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Foreword

This issue of the *PSSC Social Science Information* attempts to bring to a wider public several papers which were previously delivered by noted Filipino social science and humanities scholars at various international conferences in 2001 and 2002. The scholars received conference/travel grants from PSSC.

Two of the papers expound on written sources dealing with Philippine History, informing the reader of the historical and sociological implications of demographic data as these were collected by Spanish and American colonial administrators (Francis A. Geologo "Beyond the Numbers: Colonial Demography and the Representation of the Native in the Philippines") and some Spanish sources on Cordillera ethnic communities (Digna B. Apilado, "Viewing the Igorrotes: Notes on Some Spanish Sources on Northern Luzon Ethnic Communities").

A group in the Cordillera is further described by Ana M. T. Labrador in her paper on Bontoc Basketry ("The Place of Indigenous Objects in Museum Conservation") as she calls for more professional training in the conservation and display of cultural items in Philippine museums.

Two papers describe Filipino personality and behaviors. Gregorio E.H. del Pilar presents the results of his study on "Extraversion in Differential Psychology and Experience Balance in the Rorschach," and Mely D. Silverio writes on "Sexual Minorities among Contemporary Filipino Youth: Empirical Evidence on Homosexuality and Bisexuality from the 1994 Young Adolescent Fertility Survey."

The last two papers are in the field of Communication. Isabel Pefianco Martin discusses "How Content Area Teachers Mark Written Work: Implications for Language Curriculum and Instruction" based on a survey she made of teachers at the Ateneo de Manila University. On the other hand, Mary Ebitha Y. Dy analyzes the role of communication in encouraging people to participate in development efforts ("Winning Moves: Public Information Resources Access and Participation Strategies [The Philippine Experience]").

Viewing the Igorrotes: Notes on Some Spanish Sources on Northern Luzon Ethnic Communities*

DIGNA B. APILADO

The word "Igorrotes" was the common term used in 19th century colonial Philippines to refer to several ethno-linguistic groups of people who lived in the mountain region called the Gran Cordillera Central of the northern Luzon island. Much of the written information about the Igorrotes in the 19th century was derived from Spanish sources and a few other European accounts. Filipinos of that time who had direct contact with the Igorrotes, such as those in the Ilocos or Cagayan regions, may have had reliable information but no written accounts by them are known at present. A survey of published Spanish sources available in Philippine libraries indicates that what was written about the Gran Cordillera people was a combination of the factual and mythical, with the mythical aspect of the Igorrotes given much emphasis and sometimes dominance in many instances of personal narratives. This paper looks at what Spanish sources had written about the Igorrotes, and by contrasting the factual and the mythical contained in these writings, to determine how the Igorrotes were represented, and then to examine the factors which could explain why Igorrotes were viewed in this manner.

My interest in the representation of Igorrotes is primarily the historical rather than the ethnological. More changes took place in the Gran Cordillera Central from the 1820s to the 1890s than in the previous two centuries, and the contrast between the dynamic changes in the Cordillera on the one hand, and static perceptions and representation of the indigenous population as viewed by the Spaniards who were the primary agents of change on the other, is striking. Further, these published writings had an impact on the emerging Filipino nationalism of the period, and raised questions about how the Filipino intellectuals would define a national identity in terms of the Igorrotes. Finally, an examination of the mythical and the factual would help in understanding how history gets to be written in the context of colonialism.

The history of the Igorrotes (or interchangeably in English, Igorots) is also a history of both the Spanish colonial conquest and the initiatives and responses of Filipinos of the Gran Cordillera Central. Most of the published Spanish sources used here were written by friar missionaries, whose religious orders have undertaken the task of printing these memoirs as a record of their missionary endeavor. The most important field reports by military commanders such as Guillermo Galvey or Mariano Oscariz have not been published as far as I know, and remain as manuscript documents in archives in the Philippines and elsewhere. The limited accessibility of materials has therefore given this study a bias toward the perspective of the religious orders that sent missions to the Cordillera, namely the Dominicans and the Augustinians.

James Leroy (1903) dismissed Spanish sources as "strictly speaking from the scientific point of view, unreliable or, in some cases, worthless." The value of these friar accounts however is threefold. First, the friars stayed for extended periods with the Igorrotes and observed and communicated with the local population more intensively than other visitors, such as the Germans who visited the Cordillera (Meyer, Schandenberg, Semper, von Drasche, 1975). Second, the friars kept records of their activities and of developments in the area over several decades, and used these records in reference to their present accomplishments, thus, a comparison of sources from different decades that record both continuity and

*This paper was originally prepared for the 4th European Philippine (Europhil) Studies Conference in Alcala, Spain from 9-12 September 2001. The author is an associate professor at the Department of History, University of the Philippines-Diliman.

change. Third, the friars tried to show a more sympathetic attitude toward the people they wanted to convert as future Christians, and not merely regarded them as enemies to be subjugated by military might. Although their curiosity about the people was in pursuit of their objective of religious conversion, the friars included the Igorrotes, as a group and even as individuals, as part of their written records.

The sources mentioned in this paper could be labeled by some misguided Filipinos in the name of nationalism as useless to research, merely being the history of the Spanish in the Cordillera. But a closer reading would show that these are among the most important sources for writing a history of Igorrote-Spanish encounter. Even from a Spanish perspective, these are the means of retrieving the voices, that might have otherwise been lost for posterity, of the 19th century Igorrotes and Christian Filipinos who spoke out in defense or in behalf of their people.

From these accounts we can conclude a number of things. One is that the Cordillera Igorrotes were one of the most documented ethnic groups by the end of the 19th century, whether in comparison with that of lowland Christian groups (Ilocanos, Ibanags) or of other Gran Cordillera ethnic groups such as the Tingguianes or the Apayaos and Kalingas. Second, the idea of a distinct ethnic group called "Igorrotes/ Igorots" continued to persist despite the amount of information that had been gathered about the various ethnic communities during the three centuries of Spanish incursions. The various ethnic groups have been identified and their territories mapped, but the term Igorrotes (or Igorot) continued to be used, with a number of meanings or connotations. As late as 1918, with the publication of the histories of the Cagayan Valley provinces (1918) and the Provincia Montañosa by Fr. Julian Malumbres (1919), the author clarified that the term Igorrotes/Igorots referred to several Cordillera ethnic groups who were identified by other names, and yet, Fr. Malumbres himself still wrote of the Igorottes as if they were a separate ethnic category. In fact, the term Igorrotes encompassed groups identified at present as Ifugaos, Bontocs and Kankanaeys, including the subgroups within each.

Third, the word "Igorrotes" and "Igorots" have been accepted as the name for a number of the indigenous peoples of the Cordillera region, in both the vernacular languages of the Philippines and in more scholarly studies by European (and later American, e.g., Jenks 1905 or Worcester 1906) social scientists, such that there were at least two sets of meanings with different frames of reference.

The word Igorrote or Igorot had therefore come to acquire connotative meanings that carried the baggage of prejudice and of the unknowable as well as of the factual and the known. Thus, the mythic character that the name Igorrotes evoked by the end of the 19th century was still dominant despite factual data, the actual chronicled experience of informants and even scientific inquiry of a hundred years. The word Igorrote was always associated with headhunters, wild people, mountain men, non-Christian, owners of the reputed riches gold mines. Thus, the word "Igorrotes" was a combination of cultural, political, and economic concepts that have been descriptive of and had come to define the collective identity of the ethnic mountain communities of northern Luzon.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SOURCES

Any historian who writes on the Igorrotes owes much to William Henry Scott, the historian of the Gran Cordillera, whose work *The Discovery of the Igorots* (1974) provides much of the historical information on the Spanish-Igorrote encounter in the Cordillera. Dr. Scott used archival sources from the Philippines, Spain and the United States as well as published materials such as reports and chronicles by European residents and visitors. Dr. Scott put Cordillera history in a chronological scheme, with the 19th century divided into three periods (1800–1840, 1840–1880, 1880–1898). Each corresponds respectively to: the successful mapping of major areas of the Cordillera region, the establishment of the politico-military commands, and the Spanish occupation of the subjugated areas. Another important source for an overview of Cordillera history is *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon* (1964) by Felix Keesing. This comprehensive view of the peoples of Northern Luzon has a topical approach to historical and anthropological questions, used references of ethnographic and archival sources of the Spanish and American colonial era and has a strong theoretical framework for integrating the upland and the lowland regions (geographic, ethnic, linguistic) of the Cordillera, Ilocos, and Cagayan.

A brief chronological survey of primary Spanish sources would indicate the general trends in dealing with the Igorrotes as the 19th century unfolded. One of the best sources was written in the 1790s but presages the problems and issues of the future decades of the 19th century. Fr. Francisco Antolin, O.P., wrote one of the most comprehensive accounts which was published in 1789, *Notices of the Pagan Igorots in the Interior Island of Manila.* He discussed herein many aspects of the Igorrotes such as their possible racial origins, the reasons for their customs, the locations of their gold mines, and how they can be subjugated. These concerns would continue to be debated by succeeding generations of missionary friars to the Cordillera until 1898. Fr. Antolin's chronicle is indicative of how things stood at the beginning of the 19th century, and is therefore a marker by which other accounts could be compared.

Despite the frequent Igorrote attacks on travelers and Christian settlements, in the early 19th century, the friar missions already had an impact on the Igorrote population. Fr. Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga, O.S.A. in his *State of the Philippines in 1800* provided a comprehensive assessment of the colony's status in 1800, with a short report on the Igorrotes in the section on Ilocos Province and the Bishopric of Nueva Segovia. Fr. Zuñiga considered the Igorrotes as "wild beasts who should be tamed by conquering their hearts" through preaching as they cannot be subjected by military expedition. He noted that mission work and "untimely military expeditions" were often at cross-purposes, but that missionaries who stayed in the villages were respected despite the unverified reports of a friar who had been murdered. But he also noted that the Igorrotes had been raising tobacco in the mountains outside of the government monopoly system, and that the lowland residents of Ilocos were buying in quantity, which meant big revenue losses for the government. He also reported the sale of tribal war captives in the Christian towns, many of whom were purchased by Spaniards, and that he himself had bought two little girls as slaves for another person. Many Igorrotes had come down from remote mountains to settle in new communities near Christian towns in Ilocos while the trade in Igorrote gold for lowland animals and woven cloth continued, so that Fr. Zuñiga seemed optimistic that additional missions would hasten the conquest of the Cordillera.

Sinibaldo de Mas was the Spanish minister to Beijing when he visited the Philippines in 1842. His report on the Igorrotes contained in the *Informe Sobre el Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842* began with the observation that the "independent tribes that live in the center of the islands without having been subjugated up to the present, either by benefit of missions or force of arms" was a "great disgrace to the Spanish government." The report includes place names where the gold and copper mines were, including a brief description of the tunnels. The principal towns of the Igorrotes were mentioned (Benguet, Bocod, Cabayan, Buguias, etc.) but other groups (and the villages they occupied) were also identified, such as the Burik, the Busao, and the Ifugao, groups that had been lumped together under the general term Igorrotes in earlier accounts. Thus, the word Igorrotes could expand or contract to include unknown groups and also used simultaneously to refer to the various groups of the Gran Cordillera.

The *Diccionario Geografico-Estadistico-Historico de Filipinas* of Fr. Manuel Buzeta, O.S.A. and Fr. Felipe Bravo (1850) contained several entries on place names, geographic areas, and ethnic groups all over the Cordillera. The word Igorrotes does not appear as an entry or item. Searching for data on the Igorrotes necessitates going through all the entries, which is the main difficulty in using the dictionary. Moreover, there are several inaccuracies in a number of items referring to lowland Christian towns and provinces. It is highly likely that there are many more inaccuracies in the entries referring to places and peoples of the Cordillera. Nevertheless, the dictionary's authors had compiled an enormous amount of data on the peoples of Northern Luzon as well as on topographical landmarks which are not available in other sources of this period. Buzeta and Bravo cited dozens of place names, many of them now forgotten, in areas all over the Cordillera Central with the corresponding latitudes and longitudes. This would indicate the places that were reached by the military expeditions and surveyed. Of major importance is the effort of the authors to use more accurate means such as ethnic mapping and population data of the ethnic communities rather than personal narratives by friars or military officials.

Fr. Jose Ma. Ruiz published the *Memoria: Pobladores, Aborigenes, Razas Existentes y sus Variedades, Religion, Usos y Costumbres de los Habitantes de Filipinas* for Exposicion General de las Islas Filipinas held in Madrid in 1887. The *Memoria* can be regarded as a summing up of the state of ethnographic studies on the Philippines. This appears to be the most in keeping with a scientific orientation and method of presentation although a lengthy introduction discusses the perceived negative traits of the Filipino people and thus their inferior character. The data herein is actually extensive and presumably, part of the standard knowledge of educated Filipinos, so that it is surprising to find a geography textbook published less than a decade earlier, *Lecciones de Geografica Descriptiva de Filipinas* (1878) by Felipe Ma. De Govantes declare that so little is known about the Igorrotes except that they were bloodthirsty, vengeful and warlike in the extreme. As the Igorrotes went into textbooks, so did the myths about them.

Rev. Fr. Angel Perez wrote *Igorots: Geographic and Ethnographic Study of Some Districts of Northern Luzon* in 1985, although it was published in 1902. The account of Fr. Perez is especially interesting for the dozens of vignettes and stories of individual persons in the Cordillera, including lowland Filipinos and Igorrotes that he includes. He also presents the viewpoints of soldiers, administrators, and missionaries. Finally, his book is an excellent counterpoint to the account of Fr. Antolin, as one can compare the conditions in the Cordillera at the beginning with those at the close of the 19th century. Fr. Julian Malumbres wrote three books, the *Historia de la Isabela* (1918), the *Historia de Cagayan* (1918) and the *Historia de Nueva Vizcaya y Provincia Montañosa* (1919) which quote extensively from Spanish missionary and military sources of the 19th century. He also includes insights and comments on a number of issues that have always preoccupied the observers of Igorrote culture. Although the books were published well into the 20th century, the content and perspective locate them in the 19th century.

The primary sources cited above, as well as other related auxiliary readings, were examined for their content, with particular emphasis placed on noting the statements of opinion and generalization about the Igorrotes and events or other matters in relation to them as against the sections which are factual and verifiable from other sources. In such manner, the myths can then be identified and then compared with the factual historical data.

MYTHS REGARDING THE IGORROTES

The sources cited above indicate the various ways in which the Igorrotes were perceived by Spanish observers. These perceptions have resulted in the representation of the Igorrotes of the 19th century in ways which can be called myths, in the sense that factual data is subsumed to biases or misperceptions, despite sufficient evidence to the contrary. The myths that emerged regarding the Igorrotes arose from the manifest interests of the Spanish colonial state in the Philippines. There are at least five myths that I have identified, namely, (1) the myth of Igorrote headhunting; (2) the myth of the Igorrote gold mines and Igorrote wealth; (3) the myth of the racial and cultural origins of the Igorrotes; (4) the myth of the pacified Igorrotes as wards of the colonial state; (5) the myth of the Igorrotes as subjects of scientific inquiry. These myths are extracted from the written and published accounts of Spanish observers. In the present-day era, these myths as descriptions of a non-Christian or non-Westernized ethnic community would be considered objectionable, but these myths correlate to perceptions common in the 19th century among European and Anglo-Saxon people. Moreover, even scholarly works of that period in the social sciences such as anthropology would support these myths according to the perspective of science.

What is interesting however is that facts found in the same sources often outweighed or contradicted these myths. The discrepancy may be understood by placing the myths in a historical context. The myths are not entire falsehoods nor outright fabrications, because there was some truth in each. But an accurate representation of ethnic groups, with methodology that contemporary social scientists currently use, was not yet possible in the 19th century. Factors such as incomplete information, personal biases and a human tendency to misperceive the strange or unfamiliar, in addition to racial prejudice of the Spanish observers, have resulted in distortions of factual representation. Moreover, the images that these myths project have become accepted through time as truthful and real. Through repetition in numerous accounts and the reproduction of textual sources, the myths have become powerful representations of the Igorrotes and have been absorbed into popular "knowledge." These myths persist to the present and are in fact amplified in Filipino contemporary culture, evident in the misrepresentation in movies and some television shows about the Cordillera people.

These myths arising from incomplete knowledge actually hides the corresponding transformations that occurred in the Cordillera from the beginnings of a systematic conquest in the 1810s to the final withdrawal of the Spanish presence in 1898. The myths would acknowledge changes resulting from economic and political policies emanating from

Madrid and Manila, but the emphasis is placed instead on what can be perceived more easily, that is, what is static and seemingly immutable.

Comparison and contrast between the facts and myth would rectify the distortions, and would therefore reveal a more accurate picture of the Spanish colonization in the Gran Cordillera as well as its impact on the upland and lowland communities involved. The data obtained from the same Spanish sources that generated the myths would shed light on the Igorrotes as historical figures, and with the perspective of the present day, we can understand the reality behind the myth, and an understanding of Cordillera history as part of the Filipino people's national history.

HISTORICAL FACTS AS COUNTERBALANCE TO HISTORICAL MYTHS

Igorrote Headhunting

The practice of taking heads as trophies of war seemed to be the most repulsive and frightening characteristic of the Igorrotes. Fr. Antolin and Fr. Perez included eyewitness accounts of the Igorrote's methods of taking heads, hands and feet of their enemies and the rituals of feasting that followed in their home villages. In the early 19th century, headhunting was explained in religious terms, that is, a Satanic-inspired tradition. By the end of the 19th century, a more complex explanation for the persistence of Igorrote head-taking had been formulated, based on the missionaries' experiences. Headhunting was due to several factors: the incitement by community elders who continued to be influential; the Igorrote religion which demanded the killing of humans to appease the spirits; the belief that a killing can be avenged only by a comparable taking of life; and that the entire community was also responsible because young and old, men and women participate in various aspects of the practice.

The Spanish state's responses, and the principles behind these, were more complicated. Late 18th century sources (such as Fr. Antolin's extended discourse) indicate the policy of the "just war," a medieval age theological concept that justified nonreligious motives. Waging a just war put forth the idea that the Igorrotes were an enemy that had to be defeated through a total conquest, and not just by religious conversion and co-optation as had been done in most of the lowland communities. But behind the simplicity of the theological concept were motivations of a more mundane nature. In that particular era, the conquest of the Cordillera was regarded by the Spanish authorities as an extension of and almost comparable to the heroic Conquest of the Americas. Further, the demands of a gold-driven mercantilistic economy that had developed in the Philippine colony compelled the search for more gold mines, of which the Igorrote lands had in legendary abundance. The government's tobacco monopoly was also being undermined by contraband tobacco raised in the uplands by Igorrotes. Finally, Spanish territorial occupation of the strategic area where the Gran Cordillera and the Caraballo mountain ranges converged, assured overland access to the Cagayan Valley from Manila. For so long as the Igorrotes there remained "untamed," no roads could be built, no mission could become permanent, trade could not be carried out, garrisons would be under constant threat and Christian towns would be open to frequent attacks of war parties.

In view of the cultural, economic and strategic objectives of the Spanish colonial state, waging a "just war" against the Igorrotes involved directives from the Spanish government that had the endorsement of the friars: to organize raiding parties in the border Christian communities to attack the Igorrotes; to encourage the taking of Igorrote captives to be distributed as slaves among the Christians, and even the taking of heads if necessary. The more systematic response was the military campaigns carried out from the 1820s and the gradual establishment of garrisons, then politico-military *comnadancias*, and a network of trails linking one fort to another. The formal commencement of war against the Igorrotes was the appointment of the *Comandante General de los Pais de Igorrotes*, Guillermo Galvey, followed by a succession of expeditions authorized from Madrid and Manila that resulted in the establishment of seven politico-military districts (Bonton, Tiagan, Lepanto, Kiangan, Amburaya, Benguet and Kayapa) in the southern Gran Cordillera by the 1880s.

The political consolidation of the Cordillera and the presence of garrisons did not really discourage the taking of heads. The practice of headhunting studied by anthropologists Michelle Rosaldo (1980) and Renato Rosaldo (1980) among the Igorots and Keesing and Keesing (1934) could shed some light on this practice among the Igorrotes. From a historical perspective, Igorrote headhunting was clearly a response to protect their territory from intruders. In warfare moreover where there was not much material wealth of the vanquished to loot, and where prowess in one-on-one combat is admired, the head, hands and feet of the vanquished could become valuable trophies. And although headhunting was regarded as an abomination to Western sensibilities, the earlier Spanish commanders had no qualms either about allowing the lowland soldiers and Igorrote allies under their command to take Igorrote heads should the chance occur. Even the missionary friars tacitly accepted headtaking as a legitimate military action, as long as it was Igorrote warriors' heads being cut off. Headhunting diminished with an increasing degree of state power and control over the villages, but intra-village feuds and raiding parties against weaker villages and the Spanish garrisons continued

By the late 19th century, the colonial officials had taken a different tack, in part because it was possible to make an assessment by then of their policies. It was acknowledged that the pressures of the Spanish presence had actually resulted in population decline in several villages by the 1840s. The pervasive presence of the mission outposts, Spanish desecration of sites sacred to the Igorrotes, the impositions of colonial demands such as forced labor (polo), tributes or mandatory schooling for little boys, and the altered economic landscape, all of which occurred within thirty years, were bound to create deep social and cultural stresses, and thus explain the sporadic outbreaks of headhunting raids. It is notable that such raids were initiated in areas which were already considered as pacified areas such as Bontoc and Sagada. Fr. Perez was accurate in his observation that the entire community was an accomplice to headhunting and recommended that the influential old men of a village who instigate the raids be arrested and taken away. This was actually applied following a bloody Bontoc raid in the 1880s, wherein several elders, two for every head taken, were punished with exile to the penal colony in Palawan. But headhunting continued to be attributed mainly to the Igorrotes' evil intentions; the colonial authorities had not made the connection between the breakdown of the traditional culture of the Igorrotes and the consequent violent response of communities under severe stress.

The Igorrote mines and Igorrote wealth

The existence of the Igorrote mines was known but their location had not been identified. The names of mining areas however, such as *Pancutcutan* or "place of diggings" were obtained from Igorrotes who traded their gold, and the friars used informants to find out where the mines were. One Christian Filipino was allowed by Igorrotes he had befriended to reach one of the mines but he was not allowed to enter the tunnels. The Filipino informant gave a detailed report to Fr. Perez of how the extraction of gold was done, but that particular mine the Igorrotes had allowed him to see could not be located again; the secret of the gold mines would be discovered only during the American colonial period. The frustration of the friars in not being able to pry out the exact location of the mines, and the refusal of the Igorrotes to give away their secret was described as characteristics of their greed and deceit. The Igorrotes having so much gold (and the Spaniards not having it) was also described as a grave injustice in the scheme of things, and the justifications to deny the Igorrotes their gold was explained thus: the Igorrotes have no use for so much wealth, they are savages anyway and do not deserve it, and the gold could be put to better use than the purchase of cheap blankets, lowland rice to make rice wine (the cause of weeks-long drunken binges) and animals butchered for their religious feasts (*cañao*).

There was also the question of the actual quantifiable wealth of the Igorrotes. Most of the friar missionaries had come to the conclusion that the Igorottes had enough wealth in the form of gold and assorted property that could be taxed. A frequently expressed statement was that most of the Igorrotes, including the chiefs, were really wealthy, and that the wretchedness of their appearance was due to laziness, low moral standards and sheer hardheaded contrariness. The Spanish government in Madrid had its own assessment that so much had already been spent for the expeditions, garrisons and trails in the Cordilleras and much to show for all the expenditure, either in added government revenue or in Christian converts. The Igorrotes were therefore a financial burden, mainly because of their refusal to engage in more productive activities, preferring instead a life of indolence, feasting and warfare.

But the Igorrotes's economic activities had actually been altered in many ways through interaction with the lowland regions since the late 18th century. The cutting of timber in the lower fringes of the Cordillera was already an established commercial enterprise by Igorrotes who manufactured, transported and traded the wooden boards in the lowlands of Ilocos and Cagayan. A thriving industry in Ilocos Sur, the construction of houses of the principalia class and of cargo ships that plied the Manila-Ilocos route, was supplied by Igorrote-made lumber boards. The government tobacco monopoly terminated in 1881 was in direct competition for decades with illegal tobacco cultivation by the Igorrotes who brought down an estimated thousands of kilos of contraband tobacco to trade.

