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Dalawang Mukha ng Kasaysayan sa Silangang Mindanaw

B. R. Rodil

Ang binhi ng pag-aaral na ito ay isang tanong: Papaano tayo nasupil ng mga kolonyalistang Kastila sa ating sariling lupa at tayo ay laging nakararami?

Hindi ko hangad na masagot nang buong-buo ang tanong na ito. Ang tanging layunin ko ay makapagbigay ng panimulang sagot at giya para sa karagdagang pananaliksik.

Pinili ko ang teritoryo na ngayo'y tumutugma sa dalawang probinsya ng Agusan, dalawang probinsya ng Surigao, at hilagang bahagi ng Davao Oriental sa sumusunod na mga dahilan. Una, dito nangyari ang pinakamatingkad na pag-alsa at pagtutol ng mga tao laban sa mga Kastila (maliban sa pakikibaka ng mga Moro). Pangalawa, dito nagkaugat nang malalim ang Kristiyanismo bunga ng halos walang patlang na misyon ng mga Agustinong Recoleta at mga Hesuwita. At pangatlo, dito maituturing na matatag ang pagkakatayo ng kolonyalismong Kastila.

Ang pag-aaral ay nakatutok sa dalawang bahagi. Ang unang bahagi ay tungkol sa pakikihamok ng mga tao laban sa mga Kastila, at ang ikalawang bahagi ay tungkol sa pagtanggap ng mga tao sa pananampalataya ng mga Kastila. Sa pagtatabi ng dalawang ito ay inaasahang mabibigyan ng kaukulang pansin ang dalawang mukha ng ating kasaysayan.

Mukha ng pakikihamok

Ang armadong pagsalungat ng mga Lumad sa mga Kastila ay maaaring hatiin sa dalawang panahon. Ang una ay ang pakikibaka sa panahon ng mga Agustinong Recoleta na sumasaklaw sa mga taong 1600-1650, at ang ikalawa ay ang pakikibaka sa panahon ng mga Hesuwita na sumasaklaw sa mga taong 1870-1885.

Ginamit na palatandaang yugto ang panahon ng misyon ng mga Recoleta at Hesuwita sa dahilang ang kanilang mga ulat ang pangunahing pinagkukunan ng datos. Bukod sa mga Lumad, sila rin ang pangunahing tauhan sa kasaysayan ng Silangang Mindanaw.

Unang pagsasagupa, 1609 at 1613

Ayon kay Majul (1973), ang mga taga-Caraga sa Silangang Mindanaw ay kasama sa mga ganting-salakay ng mga Muslim sa mga lugar na nasakop ng mga Kastila sa Silangang Bisaya. Noong 1602-03 ang pag-atakeng pinamunuan nina Datu Buisan ng Magindanaw at Rajah Sironan ng Buayan na binuo ng 145 na sasakyang dagat ay kinabilangan ng mga taga-Ternate, mga Sangil, mga taga-Tagolanda, Magindanawon, at taga-Basilan. Sa kanilang pag-uwi ay dumaan at nagpista sila sa Caraga. Noong 1608, ang puwersang pinamunuan ni Datu Buisan na binuo ng animnapu't pitong sasakyan ay kinabilangan ng mga taga-Caraga. Noong 1609, ang grupo ni Datu Pagdalanum na umatake sa Leyte at Samar ay binuo ng mga taga-Magindanaw, Sangil, Ternate, at Caraga. Sa sumada ng mga Kastila, ang mga bihag na nakuha ng mga pananalakay ng mga Muslim at ng kanilang mga kaalyado sa loob ng limang taon, 1599-1604, ay humigit kumulang sa 800 bawat taon (Majul, 121-122).

Bunsod ng mga pangyayaring ito, nagpasiya ang mga Kastila na magtalaga ng garison sa silangang baybayin ng Mindanaw. Ang desisyong ito ay nakapaloob sa konteksto ng sagupaan ng mga Muslim at Kastila at pangmalawakang estratehiya ng mga Kastila laban sa mga Muslim.

Sa utos ni Gobernador Heneral Juan de Silva, isang plota na binuo ng 400 Kastila at mga “Indio” ang sumalakay sa Caraga. Nagtagumpay ang mga Kastila at napalaya nila ang 1,500 bihag na Kristiyano sa Tandag na ngayo’y isang munisipalidad sa Surigao del Sur. Kaagad nagtayo ng isang kuta o garison ang mga Kastila sa Tandag.¹

Noong 1613, naglunsad ng isang malaking pag-aalsa ang mga taga-Caraga na kinabilangan ng 3,000 katao. Pinalibutan at kinubkob nila ang kuta ng mga Kastila. Kundi pa dumating ang saklolo mula sa Maynila, di malayong nalipol ang garison. Muli na namang nagtagumpay ang mga Kastila, nagkaroon ng pag-uusap, at ang mga kasanib ng pag-aalsa ay pinatawad ng mga awtoridad.²

Sino ang mga taga-Caraga?

Batay sa mangilan-ngilang detalye na ating nakalap, ang mga taga-Caraga o Caraganes ay mga Mandaya na nakatira sa silangang bahagi ng Mindanaw. Hindi sila Muslim, subalit sila'y nagbabayad noon ng buwis sa mga Magindanawon na natigil lamang nang dumating ang mga Kastila. Ang kanilang wika ay hawig sa Sebuano.

Pag-aalsa sa silangang baybayin, 1629-1631

Taong 1629 nang magsimula ang rebelyon ng mga taga-Caraga subalit walang detalye sa ulat ng mga prayle tungkol dito maliban sa pagkakaroon ng maramihang pagpatay, pagnanakaw, at pagsusuwail. Sa kanilang pagtalakay sa pinagsimulan ng pag-aalsa, sinabi ng mga prayle na talagang mababagsik ang mga taga-Caraga at mahilig sa pakikidigma.³ Naragdagan pa ang kanilang lakas-loob sa ipinamalas ng mga taga-Jolo na bagama't nagbabayad ng buwis ay tahasan pa ring nag-alsa laban sa mga Kastila. Ganito rin ang naging epekto ng kahinaan ipinakita ng mga Kastila sa mga pagsalakay na isinagawa ng mga taga-Jolo sa Luzon at Bisaya.⁴

Sa pagsugpo sa rebelyon, naging magaspang ang mga Kastila na pinamunuan ni Kapitan Pedro Bautista sa pakikitungo sa mga mamamayan. Sa isang pagsalakay noong 04 Hulyo 1631, kung saan kasama umano ang sampung pinakamahusay na sundalo at lahat ng mga datu sa baybayin, pati na si Fray Jacinto de Jesus Maria bilang kapelyan (chaplain), labing-anim ang nabihag ng mga Kastila sa Bapangano. Subalit pito sa mga bihag ay pinakawalan ni Dumblag, isa sa mga datu na kasama nila. Nang malaman ng Kastilang Kapitan Bautista ang nangyari, inaresto niya si Dumblag. Nang dalawin si Dumblag ng kanyang kamag-anak na si Valintos na isa ring datu, inireklamo ni Dumblag ang kaapihang kanyang naranasan. Nangako si Valintos na ipaghiganti niya ito.⁵

Inakyat ni Valintos si Kapitan Bautista sa bahay nito at pinatay sa pamamagitan ng saksak. Pagkatapos ay nagpunta siya at ang kanyang mga kasamahan kay Padre Jacinto at pinagsasaksak ang pari ng sibat.⁶ Isinunod nina Valintos ang mga natirang Kastila. Nagtuloy sila sa Tago kung saan sila ay nagpista. Iniutos ni Mangabo na batingtingin ang kampana tulad ng pagtatawag sa misa. “Dumalo kayo,” wika raw

niya, “sa misa ni Padre Mangabo.” Sa simbahan, isang babae, si Maria Campan na iginagalang ay bihis at nangwisik ng tubig sa mga naroroon. “Ako si Padre Jacinto,” wika raw nito. Dumampot naman si Mangabo ng krusipiho, binali ang mga kamay ng imahen at buong paghahamong sinabi: “Lumaban ka, Diyos ng mga Kastila, tingnan ko kung ikaw ay kasing tapang ko.” Pagkatapos ay binunot niya ang kanyang balaraw at tinaga ang imahen sa mukha. Isang mas malaking krusipiho ang kanyang pinagtatadtad ng palakol. Pagkatapos ay kinulimbat nila ang kumbento at simbahan. Pinatay rin nila si Diego Salingat na isang utusan sa kumbento.⁷

Tatlong araw silang nagsaya sa Tago, pagkatapos ay nagtuloy sila sa Tandag.

Sa pamumuno ni Mangabo ay kaagad nilang napipilan ang depensa ng Tandag. Nabiyak ang ulo ni Fray Alonso de San Jose sa isang taga ng kampilan. Si Dacxa, isang datu roon, ang namuno sa pagtatanggol, subalit nalaman sa bandang huli na kasama rin pala siya sa rebelyon. Kasunod na bumulagta si Fray Juan de Santo Tomas. Nilimas at sinunog ng mga rebelde ang kumbento.⁸

Noong 21 Hulyo, sinibat ng mga rebelde si Fray Pedro de San Antonio ng Bacuag na inabutan nila sa pantalan ng isang Don Diego Amian. Kinaladkad ng mga rebelde ang kanyang katawan at ibinalibag sa ilog.⁹

Noong 22 Hulyo, sa Bacuag pa rin, pinatay ng mga rebelde, sa pamumuno ni Zancalan na anak ni Mangabo, ang tatlong Kastila at binihag ang dalawang relihiyoso na sina Padre Lorenzo de San Facundo at Fray (Hermano) Francisco de San Fulgencio. Pinangakuan sila ni Zancalan na dadalhin sila nito ng buhay kay Mangabo sa Tago.¹⁰

Subalit nang dumating sila sa Tago noong ika-28 ng Hulyo, biglang lumuhod si Mangabo at buong pagmamahal na pinaghahalikan ang mga kamay ng mga pari. Itong si Mangabo ay binansagang “buwaya ng Tago” dahil sa kanyang malahiganteng laki at pabugsu-bugsong timplada (temper.) Ngayon, paulit-ulit siyang humingi ng paumanhin sa pagkakapatay sa ibang mga prayle at sa mga Kastila. Nangako siyang ipagtatanggol ang mga pari habang siya ay nabubuhay. Bilang patunay, nagsagawa siya noon din ng isang sandugo. Sinugatan niya ng kanyang balaraw ang bandang ibaba ng kanyang tiyan, at pagkatapos ay inatasan ang kanyang anak na si Zancalan na sahurin ang dugo sa isang sisidlan na may alak. Paawit na sumumpa siya sa mga diwata. Ininom niya ang alak na may dugo at ipinatong ang sisidlan sa kanyang ulo at muling umawit.

Niyakap niya si Padre Lorenzo at ipinatong ang kanyang tubaw sa ulo nito. Nang hingin ng ibang mga datu ang dalawang pari upang isakripisyo ang mga ito, tumanggi si Mangabo. Ang ibang mapilit ay pinalayas niya.¹¹ Ang mga kalis at iba pang gamit sa simbahan na kinuha ng mga rebelde sa Tandag at Bacuag ay isinauli sa mga prayle, ganoon din ang dalawang krusipiho, isa na rito yaong pinutulan ng kamay at nabiyak ang mukha. Ang una na yari sa bronse ay iniregalo ni Padre Lorenzo kay Zancalan. Si Maria Campan na may kinurakot din ay buong pagsisising nagsauli ng kanyang mga kinuha. Sapagkat may sakit ang pari, ipinahatid ito ni Mangabo sa Caraga upang magamot, samantalang si Fray Francisco ay naiwan upang siyang gumarantiya sa grupo sakaling may mga Kastilang dumating. Tinubos siya pagkatapos.¹²

Samantala, dumating si Valintos sa Butuan upang patayin si Fray Juan de San Augustin na siyang namamahala sa kumbento ng Linao sa may ulo ng ilog Agusan. May dala rin siyang mga sulat para sa mga datu ng Agusan upang himukin ang mga ito na sumama sa rebelyon sa ngalan ni (Sultan) Kudarat.¹³ Sa bandang ilaya ng ilog Agusan, isang babaeng naging Kristiyana na iginagalang at maimpluwensiya ang sumalungat sa nilalaman ng sulat. Sapat na ang kanyang pagsalungat upang tumutol na rin ang iba. Si Fray Juan naman ay kanyang pinasamahan sa Butuan kung saan walang naging epekto ang mga sulat. Nanatiling tapat sa pananampalataya ang mga tao roon. Nagprusisyon pa sila patungo sa kumbento upang ipahayag sa mga prayle ang kanilang katapatan. Ang mga datu at ang kani-kanilang pamilya ay nanatili sa kumbento kasama ng mga pari.¹⁴

Galit na lumisan si Valintos. Subalit kahit na karamihan ay tutol sa pag-aalsa, may mangilan-ngilan pa ring diskontento tulad ng piskal ng Butuan. Pinatay nito ang kargador ng kumbento at kundi sa maagap na pagsaklolo ng mga datu ay nalagay sana sa panganib ang buhay ng Prior (Padre Superyor) na si Fray Diego de Santa Ana. May mga komunidad ding naakit sa rebelyon tulad ni Mañan Galan, datu ng Abucay. Isang Sumulay ang inatasang pumatay sa prayle ngunit ito ay nahuli, at naiulat na namatay. Dahil sa naging magandang halimbawang ito ng mga taga-Butuan, nagkaroon na rin ng lakas-loob ang ibang mga komunidad na manatiling tapat sa pananampalataya.¹⁵

Samantala mula sa Tandag, pumunta si Fray Jacinto de San Fulgencio sa Cebu upang humingi ng saklolo. Nakapadala naman ang huli ng kaunti, kaya't naging diplomatiko ang mga Kastila sa umpisa at hindi

kaagad nagpataw ng mga parusa sa mga nahuhuling rebelde. Kasama si Mangabo sa listahan ng mga dapat parusahan subalit masigasig siyang ipinagtanggol ng mga prayle. Siya'y pinatawad at di naglao'y nagpabinyag, ganoon din ang kanyang mga kamag-anakan. Malaking bagay ang halimbawa ni Mangabo sa pagsugpo sa rebelyon. Siya'y kinagugulatan sa buong silangang baybayin at ang kanyang pagpapabinyag ay sapat daw upang magsitigil ang iba sa pag-aalsa.

Maraming kuwentong kababalaghan ang nagsulputan pagkatapos ng rebelyon. Ang kamay raw ng rebeldeng pumaslang kay Fray Alonso de San Jose ay sinakmal ng isang buwaya, dahilan upang ito'y magsisi sa kanyang mga pagkakasala at magpabinyag pagkatapos. Ang pumatay kay Fray Pedro de San Antonio ay namatay na nagsisisi pagkatapos niyang sumuko. Ang isang bahagi ng nawasak na krusipiho na ginawang panggatong ay di raw nauubos. Apat na rebeldeng kumain ng kanin na niluto sa krusipiho ay nagsisabog. Isa pang krusipiho ang ipinangatong ngunit hindi nasunog. Si Datu Salimbong ng Bacuag na balita sa dunong at pang-unawa ay nagprisintang maging Kristiyano, kasama ang isandaan nitong mga tauhan. Tulad ng kaso ni Mangabo, ang halimbawa ng datung ito ay nakatulong nang malaki sa pagbabalik ng kapayapaan.¹⁶

Ang mga Kastila ay hindi lamang umasa sa tulong ng Maykapal. Upang makasiguro na mananatili ang kapayapaan, nagtayo sila ng matitibay na kuta o garison. Naniniwala sila na malaki rin ang magagawa ng takot ng mga tao sa mga sundalo at mga parusa kung sakaling magbago ang kanilang isip.¹⁷

Malaki ang paniniwala ng mga prayle na ang kalat at malawak na rebelyon ay nagpapatunay na nais ng mga taga-Caraga na paalisin ang mga Kastila, patayin ang mga misyonero, at wasakin ang mga kumbento. Ang lahat daw ay dahil sa pagkapoot nila sa banal na pananampalataya.¹⁸

Paghihimagsik sa Agusan, 1649-1651

Nagdulot ng malaking sindak at takot ang paulit-ulit na pagsalakay ng mga Olandes sa kapuluan noong panahon ng digmaan ng mga Olandes at mga Kastila. Dumanas ng katakut-takot na hirap ang mga Pilipino na sapolitang kinatulong ng mga Kastila upang hindi masakop ng mga Olandes ang Pilipinas. Ang paggawa ng mga galyon na kakailanganin sa digmaan ay napaatang sa balikat ng mga Kabitenyo at Pampango.

Upang maibsan ang hirap ng mga ito, nag-utos ang Gobernador noong 1648 na ang iba't ibang probinsya ay dapat magpadala ng kaukulang bilang ng trabahante sa pagawaan ng sasakyang-dagat sa Kabite. Dahil dito, pumutok ang rebelyon ni Sumuroy sa Palapag sa Samar na kumalat na parang apoy hindi lamang sa Kabisayaan kundi pati na rin sa Bikol at sa Silangan at Hilagang Mindanaw.

Sa kabilang dako, ang mga Olandes ay hindi nagkasiya lamang sa pakikidigma sa mga Kastila. Sinikap din nilang makipagkaibigan sa mga Moro sa Sultanato ng Sulu at Magindanaw. Nagkaroon ng mga pagkakasundo na ituring nilang kaaway na komon ang mga Kastila bagama't hindi ito nagkaroon ng konkretong bunga. Nakipag-usap din ang mga Olandes sa mga datu sa probinsya ng Caraga na sumasakop sa Surigao, Agusan, at hilagang parte ng ngayo'y Davao Oriental. Isa sa mga ito si Dabao, ang Manobong nangulo sa rebelyon sa Linao, Bunawan, Agusan.

Si Dabao ay balita sa lakas at kilala sa katusuhan. Dahil sa di mabilang na pagpatay, madalas siyang tinutugis ng mga sundalo. Upang makaiwas sa pagkahuli, siya'y nagpabinyag. Sinabi niya kay Fray Agustin de Santa Maria, ang pari ng Linao sa ilaya ng ilog Agusan, na dapat siyang ipagtanggol ng pari sapagkat tulay siya sa marami pang kumbersyon. Madalas siyang binibisita ng pari, binibigyan ng regalo, at di naglaon ay napapayag siyang makipag-usap sa mga Kastila. Ipinagkatiwala pa ni Dabao sa pari ang edukasyon ng kanyang anak.¹⁹

Lingid sa pari ay may sariling adyenda si Dabao. Kung gabi ay iniisa-isa niyang bisitahin ang mga Kristiyanong datu. Matiyaga niyang tinalakay ang malupit na dekreto sa pagpapadala ng mga trabahante sa Kabite, ang kalayaang iniaalok ng mga Olandes, at ang malayang pananampalataya na nakaugalian nila. Madali diumanong naakit ang mga ito. Nagkasundo sila sa araw ng pagpatay sa mga Kastila at sa pari.²⁰

Ang hudyat ng kanilang pag-aalsa ay kapag ang Padre Probinsyal ay magpapadala ng kapalit sa halip na siya mismo ang bumisita sa misyon. Ito'y nangangahulugan na dumating na ang mga Olandes at sumasalakay sa baybayin. Kaya't nang makarating sa kanila ang balita na ang Padre Probinsyal na si Fray Bernardo de San Laurencio ay hindi lumabas at sa halip ay ibang pari ang ipinadala, kaagad silang kumilos upang gisingin ang iba't ibang mga komunidad.²¹ Ngunit nang dumating ang kapalit ng Padre Probinsyal na si Fray Juan de San Antonio sa Butuan, hindi

ito tumuloy sa Linao at sa halip ay pumunta sa Cagayan. Bagsak ang plano ni Dabao.²²

Noong panahon ding yaon, may mga rebeldeng Manobo na nanggugulo at nangungumpiska ng mga palay at mais sa mga ayaw sumama sa rebelyon. Nag-alok si Dabao sa mga awtoridad na siya na mismo ang tutugis at huhuli sa mga nanggugulong ito. Pumili siya ng walong taong maskulado at maganda ang pangangatawan mula sa kanyang mga sakop. Iginapos niya ang mga kamay nito sa paraang madali nilang makalagan ang kanilang sarili. May nakatago silang mga armas. Pumasok sila sa kuta ng Linao kung saan si Fray Agustin de Santa Maria ay naghihintay. Nang magkaroon sila ng pagkakataon, kaagad nilang nakalagan ang kanilang sarili at noon din ay sumalakay. Biyak kaagad ang ulo ng kapitan sa isang taga lamang ni Dabao. May mga rebelde pa sa labas na nakapasok din sa kuta. Halos malipol ang buong puwersa ng mga Kastila. Ang natira ay apat na sundalong Kastila, isang kabo, at isang pari, na tumalon sa bintana. Mula sa kuta ay nagtungo sila sa kumbento subalit ito'y nasusunog na, gayundin ang simbahan. Nagbalik sila sa kuta na puro sugatan. Hindi alam kung ano ang nangyari, ngunit napatakbo nila ang mga rebelde. Patay si Fray Agustin. Ika-16 ng Mayo, 1651 nang maganap ang labanan.²³

Dahil wala nang masilungan at wala na ring makain, gumawa sila ng isang balsang kawayan at nagpatianod sa ilog Agusan. Hinabol sila ng mga rebelde. Nagtago sila sa komunidad ng Hoot at tinulungan naman sila ng datu rito, isang nagngangalang Palan. Inihatid sila sa Butuan at dumating doon dalawampung araw makalipas ang labanan sa Linao.²⁴

Humingi kaagad ng saklolo mula sa Tandag ang Padre Prior ng Butuan. Nang dumating ang saklolo sa Butuan, kaagad silang nagpabandilyo na pinatatawad na ang mga sumapi sa rebelyon, subalit binalaan ang mga magpapatuloy na wala silang mahihita kundi ang hapis ng digmaan. Marami ang sumuko ngunit sila'y pinagbibitay; ang iba'y ginawang alipin. Napuno umano ng mga alipin ang Maynila at mga karatig pook. Ang mga datu ng Butuan na dati'y sukatan ng katapatan, ayon sa mga prayle, ngayon ay dumanas ng bilangguan o kaya'y pagkatapon. Kung may nakabawi man sa kanilang nawalang dangal, naglaho naman ang kanilang ari-arian. May isang napreso ng dalawang taon subalit kinumpiska pa rin ang kanyang ari-arian. Mayroon namang pinahirapan ng katakut-takot at pinugutan pa rin ng ulo. Mayroon naging saksakan ng dukha. Hindi na lingid sa Gobernador ang maraming pang-

aabuso sa parte ng mga awtoridad. Binigyan niya ng kalayaan ang mga aliping Manobo, subalit kailangan pa ring dumaan sa isang proseso. Ang problema ay wala silang mapakiusapan na lumakad ng kanilang kaso. Nahihya silang lumapit sa mga Recoleta dahil pinatay nila ang isa sa mga ito.²⁵

Si Padre Fray Agustin de San Pedro na kilala sa bansag na Padre Capitan dahil sa kanyang matagumpay na pagdepensa sa mga taga-Cagayan laban sa mga Moro na sakop ni Sultan Kudarat ang siyang sumalo sa problema. Gumawa siya ng listahan ng mga alipin sa buong Maynila at kanugnog pook, kasali ang pangalan at apelyido ng bawat isa, pati na ang dating tirahan nila. Isinali na rin sa listahan pati na yaong naging alipin nang hindi dumaan sa proseso-sibil. Pinaaprobahan niya ang listhan sa Gobernador at ito naman ay nagpalabas ng kautusan na palayain ang lahat ng nasa listahan. Isa-isa silang kinuha ng mga Recoleta, inalagaan sila ng mga ito habang nasa Maynila, at inihatid sa kanilang pag-uwi. Bagama't nahirapan ang mga alipin na unawain ang kabutihang ito ng mga Recoleta, nagkaroon naman ito ng malalim na epekto sa kanila at tuloy naging mahalaga sa pagpapanatili ng kapayapaan sa darating na mga taon.²⁶

Nakapagtataka na biglang naglaho sa ulat ang pangalan ni Dabao. Hindi rin malinaw kung ano ang dahilan at maraming mga datu sa Butuan ang nadawit sa rebelyon.

