Volume XXVIII 1990

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FOREWORD

We take pride in bringing to you another issue of Asian Studies journal with its dominant theme on Philippine historical processes which to a great extent had contributed to the shaping of the Filipino socio-political consciousness. The theme also encompasses the historic struggle for decolonization and against foreign aggression and how it is reflected in various art forms, status of women in society and the nature of local politics, among others.

With this issue, we complete the backlog in publication of the Asian Studies journal. We hope that your continued patronage of the journal will help it to grow further. We will appreciate your comments and suggestions for its improvement.

Our thanks to the two associate editors who assumed the responsibility of editing and press work in the absence of Prof. Ed Maranan, the editor, who went on leave since June 1989.

AJIT SINGH RYE
Dean

NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND ARENAS OF STRUGGLE: THE CONTRADICTION OF THE PHILIPPINE STATE

Raul Pertierra, Ph.D.

Introduction

In this paper I explore the structural and cultural bases of Philippine politics in order to explain why formal institutions such as political parties and national elections seldom express or represent the political will of their local constituents. This lack of articulation between national structures and their local sources of action is due to several factors. Foremost of these is the weakness of the Philippine state. It is organizationally unable to successfully penetrate and colonize the routines of everyday life at the village level. The imposition of law and order, in their normative and cognitive senses, is not achieved in many areas of everyday life (e.g. family, work, alliance networks) through the structures of the state.

The normative consensus on which the ideological reproduction of the Philippine state depends (i.e. a Filipino cultural identity) lies outside its control (e.g. unsuccessful attempts to impose a national language; the persistence of sub-altern discourses on nationalism and religion). Similarly, the material-economic conditions for the state's reproduction lie outside its jurisdiction (e.g. foreign aid and investment; repatriation of overseas wages) and hence it is unable to demand loyalty from its officials and citizens in exchange for a living-wage, thus subverting the source of the state's legitimacy.

This lack of complementation between the ideological structures (within its jurisdiction but outside its control) for its representation and material-economic resources (outside its jurisdiction but within its control) needed for its reproduction means that the Philippine state does not directly reflect class relations within a national polity. As a result the practical consciousness of most Filipinos is embedded in routines derived from notions of kinship, locality and association which generally lie outside the formal structures of the state even if substantively coterminal with it. It is those areas of the life-world which have retained a relative autonomy from

the state (e.g. family, ethnicity, religion) that provides the state with the normative consensus for its ideological representation. The consequence is a Filipino national identity independent of its political roots and its obligations to the state or, in other words, the clash between a Filipino cultural identity and a politics of praxis which seems to contradict or undermine this identity.

For the above reasons a conventional analysis of Philippine politics using western models of parliamentary democracy can at most provide superficial, shallow and obvious explanations, while an analysis that relies on class theory is often unable to account for the lack of a consciousness of class despite a strong awareness of inequality and the presence of class-action and struggle. The first approach mistakes the model for the reality while the second assumes that a conscious model of action precedes its practical expression—both approaches betray their western origins and intellectualist bias. Only under conditions of the modern and developed state can structures of consciousness and action be determined by one's social location. The growing importance of intellectuals to articulate as well as problematize such a consciousness and of party-bureaucrats to implement or suppress it characterizes the dilemma of the modern state. This progressive rationalization/domination of social life, which Weber (1978) investigated can only take place after the separation of the spheres of value resulting in distinct areas of life (e.g. politics, culture, science) each with its own type of rationality (e.g. normative/coercive; emancipatory/expressive; instrumental/cognitive) but all subsumed under the aegis of the state.

In the case of the Philippines, the routinization of everyday life conflates these spheres of values resulting in the structures of kinship, locality and association (e.g. kinship involves obligatory, expressive and instrumental aspects). Politics, culture and practical life are permeated by the undifferentiated sphere of values.

Under these conditions elections and the expression of a popular will are problematically related. Thus the common phenomenon in Philippine politics where candidates are expected to buy votes and return special favours to their supporters and patrons reflects this generalized value sphere. Politics is a strategic exercise less predictable than business but more lucrative and exciting. Those with economic, political or cultural capital can convert one form to the other since this transformation, like commodity-exchange assumes the continuity of a common currency of power. In such a

structure politics represents the political will of the powerful, a seeming tautology disguised by the fact that patrons require the continuing support of their clients lest they be deserted for more powerful ones.

Using Zamora, a municipality in which I have conducted fieldwork since 1975, I illustrate the lack of articulation between national and local structures. While Zamora is not necessarily typical of Philippine municipalities it nevertheless shows exemplary elements which allow me to explore the extent and nature of state penetration into local life. Zamorans are acutely aware of the world beyond its boundaries and readily respond to it using their experience and conception of local life. While Zamorans realize the limitations of local knowledge it generally provides them with an adequate basis for dealing with the demands of both national and international life.

The Mirage of Politics

After the 1987 elections in which Left-affiliated candidates did badly, Ed de la Torre, a Catholic activist commented that the N.D.F. had the support of the Filipino people but not their votes. I made a similar observation about the lack of complementation between political support and voting behaviour during the 1986 presidential elections in Zamora (Pertierra, 1987). Many Zamorans acknowledged their moral support for Aquino but voted for Marcos. The apparent contradiction between moral support and voting behaviour reflects distinct aspects of politics which are often not consciously elaborated by Filipinos but which nevertheless inform and constitute their political action and awareness. This paradox expresses a major conundrum of Philippine politics. It arises from the belief in western political theory that the political process involving both political consciousness and political action as expressed through elections generates appropriate structures and institutions.

Such a view assumes a purposive-rational model of political action embedded in structures which are both representational and participative. It also assumes a close and direct link between consciousness and action. However, at least in the Philippine case, one can claim, echoing Ed de la Torre, that while there may be a lack of class consciousness there is no lack of class action. In other words there is a continuous process of class struggle as expressed in organizations such as the N.P.A./N.D.F. even if this struggle is not

manifested in electoral support. The question then arises—why does this struggle not manifest itself ideologically and why is it not expressed electorally? What this example illustrates is that in analysing societies such as the Philippines we must abandon the models of political action drawn from western experience. This experience assumes that formal political institutions express a political will manifested in activities such as elections. This western model is inadequate for several reasons. It is too explicit in the definition of the political process (e.g. elections rather than millenarian movements), it assumes a strong coherence between belief and action (cognitive, motivational and purposive structures complement one another), it is based on the separation of spheres of value which in the West resulted in differentiated and distinct structures of action (Habermas, 1987; Parsons, 1949) and finally it stresses the representative rather than the hegemonic aspect of political structures.

At a recent conference on Philippine local politics (Kerkvliet & Mojares, 1990) regional specialists analysed the responses of several local communities to the replacement of Marcos by Mrs. Aquino. While this disruption was felt differently throughout the country, the contributors agreed that the political space created by Marcos' departure was quickly filled in by Mrs. Aquino. Despite a major turnover of national and local officials it appears that the structure of Philippine politics under Mrs. Aquino is not much different from what it was under Marcos (Krinks, 1987). The election results reflect this continuity particularly well. In an analysis of the 1987 election Robson (1987) writes, "What kind of national political administration has the Philippines ended up with after the congressional elections? The Philippines now has a reconstructed formal political system very similar to the one which existed prior to martial law" (Robson 1987:140). Commenting on how martial law was
sions then existing in Philippine society, Robson concludes, "Expecta-
itself a conservative and unsuccessful attempt to contain the ten-
tions are still high, social distress is more intense, and the old structures of inequality are still there. Now that Aquino is no longer alone on centre stage, people will be looking more critically at the operation of the post-Marcos national political system. If their hopes for a better future continue to be frustrated there is more than one historical tradition to which they can turn in search of a better life" (Robson 1987:141).

While I largely accept the main thrust of Robson's analysis several inconsistencies have to be noted. We are told that the current formal structure of Philippine politics is very similar to the one prevailing before the declaration of martial law by President Marcos in 1972. The martial law phase of Philippine politics was a temporary departure, a conservative and unsuccessful attempt to contain the then existing social tensions. But at the present time (1987) these tensions are even greater and yet the political structure has reverted to the pre-martial law system which even then was unable to contain such tensions. There seems no choice then but to turn to another historical tradition for a better life. This is presumably what many Filipinos have done in supporting the N.P.A./N.D.F. There is, however, an air of unreality in such an analysis of Philippine political life. Much of this is due to the importance given to practices such as elections and their results in formal political structures. I shall argue that most of these formal institutions and structures have little to do with the expression of a political will and even less with the real articulation of power structuring the different classes in Philippine society. (May, 1987: 30-52, makes a similar claim for municipal elections in the 19th century). In other words, formal political institutions are the ideological misrepresentation of more fundamental structures of power and domination.

The Effectiveness of the State

Much of what is shallow, superficial and obvious in the political analysis of Philippine society stems from the assumption that formal structures and institutions such as political parties, elections, legislatures, bureaucracies are what they seem and proclaim themselves to be. However, the Philippine state, on which such structures and institutions depend is unable to penetrate and control the routines of everyday life to the extent necessary for their functional operation. This means that the structures of politics at the national level and their reproductions at the local level are neither consistent nor predictable. Local interests are not represented at the national level and national interests are not reproduced at the local level. A dramatic illustration of this lack of synchronization is the case of overseas workers. Zamorans like many other Filipinos are increasingly seeking employment overseas to obtain the economic security denied them at home. They do so largely through private resources and despite the bureaucratic difficulties imposed by the

Philippine and other governments. On the whole Zamorans feel that the Philippine state does not represent their interests and on their part feel no obligation to meet its requirements. Once abroad, while retaining their village and ethnic affiliation, they also experience strongly a sense of Filipino identity. Zamorans acknowledge the irony of discovering their sense of nationhood abroad.

The dichotomy between a cultural awareness of being Filipino and the lack of a national political consciousness is often mistaken by foreigners (e.g. Fallows, 1987; Mulders, 1987) as a confusion of identity. This mistake, like the earlier one linking political structures with a corresponding political consciousness, assumes that political institutions and a cultural awareness develop from a common source in the social structure. In this paper I explore the discontinuity between the generation of local experience and the constitution of national political structures. It is this discontinuity which transforms the realities of struggle into the illusions of politics. This discontinuity explains why Ed de la Torre can claim that the N.D.F. has the support of the Filipino people but not their votes. It also explains why the electoral process distorts perceptions of class relations such that people appear to vote against their own interests.

The role of elections for the allocation of political power is unproblematically assumed by Philippine scholars (e.g. Lande, 1964; Lynch, 1959) whose hierarchical model of society equates assent with consent. In their view elections open up real political choices even if the structures governing such choices are not open to contestation. Starting from a local basis of normative consensus these scholars extend this basis to cover the formal structures of the state. While this extension of the normative basis of local society may, as in the West, be extended to cover the state and its institutions, it assumes that the Philippine state functionally penetrates local modes of consciousness and their corresponding structures of action. It is precisely the success of this penetration and colonization by the state of the routines of everyday life, including aspects of inner experience, which I query in this paper. The role of elections either as exercises in political legitimation in order to preserve preexisting structures of power or as expressions of political will formation depend on the success of this penetration of local society by the structures of the state. If the Philippine state is unable to effectively penetrate and control local structures of practical con-

sciousness and action then the interpretation of elections either as exercises in representation or in legitimation must be questioned.

At the conference referred to earlier, Philippine regional specialists reported that on the whole the electoral process (1987-88 congressional and local elections) resulted in the replacement of one set of officials by their political clones. Elections resemble a game of musical chairs with the guarantee that all participants have a very good chance of winning once. Elections are the process by which one set of occupants is replaced by another similar set but leaving intact and uncontested the political mechanism responsible for determining membership in such a set. In this sense elections serve to depoliticize politics by removing ideological differences from the public/formal arena of contestation. This practice has been largely successful, and has forced people with Left-leaning sympathies to resort to non-parliamentary forms of political struggle. The extent to which Philippine society as presently constituted can resolve ideological differences is hotly disputed among supporters of the Right and the Left. The Philippine state's inability to allow ideological differences from entering the formal arena of contestation reflects the narrowness of the state's ideological consensus.

Elections and Representation

Elections may be seen as an expression of a political will, in which case they are both representative and participative. On the other hand elections may be seen as instances of a hegemonic domination which uses them simply as a means for structural reproduction and legitimation. While both views of the electoral process are recognized in the Philippines (as they are in most polities) their respective salience and relevance varies as one moves from a local/communal to a national/societal level. The view of elections as constituting political representation and participation is well known at the village level and accounts for examples of conscious political change. The second view of elections as an exercise in political reproduction and legitimation is also well known and explains why political structures have remained much the same in the face of growing social inequality and dissatisfaction. Both of these views may exist at all levels of the political process but in Zamora the former is more closely associated with village elections while the latter is seen as applying more generally to national/prov-

incial elections. This paper explores the conditions which generate each respective view of elections in order to unravel the structures of power and to expose the real nature of political consciousness. In other words, to identify actions and structures which imply a political will even if that will is not discursively elaborated. The emphasis in western scholarship on the processes of discursive will formation as the basis of political/social action reflects both the western experience and its intellectualist bias. Other societies may structure their political/social practices differently.

Class and the State

Many Philippine scholars, including myself (Pertierra, 1988) have expressed considerable ambivalence in using conventional Marxist class analysis to investigate Philippine political and social consciousness. Part of this difficulty lies in disentangling the essential from the contingent elements of class analysis or in separating the analytic notion of class from its socio-cultural encrustations acquired through its use in a largely western, industrial, democratic context. In this paper I retain the notion of class as a structuration of experience leading to particular forms of consciousness (including the lack of a class consciousness) which are necessary for the maintenance and reproduction of particular social orders. However, in the case of an ineffective state such as is found in the Philippines we cannot assume that the state acts as an apparently impartial arbiter of political opportunities while ensuring the reproduction of class relations. The Philippine state delivers very few social goods and is often bitterly resented by its reluctant citizenry. Scholars often mistake this reluctance for the lack of a national will whereas it more properly reflects a morally constituted view of politics—one which claims that the state has not honoured a moral obligation implied in citizenship. Unlike the case in advanced capitalist societies where capital uses the state to provide the stable social conditions for its own reproduction, the Philippine state is a direct source of capital accumulation but its undeveloped and neo-colonial nature prevents it from controlling the economic conditions for its own reproduction. Moreover, the state's resources are distributed personalistically rather than impersonalistically thereby limiting its capacity to elicit a general loyalty from its citizenry. The Philippine state is used to extract political capital rather than to ensure the reproduction of class relations. Class relations are reproduced through an ideology of patron-client rather

than through the mechanisms of a market whose conditions for profit are protected by a powerful state. In such a case western notions of legitimation and representation are inadequate to fully understand the political intentions and consciousness of Filipinos.

The Historical Formation of the Philippine State

The creation of the Philippine state underwent three major formative phases. The period of Spanish colonization marked the first phase. It was characterized by the dominant influence of the foreign religious orders, the suppression of a native Catholic clergy and the rising demands of the mestizo-led urban bourgeoisie finally culminating in the nationalist and revolutionary movements of the late 19th century (Phelan, 1964; Roth, 1977). The period from 1521 to 1898 saw the successful conversion to Catholicism of the majority of Filipinos. The exceptions to this success were the fiercely independent highland communities of Northern Luzon and the warlike Moros (Muslims) of Mindanao (Majul, 1967; Scott, 1974).

The close links between religion and politics were used by the early Catholic missionaries and explain their success in mass conversions following the initial conversion of chiefs and people of influence (Anderson, 1976; Phelan, 1964). It was mainly through these missionaries' efforts, both martial and ideological, that an otherwise decaying and disintegrating Spanish colonial power managed to impose its rule on its most distant colony for nearly four centuries. The end of the Spanish regime coincided with the expulsion of its missionaries, brought about by the rapid rise of a nationalist Church (*Iglesia Filipina Independiente*) controlled by an indigenous clergy and supported by elite-urban interests (Guerrero, 1977). This religious expression of nationalism was rapidly eroded following its political defeat and American support of a foreign dominated Church. The brief interlude (1898-1902) saw the transition from Spanish to American rule and introduced the second stage of ideological-political formation.

The close and direct links between religion and politics were considerably weakened at the onset of the American period. Instead, the Americans embarked on a massive and largely successful education and indoctrination program, expanded the state bureaucracy and formed a highly effective national constabulary (May, 1980). While Spanish political sovereignty ultimately rested on the moral legitimacy granted to it by Catholicism, American imperialism shift-

ed its basis of legitimation from the religious to the secular order, substituting the concepts of democracy and literacy for hierocracy and predicancy, having previously ensured monopoly of military force (Shoesmith, 1978). The weak, pre-modern colonial Spanish state maintained its authority largely through ideological-moral means, effective enough until an emergent Filipino entrepreneurial class eroded both the material base (i.e. the economy) and its ideological superstructure (i.e. the rise of a Filipino clergy and intelligentsia). The American colonial period saw the rapid expansion of national structures. Mass political parties were established under American guidance and a generation of national politicians competed for increasing control over the nation's political future (Paredes, 1989). The orderly and gradual assumption by native political leaders of the mantle of government planned by the American colonial authorities, was interrupted by the sudden and unexpected Japanese invasion of 1941-1944.

The third and current (1946-1989) phase began with the granting of independence in 1946. Soon after its formal independence the Philippine state experienced a brief period of instability when its legitimacy was challenged by a Marxist-inspired, peasant-based rebellion (Huizer, 1972; Kerkvliet, 1977) which required American assistance for its successful suppression.

The Philippines emerged after the war as a quasi-feudal society whose dominant cultural and economic orientation was towards the United States. Local lords ruled, with varying severity, over their native dominions. American economic interests largely coincided with those of the Filipino elite and their respective political differences were easily resolved, following the latter's acceptance of the symbolism of democracy. Moreover, in exchange for continued American support, the elite willingly gave up whatever autonomy they may have exercised over Philippine foreign policy. This symbiotic relationship between the local elite and their American patrons worked in a world increasingly polarized between capitalist and socialist forces at the international level, and between landlords and peasants at the village level. Philippine support for American foreign policy, including the provision of military bases, was as useful as American support against the local communist rebellion. The communist menace overseas and local Filipino insurgents were seen as part of a common conspiracy to destroy both capitalism and democracy. The thoroughness with which such a view pene-

trated large sections of Manila and provincial society, is a testimony of American hegemonic success. The interests of the elite and their American mentors were portrayed as the interests of the nation or, in other words, the interests of the dominant became the dominant interest. In the process, other interests, such as those of the large peasantry, the growing proletariat and the neglected minorities, were suppressed or denied. It was in such monochromatic politics that the growing dissent of the sixties manifested itself.

American ideological domination of the Philippines started to show signs of strain when the local economy began to diversify from monocrop agriculture to early industrialization in the late fifties. Corresponding changes in the basis of political support, including the formation of a rural and urban proletariat, created pressures which the largely symbolic democratic institutions were unable to satisfy. Moreover, during this period many Filipinos discovered that they belonged to the Third World with which they shared similar interests and experiences. China and Vietnam provided alternative models near at hand in place of the traditional view that the interests of the Philippines always coincided with those of the U.S.A.

It was in such a context that martial law was declared, a confused attempt to satisfy some of the new political demands, without altering the fundamental structures of dependency which had given rise to the growing instability of Philippine society. Nevertheless, the declaration of martial law brought significant intended and unintended changes at different levels. The dismantling of postwar political institutions by President Marcos exposed their cosmetic nature, but also created a problem for the basis of political legitimation. Since this basis cannot be generated from below before the new system successfully delivers the political and social goods, Marcos' New Society chose to base its authority on the increasing monopoly of force, while simultaneously appealing for the support of elements of the increasingly diversified dominant class. The former resulted in the growing influence of the military in both civil and political affairs, the latter in the creation of the sub-class of technocrats whose interests draw them further into structures of dependency.

While the old society was based on the rule of landed oligarchs, the new reflected a class with more diversified elements, including

new sectors, such as the military, the technocrats and political cronies. As a strategy, martial law was too clumsy and inflexible to articulate successfully the diversified interests of the new class, making the problem of legitimation crucial. Consequently, the replacement of martial rule by some form of populist representation became inevitable, if the whole structure was to be preserved. It is in the undoubted interests of the United States and international capitalism to preserve such a structure and, as in the past, one may expect native representatives of these interests to emerge.

The Politics of Community and Society

It is accepted that anthropologists study how national cultures manifest themselves at the village level (Geertz, 1973). To this I would add that anthropologists also study how village life contributes to the constitution of national society. Just as it is impossible to understand village life outside the context of the national structure (e.g. state, economy, religion) of which it is a part, it is also impossible to understand national society without considering the values and routines of village life which help constitute it.

The task of anthropology consists of understanding the ways in which external structures are experienced locally and the local responses to these external structures. Moreover, this understanding must involve cultural and other meaningfully constituted actions on the part of local actors. It therefore assumes that structures of actions while not being reduced to systems of meaning nevertheless contain hermeneutic elements which enter into their final constitution. The confusion between systems of meanings and structures of actions arises from the fact that social interaction involves an active cooperation between subjects based on mutual understanding as well as one subject treating the other simply as a means to an end. In this latter case ego's actions are adjusted to but are not understood (by ego and alter) as part of alter's action. In other words, ego and alter adjust their actions to one another without necessarily having achieved a common understanding of a given situation. In this paper I explore the nature and extent of this common understanding of a given situation or its absence for local actors confronting structures such as the state.

Strategic behaviour and coercive relations necessarily involve patterns of interaction which are not based on mutual understanding. In such cases ego uses alter for ego's ends irrespective of

alter's interest. Economic and political actions and their corresponding structures cannot therefore be assumed to rest on the mutual understanding and consent of social actors. This does not deny the fact that ego's actions are nevertheless meaningful from the viewpoint of ego's interest. But alter's response to ego's actions may not be meaningful in terms of ego's interests since alter and ego have not achieved a common understanding of interest positions prior to constituting the interaction. For this reason a social consciousness is not merely the sum of individual consciousness that nevertheless determine its constitution. Individual consciousness in the process of achieving a common understanding of interest positions generates a social consciousness which also determines patterns of adjustment and reciprocation of ego and alter even when their interaction is not based on mutual understanding. In other words ego's ends and his/her adjustment to alter are from the beginning socially constituted irrespective of having reached a common understanding of interest positions. I am simply claiming that ego is already a dialogical and social subject. There are no presocial egos. The dispute between the moral economists (e.g. Scott, J. 1976) and those who stress the self-interests of peasants (e.g. Popkin, 1979) arises from a theory of consciousness which sees ego not as a product of a dialogical interaction but as monologically confronting other egos. A dialogical consciousness leads to a notion of community whereas the notion of society under capitalism often assumes a monological ego.

Notions of community and society involve distinct models of politics, with their corresponding concepts of personhood and consciousness. Society particularly as exemplified in the modern state with its conception of abstract justice, rational law and the duties of citizenship requires a psychological view of personhood with its emphasis on a reflective-monological consciousness and a strong sense of duty or responsibility (i.e. an interior and moral conscience). The dissagregative effects of a largely impersonal society with its extreme specialization of tasks and its relegation of power and authority to unknown representatives requires for its reproduction the idea of a highly developed personality, with a clear view of means-ends and a concept of nationhood involving the inalienable rights of its citizens. Community on the other hand is as much a system of signification as it is a structure of regular and stable interaction (Cohen, 1985). More accurately community is a structure of interaction of significant others (i.e. it is con-

sciously dialogical). The former is characterized by commodity exchange, the latter by gift exchange (Bourdieu, 1977; Mauss, 1969). In this paper I explore the basis of membership in the category of significant other in the case of Zamora, a municipality in which I conducted fieldwork (Pertierra, 1988).

I am saying that although many forces acting on Philippine society are generated externally and under conditions unknown to many Filipinos affected by them, nevertheless the Filipino responses to these forces can only be fully understood in the context of a Filipino cultural reality.

The extent and manner of penetration of state and other national structures into Philippine village life varies considerably. While not necessarily typical in all respects, I shall illustrate the manner and effect of this penetration and intercalation by discussing Zamora, a municipality in Northern Luzon with a population (1976) of about 8,000 people.

The Municipality of Zamora

Zamora is a rice and tobacco growing municipality in the province of Ilocos Sur some 350km north of Manila. Its inhabitants mainly speak Ilocano and live in 26 barrios or villages whose population range from 88 to 850 people. These villages are generally separated from one another by fertile fields that lie on either side of the river which effectively divides Zamora into its two major sections. Although the municipality sees itself as predominantly Ilocano, several villages retain close linguistic, cultural and kinship ties with non-Ilocano communities to the east of Zamora. Despite the long-time presence of Catholic missionaries in the area (circa 1760) Zamora retained much of its pre-Christian culture, including its political institutions until the first quarter of this century. Having rejected Catholicism, villages in Zamora accepted various forms of Protestantism soon after the imposition of American rule (1902-1946). However, when independence was achieved and mass-based political parties with national structures were introduced, Zamoran leaders and many of their followers switched their religious allegiance to Catholicism.