The friars were diligent in bringing in commercial plants that would thrive in the Cordillera. For example, Fr. Perez carried coconut seedlings from Ilocos Sur to the uplands, which made for bulky, slippery and heavy cargo going up the mountains. No wonder that Fr. Perez expressed his heartfelt hope that the coconut trees would be taken care of by recipients and survive to fruit-bearing age. At one time or another, wheat and mulberry bushes were planted in commercial quantities in some of the comandancias such as Cervantes. By the 1870s, there were several plantations of coffee and oranges, owned by lowland Christians, Chinese, Europeans, and local Igorrote entrepreneurs who were not necessarily village chiefs. There was initial resistance from some of the poorer Igorrotes who claimed that they could not eat the coffee beans. Fr. Perez ascribed the reluctance to the Igorrotes' laziness and lack of foresight because the coffee plants and coconut trees could not be immediately harvested for profit. But he also said that there were tens of thousands of coffee plants that had been planted by the Igorrotes themselves. But those who made profit from coffee production were not the plantation workers, and when a coffee blight in the early 1880s wiped out the plants, even the plantation owners lost heavily.

Another change was in the commencement of commercial mining operations by Spanish and German prospectors/investors. A copper mine (and four mining claims) of the Cantabro-Filipina Company in Kayan was set up in 1864 that was mined by the local people and Chinese workers, as well as an iron pyrite ore mine in Suyoc during the 1870s. The copper mine's output was recorded at the thousands of hundredweight annually, even after most of the tunnels had been closed down in the 1880s. And the Igorrotes themselves continued to sell their gold in quantities worth thousands of pesos annually, with most of this extracted by traditional method from their own mines in Suyoc.

Moreover, there was one resource of Igorrote wealth that European eyes were oblivious to, most likely because it was of no profit in monetary terms: this was the extensive rice terraces carved out of the mountains in Ifugao and Bontoc. For example, in the notation of Fr. Juan Villaverde (Tejon, 1991), he described Mayoyao as rich in rice, and yet does not mention the thousands of terraced rice fields carved out of the mountains. Historian W. H. Scott (1974) noticed this too, saying that the Banaue rice terraces did not merit mention in many of the chronicles. There is one account from that of Fr. Malumbres which described the Mayoyao terraces as impressive and pleasing to the eyes, and posed the possibility of the area raising enough rice for export. The rice terraces were indeed a source of wealth and food for the Igorrotes, but not in terms of a capitalist market and surplus production. In truth, construction of the *padyaos* (terraces) took a long time (although James Alexander Robertson (1914) claimed that the Lo-o Valley terraces were built within only a hundred years) and that harvest was barely enough for local needs because of 1) the actual small area for planting, 2) the labor-intensive cultivation methods and 3) the relatively low yield of the rice plants.

Thus, market forces of free trade capitalism coupled with the earlier economic demands of the colonial state had already made an indelible change in the economic structures in the Cordillera. But the debate between friars, soldiers and administrators remained focused on whether Igorrotes who convert should be taxed more or less that those who do not. Don Fidel Hernandez, the administrator of Bontoc who favored tax exemption for Igorrotes, recognized the immense labor that went into production of low yield crops, and among the dissenting observers, he presented the most realistic assessment of the unyielding economic environment that would explain the material poverty of the Igorrotes, but he was a very rare and enlightened example.

THE MYTH OF THE RACIAL AND CULTURAL ORIGINS OF THE IGORROTES

An important puzzle for the Spanish and other Europeans was the racial origin of the Igorrotes and their cultural antecedents that they wanted to solve. A common hypothesis was that the Igorrotes were descendants of shipwrecked Chinese on account of their light complexion and supposedly slanted eyes. Another was that the religious practices of the Igorrotes were similar in many ways to the Japanese ancestor cult (Shinto religion). An explanation was sought by European social scientists through racial classification. By the mid-19th century, the question was seemingly resolved with the racial categories devised by among others, Ferdinand Blumentritt and the French traveler Joseph Montano who wrote an official report to the Ministry of Instruction of the French government in 1854. French travelers such as Jean Mallat (1846), Dr. Joseph Montano (1885) and Alfred Marche (1887) had also presented ethnic groupings and short comparative studies.

The German ethnologist Dr. Ferdinand Blumentritt (1882) had published a racial typology of indigenous Philippine populations while Hans Meyer, Alexander Schadenberg, and Otto Scheerer had done ethnic classifications, made measurements of Igorrotes as physical types, and had collected weapons, utensils personal ornaments and other cultural artifacts. The Spanish friars asked directly the Igorrotes what their antecedents were (and got stories of creation as a reply) and also made attempts at linguistic and ethnographic studies. The general conclusion seemed to be that the Igorrotes were Malays just like the other lowland Filipinos, and therefore of the same racial origins. But the references to Chinese ancestry and the racial classification of Filipinos as Indonesians or Malays would be quoted in many writings in the 20th century including current textbooks on Philippine history. The bottom line is that the Cordillera population has also undergone racial admixture through the centuries and that Igorrotes are racially akin to other Filipinos and not to the Chinese or Japanese.

What chroniclers chose to ignore, although they reported it nonetheless, was the Caucasian admixture among the Igorrotes. There was one Cordillera community with several persons having European features, reportedly the descendants of Spanish deserters from Cagayan, and there was the son of an Englishman who was brought to Manila as a child to be raised in a "civilized" environment but chose to become an Igorrote, returning to his mother's village after twenty years. In addition, there was no doubt that there were Chinese and lowland Filipino intermarriages too with Igorrote women. The friars were of two minds about the miscegenation they witnessed. Of a European whose Igorrote wife kept a neat household, Fr. Perez noted that this was due to the husband's good influence, but of a Spanish lieutenant with an ill-kept home, he attributed to the Igorrote wife.

The myth of the pacified Igorrotes as wards of the colonial state

There was a rough criteria for determining who were the pacified Igorrotes and those who remained "independent" or not subjugated. The pacified Igorrotes were those who had been baptized as Christians; who had willingly resettled in the new comandancia centers; who dressed as did the lowland Filipinos; who did not engage in headhunting; who cultivated crops other than rice; who allowed their small children to attend the primary schools, even if only sporadically. There were therefore degrees of pacified and civilized and permutations of wild/savage and tamed/civilized based on that criteria.

The Spanish colonial government manifested a paternalistic but imperial treatment for pacified or friendly Igorrotes. A common practice of the missionary friars was to distribute clothing, tobacco and even silver coins to Igorrote men and boys in friendly villages. Several chiefs were brought down to Manila and presented to the government officials in 1830. Governor-General Valeriano Weyler made the arduous travel to the Cordilleras to visit the comandancias and nearby villages in the 1880s. Helpful Igorrote warriors were recruited as guides and soldiers, and some were appointed as *maestre de campo*. Acts of valor by Igorrote soldiers were given medals of recognition.

But there was also a less benign side as illustrated by the warrior Kapitan Lao-lao's sad story. He was a fighter and guide for the Spanish, and was one of the people brought to be exhibited in Madrid in 1887. When he returned to his home village, some men thought that he had brought home much gold from the Spanish king, so they asked Lao-lao to sponsor a big feast. There was no gold reward, and so Lao-lao declined; his refusal was taken as an insult and there was an attempt on his life. Lao-lao killed the would-be-assassin, and then presented himself to the local commander to seek justice. He was arrested instead for murder, then brought down to the provincial jail in Vigan, Ilocos Sur to face punishment, to show that the law of Spain now prevailed in the Igorrote villages. The heroic battles he had fought for Spain and the Spanish lives saved by the Igorrote warrior had in the end counted for nothing.

The friar missionaries had a genuine desire that the Igorrotes be baptized as Christians, as this would make them less "savage," that is, no longer prone to indulging in acts of violence and excess. But when one looks at the available figures, the ratio of Christians against that of the unbaptized is on the average in 1898 about one in twelve, and the non-Christian population may well have been under-reported. What puzzled the missionaries was that so few of them were willing to convert, although they were willing to send their children to the catechism classes and attend primary schools for boys in the larger mission communities. Fr. Perez quotes directly the men he had asked about this persistence in their beliefs, and partly to show the faulty reasoning of his flock, who claim the traditional religion of the Igorrotes provided an explanation for their existence on earth, which the Catholic dogma could not.

The establishment of new towns and comandancias was always accompanied by appropriately grand ceremony. A description of the inauguration of the garrison of Mayoyao in the 1880s described two lines of little Igorrote girls and boys, saluting the Spanish flag as it was flown up the pole, as hundreds of more cheered from the sidelines. The expeditions to the mountains were supported in part by fund-raising activities, such as the annual ball organized by the wife of the Navy commander in Manila to raise funds and used clothing for the Cordillera missions.

The phenomenon of Igorrote men and women wearing the cast-off clothing of Manila Spaniards matched with the indigenous breechcloth or knee-length skirt was noted time and again by the friars as one of the most bizarre and laughable sights that European eyes could behold. The Igorrotes themselves explained that Western clothing was a hindrance to their daily life of climbing mountains or planting in rice paddies, and yet the Igorrotes were made to accept the charitable gesture and to dress according to Western standards of decency. But when the last of the Spanish officials fled the Cordillera region in the midst of the Philippine Revolution in 1898, the missionaries generally believed that the Cordillera Igorrotes were once again lost to the darkness of savagery, a bitter realization that the Igorrotes had not really been tamed and pacified by cross or by sword.

Igorrotes as Subjects and Objects of Scientific Study

The racial and ethnic diversity of the Philippine archipelago was a worthy subject of scientific research. As subjects of scientific study, the indigenous peoples, so unlike the Europeans in appearance and culture, were worth exhibiting. For the 1886 World Exposition in Madrid, ten persons from the Cordillera were brought to Spain. American anthropologists had often belittled their Spanish counterparts, but twenty years later in the St. Louis Exposition of 1904, they were exhibiting Filipinos that the Bureau of Non-Christian tribes had catalogued and who had been befriended by anthropologists in the employ of the Department of Interior. Such an exhibit would be unthinkable in contemporary times, but this was a fairly common practice then, as the territorial and cultural space of the "savage" or "wild" people was shrinking in the face of expanding knowledge and actual occupation of their lands by outsiders and a new wave of colonizers.

The exhibition of live people in the name of social science and the sensational emphasis on the "wild" people as representative of the Philippine population was protested by the Reformists. Rizal, in particular, with his compassionate view, felt that the live exposition not only demeaned the people exhibited, but that it also presented a false picture of Filipinos, and was possibly an underhanded tactic by reactionary elements to diminish Filipino people in the eyes of the Spanish public. The Igorrote exhibit had quite an impact on Madrilenos who saw them. Enrique Taviel de Anrade recalled in his memoirs that Antonio Luna, one of the Filipino expatriate reformists who had a rather dark complexion and fierce facial expression, was pointed out as an Igorot a number of times in the street, and Antonio regarded such incidents as a personal affront. That the Filipino expatriate Reformists' solidarity with the exploited and oppressed people of the colony had clashed with the attitude of cultural superiority and class entitlement of the educated and Westernized Filipino elite had shown one consequence of colonialism. This ambivalence demonstrated the contradictions of ethnic and national identity that colonial rule had wrought and that the Filipinos, working for international recognition and in the process of defining their own cultural identity, had to resolve.

CONCLUSION

The Igorrotes had assumed a mythical role in the consciousness of the Spanish colonizers and of their fellow lowland Filipinos. The word Igorrote was a shorthand for negative characteristics of mountain people, the framework for stories and tales of encounters with them. The myths were not outright falsehoods but were a combination of facts and misperceptions that had gained a life of their own. Michel Foucault had argued that describing a subject is to circumscribe it and thus exert power over it. In the context of expanding Spanish colonization of the Cordillera region, such myths were the means as well as the products of domination and imperialist control. The myths were used as an explanation for the process of subjugation and integration, but which presented static images rather than the dynamics of interaction of economic, social and cultural forces at work in the 19th century. For the Filipino student of history, the myths can be used as a take-off point for examining the reality behind it, but they should be identified clearly as myths without much substance. The historical realities were so much more interesting, and have the explanatory power and predictive value that myths do not have for those who would study the history of the Filipino people as a nation.

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Beyond the Numbers: Colonial Demography and the Representation of the Native in the Philippines*

FRANCIS A. GEALOGO

Colonial demography is oftentimes viewed as one of the most value free and neutral terrain of colonial reckoning of the native experience. Expressed in numbers, the accounting of inhabitants according to their various modes of existence is usually done through statistical tables and other forms of numerical expressions which seemingly represent conditions as they happened.

But far from being neutral, colonial sources of demographic statistics were means of establishing colonial classification, categorization, and organization which orders native existence according to the representations of the colonial mind. Categorizations based on race, class, ethnicity, gender, and civilization were actually manifestations of the colonial representation with all its attendant racist, patriarchal, hegemonic bias.

The paper intends to provide a critique to this seemingly neutral positioning of the colonial statistical sources by putting forward an analysis of the values, orientations, and perspectives expressed in the organization of these sources. Local spiritual account lists, foreign travel guides, colonial censuses, statistical guides for officials, as well as published statistical manuals will all be analyzed in order to highlight the thesis of the paper.

In the process, the representation of the native in the colonial mind, as expressed in these sources, will manifest the manner of categorization, classification, organization and ordering of the subject in a hierarchical mode, with the hegemonic power at the apex.

Keywords: Colonial demography; sources; representation of Filipinos

INTRODUCTION

To most historians, the use of quantitative population data of past societies provides excellent opportunities at recreating past social conditions without encountering the problem of having to deal with the subjective bias and partisan orientation of qualitative historical narratives. For who would think that numerical representations of past populations would not represent an objective, value-free and bias-immune source which serve as basis for the reconstruction of past social conditions? Cer ·uses, population counts, household listings of inhabitants and similar sources provide the historian with the best chance to construct the historical narrative of past social conditions without worrying about the possibility of subjective bias of the source intervening with the academic historical discourse. One would think, therefore, that discoursive bias based on domination and hegemony, together with all the other potential problems of historical perspective associated with the production of knowledge based on Orientalist, patriarchal and racist discourse analogous with the abuses and violence of colonial occupation would be minimized if one is to resort to the use of historical demographic sources.

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The aim of this paper is to provide a critical examination of colonial demographic sources as systematic sources indicative of the sophisticated forms of the colonial establishment's attempt at categorizing, classifying, cataloguing, describing, and reducing the dominated population into systematic ordering and subservience. These sources, though superficially reflective only of the numerical expression of the subject population, were also indicative of the type of knowledge production geared towards representing the native based on the dominant and dominating ideology of colonial discourses. Ideas on how people are to be clustered according to systems of hierarchies are reduced in numerical expressions to facilitate the application of colonial programs. These systems of hierarchies were often grounded on the colonial perspectives' categorization of people based not only on common categorizations of population as age, sex, ethnicity and nationality. The systems of hierarchies of the colonial mind also reduced the native according to the degree of subjection and conversion that the native has received; the extent of success or failure of civilizational program applied on the native; and the experience of progress and development of the subject peoples and its role in the transformation of the native. Statistical tables of population counts, therefore, mirror the colonial ideas of categorization and classification of the population according to the system of hierarchies and power structures of the social establishment.

SPANISH SYSTEM OF POPULATION ACCOUNTING

The Spanish colonial establishment's system of presenting population data is oriented towards the fulfillment of the spiritual-bureaucratic requirements of reducing the natives into colonial subjection. The policy of the reduccion, therefore, goes beyond the resettlement program of providing new spatial definition of indigenous orientation of habitation and the clustering of disparate and numerous settlements into compact communities. The policy was, on hindsight, also aimed at reducing the native existence into the numerical and statistical requirements of the colonial program towards the realization of spiritual, bureaucratic and labor orientation of the establishment.

The population tallies were varied and of differing qualities and orientation. Most of these are found in sources differently titled as *Planes de Almas* (literally, "plans of souls") *Estados de Almas, Padron de Almas*, or *Padron General*. These sources are either numerical listings of the subject population based on different categories, or listings of the names of the inhabitants of a colonial administrative unit.

One orientation which is manifested in these sources is the system of spiritual accounting and population counts. As one historian puts it, it is a system of accounting for souls (Cullinane 1998), an ecclesiastical means of providing population data. Included in these listings are numerical representations of the native population according to the state of their religious activities. Demographic experiences of fertility, mortality, and nuptiality, are all reflected in the Catholic religious experiences that the native undergoes: the performance of baptism, burial and marriage rites, as recorded by the Spanish cura parroco. Demographic events consequently assume a Catholic dimension, in this regard.

Moreover, the transitions that each native must undertake in order to complete the process of spiritual rites are also reflected in the sources. Thus, people who were no longer classified as children, but not yet to be considered as tribute-paying adults, were oftentimes presented either as solteros de confesion; solteros de communion; or solteros de solo confesion (or single men and women who have undergone confession, communion, or those who have undergone confession but had not yet undergone communion, respectively) (Cullinane 1998). These categories indicate not only the categories of age groups that the indigenous people were being classified, but more importantly, the degree of spiritual conversion and religious rites that the natives experiences.

The degree of success or failure of religious conversion is also manifested in these listings. Most frontier settlements, for example, would normally list down *infieles, paganos* or other similar groups who were listed as new converts to the Christian faith. Chinese migrants who were converted to the faith were also included in most lists of settlements, especially trading centers.

This system of accounting for souls also reflects the administrative and bureaucratic orientation of the said population counts. Together with the presentation of the spiritual events as demographic experiences, the listings also provide us with an idea of how the bureaucratic enterprise was being reflected in the sources mentioned. Adult population were not only being counted as individuals but also as clusters of tribute payers, forced laborers, and deliverers of the required quota of goods by the colonial establishment. Thus, the propensity to establish population counts assumes significance not only for the spiritual accounting of the subject population, but also for the mobilization of labor and produce for the colony. Categories such as *tributantes, pavulos* or *clases reservados*, therefore, were not necessarily based on the state of spiritual conversion that these sectors of society undergo. It more significantly mirrors the number of productive labor available, and the number of dependent people relying on the support of these productive sectors. For administrative purposes, therefore, population counts assume significant characteristics, as these supply the colonial bureaucracy with the data necessary to account for labor mobilization, tax collection or product procurement.

Another significant aspect of this bureaucratic-administrative function of the population counts is the list of classes of people classified as exempted from the bureaucratic exaction of the colonial establishment. For example, population lists often include the number of individuals exempted from tribute payment or the rendering of forced labor services. Usually, they are called *clases reservados* which are subcategorized into three: *reservados por edad, reservados por enfermedad,* or *reservados por privilegio.* These categories were indicative of the number of inhabitants in a colonial settlement who were classified as exempted classes due to age, infirmity or disability, or class status.

Some questions need to be raised in this regard. Since old people were categorized as exempted from payment of taxes, the rendering of forced labor and the required quota of produce for the government, how much of conscious age misreporting was being done on the part of the local population in the records in order to do away with the colonial exactions? In some of the *Padron Generales* or *Vecindario* lists that I examined, an obvious trend towards more aged population is reflected. How many of these people were indeed to be classified as old people exempted from tribute payment? How many of those in the lists were simply reporting to be over sixty years old just to be exempted from various colonial requirements applied to people of productive years? The same may be the case for the exempted classes due to sickness or disability. Some *Vecindario* lists, for example, report an abnormally high rate of people classified as *loco* (insane). The per capita rate of insanity as indication of mental health in some communities, for example, were unbelievably high that one may wonder what happened to the community that seemed to have suffered tremendously from an epidemic of insanity that might have just plagued such a great number of people. Again, the possibility of misreporting for the potential exemption that it may bring seems quite apparent. This may indicate how, despite the sophisticated and elaborated measures adopted by the colonial establishment at utilizing population counts for administrative functions, the classical weapons of the weak may be at work (Scott 1985).

A corollary issue that may be mentioned is the ability of the indigenous population engage in a sort of discursive negotiation for the betterment of their lot. Age and health misreporting may indicate the capacity of some members of the local population to circumvent administrative rules, but these will simply be passed on to another sector. As native principalias were expected to meet quota requirements, incurring deficits due to misreporting may mean the end of one's economic status for the local elite. Moreover those who cannot misdeclare one's conditions without being obviously seen as circumventing the rules were actually the ones forced to shoulder the deficiencies of the community. The conflicts and contradictions, which may result in the imbalanced reporting of population counts, may lead to furthering the social tensions experienced on the local level. These are spatial arenas for negotiations stemming from population counts, which social historians may be interested in looking at.

Be that as it may, these conditions present tremendous challenge to the demographic historian as these will further complicate the reconstruction of a community's demographic past with such problematic orientation in the sources. The rates of dependency, the community's age structure, and even the state of health of the local population must consider these various tendencies before venturing into generalizations.

Another notable feature of the Spanish colonial system of presenting population counts is its remarkable orientation towards racial hierarchies. In most *Boletin Estadistica* of the nineteenth century, for example, population figures were categorized according to racial classification, based on nationality, place of birth, and ethnicity. The first in the list were the *Peninsulares*, sometimes referred to as *Espanoles*

Europeos. Next came the *Insurales* or *Espanoles Filipinos*. The non-Spanish foreign population comes next, which includes other Europeans and the Americans of the United States. The *mestizos* come next, which includes both the offsprings of Spanish and native marriages and those of Chinese and native relations. The population of the *indio* and the Chinese occupy the bottom of the list.

The late nineteenth century witnessed the dramatic shift in the presentation of racial categories as reflected in the population counts. This transformation mirrors the changing socioeconomic conditions of the archipelago during the period. Most listings follow the format with the new categorization. *Espanol* (Europe-born and Philippine born), *mestizo Espanol, Idio Principal, Mestizo Sangley, Extranjero, Indio* and Chinese. The new system reflects the elaboration of the system of racial hierarchies, as reflected in the distinction between the two types of mestizo population and the retention of the Chinese as the lowest racial category in the population counts. Racial categories are also coming to terms with categories of class and status. The increasing status of native principalia and the growing involvement of mestizo Sangley population in the integration of the local economy to the emerging global capitalist market may be contributory factors in the reappropriation of population hierarchies to categories based on race and status.

POPULATION COUNTS AND THE AMERICAN IDEAS OF PROGRESS AND CIVILIZATION

Taking over from the Spanish colonial authorities, the American forces faced armed resistance from the local population. The need to immediately pacify the new colonial possession became an urgent and immediate task for the new colonizer. The undertaking of a nationwide Census under the American colonial regime was regarded as a direct requisite of an emerging form of pacification of the local population. According to Section 6 and 7 of the Philippine Bill of 1902,

> "Section 6. That whenever the existing insurrection in the Philippine Islands shall have ceased and a condition of general and complete peace shall have been established therein and the fact shall be certified to the President by the Philippine Commission, the President, upon being satisfied thereof, shall order a Census of the Philippine Islands to be taken by said Philippine Commission...
>
> "Section 7 That two years after the completion and publication of the census, in case such condition of general and complete peace with recognition of the authority of the United States shall have continued in the territory of said Island not inhabited by Moros or other non-Christian groups, and such facts shall have been certified to the President of the Philippine Commission, the President upon being satisfied thereof shall direct said Commission to call, and the Commission shall call, a general election for the choice of Delegates to a popular assembly of the people of said territory in the Philippine Islands, which shall be known as the Philippine Assembly..." (US Bureau of Census 1905).

It is clear that the undertaking of the Census of the population of the archipelago was based on two political, non-neutral conditions: the end of the "insurrection" of the Philippines and the elections for the Philippine Assembly. The census, therefore, became an integral part in the application of American hegemony in the Philippines.

In the conduct of the population counts, the Americans made sure that none of those who will taking the counts were "irreconcables" who were directly opposed to American rule. All census enumerators must undertake an Oath of Allegiance and Loyalty to the United States. For the supervisors and census enumerators, they have to take the oath as follows:

> "I, _______________, Supervisor of the _________________ supervisor's district, do solemnly swear that I recognize and accept the supreme authority of the United States of America and will maintain true faith and allegiance thereto, and that I will, to the best of my ability, enumerate or cause to be enumerated, all the inhabitants of such district, and will collect, or cause to be collected, the other statistical information with the same, as required by law or regulation, and will faithfully perform all the duties enjoined on me by law providing for the taking of the Census. So help me God" (US Bureau of Census 1905).

It is notable that the new colonizers' need to obtain legitimacy was reflected in the undertaking of the Census enumeration, that a basic requirement for the involvement in the project was the acceptance of American rule over the archipelago. The census became a part of the campaign for pacification and obtaining legitimacy for the new colonial establishment.