Nakarating sa silangang baybayin ang dekreto tungkol sa pagpapadala ng mga trabahante sa Kabite, subalit hindi ito naging isyu sa mga tao sapagkat itinago ito at hindi ipinaalam sa kanila ng mga awtoridad. Tulad noong 1629-31, ang kaguluhan sa Agusan ay naramdaman din sa Cagayan at Camiguin, gayundin sa Zamboanga. Subalit ang mga ito ay maliliit lamang.

Huling sigwa sa silangang baybayin, 1877-1885

Pinatalsik ang mga Hesuwita sa Pilipinas noong 1767. Nang sila'y bumalik noong 1859, iniatang ng Hari sa kanila ang gawain ng simbhang Katoliko sa buong Mindanaw. Pinalitan nila ang mga Recoleta sa silangang baybayin ng Mindanaw noong 1871. Si Padre Pablo Pastells ang tumatayong superyor ng misyon sa loob ng labing-isang taon mula 1875 hanggang 1886. Ang kanyang mga sulat para sa Padre Probinsyal ang pangunahing pagkukunan ng mga datos.

Pangunahing programa ng kanyang panunungkulan ang pagtatatag ng mga bayan o pueblo. Ang kanyang estratehiya ay ang sumusunod: (a) Ang pagpili ng pinakamagandang lugar para sa bayan; (b) Ang pagdidisenyo ng mga kalye at paglalagyan ng plasa, simbahan, tribunal, eskuwelahan, at mga residensya, at (k) Ang paghimok sa mga Lumad na manirahan sa bayan sa tulong ng kanilang mga lider.²⁷

Noong Enero 1877 sinimulan ang pagtatatag ng San Manuel sa Baysan, San Victor sa Dapnan, San Juan sa Cabuyauan, at San Nicolas sa Mangongong. Nang sumunod na buwan ay labinlimang bayan pa ang itinatatag. Pinlano rin niyang magtayo ng tatlong bayan ng mga Muslim sa look ng Mayo, at iba pang mga pueblo sa kahabaan ng baybayin mula Manat hanggang San Agustin.

Binanggit ni Pastells ang maraming suliranin bago malubos ang pagpapalipat sa mga tao. Sila'y kalat-kalat; napakarami nilang pangangailangan tulad ng pagkain, damit, at mga gamit sa trabaho at tumututol daw sila na lumipat sa mga bayan; likas daw silang tamad at masyado silang nagigiliw sa gubat. Subalit, higit sa lahat, wika ni Pastells, kabado sila dahil sa pananakot ng mga bagani.²⁸ Sa San Manuel, dalawampung bandido ang sumubok na pigilin ang proyekto.

Ang mga bagani ay pinanguluhan nina Bulto at Macusang, mga Mandaya, na itinuturing ni Pastells na tulisan at mamamatay-tao. Unang sumulpot ang kanilang mga pangalan noong Marso 1877 at huling binanggit noong Nobyembre 1883. Pinakamalakas ang impluwensiya nila sa mga bayan ng Nuestra Señora de Carmel, San Manuel, San Nicolas, Santo Domingo, at San Agustin na mga pamayanang Mandaya. Nang panahong yaon, sampu o higit na ang napatay sa Caraga at Cateel. Kasali dito si Gambong at dalawa pang Mandaya; samantalang ang mga kasamahan nito ay binihag. Sila ang umatake sa mga Muslim at Kristiyano sa Mati noong nagdaang taon.²⁹ Ayon sa mga ulat, balak ni Bulto at Macusang na patayin na rin pati na ang mga Kristiyano. Dahil sa kanilang panunulsol, dalawang komunidad na ang nagrebelde at 180 pamilya ang matigas na tumutol na magbuo ng isang bayan. Tinatantiya na may dalawampung mamamatay-tao sa Cateel, at labinlima sa Mayo. Pinaligiran nila ng trintsera ang komunidad nina Capitanes Ubsub at Puay.

Isa pang mabigat na dahilan sa pagtutol nga mga tao sa pagtatayo ng mga pueblo ay ang kanilang paniniwala sa diwata (anito) at iba pa. Sa Bungadon, may isang anim na taong matabang bata na may kakaibang mukha. Magaling siyang tumugtog ng gimbao, isang bombo ng mga

Mandaya. Malaki ang sapantaha ni Pastells na tinuruan ito ng mga baylan sapagkat sinasabi niya sa mga tao na siya ay Diyos. Inutusan niya ang mga Mandaya na huwag magtatag ng mga bayan sa Carmelo at San Luis at huwag ipadala ang kanilang mga anak sa eskwelahan na itinayo ng pari. Sa halip, dapat silang sumamba sa mga diwata. Dahil dito ay walang dumadalo sa mga miting at ipinasabi na kung may darating na mga sundalo, pagkaalis ng mga ito ay sila mismo ang bababa at kanilang wawasakin ang Carmelo, San Luis, at Manurigao.³⁰

Ikinuwento rin ni Padre Pastells ang *propaganda* ng mga bagani. May sumulpot diumanong isang matandang babae mula sa langit. Iniutos nito sa mga tao na magbalik sa gubat matapos nilang wasakin ang kanilang mga tanim at patayin ang kanilang mga alagang hayop, sapagkat sa gubat daw ay mabubuhay sila sa loob ng isang taon ng walang kain-kain, at pagkatapos ay katawan at kaluluwa silang aakyat sa langit. Kapag hindi nila iniwan ang mga bayan, may barko raw sa Davao at Surigao na puno ng sundalo at pagpuputulin ang kanilang mga ulo, dadalhin ang kanilang mga anak sa Maynila, at ipamimigay bilang bihag sa Sultan ng Jolo. Dahil sa mga kasinungalingang ito, karamihan sa mga tao ay nagsibalik na sa gubat.

Ayon kay Pastells lahat daw ng mga Mandaya sa dakong Baganga ay naninirahan sa mga bayan dahil sa takot kina Bulto, Macusang, Tavit, at tatlumpung iba pang bagani. Walang nagkalakas-loob na manirahan sa ilaya o interyor. Di na raw mabilang ang mga biktima ng saksak ng balaraw at sibat. Kung ano ang dami ng nangamatay ay ganoon din daw ang nakidnap. Ang pinakahuling pangyayari ay ang pagkakapatay sa isang labinlimang taong gulang na bata sa dahilang siya ay Kristiyano.

Bilang panghalina sa mga Mandaya at iba pang mga pagano sa buong kapuluan, inimungkahi ni Padre Pastells sa kanyang sulat na gawing palisiya ng gobyerno na ang mga bagong sakop na mga pagano ay maging libre sa pagbabayad ng buwis, sa pagbibigay ng serbisyo personal at sa panglima (o ikalima = *ffifhs*). Ang batas na ito ay dapat ibandilyo ng mga misyonero at ipaliwanag sa mga bagong sakop upang maiwasan ang nangyari sa Samar.

Subalit patuloy na nananalasa sina Bulto at Macusang. Ang sentro ng gulo ay sa Caraga at Cateel, lalo na sa interyor. May mga ulat si Pastells hinggil sa maramihang pagpatay at panununog ng bahay. Maging bata't babae ay hindi pinapatawad. Sa kanilang pamamaslang, may mga ina raw na natagpuang abo na at yakap pa rin ang kanilang sanggol. May isa

naman na pinagpuputul-putol sa apat na bahagi. Mayroon ding binibiyak ang tiyan, nilalabnot ang mga bituka at kung minsan ay kinakain. O kaya, ang puso at atay ay iniaalay sa mga diwata. Maraming mga palayan ang basta na lamang iniwan ng mga tao ay tinatayang hindi kukulangin sa lima o anim na libong kaban ng palay ang mawawala.³¹

Sa tulong ng isang Don Manuel Menendez na taga-Caraga ay nakabuo ang mga Kastila ng mga 150 boluntaryo na may dalang labing-apat na baril at isang rebolber mula sa Baganga, Batiano, at Baysan. Ito ang ekspedisyong tumugis sa grupo nina Bilto at Macusang na binubuo raw ng mula 200 hanggang 300 katao na nagkukuta sa bandang ilaya ng Cateel at Baganga, sa malapit sa bahay ni Tilot, ang tiyuhin nina Bilto at Macusang. Nandoon din si Mangislang, kasama ang kanyang mga sakop.³²

Nang lumisan ang ekspedisyong, tila lalo lamang naging masigasig ang mga rebelde. Pinaghati-hati nila ang kanilang mga tao upang mang-espiya sa mga bayan, tinitingnan kung may mga sundalo pa. At lantaran nila itong ginagawa. Sa Dapnan, apat na espiya ang sumulpot at nahuli. Napag-alaman sa imbestigasyon na kasamahan sila nina Bilto at Macusang at naatasang magtungo sa Bislig. Ang unang pasabi ng mga ito sa mga taga-Dapnan:

“Magsipaghanda kayo sapagkat ang ilog ay aapaw sa dugo mula sa ilaya hanggang sa bukana at walang kikilalaning Mandaya o Kristiyano man. May mga 200 Mandaya ngayong nagkakaisa, sina Tilot at ang kanyang mga sakop, at siyang didigma sa inyo.”

Nakuha rin mula sa apat na bihag ang impormasyon tungkol sa binabalak nina Bilto at Macusang. Nais ng mga bagani na patayin ang lahat ng taong may armas (baril) sa Baganga, una na rito ang mga Kastila. Pagkatapos nito madali na raw ang iba, kasali na ang pag-ambush sa pari (si Padre Pastells na siyang nag-utos na arestuhin ang apat), pagpugot sa ulo nito at pagpapatuyo para maipreserba. Batay sa balak na ito, tinatantiya ni Padre Pastells na madali na ang pagwasak sa mga bagong bayang itinatag pati na rin ang mga Kristiyanong bayan tulad ng Batiano, Baysan, Baganga, Quinablangan, at Cateel.³³

Sinulong ng ekspedisyong pinagkukutaan ng mga rebelde, subalit ang tangi nilang naiulat ay ang pagkasunog ng labing-isang bahay at ang pagkawasak ng mga saka. Samantala, sumalakay ang pitumpong mga bagani at mga sakop nito sa Batiano at Baysan. Patay ang gobernadorcillo at anim na iba pa. Ang buong San Manuel ay naging abo, kabilang na ang simbahan at tribunal.³⁴

Sa sulat ni Pastells na may petsang 12 Enero 1878, binanggit doon na sumalakay sina Bilto at Macusang sa isang komunidad sa Agusan mga tatlong taon na ang nakakaraan, sinunog lahat ang mga bahay, pinatay ang mga matatandang lalaki na nakaligtas sa apoy, at binihag ang mga bata at babae. Sa loob ng dalawang taon, 120 ang kabuuang bilang ng kanilang biktima, patay at inalipin. Noong 1877, limampu ang pinaslang sa ilaya ng Cateel at Baganga, labing-isa sa mga ito ay Kristiyano. Nabanggit pa rin doon ang balak nina Bilto at Macusang na gawing tapa ang laman ni Padre Pastells.³⁵ Nasa sulat din ang balita na ang buntis na asawa ni Bilto ay pinatay ng kanya mismong kapatid na si Ayaon na nagsilbing giya sa mga ekspedisyon. Samantala, ang Surigao ay nagpadala ng dalawang detatsment ng mga sundalo at ilang riple na itinalaga sa Cateel at Baganga. Sa parte naman ng gawain ng simbahan, 900 ang mga Mandaya na bininyagan mula noong Marso 1877 hanggang Disyembre sa parokya ng Bislig, at labing-apat ang mga bagong maliliit na bayang itinatag.³⁶

Sa di maipaliwanag na mga pangyayari, ang pag-aalsa nina Bilto at Macusang ay tila bagyong humupa, unti-unting naglaho sa ulat ni Padre Pastells. Napag-alaman nating si Bilto ay sinaksak ng balaraw ni Juanay. Si Macusang ang pumalit sa puwesto ng kanyang pinsan; pumatay siya ng apat na kamag-anak ni Juanay bilang paghihiganti at naggantihan sila noong sumunod na limang buwan. Si Juanay ay namatay sa natural na dahilan. Nagkausap sina Pastells at Macusang, isinuko ng huli ang kanyang kalasag at balaraw at nangako na ititigil na niya ang lahat kung patatawarin siya ng gobyerno. Subalit walang dumating na patawad kaya't nagpatuloy naman si Macusang sa dating gawi. Ang kaibahan lang noong taong yaon sa iba, ani Pastells, ay ang bilang ng paglalamayan. Lalabindalawa lamang sa 1880: Si Bilto, apat na kasamahan ni Macusang, tatlong Manobo na naninirahan sa Casauman, Agusan, dalawang Manguangas sa Cateel at dalawang Mandaya na nagkamatayan dahil sa isang babae.³⁷

Sa sulat ni Pastells noong 18 Disyembre 1882, iniulat niya ang pagtugis ng isang armadong ekspedisyon sa dalawang magkaibang grupo: Ang kay Malpando sa bundok ng Manlubuan dahil sa isang pamamaslang sa Santa Fe, at ang kay Macusang sa ilaya o kaparangan ng San Victor. Si Macusang ay inaakusahan ng pagpaslang sa ilang mga Kristiyano sa ilaya ng San Victor. Pinakialaman niya ang kaso sapagkat may tatlong taon na ang nakalilipas nang mangako si Macusang

sa kanya sa Manurigao na wala siyang layuning makidigma sa mga Kristiyano. Hindi pala alam ni Macusang na Kristiyano ang kanyang biktima. Nalaman lamang niya ito nang bibihagin na niya ang mga babae at napansin niya ang mga medalyon ng mga ito sa leeg, dahilan para kaagad niyang pakawalan ang mga ito.³⁸

Ang huling ulat tungkol kay Macusang ay nilalaman ng sulat na may petsang 06 Nobyembre 1883. Sinasabing pinanguluhan ni Macusang ang isang grupo ng mga Mandaya na pumatay kay Andres Bantayan, isang Kristiyanong taga-San Luis. Ito'y nangyari habang naghahanda sila sa pag-*ambush* kay Aguiadan, kasamahan ni Juanay nang paslangin si Bilto sa Manlubuan.³⁹ Ang naiwang tensyon sa hanay ng mga tao ay ang pagkakaalam na ang binansagang mamamatay-tao ay di pa nahuhuli o nabibigyan ng kaukulang kaparusahan.⁴⁰

Unang paghaharap sa Butuan: Butuanon at Hesuwita, 1596-1597

Nobyembre 1596 nang dumating ang Hesuwitang sina Padre Valerio de Ledesma at Padre Manuel Martinez sa Butuan. Bago natapos ang dalawang taon ay inilipat sila sa Kabisayaan. Sa loob ng maikling panahon na itinigil nila sa Butuan, may mga nagawa sila na di kapanipaniwala subalit nangyari, ayon sa ulat ni Padre Chirino.

Tuwing Linggo, ang dalawang pari ay nagsasagawa ng pagtitipon na dinadaluhan ng maraming tao. Minsan, sa kalagitnaan ng sermon ni Padre Martinez bigla na lamang lumuhod si Elian at nakiusap na siya'y binyagan. Si Elian ay kinikilala at kinagugulatan sa buong teritoryo. Nang hinagkan n'ya ang mga paa ng krusipiho, sumunod sa kanya si Osol at ang iba pa. Nagpahayag si Elian na lahat ng taong kanyang pinagkakautangan ay kanyang babayaran. Pagkatapos nito, hiniwalayan ni Elian ang kanyang mga asawa at ipinagsasauli ang dote ng bawat isa. Pinag-aralan din niya ang mga dasal at ang katesismo upang mabinyagan siya sa lalong madaling panahon. Ang ginawang ito ni Elian ay malaking tulong sa paghimok sa iba na magpabinyag na rin. Nalaman ng mga pari na ang doktrina ay inaawit ng mga tao sa buong bayan, sa mga bahay, sa pagtatrabaho, sa pagsasagwan, at sa paglalakad. Ang mga kabataan ang pangunahing tagakanta.⁴¹

Kung Linggo raw at mga pista laging puno ang simbahan, kasali ang mga pa-binyagan na kusang dinadala ang kanilang mga anak upang mabinyagan. Ang mga maysakit naman ay dinadala na rin

para mabinyagan bago mamatay. May isang malubhang maysakit na nakiusap na siya'y binyagan. Hindi na ito makapagsalita at halos wala ng malay nang dumating ang pari. Pinabigkas ito ng salitang “Hesus,” at matapos sumagot sa mga tanong tungkol sa doktrina ay bininyagan. Pinaniniwalaang gumaling ito dahil sa pagsambit sa pangalan ni Hesus at sa bautismo.⁴²

Isang bata na inaantay na lang diumano ang pagpanaw ay pinadalhan ng *Agnus Dei* ng pari na may kasamang benditadong tubig. Kaagad na gumaling ang bata.⁴³

Isang di binyagan na nagkaroon ng malubhang sugat sa pagkasungkal ng baboyramo ay gumaling din matapos bigkasin ang “Hesus, kaawaan mo po ako!” Sinagot daw ng Diyos ang kanyang dalangin at noon din ay naghilom ang kanyang sugat. Nagtungo siya sa pari at humingi ng binyag.⁴⁴

Hindi kataka-taka na naging mataas ang pagpapahalaga ng mga tao sa binyag. Mabuti sa kaluluwa, maganda rin sa katawan.

Ang huling kuwento mula sa dalawang Hesuwitang ito ay may kinalaman naman sa kidlat. Isang di binyagan daw ang takot na takot dahil sa dami ng kidlat at dagundong ng kulog. Dahil sa paulit-ulit na pagsambit niya at kanyang mga kasambahay ng pangalan ni Hesus samantalang nakapaligid sila sa isang krus, hindi sila tinamaan ng isang pagkalakas-lakas na kidlat na tumupok sa isang puno ng bungangkahoy sa tabing bahay. Kay laki ng kanilang pasasalamat sa Diyos na tumulong sa kanila bunga ng kanilang pagsambit sa pangalan nito at sa paniniwala nila sa krus.⁴⁵

Ang mga Agustinong Recoleta

Dumating ang mga Agustinong Recoleta noong unang mga taon ng 1600 sa Caraga. Matatandaang naganap ang mga armadong pakikihamok laban sa mga Kastila noong 1609 at 1613 kung saan natalo ang mga taga-Caraga.

Ang unang kuwento ng tagumpay ng mga Agustinong Recoleta ay ang kumbersyon ni Datu Inuc sa Tandag. Si Inuc ay kilabot hindi lamang sa Tandag kundi sa mga karatig pook din. Siya ang pinapanginoon sa Tandag at may bukana pa ng isang ilog na ipinangalan sa kanya. Wala siyang patawad sa pagpatay, sa paganakaw, at sa pang-aalipin. Mahigit 2,000 ang kanyang mga alipin. Hindi mabilang ang kanyang mga napatay. Matindi ang kanyang poot sa mga Kastila at dahilan ito upang hindi siya

pumayag sa anumang kasunduang pangkomersyo o pangkapayapaan. Siya ang pinag-ambisyonan ni Padre Fray Juan de la Madre de Dios, isa sa mga Recoleta na naitalaga sa Caraga.

