial celebration. To me, the importance of the Centennial celebration is not merely to look back into our past and commemorate a significant event in our history. It is, more importantly, a fitting occasion for us Filipinos

*Dr. Cielito F. Habito, then Secretary of Socioeconomic Planning, National Economic and Development Authority, gave this keynote address at Pre-Congress III of NSSC IV and the 20th NAST Scientific Meeting on the theme "The Social Sciences and Public Policy and Practice," 22 May 1998, Philippine Social Science Center.

to look to the future, and ask ourselves how we need to change - change ourselves, change our surroundings, and change the way we relate with each other and with our surroundings. How must we change in order to further build the Filipino nation in a way that is consistent with a vision that we (hopefully) share in common, both among ourselves in the current generation, and with our forefathers who set out on this task of nation-building, 100 years ago? And in setting out to answer this question, we have much to learn by looking back to where we have been. We Filipinos have an old adage: *"Ang hindi marunong lumingon sa pinanggalingan ay hindi maka-aabot sa kaniyang patutunguhan."*

I believe this question is appropriate for this particular occasion of the NAST pre-Congress for the social sciences, inasmuch as social sciences are really the study of human behavior, or to put it in the normative mode, the study of how people must change towards achieving defined ends. And in the context of our Centennial, the appropriate concern is change towards effective and meaningful nation building.

There are three aspects I see to this continuing challenge of national building. First is economic development. Notwithstanding recent gains we have made in invigorating our economy, our task in this area is far from complete. The overriding task here is to address the widespread poverty that remains in our midst, specifically in terms of poverty in economic and social opportunities. In fact, the task of economic development is never complete. Even the Scriptures tell us that the poor will always be with us!

The second challenge is moral recovery. This is to address another kind of poverty that also remains widespread, what we might call poverty in spirit. And the third challenge is the strengthening of our national identity and national pride. This addresses perhaps our continuing poverty in culture. Allow me to address each one of these in turn.

The Challenge of Economic Development

The pursuit of economic development really boils down to the pursuit of poverty alleviation and eradication, and overall human development. In other words, these are the end-all and be-all of economic development. A popular definition of development is "expanding human choices".

Public policymaking towards economic development must be sensitive to three essential concerns: social equity, economic efficiency and political acceptability. This should clearly show that among the various disciplines, the role of the social sciences must be dominant in this aspect of nation building.

Expanding choices is a concern that applies to all members of society, and obviously not just to a select few. While we have devoted a great deal of attention to expanding the national *bibingka*, to use our favorite analogy in the Ramos administration, equally important in our concerns has been how we slice up that *bibingka*. Here, the body of theory in my own branch of the social sciences, economics, cannot claim to have all the answers. And that is one important reason why NEDA, contrary to the apparent impression of many, is not just an institution composed of, or even dominated by economists. Addressing the need for social equity demands more than the body of knowledge that the science of economics has to offer.

Economic efficiency, on the other hand, is a concern we economists can claim to have most, if not all the answers for. In fact, the world would be a much simpler place if economic efficiency were our only concern, because then, I suspect there wouldn't be as much disagreement among economists as we

commonly see. It is when economists begin to transcend (or should I say transgress?) the boundaries of our profession that the disagreements among us begin to arise. (And matters get even more complicated when those from other disciplines begin to encroach on ours without the proper grounding in the theory!)

I said "on the other hand" when I began to talk of economic efficiency, after addressing the concern of social equity. There is a third hand (and possibly more that I'm missing), and that is political acceptability. Those of us economists who have been in my position or who have been directly involved in economic policymaking know that it is not enough to be an economist to do a good job. I suppose this is the reason why the discipline called political economy has attained a stature of its own. It is inevitable that political considerations must be part of decision making for the economy. Those who insist on making economic policy decisions purely on the basis of economic theory can never be successful - at the very least, they cannot survive very long in the Cabinet.

This is a lesson I learned very quickly upon alighting from my ivory tower in UP Los Baños in 1990, when I first joined NEDA. And this is a lesson we on the government panel have to constantly pound on the heads of the various IMF missions who have come and gone through the many years that we have had to deal with them. For of what use is raising the tax on petroleum products drastically in Indonesia, even if it makes perfect economic sense, if it leads to widespread and massive riots that lead to a total breakdown in the social order?

Obviously, then, we economists do not have all the answers. We need you, the other social scientists, to do our job well. Beyond economists, NEDA needs sociologists, political scientists, anthropologists, and psychologists, as well as scientists, engineers and even lawyers (one of my deputies is an eminent one from this University), in order to do its job well. And we have them all, I can assure you. And this applies to the rest of government as well.

The Challenge of Moral Recovery

Let me now turn to the second aspect of nation building that I identified earlier, and that is moral recovery. While the invitation to me requested me to speak on the role of social sciences in economic policy, I did not think it would be complete if I dwelled on that alone. After all, my Cabinet title is not Secretary of Economic Planning (as many tend to erroneously state it); more completely, it is *Socioeconomic Planning* I have had to concern myself with.

What is involved in the pursuit of moral recovery? Let me suggest three: ethics, discipline, and spirituality (not in any order of importance). I know I need not dwell expansively on these for this audience, so I will limit myself to brief remarks on each.

Ethics ultimately boils down to attitudes and motivations. What is it, for example, that leads a public official to make a decision one way or the other? Is it self-interest or gain, or sound principle? [My own guiding principle has been "the greatest good for the greatest number," which I am quite pleased to note, is the professed guiding principle of the *apparent* President-elect.] What is it that leads a voter to choose one candidate over others? Is it because the candidate is a friend, relative or acquaintance, or has distributed P100 peso bills in the neighborhood, or is a well-known celebrity, or has promised him a good job if he or she wins? What is it that leads a businessman to determine the selling price of his product or service, or the amount of taxes he pays the government, and in making other business decisions?

Discipline is very much related to ethics, and reflects our ability to abide by our principles and ethics when making both individual decisions and collective ones. It is always easy to lament the lack of it in others, but hard to practice it in our own individual lives. And this is a continuing challenge for public policymakers: how to consistently impose, and make it easier for all to observe such discipline.

And spirituality is our ability and willingness to look to God as the source and essence of our existence, and conduct our lives in a way pleasing to Him. In the end, effective spirituality subsumes the other two. A truly spiritual nation is likely to be one that is ethical, and disciplined as well. And the wave of spirituality that is sweeping the country is to me a most promising sign, that many of us hope signals a new awakening for the Filipino nation as it enters its second 100 years of existence.

Strengthening National Identity and Pride

The third challenge of nation building is strengthening national identity and pride. I occasionally hear of stories of Filipinos abroad who feel embarrassed to be identified as a Filipino, even to the extent of denying their nationality outright. This is of course sad, but nonetheless true. It was particularly true in the not too distant past, when there didn't seem to be much for Filipinos to be proud about abroad, especially with what was happening back home. But I believe that so much has changed in recent years to change this. The EDSA People Power Revolt, and the effective leadership of Presidents Aquino and Ramos in undertaking crucial political, economic and social reforms, have brought about a resurgence in our people's pride and sense of national identity. The Philippines is now back in the world map, where others looked past us before.

President Ramos's stress on national unity and reconciliation have also been highly instrumental in effecting this change. The Peace Process, the success in forging close coordination within the Cabinet and between the Executive and Legislative branches, the shift from political diplomacy to economic diplomacy as the preoccupation of our foreign service, and the partnership with civil society that the Ramos government assiduously pursued, among others, have promoted this overall atmosphere of unity, solidarity and teamwork ("UST"). This was a gospel that the President preached to us in the Cabinet from the very first day of his presidency, and to the rest of the nation ever since. And we all hope that this same sense of national unity, identity and pride will be maintained and enriched as we move on to new leadership in the country.

The Role of the Social Sciences

Having said all that, what is the role of the social science professions in economic development, in moral recovery, and in fortifying national identity and pride? I will not attempt to spell this out in any detail, for that is the task of this pre-Congress. In general, though, let me point out the continuing need for the overall scientific community, whether in the biological, physical, mathematical or social sciences, to be better attuned to the needs of national development. Those of us in the academe are always subject to the tendency to undertake our scientific pursuits for the sake of professional recognition, especially among our peers (including the "publish or perish" mentality). (By the way, one thing I had to detach from my CV in the past eight years I have been in government is the list of my publications. In the circles where the CV has been needed, it has never mattered!).

There is a higher purpose for our scientific pursuits, and it is to put them at the service of improving everybody else's lives, not only our

own. But academe must reach out to government (and not merely criticize it), and in turn, government must reach out to academe. We have tried to enrich that partnership in recent years. Part of the reason is that many of us who hold positions of responsibility in the Ramos government, he recruited from among the best and the brightest in the academe. My advice to you at this time of changing leadership is, if you are invited, accept it! I chose to do so, and while I am not materially richer after eight years in direct government service, I have certainly become, in terms of useful knowledge and experience, a millionaire. But most importantly, I can look back and claim with conviction that somehow, I have been able to help improve the lives of millions of Filipinos by putting my social science background to work in the real world.

The social science academic community must also forge another partnership, with the general citizenry. In addressing the challenges of moral recovery and building national identity and pride, much of the problems I mentioned earlier can be overcome if we take it upon ourselves to influence our educational processes and their substance, and influence the media. We know that these two institutions are the most potent venues for affecting human behavior in our society, towards effecting desired change.

I will end by preaching the same gospel of "UST", in the context of the social science professions. There remains much scope for the different branches of social science to talk to each other, to engage in interdisciplinary pursuits, and to effect "marriages" among our respective disciplines. In the same way that the field of political economy has emerged out of the marriage of economics and political science, perhaps we should also have economic sociology, or anthropological economy, or political psychology. And we in academic circles seem to be particularly more prone to professional jealousies and the "crab mentality" that we all like to lament.

When we talk about achieving a national identity, I hope it is not to be identified as the crabs in the only open basket among several baskets of crabs that the vendor in the fable was selling. When asked by the Western tourist why that basket was not covered while the others were, his answer was: Oh, those are Filipino crabs. The other crabs try to help each other out of their basket. But I have no problem with those Filipino ones; the moment one is beginning to get up on the basket edge, the others promptly pull him down.

My message to us social scientists, then, is: let's all assert that indeed, the Philippines is no longer the basket case of Asia. Let us all try and help each other get out of the basket!

Maraming salamat po, at Mabuhay ang Sentenaryo! Mabuhay tayong lahat!

The Formation of the Philippine National Community in Historical Perspective: Problems and Prospects

*Oscar L. Evangelista**

This paper posits that there is a Philippine State but there is a seeming lack of a sense of nation. A look at the contemporary scene provides support for this statement: regionalism is strong, coupled with elite leadership based on regional, provincial considerations; a national language is still aborning, with strong resistance coming from the Cebuanos and other ethnic groups; there are about two million Filipino-Americans in the United States who are hopelessly divided into municipal, provincial and regional organizations; Filipinos who work abroad are hard-working, law-abiding, but once back in the country they become easy-going and prone to disregard laws and regulations; and the insurgency problem still rages despite the general weakening of the communist movement. Why these patterns persist despite the centenary of the Philippine Revolution, the proclamation of Philippine independence, and the establishment of a Philippine Republic are the focal points of this paper as it retraces the different stages in the formation of a Philippine national community, and examines the factors/events that both advanced and impeded its development.

In defining the nation and national community, this paper is guided by E.J. Hobsbawm's approach to his book, ***Nations and Nationalism Since 1739*** (1991), suggesting that the concept of nation must be seen as linked with nationalism: that it is a modern phenomenon and changing, that "the 'nation' as conceived by nationalism can be recognized prospectively; and that the real 'nation' can be recognized *a posteriori*." He notes that nationalism, "which sometimes takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them", necessarily precedes the nation. Departing from the traditional "ingredients" of a nation like language, common territory, common history and cultural traits, etc., he holds that nationalist programs constructed from above cannot be understood unless analyzed from below in terms of "assumptions, hopes, needs, and longings of the ordinary people" (*Ibid.*: 9-10).

The paper likewise makes use of Benedict Anderson's thesis in his book, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983), positing that "the nation is an imagined, limited, sovereign

*Professor of History and Vice-Chancellor for Community Affairs, U.P. Diliman. This paper was read at the Third European Conference on Philippine Studies, Aix-en-Provence, France, April 27-29, 1997.

community: imagined because its members are not immediately seen; limited, because boundaries are set for the designated territory; sovereign, because the nation state holds the lone and total sway over its designated territory and its people" (mentioned by Sicat 1994: 10-11). Between Hobsbawm's and Anderson's approaches, the paper surveys the historical stages with the view of identifying the socio-cultural, rather than the political, aspects in the formation of the Philippine national community.

The historical stages that are examined are: (1) the ethnic communities prior to, and circa the beginning of the Christian era to 1565; (2) the ethnic communities and the challenge of Spanish colonialism (1565-1861); (3) the movement towards a national community (1861-1913); (4) the challenge of American colonialism (1913-1946); and (5) the period of "independence" and colonialism (1946-1991).[1]

Prehistory

Philippine prehistory is linked to the ethno-history of Island Southeast Asia and Oceania which can be traced back to the Holocene Period of the Pleistocene Era. Looking at settlement patterns, Bellwood (1978) hypothesizes that Island Southeast Asia, Australia, and western Melanesia were settled by non-Austronesian speakers, but around 5000 B.C., these communities may have broken up and replaced by Austronesian speakers. The "heartland" of that Austronesian World was the Philippines, together with Taiwan and Indonesia.[2] The Austronesian speakers and peoples, sharing a boat and sea-faring tradition, moved to different parts of the world by 2000 B.C., spreading their languages and culture from Madagascar in the Indian Ocean to "Oceania" and the Pacific Islands. Geographic and ecological settings spurred the differentiation between the culture of the Pacific Islands, which remained in its neolithic stage, and Southeast Asian culture, which developed highly sophisticated cultures partly because of the role played by irrigated rice-field agriculture.[3]

A.D. 1 - 1565

By the Christian era, the Philippines shared with its Southeast Asian neighbors a neolithic-based culture which consisted of the following elements: (1) materially, *sawah* agriculture, domestication of ox and buffalo, use of metals and navigational skills; (2) socially, the importance of women and descent on the maternal side, and respect for elders and constituted authority; (3) religiously, animism, *anito* worship, ancestor worship, jar burial; and (4) culturally, *wayang kulit*, *gamelan* orchestras, and *batik* painting.