The organizational orientation of the American colonial regime was also reflected in the undertaking of the census program. The first characteristic of this orientation was that the basic leadership in the undertaking were American military officials. The Director of the Census of 1903, J.P. Sanger, was a Major General of the US Army. All the other census officials under him, from Assistant Director, Secretaries, Chief Clerks, disbursing officers and special agents for the wild tribes, were all Americans. Second, under these American officials were the local Philippine leaders. In most instances, the provincial organization comprised the census district and the local provincial governor of the provinces were the ones assigned as district supervisors. In fact, one major result in the undertaking of the census was the direct integration of the local elite in the colonial establishment.

In particular, the following local officials were assigned to be census supervisors: Gov. Julio Agcaoili (Ilocos Norte); Gov. Gracio Gonzaga (Cagayan); Gov. Juan Villamor (Abra); Gov. Francisco Dichoso (Isabela); Gov. J. Ortega (La Union); Gov. Potenciano Lesaca (Zambales); Gov. Macario Favila (Pangasinan); Gov. Epifanio de los Santos (Nueva Ecija); Gov. Alfonso Ramos (Tarlac); Gov. Ceferino Joven (Pampanga); Gov. Pablo Tecson Ocampo (Bulacan); Gov. Arturo Dancel (Rizal); Gov. Maximo Paterno (Manila); Gov. Juan Cailles (Laguna); Gov. Simeon Luz (Batangas); Gov. Bernardio Monreal (Sorsogon); Gov. Ricardo Paras (Marinduque); Gov. Francisco Sanz (Romblon); Gov. Bonifacio Serrano (Masbate); Gov. Julio Llorente (Samar); Gov. Anicelto Clarin (Bohol); Gov. Juan Climaco (Cebu); Gov. Demetrio Larena (Negros Oriental); Gov. Leonardo Locsin (Negros Occidental); Gov. Martin Delgado (Iloilo); Gov. Hugo Vidal (Capiz); Gov. Leonardo Fullon (Antique); Gov. Hermenegildo Francisco (Surigao); and Gov. Manuel Corrales (Misamis).

It may be noted that through the census program, these local rulers would become the intermediary between the new colonial establishment and the local population. It should be observed that the provinces of Lepanto-Bontoc, Benguet, Nueva Vizcaya, Bataan, Cavite, Ambos Camarines, Albay, Mindoro, Leyte, Paragua, Dapitan, and the Moro districts-areas known to be inhabited either by non-Christian groups or were regarded as centers of anti-American resistance—remained in the hands of American census supervisors. During the period of census enumeration, these areas were still considered to be under a state of rebellion. In fact, the counts for Albay, Sorsogon, Bulacan and Rizal were not conducted under normal regulatory circumstances due to the resistance from the local population.

For the provinces and districts inhabited by predominantly non-Christian communities, census taking was conducted under special circumstances and in a staggered basis. This was due to the fact that these groups were to be regarded as wild, uncivilized, unsophisticated, and therefore, the application of colonial projects such as the census must be undertaken in a different manner compared to the Christian districts.

POPULATION: CIVILIZED AND WILD

The colonial census also provided an opportunity for the new colonizer to provide a systematic classification of the various known ethnic groups in the Philippines. From the known 111 different ethnolinguistic groups in the country, the census forcibly classified the Filipinos to be under either one of the sixteen wild tribes or eight civilized groups. This form of ethnic reductionism resulted in the development of historical and academic discourse that took away the recognition of the individual identity of specific ethnic groups and communities. For example, Maranao, Maguindanao, Yakan, Tausug, Sama, and other groups were all classified as part of the Moro tribe, while the Kalinga, Apayao, Kankanaey, Tinguian, Bontoc and others were all considered as part of the Igorot tribe. The categorization and classification of various ethnic communities under large "tribal groups" resulted in the loss of immediate ethnolinguistic identity and brought about an academic tradition of Philippine studies which were not cognizant of the particular and specific identities of the various Philippine communities.

In a way, the census program also reflected the idea of hierarchy of social, racial and ethnic categories found in contemporary sources. According to this idea, a society and a community should be located in a hierarchy of categories based on the idea of progress and civilization. The place of an ethnic group is to be found in this ordered set of hierarchy according to the characteristics set by this system of categorization.

Based on this, "civilized" Filipinos must belong to any of the eight major tribes of Bicol, Cagayan, Ilocano, Pampanga, Pangasinan, Visayan and Zambalan (US Department of Commerce and Labor 1904). On the other hand, the "wild" tribes were further divided into four groups:

> "...the wild peoples of the Philippines may be divided into four classes: Those who are essentially savage and nomadic in their habits, such as the headhunters of Luzon and certain of the Moros: those who are peaceful and sedentary, such as many of the Igorots; those who are peaceful, nomadic, and timid, such as the Negritos, the Mangyans of Mindoro, and the pagans of Mindanao, who, on the appearance of strangers, flee to the fastnesses of the forests and jungles, and can not be approached; and finally, those who compose the outlaw element from the Christian towns, and are known as Monteses, Remontados, Vagos, Nomadas, Pulijanes (sic) and Babylanes (sic)..."

At first glance, one may even advance the idea that the system of classification assumes the characteristics of academic knowledge based on anthropology and ethnology. Language, cultural conditions, and state of civilization were initially projected as the basis of ethnic classification. But later on, it becomes obvious that acceptance of western definition of civilization, in particular, acquiescence to colonial lifestyle, became the ultimate basis of categorization of Filipinos either as wild or civilized. Therefore, it is possible for one "civilized" group of people to have uncivilized members if they openly question the legitimacy of the colonial establishment. People like the Pulajanes and Remontados, though they shared the same language, culture, religion, and ethnic identity with the other groups, were still regarded as uncivilized for the very simple reason that they did not recognize the colonial authority. Furthermore, the census, by classifying societies as wild and civilized primarily based on their religious beliefs, simply strengthened the idea that only through Western, Christian ways can society attain civilization and culture. Whatever the Moro and Igorot groups had attained in terms of civilization, were not regarded as indicative of civilized living for the simple reason that they did not belong to the Christian faith. What was attained by the census was not only the statistical tabulation of population data, but a development of the tendency of colonial ethnography to have a pejorative representation of all non-Christian groups as wild people. The range of categories, based on wild, barbarian and untamed existence, on one extreme, and towards civilized, peaceful, and orderly existence, on the other extreme, was evident in the ideological presupposition of the colonial census. This range of categories strengthened the academic and political discourse highlighting the sense of animosity, intolerance and disrespect of groups of Filipinos towards other Filipinos. This condition will further exacerbate the political consequences of ethnic, religious, linguistic and racial tensions which were partially products of reductionist approaches to population classification.

POWER, KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION AND POPULATION COUNTS

Population counts, censuses, household data, and other quantitative demographic sources provide excellent opportunities for the social historian to recreate the conditions of past societies. In the case of Philippine sources, however, more than providing raw numerical data, these demographic sources also furnish the historian with a window with particular views and perspectives of the ideological presuppositions of the dominant hegemonic discourse. Far from being neutral, these quantitative sources may also reveal the types of power relations, ideas of social hierarchies, and the classification of social groups and classes into categories defined along the lines of the dominant discourse. Statistical tables and demographic data must therefore be viewed with the consideration that these form critical part of knowledge production, generation, and circulation. Subtle ideological, theoretical, and conceptual formulations may be revealed in the systems of categories and classifications supplied in the numerical data.

In a sense, these data sources became new loci of temporal and spatial negotiations where representations of the indio were to be found. On the other hand, native resistance and subversion to these categorizations and classificatory schemes of the colonial establishment which made the realization of such numerical programs, also had to contend with these contestations in all spaces, including the space of numerical tables. Beyond the numbers, the tensions, the conflicts, and the contradictions of Philippine reality and its representations are both visible and subtle.

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The Place of Indigenous Objects in Museum Conservation*

ANA M.T. LABRADOR

In many communities with continuing traditions of producing things from organic materials, there is a strong tendency to engage in the process of making rather than just the form of the objects themselves. Community members' access to these things privilege them to consider objects as products of a combination of factors. These are collective action, social relationships, artistry and materials. It is an attitude that is different from the form-oriented creativity of individualized production. Here authorship of the object takes precedence over use or relevance to others. In general, this distinction is often regarded in the academe and urban discourse as indigenous craftsmanship in contrast to Western art making. I intend to resist subscribing to this classification if only to steer away from conventional binary labels. My concern here is to draw attention to the problem of conservation practices involving the ethnographic collections in Philippine museums.

As a point of departure, I will begin with my knowledge of museum collections, baskets and Bontok identity. The Bontok's baskets may be used as a focal point to examine how far they and other people see them as representative of Bontok identity. Although an obvious candidate in any museum and personal collection, baskets are rather neglected by many museum curators and collectors because of the biodegradable quality of the material. When baskets age, the fibers become brittle or simply rot. This is a sign for the Bontok to throw them away because, although they may look beautiful on the outside, they are no longer useful in the practical sense. In contrast, aging baskets are the interest of the 'antique' dealers and some museum collectors. The conservation treatments which old baskets undergo in museums testify to the instability of most basket materials as they age.

Moreover, baskets are rather equivocal objects in museum collections. They may seem to occupy mixed categories due to their identification with mundane activities with which they are linked from their original source. Baskets may be beautifully made according to museum aesthetic standards, but their functional role, anonymous authorship and apparent sameness place them in the world of craft. Development managers of the Philippine nation-state confuse the baskets' configuration further. Eager to create enterprises and industries in rural areas, the state has been promoting handicraft production but controls their distribution since the 1950s. Ironically, the handicraft or cottage industries may only thrive in places of the Cordillera where rice cultivation has lost its importance to social lives. Making baskets in exchange for cash replaces the intensive labor required to grow rice. This is seldom reflected in museum exhibitions involving baskets.

During my research, I planned to study a selection of objects found in museums that are also still being used by people. I went beyond sites of production and investigated these objects in marketplaces, exhibition spaces and private arenas. This gave me a better idea whether the energy and expense invested in perpetually conserving objects is justified or not. Alternatively, perhaps more effort may be placed in documenting and conserving the processes of making significant things. This may be achieved by engaging with the people who make, use and contribute to the social life of things.

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A STORY: COLLECTING FOR A MUSEUM

In 1997, while doing field research in Bontoc, Mountain Province, I received word that I had been given an award by the Crowther-Beynon Fund to collect materials for the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in England (Cambridge Museum, for short). This was exciting news not because of the amount I was to receive from the funders (which was only £1,000, at that time roughly about P65,000). Most of it went to the collection and documentation of the objects anyway. At that stage of my research, it was useful for me to get into collecting because it would aid my study of how objects used by the Bontok represent them. With the advise not to collect 'antique' items (mainly to stay away from problems later on with regards to cultural property laws), I began acquiring sets of baskets. By then I was aware that these serve functional roles such as containers that convey produce from the fields, especially rice. This made me observe closely that there were different types of baskets used by women. There were the *labfa* (originally Ilocano), *tayaan* and *luwa* (both of these originated from Samoki, the village across the Chico River from Bontoc Ili). As my collection of new baskets grew they were stacked on one corner of my house in Bontoc. One day women from Bontoc Ili visited me for a chat and noticed immediately my basket collection. They exclaimed almost in unison that with that collection I was "now a Bontoc woman."

This remark made me think of collections of objects and how they shape personal, gender and ethnic identity. Impressed by my efforts, many of those who visited me—and later their friends—pointed me to directions where to get good textiles or find disused local pottery. Sometimes they would donate things for the Cambridge Museum. Often I would have to pay top prices for objects due to their unusual associations, such as the *ewes* or blanket woven by a Samoki man. This came as a surprise since weaving is women's work in Bontoc. Men who weave are considered gay. I obtained it mainly because it was finely woven.

At the end of my stint, I shipped 36 objects in boxes to Cambridge. All had detailed documentation regarding their place in everyday life, as well as ritual occasions. It took a couple of months for the boxes to arrive on my doorstep via sea freight. For sometime it stayed in my house as I cross-checked the objects' ethnographic data. At some point I became attached to the collection. On occasion I would open the boxes to feel the pride of a personally significant collection. Soon, however, I had to inform Cambridge Museum that the stuff had indeed arrived. I was taken aback when the museum's curator responded quickly by sending the personnel to collect them. They came and took the boxes swiftly and before I knew it, the Bontoc things were out of my custody forever. They have become museum property.

A few days later, I felt a peculiar desire to see them, so I went over to the museum. I was ushered into a 'holding' room where my things were quarantined for possible infestation. Mold and insect-bearing objects can cause the rest of the ethnographic collections in the museum to become infected as it did a couple of years before. I was informed by the curator that my things would be deep-frozen over at the Scott Polar Institute's subzero freezers to completely debug them before being catalogued and exhibited. Later when I was advising the museum for the Bontoc collection's exhibition, it was strange to see them being measured, scrutinized and re-arranged.

In the process of putting up the exhibit, I was photographically documenting them and sending photos back to my friends in Bontoc who helped put the collection together. I then realized that my relationship to those things was turning bizarre. I had nearly lost my professional distance—an important component in museum work as I will later point out. It was around the exhibition opening that it dawned on me that I had sentimental attachments to the objects. Viewing them as exhibited in a museum gave me the perspective that they gave added visual appeal to the entire Museum collection on display. The Bontoc objects' importance was further summed up in the labels that were discreetly tucked on the sides of the glass cases. With accession numbers and clearly written provenance on the labels, it dawned on me then that those were museum collections and not mine.

SPOILED THINGS: COLLECTED INDIGENOUS OBJECTS

When I thought of the title for this lecture, I meant *Spoiled Things* in two senses. On the one hand, I was thinking of the care and maintenance that museum objects require, particularly with that of indigenous materials. This can cost the museum more than a third of its annual budget, including the expenses of handling and storing them properly. If they needed to be restored, museums must be prepared more for chemicals, materials and special equipment. With this in mind, I was thinking of 'spoiled' in the sense of how we use the word locally when we pamper children to the point of turning them into brats. Museum objects are, of course, inanimate but they do demand constant and expert care. They cannot be exposed to extreme temperatures and humidity. They also need continual monitoring that includes basic condition reporting.

On the other hand, *Spoiled Things* can also mean causing damage to objects, resulting in their being unfit for use. Unfortunately this is the case for many Philippine museums where professionally qualified workers are a handful and little thought is given to rational acquisition policies and collection management programs. There are many implications when museum objects become spoiled things. In this paper, I have examined these more closely.

I chose the National Museum of the Philippines as the site for my main discussion. For the research, I visited the museum over a period of three months in 1999, interviewing members of the staff and observing its storage facilities, as well as display and environmental conditions. My examination of practices at the museum conservation laboratory contributed to my understanding of the place of indigenous objects in it. I also made two visits last year to Bontoc to validate some of the data I gathered from 1996 to 1997.

There are two issues that came to mind in the course of research and writing this paper. One is the problem of what to keep and how best to keep them. Museums are all about acquiring objects and conserving them in perpetuity. The other issue centers on the tension between preservation and the producers' intentions. In the case of indigenous objects, most often producers such as basket and textile weavers do not mean for baskets and textiles to last for centuries. They are made to be durable and carry out what they are meant for and at the same time, making them beautiful and desirable for consumers to buy and keep.

Indigenous objects comprise of a whole range of things attributed to ethnic groups. In popular discourse, these are the native, non-urban people who stuck to their traditional practices. While I do not necessarily subscribe to this generalization, this conception applies to many local and national museums' definition of what constitutes an indigenous group. Sometimes the term indigenous is replaced by 'ethnic,' 'tribal,' or 'traditional.' Consequently the use of organic or biodegradable materials, such as leaves, cotton and wood, are understood by museum personnel and visitors to mean indigenous objects.

ANOTHER TALE: A CASE STUDY FOR MUSEUM CONSERVATION

Evelyn Elvena is a museum researcher and textile conservator at the National Museum. She is a qualified chemist and has had training in textile conservation. On many occasions, Elvena also treats damaged indigenous objects such as the ones I saw being brought in from the storage of the Anthropology Division. Apparently the roof had been leaking for some time in its fourth floor storage. Only belatedly did the staff discover the water-logged damaged objects. This is the condition in which Elvena and her colleagues have to work on top of the lack of space and equipment.

I watched them as they painstakingly unrolled the Tausug mats, dried them out and removed the molds that stuck to the fibers. Even if they were able to treat the infestation, those mats could no longer be restored to their former state. The fibers had become brittle and discolored from being soaked and moldy. Their place in the museum would now be limited to just being part of the research collection. As a result of the stains from the dark molds, the mats were no longer valuable for display.

As a result of visiting the storage areas, observing the handling of objects by staff members and interviewing them, I found out that they have a peculiar attitude towards objects from indigenous sources. Somehow since they are akin to handicrafts sold at tourists shops or exported in bulk to other countries, these objects appear to have a lower estimation in the eyes of many National Museum workers. One of the reasons for this has to do with their functional dichotomy between art and craft where objects of ethnography are considered mere craft of a lower status than art. Moreover, indigenous objects are seen as replaceable, bearing similar traits as those things available at 'native' shops. It seems that their functional role, anonymous authorship and apparent sameness contribute to their rough treatment at the National Museum (NM). Indigenous objects at other museums, such as the Bontoc Museum, may be slightly better off than those at the NM.

However, there is a graver problem than the views of museum workers towards indigenous objects. It is the reasons behind those views that are much more important. As a result of the lack of professional training among many NM staff, they bear with them biases against the objects in their custody. More than 70 percent, for instance, only had on the job training. This means they bear with them many accumulated bad practices gained from the lack of equipment and resources in the museum. Moreover, if they base their decisions more by intuition and not from having developed scholarship on those objects, we can expect bad judgment calls on the state and future of the NM collection. A basket in the museum is not just an alienable property. It is part of the national patrimony of Filipinos.

FOCUS ON BONTOK BASKETS AS INDIGENOUS OBJECTS

The materials of baskets, such as bamboo, rattan and reeds are organic. Part of the reason, perhaps, why makers and users of baskets do not intend them to last for very long has to do with their being mundane objects. Maybe this ephemeral quality is also implied in the Bontok baskets' relatively wide fiber strips: the wider the strips, the less specialized the skills it takes to make the basket. Almost anyone can learn to make it. The *ato* or the men's clubhouse used to serve as the setting where Bontok men usually learned to weave baskets and the village-wide holiday or *tengao* was the time to do it.

When expeditions and anthropologists began collecting baskets, they were taken from a time where baskets were still being made and were ubiquitous. By the time private collectors and ethnographic museums came into the picture, some baskets started occupying a different position from their mundane roles. Since substitutes were becoming available via trade or practices had shifted (i.e., people no longer performed certain ritauls), these baskets became valuable in the 'antique' trade and mainly to dealers and collectors. This shifted the category to which baskets belonged in the Bontok scale of object values. For instance, their old jar shaped baskets (*agkhawin*) or lunch boxes (*toppil*) became collectors' items and were being bought at prices they did not imagine. They found a new term, *inantik*, for baskets in this category. This, however, does not stop them from collecting well-made, new baskets and selling their old ones.

I am using the Bontok's baskets as a focal point to examine how far they and other people see them as representative of Bontok identity apart from indigenous objects. Although an obvious candidate in any museum or personal collection, baskets are not objects of special consideration to the Bontok perhaps partly because they do not last well in ordinary circumstances. When baskets age, the fibers become brittle or simply rot. This is about the time the Bontok throw them away because although they may look beautiful on the outside, they can no longer be useful in the practical sense. In contrast, ageing baskets are the interest of the 'antique'[1] dealers and some collectors for museums. The conservation treatment which old baskets undergo in museums testify to the instability of most basket materials as they age. They preserve it at all cost, not because of the social value to the people from which they came. Rather, the baskets are kept in perpetuity for the interest of the collector and limited to the collections' economic and social value.

Baskets are rather equivocal objects in museum collections. They may seem to occupy mixed categories due to their identification with mundane activities at their source. Baskets may be beautifully made according to museum aesthetic standards, but their functional role and apparent sameness place them in the world of craft (Kaino 1995). Development managers of the Philippine nation state confuse the baskets' configuration further. Eager to create enterprise and industries in rural areas of the Philippines, the state has been promoting handicraft production but controls their marketing since the 1950s.[2] The handicraft or cottage industries may only thrive in places in the Cordillera where rice cultivation no longer takes precedence over other activities.

THE PLACE OF BASKETS IN BONTOK SOCIAL LIFE

The change of village lifestyle when men started working away in mines and in the government service affected basket production in central Bontoc. Colonial rule subjected Bontok men to pay taxes and engage in forced labor, eventually giving up basket-weaving to devote their energies to wage work (cf. Küchler 1992, 109). One of its consequences was that older men were no longer able to transfer their technical knowledge and skills to young men. It became difficult to transmit the knowledge, such as type of bamboo for a particular basket.

This is true also for transmitting the skills in obtaining raw materials, such as the best time to cut bamboo so no weevils or molds would attack them. With the change of lifestyle, young men also no longer had the patience to engage in slow, time-consuming activities that basket making requires. They became more preoccupied with town affairs, such as formal schooling, working for cash and hanging around bars and cafes, rather than staying in the village. The consequent relaxing of rules for the strict *tengao* meant that villagers started to go to the poblacion rather than confining themselves within village boundaries. Before this happened, men moved most of the baskets during *tengao* periods or low seasonal activities. Jenks (1905) observed that men would stay in their club-houses (*ato*) and weave while they chatted and smoked their pipes. Fines were too stiff then to risk going out of the village during a strict *tengao*.

When the Sunday bazaar became more firmly established during the American period, more trade with other groups who made baskets became entrenched. The Bontok had more access to privileges with the colonial government due to their proximity to the political center. As a result, they began to pursue other occupations outside village life. A parallel development was the increasing specialization of certain groups in basket-making for the market and to satisfy demands from other groups (Fry 1983). This has contributed to the demise of basket-making in Bontoc.[3] Today, they can either buy baskets with cash or exchange them for other goods. But the introduction of plastic and containers made from other materials gave people the option to use other things besides baskets.

They may not know the baskets' origins in the area but my informants say they have always had baskets. Some even inherited them from their grand-mothers. These baskets were probably hardly used or carefully preserved by former owners. In Bontoc, kept baskets are those that have become irrelevant to their social life or have little social value. They say it is almost impossible to do certain tasks without baskets, especially during rituals. When I pointed out that baskets can be awkward and bulky, they replied that they preferred containers that are not too flexible and rigid enough to hold heavy items. They also choose containers that do not bruise their produce or bend rice bundles.

The Bontok also enjoy displaying their harvests when they are abundant and free from blemish. Traditional types of women's transportation baskets, like the *luwa* and *taya-an* are good containers for setting off their produce and can accommodate them in big volumes. They are symbols of abundance. Balancing a heavy load on their heads seems like a competition among women. Those who are able to carry more without toppling over or spilling the contents in their baskets while negotiating winding paths and steep hills serve as models of industry and poise.

More importantly, there is a correspondence between the shape of their baskets and the bowl-shaped valley where central Bontoc lies. Local people tend to describe themselves as though they are 'living in a big bowl because mountains surround us.' For them, it is a metaphor for the source of food. The valley incorporates the land where they reap food for sustenance and blessing. Although not decorated, they find the weaving patterns on their baskets beautiful in themselves. To them, the design of a basket encodes both function and aesthetics. Embellishments will only distract the attention away from the contents on display in the basket.

In everyday contexts, substitutions occur frequently, not only with the food the Bontok eat but with the containers to transport them. Some of those who prefer to reserve their basket for ritual occasions, use instead plastic sacks (*sako*) in the field. They recycle these sacks mainly from the commercial pig feed they or their relations and friends purchase from the poblacion. These are re-used until worn. Some of my informants say that it is ideal to have plastic sacks around because if tied up well, it minimizes the risk of dropping harvested produce, especially sweet potatoes (*tokhey*). A few women regarded them as a godsend during those periods when their sweet potato harvests were small (*fan-ig*) and blemished (*ma-fikhis*). 'By putting my blemished sweet potatoes (*ma-fikshi nan tokhey*) in a *sako*,' according to an Ifontok woman, 'I am hiding my shame.' This remark has made me aware that their baskets may be a means for displaying the food that they produce.

To bear their harvests in their baskets gives the central Bontok a sense of pride because it shows off the products of her industry. However, carrying them in plastic sacks may mean two things for the Bontok. Either showing that the farmer feels embarrassed to display her produce or there is far too much of it to contain in baskets. In both senses, nevertheless, substituting plastic sacks for baskets as containers of food illustrate the Bontok's capacity to re-use mass-produced objects to their advantage.