Ayon sa kuwento, pinag-isipang maigi ng pari kung papaano niya maaakit ang datu sa pamamagitan lamang ng kanyang sariling sikap at sa tulong ng Panginoon. Nag-ayuno siya at nagdasal bago pumuntang mag-isa sa teritoryo ni Inuc na nagulat nang makarating ang pari sa kanyang harapan nang hindi man lang nagpaalam at buong galang na nakipag-usap sa kanya. Pinatawad ni Inuc ang pari sa pagkawalang-galang nito na sa pangkaraniwan ay itinuturing niyang insulto sa kanyang pagkatao. Ano ang ibinunga ng unang pagkikitang ito? Pumayag si Inuc na magkaroon ng kasunduang pangkapayapaan sa mga Kastila sa Tandag; pumayag siyang magkaroon ng komunikasyon at pakikipagkalakalan sa mga ito, at pinayagan niya ang pari na maglabas-masok sa kanyang teritoryo at magpakalat ng doktrina sa kanyang mga sakop. Di naglaon, pagkatapos niyang tumanggap ng instruksyon, siya ay bininyagan. Bilang pagbibigay halimbawa sa kanyang mga sakop, pinauwi niyang lahat ang kanyang mga asawa at nagtira lamang siya ng isa na kanyang pinakasalan ayon sa batas ng simbahan. Binigyan niya ng kalayaan ang kanyang mahigit 2,000 alipin. Pagkatapos ay nagpabandilyo siya na babayaran niya ang lahat niyang pinagkakautangan. Ginawa niya ito sa tulong ng pari at ng kumandante ng garison na tumayo bilang tagapamagitan. Kumalat ang balita ng kanyang kumbersyon at bunga nito ay maraming iba pa ang nagsisunod sa kanyang halimbawa.⁴⁶

Ang kuwentong ito ay sinundan pa ng isa sa Ambagan, malapit sa Tandag. Kaugnay ito sa isang pari na nailigtas mula sa tangkang pagpatay sa kanya habang siya'y natutulog. Nang pumasok ang isang indio sa loob ng kubo, sinita umano ito ng isang matanda na nagwika sa kanyang linggwahe ng ganito: "Saan ka pupunta? Hindi mo ba nakikita na binabantayan ko ang aking anak na natutulog?" Iniamba pa umano ng matanda ang bastong ginto nito laban sa lalaki na inabutan ng umaga doon. Buong sising ikinuwento ng lalaki sa pari ang nangyari. Pinaniniwalaan ng mga tao na ang matanda ay si San Agustin na nandoon upang ipagtaggol ang kanyang anak at ang mga kasamahan nito.⁴⁷

Sa Linao naman, sa interyor ng ilog Agusan, nagtagumpay si Fray Jacinto de San Fulgencio laban sa diwata na pinaniniwalaan ng mga tao. Sa isang bahay na kinalagyan ng diwata, biglang sinunggaban ng pari ang imahen ng isang diwata. Nasindak ang mga datu. Inaasahan nila na

anumang sandali ay patay na babagsak ang pari. Wala anilang gumalaw sa diwata na nabuhay. Subalit walang nangyari. Umalis ang pari na dala ang diwata. Kinabukasa'y nagpunta ang mga tao sa pari, dala ang maraming ginto upang tubusin ang kanilang diwata. Ngunit hindi sila pinagbigyan ng pari. Sa halip ay nagbalik ito sa Butuan. Humabol ang mga tao doon at ipinagsabi na walang halaga ang kanilang diwata at handa na sila upang tumanggap sa totoong Diyos. Laking tuwa naman ni Fray Jacinto.⁴⁸

Kumalat din sa Linao ang kuwento na magmula nang manirahan doon ang mga pari, wala na ang mga buwayang nanggugulo. Utang daw nila ito sa krus na itinayo doon at sa banal na doktrina. Nagkasunodsunod ang mga kumbersyon. Kumalat din ang balita hinggil sa isang babaeng bagong binyag na namatay at nabuhay nang ito'y pinabenditahan. Ikinuwento ng babae na pinahintulutan siya ng Diyos na magbalik sapagkat may kasalanan siyang nakaligtaan sa kanyang kumpisal. Muli siyang nangumpisal at pagkatapos na pagkatapos niyang mabigyan ng absolusyon ng pari ay muli na naman siyang namatay! Naging dagdag pang-akit sa iba ang mga pangyayaring ito.⁴⁹

Hindi magiging kumpleto ang iniisa-isang mga halimbawa ng pagtanggap kung hindi isasali ang buhay ng dalawang bantog na beata ng Butuan, si Clara at si Isabel. Si Clara ay maganda at mayaman, at dati raw namumuhay na kapulà-pulà. Subalit magmula nang siya ay mabinyagan noong 1623, siya'y naging buhay na modelong Kristiyano. Nang mamatay ang kanyang asawa, nakiusap siya sa pari na gawin siyang beata. Naghahampas siya ng kadena sa kanyang sarili araw-araw at hindi siya pumapalya sa pag-aayuno. Nagkakasiya na lamang siya sa gulay. Bukod sa pagdarasal, nag-aalaga siya ng mga maysakit, nagpapalakas ng loob ng mga naghihingalo at tinutulungan ang mga ito na mapalapit sa Diyos. Malaki ang kanyang naitulong sa pagiging Kristiyano ng Butuan. Namatay siya noong 1639.⁵⁰

Si Isabel ay naging beata rin nang mamatay ang kanyang asawa. Malaki ang kanyang naitulong sa gawain ng simbahan sa Butuan sa pamamagitan ng edukasyon. Nagtatag siya ng isang eskwelahan para sa mga babae kung saan malalimang tinatalakay ang doktrina Kristiyana. Madalas siyang ipadala ng mga pari sa mga komunidad upang turuan ang mga tao roon. Inaatasan din siyang magbigay ng instruksyon sa mga kalye kung saan madali siyang pagkalipumpunan ng mga tao dahil nga sa husay niya sa pagpapaliwanag. Ang ayaw makisali sa usapan sa kalye

ay pinupuntahan niya sa kanilang tahanan at doon ay malumanay na pinagpapaliwanagan. Naging administrador siya sa itinayong ospital ang mga prayle. Yumao siya noong 1646.⁵¹

Panahon ng mga Hesuwita, 1873-1898

Sa panahong ito, dalawang hindi pangkaraniwang pangyayari ang naganap sa San Luis, sa hilaga ng ngayo'y Davao Oriental. Ang una ay ang paglakad ng dalawang pilay matapos mabinyagan. Subalit wala ng karagdagan detalye hinggil dito. Ang pangalawa ay ang pagkabuhay ng isang patay. Ang babae sa istorya ay binihisan na at iniwan sandali sa tribunal; ang mga tao ay nagtuloy sa simbahan upang siya'y ipagdasal. Nang ibinalita na ang patay ay nabuhay, bumalik ang mga tao sa tribunal at nakita nila ang babae na nakaupo. Nang siya'y lumisan, ayon sa babae, nakita niya ang sarili na nakaharap sa isang kalsada na puno ng naglalagablab na apoy. Sa gitna nito ay may mga nakakakilabot na mga nilalang. Sa bandang itaas ay may ulap na nagniningning at sa ibabaw nito ay nandoon ang kanyang kapatid na nagniningning din sa kaputian. Tulad niya ang kanyang kapatid ay bininyagan din sa sandali ng kamatayan. Pinagsabihan siya nito na huwag magpatuloy. Sa halip ay dapat siyang bumalik sa lupa; sa susunod na araw ay makikita niya si Kristo at hindi na siya mahihirapan sa daan. Hinarap ng babae ang mga di binyagan doon at nagsabi: “Magpabinyag kayo. Hiwalayan ninyo ang inyong mga diwata, at sumampalataya sa tunay na Diyos. Sumamba lamang kay Kristo. Gagantimpalaan niya ang mabubuti at parurusahan ang masasama.” Humingi siya ng krusipiho at hindi na niya ito binitiwang hanggang sa mamatay siya nang sumunod na araw tulad ng tinuran ng kanyang kapatid.⁵²

Bunga ng pagtanggap

Kung susundan natin ang lohika ng mga misyonero, naging masagana ang kanilang ani dahil sa pinagsamang pagsisikap ng mga misyonero, ng grasya ng Diyos, at ng bukal sa loob na pagtanggap ng mga tao sa doktrina Kristiyana. Kapansin-pansin nga naman ang di pangkaraniwang bilis ng kumbersyon. Kung titingnan natin sa estadistika na kanilang ibinigay, magkakaroon tayo ng ideya kung gaano ito kabilis.

Noong 1596-97, ang misyon nina Padre Ledesma at Padre Martinez ay nagbunga ng 800 binyagan. Noong 1650, pagkatapos ng dalawampu't walong taong pagsisikap, may maipagmamalaki ng 11,400 na binyagan ang mga Recoleta sa silangang baybayin, mula sa Surigao hanggang sa Baganga, at saka sa Butuan at Linao. Medyo nakakalito pa nga ang ulat sapagkat sa Siargao, Yaquet (Higaquit o Gigaquit) at sa mga kalapit-isla nito at sa Bislig, ang bilang na 3,600 ay tumutukoy sa pamilya at hindi sa indibidwal.⁵³

Pansamantalang wakas

Hindi natin maaaring bigyan ng salitang tapos ang pag-aaral na ito. Maraming bagay ang wika nga ay bitin. Sinikap nating masagot ang tanong kung papaanong tayong tagarito at siyang nakararami ay nasupil ng mga Kastila.

Kumbaga sa *installment plan*, nakapagbigay na tayo ng paunang bayad. Nakapagsagawa na tayo ng panimulang hakbang. Isinalaysay natin ang pakikihamok ng mga tao sa teritoryo ng Agusan-Surigao-Davao Oriental sa isang panig. Sa kabilang panig naman ay binigyang-liwanag natin kung papaanong tinanggap ng mga tao ang mga dayuhan at ang kanilang relihiyon nang hindi gumagamit ng armas.

Sa pagtatabi ng dalawang mukhang ito ng kasaysayan ay magkakaroon kaagad tayo ng panimulang bistang panloob. *View from within* kung sa Ingles pa. Bagama't hindi natin masasabing sapat na ang ebidensya para magkaroon tayo ng buong larawan, maaari naman nating panindigan na may sapat na tayong ebidensya at dahilan upang pumalaot pa sa ating napasimulan.

Ang mga pangyayaring isinalaysay sa pangalawang bahagi ay mga kuwento ng kababalaghan. Kung susuriin sila ng hiwalay ay tiyak na bababa ang kanilang halaga bilang ebidensya ng kasaysayan. Subalit kapag ipinaloob sa mas malaking konteksto--ang mga naganap na pakikihamok—sila ay nagiging materyales puwertes ng kasaysayan, nagkakaroon ng bagong buhay. Mas maliwanag ngayon na bukod sa mangilan-ngilang pangyayari tulad halimbawa ng mga paghahamok noong 1609 at 1613, ng paggamit ni Valintos sa pangalan ni Sultan Kudarat, ng paninindigan ni Dabao laban sa pangangalap ng mga trabahante para dalhin sa Kabite, o ng plano nina Bilto at Macusang na pagpapatayin ang mga Kastila, mahihirapan na tayong makakita ng iba

pang palatandaan na ang mga Kastila, higit sa lahat ang mga prayle, ay itinuturing na kaaway ng mga sinaunang Pilipino. Mas mabigat ang mga ebidensya na nagpapakita ng ating pagtanggap sa mga Kastila, bukal sa loob at hindi ipinilit.

Notes

¹ Luis de Jesus, *Historia general de los religiosos descalços de orden de los heremitanos del gran padre, y doctor de la iglesia San Agustin, de la congregacion de España, y de las Indias*. Tomo Sagundo, dividido en tres decadas, desde el año de veinte uno, hasta el de cincuenta. Madrid: 1681. May salin sa Emma Helen Blair at James Alexander Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898* (Cleveland: 1903-1909), Volume 21, pp. 105-317. Ang datos na ginamit ay mula sa p. 214. Tutukuying BR (de Jesus) 21 magmula dito.

² *Ibid.*, 214-215.

³ BR (De Jesus) 35: 65. Ang ikaapat na dekada ng kasaysayang isinulat ni De Jesus na sumasaklaw sa taong 1625-38 ay isinalin at inilimbag sa Blair at Robertson, pp. 59-87.

⁴ *Ibid.* Sa Bolyum 24, 29-179 ay nakalimbag ang salin ng aklat ni Juan de Medina, OSA, *Historia de los Sucesos de la orden de N. gran P. S. Agustin de estas islas Filipinas*. Manila, 1893. Sa pahina 165 at 177 ng BR ay binanggit ang dahilan ng rebelyon ng mga taga-Caraga noong 1620-31.

⁵ BR 35: 66-67.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 67-68.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 68-69.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 69-71.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 71-72.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 72-74.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 74-76.

¹² *Ibid.*, 76-78.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 78.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 78-79.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 79-80.

¹⁶ BR 35:81-83.

¹⁷ BR 35 (de la Concepcion): 91.

¹⁸ BR 35 (De Jesus): 72.

¹⁹ De Santa Theresa, Diego. *Historia general de los religiosos descalzos*. Barcelona: 1743. Bahagi nito ay nakasalin at nakalimbag sa bolyum 36, 113-188 ni Blair and Robertson. Sa susunod BR 36 (Santa Theresa) na lamang. Ang datos dito ay kuha sa 128-129.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 129.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 129-130.

²² *Ibid.*, 130.

²³ *Ibid.*, 130-131.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 132.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 132-135.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 135-136.

²⁷ Arcilla, Jose S., SJ. 1971. The Christianization of Davao Oriental: Excerpts from *Jesuit missionary studies*, vol. 19, no. 4. 04 October 1971, 640.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 666.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 666-667.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 667-668.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 673, 674.

³² *Ibid.*, 673, 675.

³³ *Ibid.*, 673, 676.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 678.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 696.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 684-686.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 702.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 712-713.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 721.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 723-724.

⁴¹ Chirino, Pedro, SJ. 1969. *The Philippines in 1600*. Translated by Ramon Echevarria. Manila: Historical Conservation Society, pp. 336-338.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 387-388.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 389.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 389-390.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 390.

⁴⁶ BR 21 (De Jesus): 217-219; BR 21 (De la Concepcion): 299-300; BR 36 (Santa Theresa): 114-115.

⁴⁷ BR 21 (De Jesus): 219-220; BR 21 (De la Concepcion): 301-302.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 222-223.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 224.

⁵⁰ Schreurs, Peter, MSC. "The Beatas of Butuan," in *Kinaadman*, III, 1981, 179-181.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 181-183.

⁵² Arcilla, *ibid.*, 702-703.

⁵³ BR 21 (De Jesus): 237-247.

Identity Politics and the Struggle for Peace in Mindanao¹

Macario D. Tiu

While in Manila for a conference two years ago, my writer friends and I talked about sundry things when the Mindanao issue cropped up. At that time, the terms Bangsamoro Juridical Entity (BJE) and Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain (MOA-AD) were just being floated around. But my Ilocano writer friend already had a definite position on it.

Said he: “For the first time in my life, I’m going to volunteer to serve our country. I’ve never done this before. Not even during the Second World War. But now, I’m going to do it.”

“Volunteer to do what?” I asked.

He said he was going to volunteer to become a soldier and defend the Republic of the Philippines. The Moros, he said, want to dismember the country, and he will never allow it.

I asked: “Why, what’s your interest in Mindanao? Do you have relatives there? Are you doing any business there?”

He said: “What do you mean do I have interests in Mindanao? I’m a Filipino. I’m protecting my country.”

“Protect it from whom?” I asked. “Who’s invading us?”

My Zamboangueno writer friend chimed in. He said: “We Zamboanguenos have always considered the Moros our enemy. For centuries they’ve been trying to get Zamboanga and for centuries we’ve been fighting them off. Zamboanga is ours. We will never give it to them.”

“How about the Ilocanos? Do you consider any part of Mindanao, yours?” I asked the Ilocano.

“As a Filipino, I do,” he answered without hesitation.

Further questioning showed my Ilocano friend had no personal stake in Mindanao. He had no relatives in Mindanao, he had no business

concern in Mindanao, and he had no plans to settle in Mindanao. He was simply operating from the framework of being a Filipino citizen whose duty it is to defend the motherland from any threat.

But the Zamboangueno's reaction was gut level. Zamboanga was his home and he will not give it to anybody. He felt and knew deep in his bones that as a Zamboangueno, he owns Zamboanga.

So I asked, "What if the Moros don't include Zamboanga? What if they will claim only those that they own? That is, areas that have an all-Moro population, areas that have no other claimants except the Moros?"

He said that is difficult to determine, almost impossible. I cited Jolo Island, where the native population is Tausug Moro. "They're not stealing it from anybody, are they?" I asked. "If Zamboanga belongs to you, then Jolo belongs to the Tausugs. Agree or disagree?"

After some thinking, the Zamboangueno writer said: "Well, okay. That I will concede. The Tausugs do own Jolo."

But he resisted the idea of dividing the big island of Mindanao itself to give way to the Bangsamoro. He said the population is so mixed up it is impossible to separate the different tribes from each other, not to mention the settlers who have penetrated deep into the original tribal territories.

"You mean," I asked, "there are no areas that have Maguindanao or Maranao majority?"

He conceded that indeed there are still areas in Mindanao where the Moros constitute the absolute majority. But he feared they might demand more territory. What if, I followed up, they only want to get what is theirs? He said delineating the boundaries would be very difficult. To which I agreed. But I said, isn't it better to break our heads at the negotiating table rather than at the battlefield?

And he said, "Okay, I'm listening." So, at least he was now open to negotiate what is "theirs" and what is "his."

The Ilocano writer, meanwhile, merely listened as I probed into the Zamboangueno's positionality. I wondered what other framework, political theory, or social doctrine my Ilocano friend was going to cite to strengthen his resolve to bear arms and fight the Moros in Mindanao.

The Ilocos is too far away. The Moros are not claiming the Ilocos. But apparently the idea that he was a Filipino and that Mindanao is part of the Philippines was enough to stir up his nationalist sentiments, and so at age eighty or ninety he is ready to go to battle to save the territorial integrity of the country.

Not surprisingly, my students in Discourse Analysis had varied reactions to the text of the MOA-AD. One Davao-born student of mixed Lumad and settler parentage couldn't imagine dividing the Philippines, certainly not Mindanao! She wouldn't give an inch of territory to the Moros because, she was very sure, they would demand more. They might include Davao, where the Moros have an infinitesimal presence.

*Kung ayaw nila sa Pilipinas, paalisin sila, paalisin!*² she said. When told that the Moros are natives of Mindanao, she seemed surprised. But her bottom line was that any arrangement with the Moros should be within the framework of the Republic of the Philippines, not outside it.

In that class I also had a mainland Chinese student whose position on the Moro issue mirrored his view on Tibet, which matched the view of the Chinese government – Tibet belongs to China, and the Tibetans are Chinese. I pointed out to him that the Tibetans do not consider themselves Chinese; they dress differently, they have a different language, and practice a different religion.

“No, no,” he said. “They are Chinese. They are not Han Chinese. They're a different kind of Chinese. But still Chinese.”

I said, “Okay, the Tibetans say they are Tibetans and not Chinese. And you say, they are Chinese. Who decides their identity?”

And my mainland Chinese student said, “Okay, you don't agree, then fight! Let's fight.”

He didn't mean me and him, he meant the opposing parties – the Chinese government and the Tibetans.

“Fighting decides identity issues?” I asked.

“Of course,” was his quick reply.

I was rather surprised by his hawkish stance and power talk, but on reflection, it's actually the same thinking that animates government policy on the Moro issue as expressed in the total war policy, all-out war policy, and what other war policy to defend such noble principles as constitutionality, territorial integrity, national sovereignty, etc. It's the same stance taken by my Ilocano friend.

But not all of my students had a statist, Filipinist position. Surprisingly, a Manileño was all for giving the Moros their own territory. He didn't worry at all about the constitution and other legal complications, the problematic territorial division, or the economic viability of a Bangsamoro republic. Or whether the new political entity should be merely autonomous, part of a federation, or completely

independent. What he worried about is whether or not that will buy peace in Mindanao. "If they're not Filipinos, then they're not Filipinos," he said. "And if it's their territory, then it's their territory," he added.

My Manileño student's attitude reminded me of an interesting incident at an international conference I attended several years ago. A hefty woman in her brilliant sari suddenly stood up when a diminutive man who looked southeast Asian – he could pass for a Filipino, Indonesian, or Thai – introduced himself as a Naga to the entire body.

"What do you mean you are Naga? You are Indian!" the woman boomed indignantly.

"I am not Indian. I am Naga!" the Naga man said defiantly.

This exchange went for about a minute or so, with the tall Indian woman getting more agitated, and the short Naga man standing his ground. "I am Naga. I am not Indian," he insisted with his chin up.

So we had this curious spectacle of a tall mixed Aryan-Dravidian, typically Bombay-looking woman glaring down at a small Tibeto-Burmese Naga man who proudly insisted he was not Indian but Naga.

Finally, the Indian woman said: "Okay, if you are Naga, show me your passport that proves you are Naga. Show me your passport."

The man, of course, could not show his Naga passport, and so the Indian woman sat down in triumph. But the Naga man said: "With or without a Naga passport, I am Naga."

Political scientists know the nature of the conflict between the Indian and the Naga. The Indian woman was working within a political framework – the framework of a legal, internationally recognized, citizenship identity as proven by her passport, while the Naga was operating within a social framework - his ethnic, minority nationality identity that has no legal, national, or state personality under international law.

Like the Nagas of northeastern India, the Moros have no passport to show they are Moros. But they insist they are Moros, not Filipinos. Who decides what their identity should be, and how is it to be decided? Do we insist that they are Filipinos because they live in a territory internationally recognized as part of the Philippine Republic? Do we want to go the way my mainland Chinese student has suggested? "You don't agree, then fight!"

In fact, our government has followed that route for a long, long time already, following a policy instituted by the Spanish and American colonial governments. For decades now, hundreds of thousands have been killed, and thousands upon thousands more have been displaced in

pursuit of that policy, adding to the misery of people already burdened by poverty and underdevelopment.

Government is an impersonal, almost abstract entity, but at bottom it is still composed of people who are supposed to represent the will of the majority. I wonder, does the government position on the Moro demand represent the thinking of the majority of Filipinos? Do majority of the Filipinos insist that Moros are Filipinos?

If so, how do we explain the fact that a lot of Filipinos themselves do not want to be Filipinos? Indeed, thousands have resigned as Filipinos or are planning to resign as Filipinos and migrate abroad. Why do they want the Moros to become Filipinos? It seems to me many Moros do not want to be Filipinos, but they do not want to migrate, either. They just want to stay in their own homeland and have control over it.

That Mindanao continues to bleed reflects the fact that all approaches and solutions that have been tried so far have failed to solve the fundamental issue of the Moro's demand for a homeland of their own. This is a centuries-old dream that refuses to die, and those of us who struggle for peace in Mindanao should confront it squarely if we want peace in our country.

The conference theme counterposing sovereignty and autonomy seems to do just that, but may I add another perspective? The term sovereignty carries with it a concatenation of weighty principles such as constitutionality, inviolability of territorial integrity, nationalism, etc. As we have seen, these principles are upheld not only by government, but also by a host of individuals who will volunteer to defend them.

On the other hand, autonomy is only one option of another fundamental principle: The people's right to self-determination. The concept of people carries with it a concatenation of weighty principles such as identity, ethnicity, homeland, and nationhood. As we know these principles act as powerful motivators to many people to volunteer to fight, not only in Mindanao, but also all over the world. Furthermore, we know that when conditions are ripe, these people will push the right to self-determination to its logical conclusion: Secession and the formation of a new, independent country.

Autonomy can be accommodated within sovereignty. But secession directly challenges an existing sovereignty because it seeks to become another sovereignty. As we know, that is the reason why the map of the world keeps changing. It is identity politics at work.

There are a thousand and one issues that can be discussed and explored about the Mindanao conflict. But I suggest that we should begin with confronting our own individual position on the core issue of the identity assertions of the Moros. The first question is, do you accept that the Moros are not Filipinos, even if they are inhabitants of the Republic of the Philippines? The second question is, if they are not Filipinos, are they entitled to their own homeland?

Obviously a negative answer means maintaining the *status quo*. In effect, it is taking the position of my mainland Chinese student: Fight. And like my Ilocano friend, it means willingness to volunteer to defend the constitution, national sovereignty, and the country's territorial boundaries. It means war.

I suggest that an affirmative answer, although fraught with many dangers, provides hope for genuine peace. Like my Zamboangueño friend, we must be willing to break our heads at the negotiating table to determine what is “theirs” and what is “mine.” We must be willing to reimagine a new Philippines. And we must be aware how difficult that is. For one, we have to ensure that the rights of the Lumad communities and settler communities in the affected areas are protected. Our Moro brothers must be made aware that if Moros do not want to be Filipinos, many Filipinos, including Lumads, do not want to be Moros, too. Or to be precise, they do not want to acquire a Moro citizenship in a Bangsamoro Republic. If we respect each other's rights, there will be peace in our land and hopefully all of us can attend to the urgent tasks of eradicating poverty and breaking underdevelopment in our respective homelands.