With this neolithic-based culture as foundation, Southeast Asia began its accommodation of the great cultural traditions of India, China, and Islamic Arabia. We focus on the political legacies of these traditions in Southeast Asia particularly in relation to the Philippines. With the Indianization of Southeast Asia, there emerged the Indianized states of Funan, Champa, Shri-Vijaya, Angkor, Mataram, Majapahit, among others, elevating the small coastal principalities into political states along the lines of Hindu-Buddhist political theories. These states recognized a divine ruler, introduced a bureaucracy initially lorded over by the Hindu Brahmins, and formed a "radio-wave" state where the sovereign ruler held power in the center of the concentric circle, its power gradually weakening in the territories further from the center. No similar state emerged in the Philippines. Why was this so? The answer lies in the Asian trading patterns which played a dynamic role in bringing about changes in Asia.

Products coming from India had China as their terminal point. At the beginning of the Christian era, it was already possible to use the sea route through the coasts of Burma, the Malay Peninsula, Malacca, Thailand,

Cambodia, Vietnam, and China. Later, with the discovery of the flow of the southwest monsoon, it became the pattern for boats to stay for sometime in Malacca or in islands nearby to await the southwest winds that would take them directly and more quickly to China. On both routes, the Philippines was bypassed, partly explaining why Indianization came late to its shores. The Indian influences that finally came were brought by Indianized Southeast Asians. This Indian influence explains why the Philippines shares with other Southeast Asian countries many words of Sanskrit origin.[4] However, the influence was too weak to provide the necessary impetus for local leaders to establish a Hindu-type state. Thus in comparison with its neighbors, the Philippines remained in the neolithic stage until the arrival of Islam in the southern Philippines in the late 13th century.

China's political contribution to Southeast Asia was confined to Vietnam where a Confucian Mandarinate system of government was established. This was made possible by the conquest of Vietnam as a colony of China for about nine centuries (A.D. III - 939). It is in the nature of a Confucian government to be established only by direct contact with China, where the scholarly-gentry class ruled. This explains why, despite extensive trading contacts with Southeast Asia countries, the Confucian system of government could not be adopted outside of China and Vietnam. Moreover, the Chinese traders had low social status in Chinese society and could not be bearers of Confucian political ideas.

The coming of Islam to Southeast Asia in the 13th century had lasting effects on its island world. Islam brought with it the Sultanate as the political arm of a total way of life. From Sumatra, Islam went to Malacca, and from there to the coastal areas of the Indonesian Islands, and finally to southern Philippines. From the Sulu archipelago, it spread to Mindanao, the Visayas, and Luzon. When the Spaniards arrived in 1521, Islam was well on its way to "Islamizing" the whole archipelago (Majul 1973).

Until the coming of Islam, the Philippines did not develop a political system beyond the *balangay* or barangay as reported by Spanish sources.[5] There were as many small units as there were ethnic communities in the coastal areas, each independent from one another. Being small units, *balangays* were run according to kinship relations, thereby laying the foundation of ethnicity and kinship as primary factors not only in internal matters, but in outside relationships as well.

In comparison to its neighbors, mainland Southeast Asia had become Theravada Buddhist, with the exception of Vietnam, which remained Mahayanist. Island Southeast Asia, on the other hand, became Islamic. As cross-cultural accommodations of these "countries" with the Hindu-Buddhist, Chinese and Islamic traditions occurred, the foundations of modern political states with shared religio-cultural identities were established. Philippine society remained fractured, and turned more serious when Spain's entry into the country dealt a blow to the relations between the Islamized and the would-be Christianized Filipinos.

1565-1861

Spanish colonization brought with it a colonial name for the country: *Filipinas;* and a new religion: Roman Catholicism. The new religion and the friars were to become agents of change, gradually welding together the disparate ethnic communities into one community. The process of hispanization was accomplished through various means. The first step was to attract the coastal communities to move to the newly created *sitios* to facilitate the introduction of Catholicism since there were few missionaries available to spread the new religion. This device to aid in the integration of the small communities into the Spanish colonial system of government had

been first tested in the Americas. The *reduccion* or resettlement policy placed the natives within hearing distance of the pealing of church bells under the program called *bajo de la campana*.

What attractions were offered by the missionaries? As livelihood was important to the natives, a new agricultural system based on irrigation, and new agricultural implements were introduced. Together with these were new plants and animals that enriched the source of food for the country. It was likewise important to make the rituals of the new religion attractive, since the native religion was ritualistic and colorful. Feasts of the saints were celebrated, giving rise to the town fiestas and the fiesta tradition that have become part and parcel of Philippine life. The *corpus christi* procession and the Holy Week rituals were made more colorful, the latter rituals accommodating with pre-Spanish rituals and beliefs, a phenomenon which also occurred in the Americas among the converted Indians. In the teaching of the sacraments, the Spanish priests allowed the natives to accept the Catholic precepts within the purview of local beliefs, lest the natives return to paganism. The result was an extremely ritualistic, fanatical type of Christianity that responded to many existing beliefs of the Filipinos. Referred to as folk catholicism or split level Christianity, the survival of native beliefs meant that underneath that new religion was the native spirituality as manifest in the continuing belief in Mariang Sinukuan, Mariang Makiling, and the sacredness of Mt. Banahaw with its native cults.[6] Thus originated the oppositions: rosary versus the amulets (*anting-anting*); the *babaylan* versus the priests; baptism and holy water as cure for illness, etc.[7] It is worth noting that folk religious practices are more prevalent among the masses than among the elites who serve as patrons and *hermanas* of festivals, but who generally are non-participants in such rituals as flagellation and in native cults.

The center of the town was the Church, symbolizing the importance attached to the religion and its dominance in the shaping of the colonial Filipino culture. Print technology brought by the friars became the medium for introducing to the natives the western alphabet and eventually western ideas. The friars, instead of teaching the Spanish language, took pains to learn the native dialects and used these to teach the tenets of the Catholic faith to the natives. Thus, the early prayers were printed in the dialect, together with dictionaries, which served contemporary historians in deciphering and studying some of the native institutions.[8] The literate natives were later on exposed to literature written in Spanish. In the absence of a common language that could have been propagated by print technology, the sense of community was not engendered.

Education in the hands of the friars facilitated the popularity of the novenas, the *pasyon*, the *comedias*, the morality plays, etc. The religious theme permeated art, painting, music, sculpture, etc. Yet, the old culture was not obliterated: the flair for versification, native songs, the world of the *anito*, superstitious beliefs, animism, and magic persisted. The growth of folk catholicism allowed for the survival of native beliefs and institutions and the accommodation of the western religion redefined in Filipino terms and milieux, thereby only partially hispanizing Philippine culture.

The integration of the local communities into the larger, and more centralized Spanish political system through religion and the friars was a slow process, but it did establish a political state for the Christianized natives under one system of law and government. The more than 200 revolts from the inception of Spanish rule to the mid-1850s points to the staggered resistance of the colonized natives to Spanish rule. But the non-Christian Moros and

the Igorots continuously resisted Spanish rule until the 1870s.

The Islamized ethnic communities in southern Philippines, collectively called the Moros by the Spaniards, were the first communities in the Philippines to be united by a world religion with a distinct political system, the Sultanate. The Moros identified not only with the *Datu/Sultan* on the local level, but also with an international community of Muslims, the *Ummah*. The entry of the Spaniards and the Christianization of northern Philippines exacerbated the relations between the Christians and the Muslims, leading to a long and continuous struggle known in Philippine history as the Moro Wars.[9]

On the other hand, the natives of the Cordilleras, belonging to different ethnic groups collectively referred to as Igorots, also resisted Spanish rule. Being highlanders with a common culture and identity, they were more difficult for the Spaniards to subjugate, and at the same time provided another thorn in the formation of a national community.[10]

With the Christianized natives, the Moros, and the Igorots forming separate communities, the development of a sense of community was yet to come. Another player in the formation of the national community, the Filipino elites, will now be considered.

There was a lack of Spaniards to rule the country, making it necessary for the colonial government to co-opt the local elites for governance. The traditional *Datus* became the barrio chiefs or the *Cabezas de Barangay*, the glorified tax collectors and recruiters of the dreaded forced labor (*polos y servicios*). When the towns and *pueblos* were later established, the local aristocracy was again tapped to provide the *Gobernadorcillos*. To give the native servants an aura of distinction, the term *Principalia* was bestowed on them, giving them the titles of *Dons* and *Doñas*. But the town and barrio officials were virtually lorded over by the Friar-Curates who became exceedingly more powerful as Spanish sovereignty became further entrenched.

Thus, from the 16th to the 19th century, the *Principalia* was the junior partner of the Spanish colonial administration. By the 1870s however, an intellectual elite, the *Ilustrados* emerged, the product of a new economic policy that started in the 1760s and ended with the permanent opening of Philippine ports to foreign trade in the 1830s. The rise in economic status of the *inquilinos* and the native traders gave them the opportunity of sending their children to schools in Manila and even abroad. While the *Principales* were the mainstay of the colonial bureaucracy, the *Ilustrados* sowed the seeds of a national identity and the development of the nationalist movements which eventually led to the Philippine Revolution against Spain and the United States. The Spaniards preserved the political, economic, and social power of the native elites, and helped give rise to an intellectual elite that took over the powers of the Spaniards when they were displaced by the Philippine Revolution. The same elite group were co-opted by the Americans, thereby preserving their traditional powers. The political implications of the dominant role of the elites will be discussed in the latter part of this paper. On the social level, the *Principalia* and the *Ilustrados* developed a high subculture as they became recipients of the Spanish language and material changes brought by European influences.

1861-1913

The Spaniards formed a Philippine colonial state, bringing together the disparate ethnic communities into one body politic. That colonial state, the *Madre España* of the Peninsulares, was used by the *Ilustrados* as a basis for their clamoring for a Philippine Province, and defining Filipinas as a separate

nacion under Spain.[11] It was in the Propaganda Movement that nationalism was first manifest through the writings of Jose Rizal, Marcelo H. del Pilar and Graciano Lopez Jaena. That this movement was launched in Europe, particularly in Spain, and that the writings were in Spanish, meant that the reforms and changes envisioned reached only the educated Filipinos. The Propagandists' ideology of nationalism and concept of *nacion* was a product of the European tradition of liberalism and freedom, a "history from above" perspective.

Within the context of the "history from below," and seen from the study made by Reynaldo Ileto in his *Pasyon and Revolution; Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910* (1979), the native masses had a different perception of nationalism, interpreting freedom (*kalayaan*) as a return to the good life before the coming of the Spaniards. While the *Ilustrados* spoke of the *nacion* and *independencia*, the masses looked to *Inang Bayan* and *kalayaan*. Crucial to the concept of *Inang Bayan* is the concept of *bayan* which Zeus Salazar considers an indigenous institution already prevalent in different parts of the Islands under different terminology.[12] Thus, the persistence of two contradicting notions of the national community and national identity. In the concepts of the revolutionists led by Andres Bonifacio and the Katipunan, *Madre España* became *Inang Bayan* and represented what Teodoro Agoncillo called the Revolt of the Masses. From August 1896 to March 1897, *nacion* and Inang Bayan met and moved in the same direction, but Emilio Aguinaldo's taking over the leadership meant a return to elitism and the pursuance of the concept of the *nacion*. The First Philippine Republic was born but it did not survive for too long because of the entry of the United States and its acquisition of the Philippines in 1898. The Philippine-American War followed, with the Americans establishing a civil government in 1901. Radicalism manifested itself in peasant and millenarian movements while the elites were again co-opted by the American administration.

The foregoing "story" of the nationalist movement and the revolution implied the birth of a nation, whose existence was cut short by American imperialism. The traditional view is that the first phase of the revolution was Tagalog-based. The revolution was confined to the eight provinces in Luzon, and Andres Bonifacio's writings referred to the *Tagalogs* and *Katagalugan*.[13] The second phase was apparently national in nature, but regionalism reared its ugly head in the establishment of the Negros Republic, the half-hearted participation of the Visayas and Mindanao regions, and the refusal of the Moro Sultans to join the revolution.[14] Nonetheless, symbols of a nation can be seen in the First Philippine Republic: a people opposed to colonialism, a political state, a flag, a national anthem, a national army. Yet other ingredients for a strong sense of national identity were lacking. The interests, worldview and concept of the national community of the mass-based natives differed from the interests and aspirations of the elites. Even among the elites, there was division, as seen in the quarrels of the *Ilustrado* propagandists. No sense of national purpose therefore emerged. The differing class interests explain the collaboration of the elites with the Americans, in contrast to the peasant-based millenarian opposition against American rule.

The revisionist study of Bonifacio S. Salamanca on how the Filipino elites shaped the nature of America's plans and policies in the Philippines reiterates the persistence of elite interests in the reformulation of Philippine society during the American period (Salamanca 1968:84). While Spain's three hundred years of colonization resulted only in partial hispanization, America's less than fifty years of colonial rule succeeded in

Americanizing Philippine society. The secret of this success lay in the establishment of a public school system using English as medium of instruction.

The American public school system in the country first concentrated on the elementary and high school levels, and was capped by the establishment of the University of the Philippines in 1908. Side by side with the public school system was the inauguration of the *pensionado* system in 1906 which sent many of the best minds to American universities. The product of these programs was a new generation of elite Filipinos speaking a Filipino brand of English, conversant on fundamental rights so cherished by the American people, eating apples and chocolates, and generally looking up to America as a country that could do no wrong.

To be sure, resistance to American rule lasted for more than a decade. It was not love at first sight: the occasional agrarian revolts, and the millenarian movements centering on rural-based cults and brotherhoods that considered Jose Rizal as a god were symptomatic of the nationalist aspirations of the masses of people who were peripherally affected by the public school system.

1913-1946

America won the battle of the mind as the educational system produced Filipinos whose thinking processes were inextricably linked to the English language, and together with it, the institutions connected with the Americans.[15] The classroom was the venue for a change in orientation and outlook towards values, taste, jobs, and generally, the conception of the outside world. Undoubtedly, there were many benefits derived from the educational system: (1) it provided an avenue for upward social mobility which is still deeply ingrained among contemporary Filipinos; (2) it gave exposure to a wider English speaking world and all its political, economic, cultural, and scientific ramifications. Yet the enslavement of the mind has made it very difficult for educated Filipinos to be freed from the fetters of colonial mentality, which, as a hindrance to the development of a strong Filipino identity, is a handicap that has yet to be outlived. This explains why the statehood movement, very popular in the 1970s, has not died down; why there are still long queues for visas in the American embassy; and why the English language remains the choice of many educated Filipinos.