After use, women collect and keep baskets with great care. They are sometimes stored in sheltered racks outside their houses. Some of them stock the baskets inside their homes, kept dry on top of cooking areas.[4] Women wipe their baskets clean after use but do not wash them. Locals would frequently joke about the practicality of eating from the square offering tray (*khiyag*) instead of eating from a mass-produced plastic or ceramic plate. They said that with a *khiyag*, one would merely turn it over and give it a few taps. This is to dislodge the food that may have become stuck in the weave. Then they simply put it away. This joke also has reference to the way they perceive urban dwellers, like me, as fixated on Western table manners.

The Bontok women's tendency to write their names on their baskets with permanent ink markers suggests the high value they give to their baskets. Perhaps now that baskets are being made farther away,[5] face-to-face transactions between producers and consumers are no longer possible. Remote villagers now sell most of their basket products to shop owners in Bontoc Poblacion. Moreover, not all shop owners or retailers allow trading other than on cash basis. This is the reason women complain about having to obtain baskets at such expense and try to find other methods of exchange. Before leaving for one of my trips to Betwagan, my landlady, Ana Limog, asked me to get her a *taya-an* basket. She said she could not afford those sold in the Poblacion and hoped that getting one directly from the weavers would be cheaper. But as it turned out, Betwagan basket-weavers could not make one due to the loss of the *anes* bamboo.

In Bontoc, they have no confusion over the place of baskets in their social life. Women define themselves not with a single basket but with a set of baskets that they think an ideal Bontok woman should have in her home. They also define the baskets' role in social life. By associating themselves with baskets, the women do not succumb to the notion that they are merely part of the Bontok mundane world. They believe they can shift with ease, as the baskets' role does, from the mundane to the ritual world and then back. Without baskets, the Bontok do not deem certain rituals visually satisfactory and find the round of offerings and blessings incomplete. Baskets, after all, remind them of abundant harvests. Baskets are as equally ubiquitous in the ritual offering after burial (*alulos*) as they are during Market Days on Sundays. The Bontok equate these both as containers of food at the time of bounty. Their presence during mundane and ritual occasions evokes marketplaces of some sort. Malinowski and de la Fuente remarked that marketplaces are sites where one can study 'the people, their material objects, values and customs on exhibit as in an ephemeral, dramatic museum of the day' (in Cook and Diskin 1975, 7).

HOPE SPRINGS ETERNAL: A HAPPY ENDING

Through years of practice, indigenous object have been acquired by ethnographic museums. The National Museum collection grew from the time it was established as the Insular Museum of Ethnology, Science and Commerce in 1901. It was the Bureau of Ethnological Survey that systematically collected objects. Many of these were shown at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904 as curios and as markers of Filipino inferiority to Americans. Perhaps we also note the residue of this attitude pervading in the current standard of practice at the National Museum. Baskets and other indigenous objects made of biodegradable materials are easy casualties in the tension between their preservation as museum collections and their reference as mundane things. To this day, their proper care and conservation have not met the demands of standards of practice prescribed by the International Council of Museums and the requirements of indigenous objects' material and nature. A professionally trained staff is necessary to maintain our cultural heritage in the museum.

Professional training, as well as adherence to museum ethics will support the notion that the public museums' collections are not just alienable property. They are part of the people and nations' history and identity. Personal biases such as creating distinctions between craft and art denigrates the place of indigenous objects in museums. Spoiled or not, these things deserve much more than the attention they are getting at the moment. Museums must begin to rethink their positions about indigenous objects and what to do with them subsequently.

NOTES

[1]I wrote 'antique' with brackets to acknowledge the relative meaning of the term. In Europe, for instance, things less than 100 years old may not be considered antique. In the Philippines, however, due to the biodegradable quality of materials and climactic conditions (i.e., high humidity and extreme heat), connoisseurs may judge some things just over fifty years old as antique.

[2]For an idea of the history of Philippine governments' policies towards the promotion of handicraft in the Cordillera region and people's response to them, see Wallace 1953, Milgram 1995 and Solang 1984.

[3]The production of baskets in both Samoki and Bontoc Ili did not develop to the proto-industrial level, such as those handicraft production groups examined in Goody (1982). The main reason for this may be attributed to their priority of engaging in subsistence rice farming. Even in those villages I visited with existing basket weaving production, I doubt if it will reach the stage of a cottage industry to meet the goals of the DTI and CIDSS. Similar programs have been implemented in areas of the Cordillera (i.e., wood carving in Ifugao and Benguet) and the Philippines (i.e., woven fibre hats in Baler, Quezon and mat-weaving in Tacloban, Leyte) that are now relatively successful. The weavers in the villages of Betwagan, Barlig and Can-eo, among others in Mountain Province, only make baskets in-between rice cultivation. The only men whom I knew wove full time were those who were disabled from mining accidents.

[4]The blackened baskets so beloved by antique collectors comes formerly from the soot of wood burning hearths in Bontok traditional kitchens.

[5]Most of the rice winnowers *(lig-o)* for sale in Bontoc Poblacion come from Turgaw, a small village near Basao, Kalinga. It is about 50 kilometers away from central Bontoc. From Basao, Turgaw is only accessible by foot.

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Extraversion in Differential Psychology and Experience Balance in the Rorschach*

GREGORIO E.H. DEL PILAR

The opinion of Rorschach experts through the years on the link between extraversion (E) and experience balance (EB) has ranged from considering the two as virtually identical to denying any relationship between them. Results of empirical studies have been no less divergent: the studies bearing on the observations made by Rorschach on the psychological correlates of EB seem to have confirmed those which resemble the components of E. On the other hand, studies directly investigating the question of the correlation between the two concepts have nearly unanimously obtained nonsignificant results. To address this question anew, with measures of the two constructs that have evolved since the last empirical studies were done on the question, 129 bilingual Filipino university students were administered Eysenck's (EPQ-R) scale, the Filipino version of the NEO PI-R, and the Rorschach. The obtained correlations with EB of the two E scales were 0.22 ($p<.05$) and 0.29 ($p<.01$). By deleting an outlier, these correlations rise to 0.33 and 0.41, respectively ($p<.001$ for both). The aspects of E most related to EB were warmth, gregariousness, positive emotions and activity. These components of E, as well as total E, correlate positively with the color responses and negatively with the movement responses. The EB formula was found to be generally correlated with E at higher levels compared to the correlations with E of either just the color or just the movement responses. New possibilities for conceptualizing the EB measure, based on its demonstrated relationship with E, are suggested.

The aim of this research was to verify the hypothesis that extraversion in differential psychology and experience balance in the Rorschach are related to one another. The relationship between these two constructs remains to this day an open question, with expert opinion running the entire gamut of possibilities. For example, Klopfer (1954), Bash (1955) and Beck (1960) consider the two constructs to be highly similar, while Loosli-Usteri (1965), Rausch de Traubenberg (1990), Anzieu (1992) and Exter (1993) take the opposite view. Moreover, results from empirical studies are also inconsistent (e.g., Bieri & Blacker 1956, Singer & Spohn 1954, Palmer 1956, Singer & Herman 1954). Inasmuch as the instruments pertinent to the resolution of this question have considerably evolved since the last studies bearing directly on this question were undertaken more than forty years ago, it was decided to pose the question anew.

EXTRAVERSION IN DIFFERENTIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Consistent with a model first proposed by Eysenck in 1947, extraversion has long been considered a broad trait made up of a number of narrower component traits. The NEO PI-R of Costa & McCrae (1992), currently the best-known personality inventory that measures the so-called Big Five personality traits proposes as narrower traits making up extraversion the following: warmth, gregariousness, assertiveness, sensation-seeking and

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positive emotions. These components are largely coherent with those found in other well-known but older measures of extraversion such as those of Cattell, Guilford and Eysenck, as well as the more recently developed extraversion scale of Tellegen (1982). It should be noted nevertheless that while Costa & McCrae put a relatively greater stress on the positive affect component, Eysenck and Guilford emphasize impulsiveness in the broad sense.

Among the authors mentioned, it was Eysenck who went furthest in the effort to explain the coherence of the components of extraversion. Although he had never identified them definitively, it is clear that he considered spontaneity, lack of restraint, sociability, activity and venturesomeness as the most important subtraits of extraversion. A careful reading of his work also suggests, in addition to those just mentioned, the trait of reflectiveness. Eysenck (1967) proposed a theory identifying a particular part of the nervous system, namely, the ascending reticular activating system (ARAS), as the basis of the behavior and other psychological functions manifesting extraversion. An impressive amount of research directed at testing this theory has necessitated its revision to a significant extent, without however calling into question its coherence as a broad trait.

EXPERIENCE BALANCE AND THE QUESTION OF ITS RELATIONSHIP TO EXTRAVERSION

Rorschach (1921) does not give an explicit definition of experience balance but he gives a tabular summary of his observations of characteristics that he reports having found associated with this construct.

The eight characteristics shown in the table show some resemblance to extraversion in differential psychology (as well as, in fact, to Jungian extraversion). The first and the second characteristics, which deal with motility, resemble activity in the different models of extraversion. The next three characteristics, as indicated explicitly by the fifth, have to do with affectivity. Rorschach groups under this term positive affectivity (freedom from care, ease of empathizing with another) as well as negative affectivity (impulsiveness). These characteristics seem related to positive affect in the type of model represented by that of Costa & McCrae (1992); and no impulsivity in Eysenck's model. The last three characteristics however, which all have to do with "inner life," contrary to the preceding ones, are hardly represented in the different models of extraversion. Indeed, among imagination, creativity and reflectiveness—the functions represented by the last three characteristics in the table—only the last one is part of an extraversion model (i.e., Eysenck's).

A large number of researches (Del Pilar 1998) confirm Rorschach's observations regarding the association between extraversion on the one hand and motility and impulsiveness on the other (there were no studies related to positive affect). On the other hand, the studies associated with "inner life" seem to indicate that although reflectiveness could still be retained as a psychological correlate of (introversive) experience balance, this was not the case for creativity and imagination. Thus, as much for what they confirm as components of experience balance—motility, affective expressiveness and possibly reflectiveness—as well as what they seem to indicate as not being so—imagination and creativity—these results go in the direction of a closer relationship between experience balance and extraversion.

These results notwithstanding, the effort to demonstrate the link between experience balance and extraversion was not sufficiently maintained to allow movement towards a resolution of this question. On

Summary of Rorschach's observations on the correlates of predominance of movement or color responses

Movement Predominant	Color Predominant
Awkwardness, clumsiness	Skill and adroitness
Measures, stable motility	Restless, labile motility
More intensive than extensive rapport	More extensive then intensive rapport
Less adaptable to reality	More adaptable to reality
Stable affective reactions	Labile affective reactions
Greater productive ability	More reproductive ability
More individualized intelligence	More stereotyped intelligence
More (inner) life	More (outward) life

the one hand, this was due to the results of studies which directly tested the relationship between the two concepts. These studies, although small in number, almost all show negative results (Del Pilar 1998). On the other hand, Rorschach took a position, followed later by a few influential authors, that minimized the association between EB and extraversion.

According to this position, whereas introversion and extraversion are opposite tendencies, the EB types of introversiveness and extratensiveness are not. Rorschach had advanced as one of the principal arguments in support of this position the fact that ideation and affectivity, the dominant functions respectively characterizing the two types, were not opposed but merely different from one another. We will postpone for later our response to this argument.

METHODOLOGY

One hundred twenty-nine Filipino students (68 males, 61 females) were administered the Rorschach Test and a number of personality scales. Extraversion was measured by the Filipino NEO PI-R and the Eysenck Personality Questionnaire-Revised. These latter two were taken in their entirety so as to provide scores for other scales that were used in demonstrating the validity of the Filipino translation of the NEO PI-R. It will be noted in passing that Eysenck's extraversion scale contains mainly items measuring sociability and activity. He had also constructed scales to measure impulsiveness in the strict sense, that is, lack of restraint; and venturesomeness. The subjects also responded to these scales, as well as to the Thoughtfulness scale of the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey. It should be noted however that this last scale seems limited as a measure of introverted reflectiveness, appearing to likewise measure the tendency to ruminate more characteristic of neuroticism (Sells, Demaree & Will 1970, 1971; Del Pilar 1998). Finally, 888 other students participated in the validation studies for the extraversion scales.

The reliability coefficient of the extraversion scales were .88 (FNEO PI-R) and .84 (Eysenck). The component scales of the first instrument as well as the related scales of the second were adequate, having values ranging from 0.62 to 0.78.

Convergent and discriminant validation evidence, shown in the tables (see page 31), seemed satisfactory as well.

The administration of the Rorschach test was done in accordance with the directions of the manual for Exner's integrated system (1990), using essentially Filipino as the language of testing. Inasmuch as it had been noticed in Philippine studies on the Rorschach that Filipino subjects had a tendency to give less color responses than subjects in the west, it had been planned to pursue the inquiry for C responses as far as possible (but taking care not to influence subject responding). It had likewise been planned to take into account the relative spontaneity of the responses by assigning a weight of 3 to those given during the free association phase; of 2 to those made at the beginning of the inquiry phase (i.e., after the examiner read the subject's response); and a weight of 1 to those given after a question. The color scores were thus calculated in two ways, yielding the normal color score and a score weighted for spontaneity.

1. Extraversion and experience balanced turned out correlated to each other.

As the table shows (see page 31), using the normal unweighted color score, one obtains a correlation between experience balance and extraversion of .24 and .20 using Eysenck's and Costa & McCrae's scales, respectively ($p < .05$ for both). This pattern of results for unweighted and weighted color scores, that is, correlations for both being significant but higher for the weighted color scores, were obtained in all the statistical tests run. Consequently, only the results obtained using the weighted color scores will henceforth be reported.

When correlations are calculated, it is justifiable to eliminate outliers, commonly defined as raw scores with standard score (z) equivalents equal to or greater than 3.30 (see for example Tabachnik 1996). Outliers can exaggerate a modest trend or diminish a strong trend obscured by its presence.

An outlier was found in the sample for this study with a z-score of 4.42 on experience balance. This case had a score of −2.04 on Eysenck's extraversion scale and −1.09 on Costa & McCrae's, thus contributing a high negative z cross-product to the correlation between extraversion and experience balance. With its removal, the correlation between EB and E rises to 0.41 using Eysenck's scale and to .33 using the scale of Costa & McCrae. These two correlations are significant at $p < .001$.

Reliabilities of the extraversion scales and their component scales

NEO PI-R: Extraversion	.88
E1 Warmth	.70
E2 Gregariousness	.77
E3 Assertiveness	.75
E4 Activity	.69
E5 Sensation-seeking	.62
E6 Positive emotions	.67
Eysenck	
Extraversion EPQ-R	.84
Venturesomeness (I7Q)	.78
Impulsiveness (I7Q)	.78
Thoughtfulness (GZTS)	.75

Eysenck scales				
Convergent correlations			Discriminant correlations	
Venturesomeness (I7Q)	Impulsivity (I7Q)	Thoughtfulness (GZTS)	Neuroticism (EPQ-R)	Psychotism (EPQ-R)
.33***	.25***	-.25***	-.19*	-.02

*p < 0.05; *** p < 0.001)

Filipino NEO PI-R
Results of factor analysis of the 30 facet scales yielding 5 factors

Scale	Loading on the extraversion factor	Mean loading (absolute value) on the other 4 factors
E1 Warmth	.69	.18
E2 Gregariousness	.65	.10
E3 Assertiveness	.42	.20
E4 Activity	.51	.18
E5 Sensation-seeking	.51	.20
E6 Positive emotions	.66	.12

Correlation between experience balance and extraversion		
Extraversion scale	Unweighted Sum C	Sum C weighted with coefficients of spontaneity
EPQ-R (Eysenck)	.24*	.29**
NEO PI-R (Costa & McCrae)	.20*	.22*

*p < 0.05; **p < 0.01

Correlation between experience balance and extraversion without the outlier		
Extraversion scale	Sum C	Sum C weighted with coefficients of spontaneity
EPQ-R (Eysenck)	.28**	.41***
NEO PI-R (Costa & McCrae)	.22*	.33***

*p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001.

2. The aspects of extraversion that are related most strongly to experience balance, for this sample, seem to be what might be called interpersonal positive affect (warmth, gregariousness, positive emotions) and activity.

Scale	Correlation with experience balance (weighted sum C)
NEO PI-R	
E1 Warmth	.33***
E2 Gregariousness	.29**
E3 Assertiveness	.19*
E4 Activity	.22*
E5 Sensation-seeking	.13
E6 Positive emotions	.23*
Eysenck	
Extraversion EPQ-R	.41***
Venturesomeness (I7Q)	.04
Impulsiveness (I7Q)	.06
Thoughtfulness (GZTS)	.00

*p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001.

3. These aspects of extraversion, as well as the two extraversion scales are all positively correlated with color (C) responses and negatively, although very weakly, with movement (M) responses. It will be noted that experience balance, that is, the *difference* between Σ C (sum of color scores) and ΣM (sum of movement scores) correlated at higher levels with the scales than either sum by itself.

DISCUSSION

These results tend to confirm the hypothesis of this study that extraversion and experience balance are indeed related to one another. These results thus furnish the empirical support, which for a long time have been lacking, for the apparent similarities between psychological tendencies that reflect extraversion on the one hand, and those that have been found related to experience balance on the other.

The graph summarizes the results (see page 6).

Since the first four components of extraversion shown in the graph correlated positively with color responses, the C continuum near the top is oriented in the same direction as the positive pole of the traits. Since these same traits correlated negatively with movement responses, the M continuum at the bottom is oriented in the opposite direction. These components also correlated positively with experience balance (ΣC—ΣM), thus this relationship is indicated by the continuum EB at the top oriented in the same direction as the positive pole of the traits, as is the case with the C continuum. The fifth component, reflectiveness, is marked with question marks because the scale that operationalized it (the Thoughtfulness scale of the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey) correlated with neither the color nor the

Scale	Sum C (weighted)	Sum M	Experience Balance
E1 Warmth	.28**	-.10	.33***
E2 Gregariousness	.25**	-.07	.29**
E6 Positive emotions	.16 (p < 0.09)	-.10	.23*
E4 Activity	.14 (p < 0.07)	-.11	.22*
Extraversion NEO	.27**	-.10	.33***
Extraversion Eysenck	.35***	-.12	.41***

*p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001.

Low EB ——→	High EB
No C responses ——→	Many C responses
Not warm ——→	Warm
Low level of positive emotions ——→	High level of positive emotions
Not gregarious ——→	Gregarious
Not active ——→	Active
?Thoughtful ←——	Not thoughtful?
Many M responses ←——	No M responses

movement responses, nor with their difference, that is, with experience balance. It is nevertheless included in the graph for the following reasons: first, as mentioned earlier, the Guilford scale does not seem a good measure for the reflectiveness associated with introversion, appearing to substantially tap neuroticism (Del Pilar 1998). Secondly, the scale nevertheless correlated significantly and in the expected direction (i.e., negatively) with the other scales shown in the graph. Thirdly, it seems that this is the only component that seems capable of harmonizing with the theoretical ideas advanced to explain movement responses (Singer 1960, 1973). It should thus be clear that its inclusion in the graph should be considered as a hypothesis rather than a conclusion.

Assuming that the inclusion of reflectiveness in the above graph is justified, one sees how experience balance (ΣC-ΣM) correlates with extraversion: an extravert—cordial, gregarious, joyous, optimist, active, etc.—has a greater tendency to give color responses than an introvert because of a characteristically higher level of positive affect. At the same time, tending to be less reflective, he has less of a tendency to give movement responses. The opposite of course is likewise proposed: an introvert, less cordial, less gregarious, etc.—will have less of a tendency to give color responses. But having a greater tendency to be reflective, he has a greater tendency to give movement responses. Because of such configuration of correlations with the two measures in opposite directions, the combination of C and M responses by subtraction gives in principle a difference—experience balance—which correlates even better with extraversion and its components, which was in fact obtained.

Finally, one sees in the graph, in looking at the positive poles of reflectiveness on the one hand and of positive emotions on the other, how ideation and affectivity, while being different as Rorschach noted, can nevertheless be "opposite" to one another. They are so by virtue of being associated with opposite poles of a large trait of which they are part.

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Sexual Minorities among Contemporary Filipino Youth: Empirical Evidence on Homosexuality and Bisexuality from the 1994 Young Adolescent Fertility Survey*

MELY D. SILVERIO

STUDY OVERVIEW

Minimal research has been conducted on the social sexology of bisexual and homosexual youth, specifically those based in developing countries like the Philippines. At best, studies of this genre in the Philippines are limited in conceptual and methodological scope, often covering only men who have sexual intercourse with women and other men in purposively selected sites in the country. For instance, Jimenez and Lee's study (2001) delved into male sexual risk behavior and HIV/AIDS in the three major metropolitan centers of Quezon City, Cebu City, and Davao City strategically representing the three island groups of Luzon,Visayas, and Mindanao. Hence, much remains unknown about Filipino bisexual and homosexual youth severely limiting the effectiveness of programs aimed at responding to the unique reproductive health and other related needs of this particular segment of Philippine society. However, such inadequacy of both government and non-government agencies in this regard raises serious concern especially in an already volatile global situation marked by an increasingly sexually active youth amidst the continuing turmoil of the HIV/AIDS and STD pandemic.

This paper addresses such lack of knowledge on bisexual and homosexual youth in the Third World as it draws a profile of these young adults and compares them to their heterosexual counterparts. In effect, the current endeavors aims to address the following query: "How similar or different are bisexual and homosexual Filipino youth from their heterosexual counterparts?" To answer this research question, the present study uses the survey data from the "Young Adult Fertility and Sexuality Study (YAFSS)" conducted by the University of the Philippines Population Institute in 1994. Only the second endeavor of its kind in the Philippines, the YAFSS2 collected a vast wealth of in-depth socioeconomic and demographic information on 10,897 Filipino young adults aged 15 to 24. However, none of the chapters in the final report for YAFSS2 discussed the social dynamics of sexuality among bisexual and homosexual youth (Refer to Raymundo et al., 1999). Notwithstanding, in a country where nearly 9 of 10 Filipinos adhere to the Catholic Church which disapproves of homosexual behavior and prescribes heterosexual contact exclusively within marriage, there still exists a sizeable sexual minority of bisexual and homosexual Filipino young adults who comprise an integral sector of the larger mainstream youth community.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In *Sex in America: A Definitive Survey*, Michael, Gagnon, Laumann and Kolata (1994) measured "same gender sexuality" in both men and women based on the intersection of desire, behavior, and self-identification. Following this conceptual scheme, the current paper defines bisexuality, homosexuality, and heterosexuality based on, first, "sexual attraction" and, second, actual sexual experience (with the same-sex). In particular, information on sexual attraction is taken from the interviewer administered with YAFSS baseline questionnaire. On the other hand, more confidential information on previous experience of actual sexual intercourse between same sex partners can be obtained from an independently self-administered "sealed envelope" questionnaire which contains no individual identifiers that could link responses to those in the main baseline YAFSS2 questionnaire, primarily to ensure confidentiality and,

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consequently, veracity of the gathered information. Only a subsample of 6,258 male and female respondents completed the "sealed envelope" questionnaire which, in general, extracted such sensitive information as drug use, prostitution, STDs, abortion, and the like. In light of such conditions, these two dimensions of sexual desire and behavior are analyzed separately in this endeavor.

Attraction to Same, Opposite, or Both Sexes

Using the main baseline YAFSS2 questionnaire, the study defines "sexual attraction" to both sexes as bisexuality, whereas that for solely the same sex as homosexuality and that exclusively for the opposite sex as heterosexuality. More specifically, responses to the following survey items were cross tabulated:

1. Ever shown interest on/sought a member of the opposite sex
2. Ever been attracted to the same sex

Those who indicated sexual attraction or interest to both sexes are bisexual, whereas those who expressed the same only for the same sex are homosexuals and those who sought only the opposite sex are heterosexuals. Using this simple operationalization based on sexual attraction, the present study examines differences among bisexual, homosexual, and heterosexual Filipino youth in terms of such basic socioeconomic and demographic characteristics as residence, marital status and sex, birthplace, labor force participation, and the like. These statistical comparisons (primarily using Chi-square test for independence) will help shed light into some significant points of similarities and differences between and among bisexual, homosexual, and heterosexual Filipino youth.