Epilogue³

I went to the Conference of the Philippine Political Science Association (PPSA) in General Santos City on 03-04 April 2009 with some apprehension. I was going to talk about identity politics even as its most violent expression was being played out in the neighboring province of Maguindanao. A week before the conference, 27 March 2009 to be exact, a government patrol had been ambushed by fighters of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in Barangay Bialong, Saudi Ampatuan town. The Army reported that seven of its soldiers were killed in the ambush; they were retrieved only two days later, their bodies badly mutilated. The Army accused the rebels of desecrating the dead, which MILF spokesman Eid Kabalu denied.⁴

In Davao, the war in Cotabato seems so far away even if Cotabato is just a neighboring province. The death casualties and the periodic displacement of civilians are things we only read in the papers or see on TV. But this particular piece of news brought the realities of war right in our neighborhood. One of the soldiers killed in the ambush was a neighbor, and his wake was held at his mother's house, just three houses away from the family compound. I did not know the soldier personally. I was told he was only twenty-five years old. Those who visited his wake could not see his face. His entire body was wrapped in a white shroud. "Mutilated," said the neighbors.

His mother was an ordinary housewife who augmented the family income by being a *sastre*.⁵ She did the curtains of my mother. And so we knew her. We knew another son had died a year ago from some illness. In a span of one year she had lost two sons.

During the wake, soldiers would drop by our neighbor's house, but there were always two soldiers who stayed to keep watch. And so I was going to General Santos City (GenSan) to talk about identity politics even as a soldier's wake was still being held in my neighborhood and sporadic fighting was still erupting in Cotabato, displacing thousands of people.⁶

I knew, of course, that the GenSan PPSA Conference was a gathering of academics, but I could not be too sure about the passions of the participants. I wouldn't know the emotions I would arouse. But I said to myself that I would read my paper as a point for reflection, and not as a point for argument. I will not argue while in GenSan, while a hot war was going on, while our soldier-neighbor's dead body lay in state in his mother's house.

And so when I saw several hands going up after my speech, I decided to be more cautious in my answers. I do not know how I fared with my answers to the questions raised by some of the participants. They certainly had their own strong views on the subject. But now safely ensconced in Davao, perhaps I can also give a fuller explanation of my views.

One participant raised the point that the Philippines is actually composed of many *bangsas*. In Mindanao, you do not only have the Bangsamoro, but also the Bangsa Lumad, which is further subdivided into various bangsas – Manobo, Teduray, Mansaka, Mandaya, Bagobo, etc. – not to mention the Bangsa Migrante (settlers) each with its own history, culture, language, etc.

I don't remember making a comment on this observation. But I agree. We are a multinational country. Some bangsas are big, some are small. However, the issue is that in the case of Mindanao, the Bangsamoros have attained a national consciousness of identity separate from the other groups. They have political organizations and armies, and have fought for a separate homeland for decades. The other bangsas have no such national consciousness and for the moment, at least, are content with (or resigned to?) being a part of the Philippine body politic. On the part of the Lumads, many are satisfied with being given their ancestral domains.

In Luzon and the Visayas, no serious separatist groups have arisen so far among the Christianized bangsas such as the Ilocanos, Cebuanos, Bicolanos, etc. Many appear to consider themselves as Filipinos, although a lot are resentful of Manila imperialism and demand federalization to empower the regions or other bangsas. The idea of breaking up the Philippines into several countries based on ethnokinship lines as advocated by David Martinez⁷ does not seem to be catching on.

One participant said that identity is not really that strong a bond. It only surfaces when a people feel they are oppressed and exploited. If their economic conditions improve, then the demand for secession will evaporate.

I don't fully recall our exchange. I felt though that since this appeared to be a "theoretical" issue, it was a safe topic, and I guess I said a mouthful, dropping terms like ethnicity, identity markers, kinship ties, ethnokinship. At the bottom what I wanted to say was that the strength of the bonds depends on how much the people have in common in terms of identity markers, such as color, bloodline, language, family, genealogy, tradition, language, religion, history, literature, etc., including a common territoriality. Of course, consciousness ties all these things up. The more identity markers match among certain people, the stronger their bond, and the strongest social bond is defined along ethnokinship ties.

I said that I have no problem if economic equalization succeeds in weakening the bonds, but I pointed out that prosperity is no guarantee. I cited the Basques and the Catalans who live in the most industrialized regions of Spain and yet, these are the places where there appears to be a strong secessionist sentiment.

On reflection, probably the best way to solve this issue is to cite specific cases where subordinated nations are bought off through prosperity. My observation is that this economic/development approach becomes possible only if the subordinated nations are completely

defeated militarily and are effectively minoritized to the extent that they can no longer mount any resistance. But to complete the conquest, many majority nations use an entire array of cultural and ideological weapons, such as education, to destroy the community bonds, wiping out the histories, cultures, traditions, and even languages of the subordinated or minority nations. (For those interested, I discussed in another paper the weakening if not dissolution of certain bonds wrought by American education in the Philippines).⁸

One young participant rose to say that he knew what ethnicity, identity, and kinship mean, but this is the first time he had heard of ethnokinship. I said I coined the word, but I did not elaborate anymore as it would take up time. (For those interested, they might like to read my explorations into this concept through a related seminal paper entitled “The ethnokinship theory of literature”).⁹

One participant said that my idea of identity is dangerous. What would prevent any group of people from insisting that they are different, even if there are only five of them? I don’t exactly recall what I answered. But identity is indeed dangerous. We cannot prevent any group of people from declaring that they are different. If their bond is strong and they have the means to become separate, well, then they might fight for it. If not, then they would remain subordinated nations, or be wiped out.

What is really the sentiment of the Moro people, somebody asked. Do they really favor the MOA-AD or secession? This time, my answer was safe. I said I couldn’t answer that. Only the Moros could answer that. It’s a matter the Moros will have to settle among themselves. I did not present my personal opinion anymore—that the protracted struggle of the Moros seems to me to indicate that majority of the Moros support an independent Bangsamoro.

Somebody took me to task for suggesting that the Luzonians should keep out of the Mindanao problem. Why should I exclude them if they want to help? Well, I had to retreat. I said it was a hyperbole. I cannot stop anybody from helping solve the Mindanao problem. But now may I add that it should not be by waging war, as my Ilocano friend wanted to do? Rather, they might like to join some Mindanawons who are now ready to accept the existence of a Bangsamoro Republic.

A young participant rose to say he was simply amazed at my obstinacy or was it my intransigence (?) in arguing about identity politics despite what all the other participants had said. He seemed to be saying,

who are you to argue with all of them? Anyway, his main point was why was I shutting out the possibility of a hyphenated identity?

I am not sure how I answered him. But I suppose he will be in for more amazement in the future. I have no problem with hyphenated identities for as long as the person concerned is the one who chose to have a hyphenated identity. It doesn't matter how many hyphens he puts in his identity for as long as it is his own act, and not imposed by others.

Which brings me to the point of my paper: We have to confront the identity assertion of the Moros. What is your own attitude towards the Moro demand for their own homeland?

Notes

¹ Translation of a paper read in Cebuano at the 2009 International Conference, Philippine Political Science Association, with the theme "Reimagining the nation-state: Consensus and conflict on sovereignty and autonomy," General Santos City, 03-04 April 2009.

² "If they don't like the Philippines, drive them out!"

³ Written on 12 September 2009.

⁴ See *Bandera*, 31 March 2009, 4.

⁵ Seamstress.

⁶ Estimates placed the internally displaced persons at 300,000. See Malang.

⁷ For an exhaustive discussion on the nations within a nation, see *A country of our own: Partitioning the Philippines* by David C. Martinez.

⁸ See "Return to community," an article which appeared in the December 2001 issue of *Our own voice*.

⁹ This article appeared in the *Tambara* vol. 20 in both Visayan and English versions.

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Including Mindanao: A Review of Mindanao in Literature¹

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October 14, 2008. The highest court of the land declares the Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain (MOA-AD) unconstitutional. The Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) leaves the negotiating table. There is fighting on the ground; the AFP bombs suspected MILF areas; whole villages are displaced. Scores die, many of them civilians, and 600,000 or more are rendered refugees in evacuation centers. Food supply is dangerously low; people's shanties burn on highways. Children die from dysentery, malnutrition, pulmonary disease, bullets, and bombs.

This is the general context for this paper, actually a broken record of a context for the past thirty years. More immediately, it is the fruit of having to contend with the following remarks from students in these past decades of my teaching Philippine and Asian literature:

1. The Philippines was saved from becoming a Muslim country by Spanish colonization.
2. Muslims are allowed more than one wife and practice divorce; ergo, they are immoral and promiscuous.
3. The Muslims are warlike; they kill when forced to eat pork, they are *juramentados* and terrorists.
4. The conflict between the Muslims and the government forces is due to religious differences.
5. The Moros were pirates and enemies of the Filipinos.
6. To paraphrase former President Joseph Ejercito Estrada, the war between the Muslims and the government should continue to teach the Muslims a lesson.
7. *Lumad*. What's that?

In fairness, more critical Christian students point out that being Muslim is not a hellish fate to be saved from, and that Christianity has had its own dark history during the Crusades, the Inquisition, as well as the frailocracy in the Philippines.

The matter of Muslim polygamy is easily answered with this wag's formulation: *Ang Muslim, puwedeng mag-asawa, apat. Lampas apat, Kristiyano na 'yan*. Not coincidentally, this joke made the rounds during the presidency of Erap Estrada.

Moros as "pirates and enemies of the Filipinos," "juramentados" and "jihadists," and the roots of the conflict in Mindanao are issues dealt with by citing contemporary research. Fortunately also, not too many are convinced by Erap's words that the centuries-old war in Mindanao should continue, just to teach the Muslims a lesson.

Such Christian chauvinist remarks came to a head when an otherwise bright student of mine illustrated the Muslim with a skull and crossbones in a presentation, while another said "Muslim *kasì*" on a comment that Indonesians seemed more aggressive than Filipinos. Muslim students from Mindanao and abroad studying at a Catholic university in Manila wanted to organize themselves into a co-curricular organization, but could not find a faculty member to be their moderator.

There are many more and much worse examples of discrimination against the Muslims and Lumads that could fill a whole book.² It will be a long long time indeed before the Philippine government could ever institute a *National Sorry Day* for Moros and Lumads, the way the Australian government did for their aborigines.³ It seems we have learned only too well from our former US colonial masters how to deal with indigenous peoples, if what has happened to the great tribes of native Americans is any gauge. On the other hand, there may be some hope to gain from US President Barack *Hussein* Obama's stepping into history.

Distortions

Norma Mangondato-Sharief speaks for the Moro people in particular, by listing the "distortions against Islam, against the Moros as Muslims, and against the Moro Nation as a people" (2000, 4) in history books. She notes how the Muslims are

unkindly dubbed or described as pirates, bounty hunters and plunderers, conveyed as blood-thirsty juramentados after the

Christians' heads, and generally referred to as "Mohammedans," if not pagans. ... These sow the seeds of hatred, antipathy and contempt and hinder sympathy, understanding and peaceful co-existence (4).

This is still probably true, even in pulp fiction. For example, anyone researching Mindanao literature may come across this blurb for the first book of a certain Tom Anthony, *Rebels of Mindanao* (2008):

Al Qaeda terrorists are spreading silently throughout the globe wreaking violence on all who oppose them. Their newest target: The Philippine island of Mindanao. ... Thornton recruits a hunter-killer team of Manobo tribesmen to begin covert actions against the insurgency. The mission: Eliminate a Turkish warrior carrying millions in cash into Mindanao to finance an Islamic revolution. The deal: Make the Turk and the cash disappear, no questions asked.

The blurb reiterates Mindanao as a site of terrorism, and the Manobo tribesmen in particular as killers who help the Americans in an illicit undercover mission.

Objective

Mangondato-Sharief comments that the educational system directed by Manila is responsible for continuing the discrimination against the Moros, through the sin of commission and omission.

I concur. As academics, it is our responsibility to learn what is out there about Mindanao, and to help correct the centuries of ignorance, distortion, and discrimination among ourselves in Manila through our lessons.

The objective of this paper therefore is to find out if Mindanao is included in contemporary Philippine literature, and if it is, how it is represented in literature textbooks and references used in Luzon. This paper is limited to Philippine contemporary short fiction that represents Mindanao and its tripeople of Christian settlers, Moros, and Lumads that are anthologized in books and journals available in Manila. I also look at texts collected from Ian Casocot's website "A survey of Philippine literature."²⁴

This is just an initial attempt of a non-Mindanawon academic based in the imperial center of Manila to include Mindanao literature in the syllabus. Although I am extra careful about taking on a Manila imperialist gaze in reading this marginalized body of work, I cannot be a hundred percent sure I've got it down pat. My only claim to

some knowledge on the topic is my having followed Mindanao issues a little more closely than most of my colleagues in Manila have. I have also visited Mindanao several times since 1997 for conferences, meetings, and holidays.

While my training as an academic has fostered an aesthetic skewed to writer-ly and modern types of literature rather than the oral tradition which might be prevalent in Mindanao, the study of post-colonialism and the romance mode provides me some space to include othered literatures.

Lastly, my research has focused primarily on the marginalized in Philippine literature, particularly women, and Bikol literature. Knowing what it is like to be at the margins, Bikol literature also largely invisible in Philippine literature, is just one more rationale for my taking up an advocacy for Mindanao literature in Luzon where I teach and research.

Absent

Looking back at my own education in literary studies from high school through graduate school in Manila, I realized that we never took up any text from Mindanao, by a Muslim, or about Muslims and Lumads. I had never heard of the Darangen until postgraduate studies in the mid-1990s. For that matter, I had also never heard of the Ivatan *laji*, Mangyan *ambahan*, or the Bikol *tigsik* either, literary forms in the preeminent island of Luzon. In fact, most of the texts we took up in college were in English or translated to English. We knew little and cared less about the “nation outside Manila,” as Rosario Lucero puts it, especially Mindanao.

Mindanao figured in my university education only twice, in extra-curricular activities. One was when, as college students, we were part of a campaign to help Jolo refugees when the island was razed by government troops in February 1974. Later in that decade, I attended a seminar where UP professor Nicanor Tiongson pointed out to us the negative image that the *moro-moro* wrought in the minds of viewers. Three decades since then, is Mindanao more represented in literature references available in Manila?⁵

CCP, NCCA, and CHED

The study of Philippine literature usually starts with a look into Vol. IX of the *Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP) encyclopedia of the arts* (1994). This volume uses a historical framework, starting with pre-colonial through Spanish, American, to contemporary literature, and even includes Chinese-Philippine literature. Literature from the Philippine regions is relegated to Vols. I and II, the Peoples of the Philippines; this foregrounds the country's tribes and archipelagic landscape. The sections on Moro and Lumad literature are all folk literature. Jaime An Lim says of the *Encyclopedia*,

“From novels to books of poetry to critical studies, etc. of the 272 individual works identified as major, only 7 are from Mindanao... Who made the decision what to include or exclude? You can be sure the Mindanao writers were not consulted” (An Lim 1998, 140). Two Muslim professionals are however listed in the Encyclopedia's Board of Editors, Tausug Carmen Abubakar and Maranao Nagasura Madale; they probably contributed the folk literary pieces.

A cursory survey of the textbooks and references in the past three decades likewise shows that most of the literature from and about Mindanao are still folk, particularly the epics, folk stories, and folk poetry. This creates the impression that Mindanawons do not produce good enough contemporary written literature.

Nevertheless, because more attention is now being paid to the literature from the regions, a space for Mindanao literature has been carved out. There are local efforts, for example, by university academics in Mindanao. *MindaNews* lists 191 books and journals published from 2000 to 2008, although most are still on politics and the peace process (Arguillas 2009). In Manila, the CCP, the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA), and the Commission on Higher Education (CHED) are to be credited for supporting Mindanao literature. The CCP tapped Mindanawons Jaime An Lim and Christina Godinez Ortega for two journals dedicated to Mindanao literature, *Ani 14* (1990) and 22 (2002). These two writer-academics also published *Mindanao harvest I* (1995), a collection of fiction, and a second volume on poetry and drama, *Mindanao harvest II*. Lumbera's *Philippine literature from the regions* (2001) has a chapter on Mindanao literature, compiled and edited by Godinez-Ortega. Sillimanian Ian Casocot's formerly hyperactive website, “A survey of Philippine literature,” includes “Muslim-Filipino literature.”

There has also been more effort to include Mindanao literature in the curriculum, at least at the De La Salle University. Dr. Nagasura Madale once taught a graduate course in Muslim literature there and his students had the good fortune of visiting Marawi City as part of that course.

Mindanao tripeople in Philippine literature

Given the efforts to include Mindanao in the study of Philippine literature, let us now take a closer look at the short fiction by Mindanawons available in books and references in Manila. I would expect, for example, that Mindanawons, and especially Muslim Filipinos and Lumads, present a fairer and more balanced picture of their regions, culture, and people. What image then of Mindanao and its tripeople⁶ do they present to the readers?

Christian settlers

Writers coming from among the Christian settlers are the most visible in Mindanao's literature. Truth be told and without denigrating their talent, it is they, like the academics in Manila, who have had the most support through universities, writers workshops and guilds, competitions and awards, conferences and publications, and cultural organizations. It is their work that is most likely to be read in classrooms outside Mindanao.

Of all of their stories, those most likely to be read are Mig Alvarez Enriquez's "The white horse of Alih" and Aida Rivera Ford's "In a village called Talim." Enriquez's short story appears in his own book (1985), in An Lim (1995), and in two anthologies of Cruz (1995, 2000). It is also the only contemporary piece of fiction that represents Mindanao in the CHED handbook for literature; a sample lesson plan for it is provided in that handbook.

Enriquez's story is about Alih and his brother Omar, victims of poverty and injustice. They turn juramentado to expiate their shame and to go to heaven where beautiful *houris*⁷ await them. Upon seeing Omar go after a girl who personifies all the women he has ever loved, Alih hacks his brother until he himself is shot.

The story tries to get into Alih's head, told as it is from his perspective, his vicissitudes and aspirations. But what picture of the Muslim does it

show? As victim of circumstances, of a greedy Chinese merchant, of shadowy men with guns. The story shows Omar beating up his own brother for spending money on a merry-go-round to be near a pretty American girl. It shows Muslims not only drinking but getting drunk, lusting and grabbing at a waitress, and insulting their *ulama*. When Alih says he does not want to die before he has “tasted a woman,” his brother packs him off to a prostitute for the ritual *binyag*. Alih is also depicted as crazed and hallucinatory, someone who values the houri more than the white horse of heaven. My stock knowledge about Islamic and Filipino practices makes me raise an eyebrow: Is Enriquez writing here about Muslims, or non-Muslim Filipinos? On the other hand, like members of any other faith, some Muslims may not necessarily follow their religion’s injunctions against drinking and prostitution, and yet Enriquez chooses to focus on them.

This story highlights the image of the Muslim as juramentado. The author’s explanation for this reads:

Juramentados were a trauma with me. They followed me in my dreams until I was old enough to fight them off. But I loved the Moros for their garish bravado and exotic colorfulness. ... [Writing this story] was my way of helping myself to understand that this bizarre fanaticism is never whimsical but profoundly motivated and, like any other strange behavior of people, expressive of the human being (Enriquez 1985, 7).

Enriquez thus uses literature as salve to his individual trauma, but at the expense of the Muslims. He depicts the Moros as “garish” and “exotic,” as strange and bizarre fanatics. His story reinforces the view of the Moro as violent killer who will slay even his own brother for a beautiful woman. If this is how love for a people is manifested, no wonder then the ignorance and discrimination against the Muslims in the Philippines. The story seems culturally insensitive in pandering to the stereotype, despite the writer’s professed love for the Muslims.

This is not to say that conflict and violent behavior do not exist in Mindanao. The *rido* or violent family feuds, Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) banditry, war and the resulting evacuations are common occurrences in the Mindanao regions. Besides, fiction is not reality but art distilling that reality. One writer’s Mindanao is heaven, and another’s is hell — these are not news reports or documentaries. Still, some sensitivity in the distillation could instead foment fear, hatred, and prejudice.

The second story from Mindanao that is anthologized in Lumbera (2001) and *Ani 14* is Ford's "In the village called Talim." Ford uses Ryonosuke Akutagawa's technique of multiple voices to tell the story of an ex-convict who settles in Davao after his parole. He has been drinking when newcomers throw mud at him. He runs after the men, is stopped by a policeman, and calms down only when his wife goes into a seeming epileptic fit. The story about settlers from the Visayas paints a picture of deprivation, injustice, and violence in Mindanao. The protagonist once beheaded a man in Leyte, apparently in self-defense, and was jailed. A bloody battle between his bull and that of an Ilonggo neighbor's is a metaphor for the conflict among the settlers. The words *juramentado* and *amok* (Lumbera 2001, 528) figure once more in this story, thereby painting Mindanao and its Waray settlers as prone to violence. It is a clever story, with a clever protagonist of a wife, but also well within the discourse of Mindanao as a land of violence. If there is any saving grace in that regard though, the story at least does not limit the image of violence to the Moro, at the unfortunate expense of the stereotypically *palaaway* (quarrelsome) Waray-Waray.⁸

The excerpt from Antonio Enriquez's 1982 novel reprinted in Lumbera (2001),⁹ and therefore likely to be the novel excerpt read in Manila, portrays Liguasan Marsh, metonymically Mindanao, as a dark mire full of dead things. The "Moro interpreter" Ismael guides an engineer and his staff out of the swamp. The author notably finds it necessary to preface Ismael's name with the word Moro to foreground his ethnic identity. On the other hand, the men he guides are identified only by their occupations, the engineer and the rod man, never by any ethnic identity such as Manileño or Ilonggo or Ilokano. Moro is also made to sound like an epithet that "others" the host and guide Ismael from the non-Muslim surveyors of Liguasan Marsh. In addition, Dan whispers to Alberto, "I don't trust this Moro. He is leading us deeper into the marshes..." (Lumbera 2001, 530)

The persona further describes Ismael:

The Moro squatted with his bare feet set firmly on each side of the hull, looking straight ahead past the men... Quiet and immobile, with eyes fixed in their sockets, Ismael stared past the men... He squatted there with his bare feet on each side of the hull, as his ancestors had done before the Spanish missionaries came to this fecund land, instead of sitting, like the surveyors, on wooden boards laid across the *banca* (Enriquez in Lumbera 2001, 530).

and

The rod man Dante stood up in the banca, gripped the wooden paddle and then unclenched it in frustration: For all his anger he still had the sense to fear any Moro in his own native land, even a thick and nearly toothless one like Ismael (Lumbera 2001, 531).