America strengthened the political state with the introduction of a representative government recognizing division of powers between the executive, legislative, and judicial bodies, the foundations of a strong civil service; a bill of rights recognizing individual freedoms, party politics, etc. Yet, the changes mirrored the interests of the elites, which explains why the early electorate was confined to the elites;[16] why political dynasties persisted and *Ilustrado* politics continued to be practiced; why power remained in the Center; and why no effective land reform program was inaugurated. The consumer-oriented and agriculture-based economy favored the elites, strengthening their hold on Philippine society and further widening the gap between the poor and the rich.

The establishment of the Philippine Commonwealth in 1935 set the stage for an all-Filipino government, and was the product of a policy of the American colonial administration to prepare the Filipinos politically for eventual independence. It was also a realization of the dream of the elites to see an independent Philippines. It was *Ilustrado* politics in action. But was there a consensus in the emerging political community? The agrarian problems, the tenancy situation, and the wide gap between the rich and the poor were indicators of the rise of "underground" radical movements manifested in the *Colorum* uprising of

the 1930s, the socialist and communist movements, the *Sakdal* uprising, and the *Hukbalahap* Movement.

The Pacific War and the Japanese occupation united the community with one purpose: resistance to the Japanese invaders. For three years, class conflicts were minimized as the rich and the poor suffered deprivations at the hands of the Japanese. With liberation came new hopes that independence would bring a better life for all.

1946-1992

However, the restoration of independence signaled a return to *Ilustrado* politics, and the realignment of political forces. Manuel Roxas under the Liberal Party formed a foreign policy of close friendship with the United States, resulting in the continuance of American sovereignty in Philippine affairs, through the granting of Parity Rights to Americans, and the maintenance of the American Military Bases. Parity Rights lasted until 1976, and the bases, originally promised for 99 years but amended to 25 years, were finally removed in 1992. Philippine foreign relations and the economy were tied to the interests of the Americans. These major irritants in Philippine-American relations provided the ammunition for the nationalist to focus on anti-Americanism as the symbol of nationalism and to fight the verities of the neo-colonial state. The major problems facing the Philippine resurfaced: elite domination of political and economic institutions; tenancy and land problems; insurgency and the rise of the radical left. By 1970 student activism turned radical as the youth clamored for drastic changes in Philippine society. The radical left was divided between the old *Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas* which owed loyalty to the Soviet Union, and the reorganized Communist Party of the Philippines under the leadership of Jose Maria Sison. Philippine society was in turmoil. In 1972, Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law, established a dictatorship, and formed what he called the "New Society." He vowed, among other things, to fight oligarchic rule and to have a comprehensive land reform program, a recognition of two problems that have perennially plagued the Philippines. But instead of the promised reforms, there followed wanton corruption, cronyism, the favored role of the military, violation of human rights, and the downfall of the economy. There was likewise a resurgence of the communist movement, and the flaring up of the Moro National Liberation Front. The assassination of Ninoy Aquino was the catalyzer of the People Power EDSA Revolution in 1986, a shining moment for Filipinos. There was much expectation as the Corazon Aquino government was inaugurated. Democratic institutions were restored, but the return to power of the oligarchs, the series of military coups, and corruption in high places of government negated the gains of the People Power Revolution.

In retrospect, the formation of the Philippine national community was wrought with problems from its inception. Politically, it missed the opportunity of establishing the nucleus of an Indianized state which its Southeast Asian neighbors enjoyed. The Philippines did not go beyond the barangay or the *bayan* stage, making it possible for Spain to easily establish a strong colonial base in less than a century. The highly centralized system of government, participated in by the local ruling elite, provided the mechanism to bring the various ethnic groups into one body politic. A political state was born. In response to Spanish colonialism, a nationalist movement developed, led by the *Ilustrados* whose concept of *nacion/independencia* conflicted with the masses' view of *Inang Bayan/ kalayaan*. The Philippine Revolution failed to forge a national identity.

Under American colonialism, the Filipino elites helped shape the colonial government to its wishes and aspirations. A democratic government was created with Filipino participation guaranteed from the start, culminating in the establishment of the Philippine Commonwealth in 1935, and the Philippine Republic in 1946. Officially, there was a Filipino nation, but fissures existed undermining the achievement of a sense of nationhood. *Ilustrado* politics limited the real participation of the masses of people; grassroots politics were firmly under the control of the elite politicians. Due to this situation, grassroots loyalty tended to be focused on the local rather than the national level. Moreover, the insurgency problem, the Moro and Igorot separatist movements, challenged the legitimacy of the national government.

On the socio-cultural level, the Philippines formed part of the Austronesian and Southeast Asian worlds, sharing common linguistic and racial links with the former, and a neolithic-based culture with the latter. Like the rest of Southeast Asia, the Philippines received Chinese, Islamic, and to a certain degree, Indian cultural influences. The coming of Spain added a hispanic layer without necessarily obliterating the pre-Spanish culture. In the cultural synthesis that followed, the Indio masses were essentially the preservers of the folk traditions, while the *Principalia* and the *Ilustrados* were the recipients of a higher sub-culture by virtue of their wealth and/or privileged positions. The world of the *Dons* and *Doñas* differed from that of the Indios. Regional variations of the folk traditions influenced by Catholic beliefs re-enforced kinship, ethnic and regional loyalties at the expense of national feelings.

The coming of the Americans and the rapid Americanization of the society, together with the widespread use of English, and the opening of educational opportunities, paved the way for the English speaking, educated elite. American cultural influences were easily imbibed by this new elite, whose thinking processes were "captured" by the American way of life. Thus, America and American culture continued to be present in the hearts and minds of many Filipinos, despite a wave of cultural and economic nationalism. This colonial sector of Filipino society gave itself difficulties trying to define and pin down the Filipino cultural identity. Issues on language use – the English language versus the national language – continue to divide the people.

The combined political and socio-cultural factors involved in the formation of the national community bring out the following observations/conclusions:

1. Colonialism was responsible for the establishment of the Philippine state, contributing both its strength and its weaknesses;

2. The co-optation of the elites in the Spanish and American colonial administrations had profound political, economic, and socio-cultural implications in the development of the national community;

3. The perceptions of the "nation" differed between the elites and the masses, resulting in two distinct versions of the "imagined community." The inability of reconciling the two perceptions, and the failure to incorporate the "longings" of the masses into the "privileged" perception, fails to meet one of Hobsbawm's requirements that a national program must listen to the needs and aspirations of the masses;

4. Kinship and ethnicity were key factors in social relationships;

5. Filipino culture underwent several adaptations and synthesis; and

6. Colonial mentality persists, muddling the emergence of national consciousness.

As one looks at the contemporary scene, the historical perspective provides some answers to the divisiveness and seeming lack of a sense of nationhood. It is apparent that the historical circumstances earlier discussed contributed to the formation of the national community. Yet the same historical circumstances contributed to the weakness of the Philippine state, giving one the impression that there is no sense of nationhood, no national consciousness.

Apart from the historical perspective discussed in this paper, two theories attribute this seeming lack of a sense of nationhood to the presence of a weak state. Raul Pertierra in his study of national consciousness says that there is a "lack of articulation between national structures and their local sources" which is partly attributed to a weak Philippine state. "It is organizationally unable to successfully penetrate and colonize the routines of everyday life at the village level. The imposition of law and order... is not achieved in many areas of everyday life (e.g., family, work, alliances of networks) through the structures of the state" (Pertierra 1990:1). The lack of complementation between ideological structures and material economic resources results in a condition where the "practical consciousness of most Filipinos is embedded in routines derived from notions of kinship, locality and associations which generally lie outside the formal structures of the state" (*Ibid.*).

A prominent columnist in a Philippine newspaper writing about understanding the purported fragile Philippine society, quotes Francis Fukuyama's theory of "high trust, low trust" in analyzing societies.[17] Fukuyama classifies "countries in terms of being high trust or low trust societies". China, France, Italy, Germany, Japan and South Korea are examples of familistic societies which have achieved trust stability. Understanding a nation's culture is a primary consideration in understanding anything else. If this culture brings about strong kinship ties beyond the family, widespread trust develops, providing the country with "social capital" that pushes economic development.

Because the Philippines was only tangentially mentioned in the book, the columnist concludes that the Philippines is a low trust society. He blames the failure of democratic institutions to act as "tugboats to bring this trust to deep waters where we can better perform as a nation" and explains why there is discord and disharmony in the country.

Culture is a common denominator in both theories. The historical perspective presented in this paper points to the role of culture in the formation of a national community, and the cultural divisions which have complicated the issue of cultural identity. The concept of a weak state, espoused in both theories, is not within the purview of this paper but is here presented to show the pre-occupation of social scientists with the issue. In the final analysis, this paper reiterates the thesis that there is a seeming lack of a sense of nation, and has presented vignettes of history to support the conclusion.

Notes

[1]I am using the periodization adopted by several members of the U.P. History Department of the *pantayong pananaw* perspective conceived by Professor Zeus A. Salazar.

[2]I used Peter Bellwood's *Man's Conquest of the Pacific, The Prehistory of Southeast Asia and Oceania* in my discussion of Prehistory.

[3]The foregoing discussion of the cultural developments from prehistoric times to the American Period are culled from my previous article, "Teaching the Philippines as a Microcosm of the Pacific Rim Cultures", published in the Philippine Historical Association's *Historical Bulletin* XXVII-XXVIII, 1983-1984 (pp. 1-12).

[4]Ajit Singh Rye, "The Indian Community in the Philippines", in K.S. Sandhu and A. Mani (editors), *Indian Communities in Southeast Asia*, pp. 711-712.

[5]See for example, Antonio de Morga's *Historical Events of the Philippine Islands [Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas]*, (National Historical Institute, 1990). Professor Zeus A. Salazar, in a recent study, "Ang Limang Panahon sa Pamunuang Bayan sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas" (manuscript), says that there existed an indigenous political arm of the early ethnic communities, *bayan,* which was known in several parts of the archipelago by different names, e.g., *ili* in Ilocos; *balay, balen*, in central Philippines; *banwa* in Ilocos. According to him, the *balangay* was the economic unit.

[6]Randy David, "Split Level Christianity", *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, March 30, 1997, p. 9.

[7]See John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines, Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700* for a fuller discussion of the hispanization issue.

[8]William Henry Scott in *Barangay; Sixteenth Century Philippine Culture and Society* made use of dictionaries written by the friars in his study of Pre-Spanish practices in the Visayas.

[9]See Cesar Adib Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines* for a discussion of the Moro Wars.

[10]William Henry Scott, "The Igorot Struggle for Independence" (Malaya Press), republished under the title, *Of Igorots and Independence* (Baguio City, 1993).

[11]According to Hobsbawm's study, *nacion* before 1884 meant "the aggregate of the inhabitants of a province, a country or a kingdom", but thereafter referred to a state recognizing "a supreme center of common government..." (pp. 14-15).

[12]Zeus A. Salazar, *Loc. Cit.* p. 2.

[13]Andres Bonifacio's writings like *Ang Dapat Malaman ng mga Tagalog*, and his reference to *Bayang Haring Katagalugan*, have been interpreted in its narrow, ethnic sense. As explained however by Bonifacio, *Haring Katagalugan* refers to the sovereign country.

[14]Jaime B. Veneracion, *Agos ng Dugong Kayumanggi* (Abueva Publishing House, Quezon City), p. 156.

[15]Renato Constantino's "The Miseducation of the Filipinos" is the classic critique on the American educational system.

[16]The Municipal Code Act No. 82 (January 31, 1901) cited the following provisions for the electorate: (1) had a local position prior to the American regime; (2) owned real estate worth P500; (3) paid P30.00 annual income tax; (4) could read, write and speak Spanish or English, effectively limiting the electors to an elite group.

[17]Teodoro Benigno, "High Trust, Low Trust", *The Philippine Star*, March 21, 1997, p. 9.

References

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London:Verso.

Bellwood, Peter. 1978. *Man's Conquest of the Pacific, The Prehistory of Southeast Asia and Oceania*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Benigno, Teodoro. "High Trust, Low Trust." *The Philippine Star*, March 21, 1997.

David, Randy. Split Level Christianity. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, March 30, 1997.

Evangelista, Oscar L. "Teaching the Philippines as a Microcosm of the Pacific Rim Cultures." *Historical Bulletin*, Vol. XXVII-XXIII, 1983-1984.

Hobsbawm, EJ. 1991. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1739, Programme, Myth. Reality*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Canto Edition.

Majul, Cesar A. 1973. *Muslims in the Philippines*. Quezon City: U.P. Press.

Morga, Antonio de. 1990. *Historical Events of the Philippine Islands (Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas)*. Manila: National Historical Institute.

Pertierra, Raul. 1990. "National Consciousness and Areas of Struggle: The Contradiction of the Philippine State," *Asian Studies*, Vol. XXVII, 1990. U.P., Diliman.

Phelan, John Leddy. 1959. *The Hispanization of the Philippines; Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Rye, Ajit Singh. 1993. "The Indian Community in the Philippines," in Sandhu, K.S. and Mani, A., *Indian Communities in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: ISEAS, Times Academic Press.

Salamanca, Bonifacio S. 1968. *The Filipino Reaction to American Rule, 1901-1913*. The Shoe String Press.

Salazar, Zeus A. 1997. "Ang Limang Panahon sa Pamunuang Bayan sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas," manuscript.

Scott, William Henry. 1994. *Barangay; Sixteenth Century Philippine Culture and Society*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

_____. 1971. "The Igorot Struggle for Independence," republished under the title, *Of Igorots and Independence*. Baguio City: Malaya Press, 1993.

Sicat, Maria Teresa Martinez. 1994. *Imagining the Nation in Four Philippine Novels*. Quezon City: U.P. Press.

Veneracion, Jaime B. 1990. *Agos ng Dugong Kayumanggi*. Quezon City: Abiva Publishing House.