Thus, based on the two-way crosstabulation of information on sexual attraction to both opposite and same sex, a sizeable segment of 5,567 respondents (or over 51 percent of the total 10,897 respondents) can be classified as follows: about 6.7 percent (or 725) are bisexuals (attraction to opposite and same sex, i.e., attraction to both males and females), 10.6 percent (or 1,156) are homosexuals (attraction exclusively to same sex), and 33.8 percent (or 3,686) are heterosexuals (attraction solely to the opposite sex). The succeeding statistical analyses will now focus on this subsample of 5,567 respondents whose sexuality based on their sexual attraction to either the same or opposite sex is known. In this regard, Table 1 presents a comparison of socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of these bisexual, homosexual, and heterosexual Filipino youth.

In general, figures on Table 1 show the following characteristics to be significant sources of variation among bisexual, homosexual, and hetero-sexual Filipino youth:

1. Geographic location and urban residence
2. Marital status and sex
3. Birthplace
4. Experience of city living and being away from parents
5. Main socioeconomic activity
6. Type of industrial occupation
7. Employment status
8. Place of work
9. Highest level of education as well as parental education
10. Leaving school and reasons for doing so
11. Fluency in national language of Filipino or Tagalog
12. Religious affiliation and some measures of religiosity
13. Self-perception of own religion being against contraceptive use
14. View on government provision of contraception to single youth
15. Mass media exposure
16. Exposure to x-rated films
17. Specific types of tv and radio programs watched and listened to
18. Various kinds of reading materials
19. Frequency of going to social events and places
20. Experience of smoking, alcohol drinking and drug use
21. Self-perception of adequacy of knowledge on sex
22. Experience of single date and sexual behaviors during dates
23. Experience of sexual intercourse
24. Knowledge and awareness of STDs and AIDS

Table 1. Comparison of characteristics by sexual attraction[a]

Characteristics	Bisexual (n=725)	Homosexual (n=3686)	Heterosexual (n=1156)	P[b]
Residence				
National Capital Region	11.7	7.2	14.4	
Luzon	39.4	42.6	43.6	
Visayas	23.3	19.4	43.6	0.0
Mindanao	25.5	31.1	21.8	
Urban residence	57.1	51.7	60.3	0.0
Marital Status & Sex				
Single Female	45.7	69.5	18.3	
Single Male	39.6	10.7	74.0	0.00
Married Female	14.8	17.5	7.7	
Married Male	0.0	2.3	0.0	
Marital Status				
Never married	85.2	80.2	92.3	
Married in church	7.3	10.0	3.4	
Married civil/ legal	2.6	5.3	2.1	0.00
Living together	4.4	4.2	1.9	
Separated/Divorce	0.3	0.1	0.2	
Widowed	0.0	0.1	0.1	
No information	0.1	0.2	0.1	
Birthplace				
City	20.0	19.3	23.9	
Poblacion	23.1	20.5	22.8	0.00
Rural	56.2	59.6	52.8	
Unknown	0.7	0.6	0.5	
Ever lived in city for at least 3 months	49.1	44.4	39.5	0.00
Ever lived away from parents	53.9	51.2	42.9	0.00
Main Activity				
None	4.8	5.2	5.9	
Unemployed, looking for work	7.5	4.1	8.0	
Housework	16.9	21.5	12.1	0.00
Working	28.5	20.5	31.4	
Student	42.1	48.6	42.5	
None, unemployed, or housework	0.3	0.2	0.0	
Industry				
Agriculture	23.6	13.2	32.4	
Mining	0.0	0.0	0.4	
Manufacturing Electricity	12.7	14.7	12.2	0.00

Characteristics	Bisexual (n=725)	Homosexual (n=3686)	Heterosexual (n=1156)	P[b]
Construction	5.0	3.5	9.4	
Trade	5.9	12.4	6.2	
Transportation	4.1	1.6	8.4	
Finance	17.3	11.2	9.4	
Community	30.9	43.4	20.7	
Employment Status				
Employee	63.3	75.5	62.1	
Employer	8.1	2.7	2.2	0.0
Self-employed	17.2	14.8	19.5	
Unpaid family worker	11.3	7.0	16.2	
Place of work				
Within residence	26.5	28.4	23.5	
Outside residence	29.6	21.0	31.7	
Outside village	43.9	50.6	44.8	0.01
At least college education				
Highest schooling	23.1	18.6	14.8	0.00
Expected schooling	67.5	72.3	69.0	0.25
Father's education	16.2	8.6	17.7	0.01
Mother's education	11.3	10.4	16.8	0.03
Ever left school	54.1	49.7	55.2	0.01
Why left school				
Completed school	21.7	18.6	18.7	
Didn't like school	8.7	12.0	14.5	
Failure in school	1.8	0.9	2.5	
To help at home	3.6	4.7	4.2	
Help earn for family	14.0	8.9	12.7	
Lack of funds	43.9	41.7	38.3	
Got pregnant	0.5	1.4	0.8	0.00
To marry	1.5	6.8	2.1	
Health reasons	1.3	1.9	1.5	
Family problems	0.8	1.4	0.7	
Personal problems	1.0	0.7	2.2	
Change of residence	0.5	0.3	0.1	
Peace and Order	0.0	0.0	0.1	
Other reasons	0.8	0.7	1.7	
Language				
Speak fluent Filipino or Tagalog	67.0	60.4	57.0	0.00
Read English	95.7	95.1	94.1	0.13
Speak fluent English	44.3	43.9	41.3	0.14

Characteristics	Bisexual (n=725)	Homosexual (n=3686)	Heterosexual (n=1156)	P[b]
Religion				
None	0.1	0.0	0.1	
Catholic	83.2	85.1	87.7	
Other Christian	15.4	13.6	11.2	0.05
Islam	0.4	0.4	0.2	
Others	0.8	0.9	0.85	
Attend religious services	88.4	87.4	85.9	0.13
At least once a week attendance in religious services	13.4	13.8	10.7	0.0
Ever participate in religious activities	57.2	59.0	49.1	0.0
Average score on religiosity	1.50	1.51	1.45	0.38[c]
Respondent's religion against contraception	25.2	22.7	22.7	0.0
Respondent's future use of contraception affected by religion	33.3	37.1	36.3	0.24
Government should provide contraception in general to single youth	84.5	86.3	90.1	
Average score on media exposure[d]	4.93	4.54	4.89	0.00
Watch x-rated films				
Regularly	2.5	0.9	2.3	
Occasionally	19.5	7.7	25.4	0.00
Never	7.0	91.4	72.3	
Watch				
Showbiz talk show	56.7	60.7	41.2	0.00
Romance/drama	58.7	68.5	45.0	0.00
Musical variety	55.4	67.,8	56.6	0.00
Sitcom	72.5	74.4	76.5	0.02
Talk shows	33.0	40.0	33.6	0.03
News	71.6	69.2	69.3	0.55
Educational	34.6	34.7	33.3	0.57
Sports	55.0	42.6	67.5	0.00
Listen to				
News	55.9	56.8	54.3	0.49
Commentary	34.2	33.4	28.2	0.01
Romance/drama	44.0	49.6	39.7	0.00
Advice	45.6	47.4	37.1	0.00
Dedication	32.9	41.5	34.5	0.00
Music	89.6	88.0	91.8	0.03
Sports	35.5	30.2	44.6	0.00

Characteristics	Bisexual (n=725)	Homosexual (n=3686)	Heterosexual (n=1156)	P[b]
Read				
Love story comics	59.0	67.7	89.6	0.14
"Tiktik" comics[e]	7.2	12.2	14.6	0.00
Variety comics	56.1	57.0	60.0	0.65
Showbiz magazine	36.7	48.7	32.4	0.00
Love story pocketbooks	60.4	72.0	53.0	0.00
Sports or adventure	35.0	37.5	45.7	0.11
Tagalog tabloid	53.5	57.3	53.2	0.39
English broadsheet	59.7	51.9	52.8	0.05
Local dialect tabloid	26.2	26.5	24.2	0.93
Local dialect broadsheet	20.8	19.8	16.9	0.20
English tabloid	52.0	54.2	49.7	0.64
Frequently go to[f]				
Parties	9.7	5.9	8.8	0.00
Disco	7.8	3.1	7.4	0.00
Excursion/picnics	10.3	6.3	8.8	0.00
Massage parlors	1.1	1.3	1.1	0.51
Sports activities	23.8	13.3	38.6	0.00
Movie houses	15.7	9.8	17.2	0.00
Fraternity or sorority activities	1.8	2.0	1.7	0.19
Night out	23.7	10.4	23.8	0.00
Strip shows or nigh clubs	1.0	0.6	1.3	0.00
Beer houses	2.3	0.9	3.3	0.00
Smoking				
Ever tried	45.1	23.3	55.2	0.00
Currently smoking	21.5	14.6	25.5	0.00
Alcoholic drinks				
Ever tried	64.6	43.8	71.0	0.00
Currently drinking	7.1	2.0	10.9	0.00
Drugs				
Ever tried	8.2	1.7	10.1	0.00
Currently using	0.0	15.0	3.2	0.02
Stable parent's marriage	72.6	73.3	72.7	0.99
Have enough knowledge of sex	33.8	30.3	27.4	0.01
Ever been on single date	77.9	61.3	72.6	0.00
On first single date				
Hold hands	64.6	51.3	69.0	0.00
Kiss	37.3	20.2	42.1	0.00
Pet	12.7	4.8	15.9	0.00
"Go all the way"	1.7	2.9	3.7	0.11

Characteristics	Bisexual (n=725)	Homosexual (n=3686)	Heterosexual (n=1156)	P[b]
On dates in general				
Holds hands	64.6	51.3	69.0	0.00
Kiss	62.4	51.8	66.5	0.00
Pet	26.1	12.8	28.0	0.00
"Go all the way"	11.8	4.5	7.4	0.00
Ever had sexual intercourse	21.5	11.1	25.2	0.00
Ever had sexual intercourse without full consent	92.3	82.2	88.3	0.20
Know STDs	77.5	64.5	73.3	0.00
Heard of AIDS	97.1	95.5	97.4	0.00

[a]Based on main YAFS2 questionnaire item on sexual attraction to same and opposite sex; i.e., with sexual attraction to same and opposite sex-bisexual, with sexual attraction to opposite sex only-heterosexual, with sexual attraction to same sex only-homosexual.

[b]Probability of Pearson Chi-square statistic, statistically significant at .05 if p is less than or equal to .05.

[c]Probability of Chi-square statistic in Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA, statistically significant at .05 if p is less than or equal to .05.

[d]Additive index of watching tv, listening to radio, reading newspapers and comics, and watching movies and video.

[e]"Tiktik" comics are pornographic comics in the Philippines.

[f]At least five times ever been to each place or social event enumerated.

As shown on Table 1, most of these 5,567 respondents are based in the main island of Luzon although a slightly greater segment of heterosexuals (43.6%) are found here than either bisexuals (39.4%) or homosexuals (42.6%). There are also more bisexuals situated in the central region of the Visayan Island (23.3%) than homosexual (19.4%) or heterosexual (20.0%) youth. Moreover, it is interesting to find a larger section of homosexual youth based in the southernmost major island of Mindanao (3.1%) the island region of the country known for its sizeable Muslim population compared to their bisexual (25.5%) and heterosexual (21.8%) counterparts. More of the heterosexuals (14.4%) are located in the National Capital Region of Metropolitan Manila than those of bisexuals (11.7%) or homosexuals (7.2%).

Furthermore, statistical figures on Table 1 show a greater segment of heterosexuals (60.3%) as urban based than their bisexual (57.1%) or homosexual (51.7%) counterparts. These geographic distributions show a wide distribution of bisexual and homosexual youth, a substantial proportion of who are not only based in either the main Philippine island of Luzon or the urban National Capital Region of Metro Manila itself but in the rural countryside regions of the Visayas and Mindanao where, in fact, a greater proportion of the subsample of bisexuals and homosexuals were found. Any program aimed at responding effectively to the needs of the sexual minorities ought to take into account such wide areal dispersion of these young adults.

An equally interesting finding reveals that a larger segment of either bisexual (45.7%) or homosexual (69.5%) youth are single females, at least based on professed sexual attraction for same, opposite or both sexes, whereas majority of heterosexual respondents (74.0%) are single males. This pattern may reflect a greater propensity among women than men towards admitting either bisexual or homosexual attraction. This is seemingly borne by the fact that there are reportedly far more single young adult males among bisexuals (39.6%) than among homosexuals (10.7%), perhaps once more implying a greater acceptability of attraction toward both sexes than to the same sex among men especially in a staunchly patriarchal Catholic society like the Philippines. Curiously enough, percentage figures on Table 1 also imply that there are more ever-married individuals among bisexuals (14.8%) and homosexuals (19.8%) than heterosexuals (7.7%).

While most respondents were born in the rural areas, a significantly larger proportion of such births occurred among homosexuals (59.6%) than either bisexuals (56.2%) or heterosexuals (52.8%). In addition, a statistically greater segment of bisexuals (49.1%) had ever lived in a city than their homosexual (44.4%) or heterosexual (39.5%) counterparts. There is also a significantly higher incidence of bisexuals (53.9%) who have ever lived away from their parents compared to either homosexuals (51.2%) or heterosexuals (42.9%).

Economic activity and type of occupation likewise comprise two major sources of variations of respondents by attraction to the same or opposite sex. In particular, statistical figures show that a greater proportion of homosexuals (48.6%) are students compared to their bisexual (42.1%) and heterosexual (42.5%) counterparts. Far more homosexuals (21.5%) are also doing housework than their bisexual (16.9%) or heterosexual (12.1%) counterparts, perhaps attributed to the earlier result that shows that there are more female youth respondents (regardless of marital status) who admitted their sexual attraction to either both sexes or just the same sex. There are also more unemployed heterosexuals (8.0%) than those among bisexuals (7.5%) or homosexuals (4.1%). A greater segment of heterosexuals are in agriculture (32.4%) than their bisexual (23.6%) or homosexual (13.2%) counterparts. In contrast, the largest segment of bisexuals (30.9%) and homosexuals (43.4%) are engaged in community and social service occupations.

Significantly more homosexuals (75.5%) are employees compared to bisexuals (63.3%) or heterosexuals (62.1%) although, at the same time, a larger proportion of homosexuals (8.1%) are employers relative to their bisexual (17.2%) or heterosexual (19.5%) counterparts. On the other hand, a greater segment of heterosexuals (19.5%) are self-employed than either bisexuals (17.2%) or homosexuals (14.8%). In addition, a larger proportion of heterosexuals (16.2%) are unpaid family workers than bisexuals (11.3%) or homosexuals (7.0%). The place of work likewise constitutes a significant source of variation among the three groups with far more homosexuals (50.6%) working outside their village of residence than heterosexuals (44.8%) or bisexuals (43.9%). At the same time, a greater proportion of homosexuals (28.4%) work within their homes than bisexuals (26.5%) or heterosexuals (23.5%). Meanwhile, a significant larger segment of heterosexuals (31.7%) also work outside their homes compared to bisexuals (29.6%) and homosexuals (21.0%).

In terms of education, there are significantly who more bisexuals (23.1%) and homosexuals (18.6%) have achieved at least a collegiate level of schooling than their heterosexuals (14.8%) counterparts. However, far more heterosexual have fathers (17.7%) and mothers (16.8%) who have a similar level of schooling than bisexuals (16.2% and 11.3% accordingly) or homosexuals (8.6% and 10.4% respectively). On the other hand, a significantly greater proportion of heterosexuals (55.2%) than bisexuals (43.9%) and homosexuals (41.7%) than heterosexuals (38.3.%) cited the lack of funds as the main reason for leaving school. A larger segment of bisexuals (21.7%) also left upon completing school compared to homosexuals (18.6%) and heterosexuals (18.7%). In addition, more heterosexuals (14.5%) likewise indicated that they "didn't like school" relative to bisexuals (8.7%) or homosexuals (12.0%). Results seem to suggest, therefore, a significant need for greater assistance to fund the schooling of bisexual and homosexual youth.

There are also significant variations in terms of religious affiliation among the three groups with a larger share of heterosexuals (87.7%) who are Catholics compared to homosexuals (85.1%) and bisexuals (83.2%) professing the same faith. Nonetheless, there is significantly greater religiosity among bisexuals and homosexuals specifically in terms of weekly attendance in religious services as well as participation in religious activities. In particular, Table 1 shows that larger proportion of bisexuals (13.4%) and homosexuals (13.8%) attend religious services at least once a week compared to heterosexuals (10.7%). Moreover, a greater segment of bisexuals (57.2%) and homosexuals (59.0%) participate in religious activities relative to their heterosexual counterparts (49.1%). In addition, more bisexuals (25.2%) than either homosexuals or heterosexuals (22.7%) view their religion as opposing contraception.

Moreover, a greater proportion of heterosexuals (90.1%) thought that government ought to provide contraceptive supplies and services to single youth compared to homosexuals (86.3%) and bisexuals (84.5%). In certain respects, therefore, such as that of participating in religious services and other similar activities on a more regular basis as well as in terms of their perceived religious parameters on contraception and family planning, bisexuals and homosexuals tend to have a greater propensity for being "conservative" relative to their heterosexual counterparts. Nonetheless, nonparametric statistical analyses still show a significantly higher score on media exposure (i.e., additive index from variables on watching television, listening to radio, reading newspapers and comics, and watching movies and video) among bisexuals (4.93%) and heterosexuals (4.89%) and homosexuals (4.54%).

In addition, bisexuals and homosexuals tend to be more "conservative" compared to their heterosexual counterparts specifically in terms of watching pornographic x-rated films. In particular, more homosexuals (91.4%) and bisexuals (78.0%) indicated that they have never watched such films compared to their heterosexual counterparts (72.3%). Indeed, a far greater proportion of heterosexuals (27.7%) than bisexuals (22.0%) or homosexuals (8.6%) watched these types of movies at least on a regular basis.

There are also significant variations in what bisexuals, homosexuals, and heterosexuals watch on television or listen to on the radio. In terms of watching other television programs, homosexuals have a greater propensity to watch show business talk shows (60.7%), romance or drama shows (68.5%), musical variety shows (67.8%) and talks shows (60.7%) compared to bisexuals and heterosexuals. On the other hand, heterosexuals have a higher proclivity to watch situational comedy shows (76.5%) and sports shows (67.5%) relative to bisexuals and homosexuals.

Meanwhile, bisexuals tend to listen to commentary programs on the radio (34.2%) compared to homosexuals and heterosexuals. Homosexuals have a significantly greater propensity to listen to radio programs of romance or drama (49.6%), counseling or advice (47.4%), and musical dedication (41.5%) relative to bisexuals and heterosexuals. Heterosexuals tend to listen more to music (91.8%) and sports (44.6%) radio programs than either bisexuals or homosexuals.

Furthermore, significant differences exist as to the frequent reading materials of these three groups. More specifically, more of homosexuals read show business (48.7%) and love story magazines (72.0%) compared to their bisexual and heterosexual counterparts. Heterosexuals tend to read local pornographic "tiktik" magazines (14.6%) relative to bisexuals and homosexuals. Meanwhile, bisexuals tend to have a greater propensity to read English tabloids (59.7%) and also spoke fluent Filipino or Tagalog, the national language. Statistical analyses show no significant difference in terms of the respondents' ability to read or speak English.

The three groups likewise differ significantly in terms of the type of social event they attend most frequently. In particular, a greater proportion of bisexuals attend parties (9.7%), go to discos (7.8%), and join excursions or picnics (10.3%) compared to homosexuals and heterosexuals. On the other hand, a larger segment of heterosexuals participate in sports activities (38.6%), watch in movie houses (17.2%), go on "night outs" (23.8%), go to strip shows or night clubs (1.3%) and frequent beer houses (3.3%).

Significant differences also exist among the three groups in terms of smoking, alcohol drinking, and drug use. More specifically, statistical results show that heterosexuals compared to bisexuals or homosexuals have a significantly greater proclivity to have ever tried (55.2%) or are currently (25.5%) smoking. In addition, the findings likewise reveal that heterosexuals rather than bisexuals and homosexuals have a higher propensity to have ever tried (71.0%) or are currently consuming alcoholic drinks. However, while a larger segment of heterosexuals have ever tried using drugs (10.1%) compared to bisexuals and homosexuals, a greater proportion of homosexuals than bisexuals and heterosexuals are currently using drugs (15.0%).

Statistical findings also show that bisexuals (33.8%) have a greater propensity to view themselves as having "enough knowledge of sex" compared to homosexuals (30.3%) and heterosexuals (27.4%). Far more of bisexuals (77.9%) have likewise been on a single date relative to their homosexual (61.3%) and heterosexual counterparts (72.6%). In terms of sexual behavior during a single date, heterosexuals tend to have a significantly higher proclivity to hold hands (69.0%), kiss (42.1%), and pet (15.9%) compared to bisexuals and homosexuals. Meanwhile, in terms of dates in general, bisexuals have a greater propensity to hold hands (88.5%) and "going all the way" (11.85) than their homosexual or heterosexual counterparts.

On the other hand, heterosexuals have a significantly higher proclivity to kiss (66.5%) and pet (28.0%) than either bisexuals or homosexuals. In addition, more of heterosexuals (25.2%) have ever experienced sexual intercourse than bisexuals and homosexuals. A significantly larger segment of bisexuals (77.5%) know about sexually-transmitted diseases than either bisexuals or homosexuals.

Furthermore, a substantially larger proportion of heterosexuals have ever heard of AIDS (97.4%) relative to bisexuals and homosexuals. As such, there exists a greater need for HIV/AIDS educational programs aimed at raising awareness among bisexual and homosexual Filipino youth.

Sexual Attraction to and Intercourse with the Same Sex

The previous subsection focused on sexual identification through the individual's desire for a sexual or affectionate partner. The current section proceeds further to account for variations in characteristics by attraction to as well as actual sexual experience with the same sex. As such, the subsequent discussions will not necessarily cover bisexual desires or behaviors inasmuch as attraction to or even sexual experience with the same sex does not essentially preclude the same desire or behavior with the opposite sex. Nonetheless, the current analyses examines homosexual desire and behavior at the very least.

As shown on Table 2 and 3, this section analyzes significant variations within each sex attraction to as well as sexual experience with the same sex by the following characteristics:

1. Drug use
2. Use of "turok" or injectable drugs
3. Experience of premarital intercourse
4. Receiving pay for sexual intercourse
5. Experience of having STD
6. Experience of sexual intercourse with prostitute
7. Experience of extramarital affair
8. Experience of abortion

In terms of attraction to the same sex, Table 2 shows a significantly higher proportion of females who have ever been attracted to other females compared to females who did not indicate the same sexual desire have likewise ever used drugs (4.8%), have ever tried "turok" or injectable drug (4.5%), ever had STD (1.9%), ever had extramarital affairs (11.0%) and ever had an abortion (8.6%). On the other hand, a significantly larger segment of males who have ever

Table 2. Characteristics by homosexual attraction

Characteristics	Ever Been Attracted to Same Sex? Ever	Never	Significance[a]
A. Females			
Ever used drugs	4.8	1.5	0.00
Ever tried "turok" (injectable drugs)	4.5	1.4	0.00
Ever had premarital sexual intercourse	9.3	7.7	0.25
Ever received pay for sex	1.7	0.9	0.15
Ever had STD	1.9	0.5	0.00
Ever had sex with prostitute		No Information	
Ever had extramarital affair	11.0	2.7	0.00
Ever had abortion	8.6	2.5	0.00
B. Males			
Ever used drugs	24.4	12.6	0.00
Ever tried "turok" (injectable drugs)	11.8	1.9	0.00
Ever had premarital sexual intercourse	42.7	26.0	0.00
Ever received pay for sex	20.1	3.3	0.00
Ever had STD	12.4	1.5	0.00
Ever had sex with prostitute	17.3	9.0	0.00
Ever had extramarital affair	31.3	14.2	0.06
Ever had abortion		Not applicable	

Note: [a]Probability of Pearson Chi-square statistic, statistically significant at .05 if p is less than or equal to .05.

been attracted to other males relative to males who have never been attracted to the same sex have ever used drugs (24.4%), ever tried "turok" (11.8%), ever had premarital sexual intercourse (42.7%), ever received pay for sexual intercourse (20.1%), ever had STD (12.4%), ever had sex with prostitutes (17.3%), and ever had extramarital affairs (31.3%). Indeed, these statistical results clearly demonstrate a substantial need for programs directed at addressing the unique needs of male and female youth who have indicated homosexual desires particularly in the areas of drug use, premarital sex, STDs, prostitution, sexual monogamy, and abortion especially since these young adults are shown to experience more these specific behaviors than their counterparts who did not indicate any homosexual desires.