Apart from the presence of the Augustinian missionaries and the occasional visit of an official, state structures had not effectively penetrated Zamoran life for most of the period of Spanish colo-

nization (1521-1898). Even the imposition of Spanish surnames in the 1850's to facilitate record-keeping had little practical effect in Zamora until the 1920's when the Americans introduced village schools. The American period (1902-1946) saw an increased penetration of state structures into local society. Literacy was expanded, mass-based political parties begun to recruit members in Zamora and an increasing number oriented their activities towards the cash economy. However, until the decade of the 1950's when Virginia tobacco was introduced, Zamora retained its primarily subsistence economy despite significant changes in its ideological structure brought about by schooling and a strongly proselytizing Protestantism.

Like many other Philippine municipalities (Agpalo, 1972), Zamora is divided into two major sections characterized by geographic and cultural elements. The southern section centres around the village of Luna, while the northern section is headed by the leading families of Macaoayan, a prosperous and culturally distinct village. The competition between these two sections determines much of local political life and has repercussions for the linkages between Zamora and the Philippine state. Even before the time of its formation into a municipality in 1919 Zamora had been divided into two main sections. This division is expressed at two levels. The first involves a coalition of villages and the second the leading families who are responsible for determining the political and social affairs of the municipality and who generally live in its principal villages. While these leading families determine the configuration of personal alliances constituting each faction, the first level of this division (i.e. coalition of villages) exercises constraints in the range and stability of their choices. Apart from the geographic nature of this division (north vs. south) certain cultural differences also enter into its constitution. The northern section is dominated by non-Ilocano villages, while the southern section is predominantly Ilocano.

One of the major issues of sectional disputes has been the location of the municipal centre (*poblacion*) with its attendant services and personnel (e.g. government offices, health clinic). Access to and the use of government funds and services primarily benefit *poblacion* residents and hence its location is keenly contested by each section. These symbolic (i.e. status) and material rewards are the main reasons why Zamorans engage in politics, particularly since

political success has significant economic and religious consequences. At the present time and after several changes, the *poblacion* is located in Bato, a village in the northern section. However, the main Catholic and Protestant churches are located in Luna, the centre of the southern section. Thus, the political and religious life of Zamora is divided between the two sections, each one trying to extend its domination over the other in both spheres (i.e. religion and politics). This internal competition between the two factions/ sections of Zamora has deep historical roots whose origins are unknown to its present inhabitants. The manifestation of this rivalry, however, depends on the issues and resources available to Zamorans. The introduction of party politics has proved to be an ideal medium in which to express such a conflict. Thus, in a paradoxical way the intrusion of national politics has contributed to the continued development of local political and cultural differences.

Until 1964 each section was closely associated with a major party (the northern section with the Liberal party, the southern section with the Nacionalista party) but in this year Marcos switched from the Liberal to the Nacionalista party. This change caused a complex re-working of local political networks and since then party affiliation no longer clearly reflects factional groupings. This meant that during the 20 odd years of Marcos' rule sectional disputes did not manifest themselves primarily along party political lines. Marcos' supporters were found in both sections, all of whom attempted to maximize their links with their respective political patrons. The resources obtained, however, tended to flow along factional lines. In the last presidential elections Mrs. Aquino received her strongest support in the two villages (Macaoayan and Luna), each of which heads a section. In the constitutional elections only Macaoayan supported Mrs. Aquino. The point of all this is to show that political support which had earlier mainly been expressed along clear sectional lines is no longer reflected directly. In other words while national politics continues to have an impact in Zamora both during Marcos' days and now under Mrs. Aquino, this impact does not work primarily through the traditional sections as it had done until 1964. The result is a much less predictable and a less stable set of local political alliances since these now cross what are still significant structural divisions. It remains to be seen whether these cross-sectional political alliances diminish the traditional divisions or whether the old loyalties reimpose themselves on the new politics.

The continuation of the traditional sectional divisions no longer directly reflected in party political terms since 1964 are presently made manifest in the split religious congregations among both the Catholics and the Protestants of Zamora and in the attempts of each section to celebrate its *fiesta* (each section has a religious patron) as the major event in Zamora cultural-religious life. While Luna exercises a considerable religious advantage since this village is the centre of much local religious activity, Bato and Macaoayan have significant material resources which they can use to challenge Luna's claim to religious primacy. A considerable amount of local effort and resources are used to validate each section's claim to social, cultural and religious superiority and to ensure its continuity through links with national structures. Hence a tension is established between the desire to reaffirm local divisions and the need to adjust to external structures which do not necessarily conform to local differences.

The Basis of Community

The native term for propinquity (*ili*) can be expanded to cover widening areas all of whose inhabitants recognize membership in a common territory. Its smallest extent refers to a local neighborhood whose members are usually kin with easy and informal access to each other's houses and who frequently exchange labour and other services. It is then extended to other similar neighbourhoods in the village, eventually encompassing the village and beyond. As the area referred to increases the general obligations of common membership decrease correspondingly.

Other notions such as parentation (*kabagian, kaputot*) or association (*agkasukob, kagayyem*) are also used to refer to non-territorially constituted communities all of whose members recognize moral obligations to one another. Zamorans also recognize membership in nationally constituted bodies such as religious congregations and other associations whose members are often unknown to one another but who nevertheless acknowledge a common commitment to a set of abstract ideals. Finally, like other Filipinos Zamorans are increasingly conscious of belonging to a national polity even if its communal obligations are still difficult to specify (Anderson, 1983).

These notions of propinquity, parentation and association can take on varied and significant aspects which allow Zamorans to

adjust their actions to the appropriate situation. In the context of everyday life, the village is the focus of these notions of locality, parentation and association. However, Zamorans also interact frequently outside the village context and in such cases either extend or accentuate different aspects of these notions. The tobacco economy obliges Zamorans to develop ties with outside buyers on a regular basis; travel to Manila and other centres for educational and other purposes require Zamorans to establish stable networks outside the village; membership in a range of associations obliges them to extend their interests correspondingly. All of these extra-village orientations themselves arise in the context of ordinary village life and for this reason Zamorans at times willingly and at others reluctantly, leave the village in order to pursue them. In many cases such departures result in their permanent separation from their village community but just as often and despite the considerable effort and expense many Zamorans return regularly to renew village ties. Apart from the intensity with which village life focuses propinquity, parentation and association, these separate dimensions for basing social relations and for generating distinct models of community and society equip Zamorans adequately for their increasingly more regular dealings with national and international life. It is not unusual for people with overseas experience to encourage their juniors to go abroad with the advice that although adjustment to a foreign culture is initially harder than going to Manila the ultimate benefits outweigh the meagre advantage offered by Manila and other Philippine cities. They point out that if one must work as a domestic or a labourer one might as well do so for the highest wage and in circumstances which are least demeaning to one's sense of personhood. The benefits of both distance and pay in overseas work satisfy these criteria better than domestic service in Manila. Zamorans consciously compare domestic work abroad to selling tobacco to Chinese rather than to Ilocano buyers. The former sometimes pay more but more importantly the relationship with Chinese buyers is more narrowly (i.e. economically) defined and hence less demanding of other aspects of personhood. In other words, whenever Zamorans deal with outsiders, whose normative framework clearly lie beyond the structures of village life, they tend to develop the relationship along specific unidimensional lines. Converts to the *Iglesia-ni-Kristo,* an exclusive and nationalist religion frequently point out the difficulties of maintaining orthodoxy in the context of village life, with its generalized

demands of kinship and locality, and contrast this with the relative ease of meeting the heavy expectations of *Iglesia* membership in Manila and other urban centres. Many *Iglesia* members often converted to this religion during their stay in Manila because membership was seen as providing a sense of community in an otherwise anomic environment. However, their attempts to maintain this membership in Zamora often clashed with the loyalties due to kin and neighbours many of whom are non-*Iglesia*. This conflict is particularly acute in households whose members belong to different denominations. Such multi-affiliation households are rare, although increasing and the majority are marked by their belonging to the class of poor tenants. The *Iglesia* is particularly strong in Taliao, a village whose inhabitants mostly work as tenants of wealthy Macaoayan families to whom they are *not* related. In contrast *Iglesia* members from Luna who are tenants of their wealthy Catholic village kin often complain of the opposing demands set by their religious and economic positions.

In a village such as Macaoayan where uxorilocality is the preferred mode of post-marital residence (60% of households are uxorilocal), the notions of locality and association are particularly developed to the extent that the individual members of the council of Elders (*Panglakayen*) who effectively run village affairs often concur with council decisions against their own kin. In other villages such as Bangbangar this behaviour is unacceptable and parentation is the primary mode of social relations. Thus, even in Zamora itself the importance given to the notions of propinquity, parentation and association often vary from village to village and certainly from one context to another.

Legitimate authority and the adjudication of disputes

The notion of power differentials is, within certain limits, included in local notions of community. The recognition of legitimate authority is highly developed in Zamoran society although the process of its implementation varies from one context to another reflecting the overlapping nature of the models of community referred to earlier. I shall illustrate these different notions of legitimate authority by discussing the procedures for the resolution or adjudication of disputes in Zamora.

(a) Tante was savagely attacked by his rival while courting a girl from a neighbouring village. His attacker who resided in the

girl's village and who belonged to a wealthy family fled to the hills once the incident became known to Tante's kin. They threatened legal and retaliatory action unless compensation was immediately offered for Tante's serious injuries. These proceedings were conducted by the senior kin of both parties, mediated by the respective village officials and other interested third parties. Only after an adequate compensation was paid for did it become safe for Tante's assailant to return.

(b) Two brothers became involved in an argument during a drinking session. The older one attacked his sibling nearly severing his ear with a machete. Since the dispute occurred between members of a kin-group, no outsiders, including village officials intervened. The brother paid for his younger sibling's hospital expenses and a major feast was celebrated to commemorate the moral unity of the kin-group.

(c) Some young men in Macaoayan were accused of theft and were brought before the village Elders, who had them publicly flogged. In addition, the accused youths were also flogged at home by their parents.

(d) A Macaoayan couple were having difficulty disciplining their son who repeatedly stole their money. They complained to the village Elders who promptly had him flogged and placed in stocks. The parents regretted their action and pleaded for his release. The Elders agreed on condition that the parents pay a fine for their son's misbehaviour. They provided a pig and native drinks for a feast.

These cases illustrate some of the notions of legitimate authority in Zamora. In the first case, the disputing parties belonged to different kin-groups, each of which represented the disputants. Only when the representatives of both kin-groups had reached agreement was the dispute settled. In the second case since the dispute was internal to a kin-group, mediation was a purely internal matter within the group. The third and fourth cases involved the village-community represented by the group of Elders and particular individuals whose kin-groups only secondarily entered the adjudication process. In the last case the dispute concretely only involved a delict within a kin-group but was nevertheless interpreted as a violation of the abstract rules against theft and a lack of respect towards members of a senior generation. All these cases indicate a willing delegation of authority and its legitimate use. In the first two cases the kin-group is seen as the primary unit responsible

for wielding authority over individual interests. The last two cases indicate that in Macaoayan the notion of legitimate authority is extended from the kin-group to the village Elders who represent the interests of the entire community. I should add that in the case of the quarrelling siblings, the abstract norm regarding the amity of a kin-group is obviously known and accepted. However no structures corresponding to the set of Elders in Macaoayan exists that allows for the breach of this norm to be enforced from outside the kin-group itself.

The examples discussed indicate that Zamorans have a rich range of normative models of community that allow them to deal flexibly with the interactions of daily life. Apart from recognizing the normatively defined nature of social life, Zamorans are also aware that the structures of interaction are not exclusively nor perhaps even primarily based on these normative models. Conflicts of interests occur which not only bring into question particular normative understandings but their resolution is not always necessarily based on a fixed consensus of the normative basis of conflict. Villagers readily admit that they are internally divided into *baknang* (rich), *katkatangan* (middle) and *napanglaw* (poor) status categories. These categories are, however, usually used referentially rather than addressively. It is impolite to refer to people as *baknang* or *napanglaw* in their presence. In the case of the former because it might be interpreted as a claim on their resources and in the latter because it could be seen as an imputation on their abilities. *Baknang* are not only rich but should be generous, *napanglaw* refers as much to a deficiency of character as it does to one's poverty. Some *baknang,* however, reject the obligations of generosity and most *napanglaw* can point out objective conditions to explain their poverty, thus maintaining their self-respect. In such a situation a notion of community incorporating wealth and status differentials cannot both assert its normative claims while acknowledging the disparities mentioned. The result is that while everyone in a village is acutely aware of status positions no one is willing publicly to align the notion of community with the existing status differentials. It should be noted that in a village such as Macaoayan, where generational status is not only recognized but enforced, the communal recognition of the privileges of Elders (male and female) is independent of their personal wealth, though not of other qualities such as a sense of equity, persuasiveness, or forcefulness.

Communitas, the Self and the Other

I begun this paper by distinguishing between the moral support for a particular candidate (e.g. Mrs. Aquino) and the instrumental-strategic voting for another (e.g. Marcos). This apparent inconsistency arises from operating with a model of politics which advocates participation and representation while acknowledging the realities of reproduction and legitimation. Many people I spoke to in Manila in February 1986 expected Marcos to cheat but win the election, which is precisely what he did, thus partly justifying the stand of the radical Left. They had boycotted the election on the grounds that real political choice was not possible while Marcos controlled the media, the army and the Commission on Elections. The Left judged Marcos correctly and operating with what anthropologists call a structural functionalist model of society they had also assumed that his control of society's major institutions would insure the political compliance of the people. Like other models of society, structural functionalism conflates the regular with the casual, the role with the person and behaviour with purposive action. But society is not a machine, it is not an organism, nor is it only a chess game. It has the characteristics of all three only to the extent that these conceptions of society enter into its constitution through the action orientations of social agents. Except for the first metaphore which is more appropriate in an industrial context, we have seen how in Zamora people operate with a range of societal models some of which are similar to the view of society as a tightly knitted organic whole or alternatively as an open ended game or contest. Marcos was the head or *pangulo* of Philippine society and he determined its movement. Marcos was also the master operator, the nation's best politician who could wheel and deal successfully with the powerful and crafty Americans. These are the native equivalents of anthropology's structural functionalism and no doubt partly explain why many Filipinos naturally assumed that he would cheat and win the elections. What so outraged them, including Mrs. Aquino, when President Reagan initially accepted Marcos' manipulations, was the implication that Filipinos were either too stupid or weak-kneed to do anything about it. It was bad enough for many Filipinos to be manipulated by a corrupt and ambitious politician like Marcos but it was insupportable to be told by a foreigner that this was not happening or that there was nothing that could be done about it. The events at EDSA proved everyone wrong. The Left for assuming that the choice was

between boycott or revolution, Marcos for thinking that as *pangulo* he could do as he pleased, the Americans for presuming to teach Filipinos the traditions of democracy, the media for expecting a bloodbath, and students of Philippine society such as myself for failing to notice the early signs of *communitas* (Turner, V., 1974) seen at the huge, peaceful and spontaneous rallies held for Mrs. Aquino since her husband's assassination. What confused and distracted scholars such as myself was the lack of the normal ideological and cultural signposts for all this activity. Mrs. Aquino was an unassuming politically inexperienced, self-declared housewife. She came through birth and marriage from an immensely rich, powerful and ambitious family. Her class background, conventional education and personal religiosity seemed ideally suited for her role as supportive wife to an obsessively driven politician. Her role as the widow to complete the dead husband's task while unusual is not unknown to Filipinos who know of La Loba Negra or who remember Gabriela Silang (Routledge, 1979) and who more recently recall Aurora Quezon and Carmeling Crisologo. What was puzzling about Mrs. Aquino was her ability to depoliticize her husband's goal and in the process expand her popular support. In the previous cases of widows inheriting their husband's political tasks, these tasks were left largely unchanged and hence continued to attract the support only of the already committed. In Mrs. Aquino's case she attracted, at least initially, the support of many who would have been implacably opposed to her husband on both ideological and personal grounds. It was precisely her lack of political experience that made her so popular and successful as a politician. The old political structure had been so discredited both before and during Marcos' time that only people with non-political backgrounds such as Mrs. Aquino, members of the church, academics, businessmen or alternatively politicians who disclaimed political ambitions such as Diokno or Tañada were trusted. Mrs. Aquino's political innocence and the absence of a history of compromise this implies allowed her to approach hitherto untapped sources of support in the broad Left and in particular the progressive elements of the Church. But her support was not primarily along ideologico-political or pragmatic grounds as would have been Ninoy's had he lived and instead she attracted people across the entire spectrum of Philippine society, including and in particular the normally politically uncommitted. This realization came to me when I visited an old school-teacher who had never taken a great interest in politics, be-

ing too busy earning enough money to support her two sons. During the counting she visited her local polling booths and sternly lectured her former students who were now Comelec officials about the necessity of fairness and honesty. She had taught them these values as students, they were teaching these themselves as teachers and therefore had to practice these civic virtues to maintain their self-respect. The officials listened to her respectfully, some were moved to tears by her accusations and finally admitted that they were merely carrying out the instructions of their superiors. The crowd around the polling booth was growing bigger by the minute, the old schoolteacher continued screaming accusations at the officials many of whom had abandoned their duties, until finally a young kinsman gently led her home. Despite the enormous tension surrounding this incident, doubtlessly repeated many times in other parts of Manila, there was little evidence of violence in the crowd. In other words, the tension was not directed against anyone in particular but was a realization of the profound moral crises confronting the nation.

The Philippines has had a long history of experiencing such crises, some of whose aspects are being increasingly explored by historians and no longer described as chiliastic or millenarian outbursts by uneducated and superstitious peasants. The notions of an egalitarian community encompassing all Tagalogs, Ilocanos or Visayans and eventually all Filipinos was a frequent theme in colonial history but interpreted by historians until Ileto (1985) as a form of religious mysticism or political misadventurism. These movements are now being more correctly seen as tentative attempts at extending the notion of a moral community beyond the boundaries of village, parentation and direct association initially in the only existing idiom, religion but later in its seculiar equivalents of nationalism and Marxism. These attempts are usually preceded by the rejection of the normal structures and followed by the experience of states of *communitas* or anti-structure before imposing what is seen as a new and better order. The *Guardias de Honor*, the *Cofrades de Hermano Pule*, and the *Sagrada Familia* all attempted to build the New Jerusalem in Arayat or Banahaw only to be crushed by the State or distracted by the exigencies of practical life. As cults came and went the only predictable thing was that others would take their place. Mrs. Aquino has not deliberately cultivated the image of the risen Rizal reincarnated as a woman to lead the Philippines out of the path of darkness. Nevertheless, many Filipinos see in her

the last hope to rescue the country out of its otherwise inevitable plunge into civil war, political dismemberment and economic ruin. Her unassuming nature, her conciliatory attitude and her sense of compassion exemplify the highly valued qualities not only of motherhood but more importantly of legitimate authority. She qualifies as the ideal *Inang Bayan* or mother of the nation and contrasted to the leadership qualities of Marcos as *pangulo* or head of the nation. She follows the people's will where Marcos would lead it, she listens where Marcos would order, she consoles with those who suffer, where Marcos would be detached and abstracted. These ideal and mythological qualities and contrasts between Mrs. Aquino and Marcos are similar to the comparisons between Mother Pilipinas and Father Spain familiar to Rizal's readers and still used, though with the U.S.A. playing the father's role, in much contemporary nationalist rhetoric. While these cultural models have not been notably successful in achieving their goals, including Mrs. Aquino's government, they continue to inspire generations of patriotic Filipinos who see them as counter-factual possibilities rather than as empirically disproven cognitive constructions. Like myths, these notions of *communitas* are not mistaken representations of reality since they do not seek as myths to cognitively represent reality. Instead they could be more profitably seen as the equivalence of a non-representational post-modernist discourse (Lyotard, 1983).

One of the most striking features of the event at EDSA on February 1986 was its festive nature despite the ever present possibility of serious violence. The accounts of many of the participants stress the element of curiosity, the need to find out what was happening as much as the explicit desire to show solidarity for the rebels. Parents took their children to share what they felt were crucial moments in a nation's experiencing of itself as a collectivity as much as to enjoy the pleasures of an outing. This recalls the simultaneously festive and serious social atmosphere during visits to shrines such as Antipolo in the 19th century and Banahaw in the 20th. Like EDSA these excursions/pilgrimages represented personal moral quests as much as experiences of collective effervescence and were characterized by the momentary loss of structure. Pilgrims going to Banahaw for the Holy Week celebrations are expected to shed their normal statuses and willingly co-mingle with their fellows. Signs of wealth and social distinctions are temporarily suspended during their sojourn in the mountain as each person seeks his/her own moral goal while simultaneously drawing social and

spiritual strength from their common participation. The occasion and symbolism of death for the celebration of spiritual and social life is a frequent theme in Philippine culture much commented upon by foreigners (Marryat, 1974) who were puzzled by the practice of holding dances and other celebrations after a funeral. The need for affirmation of group ties is strongest after the loss of one of its members.

Associated with the festive air at EDSA was the equally marked lack of agonistic behaviour or more accurately the repeated attempts at defusing tension before it could lead to conflict. Priests, nuns, old and young people were as keen to show their determination to hold their ground in preventing Marcos' troops from advancing on camps Crame and Aguinaldo as they were in extending their friendship to these same troops. No doubt it was this combination of defiance and appeasement that most confused the soldiers and their officers. In other words what truly characterizes states of *communitas* is the simultaneous de-structuring and re-structuring of social boundaries. Durkheim (1915) stressed the element of solidarity during these occasions with its implied boundaries between inside-outside—uninitiated/initiated—stranger/comrade. But it is precisely the conflation of these distinctions to stress a universal human condition such that insider/outsider-neophyte/initiate-self/other are seen to be mere cultural artifacts over a common nature that better reflects the states of *communitas.*

Corazon Aquino was not initially present at EDSA but it was obviously her supporters, urged on by Cardinal Sin, who gathered there to support Ramos and Enrile. These men had for many years been among Marcos' strongest allies and only when their own position became threatened within the Marcos camp did they decide to switch sides. Despite these purely self-interested motives, scores of Filipinos who would have held grudges against these men nevertheless openly welcomed them. Ideological differences were temporarily set aside in this celebration of *communitas.*

Communitas and local community

If by *communitas* we mean a social situation characterized by the suspension of the normal hierarchies between status categories and other structures marking social differences, this state is rarely if ever experienced in Zamora. There are occasions when normal social behaviour is partly suspended as in the case of ritual theft

practised between Good Friday and Easter Sunday when gangs of village youths are given considerable liberty in respect of private property. The celebration held during the major period of mourning is marked by the opposition between the ritual asociality of the deceased's kin and the extreme sociability of the attending guests. Visitors, during these occasions go to great lengths to entertain each other while close kin of the deceased maintain an uncommitted air at these proceedings. In Macaoayan, during the major traditional feasts held in the recent past, people would seal off the village and indulge in communal feasting for 3-4 days, during which time the household was disbanded and its members absorbed as individuals in the village collectivity. None of these occasions are complete expressions of *communitas* although they all involve a conscious suspension of normal structures, behaviour and norms. There are other occasions such as the ritual expressions of sexuality at weddings and during the performance of *comedias,* when a general air of sociability is expressed which resemble states of *communitas.* All these occasions occur within specific and predictable situations during which the multiplex nature of village ties and relationships are still operative. True *communitas* is difficult to achieve in local communities whose members are linked by dense and diverse sets of relationships. An exception to this occurs in villages like Macaoayan with its strong cultural identity, in Dirdirig with its distinctive religious orientation or among members of separatist sects such as the *Iglesia* and *Jehovah's Witness.* In all these cases the village community or local congregation is a main source of social identity and the temporary suspension of other ties is a way of renewing group solidarity. The stress on social equality during these occasions serves to mark members of the village or congregation from non-members. By temporarily suspending internal differences between members, the boundaries of group membership are emphasized and renewed. In another sense this is the opposite of true *communitas* where not only are individual differences suspended but even group boundaries are lifted, allowing the individual to experience collective life (*pakikipagkapua tao*) in the widest sense. This experience of universal humanity is most closely exemplified in the major religious pilgrimages when the individual consciously attempts to achieve communion with the universalized other. This loss of self as a prelude to a national or universal consciousness requires a highly sustained ideological commitment. The structures of experience predominant in village society such as Zamora generally mitigate against the

formation of such sustained ideological communities. However, the conditions for generating such ideological communities are clearly present in Zamora even if less highly developed than in pilgrimage sites such as Banahaw. In these latter cases the obligations of locality, parentation and friendship are subordinated to a more abstract and encompassing notion of community. For such a notion to prevail less localized structures of action such as those found in a developed nation-state would need to be dominant, with their corollaries of a class consciousness and an ideological politics. The present success of Mrs. Aquino and the apparent failure of political movements of the Left indicate that these latter ideological conditions do not presently prevail. On the other hand the momentary supercession of local differences exemplified in *communitas* have not led to their stable integration into the state. These cultural models of an egalitarian and free community have proved to be as unstable as the gains of elections.