The “common sense,” actually ideology, of the text is that Moros are an ancient people who remain primitive and exotic in their belief in spirits. More than that, they are not to be trusted, and in fact are to be feared. Ironically, Ismael never shows any hostile action; it is Dante, presumably a Christian, who exhibits unprovoked distrust, frustration, anger; he would have even struck Ismael if he were not so fearful of Moros.¹⁰

I turn now to stories published in journals from Mindanao that are available, but often not readily accessible, in Manila. The Mindanao State University in Marawi published four contemporary stories, giving different faces of Mindanao in *Aday* (1994): Anthony Tan’s tale of a wife mourning her husband, Juan Rodion M. Herrera’s love story in the computer age, Therese P. Abonales’s fairy tale *a la* Ibong Adarna, and Calbi A. Asain’s tale of revenge. An Lim and Godinez-Ortega’s *Mindanao harvest 1* has a dozen fictionists, among them the most well-known: A. Enriquez and M.A. Enriquez, Muslim Filipinos Ibrahim A. Jubaira and Calbi A. Asain, Ford, An Lim, and Tan. Other names not usually anthologized are Cezar Ruiz Aquino and Aurelio A. Peña, while stories by Generoso B. Oplencia and Josefina Carballo-Tejada appear in both *Mindanao harvest 1* and *Ani 22*.¹¹

Aside from “In a village called Talim,” Ford has two other readable stories, “Adula” in *Mindanao harvest I* (64-78) and “My Sangrela” in *Ani 22*. The first story is about a half-Spanish half-Bagobo flight stewardess Adula who has a sexual fling with a married man for physical satisfaction, money, and privilege. She thus shocks the persona, a history teacher, and breaks the heart of suitor Adrian. The story portrays the Lumad woman, in the person of Adula’s betel nut-chewing *gayuma*-concocting mother and in Adula herself, as sirens who would not think twice about sexual affairs for lust and profit. Their Bagobo forebears are also said to practice slavery and human sacrifice, with the corpses chopped into pieces by all, including little children, to lend them courage (72).

Ford likewise takes a peek at Christian-Muslim tensions in this story. A young Muslim woman, insulted by a Tagalog man’s murmur of *Ang bango!* when he passes by her in the classroom, searches for her knife-

wielding male kin to avenge her. Ford then mentions bloody incidents wrought by “imagined insults” between Muslims and Christians in a provincial sports meet. The Muslims are thereby portrayed as a people prone to rage, who would pull out their knives and kill at the first sign of even an unintended insult.

The second story is a Filipino version of a sharpshooting American cowgirl who sets up a cattle ranch in the thinly populated Maragusan Valley (now a town of Compostela Valley province). The rancher persona employs Bagobo tribesmen as bodyguards, guides, and workers, and provides education, medicine, and livelihood to the Mansaka women. She calls the ranch on a plateau her *Shangri-la*, which the Bagobos and Mansakas pronounce as “Sangrela.” After she pays off the amortization, new settlers grab some of her land, kill her cattle, and hunt down her employees and herself. They are backed up by NPA rebels, and she is henceforth unable to visit her beloved ranch again. The story positions the readers to sympathize with the seemingly well-meaning woman rancher unjustly labelled Big Landlord and Capitalist by communist rebels. However, the story fails politically. The story portrays Mindanao as a wild and woolly West that a two-gun Pinay Annie sets out to conquer, her trusty savages beside her. Greedy landgrabbers backed by armed goons, in this case NPA rebels, take her away from her Eden. John Wayne, Robert Conrad and Michael Landon¹² live on in Ford’s Mindanao! The Lumad tribes are, as usual, primitive, illiterate, sick (“goiter-necked”) beasts of burden (“short, malnourished, my trusty Bagobos”) that a privileged educated lowlander sets out to save. Unlike their native American counterparts though, not even one is at least romanticized as a “noble savage;” there is no Chingachgook, Hiawatha or Pocahontas among them.

Opulencia’s “The cross, the guillotine and Father Andrew” (An Lim and Godinez-Ortega 1995) is set in southern Cotabato, historically sparsely inhabited by Lumad and Moros, and eventually settled by thousands of pioneering settlers from Luzon and the Visayas in search of land.¹³ The story focuses on the relationship between a *lechon*-eating American priest and a settler boy, whom the priest orders around as a “gofer.” It is an amusing story that subtly critiques Fr. Andrew’s attack on revolutionary movements. The priest had made the boy read *The cross and the guillotine* about French Revolution leader George Jacques Danton’s conversion to Catholicism. He condemns “the carnage ... [as] the work

of the devil, but in the end God triumphed.” The persona despises the thesis; it nevertheless gives him shivers because of the possibility of revolution also coming to southern Philippines. He also finds time to be kind to the aging priest whose life and ideas are about to pass on.

Aurelia A. Pena’s “Full moon over Mt. Diwata” (An Lim and Godinez-Ortega 1995) is a slice of life of poor Visayans searching for gold in the human and animal excrement of Mt. Diwalwal in Mindanao. It is, however, best studied from a moralistic and ecological point of view, for it shows Nature lashing back at the greedy excavators.

In “The concert,” Tita Lacambra Ayala mentions a grenade-throwing incident that kills two policemen and injures shoe shine boys (An Lim 1995). It seems to say “What else is new? Just another incident of ‘pre-election terrorism’ that need not get in the way of dental appointments or campus concerts.” A fifteen-minute brownout is shown as creating more of a hassle than the bombing.

Although E. Rene R. Fernandez’s “Reunion” is set in wintry Cleveland, USA, the story is Mindanawon in spirit. Felix reunites with his sister Lara after twenty years; they have lost their parents, Lara has lost one child, and is about to lose the other. Lara has become thoroughly American, yet grief and despair make her turn to a shamanic ritual and the healing herbs of her childhood in far Zamboanga. Felix witnesses the healing ritual and his niece’s subsequent miraculous cure.

An interesting story is “The cargo” (An Lim and Godinez-Ortega 1995) by Tan, a well-known poet and fictionist in Mindanao. This story is Asmawil’s account of the death of nine men engaged in barter trade/smuggling in the waters between Sandakan and Tawi-Tawi. The nine corpses are the cargo of the title. The persona killed his nephew-in-law in self-defense; this same nephew had earlier mowed down all the eight other passengers for money. Throughout the long short story, the persona mulls why and how he should bring home the nine men for a proper burial, the repercussions of living the life of a fugitive, versus the suspicions and retribution his wife, children, and he would suffer. The thought of his family’s suffering motivates him to return to port. The story deals with a massacre at sea, thereby conflating the Mindanao islands with smuggling, greed, robbery, and murder. At first glance, it seems no different in subject matter from M.A. Enriquez’s “The white horse of Alih.” A second look however shows that the killer here is like many other killers motivated by greed. Ethnic and religious background

have nothing to do with his stealing and killing; on the other hand, these have much to do with concern about the deceased and their families. Moreover, the persona is an impoverished hero who loves a woman but is practical enough to elope with her even if this is against tradition. He is almost coldly analytical in assessing the numerous options left to him, in planning the strategy of bringing in the cargo of warm corpses and cold cash. His great love and concern for his children and courage make him a far far greater hero than the unfortunate Alih. This is an excellent story, worth anthologizing in place of the CHED-recommended tale by M.A. Enriquez.

Another one of the better stories coming from among the Christian settlers in the four Mindanao journals is "Tapsi" by Eduardo Ortega. It is readable and plays fair in its politics. The story starts out with Andy as a typical educated Christian who is afraid of Muslims. He is in a boat with four Muslims, on a trip to collect seaweeds for a biology project. He imagines battles and amoks and is constantly looking over his shoulder because he is told, "Never turn your back on a Muslim." He even imagines blood flowing from the breast of a Muslim mother feeding her baby. In the boat, he names only the sole educated professional Muslim, Mr. Gani Lontawar. That in itself is a kind of prejudice. Later, he finds out that the boat captain's name is Tapsi, who wields what for him is a fearsome *keris*. However, he gradually gets to know Tapsi, and by the end of the story, Andy is a changed man. The story is the educated Christian settler's self-criticism of his own discrimination against Muslims. The reader gradually shifts with the persona from discrimination, to a realization of an objective truth, and finally to admiring gratitude. I believe this is a must-read story for its gradual unmasking of Christian chauvinism against the Moros.

One significant anthology from among the Mindanao settler communities is *Sky rose and other stories* by Macario Tiu (2003). Among the eight stories, two mark a literature of place, "I am one of the mountain people" and the title story "Sky rose," also published in *Muog* (Guillermo 1998) under the pseudonym Felipe Granrojo.

In "I am one of the mountain people," the Lumad child persona frames his story with the same sentence, "I did not want to go to Santa Barbara, but Ita Magdum forced me to go there." He says this when at the age of seven, he is sent to a Christian school in the lowlands; he says this again after seven years in that school, when he is fourteen. Through

the years, his father wants him to learn Christian “magic” to repel the Christian landgrabbers and murderers. This is yet another story of conflict, but interestingly enough, it speaks of the landgrabbing and massacres of native tribes by Christian settlers. The Muslims, termed “Allah worshippers” by the mountain tribe do not get good press here either; they are hated and feared although some of the tribesmen seem to be learning from their resistance to the Christians.

“Sky rose” is the story of NPA commander Rolly, told from the shifting viewpoints of comrades Betty, Tonyo, Joey, their peasant hosts, and Rolly’s own memory. The reader learns what motivated some middle class students to go to the hills of Davao, to escape prison and martial law, and to serve “the masses.” The squad’s activities, including their killing and being killed, are described in detail. Rolly dies at the hands of a comrade in a mistake encounter and is hailed as a hero in their mass base.

Tiu’s stories portray the conflicts in Mindanao, between the communist rebels and the government, between the Moro rebels against the government, and between the Lumads and the Christians and Moros. The difference is, in these particular stories of conflict, the Christians are actually named as the perpetrators in landgrabbing and massacres. This contradicts the typical moro-moro or warrior image of the Mindanao Muslims. The Moros are however not painted as saviors by Tiu’s Lumads either; the non-Muslim tribes after all must have been pushed higher up the mountains during Moro incursions into their tribal highlands. The stories are perhaps suggesting that the problem with war in Mindanao is war itself and that there is therefore a need to address the root causes of that war.

The Mindanao writers with Christian settler background depict the many faces of Mindanao, although usually from the viewpoint of educated city folk. Written mostly in the social realist vein, they often show Mindanao as a land of conflict, rather than promise. Some writers, particularly M.A. Enriquez, A. Enriquez, and Ford also tend to show the Muslims and Lumads as violent, primitive, illiterate people. A refreshing change, however, are the stories of the younger writers Tan, Ortega, and Tiu. Though they also show conflict, they give a more balanced picture of the dynamics and tensions among the Mindanao tripeoples.

*Moros writing*¹⁴

The publication of *The many ways of being Muslim* (Barry 2008) by no less than Anvil Publishing indicates that indeed, Muslim Filipino literature's time has come. The book has twenty-two stories by four men and five women, divided into three sections. It is curious though that the authors' names do not accompany the titles in the table of contents; they are listed in the contributors' page at the end.

The first set of stories from pre-World War II to 1960 is represented only by Jubaira. "Blue blood" is in this collection, along with three other Jubaira stories, about a tall big man who gives a child nightmares, an oriole that haunts a childless married man, and a woman who lovingly facilitates a "Mohammedan" burial of a drinker and womanizer.

"Blue blood of the big astana," first published in 1941, is one of the most anthologized stories by a Muslim Filipino from Mindanao. The story is also in Cruz's *Best Philippine short stories of the 20th century* (2000), in Bangkok-based American scholar Coeli Barry's *The many ways of being Muslim* (2008),¹⁵ in Castrillo, *et al.*'s *Philippine reader* (2006), and on an internet site.

It tells the story of poor orphan boy Jafaar, given as a servant to the *datu* who owns the big *astana* or royal house, as a servant. He suffers the laughter of the *datu*'s "blue-blooded" daughter at his harelip. Because the teacher cannot beat her for her laggard academic performance, Jafaar takes on for the girl her teacher's lashings. He agonizes when she marries a young *datu*. He leaves the *astana*, works hard, and earns a modest living. He visits her years later and finds her haggard and impoverished; her husband has been jailed for asserting his right to the ancestral land against the Christian and American government.

Noted literary critic Cruz says this of the story, Jubaira weaves into one flowing strand various streams of politics, religion, violence, folk beliefs, class struggle, physical deformity, even a full-blown wedding. Yet the story is easy to follow, even to readers not familiar with the doctrines and practices of Islam. What Ibrahim says in this, as in his other stories, is that beneath religious and political concerns, readers are all alike, in that they all share a common humanity. Love transcends all religions and all political struggles. In the story, Jubaira offers a new way of looking at this eternal truth (Cruz 2000, 114).

Barry, the critic who reprints the story on the web and in her book, also describes the story thus: “With great economy of words, Jubaira crafts a love story, a coming of age story, and a plea for the separateness of this re-created, seaside Muslim world which would not preclude accommodation with the Philippines” (2004).

The story condemns Muslim upper classes for mistreating the poor and disfigured, thereby highlighting class and “lookist” conflict. It relishes the success the poor boy has garnered from his own hard work and entrepreneurship as against the feudal backwardness of the royalty. Politically, that’s good.

Nevertheless, there are two problems with the story, from a more historically informed vantage point of 2009. First, Jubaira uses the term “Mohammedan” to describe the school the *Dayang dayang* (princess) was sent to. The term Mohammedan, as pointed out by Mangondato-Sharief is a distortion because the religion is Islam and not Mohammedanism. The Muslims worship Allah, not their prophet Mohammed (Mangondato-Sharief 2000, 5). Second, the story condemns the actions of the Dayang-dayang’s datu husband. The young datu had refused to pay the tax on the land and was hauled off to a penal colony, leaving his wife and children to till the soil by themselves. The story prefigures the MNLF and MILF and seems to condemn them.

The writer has however obviously succumbed to the American-Filipino hegemony of his time. As Barry points out, Jubaira who himself has Moro blue blood is limited by his class, his American education, and if I may add, his government position in the Department of Foreign Affairs:

Both as a writer and as a high-status Muslim with the benefit of a colonial education, his voice assumes a distance from the world he describes . . . like many intellectuals and political leaders of his generation, Jubaira advocated an integrationist approach in the southern Philippines, believing that only a measure of accommodation with the “Christian state” could protect Muslims from unscrupulous newcomers (2004).

Another Jubaira story, “The prophet came to my city,” (An Lim and Godinez-Ortega 1995) seems to espouse the same integrationist ideology. When Mohammed miraculously comes to visit his people, they tell him of their suffering, for example, of the government’s neglect and non-payment for the blind streetsweeper’s services. A child, tentmaker, and old poet then confess to him how the people had sinned by sowing

deceit, distrust, hate, enmity, and shedding blood. The prophet enjoins them to “Sow in your hearts the seeds of love and harvest the fruits of hope for kingdom eternal” (An Lim and Godinez-Ortega 1995, 82).

Jubaira’s integrationist approach has inevitably proven him wrong, given the state of affairs in Mindanao after years of conflict. The ideology of Jubaira combines the traditional concepts of prayer, love, and peace, since Islam means peace with the American dream of hard work and entrepreneurship to surmount barriers of class and disability. The feudal clans will have their day, especially if they rebel against the change brought about by modernization and westernization. Jubaira is an excellent writer who fits very well the ethos of his Americanizing time, but who may perhaps later be relegated to literary history as the first notable Muslim Filipino writer.

Barry’s second literary period which historically covers the years of the First Quarter Storm, Martial Law, and EDSA is very ably represented by the excellent stories of Noralyn Mustafa, the brothers Said Sadain, Jr. and Mehol Sadain, and Asain. Speaking as a university-trained academic with some background in formalism and post-colonialism, I believe that these are the best stories in the entire book. They have all the elements one looks for in a modern short story—credible and angsty characters, conflict, tension, ambiguity, interior monologue, epiphany, motif, theme, aside from a non-orientalizing or othering gaze. None of the writers are creative writing majors, but students of culture (Philippine Studies, Islamic studies), journalism, and even engineering, but they are storytellers who have a good grasp of the language they choose to use. Their stories deal with the cognitive dissonance of the Mindanao-born who resists being swallowed by the city. The romantic yearning for the pastoral setting of yore clashes with practical realities; alas, the personae have shed old skins, for “... the big city had a way of gobbling up its visitors. Nobody entered its abysmal depths and came out the same. Everybody changed” (M. Sadain in Barry 2008, 127).

An interesting reversal of the *tagabayan/tagabukid* binary is Mustafa’s “A day in the life of Dr. Karim.” The exhausted doctor is urged by his classmate to join him and live the good life in Maryland, USA. Dr. Karim is stretched to the limit by the vile conditions in the one-oxygen tank joke of a “hospital” in his hometown, where he is forced to play God in choosing whom to save. He is compelled to save the aged governor suffering from hypertension over one of his people, a

poor young farmer with a fatal gunshot wound. His name, Arabic for “generous,” suggests how the story ends.

In “Ocean” and “The river below,” Sadain writes about religious and political encounters, between an Islamic mystic and secularist, and between Muslim academic in Manila and armed ideologue in Basilan.

Asain has three stories. The first, “The middleman” (*Aday* 1994), is about a son’s vengeance against his father’s killer. In “The return” (*Ani* 22), an old man adopts a sickly child left behind by his mother who joined her soldier-husband in Manila. The plots of the two stories are predictable. Shining through though in “The return” is the kindness and love that the poor old man and abandoned child share in the grim scenario of the *bakwit*, or evacuees, and war in Mindanao. Panunggud (“The rebel”), published also in An Lim and Godinez-Ortega (1995), is for me, the best of the three stories. It is about a child who turns his back on his grandmother’s traditional beliefs after lessons from a “northern” teacher’s and doctors’ pronouncements. The ending asserts that there is something still to be said but cannot be explained about tradition. This story somehow inverts the nightmare in Jubaira’s “The tall big man.”

The third period in Barry (2008) is 1991-2002, covering the regimes of two heads of state, one who forged peace in Mindanao, Fidel V. Ramos (1992-1998), and another who donned fatigues to wage all-out war, Estrada (1998-2001). Four women’s stories represent this period, and they all deal with a critique of tradition, especially on gender issues. They are more self-critical of traditional ways such as the hated rido and the patriarchal polygamous setup of the traditional Muslim family rather than the ethnic and national politics of their predecessors. Elin Anisha Guro’s tragic “The homecoming” about the evil of rido does not flow well in terms of voice and structure, but is nevertheless an emotionally informative piece about an important issue. Arifah Jamil has the most acerbic tone; for example, the personae mock their mothers’ adherence to traditional practices, such as about menstruation or fashion. “Mukna,” meaning “veil,” is about a seventeen-year old woman rebelling against her father’s strictness and wanting to run away from home. Pearlsha Abubakar is undoubtedly the most talented of the young women, and has an excellent grasp of the English language. Her “Aysha’s pretty hate machine” and “Maghrib” speak of woman’s plight in a polygamous Muslim setup, but indirectly, subtly, suggestively, and therefore with the

most impact.

Abubakar also has one well-written contemporary story, “Limbo years,” published on the internet, and once available on Casocot’s academic site “A survey of Philippine literature.” The story is told in the first person by a Muslim woman who grows up in Manila and suffers a crisis of identity. When she joins the UP Collegian, her editor is aghast that she isn’t Muslim enough to give the school organ the ethnic representation it seeks. She herself shrugs off the fact that her father has two concurrent families, grits her teeth at being forced to pray on schedule, and lackadaisically deals with her ancient history and ancestry. After a forbidden journalistic activity and love affair, she is sent to Mindanao and dons her *mukna* or *hijab*, seeing no contradiction between her Muslim identity and the fashion statements of Jackie O and Audrey Hepburn. I believe students will enjoy this story, as it shows that the issues of Muslim youth are much the same as the issues of youth everywhere — generational conflict, ambition, love and heartbreak, identity crisis, and finding oneself in a new/old homeland.

Because this paper is limited to studying the contemporary fiction available in Manila, absent here is a review of the writing in Filipino and the Mindanao languages, and there might be fair pickings from those who write in those languages. There is some of that now, if the website *Dagmay* is any indication.¹⁶ Nevertheless, for works written in the native languages, translation is still needed for access outside Mindanao.

Of all of the Muslim writers, I believe that Asain, M. Sadain, Mustafa, and Abubakar are worth anthologizing and teaching in Manila. They will also probably make it to the canon of Muslim Filipino fiction from Mindanao. Their writing skill is unquestionable; their stories, gripping. They depict Muslim Mindanao from the insiders’ heart and soul, portray realities and aspirations without exoticizing, and therefore seem most fair and balanced in fictionalizing their region. Jamil, published on the internet, also holds promise among the younger batch of Muslim Filipino women writing.

The Lumad in literature

There is much information on Lumad folk literature from the *CCP encyclopedia*, journals, and theses and dissertations. There is also some contemporary fiction about them from an American anthropologist,

H. Arlo Nimmo's *The songs of Salanda* (1994) on the Badjao people, and from the Christian settler writers in Mindanao. Tiu has a story which features the Lumad tribe of the Manobo, "Sigaboy," first published in the 1 December 2008 issue of *Philippine graphic* and available online at Dagmay (2009). Dagmay also features "Tnalak" by Joy Rodriguez, an interesting love story set in a Tboli village. Ford has "Adula" and A. Enriquez has a novel entitled *Subanon*. Nevertheless, all these stories are told not by the Lumads themselves but by "outsiders" who may either sympathize with or exoticize them.

A collection of Lumad literary texts not readily available in Manila is *Sikami'n Lumad* edited by Albert E. Alejo, SJ of the Ateneo de Davao University. This book came about because of the absence of the contemporary Lumad in literature. Paring Bert, as he is called, says that the Lumad youth had applied to creative writing workshops in the past, but their output was dismissed by workshop organizers as not literary, and therefore not worthy enough to be considered for writing grants. He says that this stemmed from the different aesthetics of those running university-sponsored workshops *vis-à-vis* the aesthetics of the tribespeople from Mindanao's hinterlands, a contention that someone could look into for a dissertation.¹⁷

Alejo quotes a Manobo's sigh as the rationale for the collection of poems, legends, rituals, histories, and essays:

Kapag isinusulat nila kami, para kaming laging bakas ng lumipas o biktima ng pag-unlad. Di naman masama ang intensyon nila, pero parang hindi naman makilala ang aming sarili sa sinasabi ng ilang akademiko at aktibista. Dapat talaga may sarili kaming mga tinig (Alejo 2005, vii).

There is only one text that qualifies as contemporary fiction in *Sikami'n Lumad*, the rest being poems, legends, rituals, histories, and essays written in the native languages with Filipino translations. In *Nagpalitan* by Ata Manobo Rolando Losad,¹⁸ a datu, his wife, and daughter mistreat their servants, a mother and daughter, and throw them out of the household when the mother falls ill. She is discovered to have leprosy, supposedly a hereditary disease. Meanwhile, the datu's daughter also falls ill and no healer can help her. At her death bed, the old servant tells her daughter that she is actually the datu's daughter; her husband had exchanged the babies at birth so that their real daughter would not suffer the hardships of servitude. At the end of the story, the datu and his wife realize their wrongdoing and embrace their real daughter, while the servant's real daughter expires of the same disease

and at about the same time her biological mother dies.