Furthermore, Table 3 shows that the same pattern of differentials emerges when taking into account male and female youth respondents who have actually experienced intercourse with the same sex. In particular, statistical results show that both male and female respondents who have ever experienced homosexual intercourse have a greater propensity to try "turok" (13.3% for females and 14.0% for males), ever experienced premarital intercourse (18.6% and 60.0%), ever received pay for intercourse (16.7% and 33.1%), ever had STDs (15.0% and 15.5%), and ever had extramarital affairs (25.0% and 62.5%). Moreover, more males who have experienced homosexual intercourse also have a greater propensity to have ever used drugs (34.5%) and have ever had sex with a prostitute (31.9%) compared to males who have never experienced homosexual intercourse. On the other hand, more females who have experienced homosexual intercourse have a significantly higher proclivity towards an abortion (25.0%) than females who have never experienced same-sex intercourse. Once more, these statistical results reveal the urgent need for programs to address the unique needs of these homosexually-active male and female youth specifically in terms of illegal drug use, premarital intercourse, prostitution, STDs, sexual monogamy, and abortion.

Table 3. Characteristics by homosexual experience

Characteristics	Ever Been Attracted to Same Sex? Ever	Never	Significance[a]
C. Females			
Ever used drugs	5.2	1.9	0.07
Ever tried "turok" (injectable drugs)	13.3	1.5	0.00
Ever had premarital sexual intercourse	18.6	7.7	0.00
Ever received pay for sex	16.7	0.7	0.00
Ever had STD	15.0	0.04	0.00
Ever had sex with prostitute		No Information	
Ever had extramarital affair	18.8	3.2	0.00
Ever had abortion	25.0	2.7	0.00
B. Males			
Ever used drugs	34.5	12.1	0.00
Ever tried "turok" (injectable drugs)	14.0	1.8	0.00
Ever had premarital sexual intercourse	60.0	25.4	0.00
Ever received pay for sex	33.1	2.9	0.00
Ever had STD	15.5	1.4	0.00
Ever had sex with prostitute	31.9	8.4	0.00
Ever had extramarital affair	62.5	12.3	0.00
Ever had abortion		Not applicable	

Note: [a]Probability of Pearson Chi-square statistic, statistically significant at .05 if p is less than or equal to .05.

SYNTHESIS

This paper aimed to, first, create a baseline of information on socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of homosexual and bisexual Filipino youth and, second, compare this profile to that of their heterosexual counterparts. To accomplish these research objectives, this paper used the 2nd Young Adolescent Fertility and Sexuality Study" (YAFSS2) survey database collected in 1994 by the University of the Philippines Population Institute. Using the main YAFSS2 questionnaire, a first stage of analysis defines bisexuality, homosexuality, and heterosexuality are classified based on the individual's sexual attraction to the opposite, same, or both sexes. In addition, a so-called "sealed envelope" YAFSS2 questionnaire containing questions on sensitive information such as drug use, prostitution, STDs, abortion, and the like, were given to a subsample of 6,258 male and female respondents.

Based on sexual attraction, homosexual and bisexual Filipino youth differ significantly from heterosexual young adults specifically in terms of the following characteristics considered in the current study:

1. Geographic location and urban residence
2. Marital status and sex
3. Birthplace
4. Experience of city living and being away from parents
5. Main socioeconomic activity
6. Type of industrial occupation
7. Employment status
8. Place of work
9. Highest level of education as well as parental education
10. Leaving school and reasons for doing so
11. Fluency in national language of Filipino or Tagalog
12. Religious affiliation and some measures of religiosity
13. Self-perception of own religion being against contraceptive use
14. View on government provision of contraception to single youth
15. Mass media exposure
16. Exposure to x-rated films
17. Specific types of TV and radio programs watched and listened to
18. Various kinds of reading materials
19. Frequency of going to social events and places
20. Experience of smoking, alcohol drinking, and drug use
21. Self-perception of adequacy of knowledge on sex
22. Experience of single date and sexual behaviors during dates
23. Experience of sexual intercourse
24. Knowledge and awareness of STDs and AIDs

The previous section on differentials based on sexual attraction of the young adults discussed in detail how homosexual and bisexual Filipino youth varied from their heterosexual counterparts in terms of the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics enumerated above. More importantly, however, an emergent central theme underlying all these differences points to the importance of tailoring programs according to the professed attraction for sexual partners among young adults. Homosexual and bisexual youth have significantly different characteristics from their heterosexual counterparts, and programs have to account for such differences to adequately address their reproductive health and other related needs. Certain problems such as drug use, for instance, varies in the level of incidence among these three groups of young adults. In particular, results have shown that while more heterosexual youth have ever tried using drugs, a far larger share of homosexual young adults are currently using drugs. In effect, the demand for public and private intervention directed at serving the needs of young adults will likewise vary significantly according to their preference for a sexual partner.

On the other hand, a second section on differentials based on homosexual attraction as well as actual experience of homosexual intercourse demonstrates that both homosexuals and non-homosexuals alike have the following problems commonly associated among the youth:

1. Drug use
2. Use of "turok" or injectable drugs
3. Experience of premarital intercourse

4. Receiving pay for sexual intercourse
5. Experience of having STD
6. Experience of sexual intercourse with prostitute
7. Experience of extramarital affair
8. Experience of abortion

Statistical analyses also show that these problems enumerated above are experienced more among, first, homosexuals rather than non-homosexuals, and, second, among male homosexuals rather than female homosexuals. These results further lend support to the contention that public and private programs have to take into account the professed sexual attraction to and actual experience of sexual intercourse with the same sex among young adults to respond more effectively to the reproductive health and other related needs of these individuals.

In effect, the current endeavor demonstrates the need to raise awareness among program advocates and policy planners with respect to the vital importance of accounting for the sexual orientation of their intended clientele. Statistical results clearly show that, whether defined in terms of choice of a sexual partner or the actual experience of intercourse with someone of the same sex, sexuality constitutes a crucial variable in the formulation of more responsive programs and policies particularly those directed at serving the youth. These findings imply, therefore, that no single program or policy can effectively address the reproductive health and other related needs of young adults, at least until their sexual orientation is actively included in the planning process. Indeed, such contention builds upon the fact that bisexual, homosexual, and heterosexual youth vary significantly in terms of their life experiences as they go through the process of social and sexual maturation.

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How Content Area Teachers Mark Written Work: Implications for Language Curriculum and Instruction*

ISABEL PEFIANCO MARTIN

In designing English language courses, we often take into account the needs of students, as well as of other stakeholders in the academic community. One such stakeholder is the content area teacher, who is traditionally viewed as a beneficiary of effective English language teaching (ELT).

Using a survey, this paper looks into how these content area teachers mark their students' written work. The survey hopes to determine the criteria used by these teachers in grading reports and essays. As the writer analyzes how content area teachers mark written work, she also hopes to draw implications for English language curriculum and instruction in Ateneo de Manila University. In the end, it is argued that content area teachers are not just beneficiaries of ELT; they are also active partners of English language teachers.

INTRODUCTION

Some weeks ago, the English Department received an email message from a Computer Science teacher complaining about his student's exam. The message reads:

> Is there something that you guys are not doing in the English department that you are supposed to do? I gave a test and one of the questions asked for the converse, inverse, and contrapositive of certain implications. Here are the answers:
>
> If it is not rain today then I'm not stay at home.
>
> If I'm not stay at home then it will not rain today.
>
> If I sleep UNTILL noon then it means I stay up late.
>
> If I not stay up late, it is not necessary that I sleep until noon.
>
> If I'm not sleep until noon, then I'm not stay up late.
>
> Can I send this student back to you guys for tutoring (gratis)? Or should he ask for a refund from Ateneo?

Although the email message was written in jest (as the Computer Science teacher claims), this message and the reactions it drew from other non-English teachers (or content-area teachers) are symptomatic of an attitude that prevails among the faculty of the Loyola Schools of Ateneo de Manila University. It is an attitude that tends to confine the task of English language teaching (ELT) within the borders of the English Department.

Given his student's exam, the Computer Science teacher certainly had a reason to worry about the students' English language proficiency. His first impulse, of course, was to wonder whether the English Department was doing its job. As English language teaching professionals, our knee-jerk reaction, of course, was to defend ourselves. Armed with socio-linguistic and language learning theories and studies that, we believe, content-area teachers are uninformed

*This was read at the Seventh English Southeast Asia Conference at the Hongkong Baptist University, Hongkong on 6–8 December 2002. Dr. Martin is a professor at the English Department of Ateneo de Manila University.

about, we retorted: ...but this deterioration in English language proficiency is a world-wide phenomenon... but we cannot fix in just 6 to 12 units of language courses what had been produced in 12 years of schooling...

That incident, however, led us to ask more questions: Should such comments from content-area teachers be dismissed by the English teachers as encroaching into ELT territory? Since content-area teachers, not just students, also benefit from the success of ELT in a school, shouldn't these teachers also take a more active role in ELT?

In the hope of forging a genuine partnership between English teachers and content-area teachers in Ateneo de Manila University, I thought it best to conduct a survey that would look into how content area teachers marked their students' written work. The survey hoped to determine the criteria used by these teachers in assigning grades to written reports, essays, and exams. In this investigation of how content-area teachers mark written work, I hope to draw implications for English language curriculum and instruction in the Loyola Schools of Ateneo de Manila University.

Ateneo de Manila University, a Jesuit university in Manila, has a student population in the college of not more than 7,000 undergraduate and graduate students. In the Philippines, students of Ateneo de Manila are recognized as having a higher English language proficiency than students from most Philippine universities. There are four Schools that make up the Loyola Schools (college department) of Ateneo de Manila: (1) School of Humanities, to which the English Department belongs; (2) School of Science and Engineering; (3) School of Social Sciences, and (4) School of Management. In the Loyola Schools, there are more than 250 full-time faculty members. This survey did not include teachers in the English Department.

INVESTIGATION

The survey questionnaire I distributed had two parts. The first part required a structured response from the content-area teachers on six items; the second part was an open-ended section asking for other criteria for marking papers.

Table 1. The Questionnaire

PART ONE. Please tick the box that corresponds to your response to the statements below.

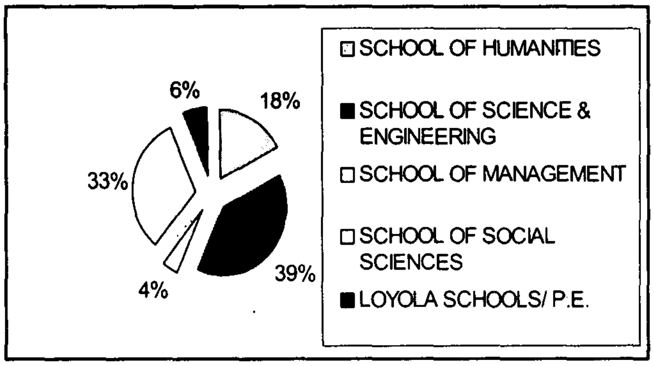
Whenever I mark written work (reports, projects, papers, exams, and essays), I...	Always	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
1. Give weight to the quality of the student's ideas about his/her chosen subject				
2. Consider the smooth and orderly flow of ideas				
3. Consider the precise and appropriate use of words				
4. Consider the correctness of grammar, such as subject-verb agreement and verb tense consistency				
5. Consider the correctness of writing mechanics, such as spelling and punctuation				
6. Look for evidence of research in the written work (presence of citations and bibliographical information)				

PART TWO. Please answer the following question.

Other than those mentioned above, what other criteria do you consider whenever you mark written work?

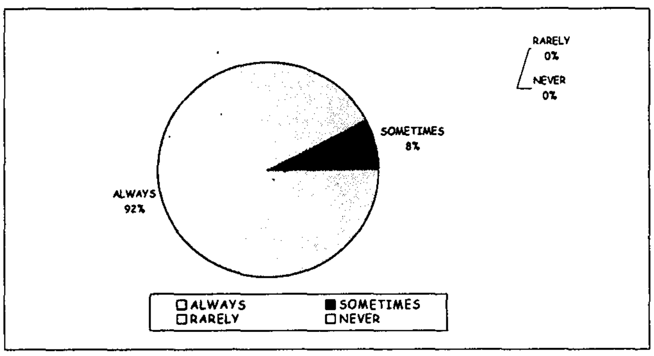
Of 235 full-time content-area teachers surveyed, 94 (or 40 percent) turned in their accomplished questionnaires. These 94 faculty members come from the following Schools in the university.[1]

Figure 1. Profile of the Respondents



In item 1 of the first part of the questionnaire, 92 per cent of the respondents reported that they *always* gave weight to the quality of the student's ideas about his/her chosen subject; not one responded with *rarely* or *never.*

Figure 2. Responses to Part I Item 1: I Give Weight to the Quality of the Student's Ideas about his/her Chosen Subject



In the second item, a higher percentage of content-area teachers, 93 percent, *always* considered the smooth and orderly flow of ideas whenever they marked their students' written work; again, not one responded with *rarely* or *never.*

As regards the extent to which content-area teachers consider the precise and appropriate use of words whenever they mark written work, 63 percent responded with *always*, 36 percent with *sometimes*, and 1 percent with *rarely.*

Compared to item 3, fewer content-area teachers, about 49 percent, reported that they *always* considered the correctness of grammar in marking students' written work; 40 percent responded with *sometimes* and 10 per cent with *rarely.* On this item, although only a very small percentage, one percent responded with *never.*

As for the content-area teachers' concern for writing mechanics, there seems to be a similar result in item 4. Again, only 49 percent reported that they *always* considered the correctness of writing mechanics whenever they marked written work; 39 percent responded with *sometimes*, 9 percent with *rarely.* It is

Figure 3. Responses to Part I Item 2: I Consider the Smooth and Orderly Flow of Ideas.

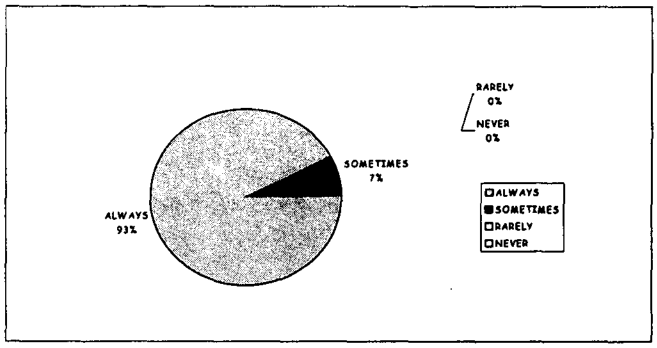
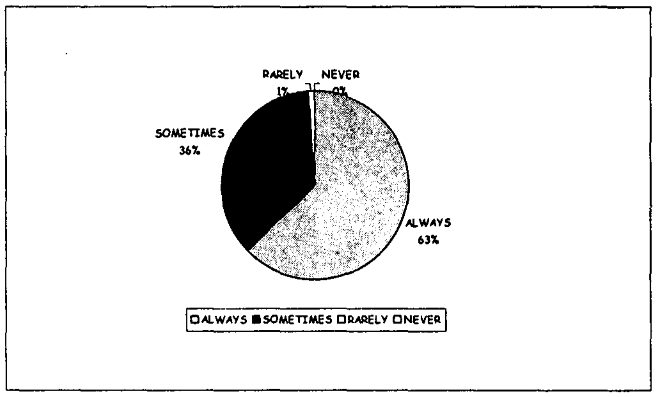


Figure 4. Responses to Part I Item 3: I Consider the Precise and Appropriate Use of Words.



in this item where I found the largest percentage, about 3 percent, who responded with *never.*

In the last item of part 1 of the questionnaire, 76 percent reported that they *always* looked for evidence of research in their students' written work; 20 percent responded with *sometimes* and 3 percent with *rarely.*

The results of the survey reveal that most content-area teachers pay attention to (1) the quality of ideas in the written work; (2) the smooth and orderly flow of these ideas; (3) the precise and appropriate use of

Figure 5. Responses to Part I Item 4: I Consider the Correctness of Grammar such as Subject-Verb Agreement and Verb-Tense Consistency

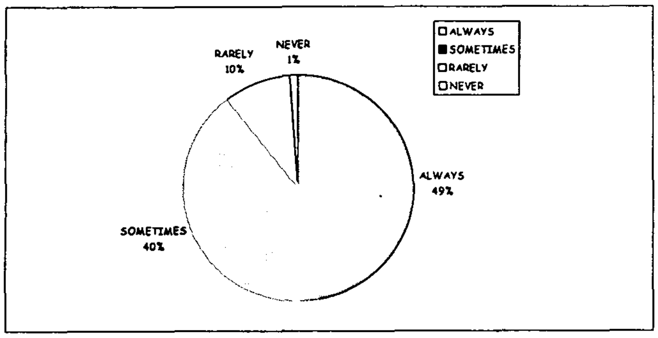
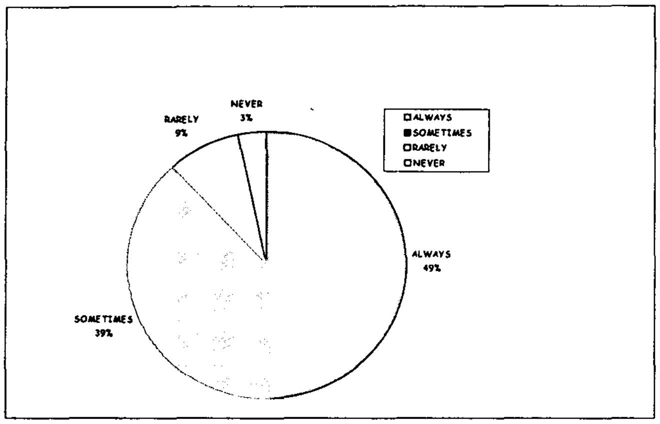


Figure 6. Responses to Part I Item 5: I Consider the Correctness of Writing Mechanics such as Spelling and Punctuation.



words; and (4) evidence of research in the written work. To some extent, content-area teachers also pay attention to the correctness of grammar and writing mechanics.

More specifically, a comparison of the frequency of those who reported ALWAYS in the six items in part 1 of the questionnaire reveals two trends in how content-area teachers mark their students' written work: (1) a large majority of the teachers *always* paid attention to the quality of the students' ideas, as well as to the smooth and orderly flow of ideas in the written work; on the other hand, (2) a smaller number, less than half of those surveyed, *always* paid attention to the correctness of grammar and writing mechanics.

The results of the open-ended section in part 2 of the questionnaire support these conclusions. Although the respondents were asked to identify *other* criteria used in marking written work, most of the content-area teachers simply paraphrased the items in part 1 of the questionnaire:

- Since this is more or less a technical course, I look for ideas conveyed on the topic.
- I give more weight/a higher score to students whose ideas are unique/who think out of the box (I don't like students who just repeat what's in the book.)
- Lucid writing, writing economically, writing factually
- Use of technical words; simplicity/clarity
- Objective knowledge; factual content
- Articulation (precision and sensitivity to nuances of ideas)
- Insight (ability to go beyond facts, reflection, synthesis, personal application)
- My instructions for answering essay questions: Answer...clearly, concretely, and completely...
- Persuasiveness of the arguments; knowledge of the subject matter
- Organization, smooth flow of ideas, logical arguments
- Clarity of expression (always)

Figure 7. Responses to Part I Item 6: I Look for Evidence of Research in the Written Work (Presence of Citations and Bibliographical Information.

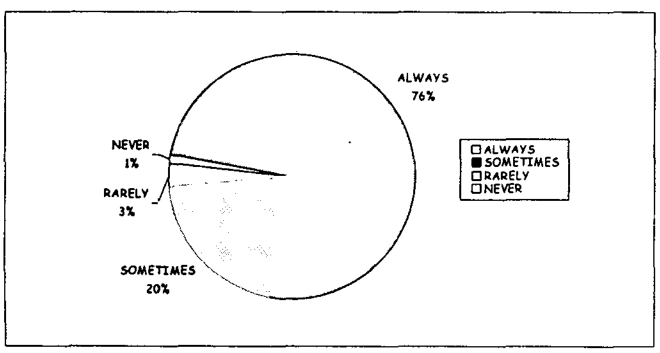
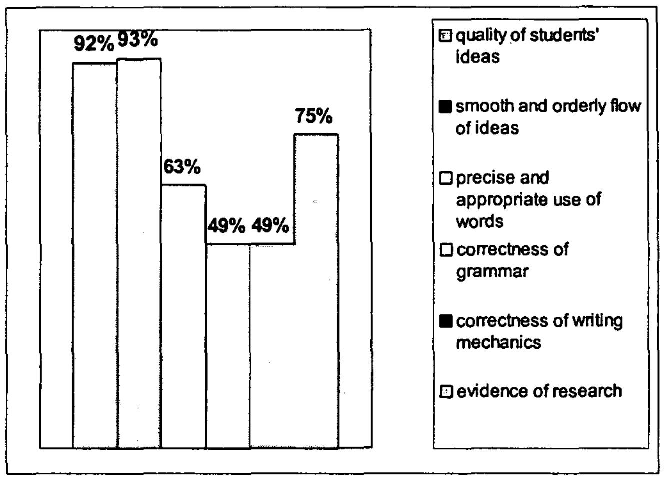


Figure 8. Frequency of those who reported ALWAYS



- Ability to exemplify the truth or principle discussed...its relevance
- Brief, condensed, to the point

DISCUSSION

That content-area teachers pay more attention to quality and flow of ideas in their students' written work and less to grammar and mechanics is quite expected. It is, after all, the task of an English Department as a service department to introduce to the students the linguistic tools they need to function effectively in an academic setting. This is precisely the reason why English language courses are freshman courses in the Loyola Schools. This is also the reason why the English Department requires about 20 percent of the freshmen to attend a 6-unit bridging course (EN 10: Introduction to College English) before they qualify for the regular English language courses in the college (EN 11 and 12: Communication in English 1 and 2).

A first impulse, of course, given the results of the survey, is to conclude that the English Department should focus more on teaching writing accuracy because the content-area teachers take care of content anyway. However, writing teachers know that such a form-dominated approach, which was popular in the 1960s and 70s (Raimes 1993), ignores the complex process of writing. In addition, the development of writing accuracy alone does not translate into the development of good writing. Omaggio (1986) tells us that:

> Good writing in any language involves knowledge of the conventions of written discourse in that culture as well as the abilities to choose from near synonyms the precise word that conveys one's meaning, select from a variety of syntactic structures those that transmit one's message most precisely, and adopt a style that will have the most positive rhetorical effect. Obviously, such expertise will not develop merely from practice exercises in grammar and vocabulary at the sentence level.

Another first-impulse reaction to the results of the survey is to swing to the opposite extreme. Because content-area teachers do not give much weight to grammar and writing mechanics, English writing teachers in the Loyola Schools should ignore the form-dominated approach to teaching writing, and instead, focus on the creation of meaning in the written work. Such approach to teaching writing downplays accuracy, or at least, postpones it until the writer is able to produce ideas that are meaningful to him or her. Thus, the stress is on writing as a process of developing meaning. This process, however, can be a rather lengthy and tiresome process that does not easily lend itself to the constraints of the classroom. In addition, ignoring writing accuracy altogether would certainly shortchange our students who are not first-language users of English and who need to be proficient in the language for various personal and professional needs.

What then would be the most appropriate approach to teaching writing given the needs of Ateneo de Manila students, as well as the content-area teachers who are also stakeholders in the success or failure of ELT in the Loyola Schools? Two other approaches may be seriously considered: the content-based approach and the audience-dominated approach (Raimes 1993). These approaches are not mutually exclusive and seem to be more teacher-friendly than approaches that focus on simply form and process.

In the content-based approach, the writing teacher works very closely with the content-area teachers in situations of team teaching or course merging. The focus of teaching writing is English for specific academic purposes. A course on technical writing, for example, may be designed to merge two disciplines such as natural science and report writing. Thus, the approach calls for close collaboration between content-area and English language teachers. One downside of this approach, however, is the choice of content-area. Because our students are in mixed groupings in their freshman classes, who is to say that Computer Science is more important than Environmental Science, for example? In addition, a content-dominated approach requires some institutional arrangements that can be rather messy and therefore undesirable.