Living with Inauthenticities: Of IDs and Revolutionary History

*Filomeno V. Aguilar, Jr.**

In the same issue of the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* (*PDI* 1/15/97:1) headlining Jaime Cardinal Sin's denunciation of a plan by the administration of President Fidel Ramos to institutionalize a computerized national identification system as "sinister and immoral," a seemingly unrelated letter titled "Ways of making unruly drivers behave" appears in the section featuring reader's letters (*PDI*/1/15/97:12). Written by a certain T.B. Abayan of Quezon City, it reads:

> Whenever a Filipino worker can keep his identity from the public, including his friends and relatives, he lets loose his basic instincts. This is true of Metro Manila jeepney drivers, which explains their being undisciplined and ill-mannered. Hence, the government must not only make them wear uniforms, but also require them to display prominently inside their vehicles their names and addresses. This would make them vulnerable to public censure or even retaliatory actions such as *kulam* or *barang*, and thus, make them behave better.

Evidently, the letter is not dealing with the controversial ID system, but is raising a concern of ordinary men and women in the streets: the absence of social grace which is attributed to the concealed identities of drivers of public transport vehicles. This rather innocuous letter laments the lack of the principle of service in urban Philippine society and ends up confronting the problem of identity in a country teeming with millions of conationals but strangers. But the solution it profers tacitly invokes the image of a small village where the familiar identities of individuals serve to constrain public behavior, failing which the errant person can be subjected to sorcery. The problem of mass society is thus given a traditional solution.

The planned ID system prescribed by the President's Administrative Order No. 308, issued on 8 January 1997, is similarly seeking a way of confronting the identities of a massified public, many of whose members have no qualms about engaging in fraudulent behavior. The solution profered by Ramos seeks to utilize computer technology to establish identities and thereby curb false

*Dr. Aguilar is a member of the Department of History and Politics, James Cook University in Australia. This article was first published by the Institute on Church and Social Issues in *Intersect; The Intersectoral Communicator* (February 1997).

claims, facilitate transactions, and probably assist in fighting crime (although this last point is now no longer asserted by government officials). The ID system is envisioned as enhancing the functioning of the state bureaucracy.

But the proposal has met with objections from a broad spectrum consisting of Cardinal Sin, human rights groups, legislators, lawyers' groups, and opinion columnists in newspapers. More will be said about their views later, but first I should like to point out that none of the critics sees the question of identity as a dilemma. The ID, to them, is a plain and simple violation of human rights, an invasion of privacy, a usurpation of congressional power, and, to Sin at least, an immoral and sinister measure. To them the ID plan is perceived in terms rather starkly black or white. His speech delivered during the National Eucharistic Congress, the Cardinal's entry into the fray moralizes the issue as a question between good and evil, specifically, between his putative morality and the state's immorality. This tendency to view an issue in neat dichotomies, I submit, is a simplifying notion by the supposed intellectual elites of Philippine society. The many complexities surrounding the issue are glossed over, reducing the discourse into a moralistic veneer without shedding light upon substantive issues.

Serialized identities: The dilemmas of efficiency

Rather than portraying the ID system as untrammeled evil, the public discussion could have analyzed the various issues pertaining to the administration's plan in order to contribute to a more reasoned debate, if not dissent. Conspicuously absent from the discourse, for instance, is the dilemma of establishing identities not just in Philippine society but in any mass society for that matter. At one end, the modern state exercises power by imposing on its subject population a serialized (numbered) identity, most apparently done through the census. Theoretically, the modern state chronologizes, standardizes, and bureaucratizes the lifecourse of diverse individuals by imposing age requirements on a variety of activities, from entering the school system to obtaining a driver's license, a marriage license, to exercising the right of suffrage, etc. The state records, hence declares, various aspects of the individual's formal identity, such as one's legal name, age and marital status, to ensure compliance with state-mandated rules. The modern state needs to be able to draw upon its official memory bank to establish identities correctly and accurately if it is to function effectively, and it needs to confirm identities speedily if it is to perform efficiently. On the part of the individual, however, the power of the modern state is seen as erecting the edifice of an iron cage that leads to unfreedom. Indeed, when death certificates were first introduced, the state's demand to know the cause of an individual's demise was seen in England as an invasion of privacy. More profoundly, the power of the modern state is seen as robbing persons of their individuality, given the tacit regimentation of the lifecourse through the state-imposed age-grading of social activities.

There is hardly an alternative: stateless societies have been a rarity for many centuries now. With further increases in population, there is even less probability that a large social grouping would operate with some degree of order without some type of formal social organization, whether it be religious or secular. This societal organization will have to contend with the identities of its members, for which reason the Catholic realms of the *ancien regime* relied upon the institution of baptismal certificates to fix the names of individuals. Unless the dreamed-of stateless society can be created, humankind at the present historical juncture will have to put up with statist organizations. Hence, the bureaucratic regulation of identities is at present inescapable, and a functional identification system has become in-

dispensable in governance. In dealing with modern bureaucracies — guided, in Weber's ideal - typical sense, by impersonal norms and formal-legal rationality — individuals do benefit from, even as they are constrained by, a reliable ID system. Such is the case with the Social Security (SS) Number in the United States and the Identity Card (IC) Number in Malaysia and Singapore. Needless to say, the tension between state and individuals does not cease. Where a democratic public sphere exists, debate may surround the details contained in such an identification system, such as whether it should contain the person's race, but the identification system itself need not be delegitimated.

With the advent of the age of information technology, several countries have resorted to the computerization of identification systems to eliminate red tape, expedite transactions, and extirpate fraud and cheating, in the process helping disadvantaged groups, rescuing the welfare state, and optimizing the use of societal resources. *The Economist* (1/25-31/97:64) recently reported on various endeavors at implementing what has been called "electronic benefit transfers" (EBT) utilizing automated teller machines (ATMs). Finland and Namibia are among the pioneers of a scheme that pays pensions electronically. Mexico is experimenting with a computerized scheme that monitors the provision of subsidized milk and tortillas to some 2 million poor families, while Britain has embarked on a pilot project to administer child benefits electronically as part of a more ambitious plan to disburse all its L50 billion social spending by 2000 through EBT, a system estimated to cut fraud by L150-200 million a year. In Texas, the computerized dispensing of food stamps as part of a Congressionally mandated switch to EBT for the whole United States by 2002, has prevented the diversion of welfare benefits from food to alcohol. Spain, however, appears to be exceptional in handling a "smart card" that contains, rather than a mere magnetic strip, a microchip which holds a vast range of information for transacting with any number of government agencies. To date, about 2 million Spaniards carry the card; by 2002, all of its citizens will have the card. One wonders if any Cardinal of the Spanish Catholic hierarchy has denounced the "smart card" as immoral.

In countries that have functioning identification systems, particularly of the computerized varieties, it can be argued that individual identities have been reduced to a dehumanizing numerical series, at its extreme intelligible only to mechanical devices. As is the bane of modernity, bureaucratic predictability has come at the price of impersonality. Moreover, computerized identification systems raise the spectre of the Orwellian nightmare of state surveillance. (It must be mentioned, however, that states collect secret information on certain individuals even without a centralized ID system, a practice that antedates the advent of computer technology.) With computerized IDs, there is also the danger of computer fraud. On the other hand, with the proper legal and technological safeguards, ID systems do make life convenient and more bearable for people who cannot extricate themselves from this slice of history. Why waste time producing documents seeking signatures, shuffling papers, standing in queues and further authenticating those documents, not to mention enduring horrendous vehicular traffic, when one could be doing other more meaningful activities? Why make ordinary people, including the poor, suffer the delays and harassments of corrupt and inefficient functionaries of offices that are bureaucracies largely in form but not in essence? A computerized ID system certainly promises positive advantages to ordinary men and women who can be spared from the evils of inefficiency, corruption, and over-regulation. Be that as it may, a computerized bureaucracy nevertheless requires institutions within the state and in civil society similarly versed in computer technology to serve as vigilant watchdogs over the limits to the personal details that can be kept on computer

records as well as the access to and use of such information.

Dissent of the privileged

In the opposition to the planned ID system, the position of ordinary people has been largely ignored. For instance, there has been no serious consideration of the stand taken by the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP) that the ID system will "facilitate and protect the integrity of workers' trust funds" and check fraudulent claims amounting to over P2 billion every year, to the detriment of countless innocent members of the labor force (*Philippine Star* 1/18/97:1). Why should the critics consider the average worker who, let us say, is legitimately applying for a loan from a state agency, since many of them do not have to endure the runaround to which ordinary citizens following up official papers are subjected to? Besides, are not many of these objectors to the ID system sufficiently well-off as not to rely upon modest loans and pensions from the state? Indeed, who would heed the lament of a T.B. Abayan concerning hidden identities when many of the dissenters do not have to personally confront the rudeness of jeepney and tricycle drivers since many are chauffeur-driven in airconditioned vehicles? In raising these questions, I do not deny the risk that the ID system can be misused, but such risk need not be hyped up hysterically as to ignore the benefits that can accrue to the general population. A society may be judged by how responsibly and reasonably it weighs the contending issues.

But, as in countless other instances, a rational debate has eluded the ID controversy. Let us take the case of survey results produced by the Social Weather Stations Inc. (SWS) showing 77 percent in favor of an ID system (*PDI* 1/4/97:1). These data have been dismissed by, among others, the Cardinal as "not truthful" because "That survey is the survey of the government" (*PDI* 1/15/97:1). Granted that the SWS survey can be assailed on the basis of its sample size and sampling techniques, one cannot counter survey findings from a moralizing pedestal. Instead of scrutinizing the survey on methodological and scientific grounds, the Church prelate has merely confounded the discourse. In the end, the only available data on the public's opinion of the ID system have been brushed aside — but, it must be stressed, in a highly selective sweep, considering that other SWS survey data have not been similarly treated.

The voices of opposition have thus represented primarily the privileged sections of Philippine society. The critics have, wittingly or unwittingly, sided with the elites who quietly resent the leveling effect of an ID system, especially a compulsory one. Imagine a society where, regardless of class and status, everyone has the same piece of plastic card. And the machine that reads the card need not be swayed and intimidated by the personal connections, the haughty eyes, the sweet talk, the threatening words, and other ploys by the cardbearer. Such a prospect can be demeaning for elites, a challenge to their stature, that they too will be like everyone else who must wait for their turn to swipe or insert their ID cards in some machine in order to be served by a public servant. But what is worse among the voices of opposition, if the *PDI* report is correct, is that Cardinal Sin, in what he perhaps sees as his prophetic role, has even engaged in fear mongering by saying that information gathered through the national ID system can be used "to blackmail" persons, to "pry into bank accounts, and to look into the love affairs of certain people" (*PDI* 1/15/97:1). *"Hala, kayo rin!,"* the Cardinal says in effect. The dilemmas that an ID system poses do not figure in any informed discussion, for it has been convenient to merely see the government plan as unadulterated evil. In my view, the demonizing of the ID system has arisen from elite fears. These fears are not those of predictability and impersonal rules, but are fears ultimately of ourselves as a people.

Monumental mistrust: Of whom are we afraid?

The plan for a national ID system has met a lot of opposition because of a deep mistrust. At one level, the mistrust is directed at the person of Fidel Ramos, as if to say, "If he had no hidden motives, he would be too good to be true." Ramos may have presided over the economic turnaround of the Philippine economy, but critics portray his desire for power as highly suspect — for which reason they doubted his earlier disavowals of not wanting to cling on to power beyond 1998. Luis R. Mauricio has been quick to declare that "The ID system facilitates identification of signatories to a people's initiative that would either extend the term of Ramos or allow him to run for reelection," ending his column by calling Ramos a "dirty knave" (*Today* 1/14/97:10). Similarly, Neal H. Cruz avers that the "most scary aspect" of the ID system is its likely use for cheating in the 1998 elections (*PDI* 1/13/97:9).

Vehement opposition stems from fear based on Ramos' military background, and the earlier attempt by the administration to introduce an ID system by including the plan in a package of anti-terrorist bills. Thus, Conrado de Quiros calls the ID plan "an open invitation to tyranny" and a step "in the making of a dictatorship" (*PDI* 1/20/97:8), while Renato Constantino Jr. psychoanalyzes Ramos as exposing his "irrespressible authoritarian ID" in his ID order (*PDI* 1/14/97:10). The human rights advocacy group, Karapatan, argues that "Our fears are well-grounded in the painful lessons of martial law as well as our bitter experiences under the present regime" (*Today* 1/14/97:11). How can one trust Ramos, de Quiros asks: "We have only Ramos' word that the current ID system is different from the one he kept throwing at Congress and getting thrown back at him. We have only his word it will not be used to repress the citizens and thwart human rights. But that's what gives rise to monumental anxiety. For where human rights are concerned at least, Ramos' word has never been his troth" (*PDI* 1/15/97:10). Amando Doronila suggests that "The anxieties over the ID reflect deep public suspicion of President Ramos' military and security background" (PDI 1/15/97:11). Probing into that background, Karapatan even sees a connection between Ramos' participation in the Vietnam War and the CIA's national ID project then, claiming further that "Western powers with vested interests in [the Philippines] are tacitly supporting Ramos' maneuvers toward authoritarianism" (*PDI* 1/26/97:8; *Today* 1/21/97:11).

In addition to the mistrust of the person of Ramos, the opposition to the national ID system also emanates from a general mistrust of government. As Neal Cruz concedes, "Even assuming, but not admitting, the honesty of the government's claimed intentions in the proposed national identification system, corruption and inefficiency in government will defeat its avowed purpose, which is to accurately identify the holder of the ID card" (*PDI* 1/19/97:9). This mistrust of government finds expression in a general mistrust of the Filipino people. In regard to the administration's claim that the national ID system will be "foolproof," Cruz asks, "Pray, tell me how you can make it foolproof in the Philippines where any document can be faked. You will only give Recto a brisk business in producing fake ID cards or any document needed to secure a national ID. It will only result in many flying voters, criminals and other unsavory characters roaming around with fake identities" (*PDI* 1/19/97:9). Another commentator, Honesto C. General (*PDI* 1/24/97:B2) joins the administration's hope that the national ID will "wipe out fraud by outsiders and insiders," but only "for a while." He reckons that "Then somebody, most likely a Filipino, will find a way to outsmart the card," seeing it as the reason for updating the card every five years otherwise Filipino ingenuity and cunning would invalidate the national ID.

The doubts expressed about the President's motives suggest that many have not overcome the traumas of the Martial Law period. One would hope that the Philippines would reflect upon Spain which has undergone historically far more civil wars and a longer period of dictatorship than the Philippines, but which seems to have come to terms with its past to think more confidently about the future. The accusations of some human rights activists, which verge on a paranoid nationalism, should also be tempered with the fact that, after the Vietnamese won the war against the United States, they have gone ahead to institute a mandatory ID system for the Vietnamese people (cf. *Philippine Star* 1/21/97:6). The Vietnamese, too, have come to terms with their past.