The aesthetic of this story is very different from that of the modernist and writer-ly texts produced by Tiu, M. Sadain, Asain, or Abubakar. Nevertheless, the context is Lumad aesthetics of oral tradition. Its structure, with the prolonged account of the old servant's illness, sounds very much like post-dinner storytelling amid the fireflies. The romance mode takes over in terms of theme, a Mariang Alimango story with its *deus ex machina* ending but sans magic. It is however quite valuable in terms of understanding the worldview of the Ata Manobo writer, apparently a culture that emphasizes family and forgiveness. What a contrast from the picture of the Manobo as hired killer in the Tom Anthony novel.

Addressing the distortions

Of the Mindanao fiction available in Manila, those produced by the settlers and Muslims based in the academe seem to be the most developed, but the fiction of the settlers is the most widely anthologized. The literature by the Muslims is beginning to catch up though. The written fiction of the Lumad, if any, is still invisible or inaccessible, with only one story written by a Lumad making it to a book. This landscape seems to echo the socio-economic-political situation in Mindanao, with the Muslims waging war and peace to catch up with the world, and the Lumads still struggling for identity and stable territory in their own homeland. Studying Mindanawon literature could be the little assistance academics in Manila could lend in that arena.

Mangondato-Sharief proposes a ten-point agenda to address the distortions about Moros and Islam in history books. The first is to rewrite the history books to correct historical distortions, and second, to “condemn the Moro-Moro literature” which perpetuates the image of Moros as “savage, barbarian, bandit, lawless and wicked.” This statement could be extended for the Lumads and the settlers, and the whole of Mindanao.

I suggest therefore that a module on Mindanao literature be included in courses in Philippine literature. The choice of texts should be made without sacrificing aesthetics, but keeping the historical context, truth and fairness, and the need for peace in Mindanao in mind. There should be special care to avoid sowing “the seeds of hatred, antipathy

and contempt and hinder sympathy, understanding and peaceful co-existence” (Mangondato-Sharief 2000, 4) and avoid ghettoization in literature toward a more inclusive canon of Philippine literature. This is a challenge for scholars and academic to contribute to a peace constituency in Mindanao.

If I were to teach contemporary Mindanao fiction for example, I would require various essays, among them Asain’s “Folk literature of the Muslim cultural communities” on Casocot’s website and Godinez Ortega’s introduction to Mindanao literature in Lumbera (2001) to establish a literary history and context. I would mention Jubaira’s place in Mindanao’s literature, pointing out the role of American hegemony in the Muslim author’s mind as a historical context. I would, however, not require it as a reading. I would also *not* require M. Enriquez’s “White horse of Alih,” Ford’s “A village called Talim,” and the excerpt from A. Enriquez’s *Surveyors of Liguasan Marsh*. I would refer the students to these, precisely to elicit how they contribute to the distortions about Mindanao.

In this connection, I would cite the arguments raised by Frances Sangil and Eduardo Ugarte in their respective postgraduate papers. Sangil, using a postcolonial framework, concludes that the images of the indigenous tribes in selected films are those of “cannibals, war-freak savages, expert entertainers, sex-starved, easily fooled individuals, and plain subordinates” (77-78). Although she does not study the Moro or Lumad peoples in particular, her findings affirm Mangondato-Sharief’s contentions about minorities, while this study also confirms Sangil’s findings.

Ugarte, on the other hand, focuses on the image of the Moro. He notes that

the idea of the Moro being prone to the form of homicidal behaviour is merely a construct, in particular, used by the American drive to acquire information about Filipinos that would enable them to control their newly acquired subjects, and the conflict between Americans and Filipinos generated by this attempt at control. The association of amok with Muslim Filipinos is the outcome of the mistaken conflation of amok with the juramentado convention of the Moros, and the idea that the Muslim Filipinos were the most Malay of the the Malay ‘subraces’ in the Philippines and thus most likely to run amok (Ugarte Abstract, 1999).

This would be a good pre-reading material for a discussion of

stereotypes of the concerned minorities.

For class discussions, I would instead take selections by Muslims Mustafa, Sadain, Abubakar, and Jamil and Christians Tan, Ortega, and Tiu and the Lumad selections from the collection of Alejo. I would have the students do their own research and choose among the works of the other authors and from the website of the Davao Writers Guild, Dagmay. There are many excellent and entertaining stories on this website. As a project, students in Manila could read the texts and choose which ones they like best and why. I would also have the class watch Marilou Diaz Abaya's eye-opening and inspiring film "Bagong Buwan."

On an institutional level, I also pick up from Mangondato-Sharief's suggestions for addressing distortions in history books about the Moro, this time for all Mindanawons, for the literary field:

1. Include contemporary texts from the tripeople of Mindanao in Philippine literature.
2. In choosing the texts from Mindanao, consult also Moro and Lumad literary scholars, critics, and creative writers to avoid exoticization and commodification of literature. This requires some networking and dialogue with Mindanao's writers and educators.

I also suggest the following:

1. Include Moro and Lumad literary scholars in the CHED Technical Panel for Literature, Department of Education (DepEd), CHED, and university departments outside Mindanao, if there are none.
2. Help the Mindanao writers produce and market their own texts in and outside Mindanao. Karina Bolasco of Anvil Publishing, Inc., Alejo of Ateneo de Davao University, and Diaz-Abaya have shown that this can be done.
3. Institute exchanges between classroom students in Manila and Mindanao.

Land bridges

There is another academic gold vein for research, or to put it in another way, a bridge between Philippine and Southeast Asian literature, indicated in this paper. Lumbera sees any such bridge as something past, in pre-colonial literature (2000, 225). That may well be, but it would take

archaeologists, anthropologists, historians, and linguists working together some time to map this out. However, after having read contemporary fiction in English from Mindanao, I believe that literary historians and critics need not only go to a remote past to find cultural bridges. They exist at present, through the similarities between Mindanao, especially Muslim literature, and Malaysian, Indonesian, and Singaporean literature. The dynamics of Mindanao and the Philippines as enshrined in literature, just to push it a bit farther, brings to mind Malaysia's Singapore as well as Indonesia's East Timor and Aceh. And therein lies a eureka moment, the epiphany that all modern litterateurs crave.

In an/other country

While I was reading the more than fifty stories constituting contemporary Mindanao fiction by Mindanawons, I was getting a whole new education in the culture of peoples supposed to be, but not quite are, our Muslim and Lumad brothers and sisters. I felt I had embarked on a virtual tour of another country, of othered *bangsas*. The experience of studying Mindanawon literature has been akin to traveling to and within Mindanao, where I sometimes felt like a foreigner in my own country, especially in Marawi where I donned a veil to blend in with the populace. Except in Cordillera and Aeta territories, there are mostly variations on the themes of Manila in the literature of Luzon and the Visayas. For the literature of Mindanao has its own unique landscape, distinct from that of Luzon and the Visayas, and marked by its peculiar history and tripeople character.¹⁹

The fiction by the Christian settlers sounds familiar enough, akin as it is to that churned out in Manila. The stories, especially by Moros however, sound more similar to some Malaysian, Indonesian, even Singaporean stories rather than Filipino stories in English. For example, there are parallelisms in the themes of Jamil and Abubakar in Indonesian Titis Basino's short story "Her" about polygamy.²⁰ Islamic beliefs and practices are topics in Malaysian and Singaporean stories as they are in Muslim Filipino fiction. The characters' names alone, and the religion, culture, and practices are unfamiliar to an academic trained in Manila. I had to keep researching for the meanings of names such as Karim, Asmawil and places in case I had missed important meanings, symbolisms, or allusions. For the first time in my life, I cared enough

to look at Tawi-Tawi more closely on the map, to find the route of the barter trade from Sandakan to Siasi, after reading Tan's "The cargo." I also realized that Compostela Valley, which otherwise always figures in landmine reports that I write,²¹ used to include a "Marlboro Country" called Maragusan Valley.

In addition, while the Muslim Filipino writers acknowledge the real conditions in Mindanao, they have no image of Muslims as terrorists, fanatics, and jihadists, showing them instead as young and hardworking men and women with much the same issues as people of other races and groups, with the occasional added facet of being Muslim in a time of conflict.

While on this virtual voyage to and in southern Philippines, I realized that perhaps I should not be battling for "Including Mindanao," thereby subsuming Mindanao to Philippine literature, a.k.a. Manila hegemonic literature. Perhaps the way to give Mindanao and its people a voice is to excise it first from the Philippine map. In fact, perhaps this paper should have been entitled "Excluding Mindanao." After all, Mindanao *is* generally excluded and neglected by Manila-centric socio-economic-cultural politics anyway, in between its being bombed and burned intermittently. With East Timor in mind, perhaps by advocating the exclusion of Mindanao, which is in fact its past and present reality, we will finally be able to include it in our studies as another Southeast Asian country. Exclusion in Philippine literature but inclusion in Southeast Asian literature. Perhaps only then can the Mindanawon writers claim their rightful place in history and literature. This Manila-based paper, in solidarity with Mindanao, is therefore a small contribution to the debate towards finding the path to peace in the South.

Inshallah. Amen.

Notes

¹ This is a review of Philippine contemporary fiction that represents Mindanao and its tripeople of Christian settlers, Moros, and Lumads anthologized in publications available in Manila. It is an initial step towards a fairer inclusion of Mindanao in the teaching of Philippine literature and is limited to a study of the images in the selected texts.

² See, for example, "Measuring the bias against Muslims" in the *Philippine human development report 2005*, 53-58.

³ Australia held the first National Sorry Day on 26 May 1998, to apologize for removing

aboriginal children from their families. In 2005, the day was renamed National Day of Healing.

⁴ I do not include here three other printed texts and two important websites: An Lim, *et al.*'s "Landscapes of the imagination: The Fifth Iligan National Writers Workshop and Literature Teachers Conference in Mindanao;" Duerme, Judith M. *et al.*'s *Kulturang Caraga*; another publication with the same title of *Mindanao harvest*; and the Davao Writers Guild's e-journals *Dagmay*, *Davao harvest I* and *II*. The three printed texts are not available in the library, and the e-journals deserve a study of their own.

⁵ Jaime An Lim points out the marginalization of the Mindanao writer in a paper he delivered in Bukidnon in 1997 and subsequently published in *Mindanao forum* in June 1998. The average teacher and student in Manila however has little if any access to that journal. I received my own copy from playwright Saturnina Rodil when I first visited Iligan City in the late 1990s.

⁶ Macario Tiu (2002) provides a good overview of the dynamics among the Mindanao tripeople. Objections to the term "tripeople" led to the use of another term, Mindanawon (Rudkin 2002).

⁷ *Houris* are beautiful maidens that in Muslim belief live with the blessed in paradise.

⁸ The politically correct term for residents of Leyte and Samar is "Leyte-Samarnon," not Waray, which actually means "*nala*" or none.

⁹ *Surveyors of Liguasan Marsh* has reportedly been re-titled *Green sanctuary* and published by Giraffe Books in 2007 (*MindaNews* 2007).

¹⁰ This paper is limited to contemporary short fiction and novel excerpts by Mindanao-based writers in anthologies. It would be interesting however to look into Enriquez's later novels *Subanon* (1993) and *Samboangan: The cult of war* (2007), as well as his short stories. *Subanon*, for example, is said to have a "significant change in ethical and political perspective" from *Surveyors* and deserves a second look by anthropologists and educators (Macansantos, "Selected book reviews"). Given the big and excellent harvest of Philippine novels in recent years, it may not likely be picked up again though unless critics set their sights on Mindanao once more. Other papers could also be written on contemporary poetry and essays from Mindanao. *Children of the ever changing moon* edited by Gutierrez Mangansakan II, a collection of sixteen essays texts is worth a good review. Finally, writing about Mindanao by Visayas-based writers such as the Dumaguete-based Tiempos and Ilonggo Leoncio Deriada would be another interesting study.

¹¹ Only the stories of Ford, Opuencia, Ayala, Peña, Fernandez, and Ortega are tackled in this section. I will not consider Carballo-Tejada's "The house on Calle Seminario," set in Iloilo rather than Mindanao, and her "Lunch with Victoria" which deals more with friendship with little Mindanaoan context. I also do not include A. Enriquez's story of a sexual vampire in the guise of a Patroness of the Arts; An Lim's story about a new father's realization of his homosexuality; and Cezar Ruiz Aquino's incoherent set of stories reviled by Edilberto Tiempo. In *Ani* 14 and 22, I exclude Leoncio Deriada's story because the author is more identified with Iloilo; Anne-Marie J.E. Eligio's "Clea," an attempt at future fiction circa 2013; Ricardo Hynson's "Kadtong gradwasyon nga gitambongan ni Miss Noble" which has no English translation, and Jess S. Ibanez's "The covenant," a novel excerpt about the Moro National Liberation Front's ascendancy. The last excerpt is better read as part of the novel.

¹² Wayne often starred in "Westerns," or cowboy and Indian movies. Conrad was Capt.

James West while Landon was the youngest son Little Joe Cartwright in two popular 60s TV series, *Wild Wild West* and *Bonanza*.

¹³ Seven towns of South Cotabato became Sarangani province in 1992. General Santos or GenSan is now a progressive and developing city situated in but not part of South Cotabato. A brief history of South Cotabato may be found on the website of the provincial government on http://www.southcotabato.gov.ph/test/gen_ifo/index.html.

¹⁴ Castrillo, et al.'s *Philippine literature: A Mindanao reader* (2005), meant for the Ateneo de Davao University students, includes several folktales: Jubaira's "Blue blood of the big astana," Don Pagusara's "Salamat, mama, sa pahinumdom" and Felipe Granrojo's (Macario Tiu) "Sky rose." Notably, Castrillo, et al. do not include M.A. Enriquez's "White horse of Alih."

¹⁵ Coeli Barry's nationality begs the question: Why is an American editing a volume of Muslim Filipino fiction? In the same token, why should someone from Manila and Bikol be writing about Mindanao literature? These questions feed into the debate about academic turfing, intellectual space, and commodification of literature.

¹⁶ Macario Tiu and Don Pagusara are among those who write in Cebuano, and Tiu in particular, provides translations of his stories. To expand the scope of this paper from contemporary fiction by Mindanawons in Manila textbooks would make this already lengthy paper even longer. A reader, however, sees the limitations of this paper as a weakness, stating that it "would have been much stronger and persuasive in its call for Mindanao's (self-)exclusion from and resistance of Imperial Manila if it had actually attempted to do so. As it reads now, the paper's self-acknowledged limitations actually mimic the 'hegemonic' impulse that it is critical of, and it makes the last paragraph somewhat lacking in the irony that is nicely evident elsewhere in the text."

¹⁷ Paring Bert also says that literary critic Isagani R. Cruz had dismissed the collection as by "*pipitsugin*" (small-time) writers (Personal communication, 16 February 2009).

¹⁸ The fact of Losad being Ata Manobo was provided by Dr. Macario Tiu (Personal communication, 15 April 2009).

¹⁹ A reader points out that this concept of Mindanao tripeople "has its own occlusions. Texts by Enriquez (Antonio and Mig) often carry stereotypical representations of the Chinese as part of their depiction of Mindanao, and yet there are also writers like Tan and Tiu who have not only written about Mindanao as self-identified Mindanawons, but also about being Chinese as well as the Chinese in Mindanao. In other words, while the concept of 'Tripeople' highlights the necessity for a nuanced understanding of Mindanao and literary production in and on that area, it may also set limits on the conceptualization and construction of 'Mindanao writings' as a field of study and analysis." This comment deserves more thought and study.

²⁰ Arifah has never read these writers, so it is interesting how their stories resonate (Personal communication, 17 February 2009).

²¹ As member of the Philippine Campaign to Ban Landmines, the Philippine campaign of the Nobel Laureate International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL), and

Philippine researcher and correspondent to *Landmine monitor*.

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Piloting a Community-Based Male Participation Program for Gender and Development

Gail Tan Ilagan

Introduction

It has long been recognized that men and women equally share the burden of productive and reproductive roles (CEDAW 1979; ICPD 1994). However, programmed efforts for gender equity have overwhelmingly focused on protecting and empowering women and their children. Women groups drew strength and justification from these international declarations such that, in many countries, gender work came to be synonymous with women's rights work. With a feminist perspective fueling these efforts, most of these gender transformative movements proceed from the assumption of the need to first take apart the pervading patriarchy in order to usher in the full enjoyment by women of human rights, freedom of choice, decision, and self-determination.

Towards this end, the Philippines, like many other countries, enacted many pro-women and, by extension, pro-children laws in the last generation. Consider the following: Republic Act (RA) 6955, RA 7610, RA 7877, RA 8505, RA 8353, RA 8972, RA 9208, and RA 9262.¹ These laws came into effect from 1990 to 2004, proof of growing institutionalization of societal response against structural and economic violence against women and children (VAWC). Proceeding from the assumption of systemic gender inequity, these laws favor women and recognize them as potential victims to be protected, as constituents whose social participation needs to be encouraged, or as citizens whose access to public service ought to be enhanced. The institutional adjustments under these laws therefore have been designed to focus primarily on improving the lived experience of women and children in Philippine society.

New laws – especially ones that prescribe new ways of thinking, feeling, acting, and interacting – have a way of criminalizing what used

to be acceptable behavior. With the laws cited above, in particular, figures would consistently show that they generally criminalize men: White slavers, labor exploiters, human traffickers, sexual predators, and doers of violence are usually proven to be men and their usual victims are women and children.

Today, all local government units (LGUs) are mandated to allocate five percent of their respective internal revenue allocation (IRA) for gender and development (GAD) work, following the budget legislation pushed by the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW).² Many LGUs utilize the GAD budget to fund information dissemination, gender training, livelihood projects, and other capability building activities for women, mostly mothers, as well as institution building for service agencies and women's organizations. Also evident today are the presence of functional women's organizations and halfway houses ran by government agencies or by nongovernment organizations (NGOs), the integration of gender in the formal education curricula, and *pro bono* professional services for counseling and medico-legal assistance for women and children in all walks of life.

In the years since these women laws have come into effect, however, many government functionaries and service providers have come to recognize that for these laws to work according to the underlying principle of gender equity, it is not enough to empower victims and provide holistic institutional response to redress the violation of their rights. There is a dawning realization for the need to assist men to transform their ways of thinking, feeling, acting, and interacting to encourage them to become – insofar as women laws and child laws are concerned – law-abiding citizens. The eventual transformation of male violent behavior is perceived to work to decongest the justice system and ensure that homes are safe and ideal for the unfolding of human potential that resides therein.³

Transforming men's perspectives toward gender equity would require, at the very least, the articulation of a national policy for engaging men and keeping them involved. However, no clear programming guidelines on engaging men in gender equality were provided until the United Nations Fund for Population Agency (UNFPA) released in 2000 a prescriptive document that set direction on “partnership with men in reproductive and sexual health and rights” (PMRSH).⁴ This was soon followed by the publication of the UNFPA Strategic Framework

on Gender Mainstreaming and Women's Empowerment (<http://www.unfpa.org/public/publications/pid/400>), which outlines engaging men and boys in gender equality as one of the six priority areas to be pursued.⁵

The crafting of gender and development policy in the wake of Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and Children (CEDAW) in 1979 had finally resulted in the enactment of pro-women laws in the Philippines beginning 1990. Women's rights groups that unceasingly lobbied for the passage of these laws could attest to the personal hardships and formidable impediments that had to be overcome. Equally slow is our society's response to the 2000 exhortation to engage men and boys in gender equality. Nearly a decade after it was officially articulated, the idea still has to gain ground. Still, the call evidently did not go unheard. This paper looks at a pioneering effort at responding to this call.

Apprehending the problem

Davao City, with its population of 1.3 million accounting for almost a quarter of the resident population in the resource-rich Davao Region, is the regional center of Philippine South. In the last few years, the prestigious *Asiaweek Magazine* had consistently ranked it among "the most livable cities in Asia." The city's total land area of 244,000 hectares is ideally situated in a fertile typhoon-free zone. It is perhaps the most peaceful city in Southeast Asia with a monthly crime rate of 0.8 cases per 10,000 persons.⁶

Local governance has long prioritized gender and reproductive health (RH) issues. Davao City has the distinction of having been the first LGU to adopt a Women and Children's Code in 1997. A vibrant interoperability between public service institutions, NGOs, and women and child rights groups characterizes Davao City's response to gender inequality and injustice. Today, Davao City continues to break ground in working out ways to correct domestic violence and gender inequity through a community-based pilot project that seeks to enhance male involvement against all forms of gender-based violence.

The Health Management and Research Group Foundation, Inc. (HMRG) is a non-stock, non-profit organization registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) on 28 July 1998 with the goal to improve the quality of life of communities through the critical

understanding of health issues, implementation of relevant health programs, and improvement of people's awareness and participation.⁷ It provides primary health care services to beneficiaries through a health insurance package that affords unlimited medical consultation, diagnostic tests, and discounted rates on generic medicines. It also collaborates with several government agencies and NGOs to deliver its primary health care programs for TB DOTS,⁸ RH (STI/HIV), and adult immunization. The HMRG also engages in and provides technical assistance for health research and program evaluation. It was through a research engagement that HMRG came to recognize the need for a male participation project.

In 2000, the De La Salle University (DLSU) chose the cities of Iloilo and Davao for a participatory action research on Filipino men and domestic violence. It tapped the HMRG to conduct focus group discussions (FGDs) among married men in four Davao City barangays. The HMRG was also tasked to undertake training and counseling for men in the barangays who were identified to be trapped in the cycle of domestic violence. The research involvement ran for two years, but at its culmination, the four barangays continued to seek the assistance of the HMRG for trainings and counseling on gender- and RH-related concerns. Responding to this expressed need even without the assurance of external budget support, the HMRG affirmed its commitment to engage men in the communities through the project called Men's Responsibilities in Gender and Development (MR GAD).⁹

Rising to the challenge

Funding from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) allowed the fledgling MR GAD to conduct in 2002 a participatory action research to assess the burden of domestic violence in Barangay Tibungco, a relocation community with multicultural residents. The research findings revealed that the prevalence of verbal abuse was 37.6 percent, with 22.6 percent of the participants admitting to having resorted at least once to physical violence. Armed with these findings, the HMRG proposed to seriously engage male participation in the effort to address domestic violence. The proposal was accepted by the community and plans were made for the formation of MR GAD Advocates among the Tibungco residents.

In 2003, a grant from the Ford Foundation allowed the HMRG to expand its MR GAD project to Barangays Calinan and Daliao, both relatively large peasant villages in the Third Congressional District. Two years later, the *Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst* (EED) provided supplemental funds that further expanded MR GAD to Barangays Riverside, Toril, Sasa, and Panacan. Additional funding support was provided by CordAid in 2007.