The audience-dominated approach, on the other hand, is concerned about writing that matches readers' expectations of academic discourse. Of course, the downside of this approach of teaching writing is that the readers must be clearly and accurately identified so that their expectations are met. And even if writing teachers are able to identify the target audience of their students' writing, to what extent are they capable of successfully predicting the expectations of these readers? The survey I conducted is an attempt to do just that—identify the expectations of the readers of our students. In this situation, however, an audience-dominated approach may not be helpful because the criteria for good writing identified by the content-area teachers are already the criteria used by writing teachers to evaluate their students' writing. In other words, the content-area teachers and English teachers in the Loyola Schools seem to have a consensus on what constitutes good writing.

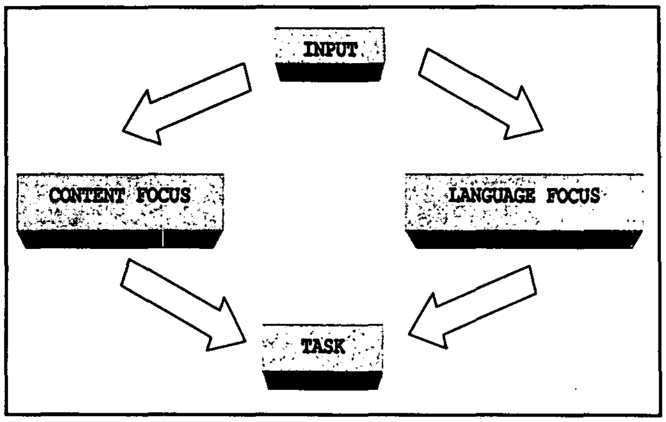
Rather than attend to form, the writing process, content, and audience as separate concerns in teaching writing, I propose an approach that balances all these and instead focuses on tasks. There is already an English language course in the general education curriculum of the school that takes a task-based approach to ELT. *Communication in English (CIE),*[2] formerly referred to as *Communication Across the Curriculum*, aims to help our college students develop the English communication skills they need to cope with the academic demands of their courses. To be specific, students of CIE are expected to perform the following tasks:

CIE 1 (3 units)	CIE 2 (3 units)
Pre-task: write an expository essay	Write a review paper
Write a feature article	Write an issue-defense essay or problem-solution essay
Pre-task: develop critical thinking	Write a reflection paper
Write an argumentative research paper	

In CIE, students are evaluated according to how they performed in these tasks. By definition, a task already combines content knowledge and language skills. In a sense, then, a task merges the concerns of both content-area teacher and English language teacher. In more specific terms, a task is a final or culminating activity or project that results from comprehending and practicing language and content focused skills derived from life-like or real-world activities (Hutchinson and Waters 1987).

The course *Communication in English* provides students with opportunities to perform tasks expected in their content-area courses (such as history, sociology, psychology, natural science, literature, politics, economics, and many others). It is hoped that in the process of undertaking these tasks, students not only develop the language skills they need, they are also introduced to content relevant to the field of expertise they are striving to develop in college.

Figure 9. Definition of a Task



However, CIE does not stop at helping students cope with academic writing. A second look at the tasks required in CIE tells us that the course is not simply a service course for other disciplines. The so-called "real world" activities students of CIE engage in transcend the boundaries of the Loyola Schools. Rather than keep our students confined within their academic experience, CIE in fact invites students to interrogate a world more real than the world of the Loyola Schools—it is a world fraught with marginal and often conflicting voices. It is the real world that our students are taught to be responsible for.

Thus, teaching writing in CIE is not simply a pedagogical act; it is also a political act that contributes to the vision of the university to form leaders for our country.

CONCLUSION

This survey about how content-area teachers in the Loyola Schools mark their students' written work lead me to some preliminary conclusions.[3] First, the content-area teachers and English teachers have similar notions about what constitute good writing. In other words, content-area teachers do not demand from their students a knowledge of the language specific to their disciplines (as in English for Computer Science or English for Math.) Second, the task-based approach adopted by the English Department in 1998 through the course *Communication in English* is a step in the right direction.

Another observation I wish to hazard from this survey of the concerns of content-area teachers is an observation that transcends the bar graphs and pie charts earlier presented in this investigation. To some extent, I believe that content-area teachers want to take a more active part in the language education of their students. Some of these teachers who received my questionnaire gave me a call, sent me an email message, or stopped me in the corridor to discuss their concerns about their students' writings. One teacher begged to be interviewed (which I plan to do for part 2 of the study); another inquired if I was interested in receiving copies of her students' work (to which I replied *yes*). In some sense, the simple act of participating in the survey made the content-area teachers more aware of their contributions to the language education of the students.

In a school setting, teaching a language need not be a lonely task. Content-area teachers need not be simply beneficiaries of English language teaching. As this study demonstrates, they may also become active partners of English language teachers.

NOTES

[1]In the Loyola Schools, the PE Department does not belong to any of the four Schools.

[2]Since the course was first introduced in 1998 (with the course title *Communication Across the Curriculum*), it has been reviewed almost every year, the last major revision being in January 2002.

[3]I say "preliminary" because I intend to interview some content-area teachers who identified themselves in the questionnaire. Other than those mentioned above, what other criteria do you consider whenever you mark written work?

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Winning Moves: Public Information Resources Access and Participation Strategies (The Philippine Experience)[1]

MARY EBITHA Y. DY

In Zamboanga, farmers were encouraged to adopt the integrated pest management (IPM) package of technology through Radyo Tulungatong (Lantican & Cabangbang 1997).

In Burgos, La Union, two cultural communities produced their own play that was staged in the barangay and aired over radio station DZEQ.

In all parts of the country, people from all sectors and of different ideologies worked together to ensure the success of the National Immunization Day (NID).

These are examples of the results when people have access to public information resources and when they participate in their use. After all, the Philippine Constitution guarantees the people's right to receive and impart information and to use information resources (Appendix A). This shows that the policy-makers who made the Constitution and the Filipino people who ratified it recognized that information is vital in the effort of helping the people improve their condition.

The people need information to make decisions based on a number of options, to increase their knowledge, and to share with one another skills, technologies, and ideas. Therefore, the continuous and free exchange of information must be facilitated. This is needed not only to improve the community but also to expand people's concerns. As such, they can pay attention to and be involved in their concerns and the affairs of the nation.

DEFINITIONS: SETTING COMMON GROUND

Before going further, let us set a common frame of reference on the terms used in this paper.

Public Information

This has three types: local, national, and international.

Local information refers to "organized or intelligible data on local government units... and the places, cultures, and communities where these units are formed. It also means the process of communicating these data to audiences" (Clavel 1991, 34).

Meanwhile, according to Clavel (1991), the participants of a seminar-workshop on development communication said that both national and foreign information have process and content viewpoints. From the process viewpoint, national information means the communication of government's concerns and initiatives to the national citizenry and the crystallization of popular opinion on public issues in and of decision-making. Meanwhile, foreign information is the effective articulation of the national interest in the international community.

On the other hand, from the content viewpoint, national information refers to organized data about national government policies, plans, and programs for dissemination to the public. Foreign information consists of any pertinent subject of organized or unorganized data, knowledge, or idea (from identified source) that can be stored, retrieved, processed, packaged, and communicated to specific publics pertinent or in relation to specific interests of the national government.

Public Information Resource

Each of the elements of the communication process can be considered as resource (Appendix B).

*This paper was read at the 11th Asian Media Information and Communication Annual Conference, Perth, Australia on 26-28 June 2002. Dr. Dy is the Chairperson of the Communication Arts and Advertising Department of Miriam College.

Access

Berrigan (1981) explained what access means. He said that "access infers the ability of the public to come close to communication systems, and in concrete terms it can be related to two levels: choice and feedback. At the level of choice, access includes the individual's right to communication materials, the right to listen to or view desired programs when the person wants, where he/she wants. It also includes the availability of a wider range of materials, the choice of which is made by the public instead of being imposed by production organizations. Likewise, it includes the transmission of materials requested by the public. At the level of feedback, access implies the interaction between producers and receivers of messages and the direct participation by the audience during the transmission of programs. It implies the right to comment and criticize. It is the means of keeping in touch with producers, administrators, and the managers of communication organizations" (p. 8).

There is a need for information which can enable the people to participate in planning, implementing, and evaluating development programs, such as those on agriculture, population education, and public health. Thus, access involves bringing the projects closer to the people. This would enable them to express their wants and needs, and help them choose the appropriate project that will help them solve their problems and meet their wants and needs.

Giving the people access also means giving them opportunities to air their views and complaints about a project that is actually underway.

Likewise, a society must have the appropriate knowledge sources, so that the knowledge use process becomes easier and more effective and efficient. Meeting the need for knowledge sources does not mean simply providing a society with the information facilities. It also means giving this society direct access to all information resources.

Feedback is an essential feature of access. True development ensures that the people can talk with the development agencies.

Participation

It "implies the involvement of the public in production and in the management of communication systems. It also operates at different levels of production, decision-making, and planning.

At the production level, participation implies:

- unrestricted opportunities for the public to produce programs and to have access to professional help; and
- making available to the public technical facilities and production resources.

At the decision-making level, it implies involvement of the public in

- programming: content and duration of programs and scheduling of these; and
- the management, administration, and financing of communication organizations.

At the planning level, it includes the right of the public to contribute to the formulation of plans and policies for communication enterprises of national, regional, and local communication plans" (Berrigan 1981, 8).

Participation occurs when the people are actively involved in planning, implementing, and sustaining development programs. In this way, the resulting development efforts will be an effect of the innovative ideas and technical expertise of the development agency matched with the needs, wants, ideas, and local resources of the intended participant-beneficiaries.

While the person is the core of development, the process, in turn, is determined by the person. Therefore, the most important resource for development is the human being.

SAMPLE PROGRAMS: DESCRIBING DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS ACROSS CULTURES

CATS: Empowering the Community

"The CATS is an appropriate communication technology which serves as a microconduit for technological and marketing information, an open telephone line for tracing lost animals; paging barangay officials during emergencies; saying the rosary together, announcing food deliveries, immunization schedules, the arrival of community visitors, incoming telegrams, and official directives for residents; and a source of entertainment through dedicated songs, karaoke music, and display of homegrown talents" (Quebral 1994 cited by Lantican & Cabangbang 1997, 44). It is also pivotal in informing local residents not only of community news and sectoral concerns, but also of relevant programs on health, population, nutrition, education, environment, and religion (Lantican & Cabangbang 1997, 45).

What is CATS?

It is the acronym for Community Audio Tower System. The program was born out of the need "to bridge the prevailing gaps among farmers' needs, and research and technology generation and use" (Lantican & Cabangbang 1997, 41).

The program was funded by the Food and Agriculture Organization and United Nations Development Program (FAO/UNDP). It started in 1991 and was pilot-tested in Regions 2, 4, 6, 9, and 10. It was coordinated by the Philippine Council for Agriculture, Forestry and Natural Resources Research and Development (PCARRD). It was implemented by the Regional Applied Communication Office (RACO) in the regions.

The description of the program below draws from Lantican and Cabangbang (1997).

The program used a consultative and participatory approach. To determine the technologies needed, baseline surveys, rapid rural appraisal (RRA) and key informant panel (KIP) were used. The data gathered were used as bases for the communication campaigns.

The program implemented a multimedia campaign. Print, video, audiocassettes, and interpersonal channels were used. The CATS was the main medium.

The community volunteers were trained on community organizing and communication, e.g., community broadcasting. The broadcasters represented varied sectors, e.g., agriculture, women, health, youth, and religious organizations. They wrote the scripts and broadcast the information useful to the community.

What happened in Tacunan, Davao represents the results of the project. In the area, 20 people were trained in community broadcasting. They later formed the Tacunan Radio Broadcasters' Association.

They selected one member who was trained on the operation and maintenance of the CATS equipment.

They aired schools-on-the-air (SOAs) on technologies on banana and sericulture. Farmers enrolled in the SOAs. After each lesson, the enrollees returned the feedback forms that assessed their learnings to the program producers.

The enrollees also placed their requests for more information in the forms. These were answered in the future lessons.

The Tacunan farmers have developed a corporate farm which showcases banana production technologies and gene banking. To date, the income from the farm is equally divided between the farmers and the CATS operation and maintenance.

The people in the neighboring town of Maragusan were inspired by the success of the CATS in Tacunan. They used their own funds to set up their CATS and they asked the Tacunan broadcasters to train them.

Meanwhile, in Zamboanga, farmers were encouraged to adopt the integrated pest management (IPM) package of technology through Radyo Tulungatong. A SOA on rice production technology was also aired and hosted by agricultural technicians in the area.

The broadcast associations have established linkages with government and nongovernment organizations. These agencies cooperate with them in planning and implementing their development projects.

Folk Media: Of, For, and By the People

In July 1988, the RACO of Region 1 started to implement an applied communication project. It was funded jointly by the Philippine government and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

It was part of the Strengthening Regional Applied Communication as a Tool for Agriculture and Natural Resources Technology Transfer Program. PCARRD acted as the coordinating agency. I was the Project Leader in Region 1.

The project was made up of five studies. One of these was on the use of indigenous communication media as a tool for agriculture and natural resources technology transfer. The study site was Bilis, Burgos, La Union where two cultural communities, the Ibaloi and the Kankana-ey, can be found.

To gather baseline data, we conducted RRA, KIP, and participant-observation. We presented the results of our data-gathering to the community to validate them.

Based on the results, we found that the primary problem in the area was low income. The main sources of income of the people were making of brooms with the use of tiger grass and selling of mango. Although the selling of brooms was a year-round activity; the selling of mango was seasonal.

In our dialogues with the people, we facilitated their analysis of their problem. One suggestion that they gave was for us to teach them technologies on mango processing, so that their produce would last longer.

We did these by packaging the technologies of the Department of Science and Technology (DOST). We used different print formats.

We backstopped these print materials with demonstrations.

A cultural group was organized when the people expressed their interest in songs and dances. The members came up with songs and dances that depicted the situation in the community.

We also gave the members a training on folk drama. The first play that they wrote was on their problem on the short shelf life of the mangoes and the solution: processing.

The members of the group had their designated roles: writers, performers, production staff, and director.

The production process and actual performance were done under the mango trees.

To share the output of the group, we taped their performance. It was aired over DZEQ, a government-owned radio station in Baguio City.

This station also regularly aired a program called *Rang-ay ti Barangay* (Progress of the Village). The program had a magazine format, with a *Bukanegan* (poetic debate) as its main feature. It was produced by the staff of the project.

At this time, the Mariano Marcos State University (MMSU) was implementing a swine dispersal project. The MMSU would give a sow to a selected recipient. When the sow would give birth, one of its litter would be given back to the university.

We discussed this project with the barangay residents. We presented it as a source of additional income for them.

At first, the residents did not want to accept it. They said that they only raised black pigs which were used during their *cañao* (ritual).

We tried to convince them by telling them of the technical aid that the MMSU and the project would give them. We also presented the economic advantages.

We also told them that they would raise the pigs for sale. They could continue raising the black pigs for their cañao.

Two of the residents were the first adopters in the barangay.

I had to leave the project when I was designated National Consultant for Development Communication of the Accelerated Agricultural Production Project (AAPP). But, I continued to keep in touch with the project implementors. They told me that the number of the adopters of the mango processing technologies and the swine dispersal project continued to increase.

National Immunization Day: Shooting Vaccines, Not Bullets

In 1993, then Secretary of Health Dr. Juan Flavier went to Basilan to convince the rebels to support the NID. Let me quote what now Senator Flavier (1998) said about his trip.

> My first trip to Basilan was stymied upon my arrival. I do not know who alerted the military but a group of at least 100 armed soldiers, riding in and atop armored cars, met and escorted me throughout the city. This obviously may have been good security, but at a time when I was convincing all sectors—the rebels included—to call a ceasefire, parading through the streets with a battalion around you was not good PR.
>
> So, the next time I had to meet with rebel leaders, I went in secret.
>
> This time, it was a group of heavily armed rebels who met me. I am not particularly fearless, but to demonstrate good faith, I went alone.
>
> They all had a serious look on their faces. One brought out a bullet and said, 'Dr. Flavier, do you know you can be killed with just one bullet?' My heart jumped to my throat, but I managed a reply: 'Of course, I know that. But that is why I thank God that I am not only four feet tall. I am harder to shoot that way.'
>
> Everyone burst into laughter setting the tone for a relaxed, cordial meeting. They asked me if I was willing to leave the vaccines and syringes with them.
>
> I said, 'Knowing that you have doctors and nurses, I definitely would.'
>
> 'Yes, but those are government property,' they said. 'Suppose we drop the syringes and vaccines to the sea.'
>
> 'Then it's your children who suffer,' I said.
>
> 'Why are you doing all this?' they asked.
>
> 'Because I love your children. Please give my health workers safety passes.'

> 'If you love our children, we love them even more. We will not only give you safety passes, we will even guard your health workers and ensure that they can do their job (pp. 54–55).

This was a breakthrough in the information, education, and communication (IEC) campaign for the NID. With the help of the media, people learned of what the Department of Health (DOH) under the leadership of Dr. Flavier was trying to do. Soon, the dissidents in Northern Luzon, Southern Tagalog, and Bicol also endorsed the program.

The outpouring of support for the NID was phenomenal. Riding on the slogan "Ceasefire for Children," it "resulted in arguably the most successful, participatory program in the history of the country" (Flavier 1998, 47). Below are some examples of the support given to the program.

1. Pharmaceutical companies used their networks and vehicles to support the program. In many areas, medical representatives transported health personnel, vaccines, and syringes.
2. All the other government departments gave their support. For example, the schools were used as Patak (Drop) Centers.
3. The UP Mountaineers acted as vaccination teams in remote indigenous communities in Palawan.
4. Jollibee turned its branches nationwide into Patak Centers.
5. Procter and Gamble gave the DOH its television advertising time. It also gave supplies to the DOH field workers.
6. The Philippine Basketball Association (PBA) allowed Dr. Flavier to promote the NID during its halftime breaks.
7. Celebrities like movie stars endorsed the program. Dr. Flavier also appeared in television programs that had movie stars as performers and/or anchors.
8. Professional organizations participated in the campaign.
9. Local government units were very active. The message from Dr. Flavier to them was: Good immunization is good health. Good health is good politics.
10. Almost all the civic organizations campaigned for the program.

And, on the morning of the NID, Pocketbell subscribers received this reminder: Bring your children to the Patak Centers for immunization.

Meanwhile, Dr. Flavier visited all the provinces and cities.

The media also supported the program. The print media practitioners, for instance, focused on both the program and on Dr. Flavier. An example of this was how they played up the fact that Dr. Flavier slept on a sofa in a regional office rather than in a hotel.

The radio stations, on the other hand, broadcast the information in the manuals given by DOH.

Going into the homestretch, Dr. Flavier announced that every region with a 90 percent immunization rate would receive P50,000. All the 15 regions qualified. Because the DOH did not have the funds for the awards, UNICEF donated the rewards. UNICEF gave the regions photocopiers and other office equipment.

According to a United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and World Health Organization (WHO) report, the first multiple antigen NID held anywhere in the world was a demonstration of people power for health. It also added that over 400,000 volunteers were mobilized and a 95 percent coverage was achieved.

The belief of the people in the program was exemplified by an unsolicited anonymous cash donation of two million pesos for the DOH programs.

STRATEGIES: IDENTIFYING THOSE THAT WORKED

The programs that I have presented gave the people access to public information resources and opportunities to participate in the use of these resources. Likewise, they showed that cultural diversity and conflict can be set aside for the common good.

The strategies used by the programs, therefore, can be adopted or adapted by development workers. Below are some of these strategies.

Strategies for ensuring access to and use of information resources

- *Source Strategies*

1. Use of credible source

People can be motivated to participate in the use of public information resources if the source of the message is credible.

What are the characteristics of a credible source?

Studies that were done in other countries have found the major components of credibility. Those that are frequently mentioned in books and journals are competence or expertise, trustworthiness, and dynamism.

Researchers done in the Philippines showed that, aside from these three, Filipinos also look for the person's capability for smooth interpersonal relationships.

Dr. Flavier, for instance, was perceived as having these four characteristics.

2. Use of a source with whom the people can identify

The broadcasters in the CATS Program and the members of the cultural group were members of the community. The people knew them and interacted daily with them. They had characteristics, wants, and needs similar to those of the people. Thus, the latter could identify with them.

3. Use of communicators as frontliners

The communicators need to be viewed as frontliners, not as mere support staff. In the technology transfer programs I described, the communicators were in the forefront, because these were on communication.

However, any program demands communication skills from its workers. At such, each staff is a communicator. The importance given to communicators, therefore, should rise geometrically.

- *Message strategies*

1. Use of a message that enables people to make their own decisions

A message should give people information on options that they can choose from. This means that the decision is theirs to make based on their situation and location. As such, they exercise their critical thinking and free will.

In the two technology transfer programs, the people chose from the technology options presented to them. They were also able to choose what medium to use.

- *Channel strategies*

1. Use of multi-media channels

Each medium has its advantages and limitations. The use of multimedia ensures that the limitations of one medium can be offset by the advantages of the other media.

A main medium can also be identified. The other media can complement the main medium.

All the programs I have presented used multimedia channels.

2. Use of media owned by the people

The CATS was owned, managed, and used by the people. Although the original structure was donated by the program, its maintenance is now shouldered by the community. Thus, they feel that it belongs to them.

In some extension sites of the program, the CATS was even set up by the community. The program gave technical aid only.

Meanwhile, the folk media of the people are by and for them.

3. Use of advertising space and time

Corporations and associations can be motivated to donate their advertising space and time not only in government media but also in commercial ones. However, they have to be convinced of the value of a program for the common good and for the image of their respective organizations. This was evident in the first NID campaign.

Likewise, arrangements can be made with the government-owned media on the use of their resources by a development program. In Region 1, for instance, DZEQ was just one of the government stations that supported our activities.

- *Receiver strategies*

1. Recognizing that people know best their situation

The people know what they need and what they have. In some cases, they may need someone to facilitate the knowledge process. Nevertheless, they are still in the best position to know themselves and their community.

2. Capability building

People need to know how they can gain access to public information resources. They also need to know how to use these resources. Thus, all the programs I mentioned included capability building among their activities.

- *Feedback strategies*

1. Use of varied feedbacks formats

All the programs I mentioned gave importance to feedback. These programs used varied feedback formats, e.g., validation of research results by the community, feedback forms for the broadcasts, and dialogue.

2. Monitoring and evaluation

Any program should have monitoring and evaluation as integral components. The results of the programs I presented were identified through monitoring and evaluation.

- *Other strategies*

1. Social mobilization

It is a "process for problem-solving, formulating ideas, technologies, and approaches; discussion and decision-making for action based on available options; monitoring program implementation and its impact on children's well-being; whereby families and communities organize themselves to either provide or demand basic and other services in fulfillment of their children's and their own rights, and to collectively plan, implement, and monitor programs and service providers" (Valdecañas et al. 1996, 9).

All the programs I mentioned used social mobilization. And, various sectors were involved, not just the children and service providers.

2. Networking

It emphasizes sharing of resources among individuals and organizations with a common vision or goal. The three programs used this strategy.

I recommend that part of the strategy should be an inventory of resources. This will enable those involved to know what resources are available and where they can access these.

3. Social marketing

This is the use of marketing principles to promote a social issue or cause. The NID program used this strategy.

Strategies for understanding conflict and diversity issues

- *Message strategies*

1. Use of a message that contains a universal concern

People, no matter what their religion and cultural group are, have concern for children. This is true whether they are in a state of peace or war. Thus, the slogan "Ceasefire for Children" appealed to all sectors and generated their support for the NID.

2. Use of a message that considers sectoral concerns

Each sector and cultural group has its specific concern. A message, therefore, should consider this.

In the case of the cultural communities in Burgos, one of the concerns was the presence of pigs that they could use in their ceremonies. This was considered in the crafting of the message when they were asked to take part in the swine dispersal project.

- *Channel strategy*

1. Regarding media partners

In general, people regard media as tools. In this case, they perceive media practitioners and organizations as those they can pay to do their bidding. As such, if they are not paid, they will not support a program or endeavor.

This orientation changed in the programs I mentioned. The media workers and organizations were regarded as partners. As partners, they shared the goals of the programs. Thus, even without being paid, they supported the programs.

Why did they do this?

They were convinced of the worth of the programs. In the case of the NID, for instance, Dr. Flavier met with the media workers in all parts of the country that he visited and explained the program to them.

Dr. Flavier, then, did not wait for media people to ask him about the program. He made the first move, so that he could tell them about the program and ask them to be the DOH's partners.

The media were given all the information about the program. The broadcasters, for example, were given manuals that explained the program. They used the information in their broadcasts.

This transparency about the program was also a factor that influenced the media workers to agree to be partners of the program. Many of their outputs can be classified as advocacy journalism.