I have argued following Pinches (1987) that the events at EDSA in February 1986 can be described as an instance of *communitas* which involves the temporary suspension of social hierarchies and relationships. I then examined the ideas and conceptions of community in a municipality such as Zamora to see how they may be used as a basis for creating states of *communitas*. I noted the possibilities of extending the moral basis of local community to include wider interaction as well as pointing out the difficulty in dissolving dense village ties required to create *communitas*. It seems that while local notions of community may be expanded to include open boundaries of interaction required for *communitas*, the village itself is not a suitable site for this condition. Instead one must look to inter-village, inter-regional and national gatherings such as those found in religious sites like Banahaw to experience *communitas*. This and other sacred sites found throughout the country provide a link to a Philippine past which predates its colonial ideological formation. Despite the Christian idiom in which its sacrality is expressed, sites such as Mount Banahaw inspire in their believers states of solidarity and community outside the existing structures of society. Secular society with its fixed hierarchies, imported values and foreign orientation constituting the outer self (*labas*) is contrasted with the egalitarian structures and native values characterizing the inner self (*loob*) experienced during these sojourns to Mount Banahaw. Banahaw cults have indigenized Christianity by reinter-

preting it in matriarchal forms, egalitarian structures and autochthonous themes (Gonzales, 1985).

However, this tradition of revolt and resistance to external domination persists only in the margins and interstices of Philippine society although like the events at EDSA it can provide a crucial juncture affecting the direction of motion along the fixed rails set down by the dominant relations of secular society (Pertierra, 1983). This tradition of resistance to the hispanization of local community, while remaining largely outside the direct control of the colonial and later the post-colonial state, constitutes one of the most powerful sources for cultural/ideological production (Love, R., 1977). These sites of resistance provide many of the central values for a Filipino national consciousness (e.g. the discourse of the *Pasyon*, Ileto, 1975) with its roots in the colonial period. Moreover, the reproduction of cultural areas on which the state itself depends (e.g. nationalism, *kalayaan*) originate in these sites of resistance. While this tradition is not totally autonomous of the structures of the state and in fact often defines itself as a social movement in opposition to the state's secular values (e.g. *colorum*) its reproduction can only be achieved in areas of life relatively unpenetrated by the state. It is precisely those areas of the life-world which have retained a relative autonomy from the state which provides the state with the normative consensus for its own structural reproduction. It is this lack of complementation which has given rise to a sense of Filipino national identity independent of its obligations to the state or in other words creates the clash between a Filipino cultural identity and a growing political consciousness.

CONCLUSION

I have argued in this paper that both the formal and the substantive links between elections and the manifestation of a political will are highly problematic in the Philippine case. Part of this difficulty can be traced to the non-complementary and incommensurable source of political consciousness and cultural identity. Class relations are not dependent on the structures of the state for their reproduction. Instead they are embedded in cultural practices and power relationships expressed in the idiom of propinquity, parentation and association (with their dialogical emphasis) which in themselves prevent a clear articulation of a consciousness of class even if they cannot deny the experience of increasing inequality. In other

words, unlike the West, class relations are not experienced as arising out of market conditions whose stability and profitality are guaranteed and protected by the state. Instead, class relations are embedded in notions and practices involving kinship, locality and alliance. These conditions do not generate a reflective consciousness of close even if social inequalities are acutely experienced. This paper has been largely exploratory, using my experience of Zamora to investigate the nature of political consciousness, its expression in elections and its cultural origins. My rejection of existing models of Philippine politics and culture oblige me to suggest alternatives that can account for the stabilities and fluctuations of Philippine social life previously explained using models naively transposed from their western sources. This transposition has generated formal political activities such as elections which, like Balinese shadow plays, conceal the realities and mechanisms of struggle and power even as they retain the interests and involvement of their participating audience.

This paper has expressed dissatisfaction with the prevailing view of Philippine society which accepts the formal models of institutions such as the state and the process of allocation of political power such as elections for their substantive reality. This view of Philippine society is generally subsumed in hierarchical/consensual models of patron-client relationships based on normatively bound local communities. While normatively bound local communities exist in Zamora, the extension of a normative consensus and hence a morally based politics outside the boundaries of local community is highly problematic. In cases where a normative consensus not based on local community is achieved as in religious and other social movements their basis of generation remains relatively autonomous of the state (at least since their secular, post-hispanic phase). Apparent exceptions such as the N.D.F. and institutions such as the Philippine Army have yet to prove their capacity to generate and reproduce normative consensus beyond immediate strategic and instrumental needs. As events in Poland (Mitzal & Mitzal, 1986) have shown, even societies with strong centralized structures are unable to subsume civil relations totally into the state. At present neither the N.D.F. nor the Philippine Army (Selochan, 1988) possesses the material or cultural resources to use the state to dominate civil society.

For the reasons above, conventional class analysis is not adequate for understanding Philippine society. While class relations generate perceived inequalities they do not necessarily lead to a reflexive class consciousness. However, this lack of a developed consciousness of class does not prevent class conflict from being a practical and active element of everyday life (Pinches, 1984). A developed consciousness of class depends on the presence of a strong state which is able to colonize and penetrate the routines of daily life through the process of reproducing capital. At present non-economic factors enter significantly into the ideological construction of subjective consciousness expressed in formal political actions such as elections. The economic and political conditions for a theoretical and social consciousness of class may not exist but increasing inequality generates a practical/performative class consciousness which is threatening to overthrow the present interests of the state. Until the Philippine state is better able to articulate the interests of its constituents as well as more successfully penetrate the routines of practical life its stability will remain problematic. Marcos correctly sensed that the former oligarchic interests of the Philippine state are no longer viable even if expressed through the rhetoric of parliamentary elections. The Aquino government appears unable to extend the interests which it represents or even to effectively dominate them as indicated by the repeated challenge to its authority on the part of an even more narrowly based (but more structurally cohesive) interest-group (i.e. the military). However, the military's links with a nationalist ideology are tenious at best. For many sections of Philippine society such as peasants, workers and students the military represents the most odious aspects of the state. It has played no historic or cultural role in creating or defining a Filipino sense of nationhood except by continuing, during the colonial and post-colonial periods, its primary role as the agent of colonial oppression or as its post-colonial client. Unlike Catholicism or even electoral politics, the Philippine army has few roots in society. Unlike the case in other Third World states (e.g. Indonesia), the Philippine army had no role in liberation struggles nor has it, since independence, distinguished itself as defender of the nation. However, its present role as a main challenge to civilian rule must be seen as an attempt by or otherwise unstable and ineffective state to strengthen and rationalize its domination over its citizenry before acquiring their practical consent. Since electoral politics has clearly failed to provide the stable conditions for the accumulation

of capital the Philippine state appears headed towards more authoritarian directions. Whether it can overcome the resistance of its semi-autonomous local communities such as Zamora as well as co-opt traditional sub-alter discourses remains questionable.

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THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION IN MALAYA AND IN THE PHILIPPINES: THE CHINESE FACTOR (1942 - 1945)

Renato S. Velasco

Introduction

The Second World War was a painful historical turning point in the histories of several countries especially in Asia. This period characterized by the unprecedented sanguine conflicts among races and nations brought extensive damage and untold miseries to millions. But in the midst of this unfortunate episode also came about the revitalization and the growth and development of movements which fostered national cohesion and unity. As the Western powers busied themselves in annihilating each other in Europe and elsewhere, their colonies were apparently left to themselves and in the process managed to chart their respective course of actions. This brief but momentous opportunity helped the colonies to see and identify their national interests and discerned the latter from that of the colonizers. This realization eventually led to stronger agitation for independence and self-rule right after the World War II.

In Asia, the Japanese invasion of many countries was the concrete expression of the world war. Consequently, resistance to Japan's invasion was the major battle cry of the national movements which were set up, revitalized or forged during the period. Thousands and millions of Chinese, Indians, Vietnamese, Indonesians, Filipinos and others were drawn in these anti-Japanese resistance movements, some created by the United States Armed Forces in the Far East (USAFFE), others set up independently by other concerned and militant political groups. These national organizations surmounted great difficulties and stood firm to defeat Japan's grand design to lord it over Asia via the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere Program.

They all rallied the peoples of their respective ccuntries to assert national freedom and struggled against aggression of Japan.

Despite the overwhelming force and the great odds foisted up by the Imperial Army, these national movements stood firm and waged successful campaigns against Japan.[1]

Among those who resisted Japan, the Chinese were perhaps the most which suffered and mainly due to this, also the one which can be credited to have greatly contributed in the success of the anti-Japanese resistance in Asia.

The hardships received by the Chinese from the hands of the Japanese was conditioned by the latter's need and desire for China. It should be noted that on the account of her rich natural and human resources and extensive territory, China became the logical princ'pal target for Japanese expansion over other countries in Asia. Japan's proximity to China further strengthened this expansionist tendency.

As early as the 1890's, Japan's expansionist schemes were already apparent in the Sino-Japan War of 1898. Echoing the Western powers' scrambles for trade and economic concessions, Japan did not hesitate to resort to force in order to induce China to give in to her demands. Right after the First World War, Japan has not only matched but even surpassed the gargantuan colonial appetite of her Western counterparts when she presented the infamous 21 Demands to get Germany's colonial rights in China.[2]

The historical aggressive encroachments of Japan in China reached its peak when it invaded Manchuria in 1937. Economically-pressed up and humiliated by repeated and especially the most recent Japanese incursion, the Chinese strongly resisted. This event which was later known as the "Manchurian crisis" indicated that at least four years before the formal declaration of the world war, the Chinese were already in the thick of struggle against the Japanese.

Its being ahead in experiencing the brunt of invasion and leading the fight against it was already indicative of China's worthwhile contribution. But besides this, was the fact that the anti-Japanese People's Liberation Army (AJPLA), the armed force set up by the alliance between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang Party managed to tie down almost 50% of the Japanese Imperial Forces in China, engaging them in fierce and protracted battles. This significantly reduced Japan's capacity to control and subjugate the

other Asian countries as the bulk of her forces and resources were committed to and with the Chinese.

Another inconspicuous but equally important role of China in the anti-Japanese resistance was the involvement of her overseas Chinese. Not content of fighting Japan in the homeland, China aroused and mobilized the Chinese in the neighboring countries to help in her struggle. Initially supportive of their motherland's movement against Japanese invasion, the overseas Chinese later involved themselves in the resistance movements of their respective host countries. This decision proved decisive in enhancing not only China's own fight but the general anti-Japanese resistance in Asia as the movements in several countries which benefited from the participation of the overseas Chinese. Furthermore, the latter participation reduced the animosity and antagonism between the local population thus strengthening the bases for the Chinese integration and the forging of national unity.

What were the Japanese policies towards the Chinese in Malaya and in the Philippinese during the occupation? What were the Chinese response(s) to the Japanese? How did the Chinese help in the struggle against the invasions of Malaya and the Philippines? What were the effects of the Chinese participation in the anti-Japanese resistance? These and a few related questions usually come to one's mind when the issue of Chinese involvement is raised. As an attempt to come up with some answers to these questions, this study was conducted. Due to their long presence in Malaya and in the Philippinese, the Chinese from these two countries were made the focus of this paper. It was likewise intended to provide general and tentative observations and trends about the overseas Chinese in these two countries which may be used in the study of other Chinese from other Southeast Asian nations. Being a comparative study, it cited the parallelisms as well as the differences of the two cases in the contexts of their historical circumstances and other limiting horizons.

The Anti-Japanese Movement of the Philippine Chinese

As early as the mid-1930's, the Chinese community in the Philippinese was already in the midst of the anti-Japanese resistance movement. This was in support of China which at that time was launching her war of resistance against Japanese aggression.[3]

Estimated to be at least 120,000 at this period, the Philippine Chinese were organized into two different major groups namely the National Salvation Association (NSA), an alliance put up by the Chinese Community Party and the Anti-Japanese Association (AJA), the umbrella organization composed of the Philippine Chinese General Chamber of Commerce, the Cantonese Association and other groups. The AJA was initially set up by CCP's adversary, the Kuomintang (KMT) to check communist influence in the local Chinese community, but later, especially after the Sian incident[4], its thrust has been to help China in her war against Japan.

As support groups, the NSA and the AJA were tasked to extend material and moral assistance to China's resistance movement. They were also given the responsibility to generate anti-Japanese propaganda in their respective areas of operation as well as organize, train and send volunteers to directly help in the war efforts. These main tasks were capsulized by the Philippine Chinese slogan, "those who have money, give money; and those who have strength, give strength."[5]

Among the above responsibilities, monetary contributions seemed to be the most tangible and practical. And they proved that distance was no barrier for them to express their patriotism, as can be gleaned from considerable funds that was generated and sent to the mainland. In 1937, money that poured into China from the support groups was estimated at ₱500,000 monthly. By 1939, total contributions from the Philippinese have reached ₱12 million.

What was noteworthy in these fund-raising campaigns was the fact that almost all sectors of the community actively participated. Though the businessmen were usually the big contributors being the ones who were in the position to do so, other sectors did not hesitate to hand in their share which, at some instances, even surpassed that of the big businessmen's contributions. Groups like the students came up with creative forms of generating funds and, at the same time, stirring the sense of patriotism of many Chinese.

Aside from funds, the NSA and the AJA organized, trained and sent personnel to China for active service. Among the most popular were the ones sent as aviators in Hankow and Kwangtung who fought bravely with the KMT forces against the Japanese troops.

In terms of generating propaganda for China's cause, the Philippine Chinese launched mass meetings, symposia and conven-

tions to attack Japanese militarism and persuade their audience to support the resistance. In April 1940, a general boycott of stores that were owned by Japanese or selling Japan-made goods was conducted.[6]

The broad and enthusiastic anti-Japanese campaigns of the Philippine Chinese became a model for other overseas Chinese as the former was considered by China as "one of the staunchest overseas units supporting the mainland." This recognition was formalized in 1938 during the establishment of the Southeast Asia-wide alliance of overseas Chinese, the Nanyang Relief General Association. No less than the position of vice chairman of the prestigious alliance was given by the 150 delegates to Dee Chuan of the Philippines.

Unsurprisingly, the Chinese were the most harassed when the Japanese Imperial Forces invaded Manila in 1942. Leading leaders who figured prominently during the pre-war campaigns against Japan were arrested, imprisoned and tortured. No less than eight members of the Chinese Consular Office, headed by Consul-General Clarence Kuangson Young, were executed when they refused to cooperate with Japan. This was followed with the mass execution of nine other prominent Chinese personalities, which included Yuyitung, Go Quio Lay, Ang Chi'ing Ki and Gan Bon Cho.[7]

The killings of leading anti-Japanese leaders were aimed to intimidate the Chinese as well as Filipinos from joining anti-Japanese organizations and activities. It was the preliminary scheme of the general program to arrest and imprison all the Philippine Chinese, which has to be modified later when Japan learned of the tremendous technical requirements of providing food and shelter to Chinese prisoners and the important role played by the Chinese in the local trade and commerce.[8]

The Japanese-sponsored Philippine-Chinese Association

Through the elimination of hard-core anti-Japanese leaders, the Japanese decided to use the Chinese in their occupation by setting up the Philippine-Chinese Association (PCA). Go Co Lay, a Chinese merchant with Japanese connections before the war, and Dr. Tee Han Kee (father of former Supreme Court Chief Justice Claudio Teehankee), a former supporter of AJA, were the PCA main leaders.[9] Similar to the Kapisanan sa Paglilingkod sa Bagong Pilipinas (KALIBAPI)[10] which was set up to rally the Filipinos to the Japanese

side, the PCA was tasked to mobilize the Chinese community to help the Japanese Occupation Forces. It was specifically given the responsibility to help provide the material requirements of the Imperial Army. Furthermore, the PCA also functioned as center for information-gathering about anti-Japanese elements and activities in the Chinese community.

The Chinese Guerrillas

The patriotic and defiant stance put up by the Chinese in Manila was equally reflected in the countryside by the armed Chinese guerrillas. These units, composed of leaders and members of the AJA and NSA, managed to escape the dragnet of the Japanese and joined the other Filipinos in the armed struggle against Japanese aggression. Among the many armed units, three were the most prominent, namely, the Chinese Overseas Wartime Hsuehkan Militia (COWHM), the Chinese Volunteers in the Philippines (CUP) and the Wah Chi (Philippine Chinese Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Force). Like the USAFFE and HUKBALAHAP, the major tasks of the Chinese guerrillas were in the military work against the Japanese such as sabotage, gathering military intelligence, ambushes, execution of collaborators and spies, particularly those from the Chinese community and extending assistance to other guerrilla forces.

The COWHM was among the first guerrilla units which was set up in March 1942. Its core members were the 88 Chinese volunteers who were trained in the military school of Fookien in 1938. The areas of operation were Manila and the nearby Central and Southern Luzon provinces. Aside from military work, the COWHM conducted anti-Japanese propaganda work through its revolutionary underground newspaper, the "Fuse."[11]

Among its several war exploits were the execution of well-known Japanese collaborators, notably Go Co Lay and Dr. Tee Han Kee of the PCA, the mopping up campaign in Balete Pass and Santa Fe Trail[12] and the storming of Santo Tomas Japanese prison camp.

The COWHM was greatly influenced and guided by the KMT branch in the Philippines. Its peak strength in 1943 was estimated at 1,159 officers and men.

Another armed Chinese unit set up by the KMT was the CUP. It was headed by Col. Shih Sheng, a 1939 graduate of the Central Political and Military Academy in Chungking and has Arayat in Pampanga as its base of operations.

Like the COWHM, the CUP has an underground publication to support its military work, called the "Tai Han Hun" (Soul of Great China). The Tai Han Hun published the gains of the resistance movement, the atrocities of the Japanese and called on the readers to persevere in fighting the invaders.

The CUP closely cooperated with the Hunter's ROTC unit and Col. Agustin Marking's men in some guerrilla operations.

That the CUP was an effective anti-Japanese force was clearly indicated by the ₱100,000 reward put up by the Japanese for the capture of Col. Sheng. The latter was likewise awarded the Tua Tui medal by the Republic of China, the country's highest military decoration.[13]

The CUP combat batallion reached a total strength of at least 1,500 officers and even before the close of the war.

The Wah Chi was the Chinese communists' guerrilla outfit. Its members were from the trade unions, cultural and students' groups which were influenced or controlled by the communists. Forces were organized into five squadrons, each consisting of 150-200 men. The base areas were similar to those of the Huks which were the Central and Southern Luzon provinces.

Aside from its independent merits as an effective armed force, the Wah Chi's greater role in the resistance can be seen from its strong political influence to the Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon (HUKBALAHAP) or Huks, the armed group set up by the Communist Party of the Philippines. The HUKBALAHAP was said to be one of the biggest and most effective Filipino guerrilla groups feared and hated by the Japanese.[14]

Acting as a sort of an older brother (or political officer in the communist jargon), the Wah Chi helped the Huks both in the military and political works. One scholar claimed that they were instrumental in convincing the Huks to adopt the united front tactic of concentrating on the anti-Japanese issue and uniting with all anti-aggression forces instead of beclouding the struggle with the

establishment of a People's Republic. This united front strategy as presented to the Huks by the Wah Chi, greatly helped the resistance and enhanced the Huks' prestige and effectivity.[15]

The Malayan Chinese During the Japanese Occupation

Like the Philippine Chinese, the Malayan Chinese were strongly moved and angered by the Japanese invasion of mainland China. Stirred by patriotism, they too, involved themselves initially supporting China's resistance and later as actual participants in the defense of Malaya, which they considered worthy of their sacrifices.

But unlike the secondary and assistive nature of the resistance movement of the Chinese in the Philippines, those of the Malayan Chinese was decisive thus assuming greater scope and significance. While those in the Philippines were one of the smaller forces which fought the Japanese, the Malayan Chinese constituted the biggest and most effective force. In fact, without their participation in the struggle, there could hardly been any movement against the occupation.

This decisive role played by the Malayan Chinese was determined by their being the largest sector in the country, immediately before the war. Of the total population of 5,511,000, they constituted 43% or at least 2.3 million. The other major groups, namely the Malays and the Indians, accounted for 41% and 14%, respectively.[16]

By sheer size alone, the Chinese exerted a considerable effect over the country's affairs. Any major activity involving them, especially of such aggressive form and nature like a patriotic movement, could not but be decisive in the shaping and directing the national course. This differentiated them from their counterparts in the Philippines and in other Southeast Asian countries, who were usually a small minority thus, hardly playing a major role in the general course of events in their countries.

Another determining factor for the Malayan Chinese which helped them to perform a significant role in Malaya was their relative edge in organization and political consciousness. Side by side with the usual trade and cultural organizations were the established political parties like the KMT and the Malayan Communist Party (MCP). The latter, despite its encompassing name, was almost all Chinese in composition.

These political groups enhanced the scope and effectivity of the various organizations in the Chinese community. Through the propaganda fund-raising, mass education of these two contending political groups, the Malayan Chinese were constantly exposed and trained to react to many issues that confront them.

The stronger sense of organization and politicalization of the Chinese could be further credited to their being among the first recipients, if not advocates, of modern Chinese nationalism. What was Madrid or Barcelona to early Filipino nationalists and expatriates like Marcelo del Pilar and Graciano Lopez Jaena, was Singapore to Sun Yat Sen, Wang Ching Wei and other leaders of Chinese nationalist movement. Through Singapore, Malaya became the center of the revolutionary movement in the early decades of the 20th century.[17] It was the political rendezvous of Chinese political refugees where the KMT branch operated and the nationalist publications, Yat Pan Press and Union Terms,[18] the counterpart of the Philippines' La Solidaridad.

Evidently, the Malayan Chinese benefitted from these historical movements in their place. Learning the ideals and sentiments of nationalism from the "masters," the grasp and effect of nationalism were likely firmer and stronger than those who imbibed them later.

The Anti-Japanese Movement of Malayan Chinese

Before Japanese invasion of Malaya, the Chinese were already feverished in their support activities for China's resistance. As in the Philippines, these efforts were organized by the contending parties of the KMT and the Chinese Communist Party, through its surrogate, the MCP.[19]

The KMT-controlled support unit was the National Salvation Association (NSA) while the Anti-Enemy Backing-Up Society (AEBUS) was the group controlled by the MCP. These two major support organizations coursed their contributions to the China Relief Fund, the remitting agency set up to coordinate all efforts of the Chinese in Malaya.

The activities of the NSA and the AEBUS were more or less similar to its counterparts in the Philippines. They served as units to raise funds, conducted pre-China propaganda and send willing volunteers to fight the Japanese aggressors. That the Malayan

units served well in China's efforts and affirmed and recognized by no less than the 150 representatives of the Nanyang Relief General Association, the organization of various Chinese communities in Southeast Asia who elected Tan Kah Kee of Singapore as their chairman.[20]

When Japanese invasion finally reached Malaya, the Chinese were the foremost target since the Malays and the Indians, the other two major groups, hardly put up a resistance against the occupation. Viewing the aggression as an opportunity to restore their former economic and political supremacy seized by the Chinese under British colonization, the Malays did not express much hesitation in helping the Japanese who set up the Kesatuan Minda Melayo (KMM)[21] to enable them to get back the economic domination the Malays enjoyed before. The Indians, who came to the country as imported labor and supervised through the Indian Agent, thought along Malayan line or perspective being engrossed in hard work and after better wage and living conditions. As the Japanese were fighting Britain which was their mother country's colonizer, the Indians, like the Malays to a large extent, regarded the Japanese as friends and liberators. They joined the Japanese-supported Indian National Army and the Indian Independence League which it used against the British and diverted the attention of many Indians from Malaya's affairs.[22]

The pluralistic character of Malaya was an excellent factor for the Japanese strategy for divide and rule. Exploiting the sectoral tension and differences, the invaders helped and neutralized the Malays and Indians whom it considered politically desirable. As to the undesirable Chinese, the Gunsei (Japanese Military Administration) policy was that of intimidation and repression.

The center of Japanese suppression was also the base of prewar Chinese support groups. In the so-called "communist purge," thousands of suspected anti-Japanese elements were picked by Japanese informers hooded like members of the Klu Klux Klan and tortured. Others experienced harsher form of barbarities. They were towed out into the harbor and forced to jump into the water. Those who tried to swim ashore were machine-gunned. Some 40,000 Chinese perished during these extermination campaigns of the Japanese.[23]

The same consideration of the technical requirements for mass arrest and detention which forced the Japanese to tone down its

repressive policy against the Chinese in Malaya. Another factor was the usefulness of the Chinese in the material and financial needs of the occupation. It was felt that the best way to deprive the guerrillas was to bleed dry their Chinese supporters and at the same time make them help the Japanese.

Towards the objective of making use of the material capability of the Chinese, General Yamashita met the surviving leaders of the Chinese community. General Yamashita demanded a "gift" of $50 million from the Chinese as the latter's expression of remorse for their previous anti-Japanese stance and activities.