The way of the *cedula*

Perhaps, Filipino fears of the past are hard to erase because we only know too well what kind of people we are. In this society it is often said, *"Dalawang klase lang ang tao: ang manloloko at ang naloloko"* (People are only of two kinds: the conman and the conned). This popular saying is emblematic of the pervasiveness of duplicity and deceit, hence children are socialized into becoming street smart in defense of the self. To be cunning is part of the armory of everyday life. Isagani A. Cruz's admission that, because he is a lawyer, he is always suspicious—and hence suspects Ramos' ID plan—as "It is not good policy to accept everything at face value..." (*PDI* 1/25/97:6), can be generalized as the life principle of millions of Filipinos.

In analyzing the reaction to the planned ID system, Foreign Secretary Domingo Siazon, Jr. speaks a sociological fact in saying that "We always presume na *lolokohin ka* (that you would be made into a fool)" (*PDI* 1/17/97:6) because, I may add, we ourselves are not beyond fooling others as well, if we can get away with it. Everyone is suspicious, no one is trustworthy. The oppositors to the ID system would rather have the inefficient, wasteful and corrupt status quo – and let ordinary people pay for such – than adopt change. Apparently, we would rather bloat offices with an army of 'checkers' who, like in some department stores, check the bags we carry, who check the goods we buy, who check the money we pay, who check the change we get, who check the goods again before they are wrapped, who check the receipt, who check the bag again, who check...*ad nauseam*, and delude ourselves, thinking, "Ah, here, we have a foolproof system." If anything, this ID episode has merely crystallized our irretrievable mistrust of ourselves.

And yet, the expressions of doubt about Ramos and the government are made in a manner as though the critics are not implicated in such a *manloloko* culture. We criticize, and too readily we do so, as though we are not part of the society that has bred the kind of untrustworthy government that we have and probably deserve. We do not pause to ponder that, perhaps, ordinary men and women for once want a reliable and *fool*proof (sic) ID system. For once, perhaps they want a break from the duplicity and untrustworthiness of this society. But there is no consensus, because we are our own worst enemies.

Even more puzzling is our collective capacity to live with cognitive dissonance. The oppositors to the ID system, by default, express preference for a society where identities are uncertain and fluid, a situation that, it must be said, is not necessarily a more human condition. In doubting its reliability, Neal Cruz foresees the computerized ID system as ending up like the *cedula*: the national ID, he predicts, "will go the way of the residence certificate which nobody believes in anymore" (*PDI* 1/19/97:9). Such is the general regard for the *cedula*, but this easily falsifiable document continues to be used to establish identities in legal papers. The *cedula* is used everywhere without being credible. Yet, this fact does not bother the legal establishment,

the Catholic Church, and Philippine society as a whole. No one has suggested to stop using the *cedula*, because we prefer to live with the charade. We mock the *cedula* yet use it in very serious legal transactions. *"Hayaan mo na, ganyan talaga iyan"* (It can't be helped, that's how things are), I can almost hear myself echo a common refrain. As a people, we prefer to live with ambiguous identities and manipulable norms, making us exhibit a trait of postmodernity without having acquired the modern concern for positive identities. Amazingly, a society that problematizes its collective identity treats personal identities flippantly. As a people, we have a formidable capacity to live with inauthenticities.

What happened in/to the revolution?

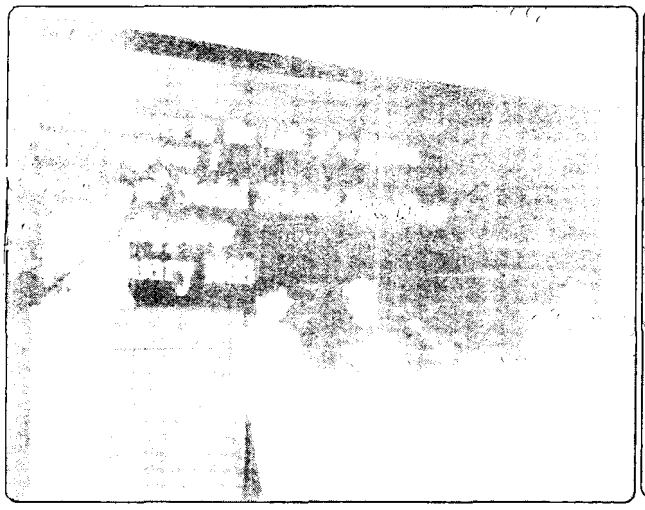
It is opportune that the national ID system is being discussed at a time when the country is in the midst of historical reminiscing, with celebrations in 1996 of the centennial of the revolution against Spain and, in about another year, the centennial of the proclamation of Philippine independence. We may remind ourselves that the *cedula* was introduced to these islands by the Spanish colonial state. Following their own legalistic framework, the Spanish authorities regarded the *cedula personal* as an organic document not to be subjected to arbitrary use. In 1889 a proposal that would have allowed sugar planters in Negros to sequester the *cedula* of farm workers to prevent them from fleeing and absconding was disapproved. The Spanish colonial state evidently attached great importance to the *cedula*.

But, might we not suppose that the Filipino talent for fabricating official documents did not simply spring up out of the blue in the twentieth century? May we not conjecture, and find it plausible, that this national ability was already aforming in the nineteenth century? If it was, we may consider for the moment the possibility that the *cedula*, unbeknownst to the Spaniards, was already being faked even then. The other possibility emerges that an event portrayed as deeply central to the revolution—the Cry of Balintawak or Cry of Pugadlawin (which history book can be trusted?)—involved the tearing up of *cedulas* some of which could have been inauthentic. Fake *cedulas* at the Cry of 1896? A dreadful thought, an irreverent speculation?

If the *cedulas* were fake, they could not be the pure symbol of Spanish oppression which the Katipuneros sought to end by their rise to arms. If the *cedulas* were fake, the sacredness of the revolution would be tainted. If the *cedulas* were fake, the historical narrative could not be reduced to a simple, heart-rending plot pitting virtuous Filipinos against evil Spaniards. But, if the *cedulas* were fake, there would be historical continuity with the present.

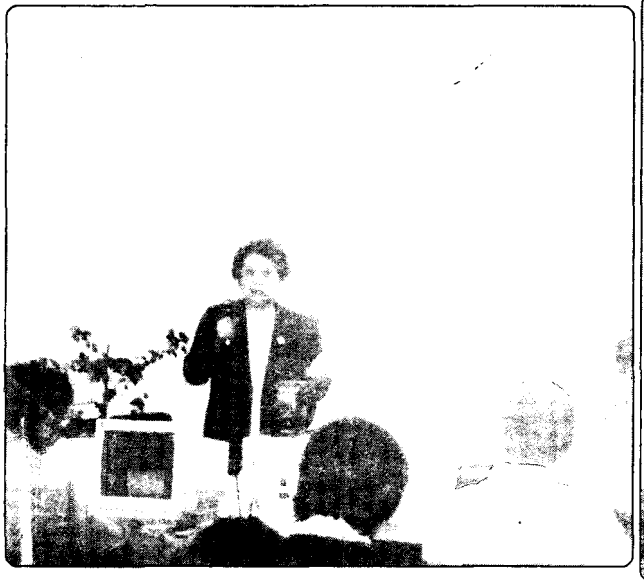
What I find more troubling is the thought that the *cedulas* were not fake. Did the Katipuneros tear their *cedulas* only for us to replace them with fake ones? If the *cedulas* of old were all genuine, what has become of us as a people a century after the revolution? If the historical *cedulas* were genuine, then no-one else but we ourselves have stolen the revolution and betrayed its ideals. If the Spanish *cedulas* were genuine and the contemporary Filipino *cedulas* are trash, a certain hollowness, even hypocrisy, undergirds all the centennial celebrations in which so much resources are being spent. The Spanish friars have come and gone, the Philippine state has been established but has remained basically weak, but the Catholic Church has survived and grown along with the ruling classes and elites. Fraud and deception have sustained the affluent and powerful: has the Church been insulated? Why has the Church thrived amid pervasive inauthenticities? Where is the salt of the earth?

4th National Social Science Congress
Pre-Congress I: "The History and Development of Social Science Disciplines in the Philippines"
January 30-31, 1998



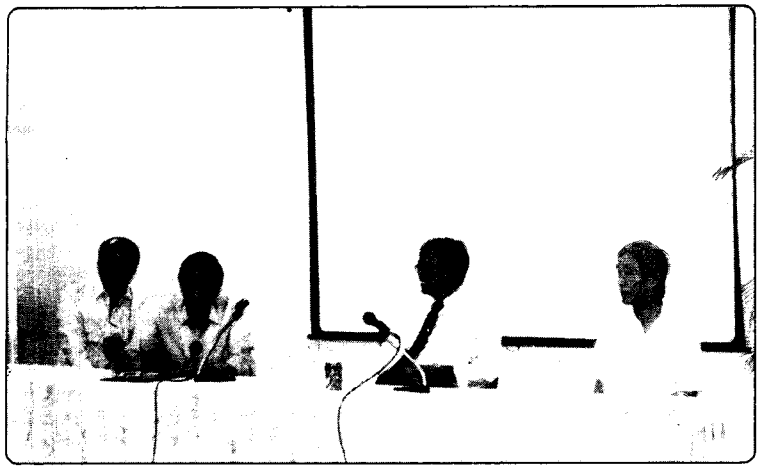
Opening Ceremonies. Dr. Raul Fabella of the UP School of Economics delivering the keynote speech on "Incompleteness and the Social Sciences."

"Highpoints in Philippine Anthropology." Dr. Eufracio Abaya and Ms. Daisy Morales of UCAT stressing a point during the session.



"The CommunicationSector in Relation to National Development" was discussed by Dr. Florangel Braid of PCS.

"40 Years of Population Studies." Paper presentors were Dr. Mercedes B. Concepcion, Fr. Wilhelm Flieger and Dr. Marilou Costello of PPA.

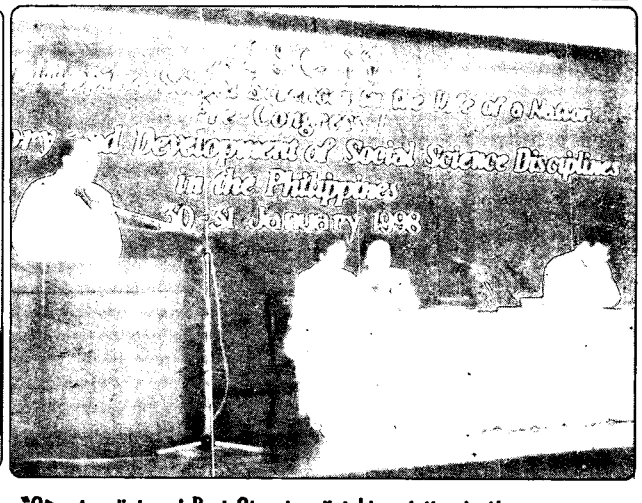


"A Roundtable Discussion on the Beginnings and Development of Economics in the Philippines" with PES members Dr. Gerardo Sicat, Dr. Armand Fabella, Dr. Felipe Madalla and the late Dr. Jose Encarnacion.

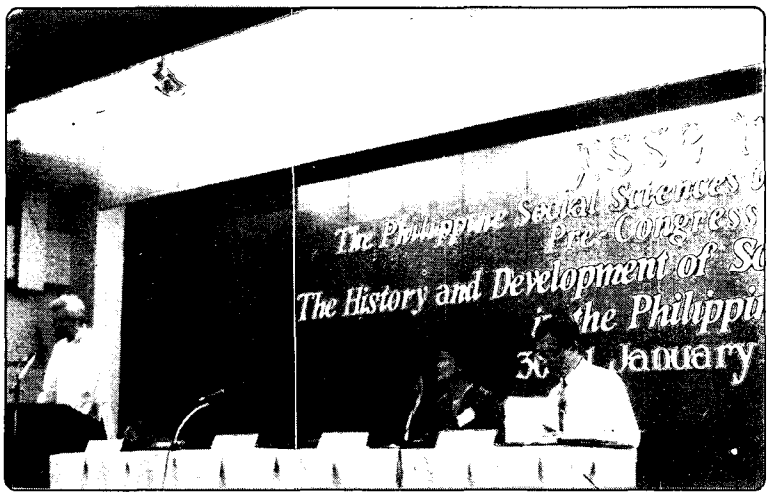
"The Development of Geography in the Philippines," with Prof. Meliton Juanico of the PGS as paper presentor.

"Philippine Historiography: 1898 to 1946: 1946 to 1997." Dr. Jaime Veneracion of PHA together with Dr. Francis Gealogo of PNHS were the main paper presentors. Prof. Digna Apilado, Dr. Eden Gripaldo, Dr. Ma. Luisa Camagay and Dr. Leslie Bauzon were panel reactors.

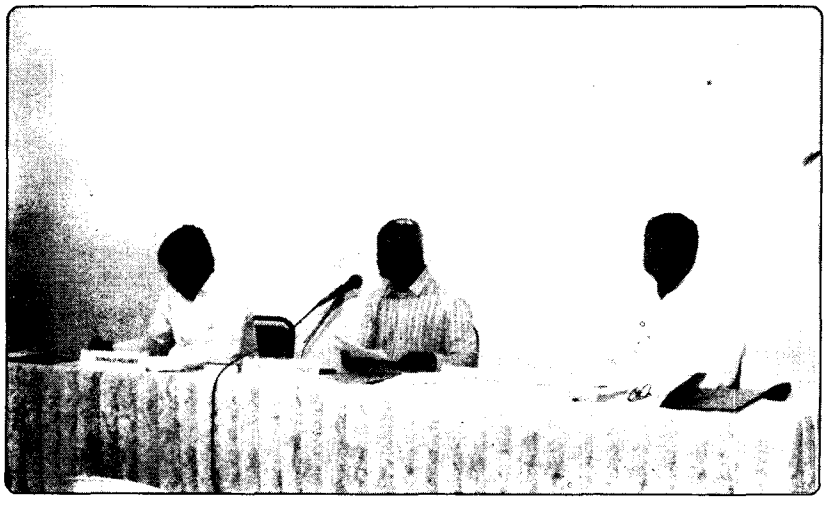
"Rethinking Community Development in the Philippines." Prof. Emmanuel Luna of UP CSWCD, his assistant together with Prof. Maureen Pagaduan and Prof. Rosario del Rosario answering questions during the Open Forum.