Setting up the drawing board

While acknowledging that socialization to dominant patriarchal prescriptions may be a strong factor that gives license to violent male response under certain circumstances, MR GAD saw the need to examine further the situational context in which violent male behavior occurs. By reviewing literature on domestic violence, MR GAD program staff identified three factors to Filipino male behavior that correlate with their risk for committing domestic abuse against their wives and partners. These are family planning/responsible parenthood, risky lifestyle, and sexually transmitted diseases. These three issues are often implicated in marital disputes that set off violence in the home. In cultures of patriarchy, men have more decision in sexual relations, number of children, and division of labor. Macho prescriptions also find acceptable male risky behaviors such as smoking, drinking, drugs, multiple sexual partners, and unsafe sexual practices.

The conduct of profiling researches in the communities indeed validated that domestic violence implicated issues in the home involving family planning/responsible parenthood, STIs, and men's risky lifestyle. MR GAD sought to address this constellation of factors to male violent responses through an information, education, and communication (IEC) campaign that would make men listen, participate, and be actively involved in discussing how these male behaviors impact on the lived experiences of women and girls and, ultimately, on harmonious family relations.

Again, MR GAD went back to the communities to examine how best to design and deliver interventions. It found that content-wise, previous GAD-related IEC campaigns which were mostly carried out by women's groups did justice to the issues of gender and RH rights, the cycle of violence, pertinent laws, mandated institutional actions, as well as the legal, remedial, and support services that abused women

could access. There were, however, gaps found in terms of conveying appropriate information to male constituents on the cross-cutting issues of domestic violence, family planning/responsible parenthood, risky lifestyle, and STIs. Some crucial elements in the delivery of IECs – such as the gender of the facilitator and the delivery of information – were indicated to impact less favorably on getting men to be receptive and involved in the propagation of value prescriptions.

Lorna Pandapatan, GAD focal person in Barangay Sasa, shares her observation of male reaction to female resource speakers on these topics: “The men are not quick to accept (what the speaker says). They are not sold out even if the resource speaker is a lawyer or a judge. I notice that even the barangay officials are not totally comfortable at these events. They would leave just as soon as it was polite. But the men become more participative when the speaker is another man, especially when Atty. Romeo Cabarde facilitated a gender sensitivity training here.”

She further observes that when men are the resource speakers, the male participants ask a lot more questions and are more willing to share their views on the topics for discussion. Of the MR GAD trainings, in particular, she thinks that *mas masabtan sang mga lalaki* (men could better understand) what is being discussed.

After identifying the information gaps and the most promising strategy for talking to men in the communities, MR GAD sought to clarify its target beneficiaries by identifying the male sectors that needed to be reached for interventions. As was intended by the proposed pilot program, men trapped in the cycle of violence were to be prioritized. It was easy enough to identify them through complaints of domestic abuse and violent behavior lodged against them with the barangay government unit. To address the concerns of male doers of violence and to effect their transformation towards more gender equitable behaviors, however, the program found that there was a need to capacitate support agencies for the provision of appropriate counseling and educative services to these men.

An examination of these service agencies revealed these to be generally male-dominated structures also. It seemed prudent therefore to expand the target beneficiaries of the proposed male participation program to include male frontline service providers – the elected and traditional leaders, the community peace and security complement, social workers, and health services personnel. Further profiling on

the training needs of the local leaders and service providers revealed that there was lack of coordination between and among them on cases involving domestic violence. There were also misconceptions about allowable actions under the law, as well as lack of confidence in delivering appropriate counseling to victims and perpetrators of violence, as well as to couples in crisis.

The initial MR GAD design that resulted from this assessment of community needs and resources proved to be the enduring framework for the program. The framework lends to uniformity of application in the pilot barangays, while at the same time proving its flexibility to adjust to the training needs of the audience and take advantage of peculiar opportunities in the community that could be optimized in the furtherance of program objectives.

Laying the groundwork

MR GAD uses a three-level approach in its work with the communities.

Working with key leaders and influential personalities in the community. Key leaders who are generally men and are mandated to implement gender-related laws like RA 9262 are engaged to become MR GAD Advocates. There are six MR GAD Advocates in each pilot barangay, headed preferably by the Barangay Captain (local chief executive) himself. Recruited to volunteer also are the chairpersons of the Committee on Health and the Women and Children's Committee, members of the *Lupon Tagapamayapa*¹⁰ and *purok*¹¹ leaders.¹²

Program inputs for MR GAD Advocates improve their knowledge and skills to handle the gender and RH concerns of the men in the community and to craft policies and institute reforms in the areas of gender and RH. In involving these influential men, the assumption is that they are in the best position by virtue of their official function to mainstream gender and RH in the legislative and executive branches of government at the local level.

As force multipliers in the task of reaching out to men and boys in the community, Peer Counselors are constituted from male volunteers in the community. Peer Counselors are capacitated to facilitate one-on-one and small group discussions (SGDs) on the four cross-cutting

issues of domestic violence, family planning/responsible parenthood, risky lifestyle, and STI. As such, they form the backbone of the IEC campaign delivery to the grassroots and provide the mechanism for sustainability of efforts at value prescriptions for gender equity and responsible male behavior.

Working with service providers. The program seeks to enhance the capacity of service providers and to strengthen the referral for available services related to prevention of and protection against domestic violence. Frontline agencies that address cases of domestic violence include the City Social Services Development Office (CSSDO), Philippine National Police (PNP) – Women’s Desk,¹³ Barangay Health Centers, Lupon Tagapamayapa, and other barangay committees and functionaries such as the Barangay Committee for the Protection of Women and Children (BCPWC) and the GAD focal person. These are also institutions and functionaries mandated by law to assist victims of domestic violence. MR GAD also engages faith-based organizations and schools.

In addition to the enhanced referral system, MR GAD inputs also aim at capacitating service providers to deliver educative and counseling services to male doers of violence, as well as to couples in crisis.

Reaching out to where the men and boys are. Men from different puroks are identified and trained on gender and RH through SGDs. Fora are also conducted in the workplaces and in the schools in an effort to break the male culture of silence on seemingly taboo topics like STIs, sexuality, and family relations and surface male discourse that would provide a better understanding of the context in which male violence in the community occurs.

An early socialization IEC campaign has been specifically designed to target male youth. Through youth camps, leadership trainings, and SGDs, MR GAD works with Peer Counselors to foster an articulation of gender sensitivity and the adoption of responsible male behavior among the next generation.

The MR GAD blueprint for mainstreaming male participation

In the six pilot barangays, the following steps were followed by the HMRG in delivering its MR GAD project:

1. *Identification and selection of partner barangay.*

At this stage, HMRG levels off with barangay officials on the selection criteria and the nature of the project. Once the commitment of the LGU is secured, a memorandum of agreement (MOA) on the partnership is drawn up and signed.

2. *Selection of MR GAD Advocates.*

The HMRG assists the LGU to appoint MR GAD Advocates who would attend capability building trainings, liaise with community-based clientele, implement the GAD budget and the RA 9262, develop a MR GAD advocacy plan, officiate in the quarterly assessment held by service providers, and act on the recommendations made during these assessments for the general improvement of service delivery on gender and RH. The MR GAD Advocates also oversee the conduct of the MR GAD Peer Counselors who handle trainings and SGDs in their communities.

3. *Capacity development for MR GAD Advocates.*

Once identified, the MR GAD Advocates undergo a series of trainings to enhance their knowledge and understanding of issues related to gender and RH, leadership and teambuilding, advocacy, counseling, interpersonal communication, anger management, GAD budgeting, and RA 9262.

4. *Integration of the gender and RH service providers at the communities.*

With the MR GAD Advocates now capacitated to perform their functions in their respective communities, serious attention could now be focused on assessing the delivery of gender and RH services provided by the agencies of first contact of victims and doers and violence. SGDs are held in the communities to bring out problems and concerns in service delivery by agencies of first contact. The sharing of concerns facilitates network interoperability and enhances the referral system in the community. The monitoring and feedback of results to the MR GAD program interventions could now be done on a quarterly basis.

5. *Establishment of a counseling center.*

Counseling is a crucial ingredient to allow men to facilitate behavioral change in other men. The program encourages the establishment of a counseling center where counseling sessions, SGDs, and screening could be done with privacy and confidentiality. Since not all of the barangays have counseling facilities, the need for it is underlined to initiate a collaborative effort at resource identification and mobilization for its provision.

6. *Monitoring and evaluation.*

Together with the MR GAD Advocates, the service providers, and the Peer Counselors, the program periodically identifies indicators to measure the relative attainment of objectives. These periodic monitoring provides useful feedback for planning and recommending timely adjustments in service delivery. As a result, new tools are developed, pre-tested, and integrated into the program's strategic methodology.

Restructuring male perspectives, transforming communities

In breaking ground at implementing a male participation program for gender and development, the MR GAD experience provides crucial lessons at resolving programmatic concerns for mainstreaming male involvement policies, designing interventions, and documenting outcomes and emerging gaps. This section highlights key observations drawn from case studies on two MR GAD pilot barangays – Sasa and Panacan.¹⁴

Data gathering for these case studies was undertaken during the 2008 Christmas break and in the summer of 2009. Key informant interviews of MR GAD staff and government officials and FGDs among various sectors in the respective communities were conducted. Program reports and documents were reviewed. In the barangays, data sources include barangay profiles, population data, barangay ordinances, and pertinent records on VAWC cases.

Barangay Sasa

Barangay Sasa is a coastal village in the Second Congressional District nine kilometers north of downtown Davao City. There are eighty puroks distributed in nine clusters within a land area of 639 hectares (Barangay Sasa Profile, n.d.) Five residential clusters are classified as depressed areas.

Since the settlement of Davao in the early 1900s, Sasa had served as the entry point for seagoing vessels. Later, a pier was constructed in Km 10 which underwent several renovations and expansions to make it the major southern port it is today. Two smaller ports operate from Sasa to service tourism and trade to and from the Island Garden City of Samal across Davao Gulf.

Also located in Sasa is the Davao International Airport, which lies contiguous to the old airport.¹⁵ The airport and the wharf have attracted major oil companies, processing firms, and food manufacturers to set up shop in Sasa. The employment opportunities these companies provide have in turn attracted workers in search of jobs, helping to make Sasa one of the most populous barangays in Davao City.

In 2005, the barangay population stood at 44,000, with annual growth projected at 2.5 percent. Catholics make up eighty percent of the population, with Lumad (16%) and Muslim (4%) residents making up the minority. There are about three females to every two males. About forty percent of Sasa residents are under eighteen, with close to sixty percent of them not in school. An estimated eighty percent of Sasa families earns between PhP90.00 and PhP200.00 per day.¹⁶

As can be inferred from the demographic data, there is the likelihood of a higher incidence of female-headed households amid conditions of relative poverty and low literacy. A dependency ratio of 77.68 percent (NCSO 2000) suggests a heavy burden on the family income earners, with economic hardships likely to be aggravated by high rates of unemployment or underemployment and lack of job security. Generally, these are conditions that accompany unmet gender and RH needs.

Indeed, even before the HMRG's engagement in Sasa, various personalities and organizations saw the need to engage the community in public discourse on RA 9262 and other women laws, risky lifestyle, family planning, and related issues. In the last ten years alone, researches on social problems such as child labor, child rights violations, human

trafficking, prostitution, and domestic abuse had been done in Sasa by various universities and interest groups. Rights-based NGOs like the Bathaluman Crisis Center, Lawig Bubai, Luna Legal Center, and WOMENet have established presence in the barangay for the delivery of their respective services.

MR GAD in Barangay Sasa

The MR GAD program officially tied up its partnership with Barangay Sasa in 2006, with the enthusiastic support of Barangay Captain Mario C. Reta and the GAD focal person Lorna Pandapatan, who also happens to be a member of the Barangay Council. Reta was among the first MR GAD Advocates because he was convinced that the barangay needed this project to serve the needs of men and boys among his constituents.

Pandapatan discloses that since 2006 the barangay had realigned its GAD expenditures in line with MR GAD program thrusts. Portions of its GAD budget were allocated for trainings and activities to engage men and boys in the community and to provide capability building training, resource sharing, and networking among local government agencies, service providers, and youth organizations. Pandapatan says,

“We still have to deliver skills training to improve the livelihood opportunities for our constituents. We try to apportion the barangay’s GAD budget so we can serve everybody. But, of course, MR GAD trainings are a priority. The people ask for it. They want to participate and they keep asking us when the next one will be. We find ways to hold the MR GAD trainings as scheduled.”

Later, MR GAD inputs were even extended to faith-based organizations, a strategic move that evolved from the barangay leadership’s concern to involve them in the work of supporting the counseling needs of men and couples in crisis. MR GAD’s trainings and discussions in the community also proved popular among women’s groups, such that in Sasa, these are seldom exclusively for male participants only. The training workshops, which have so far been directed to local government functionaries, faith-based groups, and even women, youth, and gay organizations, feature huge attendance and active participation.

It would be fair to say that MR GAD changed the climate for

community discussion of male behaviors. Without challenging the inputs of previous efforts at educating for gender and RH rights of women and girls, MR GAD solicited the male perspective and injected this into community discourse. Opening up this discourse to the multisectoral audience in the community made the residents come to better understand the dynamics of gender relations and appreciate the bigger context from which problems in family interactions emerge.

Beyond making participants passive recipients to IEC interventions, there is evidence that MR GAD inputs have made inroads in raising community awareness and converting participants to commit to support men and boys to adopt gender equitable behaviors. MR GAD Advocates – like *Kagawad* Danny Olalo, for example – have sought to develop their capability to deliver the MR GAD modules even without the supervision of MR GAD staff. This enhanced capability of the community-based resource persons have allowed for the conduct of more MR GAD activities in the barangay, thereby expanding the reach of the IEC campaign. This development also bodes well for sustaining the propagation of MR GAD's efforts and intentions well past the completion of the MR GAD pilot project.

MRGAD Advocates and Peer Counselors expressed that they are now more confident to engage VAWC cases that are officially brought to their attention. They have even adopted the policy of seeking out these men in their homes and encouraging them to seek counseling. At the barangay level, an ordinance had been passed requiring recipients of barangay protection order (BPO)¹⁷ to come to the Barangay Hall for counseling on the Wednesday after BPO receipt. According to Pandapatan, there is a very high compliance because *wala na gukuran* (there is no need to run after them) as men willingly report in for counseling.

“They know that they have nothing to fear,” she adds.

Without excusing violent behavior, MR GAD encourages paracounselors to really listen to what men in crisis have to say. Such has allowed barangay functionaries to appreciate the dimensions of male experience that are tied up with their violent response. In so doing, space is created for men to identify their stress, examine their responses, process their feelings, and find nonviolent alternatives to similar situations in the future.

Some remarkable notes on the Barangay Sasa MR GAD experience

Changing hearts. Self-report and anecdotal comments are perhaps the quickest way to assess for a change in attitude among barangay functionaries. According to MR GAD Advocate Danny Olalo,

“I remember the seminar held at the Alexian Brothers. I think there were only two women there, most of the participants were male. We found the prescriptions hard to accept; in fact, we argued, but in the long run we appreciated the aims of MR GAD. We saw that it would be good if during counseling sessions with men we do not give inputs that require men to be men... kings. There were some of us who were not sold on the equality thing; it was a struggle. But we appreciate that it is mostly women and children who suffer and that’s why their rights are protected by the law. Through MR GAD, there is increased understanding of the law and why it is that way. When we interview women who batter their husbands, we can tell them that it is not right for women to do that. In the same way, we can tell the men who violate women that it is not right for them to do that.”

Barangay officials now prioritize the counseling of women in crisis. Women complainants find that access to empathetic and appropriate counseling can now be had from various capable sources. In this regard, MR GAD had been instrumental in reshaping the views of male service providers to let go of biases and really give women complainants a fair and empathetic ear. At the very least, VAWC victims in Sasa can expect assistance through information about their rights under the law, rescue from situations of violence or the threat thereof, and referral to appropriate service agencies that would address their peculiar needs.

By clarifying procedures prescribed for service providers by RA 9262, MR GAD interventions have enhanced interagency networking and referral systems, thereby improving the overall capability of different sectors in the community to co-manage cases as they arise. Standard forms for reports were designed for use in the pilot barangays to ease documentation and data management of these cases.

In particular, the barangay had evolved procedures to make certain that families in crisis get financial support. In instances when a BPO is issued to a male doer of violence who happens to be the sole breadwinner, the barangay checks how much support the man could realistically extend to the family during the mandatory separation. When needed, the barangay endorses the request to the Integrated Gender and Development Office (IGDO) of the city government for financial assistance to the family.

Reaching out to families and individuals in crisis. For couples in crisis, the law quite clearly states that local government functionaries should not undertake mediation for reconciliation at any time during the fifteen-day BPO period. However, it is the experience of the barangay for women complainants to express the desire to talk to their partners within this period or to request to withdraw the VAWC case they filed. This expressed need often puts barangay officials in a quandary as the BPO, once issued, could not be withdrawn. However, recognizing the need for a community-based resource to respond to the counseling needs of couples in crisis, the barangay capacitated faith-based organizations to process couples who evince the need for marital counseling during the BPO period.

With the help of MR GAD Advocates, the project had been able to extend its training for counseling to faith-based groups serving the various denominations that are represented in the barangay. Today, among the most active MR GAD movers in the community are the church leaders in St. Joseph Parish,¹⁸ the pastors of Jesus is Lord flock and the Foursquare Church, and the Muslim *imam* who incidentally is also a member of the Lupon Tagapamayapa. Pastor Ray Palomar, who works with the barangay on referrals for marital counseling, shared that MR GAD trainings improved his grasp of the complexity of issues involved in marital disputes. Today, he says: “We welcome couples in need of counseling. Sometimes, it’s the men who come to us.”

Starting them young. As force multipliers in the effort to facilitate the social transformation of men and boys towards gender equity, Peer Counselors have been engaged among the youth organizations in the barangay. MR GAD trainings and youth camps have capacitated them for leadership roles and have provided them IEC activities. They now work in the communities to work an early socialization agenda on their peers, especially those at risk to be victims and perpetrators of gender-based violence.

Evolving new applications. A peculiar human characteristic is the ability to appropriate the lesson from experience and customize its application to address one’s peculiar needs. Because the Sasa Wharf is a major transit point in Mindanao, the barangay has a legitimate concern for violations of RA 9208 (Anti-trafficking of Human Persons Act). To

this end, the Task Force Pantalan¹⁹ has been organized to put in place mechanisms to enforce the law. Among those deputized to monitor, apprehend, and prevent traffickers is the Visayan Forum, an organization of stevedores operating in the wharf. The police had trained them to identify, report, and handle apprehension of traffickers, as well as to assist and secure the victims. To further enhance their skills at handling their deputy role, the barangay conducts MR GAD gender sensitivity training (GST) for the Visayan Forum members. GSTs and training for counseling have also been extended to men in the Philippine Port Authority office and in the Philippine Coast Guard.

Identifying gaps in domestic violence discourse. Through counseling male doers of violence, barangay officials and other service providers have come to realize that domestic violence is seldom unidirectional. In situations of domestic conflict, women, too, draw from an arsenal of violent behaviors as a response. What men have disclosed in these counseling sessions is that in the environment of intimate relationships, men also suffer abuse in a variety of forms. They have reported having been abandoned by their wives, scalded with boiling water in the presence of their children, or subjected to verbal and emotional abuse over religious and other differences.

Evidently, these counseling sessions have served the purpose of increasing the barangay officials' understanding of the nature and dynamics of domestic violence. If not for these counseling sessions, men would not have the venue to air their side and to hint at their need for psychosocial interventions. Through their disclosure, local authorities and service agencies can better adjust their delivery of services and respond more effectively to the needs of individuals and families in crisis.

Indeed, the highlights of MR GAD experience in Sasa demonstrate that space has been created for men and boys to access community services that are more responsive to their gender and RH concerns. With MR GAD's input, the efforts of various key agencies in the community have been put in sync to ensure a more effective co-management of VAWC cases.

Barangay Panacan

Located fourteen kilometers from downtown Davao City, Barangay Panacan lies further north of and adjacent to Barangay Sasa. It was among the original barangays created with the declaration of Davao as a chartered city on 01 March 1937.

With a total land area of 1,018.99 hectares, Panacan is home to a resident population of 28,047 (as of May 2000). Population records show that those under seventeen years old constitute 41.71 percent, while those above sixty-five years old make up less than three percent. NCSO figures also reflect a high dependency ratio (78.83%) and a growth rate (1.28%) much lower than the city average (2.83%).

The main highway connecting Davao City to Panabo City traverses Panacan, making it more accessible to overland transportation. Subdivisions are beginning to sprout along the route, accounting for the increasing residential land use (now at 50%) in the barangay.

The biggest employers of Panacan labor are government and private institutions engaged in fishing, farming, entrepreneurship, and transport. With its proximity to the Davao International Airport and the Sasa Wharf, several foreign manufacturing, pharmaceutical, and food processing firms have been set up in Panacan.

MR GAD in Barangay Panacan

By 2006, Panacan's concern for gender rights and RH needs of its constituents was already emphasized by its support to various NGOs that educated on these matters and provided services in the community. These groups include Lawig Bubai, Kinaiyahan Foundation, Bathaluman Crisis Center, IWAG Dabaw, and Development of Peoples Foundation (DPF) Anak Gender Watch that were organizing in Panacan and actively promoting their respective IEC campaigns. Because of their similar intentions, these NGOs had, to a certain extent, converged to form a loose network. As a result of their combined efforts, many community residents were educated on their rights under the law and were then more receptive to engage the law for the protection of their rights. The barangay officials adjusted, opening up the community discourse on gender and RH concerns.

Rolando Borja, a member of the barangay's Lupon Tagapamayapa, also engaged in community efforts to address VAWC and RH issues through his work with the DPF, a local NGO committed to promoting gender rights. However, despite his background in development work, Borja concedes that he needed help. In an FGD held last December 2008, he shared that he found it difficult to counsel men when they said, *Ako mismo doer of violence... pero ang problema mismo wala ko kabalo unsay bubaton nako...* (I am a doer of violence... the problem is I don't know what to do). He felt helpless faced by this expressed need because there was nowhere at that time that he could refer the men for assistance.

Borja had heard about the MR GAD project in Calinan, Riverside, Toril, Daliao, and Sasa. He was most impressed with the methods used by MR GAD in facilitating a paradigm shift at the grassroots level. It was Borja who initially brought up to the barangay officials the possibility of partnering with the HMRG for MR GAD to help meet community needs that turned up with frustrating frequency during Lupon Tagapamayapa and Barangay Council meetings.²⁰

Barangay Resolution No. 009A, Series of 2007, dated 12 January 2007 formalized Barangay Panacan's MOA with the HMRG. Relative to HMRG's male involvement program thrusts, the resolution rationalized the engagement in recognition of a shared concern for VAWC and RH in the community. The MOA authorized the HMRG to conduct research, organizing, and related training/workshops anent to VAWC and RH, pledging barangay support to the conduct of the same. The barangay council also agreed to facilitate the formation and implementation of MR GAD advocacy team and RH network of service providers, including the formation of community-based counselors. For its part, the HMRG welcomed the prospect of working with Barangay Panacan because of its demonstrated openness to network with organizations and to support efforts at fostering gender equitable prescriptions.