Threatened with more reprisals should they failed to comply, the Chinese were forced to hand over $29 million which, though larger than the earlier contribution to the British war campaigns, did not appease the Japanese. Exacting more from the Chinese, the Japanese only increased the hatred and pushed many of them to support and join the armed guerrillas. The general attitude of the Chinese in Japanese-controlled areas as described by one author as "outwardly, there was compliance, inwardly there was an emerging hatred."[24]

The Chinese Guerrillas

The 'Europe First' policy of the Western powers, made the indigeneous populations of many colonial countries to shoulder the resistance movement by themselves. In Malaya, the British policy of making it as the "Dollar Arsenal" that was to serve as tin and rubber producer to earn dollars to finance the British campaigns against Germany, rather than a base against fascist forces like Japan, made it to commit an insignificant force of British troops and two batallions of Malay regiment.[25] This weak contingent was effortlessly put out of operation by the invading forces.

The preoccupation of Britain in Europe and the ambivalent attitudes of the Malays and the Indians vis-a-vis the Japanese made the task of defending Malaya's sovereignty in the hands of the Chinese which the latter evidently accepted and pursued with strong will and determination.

As early as December 1941, the Chinese Mobilization Committee was set up with Tan Kah Kee as its head. This body was aimed to coordinate the preparations and training of men for the struggle

against Japanese invasion of Malaya. Some 1,000 men were recruited as initial force mainly coming from units controlled by the MCP. The CMC later branched out in two major factions, the KMT and the MCP which constituted their respective armed groups.

The KMT guerrilla was the force set up by the Malayan branch of the KMT. Similar to its counterpart in the Philippinese, its initial thrust was to check the growth of the communists, but through the intervention of Force 136, a British unit, it set aside the anti-communist stance and confronted the Japanese.

The KMT guerrillas' operations were centered in the Siam-Kelantan border and east of the coast railway between Krai and Merapoh. Its armed strength was estimated to be not more than 500 men.

The MCP's guerrilla force was the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA). Despite its encompassing term and three star symbol representing the Chinese, the Malays and the Indians, the MPAJA was predominantly Chinese.

Its bases of operations were Selangor, Negri Sembilan, Johore, Perak, Pahang and Kelah. Overwhelmingly superior than the KMT unit, its estimated strength in 1944 was at least 6,000 well-trained and equipped officers and men.

The aims and activities of the Chinese guerrillas in Malaya were basically similar to their counterparts in the Philippines, except perhaps in the areas of command and decision where those in Malaya, by their being the major force, had more freedom and initiative. The MPAJA and the Philippines, Wah Chi and the Huks were almost identical in their methods and tactics such as combining military work with propaganda and production activities, the indocrination of the people and setting up of various types of organizations to reach as many sectors and also confused the Japanese. These apparent similarities could be credited from the similar doctrine which guided them through their respective parties, namely the MCP and the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

Being the biggest and the most active, the exploits and achievements of the MPAJA were also the most known and documented. It claimed to have wiped out hundreds of Japanese troops and a few thousands of enemy spies and agents during the three years and eight months of occupation. No less than the British Commander

of Force 136, Colonel Davis, praised the MPAJA for its exemplary service in the anti-Japanese resistance.[26] The Japanese themselves had a high regard to their adversary as cited by: "the Japanese regarded the Chinese beyond all others as their implacable enemies. And of the Chinese, the communists stood the first.... It was the Chinese communists that... had given them most trouble, who had hindered their progress and killed the greatest number of their men."[27]

General Assessment

From the foregoing discussion, a number of observations about the Chinese experiences in Malaya and in the Philippines during the Japanese occupation can be deduced.

One, the Japanese occupation provided an opportunity not only to the local population but also to the overseas Chinese to prove their worth and value to the cause and ideals of national freedom and independence. The active participation of the Chinese against the invasion of their host countries obviously revealed their strong adherence to freedom, not only of the mainland China, but also the respective countries which have provided them of their material and non-material needs.

The collaboration with the Japanese of the few was hardly voluntary and those who were suspected of being truly useful or cooperative to the Occupation forces were harshly punished by the Chinese themselves.

Two, the political conflicts and dynamics of China were reflected in the Chinese participation during the war. Units of the overseas Chinese were always divided into the two major contending parties namely the KMT and the CCP. The former operated through its Malayan and Philippine branches in the Chinese community while the CCP coursed its influence either through its branch or to its local counterparts such as the MCP and the CPP.

Units of the KMT and the CCP have interchangeable and flexible names. While the NSA in the Philippines was CCP-controlled, that of Malaya's was influenced by the KMT.

The division of the Chinese community into contending political groups initially hampered its work for the resistance as they tended to sap up their energies fighting each other than consolidating their

forces against the common enemy. Only after the Sian Incident and the forging of the temporary united front between the KMT and the CCP did the bickerings in China, as well as in the overseas Chinese groups, decreased considerably.

The political rivalries resurfaced after the war as the overseas Chinese found themselves divided into pro-Peking and pro-Taiwan factions. This resulted to disunity among them and slackened the pace of their integration to the national community.

This political division is, of course, an offshoot of the overseas Chinese' failure to cast off their umbilical cord to their past and to mainland China, despite decades of struggling and living in their host countries. They remained attached to China's past and present, perhaps too attached, that they have, to a large extent, remained Chinese as if they were in China. They maintained their own language, they built their own temples, set up their schools and established all sorts of Chinese organizations as distinguished from the local groups. In the end, some sort of Chinese ethnocentrism developed in the Chinese cultural lives and dealings with the local population which, in turn, reinforced the latter's anti-Chinese prejudices, stereotype or valid they may be.[28]

Better and more practical schemes from the government, such as the Philippines' citizenship decree in 1975 and from the Chinese themselves are certainly in order to hasten and finally realize the long-delayed need and task of national integration.

Three, the KMT-influenced Chinese groups in the Philippines were stronger and dominant than those of the CCP-controlled units. But the reverse was true in Malaya. Reasons for the failure of the KMT in Malaya and its success in the Philippines were apparently many and complex. Two possible ones were the stronger anti-communist government policies in the Philippines which made communist agitation extra difficult and the liberal democratic underpinnings of many established political groups which served as a formidable challenge and alternative to the socialist doctrines. In Malaya, these two conditions or factors were weak, if not absent. Anti-communist policies of the British administration before the occupation were inconsistent and randomly implemented. It would only be during the Emergency Period that the anti-insurgency schemes of the British were systematized and thoroughly implemented. The relative absence of liberal democratic politicalization of the

people in Malaya before the war also helped the advance of socialist organization as the MCP conducted its propaganda and indocrination without encountering strong ideological resistance from other political parties.

Four, the unity and understanding between the Filipinos and the Philippine Chinese were enhanced by their common views, sufferings, struggles and victories during the occupation. Especially on the part of the Filipinos, the camaraderie and bravery manifested by several Chinese in the resistance significantly reduced the stereotyped impressions against them of being all-time profiteers. For the Chinese, the war was an excellent opportunity for more and better forms of interaction with greater number of Filipinos as they were compelled by need and circumstances to go out of their "Chinatown enclaves."

Five, while the occupation cemented unity between the Filipinos and the Chinese, the opposite happened in Malaya. Rather than serving as a common goal and issue for the Malays, and the Indians and the Chinese, the Japanese invasion only increased the pre-war tension and disunity among the three major sectors. Seeing the Japanese as allies against the economic domination of the Chinese, the Malays and the Indians cooperated with the Japanese to the extent of joining its Malayan Police Force which attacked suspected Chinese guerrillas. In retaliation, the Chinese raided Malay and Indian communities, thus only worsening the antagonism between them.

This civil strife during the occupation, though tragic, was also valuable as some hard lessons were learned on the handling of sectional and national issues in plural society as Malaysia. Measures after the Emergency which promoted national unity were positive indications of this learning process.

Sixth and last, the Malayan Chinese leadership during the war and their renewed activism after, clearly revealed the commanding role played by them in steering wheels of history in Malaya. K. J. Ratnam said, "Modern Malaya is, in the main, the joint creation of British and Chinese enterprises... without them (the Chinese), Malaya would still be more or less as it was over most of its extent, eighty years ago."[29]

END NOTES

[1] The struggle in Asia was an important component of the world-wide anti-fascist movement against the Axis powers, an alliance in which Japan was a member which aimed to control and dominate the world during this period. For more elaboration, refer to **The Origins of the Second World War** by the Social Sciences Today Editorial Board, (USSR Academy of Sciences, 1982), pp. 7-36, 98-114.

[2] The 21 Demands included the transfer to Japan of Germany's former rights in China, the control of Manchurian railways and ports by Japanese, the police control by joint Sino-Japanese units and the hiring of Japanese advisers in various political, financial and military agencies of China. Hilda Hookham, **A Short History of China** (New York: New American Library, 1972), pp. 300-327.

[3] Despite having settled for quite sometime in other countries, the overseas Chinese have remained strongly linked and attached to China. Perhaps due to firm cultural tradition, family ties, efforts of political parties and other factors, they closely monitored political developments in the mainland and in many cases actively involved themselves in the events in China such as their participation in the Revolution of 1911 as support groups of Sun Yat Sen and his followers. Notes from classroom lectures, AS 253, December 1984.

[4] KMT Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek went to Sian, capital of Shensi province in December 1936 to check growing disunity among his generals. The latter, instead of giving in to Chiang, arrested the KMT leader and threatened to execute him if he would not unite with the CCP against Japan. Chou En Lai and other CCP leaders talked to the Sian generals and KMT persuading the disgruntled generals to release Chiang and forged with an alliance against Japanese aggression. Hookham, **op. cit.**, p. 323.

[5] Quoted in perhaps the most comprehensive and to the knowledge of the researcher, the only book about the Philippine Chinese during the Second World War. Antonio S. Tan, **The Chinese in the Philippines During the Japanese Occupation, 1942-1945**, (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1981), p. 24.

[6] **Ibid.**, p. 27.

[7] **Ibid.**, p. 45.

[8] **Ibid.**, p. 40.

[9] Both Go Co Lay and Tee Han Kee were executed by Chinese guerrillas for their collaboration with the Japanese. **Ibid.**, pp. 63-66.

[10] For more elaboration of KALIBAPI, read Renato Constantino and Letizia Constantino, **The Continuing Past**, (Manila: Foundation of Nationalist Studies, 1978), pp. 72-80.

[11] "A Brief History of the Chinese Overseas Wartime Hsuehkan Militia (COWHM)", Philippine Veterans Legion, **37th Foundation Anniversary Journal**, December 8, 1982, care of Prof. C. B. See.

[12] A place in Nueva Vizcaya was named COWHM in honor of the outstanding participation of the unit in the province during the war.

[13] Tan, **op. cit.**, pp. 86-87.

[14] For more elaboration about the Huks, read Benedict Kerkvliet, **The Huk Rebellion** (Quezon City; New Day Publications, 1979), Chapter III.

[15] Tan, **op. cit.**, pp. 125-126.

[16] John Bastin and Robert Winks, **Malaysia: Selected Historical Readings** (Kuala Lumpur: 1966), p. 272.

[17] William Skinner, **Chinese Society in Thailand** (New York: Cornell University Press, 1962), pp. 155-160.

[18] Victor Purcell, **The Chinese in Malaya** (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 209.

[19] The MCP was under the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat in Shanghai. The Secretariat was the control organ of the Comintern's Far Eastern Bureau. Read Anthony Short, **The Communist Insurrection in Malaya** (London: Frederick Muller, Ltd., 1975), pp. 18-22.

[20] Tan, **op. cit.**, p. 27.

END NOTES

[21] Lee Ting Hui, **Singapore Under the Japanese, 1942-1945,** reprinted in Bastin, pp. 321-323.

[22] K. J. Ratnam, **Communalism and the Political Process** (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1965), pp. 15-19.

[23] Purcell's figures of Chinese casualties differed with others like Chin Kee Oun's 5,000. For graphic account of Chinese conditions during the Occupation, read Chin Kee Oun, **Malaysia Upside Down** (Singapore: Jitts and Co., 1946).

[24] Hui, **op. cit.,** p. 321.

[25] Purcell, **op. cit.,** p. 243.

[26] Lucian Pye, **Guerrilla Communism in Malaya: Its Social and Political Meaning** (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1956), p. 69. This book contains many descriptions of MPAJA's military and political methodologies and activities.

[27] Purcell, **op. cit.,** p. 249.

[28] Chester Hunt and Charles Houston, **'Changing Status of Chinese in the Philippines," Internationales Asienforum,** Vol. 10, No. 1/2, 1979, pp. 57-58, c/o Prof. C. B. See. Hunt and Houston cited a positive trend of disinicization especially among the Philippine-born Chinese (Pinsino as Bernard Go would call them) who were more Filipino-oriented than their Chinese counterparts.

[29] K. J. Ratnam, **op. cit.,** p. 6.

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NATIONALISM IN 19TH CENTURY MANILA*

Romeo V. Cruz, Ph.D

Nationalism, in the context of Philippine experience, initially develops as a consciousness of belonging to one people—the Hispanic and Catholic Community all over the Spanish empire. This sentiment was quite limited, based on the political, religious, social and intellectual perceptions of the archipelago as an integral unit co-equal with the other components of the Spanish empire and all united under the monarchy. The people of the Philippines, on the basis of this perception, was one and equal with other peoples of the empire in Spain, America and elsewhere.

The assumed cultural unity, though universalistic in aspirations, was modestly nationalistic in program and goals. It conceived of the unity of the colonies and the mother country, and stressed the Hispanism of all peoples composing the imperial cosmopolitan society. In short the basic concept of nationalism was oneness and identification with a universal and imperial Spanish society. In reality though, when first conceived and disseminated, certain objective facts were gleaned over or ignored. The cultural integration of the Philippines was quite incomplete. Politically and territorially Spanish hegemony was only limited to Luzon, the Visayas and the coastal areas of Mindanao. Even in those places, two problems at least were never resolved by Spanish power—the interior and remote areas peopled by the ethnic Filipinos and the remontados who represented a counter-culture were never integrated; and, the administrative dilemma presented by the struggle between localism and centralism continued to pester the Spaniards.

The fissiparous trends and tendencies were further compounded by religious diffusion as the effectiveness of Catholicsm was challenged by local conditions—the competing loci of power within the church, failure of missionary or conversion work in the hinterland,

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and failure of indoctrinating the lowland Filipinos as evidenced by the appearance of nativism and folk Catholicism. Socially, the pre-Hispanic racial unity of the Filipinos, already shattered by ethnicity and linguistic differences was further worsened by the infusion of the Spanish mix in the racial cauldron especially in the second half of the 19th century—more manifestly in the struggle between the Spanish regular clergy and the Filipino secular priests.

These objective realities could also be seen in the lack of integration in the other aspects of Philippine life and culture during the Spanish period. And finally the physical isolation of the archipelago, and the disparate islands and interior areas many of which were then inaccessible would give us the complete picture in respect to this defective integration. Yet despite this diffusion and multiversity, nationalism in its initial appearance assumed a basic unity though it was more apparent than real.

Moreover, the Filipinos, whose consciousness of oneness with the Spanish nation was being aroused were apparently aware of certain objective commonalities among themselves like a well-defined territory, common racial stock, common culture, common parent language, etc. And with the coming of Islam and Christianity, the Filipinos' possession of commonalities amidst their diversities, was enhanced with the foundation of churches with universalistic pretentions. The historical phenomenon led to the formation of an Islamic Community and a Catholic Community.

This separate community consciousness was naturally far from uniting the people of the whole archipelago into a nation since both communities' political and cultural institutions, social and belief systems led to further bifurcations. Though based on certain unities, both communities merely reenacted the earlier Muslim-Christian war drama in the Middle East, Africa, and Europe. In their separate ways the Muslim and Christian Communities developed different identities based on universalism but not nationalism which only developed in the nineteenth century.

Thus the first stage in the evolution of Philippine nationalism was more or less based on the Christian not Muslim experience. It was Hispanic with the object of achieving Spanish nationhood or Hispanism. The next stage was the achievement and community consciousness associated with the concept of "Filipinism" — taken from the term "Filipino" in the sense of a Spaniard born in the

Philippines, or the so-called Creole. Community here was based on the oneness of the idea of being "Filipinos" or Creoles who had been the subject of social, political, and religious discriminations in a Philippine colonial situation. The peninsular Spaniards did the discriminating as actual rulers of the country. The next stage was community of Creole-Indio identity turning the previous concept of "Filipino" as Creole into Filipino as Indio especially among the enlightened and upper class Indios.

In the previous two stages of the evolving nationalism, the dominant ideas that cohered with the national idea were assimilation, liberalism, democracy and imperialism. No attempt was made to create a separate nation. On the contrary, the goal was to achieve Hispanic nationhood. In all the three stages therefore the type of nationalism that developed differed only in degrees but not in substance. It was for this reason that we could call this imperial liberal nationalism. Roughly, we could periodize each stage as follows: for the first stage, 1809 to 1820; the second, 1821 to 1880; and the third, 1880 to 1896.

The fourth and last stage in the evolution of nationalism could be roughly dated from 1896 to the end of the nineteenth century or circa 1912. Here, the imperial nationalism of the three earlier stages was supplanted but not annihilated by a new type of nationalism—radical nationalism. The main national idea preached was an independent and new nation dominated by Indios now transformed into Filipinos. The idea was centered on the concept of *Katagalugan*—in the sense of people living near or surrounded by bodies of water—a nation of Tagalogs. Nationalism thus started out as a concept and as Spanish official policy—Hispanism—which later became "Filipinism" or "Creolism," then assimilationist or coalesced "Filipino-Indio" concept, and finally the idea of *Katagalugan*.

This presentation of nationalism in the Philippines is unorthodox; its periodization is not the usual chronology associated with the beginnings of this sentiment in our history; and finally its definition is historically contextual based on our christian experience. Briefly, the traditional interpretation usually started with a superimposed definition that is separate from our experience allowing the readers much liberty to make their own connection between the intellectual construct and the experience. The consequence was fragmentary exposition that started with an independent and separate definition and a layered causation using the factor-analysis as a tool.

It was somewhat similar to digging tunnels with no exit. The objective realities of a well-defined territory, racial commonality, political integration, religious integration, commonality in languages, etc. had been existing since pre-Islamic and pre-Catholic eras yet nationalism had not taken root if its presence could be discernible that early.

It was not until the first decade of the 9th century that these objective realities were animated by an awareness of national community in the form of Hispanism. This was precipitated by events in Europe when, in the course of Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of Portugal, he decided to cross from France to Spain—and stay in the peninsula. He placed his own brother, Joseph, as king of Spain and exiled Ferdinand VII, the absolutist king of the Spanish empire. The Spanish revolution that followed Napoleon's usurpation in 1807 called on the colonies, including the Filipinos, to unite and defend mother Spain.

The Spanish rebels, after establishing a Central Revolutionary Junta at Aranjuez asked, in the form of decree issued in the name of a parliamentary monarchy, the integral units of the Spanish empire to assist in overthrowing the usurper. The decree of 1809 stressed that the old colonies were equal and integral parts of the Spanish monarchy for whom the Aranjuez Junta was acting—and thus must send their representatives to the reinvigorated Cortes, the moribund law-making body of the Spanish government. Another decree embodied further the concept of nationalism. It maintained that a federal empire was to be established in Spain where former colonies would now be treated as provinces at par with Spain and entitled to representation in the Cortes. The peoples in Spain and the provinces were Spanish citizens entitled to the privileges of the citizenship within the federal empire.

The new motherland, according to the decree, was to be the object of loyalty and must be strengthened so that the unity among the component units would remain strong. The former imperial possessions were not to be regarded as factories or colonies. They were, on the contrary, integral and necessary members of the parliamentary monarchy. As rewards for their assistance and loyalty, the provinces would be represented before the royal person of King Ferdinand VII.

The more complete form of the new national idea or Hispanism was more or less detailed in the Constitution of Cadiz of 1812. The

new nation, according to the Constitution, was composed of the united Spanish peoples all over the world. It was the repository of sovereignty and powers of government. The people was free, independent and not the vassal of or owned by any single person or family. Moreover, the form of government was a constitutional monarchy like that of England and autonomy was to be observed in the provincial unit. The liberal contents were expressed in the provisions stressing the sanctity of the individual and his property, and freedom of petition, of the press, and of assembly.

The constitution was promulgated in Manila and other provinces in 1813. Earlier, nationalism was institutionalized when the elections for representatives to the Cortes were held in Manila and the other provinces in 1810. Their oath of office sworn them to defend the Catholic Church and the new Spanish nation, to free the nation from the usurper, to defend the King's possessions and his royal family, and finally to respect the laws of Spain.

In the same year the Spanish Cortes issued a proclamation that showed the nature and character of Hispanism which it wished to spread in the empire. It said that all provinces in "America and Asia" were integral parts of the monarchy and their peoples were "equal in rights and privileges to those of the Peninsula..." The new nationalism was for the first time also disseminated by the first government newspaper that came out in Manila on August 8, 1811—*Del Superior Gobierno*. Its publication, according to Jesus Z. Valenzuela, was motivated by nationalism or Hispanism. Through Hispanism it was held that the Filipinos' loyalty could be maintained at the time Spain was engaged in the war of independence. Primarily therefore, nationalism in the form of Hispanism was made official policy and transplanted in Manila and the Philippines soil from 1808 or 1809 to 1813, nearly coinciding with the Mexican revolution in Spanish America.

At that time the Spanish community in Manila and the provinces had already swelled from a little over 1,000 to 4,000 according to Tomas de Comyn. They were the people, in addition to some Indio ilustrados, who imbibed the new nationalism. Their number was further increased by new arrivals from Spain who served as officials in the State or the Church, or by those who escaped the chaotic conditions consequent to the Spanish war of independence. This people was responsible for disseminating Hispanism as government officials who implemented the decrees and the Constitution of 1812

which embodied these ideas. The impact of Hispanism was both positive and negative. But regardless, it showed that the concept was rapidly spreading among the people who appeared to understand its significance. The Junta which established the Cortes also ordered its assembly in 1810. It also decreed the election of delegates in Manila—Ventura de los Reyes, a 70-year old wealthy merchant of the city was one of them. He was one of the signers of the Constitution of 1812. Moreover he proposed and succeeded in getting approval for the abolition of the monopolistic galleon trade with its obnoxious boleta system and the introduction of plans for the development of agriculture, commerce, industry and navigation in the country.

The extent through which Hispanism became effective was seen in the implementation of the principle of representation. Capitals of the Spanish provinces overseas (the former colonies) were ordered to form a preparatory junta each to issue instructions on the method of election of the deputados. The Philippines was then divided into four provinces—Manila, Nueva Segovia, Nueva Caceres and Cebu—each in turn was subdivided into electoral districts with a definite number of district electors. Manila was entitled to twenty-seven district electors who would elect nine deputies and three alternates.

The election was a big affair especially in 1814, and two of those elected were educated Indios—Mariano Pilapil and Andres Gatmaytan· The others were most likely Peninsulares and Creoles: Manuel Cacho, Cayetano Zeferino, Miguel Fernandez de Luna, Roberto Pimentel, Juan de Zuniga, and others. What happened to them was unfortunate. Due to lack of funds, only two deputies were sent and these were not able to hold office because Ferdinand VII returned from exile, restoring absolutism in May 1814.

That year also marked the withdrawal of the effectivity of the Constitution of 1812 in the Philippines, which Ferdinand VII nullified when he abolished the Cortes. The spread of nationalism was however demonstrated by the revolt in Sarrat, Ilocos province in 1815. The Ilocanos, 1,500 of them from the lower class, took up arms believing that the *principales* and Spanish officials conspired to withdraw the Constitution. Now that they were Spanish citizens and no longer vassals, the Ilocanos thought that they were exempted from *polo y servicio* and the hated tribute.

As late as 1819 the spread of nationalism was evidenced by the observation of an English traveller, Henry Piddington, who said that the Creoles were beginning to take courage in openly discussing in the Manila cafes (probably along Escolta in Binondo), the concepts of liberty and democracy of Thomas Jefferson, and the idea of the right of revolution—all components of Hispanism then taking root in Manila and other places in the country.

In addition to the lower classes among the Indios, the upper classes and the *ilustrados* were also affected by Hispanism which began to assume the form of a movement after 1810. The clergy especially among the Indios, Spanish Mestizos and Creoles were starting to assume leadership since they were in a position of power and authority in the parishes. These elements in the Philippine society had been educated since the time of Archbishop Basilio Sancho de Sta. Justa in 1774 and 1776 when steps were taken to train Indio secular priests. The power, profit, and prestige the friars possessed went to the Indio secular priests who became the regular clergy's object of ire and envy. These Indio secular priests were increasing in number by the 19th century, causing Comyn to fear that they might eventually undermine the Spanish government. There were, he believed, about 1,000 Filipino secular priests and their increasing number was bad for the government. Hence he recommended the cessation of their ordination and training.