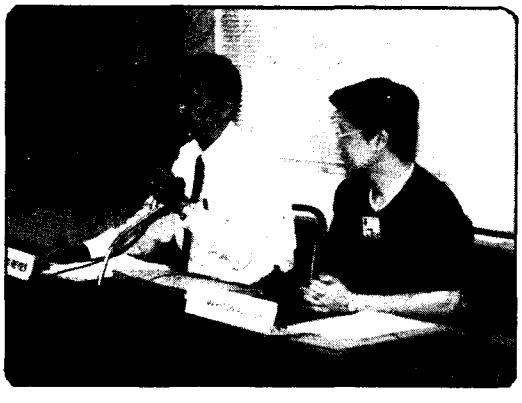
"Structuralist and Post-Structuralist Linguistics in the Philippines." Bro. Andrew Gonzalez of LSP delivering his paper. Also in the panel were Prof. Edilberta Bala, Dr. Emy Pascasio, Dr. Wilfredo Alberca and Dr. Stephen Quakenbush.



"Philippine Psychology: Growth and Becomings." Dr. Allen Tan of PAP during the Paper Presentation. Panel members were Dr. Ma. Emma Concepcion D. Liwag, Dr. Ma. Lourdes Carandang and Dr. Allan Bernardo.



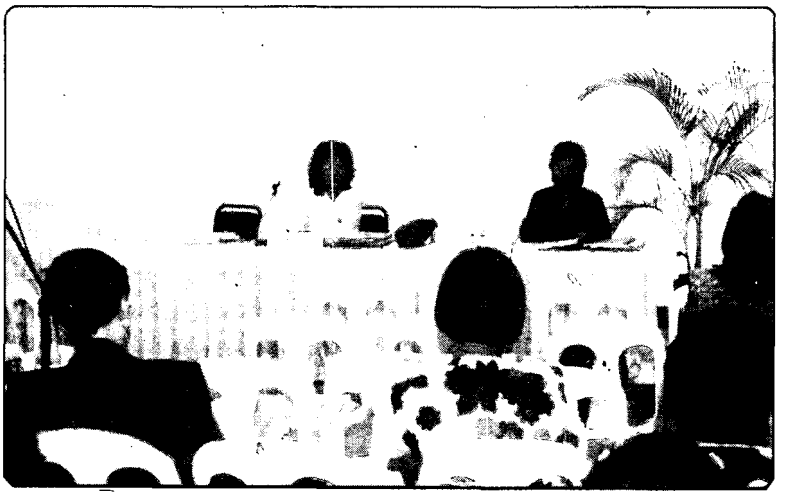
"Political Science in the Philippines." Dr. Remigio Agpalo of PPSA together with Prof. Ronald Holmes and Prof. Malaya Ronas.



"Public Administration in the Philippines: History, Heritage and Hubris." Dr. Danilo Reyes of PSPA with Dr. Ma. Concepcion Alfiler during the paper presentation.

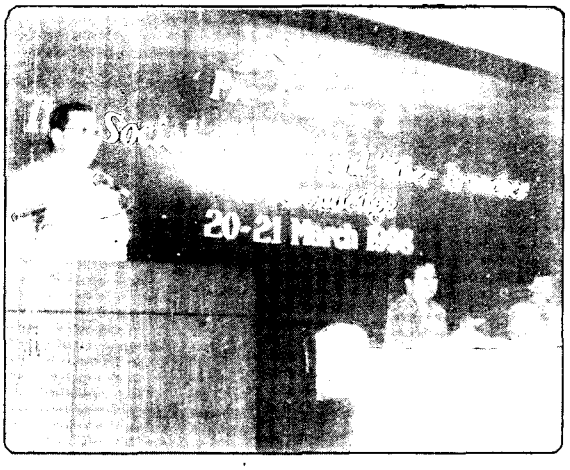
"Fifty Years of Social Work Practice in the Philippines and its Contribution to National/Social Development." Prof. Ninfa Franco, paper presentor, and Ms. Elisa G. Collado, moderator.

"Towards a Filipino Sociological Imagination." Dr. Corazon Lamug of PSS with panel members Dr. Cynthia Bautista, Dr. Mary Racelis and Dean Ofelia Angangco.

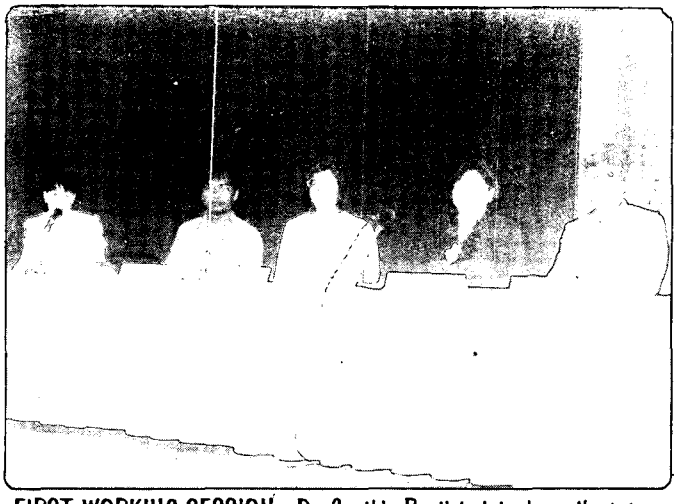


"Women's Studies in the Philippines." Dr. Sylvia Guerrero and Dr. Carolyn Sobritchea of the UP Center for Women's Studies.

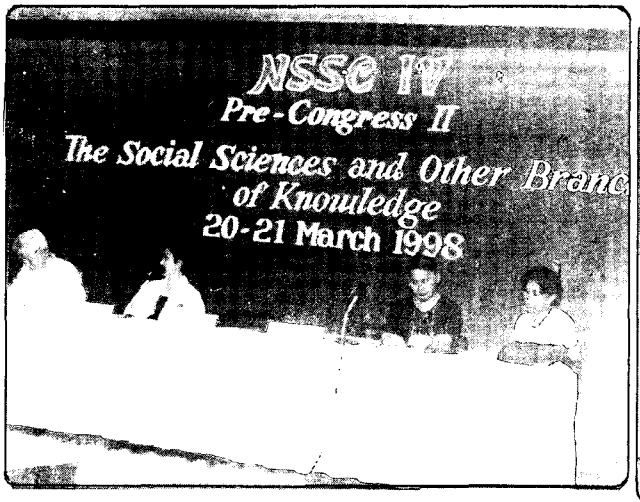
4th National Social Science Congress
Pre-Congress II: "The Social Sciences and Other Branches of Knowledge: Taking Stock"
March 20-21, 1998



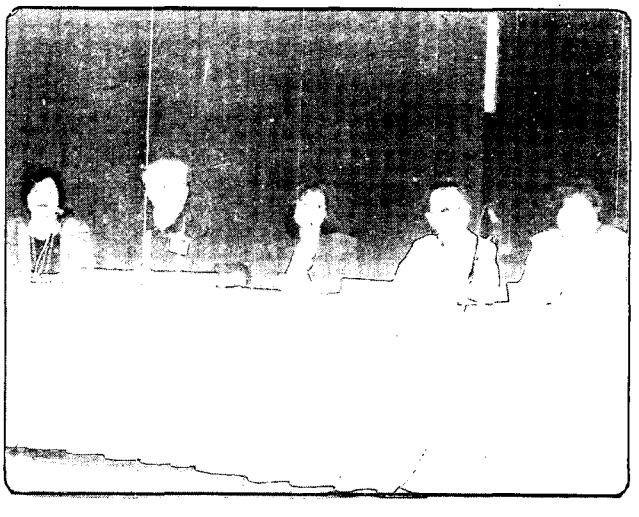
Dr.Emil Q. Javier (President, University of the Philippines) delivering his Keynote Speech on "The Social Sciences and Other Branches of Knowledge."



FIRST WORKING SESSION. Dr. Cynthia Bautista introduces the paper presentors for "The Social Sciences and Engineering, Architecture and Technology." L-R Dr. Segundo Romero (Reactor), Dr. Clarissa Rubio, Dr. Aura Matias and Dr. Leonardo Liongson (Paper Writers).



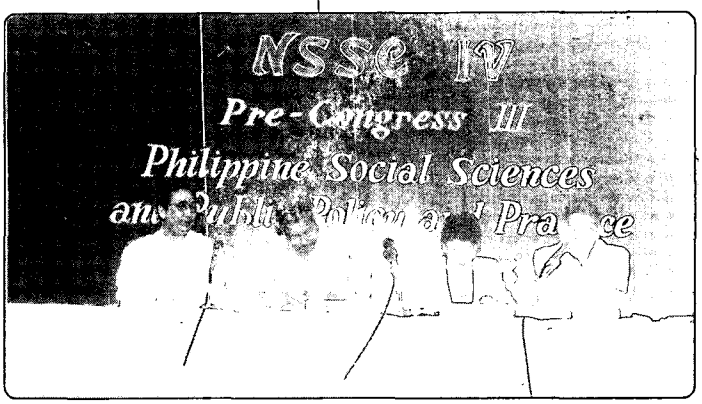
SECOND WORKING SESSION. L-R Dr. Manuel Bonifacio and Dr. Teresita R. Maquiso, Paper Writers for "The Social Sciences and Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries;" Dr. Antonio Contreras and Dr. Levita A. Duhaylungsod, PaperPresentors for "The Social Sciences and the Environment."



THIRD WORKING SESSION. L-R. Dr. Emma Porio (Moderator), Dr. Nestor Pilar, Atty. Ma. Lourdes Sereno, Prof. Luis Teodoro and Prof. Laura Samson (Paper Presentors) for the panel on "The Social Sciences and Culture and Arts, Media Studies, Law and Management."

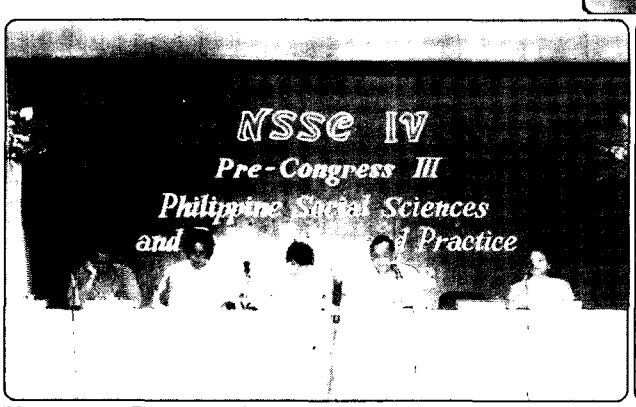
4th National Social Science Congress
Pre-Congress III: "Philippine Social Sciences and Public Policy and Practice"
May 22-23, 1998

Hon. Cielito F. Habito, Director General of NEDA delivering his Keynote Speech on "The Social Sciences and Nation Building."



"Economic Policy and Social Change." Dr. Ponciano S. Intal (PIDS), Session Chair, introducing the Panel/Session Speakers. L-R Dr. Vicente B. Valdepeñas, Jr. (Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas), Dr. Cayetano W. Paderanga, Jr. (Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas), and Professo Solita C. Monsod (UP School of Economics)

"Population, Resources, and Environmental Policy and the Social Sciences." L-R Prof. Eliseo A. de Guzman, Dr. Aurora E. Perez and Dr. Zelda C. Zablan (UP Population Institute), Dr. Ben S. Malayang III (UPLB School of Environmental Science and Management), Dr. Adrian C. Hayes (Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University), Dr. Mercedes B. Concepcion (NAST), Dr. Wilhelm Fliegar, SVD (University of San Carlos Office of Population Studies), Dr. Alejandro N. Herrin (UP School of Economics), Dr. Marian S. delos Angeles (PIDS), Ms. Pia C. Bennagan and Mr. Raymond Jose G. Quilop (UP Department of Political Science)



"Science and Technology Policy and the Social Sciences." Panel Members L-R Dr. William T. Torres (Mozaic Communications, Inc.), Dr. Jose A. Magpantay (National Institute of Physics), Dr. Cynthia Rose Bautista (CIDS), Dr. Emil Q. Javier (UP) and Dr. Anna Miren G. Intal (Ateneo de Manila University).

"Language, Communication and Education Policy and the Social Sciences." L-R Dr. Emy S. Pascasio (ADMU), Dr. Josefina Patron (PTV4), Dr. Josefina Cortes (UE), Dr. Ma. Luisa C. Doronila (UP College of Education)

20th NAST Annual Scientific Meeting and the 4th National Social Science Congress

July 8-9, 1998

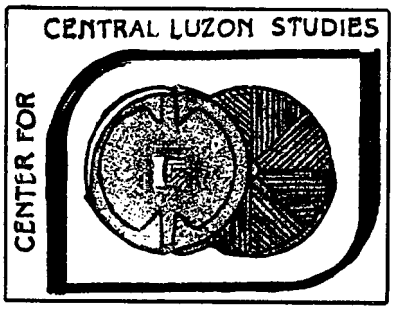
"The Philippine Social Sciences in the Life of the Nation"

Dr. Gelia Castillo, chairman of the NSSC IV and 20th NAST ASM Organizing Committee delivering the Keynote Address. Listening are (L-R) Dr. Jose O. Juliano, NAST Secretary; Fr. Bienvenido F. Nebres, President, Ateneo de Manila University; Dr. Conrado S. Dayrit, NAST President, and Dr. Elizabeth R. Ventura (President, Pi Gamma Mu)..

Plenary Session I "100 Years of Philippine Social Sciences" with Dr. Virginia A. Miralao (extreme left) as speaker. (L-R) Dr. Erlinda M. Burton (Xavier U.), discussant; Dr. Wilfredo V. Villacorta (DLSU), moderator; Dr. Luis C. Dery (DLSU), discussant and Mr. Raymundo Jose G. Quilop (UP), rapporteur.

The participants at the book display-sale during the two-day convention.

Associate Members: Profiles



Center for Central Luzon Studies
Central Luzon State University
Muñoz, Nueva Ecija

Background

The Center for Central Luzon Studies (CCLS) of the Central Luzon State University (CLSU) was established in 1986 following a resolution of the Board of Regents to create a center to study the rich culture, history and society of Central Luzon, a region that has played a significant role in the country's history, politics and economy. Its establishment also conformed with a provision of CLSU's charter which states:

> "The university shall primarily give professional and technical training in agriculture and mechanic arts besides providing advanced instruction and promoting research in literature, philosophy, sciences and technology, and arts..." (Section 2).