- *Receiver strategies*

1. Recognizing individual differences

Each person is unique. As we often say, even twins are not exactly alike.

This means that we have to respect these differences and avoid imposing our cultures, ideas, and technologies, among others, on those who differ from us. What we can do is present our ideas. Any change—cognitive, affective, and/or psychomotor—must come from them voluntarily.

The programs included in this paper recognized individual and cultural differences.

2. Use of research methodologies to know the people

The programs used different methodologies to know the participant-beneficiaries. To understand conflict and diversity issues, we can also use these methodologies to know the people and groups involved.

Strategies in avoiding conflict and resolving diversity

Lobbying

It is the conduct of activities aimed at influencing public officials, especially members of a legislative body, on legislation. The legislation can be on the setting up of information infrastructure that can be accessed and used by the people. It can also be on the provision of funds for activities like summits wherein cultural diversity and commonalities can be presented and discussed.

Legal Marketing

Because the end-results of advocacy like lobbying are laws and policies, there is a need to popularize these. This ensures that more people can understand them.

It can also help in ensuring that these policies and laws are implemented and followed.

For instance, the Philippines has an Office of Muslim Affairs (OMA). However, few people know that this exists. And, fewer people may know its functions and programs. In this case, legal marketing is needed to let the people know of the law that set up the OMA and of the functions and programs of this office.

Use of Correct Language and Image

Tuazon and Dy (1997) gave the guidelines below.

- Use gender-sensitive language and images that avoid stereotyping of roles, images, gender, and age.

- Avoid stereotyping and offending any religion, occupation, community, or cultural group; and the socially underserved and physically disadvantaged.
- Avoid slurs on ethnic origin, religion, age, and occupation, or the use of any language or image that degrades any person or group.
- Do not misuse any group or ethnic symbol or expression.
- Do not sensationalize the beliefs, crafts, rituals, and resources of cultural communities.
- Promote positive Filipino images that affirm and enhance our culture.
- Promote a culture of peace, non-violence, and tolerance.
- Cultivate non-defeatism and win-win and non-confrontational modes of resolving conflicts via consensus and cooperation.
- Underscore the richness of our cultural heritage.

The guidelines can also be used by media practitioners and organizations. They can also be taught in communication schools.

Implementing Peace Initiatives in the Schools

There are 125 communication schools in the country. These schools can teach the proper values to their students. At Miriam College, for instance, all of our course syllabi include value aims.

In the Communication Arts and Advertising Department, we started to use a new curriculum last year. One of our new courses is Multicultural Interpersonal Communication. This helps our students, among others, to understand various cultures. Thus, they learn to communicate with people belonging to these cultures.

Next month, July, we will start to implement a project funded by the National Commission on Culture and the Arts (NCCA). The first phase of the project is the pilot-testing of the integration of cultural reporting in journalism and broadcasting courses. The pilot-testing will also include the offering of a separate course in cultural reporting in some schools.

We will implement the project in cooperation with the Philippine Association of Communication Educators (PACE).

Meanwhile, the three major areas of advocacy of our college are peace, environment, and women. As such, we also have a Center for Peace Education.

Another institution that is involved in the peace process is the Asian Institute of Journalism and Communication (AIJC). For instance, in 1997, it conducted a study on the media coverage of the peace process. The results of the study were presented during a peace forum that the AIJC convened.

I was a consultant of the study.

The latest effort of the AIJC on the peace process was a series of dialogues that identified the commonalities between Muslims and Christians.

RELATED PROCESSES: COMPLETING THE PICTURE

Access to and participation in public information resources are integral parts of the development process. However, to achieve holistic development, these two must work hand-in-hand with other related processes. Some of these are discussed below.

Accumulation

This calls for increasing one's supply of resources. Some of the strategies used by development projects include generation of agricultural and industrial technology and widespread dissemination and teaching of technical skills.

These efforts appear sound as they help create the concrete visible changes in people's environments necessary in their pursuit of a better quality of life. When pursued in exclusion of development mobilization and integration, however, accumulation tends to benefit only an elite few and the sources of capital, knowledge, and power, and not the mass of the people who are the desired participants of development. This has been shown by experience with strategies aimed solely at accumulation, like the Green Revolution, which benefited the progressive farmers and the producers of fertilizers and pesticides instead of the small, risk-averse farmers.

However, accumulation can benefit the greater mass of the populace if the strategies respond to the real needs of the people and help encourage the development of the people's capabilities. Moreover, it can contribute to an authentic development, if alongside its strategies, it meets the following conditions:

1. People are critically aware of the changes happening in their environment.
2. People actively participate in the development process.
3. The various sectors, communities, and regions synchronize their efforts towards the same goals.

Decentralization

With decentralization, much of the planning and implementation of programs are decided by local officials rather than by the central government. Decentralization reverses the traditional way of decision-making which leaves all the decisions to the top government officials or to executives of management organizations.

It encourages local initiatives, because the communities are given greater opportunities in decision-making.

Integration

This means that various sectors, communities, and regions

1. arrive at a consensus on a national ideology specifying the type of development desired by its citizens;
2. agree to pursue development based on this ideology; and
3. synchronize their efforts towards the kind of development agreed upon.

Horizontal, vertical, and multichannel communication flows help bring about integration. This is because communication flows enhance the awareness and understanding among the different components of society. However, integration can be achieved if the citizens are already mobilized towards development.

Mobilization

Together with the concept of integration, it is built around the recognition that development centers on changing people. These concepts view people as goal-seeking and conscious of their actions, such that any progress towards development must start with people deciding to work towards it.

People are not only the ends of development but also its participants. Attaining development depends mainly on what people do, not what is done to or for them.

Mobilizing people calls for human change: change in awareness and knowledge about the relationships between large and smaller systems, like a nation's economy and price and wage increases. The change can also be in attitudes, e.g., from helplessness to hope and confidence, and in behavior, e.g., from passivity to active involvement in pursuing development goals.

In essence, mobilization is the awakening of people's consciousness, so that they can actively participate in development. It enables people to consciously make accumulation work for them instead of work unknowingly on them for other's benefit.

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APPENDIX A

IEC-RELATED PROVISIONS OF THE 1987 CONSTITUTION

Article II (Declaration of Principles and State Policies)

Section 24. The State recognizes the vital role of communication and information in nation-building.

Section 28. Subject to reasonable conditions prescribed by law, the State adopts and implements a policy of full public disclosure of all its transactions involving public interest.

Article III (Bill of Rights)

Section 3(1). The privacy of communication and correspondence shall be inviolable except upon lawful order of the court, or when public safety or order requires otherwise as prescribed by law.

Section 4. No law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech, of expression, or of the press, or the right of the people to assemble peaceably and petition the government for redress of grievances.

Section 7. The right of the people to information on matters of public concern shall be recognized. Access to official records and to documents, and papers pertaining to official acts, transactions or decisions, as well as to government research data used as basis for policy development, shall be afforded the citizen, subject to such limitations as may be provided by law.

Article XI (Accountability of Public Officers)

Section 13 (5). Request any government agency for assistance and information necessary in the discharge of its responsibilities, and to examine, if necessary, pertinent records and documents.

Section 17. A public officer or employee shall, upon assumption of office and as often thereafter as may be required by law, submit a declaration under oath of his assets, liabilities, and net worth. In the case of the President, Vice-President, the Members of the Cabinet, the Congress, the Supreme Court, the Constitutional Commission and other Constitutional offices, and officers of the Armed Forces with general or flag rank, the declaration shall be disclosed to the public in the manner provided by law.

Article XII (National Economy and Patrimony)

Section 11. No franchise, certificate, or any form of authorization for the operation of a public utility shall be granted except to citizens of the Philippines or to corporations or associations organized under the laws of the Philippines at least sixty per centum of whose capital is owned by such citizens, nor such franchise, certificate or authorization be exclusive in character or for a period longer than fifty years. Neither shall any such franchise or right be granted under the condition that it shall be subject to amendment, alteration, or repeal by the Congress when the common good so requires. The State shall encourage equity participation in public utility by the general public. The participation of foreign investors in the governing body of any public utility enterprise shall be limited to their proportionate share in its capital, and all the executive and managing officers of the corporation or association must be citizens of the Philippines.

Article XIV (Education, Science and Technology, Arts, Culture and Sports)

Section 2 (4). Encourage non-formal, informal, and indigenous learning systems, as well as self-learning, independent, and out-of-school study programs, particularly those that respond to community needs; and

(5) Provide adult citizens, the disabled, and out-of-school youth with training in civics, vocational efficiency, and other skills.

Article XVI (General Provisions)

Section 10. The State shall provide the policy environment for the full development of Filipino capability and the emergence of communication structures suitable to the needs and aspirations of the nation and the balanced flow of information into, out of, and across the country, in accordance with a policy that respects the freedom of speech and the press.

Section 11 (1). The ownership and management of mass media shall be limited to the citizens of the Philippines, or to corporations, cooperatives or associations, wholly-owned and managed by such citizens.

The Congress shall regulate or prohibit monopolies in commercial mass media when the public interest so requires. No combination in restraint of trade or unfair competition therein shall be allowed.

(2) The advertising industry is impressed with public interest and shall be regulated by law for the protection of consumers and the promotion of the general welfare.

Only Filipino citizens or corporations or associations at least seventy per centum of the capital of which is owned by such citizens shall be allowed to engage in the advertising industry.

The participation of foreign investors in the governing body of entities in such industry shall be limited to their proportionate share in the capital thereof, and all the executive and managing officers of such entities must be citizens of the Philippines.

Article XVIII (Transitory Provisions)

Section 23. Advertising entities affected by paragraph (2), Section 11 of Article XVI of this Constitution shall have five years from its ratification to comply on a graduated and proportionate basis with the minimum Filipino ownership requirement therein.

APPENDIX B

INFORMATION, EDUCATION, AND COMMUNICATION (IEC) RESOURCES

Source as a Resource

- Reporter
- Translator
- Interpreter
- Scriptwriter
- Subject matter specialist
- Drama talent
- Production personnel
- Librarian
- Documentation staff
- Training staff
- Speech writer
- Executive secretary
- Promo talent
- Communication researcher
- Speaker for a speaker's bureau
- Consultant

Message as a Resource

- Contents of pertinent documents
    - Charter stating the institutional mission, goals, and objectives, among others
    - Integrated Organizational Plan
    - Program/Project plans

- Themes
  - Self-reliance
  - Use of indigenous manpower
  - Use of local natural resources
  - Multiplier effect of knowledge being disseminated
  - Replicability of development experience
  - Collaboration/Cooperation among government and private agencies
  - Access to social services
  - Citizens' participation in program/project management
  - Equity
  - Freedom of information
  - Transparency in public service
  - Accountability of public servants
  - Democratic people's dialogues
  - Self-management of people's dialogue
  - Participation of non-government organizations (NGOs) in development
  - Democratic restoration of institutions
  - Complementation and sharing of resources among development-oriented agencies to achieve development objectives
  - Social entrepreneurship
  - Themes based on the Bill of Rights in the 1987 Constitution

Channel as a Resource

- Point-to-point Communication
  - Telephone
  - Citizen Band
  - Telex
  - Computer
  - Facsimile
- Mass Communication
  - Official newspaper
  - Official magazine
  - Book
  - Brochure
  - Leaflet
  - Bulletin
  - Pamphlet
  - Documentary film
  - Feature film
  - Radio program
  - Television program
- Face-to-face Communication
  - Slide
  - Slide projector
  - Filmstrip
  - Flipchart
  - Overhead projector
  - Demonstration panel
  - Pre-recorded audiotape

Receiver as a Resource

- Statement of needs
- Statement of problems
- Statement of aspirations
- Statement of frustrations
- Statements of demands
- Statement of opportunities
- Value system and norms
- Receiver's innovativeness and openness to new ideas
- Receiver's associations

Feedback as a Resource

- Personal benefits perceived
- Multiplier effect of a given knowledge or innovation
- Replicability of the receiver's development experiences in other program/project sites

Other Resources

- Communication policies and strategies of the organization
- Organizational set-up and functions of the Communication or Information Unit
- Data bank
- Procedures/Techniques
  - for obtaining further information
  - for situation analysis
  - for research, policy formulation, and planning
  - for training management
  - for setting up useful institutional linkages
- Budget for communication programs, projects, and activities
- Management
- Equipment/Machines (including computer graphic)
- Office supplies (including computer diskettes and microfiche)
- Facilities (including training and audiovisual facilities)

Source: Clavel (1991) and Tan (1981)

NEWS BULLETIN

34 INDIVIDUALS NAMED FORD FOUNDATION-INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIPS PROGRAM SCHOLARS

Thirty-four exceptional individuals from diverse backgrounds were named fellows-elect under the Ford Foundation-International Fellowships Program (IFP) in the recently concluded round of competition. The fellows-elect constitute the first batch of IFP fellows from the Philippines.

IFP is a global fellowship program of the Ford Foundation that provides graduate education opportunities to exceptional individuals coming from sectors that lack systematic access to higher education such as ethnic or cultural minorities, individuals with physical disabilities, poor or economically disadvantaged individuals, and residents of poor geographic areas. The program is being implemented in 22 countries worldwide including the Philippines. It is being administered in the Philippines by the Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC) in partnership with Ford Foundation.

The fellows-elect were chosen through a competitive process that included a documentary review and panel interview. A five-person National Selection Panel composed of former Secretary of Social Work and Development Corazon Alma de Leon, Senator Ernesto "Boy" Herrera, UP Professor and former UP President Jose Abueva, former Human Rights Commissioner Nasser Marohomsalic, and former IBM Chairman Ramon Dimacali carried out the selection process. The Panel was chaired by Ms. de Leon.

The selected fellows will have a chance to pursue their Masters or Ph.D. degree in a university of their choice. They will be given support for up to three years of graduate study.

OUTSTANDING EDUCATORS SPEAK UP ON THE 2002 BASIC EDUCATION CURRICULUM

The UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines-Social and Human Sciences Committee (UNACOM-SHSC) and PSSC spearheaded a roundtable discussion on the 2002 Basic Education Curriculum last 8 June 2002 at the PSSCenter, Commonwealth Avenue, Quezon City.

It was participated in by awardees of the Metrobank Outstanding Teacher Award and Avon-Department of Education (DepEd) Gintong Ilawan Teodora Alonso Educator Award. The participants, most of whom are public elementary and secondary school teachers, were asked to share their views on the new curriculum, particularly the integration of Social Studies, Music, Arts, Physical Education Technology, Home Economics and Livelihood Education into one learning area, Makabayan. The activity was attended by UNACOM Secretary-General Preciosa Soliven, and UNACOM Commissioners Felice Sta. Maria, Florentino Hornedo and Virginia Miralao.

The roundtable discussion is part of the Textbook and Curriculum Review and Reform Project initiated by the UNACOM-SHSC and PSSC in 1999 to help educators and policymakers in its efforts to improve the quality of Philippine basic education. The earlier phases involved the critique of DECS-approved elementary and high school textbooks, review of the old and development of a new social studies curriculum for basic education, and identification of important social and human sciences concepts in social studies.

The papers presented during the roundtable discussion, including the synthesis of Dr. Florentino Hornedo, were put together in a publication entitled *Perspectives of Model Educators on the 2002 Basic Education Curriculum.*

FILIPINO AND AMERICAN "FILIPINISTS" HOLD PLANNING WORKSHOP

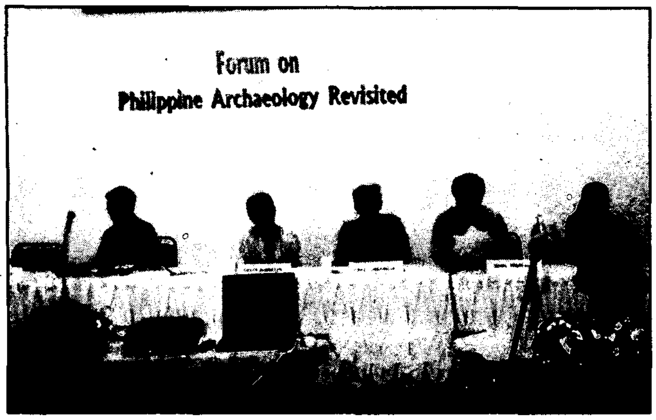
Following the highly successful 6th International Philippine Studies Conference in 2000, a select group of Filipino, Filipino-American and American scholars got together from 16 to 18 December 2002 in a planning workshop with the theme "Philippine Studies and Philippine-American Studies: Bridging the Agenda Gap." The workshop allowed the "Filipinist scholars" to share information about their ongoing researches and theoretical approaches, and develop a program of collaborative activities including joint research projects, exchanges, conferences and publications.

The workshop was organized by PSSC in collaboration with Prof. Randy David of the University of the Philippines, Dr. David Szanton of the International Studies Program of the University of California System, and Dr. Vince Rafael of University of California-San Diego, under the sponsorship of The Ford Foundation-Manila. Apart from Drs. Szanton and Rafael, participants to the workshop include Dr. Theodore Gonzalves of University of Hawaii-Manoa, Dr. Paul Kramer of Johns Hopkins University, Dr. Michael Salman of University of California-Los Angeles, Dr. Augusto Espiritu of University of Illinois-Urbana-Champaign, Prof. Neferti Tadiar of University of California-Santa Cruz, Ms. Gladys Nubla of University of California-Los Angeles, Dr. Doracie Zoleta-Nantes of the University of the Philippines-Diliman, Dr. Francisco Magno of De La Salle University, Dr. Benjamin Tolosa of Ateneo de Manila University, Dr. Francis Gealogo of Ateneo de Manila University, Prof. Rudy Rodil of Mindanao State University-Iligan Institute of Technology, Dr. Felisa Etemadi of UP College-Cebu, Dr. Rowena Boquiren of University of the Philippines-Baguio, and Prof. Oscar Campomanes of De La Salle University. Prof. Randy David and Dr. Virginia Miralao of PSSC also joined the discussions.

The workshop was followed by a forum on 20 December 2002 that enabled the workshop participants to present the ideas and recommendations that emerged on the three-day workshop, and to interact with a larger number of Philippine-based "Filipinists." The forum was opened by PSSC Chairperson Ronald D. Holmes and moderated by PSSC Vice Chairperson Cynthia B. Bautista.

PSSC CONDUCTS SOCIAL SCIENCE FORA

In consonance with PSSC's mission to stimulate discussion on contemporary social concerns, the PSSC Social Issues Committee and PSSC member-associations spearheaded three successful fora in 2002. The first forum was held in February with the theme "Philippine Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Practices." Speakers include Leonardo Estacio, Arnold Azurin, Francis Gealogo, and Rogelio Serraño. The forum was co-sponsored by the Ugnayang Pang-Agham Tao (UGAT).



The next forum, held in August, featured four publications on the Presidency of Joseph Estrada. These include *The Fall of Joseph Estrada* by Amando Doronila, *The Impeachment of a President* by Oscar and Alice Villadolid, *Mills of Justice Grind on for an Impeached President* by Alice Villadolid and *The Nation on Fire* by Francisco Tatad. The publications were reviewed by respected professors from the University of the Philippines, including Benito Lim, Raul Pangalangan, Clarita Carlos, Ma. Concepcion Alfiler, Natalia Morales, and Felipe Miranda. The forum was co-sponsored by the Philippine Society for Public Administration.

The third forum tackled the theme "Philippine Archaeology Revisited." Held in October 2002, the forum covered a broad range of topics including recent findings in Philippine archaeology, dating and other problems in archaeology, caves and petroglyphs, and non-use and abuse of archaeology. The forum featured premier anthropologists and archeologists in the country such as Wilfredo Ronquillo and Eusebio Dizon of the National Museum; Eufracio Abaya of the UP Department of Anthropology; Victor Paz and Grace Baretto of the UP Archaeological Studies Program; Aurora Roxas-Lim of the UP Asian Center; Leonardo Estacio, Arnold Azurin, and Israel Cabanilla of Ugnayang Pang-Agham Tao (UGAT). UGAT and Katipunan Arkeologist ng Pilipinas (KAPI) jointly organized the forum.

FOUR FILIPINOS NAMED ASIA FELLOWS AWARDEES

Four Filipinos were among the grantees of the Asian Scholarship Foundation's ASIA (Asian Studies in Asia) Fellows Award (AFA) for 2002. Danton Remoto of the Ateneo de Manila University, Diwata Reyes of the UP Center for Integrative Development Studies, Jaime Jimenez of De La Salle University and Flaudette Datuin of the University of the Philippines joined other intellectuals from different Asian countries to form the fourth cohort of AFA.

The award will allow the grantees to conduct research in the arts, culture, humanities and social sciences for a period of six to nine months in any country in South Asia and Southeast Asia, and in the People's Republic of China.

The 2002 grantees will be working on a wide range of topics. Mr. Remoto will be undertaking a comparative study of Malaysian and Philippine poetry in English; Ms. Reyes will be studying population and reproductive health policies in Thailand and the Philippines; Mr. Jimenez will look into the grassroots societies in Thailand and the Philippines; and Ms. Datuin will focus on women artists in the contemporary visual arts of China, Korea and the Philippines.

The AFA is an Asia-wide program that aims to create a multinational network of Asian specialists in Asia. It is being administered region-wide by the

Bangkok-based Asian Scholarship Foundation with funding support from the Ford Foundation, and is run in the Philippines by PSSC.

RETIREMENT OF MRS. LORNA P. MAKIL

Mrs. Lorna Peña-Reyes Makil, Head of PSSC's Technical Support and Information Section was feted to a simple salo-salo on her retirement from the Council in May 2002.

Mrs. Makil joined PSSC's Technical Section on a regular appointment 17 years ago in 1985, although in early years she served as Coordinator of PSSC's Research Consortia Program which sought to develop social science research centers and capabilities in the provinces and regions in the late 1970s and early 1980s. As Technical Section Head, Mrs. Makil coordinated and personally supervised most of PSSC's regular programs and special projects. By acting as secretary of the meetings and functions of AASSREC, she helped PSSC perform its role as AASSREC Secretariat. She was also instrumental in regularizing the *PSSC Social Science Information*, and systematizing the Frank Lynch Library. PSSC owes much of the institutionalization of its programs and operations to Mrs. Makil.

Mrs. Makil obtained her undergraduate degree in Sociology-Anthropology from Silliman University and her MA in Sociology from the University of Hawaii. Prior to her stint at PSSC, she served as College Secretary and Assistant to the Dean of the Silliman College of Arts and Sciences, and Research Associate at the Institute of Philippine Culture.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

PSSC TO HOLD THE FIFTH NATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE CONGRESS IN MAY 2003

The Filipino youth will be the focus of discussions of the Fifth National Social Science Congress scheduled on 15 to 17 May 2003 at the PSSCenter, Commonwealth Ave., Quezon City. The congress is being organized by PSSC.

Titled "What's with the Filipino Youth: Perspectives from the Social Sciences," the Fifth National Social Science Congress aims to serve as a catalyst for consolidating recent studies and research findings on the youth. PSSC hopes to help social institutions establish a coordinated research agenda, and contribute to the development of appropriate policy responses and effective support programs for the sector.

Over 70 research papers will be presented by youth researchers, counselors, educators and social scientists from different schools, universities and research institutions in the country. These papers have been grouped into some 16 discussion panels dealing with a wide range of youth topics and concerns as the Filipino Youth, the Nation and History; Youth and ICT; Youth, Self and Identities; The Language of the Youth; Youth and Family, Values, Religion and Spirituality; Youth Risks and Vulnerabilities; Youth, Citizenship and Civic Consciousness; Educational and Career Aspirations of the Youth; Youth, Work and Employment; and Youth Advocacies, Programs and Services.

Registration fee for the Fifth National Social Science Congress is P2,000/person. PSSC is offering early bird rates of P1,500/person until 15 April 2003, inclusive of conference materials, meals and free access to all sessions. Conference materials will include a state-of-the-art paper on the Filipino youth, an annotation of youth studies, and a compilation of statistics on the Filipino youth.

PSSC ANNOUNCES OPENING OF THE RESEARCH AWARD PROGRAM

The Philippine Social Science Council announces the opening of the Research Award Program for 2003. The program provides modest financial support to Filipino graduate students in the social sciences to enable them to complete their thesis or dissertation.

Applicants to the RAP must be masteral or doctoral students who have successfully defended their thesis or dissertation proposals in social science disciplines. Application forms are available at the PSSC Office at Commonwealth Ave., Diliman, Quezon City. Deadline for submission of application is 15 March 2003.

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