By 1820 tension between the Filipino seculars and Spanish regulars was intensifying—as Piddington observed. The secular charged that the regulars were enriching themselves at the expense of the people while, the latter looked down upon the former, denying them important posts in the church government. The seculars, according to Judge Manuel Bernaldez Pizarro, had already imbibed Hispanism as seen through their assumption of leadership in the conduct of elections in 1813 when the Constitution of 1812 was proclaimed. For Bernaldez Pizarro the continued ordination of the Indio secular priests—thus their increasing number—seemed to inspire "revolution" among the masses.

Realities of colonialism in the Philippines soon disabused the minds of the Indios. Hispanism under the artificial and superficial leadership of the peninsulares who were compelled to promulgate the laws and the Constitution as official policy, was severely limited as seen in the interpretation of Governor-General Gardoqui. He told the people that though the Indios were "Spanish citizens" with pri-

vileges and protection under the Constitution of 1812 still they must shoulder the political and economic burdens of the State as Indios.

By the 1820's when the second stage in the evolution of nationalism unfolded, the Indio and Creole secular priests found themselves being selectively victimized and eliminated by the limited interpretation given by the government and church on Hispanism. The Indios, Creoles and Spanish Mestizos were being discriminated in the government, the military establishment and the church. They had to give way to the newly arrived peninsulares in the high government and church posts. The Indio and Spanish Mestizo secular priests were dispossessed of their parishes while at the same time that the avenues toward advancement were also systematically closed. The decrees of 1826, 1849, and 1861 ordered the return of parishes occupied by the seculars to the friars who were also given the parishes in the archbishopric of Manila. The decree of 1861 especially precipitated the secularization campaign of Father Pedro Pablo Pelaez, a Spanish Mestizo who served as interim archbishop of Manila in 1862-1863. The restoration and later suppression of Philippine representation to the Cortes in 1820-1823 and 1834-1837 unsettled conditions further.

The institutionalization of Hispanism further strengthened the concept as the Constitution of 1812 was once again promulgated and elections were held in Manila and other provinces. More importantly, freedom of the press (writing, printing, and publishing without license or prior revision and approval) was decreed in 1821 and proclaimed in Manila only to be abolished in 1934. In the same year (1821) direct and periodic mail service from Spain to the Philippines was also decreed although the service had already began in 1764. Most of those elected in those years were former officials in the country and presumably Peninsulares and Creoles like Jose Maria Arnedo and Manuel Felix Cancio (1820), Francisco Bringas, Vicente Posada and Manuel Taenz de Vizmanos (1820-1823) and Juan Francisco Lecaros and Andres Garcia Camba (1835).

The fortification of the ideas of nationalism and their spread were further assured with the permanent opening of Manila to world commerce in 1834 (earlier Manila had been tentatively opened to foreign trade and businessmen) and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. All the foregoing developments strengthened and guaranteed the strengthening of the nationalistic movement now dominated by the "Filipinos" or Creoles but in coalition with the

Spanish and Chinese Mestizos and upper class Indios (including the cacique-traders and ilustrados among them). The lower classes among the *Indios* were not unaffected by the spreading nationalism as evidenced by the revolt of Apolinario de la Cruz in Tayabas (now Quezon and Aurora provinces) in the 1840's. But the Creoles dominated the scene as demonstrated in the Andres Novales mutiny and other forms of unrest in attempting to gain equality in the government and the church in the 1820's through the 1850's.

In much the same way and manner that witnessed the strengthening of nationalism, reactionary ideas were also enhanced—for the ingress and egress of ideas included the forces of reaction and conservatism. The forces of reaction and reform which saw Spain in the grip of revolution and civil wars during this period had not been completely reflected in Manila. Madrid at the time became convinced, regardless of the government's anti-church policy at home, that the friars were a necessary evil in the Philippines.

Thus for the sake of maintaining Spanish sovereignty, the friars were entrusted with powers of government and with them the suppression of enemy ideas—i.e. nationalism and its component concepts. By the 1860's and 1870's or during the second stage of the nationalistic evolution we called Creolism or "Filipinism," the climax of the movement was reached with the use of the temporary church powers Pelaez held in his campaign for secularization.

Upon his death in 1863, leadership was inherited by Father Jose Burgos. Simultaneously the political phase of the movement was already reaching its climax with the organization of the so-called Liberal Party by activist students in San Jose College and University of Santo Tomas, also in the 1860's and 1870's. This climax was triggered by the Spanish Revolution of 1868 which led to the proclamation of a new Constitution and the coming of Carlos Ma. de la Torre in 1869.

Encouraged by Governor-General de la Torre, the nationalists which included Creoles like Manuel Genato, Joaquin Pardo de Tavera, Angel and Andres Garchitorena, Andres Nieto, Jacobo Zobel, Antonio Regidor and others were the dominant leaders participating in several activities involving the reformist governor. The secular priests were led by Fathers Burgos, Mariano Gomez, Jacinto Zamora, Mariano Sevilla, Agustin Mendoza, and Simeon Ramirez. Students who led in the movement were Felipe Buencamino, Sr.,

Paciano Rizal, Gregorio Mapa, Manuel de Leon, Gregorio Sanciano, Ramon Soriano, and others. They campaigned for secularization of the parishes and liberal-democratic rights for the people. They participated in the famous liberty Serenade of July 12, 1869, the September 1869 Liberty Parade and the Red-Ribbon Reception that followed where republicanism and democracy was toasted.

It was not surprising then that these elements headed by the Manila Spaniards—as the Creoles were also called, were the first to suffer martyrdom when they were implicated in the Cavite Mutiny of 1872 during the administration of the reactionary Izquierdo. It was interesting to note the cross-section of the colonial society they represented. Among the businessmen were Jose Ma. Basa, Pio Basa, Maximo Paterno and Balbino Mauricio. The lowyer's group included Pardo de Tavera, Regidor, Jose E. Basa, Mauricio de Leon, Gervasio Sanchez and Pedro Carillo. The priests included Tiburcio del Pilar, Justo Guazon, Pedro Dandan, Anacleto Desiderio, Vicente del Rosario, and others. Most of them were exiled to Guam and other penal colonies while others were executed.

By the 1880's the third stage in the evolving nationalism took the form of "Assimilationist Filipinism" with the coalition now dominated by the Indio-*ilustrados* and the wealthy businessmen all belonging to the burgeoning middle class. They or their parents were the beneficiary of the economic transition to commercial agriculture in late 18th century period of *libre comercio*. The opening of Manila to foreign commerce and the coming of foreign traders who established informal banking and introduced machineries greatly assisted the new middle class in the 19th century.

And their demands for liberalization of trade flow, infrastructures, and other communication linkages like steamships, telephone and telegraph further forced the Spanish government, desiring to make the Philippines a major economic appendage of the empire, to grant more and more concessions. The new wealth out of commercial agriculture was used by the new middle class for luxuries and education of their children. Many of these elements started establishing residence in Manila as middlemen and direct traders; while others as students also gathered in the city from the provinces.

These became the ilustrados who imbibed the spreading "Assimilationist Filipinism." This stage of Philippine nationalism was popularly called the Propaganda Movement. But it might as well be

referred to as the revolutionary crisis rather than just a propaganda movement which historical tradition assigned to it. Though it was true that the nature and character of the demands made by the ilustrados were reformatory and assimilationist, what made the movement revolutionary and critical were the hidden and unstated assumptions behind these demands. Rizal, Marcelo H. del Pilar, and others were not merely demanding assimilation and democratic reforms. Hidden in their demands were the restructuring of the empire into a federal system instead of the present unitary system.

Corrolary to this assumption was the implication that if the demands went unheeded, a separate and independent State would be established to be administered by the Indios. This State would be established either peacefully or violently—more of the latter depending upon the wishes of Madrid. The Federal System, we could logically speculate, would be established on terms of equality among the members or component units—rather a radical departure from the past policy of assimilation of the colonies as colonies, i.e. as vassals of the king.

Following these assumptions was the logical one that Madrid must trust the Filipino themselves to run their own affairs based on the principle of autonomy for the components of the Federal State. This would call for a radical change in the status quo since Madrid had entrusted the control of the Philippines to the friars. It would also logically follow that not only the friars but also all the Spanish elements would be dispossessed. The Indios, by sheer force of number and participation in the political and religious processes, would dominate the State.

All these assumptions made this stage in the evolution of nationalism different from the earlier stages. The leadership now in the coalition was dominated by the Indios who started to call themselves Filipinos. The attacks against the friar-rulers were more intense than during the earlier period as shown by del Pilar's derogatory reference to the government in the Philippines as a frailocracy or monastic sovereignty.

To replace this government, the nationalists of the period would want genuine and meaningful popular sovereignty unlike the similar demand earlier when the concept was only conferred to the Spanish elements. Moreover, the possibility of the appointment of a Filipino governor-general or the Filipinos occupying not merely minor posts

in the government and the church but also higher positions was made a certainty by the large scale participation of the Indios in the political process.

That this type of autonomy was the more plausible assumption, could be seen when Rizal and company participated wholehearted in the political processes in Spain. Graciano Lopez-Jaena even ran as delegate to the Cortes representing a district in Spain. Moreover, loyalty to Spain was dominant in their thinking. This could be seen in the mythology they evolved based on the ancient Filipino custom of *kasunduan* (blood compact). The compact between Legazpi and Sikatuna symbolized as agreement between Spain and the Philippines. The latter fulfilled its part of the bargain but the former had failed because she placed her trust on the friars. Instead of Spain being blamed, the friars were considered the culprits and so must be replaced in the State and the church governments. The further institutionalization of the autonomist thinking was made by Rizal when he founded the *Liga Filipina* in 1892—the concept of a united Philippines which would be the patriach assimilated in the *patria grande* (i.e. the Spanish nation).

Meantime, the coalition among a few peninsulares, many Creoles and Mestizos, and many more Indios as caciques, businessmen, and ilustrados showed signs of breaking up by the early 1890's. The Spanish elements (peninsulares and Creoles) were only reformists in Spain but not in the Philippines where they turned reactionaries. The only link that they had with the coalition was their hatred of the friars and the powerful church. The liberalism in masonry was another link that held the coalition together. But it was beginning to loosen at the seams.

Finally, the last stage in the evolution of nationalism was reached in the founding of the revolutionary *Kataastaasan Kagalang-galang Katipunan ng Mga Anak ng Bayan* or KKK in 1892 in Tondo. While the *Liga Filipina* that Rizal founded earlier seemed to point to an organization of a united people who would logically control affairs in a presumed State under the Spanish Federal System, the Katipunan founded by Andres Bonifacio and company was the new nation that would control an independent State separate from the Spanish empire—federally organized or not.

The coalition in the nationalist movement—in the form of Indio-Filipinism to be more accurate—now broke up as the lower middle

and lower classes, both urban and rural, joined together against the Spanish elements, the Spanish mestizos, and the Indio upper and middle classes. With the objective of independence and the building of a new nation composed mostly of indigenous Filipinos, nationalism in this last stage was naturally radical unlike the conservative nationalism of the earlier three stages.

Furthermore, while the conservative nationalistic movement was tainted with reactionary ideas represented by the restoration of the old 16th century assimilation, the radical nationalism of Bonifacio and Emilio Jacinto, the acknowledged "brains" of the Katipunan, was a marked departure from the former and more forward-looking. Not only did the Katipunan nationalism aspire for independence and separation, but it also dared to organize a new society which was liberal, democratic, and ethically virtuous based on the brotherhood of all Filipinos—hence the concept of "nation of Tagalogs" or *Katagalugan.* The new nation would be governed by a code of ethics and a set of moral principles contained in Bonifacio's *Decalogue* and Jacinto's *Kartilla.* Its democratic ideas were expounded in Jacinto's *Liwanag at Dilim.*

At least two mythologies discussed the necessity for founding a new nation and for separation from the imperial Spanish nation. One was in Bonifacio's *Ang Dapat Mabatid ng mga Tagalog* (*What the Filipinos Should Know*). According to the myth, in precolonial times the Filipinos governed themselves, they lived in abundance and prosperity, they had trade with neighboring countries, they had "nobility of heart" and everybody "knew how to read and write" in their own "autochtonious alphabet." When the Spaniards came, they promised, "friendship," "better conditions," and "knowledge." To make their promises binding, the Spaniards followed the usual custom of *kasunduan* by blood compact performed by Legazpi and Sikatuna.

On the Filipinos' part, the promise was to "feed them lavishly" and supply their needs, to spend "our wealth, blood and life itself in their defense" and to "fight" for them. These, the Filipinos more than fulfilled for more than 300 years. The Spaniards, on the other hand, failed to fulfill their part of the *Kasunduan.* The Filipinos' "munificence" was answered with "treachery." Instead of leading the people to "knowledge," the Spaniards "blinded" and "contaminated" them with their "meaness of character.... "When the Filipinos

"beg for a little love" the reply was exile and separation from their kins and parents.

"What then must we do?" asked Bonifacio. The answer was by means of reason we could unmask the Spanish hypocrisy and cruelty. There was no other recourse but to "open our eyes" and "voluntarily consecrate our strength" to "what is good" in the hope that "the prosperity of our land... will now come to pass." The other mythology was that of a mother country which, instead of giving love to her "children in the East" gave them "sufferings" and "cruelties." Spain had been a "negligent" and "malevolent mother" and therefore the Philippines were "no longer yours whatever happens..." The mother must now prepare "the grave where many dead bodies will find rest."

Related to both mythologies was the one in the Katipunan's formulary for admission of members. The applicants were to answer three questions: "What was the condition of the Philippines in early times? What is the condition today? What will be the condition in the future?" Properly coached, the newcomers were to answer: that the Filipinos were "happy and independent," that the Spaniards "did nothing to civilize" the people, and that Spanish cruelties "will be remedied in time and freedom will be redeemed."

All the foregoing episodes and the four stages in the evolution of nationalism happened in Manila. The city had been, since she was founded by Legazpi, the Spanish metropolis in Asia. Before that Manila and the nearby areas were a thriving settlement under a sort of confederation ruled by Rahas Matanda, Lakandula, and Soliman. When Legazpi arrived and occupied Manila on May 19, 1571, nearly three hundred ninety five years ago, he found a large settlement already actively engaged in trade especially with the Chinese. He then made Manila the capital of Spanish Philippines but the imperial name of "Distinguished and Ever Loyal City" was given only in 1574 and the coat-of-arms in 1596.

Since then to the last century of Spanish rule, Manila had been and still was a primate city. She was almost immediately after occupation given the status of a city by Legazpi. As such, Legazpi organized on June 24, 1571 an autonomous government called *Cabilao* consisting of two *alcaldes en ordinario* (or two mayors), twelve councilors called *regidores,* and a secretary. Legazpi created the *Cabildo* on June 3, 1571 and laid down the plan for a modern city:

parallel streets at right angles to one another were laid down, spaces for plazas, public buildings like the palace for the governor-general, churches, hospitals and private residences were set aside, and for security, the old fort of Soliman was rebuilt.

At the time however of Legazpi's death Manila had been magically transformed into a Spanish city he envisioned. It took time before even the walls were completed which would surround what later was called Intramuros, a headland south of the Pasig River and the Manila Bay. But Manila without walls was secured by natural barriers in wartime by the Pasig River on the north, Manila Bay on the west, and marshes on the east.

But in time of peace the city was accessible from other settlements on the opposite banks of the Pasig River: on the north banks were Tondo, Lakandula's kingdom; Binondo (Minondok), where the Chinese had their business and residence; Quiapo, a small village then; and, to the south banks were Bagumbayan (now Luneta Park), Ermita, Malate (Maalat), Dilao (Paco), and Lamayan (Santa Ana). These were Manila's suburbs which also included other *arrabales* or nearby places like Santa Cruz, Sampalok, San Miguel, Santa Mesa and Pandacan. By the 19th century, as a result of commercial agricultural developments and the growth of internal commerce, Manila and environs experienced rapid economic growth.

By the middle of the 19th century the economic transition had been rapid from self-contained agriculture and impotence of a city where Chinese goods were transhipped to Mexico, to export-oriented agriculture and changing demography. These pressures compelled the Spanish authorities to expand the city into the province of Manila in a decree of 1886 with jurisdiction over twenty-eight municipalities and *arrabales.*

Manila was perceived differently during the last century of Spanish rule by observers. Rizal likened Manila to a "sickly girl" dressed in her "grandmother's" garments that had seen "better days." Foreman thought the city "a dull capital" where life's monotony was broken only by "the numerous religious processions..." In Intramuros there were the Cathedral and eleven churches and convents serving as headquarters of the monastic orders, the Ayuntamiento, the University of Santo Tomas and different colleges for boys and girls, the garrison, and the stone houses of Spanish residents.

Outside the walls of Manila were the rapidly urbanizing suburbs. Binondo was the "real commercial capital" where shopping centers were located—along Rosario and Escolta streets. Tobacco factories were also found here. In Tondo, excess population from the provinces was accommodated as a pool of laborers for the city and environs. There was in Tondo, the slum section of laborers, sailors, and fishermen. Located here also was the Tutuban Station for the Manila-Dagupan Railroad. In Quiapo, artesians abounded: goldsmiths, sculptors and silversmiths. Santa Cruz was one of the better places where rich merchants lived, together with the mechanics and Chinese mestizos. Sampalok was called the place of the laundrymen and women while San Miguel, where the palace of the governor-general was relocated, was inhabited by the government officials and wealthy families of the Creoles. Santa Mesa was a cool area what with its acacia, kakawati, ylang-ylang and fruit trees. It was then the summer residence of both wealthy Filipino and Spanish families. The principal recreation here was horse-racing held in its hippodrome. Santa Ana's good cool climate made the place the residence of many foreigners like the British, American, French and German. It had beautiful orchards and gardens. Paco was the residence of the middle and lower classes famous for its circular stone "pantyon" or cemetery and the *plaza de toros*. Two other aristocratic areas in addition to San Miguel were Ermita and Malate where Spanish middle class Mestizos and Filipinos lived. It was the center of a cottage industry-embroidery.

Society in the province of Manila was a cosmopolitan one composed of pure Filipinos, pure Chinese, Chinese and Spanish mestizos, Spanish and Creole elements, and non-Spanish foreigners. Its population had reached nearly half a million toward the end of the nineteenth century. This people was served by at least four daily newspapers—*El Diario de Manila, El Comercio, La Voz de España,* and the *La Correspondencia.* It had a bi-weekly *La Opinion* and a government paper, *Gaceta de Manila.* Modern facilities of communication were already installed; the telephone in 1890, telegraph in 1873 and cable in 1880.

The transportation system was already relatively adequate: weekly steamers plied the Manila Hongkong route and a monthly service to Barcelona, three lighthouses serviced shipping: *batel* and *paraws* abounded linking the different islands to Manila; the railroads to Dagupan had been constructed in 1891, and three kinds of

horse-drawn carriages—*quiles, carromata,* and *carruaje* — clogged the streets. There was also a horse-drawn car-system called the *tranvia.*

Banks served the interests of commercial agriculture and domestic trade: Banco Español Filipino with a provincial branch in Iloilo and power to issue banknotes, Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China established in 1873, and the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank in 1875. There were numerous informal banks established by traders who lent money to cultivators and owners of land and big haciendas. The water needs of the Manila residents were furnished by the newly established Carriedo Waterworks, wells, public fountains, and San Juan del Monte water reservoir.

This was the Manila which served as the center of religious works, trade, education, nationalist agitation, revolutionary plots, administration and political system. Truly Manila was the Philippines' principal city, the center of all sorts of activities from banking and trading to reactionary and revolutionary movements.

AMERICAN COLONIAL EDUCATION AND ITS IMPACT ON THE STATUS OF FILIPINO WOMEN

Carolyn Israel Sobritchea, Ph.D.

This article analyzes the effects of American colonial education on Filipino women. It discusses how the education policies and programs influenced the pattern of female participation in economic production during the nearly fifty years of American colonial rule, as well as female entry in non-domestic activities.

The system of public education introduced in the country by American colonialism had both positive and negative effects on Filipino women. On the positive side, it substantially increased their level of literacy and gave daughters of countless poor families the opportunity to break away from traditional gender-related roles. American colonial education also provided Filipino women, particularly those of middle-class background, the necessary skills, ability and confidence to fight for legal and political adulthood and assume responsible roles in public life. However, these developments must be seen within the framework of the overall thrust and objectives of American colonialism. This article argues that *the kind of education the Filipino women received during the American colonial period primarily prepared them to respond to the demands of the colonial bureaucracy and economy.* The public schools did not actively promote gender equality; on the contrary they peddled the same patriarchal ideas and systems of gender relations that Spain brought to the Philippines. Even if the level of female literacy increased, therefore, and more women gained access to new types of work and careers, these were not enough to bring them on equal footing with men.

American colonial education shaped the consciousness of the Filipino women in a manner that, ultimately, did not bring the country and herself much good. With the fear of the devil and the restrictive influence of the *convento* morality behind her, she metamorphosed into a "modern" woman, comfortable with all the trap-

pings of western life and ethos as well as with traditional patriarchal norms and practices. She more than willingly assumed her role in the production line even if doing so meant subordination to men. The female product of American colonial education learned to exercise her right to cast the ballot, but only to root for sexist male political candidates or endorse political programs discriminatory to her own interest. Finally, by being in the forefront of education as teachers of millions of school children, she played a most decisive role in carrying on the task left behind by the Thomasites, that of propagating and maintaining colonial consciousness in the country.

Spanish Legacy

Contrary to popular belief, the Americans were not the first to bring the concept of universal primary education to the Philippines. An education decree passed in 1863 mandated the establishment of a complete system of education in the country consisting of elementary, secondary and tertiary levels. Notable among the provisions of the decree were the call for compulsory education for children between the ages of seven and twelve and state support for elementary textbooks and basic school supplies. The decree also mandated the establishment of teacher training schools and training centers of arts and trades in Manila and Iloilo as well as a nautical school, also in Manila. Spanish was made the official medium of instruction in all levels.

Despite the well-meaning intentions of the aforementioned educational reform, it did not significantly improve the level of literacy in the country. Many aspects of the decree were not adequately enforced because of strong resistance from Catholic priests and lack of funds. Nevertheless, state-supported village schools were established which, by 1866, numbered 1474 (Mendoza-Guanzon, 1928:19). Forty-three percent of these schools were opened exclusively for girls. When the Americans occupied the Islands in 1898, the total number of primary schools reached 8,167 and the total student population was 200,000 (Isidro, 1952: 15-16). The first socio-economic census taken at the turn of the century estimated the female literacy rate at only ten percent in contrast to the male rate of nearly thirty percent (Reyes, 1951:2).

The curriculum at the primary level consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, Christian doctrine, Spanish grammar and

music. Boys were given basic training in agriculture and the girls, in needlework.

Mendoza-Guanzon (1928: 17-18) described that village classes generally consisted of two sessions a day, the first was from eight to eleven in the morning and the other, from two to five in the afternoon. Learning was essentially done by rote memory and pupils were heavily subjected to verbal and physical forms of discipline and punishment. Boys and girls alike were made to stand still for hours with arms raised forward; they were whipped with the use of wood, bamboo stick or leather strap. At other times, they were pinched or punished. These practices, she claimed, kept the schools almost deserted. Instead of attending classes, children often stayed home and helped with farm and household chores.

Before the education reform of 1863, elementary training was left entirely in the hands of priests or curates of the parish (Philippine Studies Program of the University of Chicago, 1956). There were few schools and practically all were for the children of the Spaniards, mestizos and rich natives. Fresnoza (1950:31) described the program of education undertaken by the Catholic church during the early part of Spanish colonial rule thus:

> The course of study consisted of reading by the alphabet and syllable method, the learning of sacred songs and music, a little arithmetic, and writing for the advanced students. The contents of the materials to be read were religious, such as the common prayers required for the sacraments of confession and communion and the cathechism of the Christian doctrines.
>
> Classes were ungraded and the children were required to attend the schools until they had learned to say the prayers required for the sacraments of confession and communion and memorized the **Doctrina Cristiana.** Instruction was given in the dialect of the community. Spanish was taught to the more brilliant students, especially to the sons of the **principalia** (upper class).

The education of the females was very minimal. In fact, it limited to daughters of well-to-do families and to the learning of rudimentary reading, writing, arithmetic, religion and needlecraft. Formal training beyond the primary grades were generally a male privilege. For the most part of the Spanish period, the majority of secondary and vocational schools as well as colleges were exclusively for males. There were a few institutions of higher learning for girls but they were meant only for daughters of Spaniards and other local elites. The earliest of such schools was the Colegio de Sta. Isabel which

was founded in 1632. The others were Colegio de Sta. Catalina (1696), Beaterio de San Ignacio (1699), Colegio de Sta. Rosa (1750), Escuela de Maestras (1864), Colegio de la Immaculada Concepcion (1868) and Colegio de San Jose de Jaro (1872). In 1893, two more schools for women were established: the Assumption Convent and Superior Normal School for Women.