The Center, which is headed by Dr. Marilou G. Abon, Director, is the manifestation of the role that the CLSU, located in Muñoz, Nueva Ecija plays as a regional university, that of fostering better understanding of the locality in which its operates. Through region-based research and instruction, the Center aims to contribute to nation-building and development. The Center has been an associate member of PSSC since 1986. It is also a member of the Philippine Health Research Network, a research arm of the Department of Health, and the Central Luzon Culture and Arts Network (CL-CLAN).

CCLS' Research Thrust

CCLS research emphasizes its regional character with the end in view of wholistically addressing local needs and problems.

Its research agenda includes four major topics:

- Central Luzon culture, history and society,
- indigenous knowledge/technology,
- food security, and
- low-external input and sustainable agriculture.

CCLS' on-going research projects are studies on organic farming, the Carabao Festival, Pagsasang-Juan, the implementation of the National TB Program in Region III, participatory technology development, process documentation, Central Luzon material culture, soil acidification, and historical evolution of agriculture in Nueva Ecija.

Publications

CCLS' more recent publications include the following titles:

- *Nueva Ecija Material Culture* I
- *Nueva Ecija Material Culture* II
- *Nueva Ecija history*
- *The Vegetable Farmers of Nueva Ecija: A Comprehensive Study of Peasant Societies*
- *Health-Related Behavior of the Resettled Aetas in Central Luzon*
- *Critical Analysis of the Implementation of the National TB Program in Region III*
- *State of the Art of Organic Farming on Irrigated Lowland Rice and Related Studies in the Philippines*

CCLS also actively pursues activities to disseminate and enhance the utilization of its research undertakings and outputs. The Center publishes its research results and disseminates these to local sociocultural groups involved in arts programs, and to students and scientists engaged in the development of appropriate technologies. CCLS has also developed a databank maintaining relevant information gathered from its researches on Central Luzon communities. Artifacts collected from research are housed at the CLSU Museum which the Center manages.

Center for Institutional Planning, Research and Development

Angeles University Foundation, Angeles City

Background

The Center for Institutional Planning, Research and Development (CIPRD), Angeles University Foundation (AUF), used to be known as the Research and Planning Center when it first affiliated with PSSC. AUF began research operations in schoolyear 1975-76 under the directorship of Dr. Ricardo C. Galang. In June 1996, these were placed under the Center for Research and Development, with Dr. Teresita B. Ireneo as Director. In line with AUF's recent reorganization, the Center assumed its current name this SY 1998-99 with Mr. Elpidio L. Morales as Director.

Tasked by the Angeles University Foundation to undertake research in educational planning and related topics, CIPRD is committed to building the research capability and productivity of the University, thus contributing to the vision of making the AUF

a regional center for research in Central Luzon. The Center joined PSSC as an associate member in 1978.

Specific objectives

CIPRD has the following explicit objectives:

1. To evolve a research philosophy or vision and develop an institutional research role;

2. To assist the institution in meeting its research requirements, in enhancing its research organization and in developing and extending the professional competence and experience of the research staff;

3. To help build a healthy research environment that is conducive, supportive, constructive and motivating;

4. To improve the quality of research outputs and their impact on policy and development; and

5. To promote the dissemination and utilization of research findings by business and industry and for improving the quality of life of the community.

Organizationally, CIPRD is under the University Research Council, members of which are drawn from AUF's different colleges and units.

To encourage research in the university, CIPRD offers incentives such as de-loading and recognition awards to faculty and researchers and provides a budget for research activities.

Programs and services

Besides preparing project proposals and/or feasibility studies, CIPRD conducts socio-economic surveys, and social action, policy and institutional studies. Among the Center's recently completed research projects are:

- The Effects of Lahar and Lahar-Related Calamities on AUF Students, Faculty and Personnel;
- The State of Living Accommodations of AUF Students after the Onslaught of Lahar;
- A Survey of AUF Prospective Home-owners; and
- A Study on the Attitudes of Male Students towards the ROTC Program

CIPRD has sent participants to the following conferences:

1. *Higher Education and Sustainable Human Development,* UNESCO Conference, October 5-9, 1998, Paris, France.

2. *Challenges Facing Mankind in the 21st Century and Building of Life-Long Education and Learning Society*, Shanghai International Open and Distance Education Symposium, April 15-17, 1998, Shanghai, China.

3. *Resourcing: A Strategy for Development,* First Annual Convention of the Private Secondary School Administrators Association of the Philippines (PRISSAAP), February 18-19, 1998, Quezon City.

4. *Institutional Management: Issues and Strategic Initiatives for Higher Education in the Asia Pacific Region*, Second General Conference of the Association of Universities of Asia and the Pacific (AUAP), December 8-10, 1998, University of Tasmania, Australia.

CIPRD also conducts research seminar-workshops. The latest workshop conducted by the Center was a three-day activity held in November 1997 which aimed to equip participants with basic research skills. Lectures on "Basic Research Methodology" and "Research Design and Data Analysis" were featured.

While research papers and other scholarly articles are currently featured in the *AUF Journal* which is put out twice a year by the AUF Graduate School, CIPRD hopes to launch its own research publication, *AUF Research Journal,* next year.

Center for Institutional Research and Development

Philippine Christian University, Taft Avenue, Manila

Background

The Center for Institutional Research and Development (CIRD) is the research and development arm of Philippine Christian University (PCU). A sectarian academic institution associated with the United Church of Christ in the Philippines, PCU is committed to provide an education that will enhance the development of Christian character. The institution promotes an education that is *University in Calibre* aimed at the continuing search and moral application of truth, knowledge, and wisdom that stir full intellectual and spiritual capacity. It is involved in education that is *Filipino in Perspective*, relevant to Philippine needs and conditions, and which contribute to total national development. It believes in the ecumenical movement and supports the aims and goals of various ecumenical institutions and agencies.

CIRD started as PCU's Research and Publication Center in 1969 with Atty. Leven Puno as its Director. In 1986, the Center became inoperational upon the retirement of its then Director, Mrs. Ligaya Bautista. When Dr. Carlito S. Puno was appointed PCU President in 1990, he revived the Center and appointed Professor Jovita G. Reyes as its Director. With its new mandate and expanded functions, the Center was re-named Center for Institutional Research and Development. The Center became an associate member of PSSC in 1979.

The CIRD programs and projects

CIRD conducts institutional researches and development studies for the university and assists faculty, staff and students in the conduct of these. CIRD-sponsored institutional research projects concern PCU students, faculty and staff, and the school in general. Some of the following projects which were accomplished within the past 6 years are:

Research on PCU Students

- social adjustment and academic performance of foreign students at PCU
- assessment of the English language communication skills of 4th year secretarial students
- attitudes and perceptions of college students toward home life and school life

- employability of graduates and their performance in the professional government examinations

- correlational study of students' socio-economic status, scholastic performance and scores in government tests (NEAT and NSAT)

Research on PCU Faculty and Staff

- a comparative study on job satisfaction and performance of the alumni personnel (faculty and staff) of PCU

- attitude survey of administrators, faculty and staff of PCU 1996

Research on PCU in General

- time series analysis of enrollment data (1980-2004)

CIRD has also worked on other social science topics, such as case studies of broken families in PCU and political choices of PCU teachers and students for the May 1998 national elections.

The Center also assists in undertaking research projects for other units of the school, such as the agricultural department.

CIRD attends to two other programs of PCU which make use of research and writing expertise. These are the Building Research Capability Program (BREC) and the Writers Training Program (WRIT).

BREC focuses on training teachers and organizing them into research teams. Funding for their studies is provided by the Faculty Research Program (FARE). Completed studies are presented to peers during the CIRD-organized annual Research Forum.

The Writers' Training Program (WRIT) trains and organizes writing teams. The WRIT Program, in consortium with Trinity College of Quezon City and Wesleyan University in Cabanatuan City, has produced college textbooks in English, Speech, College Algebra, General Psychology, Filipino I and Trigonometry.

CIRD also handles the publication of *Christian Cord*, the official newsletter of PCU and *Academic Review*, the official university journal.

Future Thrusts

With the approach of the new millennium and in line with globalization trends, the Center is shifting its focus from institutional capability building to external linkages and services. CIRD has thus lined up the following priority projects for the next few years:

1. *The Church, the Seminary and the University in Mission*

Starting this year, CIRD will handle the research needs of the two supporting churches of the university—the United Methodist Church (UMC) and the United Church of Christ in the Philippines (UCCP)—and the Union Theological Seminary in Dasmarinas, Cavite which is supported by both churches.

2. *Resource Development Program*

CIRD will likewise pursue contract research and seek research grants to enhance the development of both its human and capital capabilities and resources.

3. *Capability Building Programs*

The CIRD Capability Building Programs consisting of training and consultancy services which were developed and implemented locally through the years will be packaged and offered to outside clientele.

NEWS * NEWS * NEWS

PSSC Annual Meeting and Confirmation of New Trustees

The Philippine Social Science Council held its Annual General Assembly Meeting in the morning of February 21, 1998 at the Alip Auditorium, PSSCenter.

Professor Felipe B. Miranda as Board of Trustees Chair (March 1997-Febrary 1998) presided over the meeting and presented the Annual Report of the Council, which covered the activities and accomplishments of PSSC for 1997, such as committee outputs, the Research Award and Conference Award grants, PSSC Lecture Series, and publications.

Mrs. Carmelita Ericta, Treasurer, reported on PSSC's financial status, which showed a slight drop in income due to the regional currency crisis. By cutting on some operational costs however, PSSC managed to post a positive balance of around P178,000 at the end of 1997. Mrs. Ericta also presented PSSC's proposed 1998 budget of P8,888,000 which the body approved.

The second part of the General Assembly was the confirmation of nominees for the vacancies in the Board of Trustees. The following nominees whose names were earlier submitted by their respective associations, were confirmed as BOT members for 1998-1999:

Asuncion C. Cueto
(Alternate, Loreto F. Roja)
Philippine Association of Social Workers, Inc.

Bernardita R. Churchill
(Alternate - Eden M. Gripaldo)
Philippine National Historical Society

Malaya C. Ronas
(Alternate, Ronald D. Holmes)
Philippine Political Science Association

Ana Maria L. Tabunda
(Alternate, Gervacio G. Selda, Jr.)
Philippine Statistical Association

Angelo G. Bernardo
(Alternate - Daisy N. Morales)
Ugnayang Pang-Aghamtao, Inc.

At a breakfast meeting held 2 hours before the General Assembly, PSSC Associate members also elected their representatives to the Board of Trustees and General Assembly. Those who were elected and later confirmed by the General Assembly are:

Dr. Ellen H. Palanca of Philippine Association of Chinese Studies as Associate Member Representative to the Board of Trustees for 1998-1999; and

The Center for Central Luzon Studies, Development Academy of the Philippines, U.P. School of Urban and Regional Planning, and the University Research Council of St. La Salle University in Bacolod as the Associate Member Representatives to the General Assembly for 1998.

4th Conference of the Afro-Asian Psychological Association and 35th Annual Convention of the Psychological Association of the Philippines

Meeting on the theme, "Psychology in a Changing Afro-Asian World," members of the Afro-Asian Psychological Association and the Psychological Association of the Philippines convened on 23-26 July 1998 at the University of the Philippines for this joint conference. The conference organizers, noting that Afro-Asian psychologists after many years, have rediscovered the value of using their own independent perspectives on various psychological concerns, saw the event as a forum for mutual exchange of knowledge and experiences, a time to learn about each other's perspectives and to gain a better understanding of the dynamic role of psychology in an ever-changing world.

The Conference had sessions on marital and family relations, psychology and work, studies on memory, development of psychological tests, counseling psychology, cognitive development, studies on the self, factors influencing social development, child and adolescent psychology, psychology of spirituality, cultural and historical perspectives of psychology, development of cognitive and affective behaviors, educational psychology, and psychology of women. Pre-conference workshops on the teaching of psychology and post-conference continuing education workshops were also conducted during the four-day event.

Conference participants included delegates from the Philippines, Canada, China, Germany, India, Japan, Malaysia, Pakistan, Singapore, South Africa, Thailand and the United States of America.

AASSREC Executive Council Meeting

Members of the Executive Council, Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils (AASSREC) met on 20-21 May 1998 at the Philippine Social Science Center to firm up plans for AASSREC's 13th Biennial General Conference and to discuss other activities of the association.

The 13th General Conference will be held in Seoul, Korea in October 1999. The conference will include a regional symposium on the theme **"Reflections on Development and Sustainability: Past and Future,"** during which country papers on the topic will be presented. The conference will also feature a special panel discussion on "Confronting 'Asian Values' in the Perspective of Globalization," with sub-regional papers on the subject to be prepared for South Asia, East Asia, Southeast Asia, Australia and the Pacific, and Russia. A sixth paper contribution and "think piece" on Asian values will also be presented by Sri Lanka during the special panel discussion.

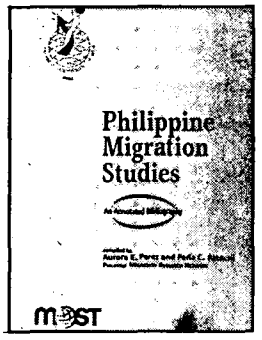
AASSREC is an association of 17 social science research councils or centers in 16 Asian countries. Members of the Executive Council which met in Quezon City were Dr. Byung-Young Ahn, President (also president of the Korean Social Science Research Council, Seoul), Professor A.J. Gunawardana, Vice-President (National Science Foundation, Sri Lanka), and Dr. Virginia A. Miralao, Secretary-General (Executive Director, Philippine Social Science Council).

Dr. Adrian C. Hayes, Fellow of the School of Social Sciences of The Australian National University also attended the meeting in his capacity as Coordinator of AASSREC's ongoing cross-country project on the linkages between Poverty and the Environment.

Others who attended the meeting were Dr. Malama S. Meleisea, Regional Adviser for Social and Human Sciences in Asia and the Pacific, UNESCO-Bangkok; Dr. Nestor N. Pilar, PSSC Board of Trustees Chairperson; and Mrs. Lorna P. Makil, PSSC Technical Staff.