The courses offered to girls were not as varied as those given to male students. Other than the basic subjects like reading, writing and arithmetic, the girls were given heavy loads of course work in needlework and other home crafts, religion and music. The Colegio de Sta. Isabel, recognized as one of the finest institutions of higher learning for women in those days, had the following course offerings (Foremen, 1890-1895):

Arithmetic	French	History of Spain
Drawing	Geometry	Music
Dressmaking	Geology	Needlework
	Physics	Reading Prose
	Spanish Grammar	Sacred History
	Geography	History of the Philippines
		Verse

Meanwhile, the boys had a wider choice of schools to attend and professions to pursue. The Colegio de San Ignatius, founded in 1595, and the Colegio Real de San Jose (1601) were the earliest schools for boys established in the country by the Jesuits. The others came years later, notable among them were the Colegio de Santo Tomas (1911), Colegio de San Juan de Letran (1640) and the Escuela Pia (later renamed Ateneo de Manila). The common courses of study in these institutions, beyond the basic grammar and arithmetic courses, included philosophy, Latin, Greek, physics, metaphysics, logic, ethics, cannon law, Roman law and others. These subjects were generally deemed unfit for women and did not become part of their curriculum.

The lack of emphasis on and support for the education of women was not an oversight. It sprang from what was then a very dominant belief that "a young woman did not need more than the rudiments of education because her sphere of action was within the three German K's *kirche, kuche und kinder* — that is, church, kitchen and children" (Mendoza-Guanzon, 1928: 19). Other than

being a mother and housewife, upper-class women of the Spanish period were limited, in their career choice, into becoming a teacher or a nun. Active pursuit of gainful employment was generally frowned upon but accepted for women of the working and peasant classes.

Spanish education laid great emphasis on Castillan values and norms of sexual behavior. Girls were taught to be obedient to elders and always subservient to males. They were admonished to remain chaste until married and to concentrate on developing skills that would turn them into excellent daughters, housewives, mothers and servants of God. The training that the middle and upper-class Filipino woman received in colleges turned her, in the words of Tiongson (1978: 1784) "into a harmless, wilting lily." He added:

> This education produced the type of mestiza who dragged her feet, according to Jagor, whose conversation was "tedious and awkward" and who did nothing but join **cofradias** and go to church, all veiled in black, or get dressed in gold and velvet and be laden with all the family jewels as she walked as **zagala** in a religious procession.

Since the women of lower social classes had limited access to Catholic education, they were not as much affected by patriarchal values and norms. They remained active in economic production as traders, farm workers and weavers, and in such community functions as folk healing and conflict mediation.

American Colonial Education

American military occupation of the Philippines in 1898 brought dramatic changes in the lives of many Filipinos. In an effort to facilitate the "pacification" of the islands and stave off unrest due to widespread resistance to American presence, U.S. military officials immediately established public schools in strategic locations around the country (Constantino, 1975: 309). Within the first three weeks of occupation, seven primary schools were opened under an army chaplain (Philippine Islands, Bureau of Education, 1913-17), while soldiers and officers were assigned to different provinces to serve as teachers and superintendents, respectively. General Arthur MacArthur, one of the key military officials who conceived of the program, requested large appropriation for school purposes while General Otis took upon himself the task of selecting the textbooks (Constantino, 1975-309).

But what was initially intended as a pragmatic solution to the "pestering" military problem of "native unrest" soon became the

primary instrument for continued control of the country. As supervision of the Philippines passed to civilian hands, colonial officials redefined the goals of public education. This time it was to prepare Filipinos for democratic "self-government" and develop in them a deep sense of patriotism and unity. To realize these objectives, it was deemed necessary to "wipe out illiteracy" and facilitate communication among linguistically diverse groups through the common use of English (Philippine Islands, Bureau of Education, 1913; Hayden, 1942-467).

When the Philippine Commission took over the administration of the country, additional steps were taken to expand the school program on a nationwide scale. Act 74 was passed on January 21, 1901 providing for free primary education and the establishment of a normal and trade school in Manila and an agricultural school in Negros. The normal school was established for the purpose of training Filipinos to become teachers and eventually take over the duties of American military and civilian teachers. The Act also provided for the partitioning of the Islands into ten school divisions, for the opening of primary schools in every municipality, optional religious instruction and use of English as medium of instruction. To make up for the lack of qualified teachers, American teachers were recruited and the first batch of eleven arrived in June 1901 on the *Lawton* and *Sheridan* followed by 765 more who came on board the U.S. army transport *Thomas* (Philippine Islands, Department of Public Instructions, 1904).

In the years that followed and until 1907 when the Philippine Assembly took over legislation, the Commission passed several more measures to expand the operations of the school system and create a more efficient organizational machinery. The number of school divisions was increased to correspond to the existing number of provinces and more administrative positions from the national to the municipal levels were created to improve coordination between central and regional offices. Decision-making and planning were highly centralized such that a uniform school program was implemented throughout the country. Then as more Filipinos became qualified teachers, the Thomasites were relieved from classroom teaching and given supervisory powers over the former.

Public Elementary and High School Programs

It was during the initial decade of colonial rule when the thrust of education began to take shape and respond further to the exi-

gencies of American interest. In August 1903, Doctor David Barrows was appointed General Superintendent of the Department of Public Instruction. During his six years in offices, he succeeded in increasing the budgetary outlay of public schools, a feat his predecessors failed to accomplish, and increased enrolment by more than one hundred percent. Dr. Barrows revised the school curriculum "making a sharp distinction between the primary and intermediate courses, prescribed industrial work for all ages below the high school level, differentiated the intermediate courses on the basis of occupations, and established uniform examination for all promotions above the third grade (Philippine Islands. Bureau of Education, 1913:19). As will be discussed in more detail in the latter part of this paper, these revisions were significant for they eventually defined the roles which Filipino men and women were to play later in the colonial economy and bureaucracy.

The curricular programs for the elementary and secondary levels underwent several changes upon recommendation of the groups organized by the legislative and executive bodies to assess the performance of the school system. These included the Monroe Educational Survey Committee of 1925, the Bureau of Education Economic Survey of 1928, the Posser Committee to Survey Vocational Education (1930), and the Quezon Educational Survey group of 1935. On the whole, however, the revisions did not depart from the original thrust of the school system. If at all, they were meant to strengthen the school system in order that its objectives could be fully achieved. The learning of basic literacy skills through English as well as practical training in various vocational and home industries remained paramount among the priorities of the school program throughout the American colonial period.

Elementary education consisted of seven grades. The course work for each level put heavy emphasis on English grammar, writing, reading and arithmetic. Between fifty to seventy percent of the total number of hours children spent daily in school were devoted to these courses. Other subjects like drawing, music, geography, hygiene and sanitation, history and biology were added as pupils moved up the grade levels. Boys and girls took the same courses except for the subject known as Industrial Work, which provided for separate training activities. The boys were trained in gardening, woodwork, basket and mat weaving and clay modeling, while the girls were taught lace-making, sewing, and various home-

related activities. As a single subject, Industrial Work took about twice as much time as all the other courses, pointing to the importance school officials gave to the training of Filipinos for gainful livelihood especially along areas of agriculture and manufacture of handicrafts and other exportable products.

In 1910, new curricular programs were introduced at the intermediate level to keep the school system more responsive to the needs of the colonial society. Special programs were designed so that students who did not desire to pursue higher education could be economically productive at once. These programs included special courses for those who wanted to go into primary school teaching, farming, trade, business or learn modern approaches to housekeeping and household arts.

Secondary education, established a few years later than the primary and intermediate schools, provided advanced academic and vocational training. It was a four-year program designed for students who wished to pursue college education or go into teaching and government service after graduation. The course work included subjects in literature, languages, history and sciences as well as practical arts. Special curricula were designed for those who desired an immediate career in teaching, commerce as well as in handicrafts business. The Philippine Normal School, Philippine School of Arts and Trade and selected provincial high schools handled these special programs. Their graduates were encouraged to return to their provinces where they could teach or start a business of their own.

Another program organized in 1912 by the Bureau of Education was the School of Household Industries. This was a training program designed to improve the women's skills in lace-making, embroidery and sewing, and in so doing, upgrade the quality of Philippine export products. As the Bureau of Education specifically pointed out:

> . . . the school will be instrumental in stimulating throughout the Philippnes Islands a widespread interest in and appreciation for hand industries and lead to their introduction into thousands of Filipino homes. The physical and mental adaptability of the Filipino women to work of this sort is universally recognized, hence Filipino embroideries and fine lace may in a few years have as great a commercial value as the best hand products of the skilled workers of the Orient and of the leading countries of Europe (Philippine Islands, Bureau of Education, 1918: 15).

The trainees were chosen from different provinces by provincial and other local officials. They underwent a twelve-month intensive training in needlecraft and other home industries. After the training, the women were expected to return to their respective provinces and organize work groups for the commercial production of embroidery items and other local handicrafts. To further ensure the success of the program, local governments were instructed to help market the products.

Although there was no official sex requirement to enter these special programs, the enrolment pattern showed marked segregation of the sexes. As was customary in those days, girls went into teaching and household arts while the boys specialized in agriculture, industrial arts and business. This trend continued in later years, causing a marked sexual imbalance in these lines of work and sexual stereotyping of various occupations.

Despite the great amount of attention already given to the vocational training of Filipino children, and the concern of the educators to address the economic needs of the colonial society, particularly export and agricultural production, the school system came under attack during the later years of the colonial period presumably for not producing enough skilled workers and farmers. By the early twenties, there was mounting criticism that the public school was turning away the young people from farming and other types of manual labor.

It must be noted that this period in the history of the country was marked by increasing economic difficulties brought about by the instability of the world market and internal economic problems of the United States. The need to increase export earnings on one hand, and maintain local requirements of subsistence products on the other, must have triggered the criticism against the school system. In response, changes in the curriculum were instituted by increasing the vocational load of pupils in the secondary level. Courses in vocational home economics were established in all rural high schools and all female students were now required to take them. School directives were issued to make home-making the basis of instruction in vocational home economics and wherever applicable, training in hat-making, weaving and other related industries were to be included. The recommendation of the Economic Survey Committee of the Department of Education in 1929 even specified that "the secondary schools should include instruction which would con-

tribute to the improvement of the articles made and to a better knowledge of the changing needs of the market" (Philippine Commonwealth, Department of Public Instruction, 1929: 60).

The concern about the decreasing interest of young Filipinos in agriculture directed the school officials' attention to women. The Economic Survey Report of 1929 noted the very low attendance of females in agricultural schools. It suggested a serious look into the matter with the end in view of encouraging more women to take courses in agriculture, not for them to be farmers really but to be good wives of farmers. As the Report stated:

> Girls so educated should make good wives for the agricultural boys Their (the girls') presence in the school creates a refining atmosphere. as they will feel and think in terms of farm conditions. Women who have had training for farm life have undoubtedly better understanding of farming and the farmer (Philippine Commonwealth, Department of Public Instruction, 1929: 26).

It is apparent from the foregoing discussions that the curricular program of the period carried the same gender ideologies that Spanish colonial education inculcated among Filipinos. These data easily afford us to belie the popular notion that American colonial education was, in most respects, promotive of women's welfare. In fact, there are clear indications that it did very little to dismantle the patriarchal structures which Spanish colonialism tried very hard to implant on Philippine soil. By popularizing among the masses what used to be a practice common only among the privileged classes, that of limiting the woman's sphere of involvement to household management and certain vocational activities, American colonial education nurtured the conditions which in later years, posed serious obstacles to the improvement of women's status. By strongly emphasizing domestic skills and moral teachings, the schools delimited the career opportunities of women to those compatible with their mothering and housekeeping roles.

Tertiary Education

The establishment of public institutions for higher learning came just as soon as the elementary and high schools were in full operation. Education officials saw the urgent need for a state-run university so that the most promising graduates of the public schools would have a place to continue their secular education and prepare for service in professional and technical fields (Philippine Islands, Board of Education Survey, 1925: 609).

On June 18, 1908 the Philippine Legislature enacted into law the creation of the University of the Philippines. The U.P. absorbed the Philippine Medical School which was established on December 1, 1905 to initiate training in medical and health services, and renamed it the College of Medicine. It first opened the Schools of Pharmacy, Dentistry and Fine Arts and in succeeding years, the Colleges of Agriculture (1909), Engineering (1910), Veterinary Medicine (1910) and Law (1911). The Conservatory of Music and School of Forestry were established in 1916 while the Junior College of Liberal Arts and College of Education came some two years later.

By 1924, the University of the Philippines had about 17 different schools and colleges offering a wide variety of degree programs for both men and women. Only the School of Nursing was initially opened to one sex (women) but it changed this policy in the early twenties to accommodate male students.

In addition to the U.P., about six other state colleges were established in the provinces to provide basic liberal education and advanced training in agriculture, fisheries and animal husbandry.

The absence of strict state control and restriction coupled by the continuous rise in demand for higher education enabled many religious schools to continue operating and wield influence among the children of well-to-do families. In fact, the growth of private tertiary education far outpaced the public school system to the extent that by 1947, there were about 500 private colleges and 128 special and technical schools all over the country (Philippine Republic, Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1960: 27). The majority shied away from the practice of coeducation, and remained as exclusive schools for boys or girls.

The Catholic schools for women that offered college degrees included the Manila-based Assumption College, St. Scholastica's College (founded in 1906), Holy Ghost (now Holy Spirit) College (1913) and St. Theresa's College. Those located outside Manila included the Malabon Normal School, St. Bridget's Academy in Batangas, St. Agnes' Academy in Albay, St. Louis School in Baguio and Rosary Academy in Vigan (De la Llana, 1936: 78).

A number of girl's schools were also organized by private individuals, mostly women who saw the need to provide more educational opportunities for their kind. Notable among these institu-

tions were the Instituto de Mujeres, established in 1900 by a group of women graduates from Assumption College, the Centro Escolar University, founded in 1907 by two pioneering female educators and the Philippine Women's University, organized in 1919 by the female members of the well-known Benitez family (Mendoza-Guanzon, 1928: 36-37). The first private colleges to become coeducational were the Liceo de Manila, National University, University of Manila and the Manila College of Pharmacy (Mendoza-Guanzon, 1928: 36-37).

Literacy and School Attendance Profile

There is no doubt that American efforts to increase the level of literacy in the country paid well. From a low ten percent for females and 30 percent for males in 1903, the literacy rate rose to 57 percent (female) and 60 percent (male) by 1948 (Philippine Republic, Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1960). School attendance also showed the same pattern of growth. From an initial figure of 6,900 in 1898, school enrolment in all grade levels, from primary to college, reached nearly two million in 1940 and four million in 1948 (Philippine Commonwealth, Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1940; 19; Philippine Republic, Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1960). This growth was possible only because the number of schools also increased and became accessible to the majority of Filipinos. By 1948, the total number of public elementary and secondary schools all over the country was 16,472 compared to the estimated 2,000 at the end of Spanish rule. Private education likewise flourished as the total number of sectarian schools, from elementary to college, reached 1,684 by 1948. School enrolment in private schools for the same period was estimated to be about a third of a million (Philippine Republic, Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1960). All in all, nearly one fourth of the population were already attending school by the time the Americans left the country.

It is important to underscore the difference in the number of student enrolment between the college and lower school levels. As mentioned earlier, very few Filipinos actually acquired college education and those who did came mostly from well-to-do families. The enrolment figures for 1940 bear out this claim. Of the nearly two million students, only 3,777 or 0.2 percent were in college. If one reflects on the kind of curriculum offered in the lower school levels and the very small number of Filipinos who managed to advance beyond that curriculum, it is easy to understand why industrializa-

tion and the development of science and technology became the country's most elusive dream after independence. American colonial education indeed reached out to many Filipinos. Unfortunately, it saw fit to tailor its program more to the requirements of colonial rule than to the long-term good of the nation.

Education affected Filipino men and women differently. Although both sexes increased their level of literacy to comparable extent, they differed in other measures of educational development. In general, female attendance in the elementary grades compared favorably with males but not in the secondary and tertiary levels. There were generally more males who entered high school and college (Table 1).

In 1924, an educational survey headed by Dr. Paul Monroe of the University of Columbia was conducted to assess the strengths and weaknesses of the educational system. Among the findings of the survey was the preponderance of males in high school. The Monroe Report (as the survey results were henceforth referred to) noted that "only one-third of the pupils in high school were girls" (Philippine Islands, Board of Educational survey, 1925: 329). The reason given in the Report for this was:

> Man participates in the more active occupation; woman keeps the house. The social and economic position of the man determines the status of the family. In such a society it is only natural that parents should be willing to make great sacrifices for the education of a son, but should be reluctant to make similar sacrifices to send a daughter to school. To them, since her condition in life will merely reflect the position of the man she weds the higher the education of the girl is a waste of time and money (Phlippine Islands, Board of Educational Survey, 1925: 329).

TABLE I

School Enrolment in 1948

	Total Number	*% Male*	*% Female*
All Elementary	7,420,638	51	49
Grade I	963,094	52	48
Grade II	1,455,548	51	49
Grade III	1,616,374	50	50
Grade IV	1,730,045	48	52
Grade V	900,817	51	49
Grade VI	754,759	53	47
All High School	1,158,402	57	43
First Year	447,118	56	44
Second Year	275,934	57	43
Third Year	182,515	56	44
Fourth Year	252,835	58	42
College			
Undergraduate	222,826	58	42
Graduate	54,203	57	43

Source: Philippines Republic, Bureau of Census and Statistics, *1948 Census of Population and Agriculture*, Vol. III. Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1954.

The Monroe Report also observed that the majority of the girls in secondary schools were in vocational courses. Very few were enroled in the general course, the program that prepared students for college work.

The turnout of female graduates during the first two decades of the American period was expectedly very low. From 1908 to 1920, for instance, the University of the Philippines produced only twelve female professionals, among them were a doctor, lawyer, dentist, two educators and three pharmacists. The following years saw a slight improvement in the number of female graduates. In 1927, the University awarded academic degrees to 231 women in the following fields: medicine, 12; dentistry, 7; pharmacy, 22; Bachelor of Science in Pharmacy, 4; Bachelor of Science, 7; Bachelor of Science in Education, 88; Bachelor of Science in Commerce, 5; Bachelor of Philosophy, 11; and Associate in Arts, 75 (Mendoza-Guanzon, 1928: 37).

By 1948, twenty nine percent of all licensed professionals were women, the majority being midwives, registered nurses and pharmacists. There were very few female dentists, optometrists and physicians and practically no architects and engineers (Table 11). Since there were fewer women than men who entered college in the first place, it is understandable why only a handful of the former became professionals.

TABLE II
Registered Professionals in 1948

	Total Number	*% Male*	*% Female*
Architects	108	99.0	1.0
Accountants	320	94.0	6.0
Dental Surgeons	1,041	83.0	17.0
Druggists	65	97.0	3.0
Engineers	1,062	99.9	0.1
Lawyers	1,894	96.0	4.0
Midwives & Nurses	1,331	10.0	90.0
Opticians and optometrists	109	77.0	23.0
Pharmacists	1,675	24.0	76.0
Physicians	2,497	88.0	12.0
Captains (steamship)	133	100.0	0.0
Veterinarians	117	98.0	2.0
Others	331	88.0	12.0
TOTAL	10,683	71.0	29.0

Source: Philippines Republic, Bureau of Census and Statistics. *Economic Census Report,* Vol. IV. Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1953, page 347.

Women's participation in the colonial economy

One of the reasons often cited for the colonization of the Philippines was the need of the United States to expand its overseas market for industrial products and seek new sources of raw materials. Filipino historians (e.g. Salamanca, 1968; Constantino, 1975, Agoncillo, 1977) in particular, claim that this was, in fact, the major factor for American imperialist expansion and it underlies most of the political, social and economic policies and programs the United States carried out in the Philippines and its other colonies.

Through the establishment of free trade policies and expansion of commercial agriculture as well as the extractive industries, the

United States succeeded in turning the Philippines into a leading supplier of raw materials and buyer of manufactured goods. The Philippines initially exported its sugar, coconut oil and copra, abaca and various native crafts. Towards the later part of the American period, it included among its exports minerals and lumber. In turn, the country bought from the United States iron and steel products, cotton goods, cigarettes, dairy and other agricultural products (Agoncillo, 1977:379).

Commercial relations between the two countries grew to the extent that in less than three decades, the total value of American trade with the Philippines increased by nearly 3,000 percent (Philippine Republic, 1927:19). Agoncillo (1977: 378-379) noted that Philippine imports from the United States increased ninety-one times, from $1,350,000 in 1899 to $92,600,000 in 1930. On the other hand, the total value of exports increased thirty-two times from $3,935,000 to $84,878,000 for the same year. By the time the country achieved political independence, its economy was almost totally tied to American markets, paving a new era of neocolonial relations with the United States.

The development of the export industry actually started during the latter part of the Spanish period. The Philippines was already supplying many western countries with its sugar, coconut oil, tobacco and other commercial products during the late 18th century. What the Americans did was to expand the industry to a point that it soon became the most important source of national revenue, and limit the Philippine market to very few trading partners. Commodity manufacturing likewise grew, but only to a level necessary to produce consumption items that the U.S. market could not supply. And because of extensive mining and quarrying as well as logging operations in the countryside, there were also significant improvements in the construction, transportation and communications as well as local commercial industries.

These economic changes had far-reaching effects on the status of Filipino women. Not only did these developments determine the kinds of productive activities the women could engage in, but also influenced their roles in the family and the community.

Although the Spaniards tried very hard to limit the public activities of women and consign them to family and household roles, they were hardly successful at it. Wives and daughters of peasant

and working class families remained economically active either as farmers or workers in tobacco and handicrafts factories. All over the islands, women were known for their outstanding skills in producing mats, baskets, slippers, embroidery items and native delicacies. Others stood out in their communities as successful traders, money lenders and managers of backyard industries. It was possibly because they were highly visible in public that foreigners believed they occupied a high status in society.

The cigar factories established as early as the mid-18th century relied heavily on female labor. De Jesus (1978) noted that some of these factories employed thousands of employees; the majority were young unmarried women. Foreigners who had the opportunity to observe the way the women worked were not lacking in praises for them. For instance, an American female writer who visited a cigaret factory in Manila gave the following observation:

> The little women who pack the cigarettes can pick up a number of them and tell in a twinkle by the feeling just how many they hold, and the cigar wrappers work with greatest rapidity and sureness and make a perfect product (Anderson, 1916:131).

Other foreign visitors marveled at the women's skill in transacting business; their tremendous capacity to bear hardships and crises as well as unfailing dedication to home duties and responsibilities (e.g. Leroy, 1905; Freer, 1906; Devins, 1906 and Wrights, 1913).

The situation of upper-class women was different. As direct beneficiaries of convent education and strict Catholic upbringing, they emerged as economic dependents of men, devoid of skills necessary for gainful employment. However, as opportunities for professional advancement became available during the American period, these women were the first to take advantage of them to become the first female lawyers, doctors, politicians, leaders of women's organizations and others. They were, in the final analysis, the direct beneficiaries of educational and political changes instituted by the Americans in the country. The lower-class women were likewise affected but in a different way. Very few among them achieved professional status and assumed leadership positions. The majority were drawn into the colonial economy as factory workers and producers of export crops.

Inasmuch as the export industry relied heavily on agricultural and natural raw materials there was substantial increase in the amount of human power input in agriculture. The majority of economically active women (44 percent in 1939) were into farming, fishing and hunting. The others remained active in trading (9 percent) and in domestic and personal service (19 percent).

The most important change in the pattern of employment is the increase of women in manufacturing, clerical work and professional as well as public service. Such increase was a direct result of women's access to public education and, as mentioned earlier, the emphasis of the schools on vocational and clerical skills development. By 1939, nearly one-fourth of all women in the labor force were in the manufacturing industry, while three percent and less than one percent were in the professional and clerical services, respectively (Table III).

A comparison between the number of males and females in various occupations (Table IV) in 1940 shows that the latter were generally outnumbered in all kinds of work except in domestic and personal service. The increase in the ratio of females in the professional (37 percent) and clerical (8 percent) services is somehow impressive even if they constituted less than one percent of all females in the country in those days.

Table III

Participation of Males and Females in Various Occupations, 1939

	Total Number	% Male	% Female
Agriculture, fishing, forestry & hunting	3,663,759	75.40	43.71
Domestic and personal service	332,321	2.90	18.96
Professional service	103,415	1.52	3.46
Public service	49,620	1.16	.02
Mining and quarrying	47,019	1.10	0.05
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	601,335	7.90	24.27
Transportation and communication	203,596	4.80	0.10
Clerical service	48,899	1.10	0.37
Trade	270,766	4.15	9.06
TOTAL	5,320,730	100.0	100.00

Source: Philippine Commonwealth, Bureau of Census and Statistics, **Yearbook of Philippine Statistics**, Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1940, p. 18.

Table IV

Comparison Between Male and Female Participation in Various Occupations, 1939

	% Male	% Female
Agriculture, fishing and hunting	87	13
Domestic and personal service	37	63
Professional service	63	37
Public service	99	1
Mining and quarrying	99	1
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	56	44
Transportation and communication	99	1
Clerical service	92	8
Trade	63	37

Source: Philippine Commonwealth, Bureau of Census and Statistics, **Yearbook of Philippine Statistics**, Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1940, p. 18.

Census figures taken after the Second World War provide a good picture of the kinds of professions women entered. Of the more than forty seven thousand of them in the professional field, almost 80 percent were elementary and high school teachers; 8 percent were nurses while 5 percent were pharmacists. The rest were thinly spread out in such fields as law, medicine, social work and others (1948 census quoted in Reyes, 1951:4). The concentration of women in teaching and in health-related occupations was the direct result of the emphasis given to these professions by the colonial government. The high incidence of illiteracy, diseases and malnutrition in the country when the Americans came focused the school's attention towards producing the necessary human resource to solve these problems. This development was initially beneficial to women. It gave them the chance to pursue careers without stiff competition from men. As it turned out later, however, these occupations became least economically profitable such that many of the brightest and most promising women of the period were eventually consigned to the lowest paying jobs.

The increase of female labor in commercial agriculture was equally substantial. When free trade between the United States and the Philippines began in 1909 local landowners intensified the production of sugarcane, abaca, coconut and tobacco. Subsistence crop farmers were recruited to work in plantations and haciendas. By the end of the American period, more than one-fifth of all farmers were directly producing export crops (Philippine Republic, 1951:22). They included 22 and 15 percent of all male and female farmers, respectively.

In an effort to promote Philippine products abroad and encourage local production and commerce, the American colonial administration held an annual trade fair which began in 1909 and lasted until the late twenties (Philippine Republic, 1926:15). Known as the Manila Carnival, the fair was the single most important event in the Philippines in those days. Regional farm products and handicrafts as well as outstanding projects in industrial work and home economics of school children were presented. Even men and women from various mountain groups were put in carnival booths, depicting the way they wove their fabrics or made baskets and wooden utensils (Philippine Observer 1912:19).

The Manila Carnival was so popular that it drew thousands of people from all over the country and abroad. The number of visitors

grew from 87,000 in 1909 to almost half a million in 1925 (Philippine Republic, 1925:15). One of the main attractions of the event was the crowning of the carnival queen and her consorts. In earlier years, these women were chosen from among the most beautiful daughters of rich families in Manila. As the carnival drew more participation from the provinces, however, nationwide selection of candidates was undertaken. Those chosen were crowned Miss Philippines and Misses Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao.

Gender Differences in Income and Work Privileges

The relative success of the educated women in entering what were once male-dominated professions did not come with the improvement of their income status. Most of the jobs they held gave salaries and other forms of remuneration that were not at par with those received by men. The figures for 1948 (Table V) for instance, showed that except for female Chinese pharmacists whose average annual income was twice as much as their male counterparts or the female physicians and optometrists who got comparable earnings, all other women professionals earned less than the men. Female professionals, in general, got less than one-third of the average annual income of their male counterparts.

Table V
Average Annual Income of Male and Female Professionals in 1948
(in pesos)

	Male	Female	Rate of Female over Male Income
Architects	7,139	3,400	48
Accountants	7,229	3,436	48
Dental Surgeons	4,864	1,341	26
Druggists (Chinese)	7,492	15,038	201
Civil Engineers	11,998	4,863	41
Lawyers	5,715	2,366	41
Midwives	9,866	248	2
Opticians and Optometrists	7,675	8,045	105
Pharmacists	7,527	2,302	31
Physicians	4,045	4,211	104
Veterinarians	3,829	2,940	77
TOTAL	6,100	1,701	28

Source: Philippine Republic, Bureau of Census and Statistics, Economic Census Report, Vol. IV. Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1953, p. 347.

In the absence of data that could explain the disparity in male and female incomes, one can only presume that the influence of patriarchal values and practices had much to do with it. There are indications that although the women were not outwardly restricted from pursuing non-traditional lines of work, they did so at the expense of getting lower salaries and fewer work privileges than men. In fact, it was only in postwar years and through continuous agitations from labor unions that the rights and welfare of working women were seriously addressed by the government.

The only significant legislations that sought to protect the welfare of working women were those that provided for maternity leave privileges for government (Act 647) and private sector employees (Act 3071). But these laws did not take effect immediately as they were declared unconstitutional and illegal by the Supreme Court. It took the 1935 Constitution, with its mandate for the State to provide protection to labor, especially to working women and minors, to have these laws implemented (Subido, 1955:57).

CONCLUSION

The foregoing discussions underscored the role of American colonial education in defining the nature and extent of Filipino women's participation in the economy. It showed how the thrusts and policies of the public school system responded to the exigencies of the colonial economy and in the process, changed the pattern of work between the sexes. Despite efforts to raise the level of female literacy and make women active participants in economic production, the American colonial government failed to promote gender parity partly because of the schools' advocacy of traditional patterns of sexual division of social roles. The vocational and communication skills that women received, at best, served only to facilitate their entrance into the world market system as producers of goods for developed countries, and enhance their participation in public endeavors.

DECOLONIZATION THROUGH PEOPLE'S ART

Brenda V. Fajardo

The recognition of traditional and current people's art, the study of its form, function and content, an analysis of its relation to our life and culture at this point in our history will provide, for us, the direction towards a culture that is authentically ours.

To focus on the art of the people as a point of departure is to acknowledge the important role it has in our effort to reeducate ourselves and counter the colonial consciousness that we have. This requires a restudy of approaches and methods of providing points of unity for the people with their own activities as its base.

The forms we see around us create a cultural environment that may be natural or incidental. For whatever intent it was made, these forms are perceived and are clearly the manifestations of life of the people who made them.

In these times of depravity and depression, these forms assert themselves culturally and contribute to the continuity of our life thread as a people.

Art reflects, interprets, and supports man's concept of himself and the significance of his role in the world. It is an integral part of the mechanism of social existence just as it is concerned with personal expression and aesthetic exploration.

The nature of art is such that it has a life of its own, a quality of "separateness" which makes it not only a description of reality but a parallel reality of its own. This does not mean that art is unconcerned with other things, because art has no meaning without a social context.

Art and human perception is a creation. The individuals who create and perceive art are part of society therefore people, art, and society are interrelated.

The intent of this paper is:

First, to focus on the art of ordinary people so that we may begin to recognize that there is a way of doing as a result of a way of life, therefore, form carries both function and meaning;

Second, to discover aesthetic values in people's art so that we may appreciate a sensibility that evolved from local history and local conditions, helping us to become aware of our identity as a people;

And third, to propose possibilities by way of concrete suggestions on a process of decolonization through people's art.

The Problem of Identity and Consciousness

One of the fundamental causes of the corruption of our national character is the infiltration of our psyche by colonial cultures. Renato Constantino[1] says: "the crisis of identity is so serious and difficult to resolve precisely because westernization has been so pervasive that by and large the Filipinos are unaware of their own lack of a national consciousness."

Pre-colonial Philippine society was not sufficiently developed as a nation when the Spanish colonizers came, conquered, and eroded whatever culture there was.

Using religion as a ploy, the Spaniards modified and changed the authentic historical development of a people when they Christianized them.

This process of westernization continued with the Americanization of the Filipino, and this time, through education, the Indio was taught how to think, feel, and appreciate what was American, a phenomenon that we still witness to date.

As a result of colonization, we have an impoverished culture, deprived of natural growth, a culture much abused and bastardized.

Culture is a production of the interaction and interrelations within a society. It differs from one society to another as a result of the dynamic forces within it, including factors such as ecology, geography, systems of thought, politics, beliefs, education, and so on.

Concretely, we can think of a culture in terms of modes of activities that express a collective competence or capability of what

the society has learned to do or make, such as ways of building, dancing, settling disputes; or in terms of entities such as institutions, customs, languages, tools and art works, embracing social systems and settled practices.

Culture competence is dependent on skills and talents of the members of a society but this competence is possessed by a society, thus it is a collective entity.

There are two types of cultural competence:[2]

Causal competence, referring to technology such as irrigating land, making weapons or weaving fabric, bringing about results by applying means-ends rules; and

Conventional competence, which gives added character or meaning to actions through the establishment of conventions, such as instituting marriage or devising systems of visual symbols.

Artistic activity is one of the components of culture and part of the life process that carries the seed of creative change. The meaning of a people's life is manifested in the products of artistic activities. The works of art created by people describe their past and present conditions and expresses their needs, values, thoughts, and emotions.

It would be easier if we were, as a people, homogenous in culture but our history attests to the fact, like it or not, that as a people, we have been exposed to diverse cultures. We see this in the number of languages that we speak, the different ways by which we cook and flavor our foods, the way we clothe ourselves, our manners, idiosyncracies and differences in behavior.

Before our country was colonized, our people are said to have had a diverse nature and differed somewhat in their lifeways. With colonization, the people were forced to conform with the culture of the invaders.

People assimilate experiences, so naturally, the foreign culture brought by the colonizers became models of our people who, exposed to new forms and systems, incorporated these in their lifestyle.

Consequently, we have become a people of conglomerate cultures and much confused in so far as a national identity is concerned.

People's Art

"People's art," in the context of this paper, refers to the art created by ordinary people. Art created by ordinary people has also been referred to as folk art, to mean the artistic production of the peasantry, of rural people. This is a narrow definition in Philippine context, since a great number of rural people have migrated to urban areas.

Rural folk who migrate to the cities in search of better life conditions, carry with them their traditional values but are shocked culturally by an alien and alienating city culture. They nevertheless assimilate this confused and polluted culture, increasing the number of the population who have been displaced culturally.

In a broad sense then, we shall refer to people's art as the art of the greater majority of the people. In our society, it is unfortunate that the greater majority of the population belong to the lower rather than the middle or higher strata. Thus, the word "people" also implies a social class which is lower in economic rank in comparison with the rest of society.

A low economic status, however, limits the greater majority's chances for thorough cultural pollution since exposure to foreign culture is limited by a deprived opportunity for education, travel, or the luxury of going to the movies, viewing video tapes and so forth. Somehow, values remain authentic and most of the art they create transmit value-images that their culture has of itself. Even as they are prone to imitate models of alien cultures, whatever unfolds from them are still more natural and naive, more authentic as the expression of a people.

There is a need to recognize people's art as an authentic manifestation of identity. Art is one of the systems of culture having its own dynamic, capable of transforming the status quo of colonialism in culture through the development of forms of expression and action that will crystallize into a people's culture, a culture linked to the people's needs and aspirations.

The Nature of People's Art

Before the age of modernization, crafts used to spring out of the heart and hands of man because he needed them. These products were made for use without any thought of creating works of art.

A people's art arises from cultural needs even if it is subject to natural conditions. It maintains traces of a primitive communal practice of art where we can hardly distinguish producer from consumer.

The art can become so popular that finally no one can say who invented them and as a result of continuous repetition and constant adaptation, take on such a conventional appearance that their unique, individually conditioned features disappear. The work comes into being as the constantly changing result of gradual adaptation. The creation of individuals and the property of many, this art assumes many versions and all versions are relevant and reliable.

People's art is created for its function and the maker is usually not conscious of producing art. As an art, it is considered stylistically behind the art of the "fine artist." However, the people who create the art are not conscious that they are producing something which goes beyond the boundaries of their daily forms of life and needs. The people are aesthetically innocent in their lack of concept of art for its own sake but it does not mean that what they produce are artistically inferior.

In people's art:

(1) The producer is an unknown craftsman, not an artist-craftsman (the artist-craftsman being an individual artist who is conscious of himself as a "signature" artist);
(2) There is a close connection between technology, the development of skill in an industry, and artistic activity;
(3) Culture is a major consideration being the result of historical happenings, and therefore, patterns of culture carries with it particular points of view.

Let me discuss these points one by one, for in considering the art of a great number of unknown craftsmen, we hope to discover a directness of vision and honesty of purpose that will help us in our effort to define ourselves in history.

(1) *The producer is an unknown craftsman*

People's art is the art of anonymous craftsmen who produce crafts in quantities used by the masses in their daily lives. Initially, the art work is the creation of an individual but this is taken up by a social group, and by adoption, reproduction, or variation, become "folk art," i.e., people's art.

Many individuals work on the craft and as this happens, technology is transferred from one to another and the process becomes a tradition, learned over generations.

The repetition of the same process and constant adaptation takes on a collective character and a conventional appearance so that the individually-conditioned features disappear.

(2) *There is a close connection between technology, the development of skill in an industry, and artistic activity*

The process by which an object is created affects the resulting product. There is a close relation between technical virtuosity and the development of artistry. When the craftsman has become technically proficient, he is able to explore various possibilities in design.

Basically, people's art is a product of an industry in which feeling for form is inextricably bound with technical experience. Form and style depend on the development of technique. People's art could be anything from basketry, carving, weaving, metalwork, pottery and so on.

The initial motivation for production is its use and the form results from this functional need. Limitations of technology affect the nature of the forms that come out technomorphic.

Different crafts have technical limitations and possibilities which affect the resultant product, but the proficiency of the craftsman and the development of technique makes for artistry.

Franz Boas[3], in his work on Primitive Art, pointed out that certain elements are apparent in all forms. One of these is SYMMETRY. By symmetry there is reference to balance. The most common being bilateral symmetry which is physiologically determined.

Craftsmen work with their arms and hands and the right and left motions lead to the feeling of symmetry, which may be arranged vertically, horizontally, or radially. It may also be inverted where we experience two symmetrical halves facing each other, in rotation.

RHYTHM is another important element evident in people's art. Technical activities with regularly repeated movements lead to rhythmic repetition which leads to pattern. The craftsman who has the

ability to perform a more complex action, produces a more complex rhythm.

Both symmetry and rhythmic repetition generally run on horizontal levels. This is why we commonly see repetitions in horizontal bands.

Treatment of surface leads to the development of patterns. While patterns are usually decorative, they are also visual symbols that are, in effect, the viewpoint of the producer.

(3) *Culture is a major consideration, art works transmit value-images*

A look into the relationship between art and religion is one way of looking at art as an integral part of the mechanism of social existence and its being interdependent with personal expression and aesthetic exploration.

The relationship of art and religion as manifested in the art of people tell much about their life.

Art and religion existed together in some form from the beginnings of organized communities. In interpreting the universe, all aspects of life were bound together in image-making. For the indigenous Filipino, *Bathala* was the "all-powerful god" represented by the sun, the moon, and the stars. They believed that there was a divine energy that animated the universe and this was manifested in every aspect of the natural world such as in stones, trees, clouds, fire. These symbols are represented in people's art: in baskets, blankets, tools, and implements. Early Filipinos must have incorporated them to ensure a good life.

The indigenous form of worship was done through the mediation of the *anito* or spirit of dead relatives represented by idols that were carved from stone, wood, and ivory. The carved idols were the conceptual representations of the divine power of *Bathalang Maykapal* and the other spirits in the universe.

Sacrificial offerings were given to the idols for the recovery of a sick person; for a good harvest; for a prosperous voyage; victory at war; or a successful delivery in childbirth and other such favors.

The *anito* was carved by anyone and regarded as a household guardian. Every family had such an image and carved one when-

ever a relative died, so that a household could have as many as 200 *anitos* passed from generation to generation. These figurative forms were carved rather vaguely since animism did not clearly delineate the appearance of supernatural beings.

When the Spaniards came, these carved figures were destroyed and in their stead religious images, called *santos,* were carved in the likeness of Christian saints and were venerated.

If we were to examine the sculpture produced in pre-Hispanic times, crude as they may be, we can still say that the art of carving the *santos* had a primitive tradition, although in the *santos,* Christian iconography and Chinese elements were incorporated. The pre-Hispanic form may have been Christianized and given a new face but it remained very much the indigenous carved figure that represented the *anito.* Basic values and practices persisted with external concepts modified to suit local patterns of doing, believing, and thinking. For areas converted to Spanish Catholicsm, the Filipinos creatively evolved a folk Catholicism where traditional elements of worship fused with the new religion, and traditional system of values overlapped with Christian practices. This folk Catholicism gave rise to forms that show its syncretic nature.

Medallions made of copper or bronze, engraved with images of the Holy Family; the Blessed Virgin Mary, or of the saints, together with Latin scriptures, are examples of syncretic Catholicism. The early Filipino believed in the *anting-anting* or amulets, objects—natural or man-made, believed to have special powers, like giving protection (*panagang*) or of bringing good fortune to the believer. Amulets carried or worn by a person are kept in a place which is the desired sphere of influence, as on a roof or in the field.

When the Spanish missionaries brought medals to replace the *animistic idols,* the people developed a new system of faith and prayers; animistic beliefs and practices, however, continued and fused with Catholicism resulting in the metal *anting-anting,* an adaptation of the medals brought by the friars.

Because the *anting-anting* protected the wearer against witchcraft, sickness, or accidents, and made them invisible in the eyes of evil, it played a significant role in the thinking and motivation of peasant rebels, bandits, soldiers and generals.

There were many methods and variations of obtaining *anting-anting* but the most common way was to get hold of objects used

or associated with Holy Week rituals. However, it was not merely a matter of obtaining objects that magically protect their wearer, it also points to a complex system of beliefs and practices which is half-Christian and half-indigenous.

The fusion of beliefs, both colonial and indigenous is also evident in the syncretic form of wax effigies called *"katawan,"* similar to *ex votos.*

These votive figures are set alongside votive candles as offering to God or the saints, requesting for varied favors such as the healing of some illness, protection of property and possessions, or as thanksgiving for requests granted.

As a votive figure, it functions much like the carved figures of animistic worship. The *katawan* is a supplement to prayer and through it, the faithful believes it will help solve problems such as marital infidelity, sickness, or even difficult examinations. It may be an offering to the departed or an expression of gratitude for favors granted such as the healing of a disease.

Most of the people who believe in the viability of the *katawan* rely on faith for most anything. For those who cannot afford a doctor or a counsellor, there is faith, the *katawan,* the *anting-anting* and "bahala na ang Diyos." The poor have nothing else but faith to see them through life's problems. And the *katawan* is an inexpensive remedy at 35 to 50 centavos each, much cheaper than a visit to the doctor.

When problems are chronic, a sustained prayer in the form of a nine-day novena is usually practised. The votive figure vendor becomes the "suki" of the person who has a problem and often becomes some kind of a shock absorber as she asks the other how she is getting along.

Both the *anting-anting* and *katawan* are people's art. The craftsmen who create these objects are anonymous; the process used are simple and economical.

The *anting-anting* is done through lost-wax process in small workshops using very simple and crude equipment. Because of constant use, the negative molds have eroded so that the linear quality of the images and inscriptions are no longer legible.

The process used in making the *katawan* is also economical. In fact, the melted wax *(pagkit)* from the burnt wax sold earlier,

are recycled. Negative molds are carved out of wood and constant use has also partially erased the features of the images.

Those who make the *anting-anting* and the *katawan* are not conscious of technical refinement or its aesthetic qualities. It has taken on a commercial purpose for the maker and the objective is to finish as many figures to sell, a means of economic production. Meanwhile, those who acquire either or both still believe in its magic.

Both forms are manifestations of faith and beliefs that go back to indigenous beliefs and practices, a fusion of two systems which adhere to the ideas of the colonizer and the viewpoint of the indigenous.

There is a social perspective, a creative perspective and a perspective which has to do with the medium itself. People's art is affected by social, economic, and aesthetic differences as much as underlying continuities of belief, imagery, and subject matter.

A conscious effort is necessary for decolonization. After all, the penetration of our hearts and minds by colonial cultures have all but anesthesized us. The people should be encouraged to think, question, reason, and create from their life experience. As a counter consciousness movement, it necessitates an awareness of issues and the need to destroy the colonial frame of mind.

It was through education that our consciousness became alien to our own culture. The American pattern of life became our models which encouraged imitativeness rather than originality, geared to a culture that we have psychologically accepted as our own, justifying it as being contemporary and international enjoying all the gloss of a canned culture that is nonetheless artificial.

Our sensibilities have become confused. We are more familiar and comfortable with western modes rather than Asian or eastern modes. A Philippine aesthetic cannot develop naturally because of the constant bombardment and continued intrusion of ideas and forms from without. Our concepts and standards of beauty are learned and acquired rather than lived and felt.

Decolonization will need some kind of internal revolution, a soul-searching that promises to be painful but inevitable if we want to survive as a people. An awareness and acceptance of the need to decolonize is the first step to authentic consciousness.

Art, being a total experience, is one medium which may be used for this purpose, the more authentic and powerful experience would be that which starts at the base.

Decolonization is possible through people's art:

1) Through documentation, preservation, revival, adaptation and popularization;
2) Through a program of conscientization of the craftsmen;
3) Through an art program that will focus the people's art, life, and culture in its curriculum.

Documentation, preservation, revival and adaptation of people's art is the initial stage of the process. A systematic collection and classification, a thorough study of people's art is necessary for us to take stock of our strength as a people. It is possible to conceptualize various programs after this initial phase, and to popularize it so that a great majority of the population will recognize the aesthetic of the people.

A second course of action is the program of conscientization of the craftsmen themselves; so that they may realize the power that they have in their hands as a people, shifting their goal from material profit to the higher goal of identity and consciousness.

Many craft communities have all but lost its tradition to meet the urgent problems and needs of a society in crisis. Such a community as Paete, for example, is rapidly being consumed by commercialism and the industrialization of handcrafts.

Paete is a town of creative people. Each household seems to be involved in one craft or the other such as wood carving, *bakya*-making or papier-mache toys (*taka*).

National consciousness does not come at all in the production of miniature wooden toys and dolls copied from printed catalogues as commissioned by wholesale purchasers from as far as Europe. Wood carvings of duck decoys, elephants, and figurative forms are done by reproduction, using machines to make the basic shape with the craftsman hand-finishing it at the end of the assembly line. Even the inexpensive *taka* sold outside church doors at fiesta time are no longer just the horse and the carabao. The giraffe and the elephant have joined the menagerie.

Economic need coupled with a disintegrated consciousness has contributed to the pollution and erosion of the authentic expression of people.

It is necessary then to raise the level of consciousness of the craftsmen themselves to counter the continued production of mindless crafts intended for the outsider but provide the insider with the outsider's images, thereby changing his own system of doing.

To further explain how a craft can evolve from its traditional form to a commercial form and then possibly to a conscious form, we will take mat-weaving as an example.

Matweaving: A Study of Contrast in Form and Content

Traditionally, the mat (*banig*) is used to sleep on, especially in many areas where raised beds are not used. The *banig* is also used like a carpet, for praying; to dry *palay* on, and lately, as a piece of art collected for display. It varies in size and quality, it can be coarse and rough but it can also be fine and soft.

Two areas are especially known for the *banig* that they produce. Those woven in Sulu and in Samar. Both have achieved recognition for their craftsmanship but they differ somewhat in technology and in content. Matweaving, because of the very nature of its process, contributes to the geometrization of forms found in its design patterns. Local culture also affects the nature and quality of the expression and the visual symbols incorporated as designs.

The Mats of Sulu and Tawi-Tawi

Matweaving is a woman's craft in Sulu and Tawi-Tawi. It is found in different parts of Sulu but Laminusa, Siasi and Ungus Matata, Tandubas are considered the best centers of matweaving in the area.

The mats of Sulu and Tawi-Tawi are double in thickness on account of a lower mat (*lapis*) which is plain and coarse, and an upper mat which is of finer weave and has a patterned design (*diam*). The size of a mat varies from 3 by 6 feet to 10 by 15 feet.

It takes about a week to prepare the fiber for weaving. First, *pandan* leaves are cut and the spines (*legget*) and center rib are removed. Then the halves are separated and rolled (*angalikid*) in a coil (*pinatoho*), tied, and placed in a pot, held down by a rock, and softened in boiling water (*billa*). Later it is dried in the sun, uncoiled and flattened with a stick (*ambuhut*). The leaves are drawn

through a small metal-bladed gauge (*jangatan*) which cuts each leaf into 4-5 narrow strips. These are loosely bundled and left in the sun before it is again soaked for 12 hours in cold water. When the fiber is dry, it is again softened with the *ambuhut*. By this time, the natural color has almost completely faded and the fiber is dyed (*angangibi*). Commercial dyes (*angibi*) of green (*gadung*), orange (*kulit*), red (*kapot*), violet (*taluk*), and blue (*bilu*) are used. After dyeing, the strips are dried in the shade to prevent fading and gently beaten to ensure softness.

Actual weaving takes from 2 to 4 weeks. Weaving begins at the middle with a special simple pattern (*amatal*). The strips are usually not long enough to reach the edge and a technique called *anugpat* is used where strips are added as continuators (*sugpat*). At the edge, the strips are knotted (*lipi*) to prevent unraveling.

All designs are directly woven into the mat. Patterns of design are never planned in advance. Because design motifs are traditional and small in number, there is a high degree of uniformity in design. There are four patterns (*sasa*):

1) stripes (*jali*)
2) vari-colored squares (*tabanas*)
3) checkered pattern in white and any other color (*kusta*)
4) zig-zag (*seko*), also known as *sasa kalis* because it is reminiscent of the wavy blade of the *kalis* (kris).