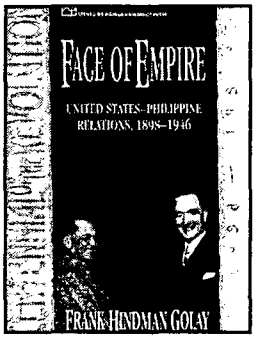
THE PSSC FRANK X. LYNCH LIBRARY

NEW ACQUISITIONS-Filipiniana



Aurora E. Perez and Perla C. Patacsil . 1998 *Philippine Migration Studies; An Annotated Bibliography*. Quezon City: Philippine Migration Research Network, 197 pp.

This annotated bibliography is the first publication of the Philippine Migration Research Network which is implementing the Philippine component of a five-year research on "New Migrations and Growing Ethno-cultural Diversity in the Asia-Pacific Region: Social and Political Issues" under the UNESCO-Management of Social Trans-formations (MOST) program for Asia and the Pacific. The book contains annotated bibliographies of some 373 studies on Philippine migration trends and patterns and further classified into studies on internal migration and international migration. To assist students and researchers, the compilation features keywords for each bibliographic entry.



Frank Hindman Golay. 1997. *Face of Empire; United States-Philippine Relations, 1898-1946.* Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press in cooperation with the University of Wisconsin-Madison Center for Southeast Asian Studies Center. 549 pp.

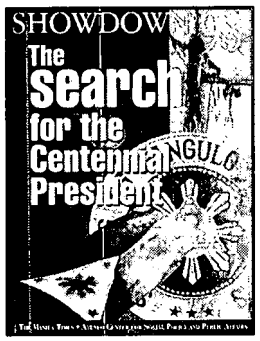
A long-time student and analyst of Asian economic development, Frank Hindman Golay worked on this final book before his death in 1990, a "monumental re-examination of Philippine-American relations under colonial rule." Published posthumously, the book traces the development of U.S. colonial policy in the Philippines and probes into the hidden forces that shaped American colonial objectives. Golay concludes that the U.S., a country he dearly loved, betrayed its own well-intentioned effort at colonial development by dictating dishonorable terms of independence on an infant republic. As the book's Foreword states, imperialism tends to suffocate the initiative, enterprise and stamina of colonized countries.

In its opening chapter, the book describes the various factors behind America's decision to rule the Philippines as a colony. Golay argues that the decision was not a simple one, but was shaped by an international environment dominated by the industrializing powers of northwestern Europe, as well as by demographic, political and economic developments within the United States. Thirteen other chapters follow which discuss and analyze events and decisions that took place from 1899 to 1946, when the Philippines gained its independence from the United States.

John N. Schumacher, S.J. 1997.
The Propaganda Movement 1880-1895 (Revised Edition). Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 333 pp.

When the first edition of this book was published in 1974, Filipino historians had written off the Propaganda Movement as a more or less futile "reform movement" whose inadequacies would be overcome only by Bonifacio and the Katipunan. In coming out with this revised edition (the author notes that it does not contain major changes, only the correction of several minor factual errors, additional information on certain points, and updating of the bibliography), Schumacher reiterates major points which he made in the first edition, including the following: (1) that there was a reform movement from about 1880-1885, of Burgos and his colleagues in the Philippines, and of a good number of Filipinos in Europe who did not dare express themselves beyond this stage; (2) that after 1885, there was also a separatist movement led by the propagandists, chiefly Rizal and Marcelo H. del Pilar, and followed by a majority of Filipinos in Europe who, as time went on, advocated for eventual independence from Spain; and (3) that leaders of the Propaganda Movement were united by the goal of eventual independence from Spain but not on the strategy to be used.

Schumacher focuses attention on the European scene before the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution against Spain, rather than on the penetration of nationalist ideals in the Philippines or the activities and organizations at home which took their inspiration from the Propagandists abroad. Without the work of the Propagandists, Schumacher argues that there could have been a revolt in 1896, but there would not have been the Revolution. A revolution presupposes a state where a people have formed a consciousness of their own identity and unity as a nation. The creation of that sense of national self-identity was the work of the Propaganda Movement.



Greg Bankoff. 1996
Crime, Society, and the State in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 251 pp.

Bankoff's book is based on his dissertation on peace and order in the Philippines in the 1800s. Making use of crime records and other historical sources, Bankoff's work describes the dominant values of society and popular culture at a time characterized by a confrontation in the world views of colonizers and the colonized. Who committed crimes and why, why they were deemed reprehensible and by whom, provide insight into the behavior of ordinary citizens in the 19th century and how criminal behavior was affected by Spanish colonial policy and practice.

The book is divided into six chapters, namely: Chapter 1 - Crime, the Criminal, and the Context; Chapter 2 - Intramuros, Binondo and Tondo; Chapter 3 - Cavite, Camarines Sur, and the Hinterland; Chapter 4 - The Courts; Chapter 5 - The Police; and Chapter 6 - Punishment. Pictures, maps and diagrams are also provided in the book.

Rene D. Somera. 1997
Bordered Aging; Ethnography of Daily Life in a Filipino Home for the Aged. Manila: De La Salle University Press, Second Edition, 297 pp.

Based on the

author's doctoral dissertation, "Stairless Home for the Aged" (a pseudonym) is an addition to the growing literature on Filipino social gerontology. It complements quantitative and statistical studies which have been done on the elderly population in the country, and presents in-depth ethnographic information on the personal and social dimensions of the aging experience. Black and white sketches of the Home and of its residents add a certain charm to this unusual ethnography, which has the following chapters: Chapter 1 - Aging in Culture; Chapter 2 - The Context of Filipino Social Gerontology; Chapter 3 - Living Together; Chapter 4 - The Landscape of Aging in the Home; Chapter 5 - Of Managers and Wards; Chapter 6 - Voices and Themes; Chapter 7 - Denying Kin; Chapter 8 - Transformative Power; and Chapter 9 - Epilogue, or Practical Insights.

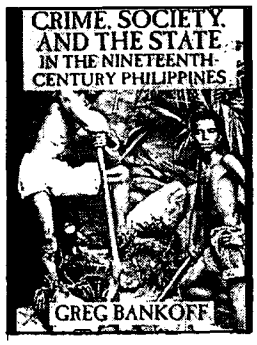
W. Scott Thompson and Wilfrido V. Villacorta (Editors). 1996
The Philippine Road to NIChood. Manila: De La Salle University and Social Weather Stations. 254 pp.

This book, consisting of 17 papers, is the final output of two conferences which were held in 1996 to examine the trends and significance of the Philippine's march to a newly industrializing country, or NIChood. The first conference was held at Grande Island in Subic, Zambales and was participated in by leaders from academe, government, media and industry, to analyze the economic, political, and social aspects of the Philippine development experience since the restoration of democracy in 1986. The second conference was convened in Massachusetts at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, to assess the Philippines' socioeconomic progress. The conference was attended by both foreign and local observers of Philippine affairs.

The 17 papers that comprise the book are:

- *Introduction; The Democratic Road to NIChood: The Philippine Model* - Wilfrido V. Villacorta
- *A Gentler, Kinder Tiger* - Roberto F. de Ocampo
- *The Philippine Framework for Policy Reform* - Jose T. Almonte
- *Dynamism of Asia and the Pacific: Implications for the Philippines* - Tereso S. Tullao, Jr.
- *Observations on the Philippine Road to NIChood* - Steven Block
- *The Emergence of Nationhood: The Linguistic Evidence* - Andrew B. Gonzalez, FSC
- *Philippine Images: In Search of a New Identity* - Eduardo Lachica
- *The Philippine Road to NICdom* - W. Scott Thompson
- *Other Factors than Economics to Reach NIChood* - Seung Young Kim
- *The Political Capacity of the Philippine State in Facilitating NIChood* - Amando Doronila
- *Political Reform for Global Competitiveness: The Philippines in the 1990s* - Carolina G. Hernandez
- *Foreign Policy and the Quest for Philippine NIChood* - Domingo L. Siazon, Jr.
- *Challenges and Opportunities for Social Transformation in the Philippines* - Patricia B. Licuanan
- *A Survey Tour of the Philippines* - Mahar K. Mangahas
- *Changes in Philippine Society: Implications for NIChood* - Federico M. Macaranas
- *NIChood and Its Implications on Philippine Society* - Jose P. Leviste, Jr.
- *Closing Statement; The Philippines: On Its Way to NIChood* - Jose P. Magno

The Manila Times and the Ateneo Center for Social Policy and Public Affairs. 1998 Showdown '98; The Search for the Centennial President, 302 pp.



This book was inspired by a series of Leadership Forums in 1997, which had as paper presenters candidates for the presidential, vice-presidential and senatorial positions in the most recent May 1998 elections. Based on their perspectives and wide experience in government, candidates were asked to expound on the qualities which they felt were important for elective officials.

The book publishers thus conceptualized a book that would help the electorate choose the right person for the presidency by featuring exhaustive profiles and character sketches of those aspiring to become the next President of the Philippines. The profiles include those of Fidel V. Ramos, Jose C. de Venecia, Jr., Renato S. de Villa, Juan F. Ponce Enrile, Jose Marcelo Ejercito (aka Joseph Estrada), Alfredo S. Lim, Imelda R. Marcos, Emilio R. Osmeña, Raul S. Roco, and Miriam Defensor Santiago.

PSSC is offering the ***PSSC Social Science Information*** in exchange for the publications of other social science organizations. Those interested in entering exchange arrangements are enjoined to write to:

The Librarian
Frank X. Lynch Library
Philippine Social Science Council
PSSCenter, Commonwealth Avenue
Diliman, 1101Quezon City
Philippines
or
U.P. P.O. Box 205
Diliman, 1101Quezon City
Philippines

PSSC offers the following desktop publications assistance:

For:	Regular & Associate Members Rates per page	Non-Members
Encoding/lay-outing (2 proofs)	P 35.00/page	P 35.00/page
Light editing/proofreading	25.00/page	50.00/page
Laser-printing: final camera ready copy	15.00/page	15.00/page
Supervision/coordination for presswork	5% of the total printing cost	10 % of the printing cost

To avail of these services, please call (922-9621 local 318 (ask for Jayne or Elvie) or visit us at 2nd Floor, PSSCenter Commonwealth Avenue, Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines.

Back Issues of
PSSC SOCIAL SCIENCE INFORMATION
Available from the PSSC Central Subscription Service

Year	Volume	Year	Volume	Year	Volume	Year	Volume
1973		1979	7 (1)		12 (4)		19 (3)
1 (1)			7 (2)		12 (5)		19 (4)
1 (2)	1974		7 (3)	1985	13 (2)	1992	20 (1)
2 (1)			7 (4)		13 (3)		20 (2)
2 (2)		1980	8 (2)		13 (4)		20 (3)
2 (4)	1975		8 (3)	1986	14 (1)	1992-1993	20 (4)-21 (1)
3 (2)			8 (4)		14 (2)		
3 (3)		1981	9 (1)		14 (3)	1993-1994	21 (2-3)
3 (4)	1976		9 (2)		14 (4)		21 (4)-22 (1)
4 (1)			9 (3)	1987	15 (3-4)		
4 (2)			9 (4)	1988	16 (1-2)	1994	22 (2-4)
4 (3)		1982	10 (1)		16 (3-4)	1995	23 (1-2)
4 (4)	1977		10 (2)	1989	17 (1)		23 (3-4)
5 (1)			10 (3)		17 (2)	1996	24 (1-2)
5 (2)			10 (4)		17 (3-4)		24 (3-4)
5 (3)		1983	11 (2)	1990	18 (1)	1997	25 (1)
5 (4)	1978		11 (3)		18 (2)		25 (2)
6 (1)			11 (4)		18 (3)		
6 (2)		1984	12 (1)		18 (4)		
6 (4)			12 (2-3)	1991	19 (1-2)		

Price per issue: 1973-1978 = P 5; 1979-1984 = P8; 1985-1986 = P 10; 1987-1990 =P15; 1991-1995 = P20-40; 1996-1997 = P 90

Subscription Form
PSSC Social Science Information

Please enter my subscription to *PSSC Social Science Information* for one year.

Enclosed is my payment in the amount of _____(P/US$_____).

Name: _____

Address: _____

Annual Rates (Two issues): **Local**: P180.00 * **Foreign**: US$20.00. Provincial subscriptions must be paid by postal money order.

Send subscription form to:

PSSC Central Subscription Service
Philippine Social Science Council
PSSCenter, Commonwealth Avenue
Diliman, Quezon City
Tel. Nos.: 922-9621 to 30 * FAX: (632) 924-4178

Republic of the Philippines
Department of Transportation and Communications
PHILIPPINE POSTAL CORPORATION
National Capital Region
Legal Affairs Section
1000 Manila

SWORN STATEMENT

The undersigned, GENARO NICOLAS JACOB, editor/managing editor/business manager, an employee of the Philippine Social Science Council, owner/publisher of the PSSC Social Science Information, a quarterly newsletter-cum-journal published in English with office address at Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC) Inc., Commonwealth Avenue, Diliman, Quezon City, entered as third class mail at UP Post Office, after having been sworn to in accordance with law hereby submits the following sworn statement of ownership and circulation, which is required by Act 2580 as amended by Commonwealth Act No. 201.

	Address
Editor Genaro Nicolas Jacob	PSSCenter, Commonwealth Avenue, Diliman, Quezon City
Business Manager PSSC Central Subscription Service	-do-
Owner/Publisher Philippine Social Science Council	-do-

In case of publication other than daily, total number of copies printed and circulated of the last issue dated April 1994 to December 1994.

Sent to paid subscribers 150
Sent to others than paid subscribers 200
Total

RECEIVED
MAIL PERMIT-PC
OPLEAJR
3/24/95

GENARO N. JACOB
signature over printed name

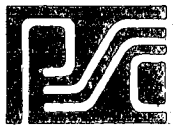
Subscribed and sworn to before me this 18th day of April 1995 at Quezon City, affiant exhibited to me his Res. Cert. No. 1173837 C, issued at Quezon City on 17 January 1995.

DOMINGO C. SALITA
signature over printed name
of person to administer oath
Notary Public
Until December 31, 1996

* No documentary stamp needed.

DOC. NO. 135
PAGE NO. 27
BOOK NO. I
SERIES OF 1995

ATTY. LEE PALMA VICERAL
NOTARY PUBLIC
PTR 0299137 11-13-95 MANILA
UNTIL DECEMBER 31, 1996



SOCIAL SCIENCE INFORMATION

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

May be opened for postal inspection