When a special design is made, a more difficult technique of weaving in the design is used (*sasapanapana*). A special border pattern (*sasadandan* or *sasaibud*) usually surrounds the inscription.

Generally, the quality of the mats is not based on the design but on the texture and softness of the weave.

In Ungus Matata, the weaver's pride was in his ability to produce more complex rhythms. Variations include long rectangles in different colors (*palang borus*); large squares in alternating colors (*kabang*), a complex zig-zag design (*binaliku*), a combination of stripes and diamonds (*balintung*); a pattern of small hexagons, and a popular pattern called *Tinabi.*

The Mats of Samar and Leyte

The Samar-Leyte mat is slightly different in technology and design from those in Sulu and Tawi-Tawi. The actual weaving cen-

ter of the area is Basey, a small coastal town in Samar, 27 kilometers from Tacloban City. It is not known when matweaving began but it is also a woman's craft in Samar.

The basic material used is the *tikug* plant. It is usually grown after rice harvest but *tikug* grows as weed with the rice in the fields. After harvest (*pagpili*), the *tikug* weeds are dried under the sun (*pagpamara*), then dyed (*pagtina*). Originally, vegetable dyes such as yellow from the *dulaw* plant and red from the *barok* tree were used, but now, synthetic dyes are used. Flattening of the fiber is done with a piece of wood before actual weaving (*paglara*).

In contrast to the Sulu process, the design is pre-sketched on the mat, after it has been woven (*pagbadlis*). A piece of chalk is used to sketch motifs such as flowers, peacocks, fruits, landscapes or the map of the Philippines. While the design motif is directly woven in Sulu, the designs in the Samar mat are embroidered (*pagpahut*). The designer suggests colors but the weaver and the one who embroiders may change the colors as they prefer. Buri is used as the embroidery material because it is softer than *tikug*.

Earlier design motifs were the hibiscus flower (*gumamela*) and landscapes of a farm, mountain and a nipa hut. Lately, other motifs have been added such as roses, dahlias, and orchids, the peacock, map of the Philippines, and the San Juanico bridge.

Representational motifs require a sketch but checkered patterns are also made without previous plan. Recent mats also carry designs that have been influenced by mats from Sulu but while the mats from Sulu are lighter in hues, the Samar checkered mats are heavier and colors are brighter. Border outlines are also used to frame central motifs.

Although bright and vivid colors are preferred, economic conditions have affected design trends. Design motifs have been embroidered using only natural and undyed fiber, creating a monochromatic scheme which is less costly and can be completed at a shorter time.

The mats of Basey are considered special. Many buy these as gifts for weddings, birthdays and special occasions. Monograms of the recipients, "His & Hers," or "Recuerdo" have been made to order. It has become such a special craft that designs conceived cater to the demands of the buyer or of souvenir hunters, tourists, and collectors.

And while it remains a people's art as a craft, most of the consumers are those who can afford the price.

There is a slight difference in the processes used by the two areas in the weaving of mats but the greatest difference is in the design motifs used. The difference is basically cultural. With the difference in material and process came the difference in quality. Culturally, the matweavers of Sulu are Muslims and traditionally use geometric rather than representational motifs. In contrast, the weavers of Samar-Leyte region come from a Hispanized area and use motifs that are representational.

Commercialization of Tradition

Whereas the *banig* was originally intended for home use, it has also become "art" bought by local and foreign connoisseurs for display in their homes. This has contributed to the commercialization of the craft which has in turn changed the attitude of the craftsman towards the craft. When the craftsman wove mats for home use, he made sure it was durable and colorful. As the product became popular and in demand among consumers from the craftman's own social group, the product assumed a new function, that of community, so that the quality diminished to meet the demand and keep the supply going.

Both Sulu and Samar matweavers have now been affected by the open-ended nature of our culture. While motifs used to be traditionally geometric in Sulu, it now produces mats as well as woven wall hangings with motifs that are representational. Both areas still weave traditionally where technique is concerned, but both areas have adapted motifs more likely to be sold in the contemporary market.

In Sulu, a contemporary rendering of a landscape, almost descriptive of the area and its life and people, is used. The design is interesting but one doubts the authenticity of the motif as a natural expression of a people. It could very well be the design concept of one who studied design. In Samar, themes for the *banig* are made to order and lately, motifs such as the San Juanico bridge are popular, as evidence of the adaptation to contemporary life.

We see the people creating an art that is not entirely theirs because content no longer comes from within but is made to order from without, to meet economic demands.

The original function and motivation for creation is lost in meeting the demands for products which have taken on a commercial nature so that motifs and images may not even be significant to the person creating the piece.

Decolonization: A Conscious Form

As tradition continues in people's art, the content evolves in process and tradition becomes dynamic and can rightfully be referred to as a living tradition.

A living tradition implies a dynamic energy of a continuing tradition, changing in process yet retaining its tradition without being fossilized. As a living tradition, people's art, by way of technology, form, and content continues to provide meaning for both the producer and the consumer.

It is with this in mind that the process of decolonization is possible. The craftsman, if decolonized, will help hasten social transformation and provide the impetus for the decolonization of other minds.

First, it is important to recognize and become aware of our colonial consciousness so that we can provide concrete steps for social change. It will require great effort on those who will take on this proposed course of action, putting efforts and energy together to liberate our consciousness from colonial hang-ups and work together in capturing the spirit of the people, concretizing and objectifying it in different forms of expression. If it is possible to have contemporary motifs using the age-old tradition of mat-weaving, then it is possible to weave mats that will document and express insights from life perceived by the people themselves. The recording of these perceptions in the weaving of mats will actually document our history visually. It will provide future generations with important visual evidence of our history as recorded by unknown artists who, in effect, will be the recorders of our history. Motifs, subject matter, or themes to be produced should not be dictated to the craftsman. It is necessary for the craftsmen themselves to become conscious of the situation, to critically think of their socio-economic and historical processes so that they may express their own thoughts, ideas, and feelings about lived experiences, and for them to use their own symbols and images in the depiction of these experiences.

Motifs that depict local history, graphic analysis of society, contemporary news events and actual village experiences should be used more than those motifs which are stale, obsolete and empty. This is true not only for matweaving but for other crafts as well.

The potential of such a movement cannot be underestimated because it will draw from the power of a people's spirit and provide a dynamic force in the formation of a national consciousness. But before this can happen, there has to be a group of dedicated persons who will work with people. Their approach should be different from the middleman who imposes specific design to craftsmen for profit. The group who will implement such a program should consider the people and their culture even in the conceptual framework of the program itself. They should be people who can appreciate the aesthetic and technology of people's art even if the standards are different from those they have learned before. This dialectic manner of working with people will allow both of these groups to learn from each other and hopefully evolve a people-based aesthetic.

The Botswana Experience

A similar movement has been initiated in Botswana, Africa. Stories about the life of the people are woven into tapestries or wall hangings as part of a program of conscientization.

1) *On Drought*: If rain doesn't come, there will be drought and the life of the people becomes grim because of too much heat and little water.

2) *On Women*: A woman is on her feet the whole day. She does different tasks. In a poem on women, she is asked: "You're doing everything—what else don't you do?"

3) *On Woman*: The meaning of woman is often underestimated and because she is ordinary, she is not noticed. The woman provides light in the home and a lot of her tasks cannot be paid with corals or gold. She has a central role in society.

4) *Exodus of children*: This particular visual example shows how Botswana has been the refugee center for neighboring countries (South Africa, Namibya, Angola, and Zimbabwe). The theme shows the escape of 300 schoolchildren altogether in buses as they went over the border. This particular exodus has not yet been surpassed.

5) *On Mine workers*: The employment rate in a mining area in Botswana grows as production grows. Thousands are sent to the mining areas in South Africa, which is a bitter necessity.

For months, the mine workers' families are fatherless as they work in the mines. They are not allowed to go home after working hours. The daily wage earnings does not last from morning to evening but the workers continue to work.

6) *About tradition*: What is the value of a marriage if it is not talked about? My husband will never be home anyway because he can find work only outside the country. Our marriage will become very expensive because of wedding traditions: the bride's dowry, the wedding gown, the reception.

The example of Botswana is an inspiration for all people who have been colonized and who suffer on account of their colonial history, notwithstanding present conditions of neo-colonialism. There are many ways and means of fighting the problem of identity and consciousness, the best place to start is at home, and from the people themselves—with the language of their hands, hearts and minds, and their art.

In effect, the encouragement of the production of conscious forms implies a micro-media counterculture movement of educating the craftsman in terms of perceiving the actual realities of their socio-cultural environment. All aspects of production need to be studied so that the craftsman, while conscious of his form and content, will also be able to think of the economic aspect of production.

As technology and skill of the craftsman is developed, raising the artistic level of the works, it likewise becomes a document of the life of the people with their own perceptions and insights inextricably woven into the form.

A third program of action for decolonization through people is to consciously Filipinize the art programs in schools, on all levels: primary, secondary, and tertiary. This does not limit itself to mean the mere use of Philippine materials as subject, nor the use of indigenous, natural, and economical materials available in the local market but a conscious effort to change attitudes and expectations with regard to education through the arts.

Instead of imposing standards of other cultures with the teachers providing the criteria, the learners need to be allowed to articulate and verbalize the visual expressions they themselves created or the visual perceptions that they have of their environment.

The general concern of art programs in most of our schools has been materials and techniques, the production of works which

are brilliantly colored with focus on skill for those schools which have a budget. In the meantime, pallid and timid works come from schools which have no budget. Art is not a matter of materials alone but the power of the expression. If the one who creates has something to say, then the work will be powerful even if he were to use a piece of charcoal.

An overemphasis in the learning of skill and technique limits the learner's capacity for expressing ideas, insights, and feelings or for the exploration of thought out themes based on actual realities. Many art programs are perceived as a luxury course that develop originality, spontaneity, and creativity. Many do not see it as a serious medium of education where learning is total because the creation of art is a whole experience of both mind and senses.

To decolonize through art programs would require a training program for teachers and the making of a curriculum that will have for its core the history and conditions of Philippine life and culture from the point of view of the people. This proposed program will study the art of the people in their community and the community at large. It will include the learning of crafts which are traditional and all creative work and exercises on sensory perception will be based on the specific culture of the learner. Such a curriculum will help learners recognize the worth, potential, limitations, and problems of culture.

Decolonization through people's art implies a campaign against a culture of ignorance. Focusing on the art of the people hopes to surface the needs, aspirations, and frustrations of the people. And by revitalizing and popularizing people's art, it may yet be a potent and dynamic force in the remaking of our history.

END NOTES

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POSSIBILITIES OF BEHAVIORAL CHANGES IN A COMPLETED DEVELOPMENT PROJECT: SOME CONCEPTUAL CONSIDERATIONS

Mayu T. Munarriz

ABSTRACT

This paper presents a hypothesis that behavioral change may be used to evaluate government development projects. It defined behavioral change as change in man's generalized character and actions as a result of changes in income, education, land ownership and degree of urbanization. Different ways of affecting behavioral change were examined and a simple model for inducing behavioral change from a traditional to a modern direction was formulated.

I. *INTRODUCTION*

A. *Background*

The most common evaluation approach being used in many government housing projects is the Social Cost-Benefit Analysis which measures the return on investment to society. This looks into the increase in future income of a community, say, increase in land value or increase in structural value. This approach, however, is limited because it fails to consider an important area of social benefits, namely, the behavioral change that occurs as a result of the implementation of a development project. This behavioral change may be an increase in preference for future consumption, productive activities, e.g., studying or greater access to formal institutions, e.g., banks or health centers. Thus, failure to include behavioral change as a social gain in project evaluation implies an underestimation of the social benefits of the development project.

Analysis of behavioral change looks into the social benefits of a project qualitatively. But, existing studies have not included this. For example, the Tondo Foreshore Housing Development Project in the Philippines which introduced a land ownership program and

improved the area's educational, health and credit institutions was evaluated according to the following: increase in land value (National Housing Authority, 1982), increase in structural value (Jimenez, 1983), housing consolidation (Reforma, 1981), efficiency in serving the targeted population (Lindauer, 1981) and cost recoverability of the project and affordability levels of the residents (Loanzon, 1978). Thus, this is an area where little research has been undertaken and studies that aim to evaluate housing development projects by considering behavioral changes following its implementation can be a great contribution to the analysis of this little-known area of project evaluation.

B. *Significance*

Looking into the social benefits of behavioral changes occuring as a result of a housing development project will then be significant in the following:

1. It offers a new perspective to project evaluation. Examining project benefits through behavioral changes goes beyond the standard procedure of project evaluation.
2. It would complement the findings through Cost-Benefit Analysis, because of its failure to consider an important area of social benefits, namely, the occurrence of behavioral change due to the influence of a development project.
3. An empirical study on this could provide more indepth information to practitioners and theorists in the field of Urban and Regional Planning.

II. *REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND DEFINITION OF TERMS*

A. *Human Behavior and Behavioral Change*

Human behavior[1] has been defined in many ways by different disciplines. An economist would view human behavior as the preference patterns of individuals in response to external variables in the economy, e.g., market prices, wages and availability of resources (Squire, et. al., 1975). An environmental psychologist looks at the physical form of an individual's surroundings as influencing his behavior (Mercer, 1975; Craik, 1968). While a sociologist sees behavior as the manner of individuals in relation to other individuals within and outside their community which have both social and cultural considerations (Ehrilch, 1969).

This paper defines human behavior as the generalized character manifested by overt action in relation to one's environment. It defines behavioral change as change in human behavior due to changes in external factors, e.g., income, education, land ownership or some degree of urbanization.

B. *Traditional vs. Modern Behavior*

There are many types of individuals manifesting different actions but, schematically, human behavior may be classified into traditional and modern.

In Guthrie's (1971) study of the rural Philippines, traditional and modern behavior was described as follows: In the less advanced parts of the rural areas, he found that the major activity of the people revolves around the production and distribution of food. Each housewife makes daily purchases in small quantities because of no refrigeration facilities and because income is earned on a daily basis. With this habit, even rice which could be stored for a period of time is purchased in small quantities to meet one or two days' needs. Thus, each vendor, like the housewife-buyer, gets enough to keep him going until the next day. This results to having no large-scale nor wholesale marketing structure. In addition, because of poor transportation and roads, commodities may sell for virtually nothing since there is no mechanism to distribute them to nearby areas where demand may be greater. Thus, people often take to the market even part of what would have gone for their own diet. The shipments are small and profits are very little to cover the cost of the trip. Industries, as a rule, are small and cater only to local needs. Education is usually available only in the elementary level. The whole picture is of subsistence marketing in which individuals seek enough to carry themselves through the day. There is no savings nor growth in these enterprises, since, traditional behavior prevails.

In the more advanced areas where modern behavior was observed, many are land owners because ownership of useful land is the main source of wealth. Thus, one can be sure that owners of large modern houses in the town have land in the "barrios" (less developed areas in the province). Many of the people in the more advanced rural areas are professional and almost all encourage their children to seek advanced degrees. There are major roads which are usually the principal stops or terminals of major bus routes. With relatively better transportation system than the less advanced

areas, goods and people move much more quickly and cheaply, commercial and credit transactions are more advanced and exchange of ideas and news flourish.

This paper defines traditional and modern behavior with respect to savings and consumption patterns, preference on productive and non-productive activities and avail of formal and informal institutions. A modern individual tries to improve his savings and consumption patterns by having higher levels of monetary savings for his future. He gives higher priority to productive activities, say work and study, over non-productive activities like leisure. He understands the advantages of utilizing formal institutions, e.g., hospitals and banks over informal institutions, e.g., faith healers and piggy-banks. A traditional individual, on the other hand, gives priority to higher levels of consumption, greater time allotment to non-productive activities and more priority to availing of informal institutions.

C. *Direction of Change in Human Behavior*

Studies show that people's behavior changes towards modernization in the course of development. Bailey (1957), showed the effect of raising the economic status of castes with the opening of a new road because it, in turn, opened many farming areas of Far East Africa. Thus, castes which made use of the new road benefited from it while those which did not, did not benefit.

Maynard (1976) evaluated the Muong Phieng Cluster Program in Laos. The program provided improvements in physical and social infrastructure, e.g., roads, schools, medical facilities and rice mills. The following behavioral changes were seen:

1. Increase in school attendance;
2. Increase in pig and duck raising and livestock sales;
3. Means of transportation shifted from the use of horses to motor vehicles;
4. Monetization, use of money or credit, became important in purchasing fertilizers, insecticides, water pumps, buffaloes, etc.;
5. Villagers began to use radio communications, library and newspaper facilities and started to purchase radio receivers;
6. Villagers became more tolerant of their neighbors and the children were less intimidated by visitors; and

7. New standards appropriate to middle-class services and leaders of the community emerged and elections were accepted.

Leaf (1983), in his study of the development package in a village in Punjab known as the "green revolution" observed the following behavioral changes:

1. New varieties of crops have been adopted which responded more productively to larger amounts of fertilizers and water supplies than the old varieties of crops;
2. Farmers market more of their produce relative to their own consumption;
3. Greater willingness to adopt to institutions outside of the village, e.g., availing of well pumps in the fields;
4. Greater willingness to adopt to formal institutions for crime control, say, relying on the police;
5. Utilization of farm tractors;
6. Introduction of the flat rate system of work and wages which eliminated advanced negotiations before work is done in the field;
7. With a clearer definition of land ownership laws, villagers started to save money to buy extra land that was coming on the market from other nearby villages; and
8. Membership in the village cooperative became universal through which collections of credit were made.

Jere (1984) studied Lusaka in Zambia by examining citizen participation in planning and decision-making. He observed that the squatter families voluntarily dug water trenches for their communities in the early stage of the development projects. They received monetary credit from the government for this and made further investments for more modern societies:

1. Residents of Nyerere Compound used the amount of money to construct a clinic for the health education of the community members and other needs;
2. Residents of Desai Compound built a day care center; residents of Garden Compound built a clinic and self-help market; and
3. Residents of Chaisa built a clinic.

Silas (1984) studied the Kampung Improvement Program of Indonesia. He made a comparative study of Jakarta and Surabaya.

The program made improvements on general public works which included roads and footpaths. It was observed that after the footpaths were constructed, individual households along it started planting trees and flowers, provided garbage cans, installed street lighting using their individual houses' electricity as the source of lighting. In other areas, the residents provided community meeting halls and guard houses. They held periodic communal cleaning activities for the maintenance of environmental quality.

Hunter (1969) studied man's history in society and showed that the general trend of development is towards economic growth. He compared the peasant societies of Asia and Africa and summarized the different stages of development in terms of the following:

1. The first stage is the traditional society that has strong attachments to religion, primitive farming and low level of education;
2. The second stage is partial modernization which involves tension. This is because the society is split in half between the rewards offered by new ways and fears attached to old ways;
3. The final stage is the society's commitment to the rewards and risks of new ways and then, the rules and methods of developed economic and administration begin to fit.

III. *FACTORS THAT INDUCE CHANGE*

What are the factors that bring about a transition from traditional to modern behavior? Among these are the following: human interaction, mass media, land ownership, education, degree of urbanization and housing development project.

A. *Effects of Human Interaction*

In the world, people interact and influence one another causing changes in their behavior. In the process of behavioral change, traditional individuals learn a series of behavioral actions of modern individuals according to their own interpretations, as they interact with the latter. An interesting and somewhat mystifying aspect of this is that the learning of the acts of the other may, and usually does, take place without overt practice. That is, the acts of the other may be incorporated in incipient or latent behavioral mobilization that appear in overt manifestations only when

the situational context is so structured that A, say, finds himself in the position of B, whereupon he behaves as B did when A was acting his own position (Cottrell, 1969). This is commonly known as the influence of B over A. Such may, later, cause A to change preferences which could be similar to B's manner of living. Willingness to change will be defined as a manifested shift in behavior, assuming everything else is constant.

An evaluation of behavioral change by examining the effects of human interaction, nonetheless, is longitudinal and generalizations are difficult to make because this kind of approach will have to be done on a person to person basis.

B. *Effects of Mass Media*

Mass media accelerates the rate of change and has brought about a change in the imagery of ambition. People can slowly learn to want more money as an end in itself, the new consumer "durables" of the last few decades, e.g., radios, refrigerator, bicycles, even cars, have greatly reduced traditional wantlessness of the impoverished and have brought women as well as men into the orbit of desire (Lerner, 1958). However, mass media does not discriminate the particular types of people it tries to influence. All income groups are exposed to the same kind of advertisement or news at the same time. Thus, isolation of behavioral changes, say, from traditional to modern, of a certain group of individuals may not be possible.

C. *Effects of Land Ownership*

In the evaluation of Tondo Foreshore through the Hedonic Pricing approach (Jimenez, 1983), it was found that the residents improved the quality of their housing units soon after land ownership. The author, however, did not go further into finding out whether such improvements have been considered as a social gain, say, in increasing one's financial stability and credibility and in turn, gaining access to other institutions. For instance, in the Philippines, collateral in the form of real estate is a prerequisite for obtaining loan from formal financing institutions. Thus, behavior in terms of increased savings and undertaking of productive investments may be observed.

D. *Effects of Education*

Education is believed to be a great factor in bringing about changes. First, in one's future income—higher education leads to

higher skill levels and in turn, higher income. The study of Psacharopoulos (1973) on the income earned by Filipinos with different levels of education showed that income levels of those with high school education were about 60% higher than those with elementary school education. Second, higher education allows greater access to a wider range of information, e.g., employment opportunities. Third, higher education may change in one's preferences, e.g., greater allocation of time to income-generating activities. Fourth, higher education may encourage better nutritional and hygiene habits, say, greater utilization of professional medical service, due to a better knowledge of its advantages. Better health, in turn, allows a higher productivity and thus, higher income.

From the above, education can induce behavioral change and can be examined with other variables, e.g., land ownership.

E. *Effects of Degree of Urbanization*

Degree of urbanization refers to the degree of availability of infrastructure say, electric and water supply systems, roads, drainage and sewer systems which may induce behavioral change over time. For example, electricity may encourage schooling individuals to study for longer hours; water supply, drainage and sewer systems may encourage better sanitary practices; and roads may give access to area linkages with more urbanized or developed centers around or near an undeveloped area, and may give access to market as sources of employment opportunities and information. There may also be greater contact with other members of the community, hence, more community involvement, etc. Thus, a certain degree of urbanization can also cause behavioral change.

F. *Effects of a Housing Development Project*

In a development project, say in housing, several improvements can be introduced in a package. That is, improvements in economic, physical and social institutions may be done simultaneously where the total social organization of the community can be changed towards modernization. For example, a housing development project may provide land ownership, infrastructure and basic facilities, proper amenities, e.g., schools and health centers, and job training programs. Thus, it is possible that particular types of behavioral changes may occur and its impact may be on the modernization of the residents of the community.

A housing development project seems to be a comprehensive and deliberate policy for bringing about change in human behavior. Thus, if the government of say, a developing country observes behavioral changes, from traditional to modern, after a housing development project has been implemented in say a squatter community, a policy of more investment on housing development projects will be undertaken.

IV. *BEHAVIOR IN AN URBAN SQUATTER AREA*

It is possible for traditional types of individuals to persist in a squatter area even if they stay in an urban area. This is because a squatter's area though situated in a city, is isolated by special conditions that prevent the dwellers from benefiting from the fruits of urbanization. As discussed above, the different factors related with modern behavior are lacking. In more concrete terms,

A. Their incomes are much lower than the urban average;
B. Their levels of education and skills are low and hence, income levels are low;
C. They squat on land that is not their own and have very little stock of physical assets;
D. The land they squat on is undeveloped where proper amenities and basic facilities are not provided;
E. The area they live in is congested and unconducive to healthy living; and,
F. They live in an area that lacks the infrastructure and other facilities that characterize an urban environment.

Thus, one can expect that traditional behavior will prevail in an urban squatter area. Transition to modern behavior, however, may be induced by bringing about a change in the form of better and higher education, increase in ownership of physical assets, e.g., land, urbanized infrastructure including educational and medical facilities.

V. *CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION*

From the above considerations, housing development projects which provide land ownership, infrastructure, basic facilities, proper amenities and job training programs may bring about behavioral changes among the residents from a traditional way of life to a modern way of life.

In other words, we conclude that behavior is a function of income, education, land ownership program and the degree of urbanization of the environment. This is formally expressed as:

B = f(Y, E, L, DU) where,
B: Behavior
Y: Income
E: Education
L : Land Ownership Program
DU: Degree of Urbanization

It is recommended that post evaluation studies of housing projects on behavioral changes be given greater attention because of the long-run benefits that may be expected.

END NOTE

Studies have shown that human behavior is sometimes contradictory to human attitude (Kaji, Geronimo and Palma, 1981; Guthrie, 1971). That is, what individuals intend to do, many times are not reflected in their actions. However, if attitude is seen to include beliefs, intentions and actions (Ehrlich, 1969), human behavior could be a part of human attitude. Thus, behavior and attitude may not be contradictory, rather, complementary to each other.

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