Complementing women's initiatives

In 2004 when RA 9262 was put into law, Barangay Panacan was fortunate to have the Bathaluman Crisis Center²¹ conduct seminars and information dissemination in the community. In the next year, Panacan was also selected to host the city-wide seminar on the Implementing Rules and Regulations (IRR) for RA 9262. By 2006, however, barangay

officials became acquainted with the procedural changes that went with the implementation of the law. While they found that the rule eliminating the taxing conduct of mediation for couples in crisis lessened their workload in processing complaints, they were soon finding confusion and difficulty with the paperwork and referrals involved in mandatory BPO issuances.

The procedural problems mainly involved women complainants who would file cases in the heat of the moment only to demand, cajole, or plead to have the BPOs withdrawn some days later.²² They found the need to validate complaints and to clarify the woman's commitment to engage the law. However, RA 9262 clearly stipulates that BPO issuance should be immediate upon the woman's complaint, giving barangay officials no legal room to counsel the women or draw corroborative evidence of her complaints before issuing the BPO.²³ The Lupon Tagapamayapa and the barangay officials, on the other hand, found it difficult explaining to the men why they now had to be removed from their domicile when their partners had reported them for domestic abuse.

It was soon recognized that within the context of post-domestic violence action prescribed by the law, the counseling needs of couples and of the male doers of violence were not being met. While women's rights NGOs were quick to respond and had established mechanisms to address the various needs of the women victims, service providers hesitated to counsel couples in conflict lest this be construed as mediation which, under RA 9262, was also prohibited when undertaken by representatives of government instrumentalities like the PNP, health centers, CSSDO, and Lupon Tagapamayapa.

They observed that the men, after having been legally ejected from their homes, were to be seemingly left to fend for themselves as there is no government housing facility where they could temporarily stay while the BPO was in force. The performance of this duty weighed heavily on the conscience of many who were mandated by law to enforce the BPO. Rather than seeing this in the light of bringing justice to the perpetration of human rights violation upon women and children, some functionaries interpret this ejection as a human rights violation inflicted upon men, especially in cases where the ones issuing the BPO have knowledge of the law being used without due cause by the accuser.²⁴

These experiences of implementing RA 9262 raised questions

on the responsiveness of the law to the lived experience of domestic violence. While it was intended to provide for the physical protection of women victims, it does not provide protection for men when they are wrongly accused, when they are deprived of shelter, and when they need to unload their troubles and confusion. Also, it was observed that where violence featured as a patterned response, many couples rejected the prospect of separation – even temporary ones – that are invoked for the physical protection of women. Increasingly, the personnel in agencies of first contact on VAWC cases felt the need to improve their knowledge and skills to effectively respond to the needs of men who had been subjected to the environment of domestic violence.

Jumpstarting to beat the deadline

With the MR GAD project set to culminate in August 2009, the program staff immediately set to work to help Barangay Panacan meet its articulated need for enhanced male participation in gender and RH concerns. As proof of the barangay's commitment, the government functionaries including Barangay Captain Apostol and three Kagawads (Orlando Caday, Reynaldo Abad, and Willie Ordaneza) immediately volunteered to become MR GAD Advocates along with Antonio Plarizan, a member of the barangay police, and Lupon Tagapamayapa Rudy Abing.²⁵

With equal speed, six Peer Counselors were identified by purok leaders for their community involvement and social awareness. They were referred to Panacan GAD Coordinator Emily Tumanda for MR GAD capability building interventions. Among these youth leaders are January Cutin, who belongs to the Panacan Relocation Youth Association, and Jared Paul Verona of the LuzVille Subdivision Youth Organization.

Panacan benefited from the experiences of MR GAD in the earlier pilot barangays. The HMRG was able to advise on alternatives that could be adjusted by the Panacan to meet similar needs. Interagency coordination among service providers – CSSDO, Lupon Tagapamayapa, medical and legal institutions, and the Barangay Police – was significantly enhanced with the adoption of the systematic procedures, an innovation that was a product of work in

other pilot communities.

For its part, the barangay council provided strong support to maximize the conduct of MR GAD training workshops and seminars within the barangay, thereby strengthening the capacity of community-based human resources to articulate more effective means of addressing domestic violence, gender rights, and RH concerns. Business establishments opened up their workplaces to the message of MR GAD. Similarly, high school administrators and teachers, purok leaders, functionaries, and barangay staff, were also reached and successfully engaged in dialogue over these social problems.

In an interview with Remy Caday on 06 May 2009, she revealed that, “The barangay GAD budget used to focus on women and children. Now, we have rationalized allocation to include the needs of the BCPC²⁶ and persons with disability (PWDs). There is a separate budget for the elderly so we don’t have to draw on the GAD budget. For now, we also utilize the barangay’s GAD budget to do joint activities with MR GAD.”

She also disclosed that Panacan recently passed a resolution that requires doers of violence to present themselves at the barangay for counseling. These counseling sessions are handled by the MR GAD Advocates. Because of the increased number of counseling sessions being done at the barangay hall, Panacan recognizes the need for a separate counseling room. For the moment, Barangay Captain Apostol willingly makes his office available when a man needs counseling. In anticipation of future needs, however, the barangay has proposed renovation of the barangay hall and had allocated funding for the construction of a separate counseling room.

Some remarkable notes on the Barangay Panacan MR GAD experience

Hear the men. In its work in Panacan, MR GAD proves to be acceptable to the women’s groups that have established presence in the community. MR GAD is perceived to provide complementary input by addressing its services – first and foremost – to cater to the needs of doers of violence. MR GAD encourages men to modify behavior and restructure cognitive schemata that are at the root of the male violent response. It also hopes to influence women, barangay functionaries, and service providers to be more receptive of the views of men and to

believe men to be capable of social transformation. MR GAD believes in the power of education and espouses the notion that what has been learned in terms of violent responses can be unlearned.

Borja shares that his extensive exposure to feminist gender work had almost convinced him that *kung unsa and lalake, mao na gyud na sya* (men could not change). However, his experience with MR GAD has shown him countless times how a male-sensitive counseling style could actually influence men to adopt more peaceable conflict resolution techniques. He avers that men become more capable to direct their actions and really meet their responsibilities as the type of husbands and fathers that could support the healthy growth and development of their wives and children.

Hear the boys. Being a Peer Counselor taught nineteen-year-old January Cutin to be socially aware:

“Because of MR GAD, we become educated in issues like STI, HIV, and AIDS and also to exercise control and handle ourselves better in terms of sexual issues...We talk about sex differences and gender differences... in the end, it doesn’t matter if you are a man or a woman. According to the law, if you do harm to someone, you have to face the consequences.”

Fellow Peer Counselor Jared Verona agrees that MR GAD activities taught them the development of leadership and teamwork and equipped them to be more ready to face the challenge of counseling on domestic violence, gender relations, and RH rights. Cutin and Verona clarify how their new roles create a ripple effect in the community. Knowing more about domestic abuse, family planning, STI, and men’s risky lifestyle, they now find themselves with something substantial to say when these matters come up for discussion among peers. They feel more confident in reaching out to community youth who are at risk of STI, sexual exploitation, and abusive intimate relations. In advocating healthier lifestyles and gender equality, Peer Counselors model behaviors that redefine interactions across gender, creating an advocacy among people their age to opt for more responsible behaviors.

Cutin further shares that his advocacy extends to his own family. He says,

“My parents fight... sometimes, my mother does not agree with the decisions my father makes. My father insists that because he is the man, he has the right to make decisions. But after weighing his

reasons, I thought he was wrong. So I told them that it would be better that he share the burden of decision making with my mother. I think they were surprised when I said that.

“Oh, I also told them about using condoms and pills. My mother is pregnant again. There are already seven of us and she’s pregnant again. So I suggested that maybe they should start using condoms or pills after. I showed them my supply of condoms. My brother, who is gay, also gave my mother pills.”

Hear the women. Panacan residents Felisa Llavan, Erlinda Masicampo, Jessebel Casas, Evelyn Tumanda, and Lalaine Maul are all officers of women organizations in their respective puroks. One morning in December 2008, they sat down with HMRG’s Camilo Naraval and Barangay Secretary Remy Caday to give their observations on the implementation of the MR GAD project in Panacan. They acknowledged that they had all heard about the MR GAD program. They demonstrated their knowledge of the activities undertaken by MR GAD and the purposes for these. They were also able to identify who participated in these trainings and workshops, since they had attended at least one MR GAD activity themselves. Overall, the women had the impression that MR GAD was responsive to felt needs in the community. In particular, one discussant has this to say about community response to cases of RA 9262 before and after MR GAD came to Panacan:

“...the rights of women are championed, but in so doing we neglect to see that we do not do right by men. We don’t tell them what they can do to avoid resorting to violence. We refuse to understand why they became violent. MR GAD has helped us much because now we can give men inputs on how best to avoid violence. In the end, these problems in the community would be lessened.”

Seemingly in agreement, another participant opines,

“If we think about it, husbands are human, too. They have rights as husbands. We have to listen to how they feel. Men are capable of being hurt also, and if no one listens to them, they could go crazy just like anyone else. Even the most macho who tries not to show his feelings, deep inside he feels very strongly when things do not go right. Sometimes, that is why they lash out, because they don’t know how to deal with what they feel inside.”

The women also talked about some of the cases of domestic abuse that they came to be acquainted with in the course of their community

work. Most remarkable was their mention of men who had been or were being abused by their wives. Caday remembered a case where the wife threw hot water at her sleeping husband before rushing to the barangay and getting a BPO against him. There were other cases that the women cited where the force of RA 9262 was used to threaten the husband on top of the abuse he had suffered in the hands of his partner. For example, “We have a neighbor who would not feed her husband when he got home late. She would hide the pot. He really was to be pitied. The wife does that because she says that if her husband would hit her for starving him, she would run to the Barangay (and file a case for violation of RA 9262).”

The women have come to recognize that domestic violence results from interactive processes, and that it is seldom solely about men setting out to direct abuse at their women. Although physical violence is more associated with male response, both men and women have their own repertoire of violent and abusive behaviors which either could draw on in situations of marital dispute. And while it is more common for women to use forms of psychological abuse such as incessant nagging, passive aggressive posturings, and the silent treatment, there are cases when they resort to physical abuse also.

According to the community women, men are justified in their view that the law is biased in favor of women. They see the need for the law to treat men and women fairly because the employment of RA 9262 could cause families to permanently break up.

“Men are sometimes not aware of what they do. Not until they come up against RA 9262. When a man turns violent, he goes to prison. The family breaks up,” says one participant. She finds hope in the interventions of MR GAD:

“It’s a great help to them both... If MR GAD were expanded, it would bring about immense change in the community. The men would know to be careful and to adjust their behaviors so that the couple would understand one another. This is especially true when men have undergone counseling.”

They also see the need for force multipliers in the barangay who would be equipped to handle counseling for men. For now, they say that “...there are many who do counseling for women, but for the men, it is only Kap (BC Apostol), the kagawads and the members of the board.”

The community women also observe that, before MR GAD interventions, the immediate alternative women could think about

in cases of domestic abuse was to leave their husbands. These days, they observe that women in their puroks are grateful about MR GAD interventions because

...waay nabungkag ang ila pamilya. Lipay sila kaayo kay at least nagbag-o ang ila bana, nakasabot, nakabalo mo-adjust. Ug sila pod nga mga babaye kabalo na pod sila mo-adjust. Kay kun kita man gud nga mga babaye nagsalig lang pod ta kay naay balaod unya di pod mag-adjust sa atong batasan, maguba man pod ang atong pamilya.” (Their families stay together. They are very happy because at least their husbands have changed their ways to become more understanding and to adjust. Women, too, now know that they have to adjust. If women just think that we have RA 9262 on our side and that we don’t need to make the necessary adjustments, it is possible for our families to break apart).

Foundations for future male participation programs

Future programs to engage men and boys in gender equality have much to learn from the programmatic elements evolved and implemented by the MR GAD project. Presently below are some of the key strengths that are proposed to form the bedrock of similar programs:

Opening up the community discourse on domestic violence in the communities. In Philippine society, domestic violence is still often treated as an issue better left in the confines of the home and family. In seeking to turn the issue from personal to political, popular discourse on domestic violence had largely been fuelled by the feminist discourse that prescribes concerted attempts to alleviate conditions for women and children. This had commendably resulted in the crafting of laws that redefined policies and rearranged institutional structures and responses for the protection of women and children.

MR GAD does not dispute that men are the major actors in gender-based violence. This has indeed been validated by reported incidents of domestic violence in the pilot barangays. To address the issue of violence, former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan has often been quoted to encourage the rest of us to speak to the mind of the doer. And so, while recognizing the right of the victim for justice and the need for doers of violence to take responsibility for the harm they caused, MR GAD further pursues the agenda to speak to the mind of the doer of violence in the

hopes of bringing about a more lasting change in his behavior.

The experience of the MR GAD project has opened up in the community itself where it matters most the bigger discourse on domestic violence. This allows men, women, and youth, as well as service providers and government functionaries to collectively examine socialization to gender roles, Filipino male psychology, family relations, and related social morbidity issues that have been implicated in the propagation of this culture. In the course of discussions, they revisit the roots, examine the consequences, and collectively construct new cognitions and prescribe the transformation of male violent behavior.

The liberal atmosphere for public discussion of issues surrounding men's responsibilities in domestic violence makes possible a better comprehension of the Filipino male perspective. Armed with this knowledge, women can better adjust the roles they take in family relations and frontline personnel in gender and RH service delivery can now provide the climate to enable men to seek help when needed and to take responsible actions for their gender and RH concerns in the venue of their homes and immediate community. Local and non-traditional leaders now feel confident and committed to counsel individuals in crisis.

Employing the men-talking-to-men strategy. The MR GAD project found that men in the communities were more likely to open up to other men on issues about their violent behavior. Also, when influential men in the community voluntarily engage to be gender champions, this creates a ripple effect among other men, which facilitates further community acceptance of the program and widens the reach of the interventions.

The men-talking-to-men strategy should ideally convey empathy and the unswerving belief in the individual's capacity to transform his relationally destructive ideations, perceptions, attitudes, and actions. Also, care must be given to avoid male bashing and blaming when educating for RA 9262, in particular, especially since many men in the community perceive this to have an underlying bias for women.

However, social change is usually subject to the inertia of tradition. A resistance to novel prescriptions to behavior is expected, especially when such requires overhauling a whole constellation of thinking, acting, feeling, and interacting. Given this, MR GAD used non-accusatory, non-judgmental, and non-confrontational discussions that

appeal both on the affective and rational level and, in so doing, it was able to demonstrate promising gains at converting men and boys to new to more gender-equitable values. Also, when discussions on the cross-cutting issues of family planning, risky lifestyle, gender relations, and STI are kept objective and empathetic, men could better accept their role as major actors in domestic violence and make the conscious commitment to handle themselves more responsibly.

Mainstreaming gender and RH concerns. Males dominate in occupying key local government positions that decide on program implementation, budget allocation, and resource mobilization at the grassroots. Until barangay officials are educated to adopt a gender-sensitive and gender-responsive framework, the gender- and RH-related concerns of their constituents may not be given appropriate attention. Thus, IEC inputs on their roles as stipulated by laws, gender and RH concerns, and capability building trainings on counseling and anger management are necessary to effect their appreciation of these issues.

Records show that cases filed under RA 9262 have consistently declined in the six pilot areas since the implementation of the law in 2004. Some barangay officials noted that women in the community now hesitate to invoke the law because its use automatically requires the issuance of a BPO. In addition, the program also documents cases of women expressing their desire for alternatives to the BPO, such as those that would bring about a more lasting change in male attitudes towards inflicting further violence in the home.

The wariness that barangay officials felt about counseling men – lest the act be construed as violation of the non-mediation clause of RA 9262 – had been overcome by inputs on defining and differentiating counseling and mediating. This clarification had resulted in the adoption of mechanisms found by the communities themselves to observe the law, while at the same time addressing the very real needs of men through capacitating community-based service providers and the passage of ordinances that legitimized the delivery of counseling to men at the barangay hall.

Some frontline personnel have noted in the conduct of the procedures for processing complaints of domestic abuse, the laws tend to favor women and their needs at the expense of the men. They report that during the first year of the promulgation of RA 9262, many trivial

cases were filed against husbands and male partners. It was therefore important to educate both men and women in the community on RA 9262. In an FGD with community women in December 2008, a participant expressed that MR GAD trainings on RA 9262 helped both women who may have need for protection from abuse and men who come to use the law to check the interpretation of their behaviors.

Since MR GAD started its campaign for RA 9262 literacy in the pilot communities, agencies of first contact had begun exerting effort to provide the climate for disclosure for both the female complainant and the male accused. Service providers feel more confident at measures to be taken to validate the nature of the complaint and inform as appropriate on the consequences of engaging the law or refer aspects of the case to the pertinent service agency. It is noted, for example, that the figures for counseling services delivered respectively by the PNP and the CSSDO have been decreasing (from 668 and fifty-four in 2006 to 591 and forty-two in 2007). On the other hand, figures for referrals to other agencies had increased from 296 in 2006 to 620 in 2007, indicating an improvement in community awareness of the nature and availability of these services. The trend indicates that MR GAD interventions had proven adequate to situate the officials in the context of collaborative efforts to preserve communal peace and protect men, women, and children from domestic violence.

Customizing training inputs according to particular needs of participants. The following modules have been developed by MR GAD with respect to the training needs of MR GAD Advocates, service providers, and Peer Counselors:

1. Training of MR GAD Advocates
 - a. Basic training on gender sensitivity and reproductive health
 - b. Interpersonal communication and counseling
 - c. Anger management
 - d. RA 9262
 - e. Advocacy and leadership training
2. Training of the network of service providers
 - a. Review of gender and RH
 - b. Orientation to MR GAD concepts

- c. Basic counseling and cognitive restructuring
 - d. Enhancing the referral form
 - e. Development of the counseling form for doers of violence
3. Training of the Peer Counselors
- a. Basic gender and RH
 - b. Interpersonal communications and counseling
 - c. Anger management
 - d. Cognitive restructuring
 - e. Use of the form in counseling doers of violence

Adopting inclusivity of gender work. Given the established presence of women's groups in the pilot barangays, MR GAD marked its entry into these communities with the resolve not to be combative and confrontational with prescribed feminist reading of the gender and RH issues which had been and still was being disseminated in some pilot communities. MR GAD does not dispute what had been established by police figures and gender research: Women and children are the usual victims and men are the usual doers of violence against them.

In proposing the need for a shared understanding of the root causes of male violence, as well as the likely repercussions on the family of engaging the women laws as they are, MR GAD sought to accommodate women and youth to view these matters through MR GAD lens. With the help of trained service providers and barangay functionaries who had been won over to the cause, concerted community efforts could actually work to create the climate for a more sober and rational resolution of marital dispute that is acceptable to both parties.

Trainings directed at women's and youth organizations made women and youth realize that gender and development issues need not remain to be the exclusive domain of women. This has made them more sensitive to men's needs and more receptive to commit to efforts to address these. Whereas other male participation programs focus on interventions that elicit the help of men only insofar as to improve their wives' maternal health and health-seeking behaviors or to increase the utilization of family planning methods, MR GAD differs in the way it recognizes men to have peculiar gender and RH concerns by and in themselves. And far from antagonizing women and women's groups, MR GAD had been cited by many women in the communities instead for its good intentions for the ends of bringing about marital harmony

and communal peace.²⁷

The early socialization agenda directed at the youth imbue the next generation with much needed information on gender relations, RH, risky lifestyle, and STI. This allows them to provide appropriate advice not only to their peers and siblings, but also to their parents. The IEC activities arm them to form values to guide their own personal behavior and to try and influence others to adopt a change in attitudes and perspective.

Reckoning by data-driven assumptions. Research has been at the heart of the implementation of the MR GAD project. Hard data rationalize every activity undertaken, which in turn generate data for analysis to determine the best course of action among available alternatives. In counseling male doers of violence, for example, MR GAD prescribes the use of a form that draws the individual's sociodemographic data, socialization experience, and gender and RH information. Taken together, the information provides an individual profile of the client that is used guide to customize the conduct of one-on-one counseling on him. Also, SGD participants are asked to fill out a screening form to allow the facilitators to profile the violent experiences of the men and determine the information requirements of the group.²⁸

At each step of the way, research data had been generated to analyze the needs, resources, and alternatives and rationalize the evolution of programmatic elements to be adopted. Data gathering in various forms – through dialogue and group discussions, profiling interviews, and participatory action research methods – brought in the information necessary to develop training designs, select effective strategies, and generate forms to streamline documentation and monitoring of program delivery. While it can be argued that the MR GAD project does not hew to conventional prescriptions in gender work in the way it privileges men's needs, and especially of those who have done violence against women and children,²⁹ what it has going for it is that it had ably adjusted to the realtime concerns articulated at the grassroots, founded as its interventions are on hands-on research into the gender and RH needs in the pilot barangays.

Capacitating community structures for rehabilitation of doers of violence. A controversial aspect of MR GAD advocacy is its recognition

of the VAWC victim's right to opt for the rehabilitation of her abuser. While the human rights paradigm emphasizes justice and redress, many a victim had articulated the desire for community support in rehabilitating her partner instead of claiming her right to redress under the law. To this end, community structures such as faith-based groups had been capacitated to counsel men and to introduce them to peaceable conflict resolution and anger management techniques. Similarly, techniques for couples counseling had also been taught to enhance third party efforts at encouraging more gender equitable attitudes and interactions among couples in conflict.

Notes

¹ Republic Act No. 6955. "An Act to Declare Unlawful the Practice of Matching Filipino Women for Marriage to Foreign Nationals on a Mail Order Basis and Other Similar Practices, Including the Advertisement, Publication, Printing or Distribution of Brochures, Fliers and Other Propaganda Materials in Furtherance Thereof and Providing Penalties Therefore." 13 June 1990.

Republic Act No. 7610. "An Act Providing for Stronger Deterrence and Special Protection against Child Abuse, Exploitation and Discrimination, Providing Penalties for Its Violation, and for Other Purposes." 22 July 1991.

Republic Act No. 7877. "An Act Declaring Sexual Harassment Unlawful in the Employment, Education or Training Environment, and for Other Purposes." 08 February 1995.

Republic Act No. 8353. "An Act Expanding the Definition of the Crime of Rape, Reclassifying the Same as a Crime Against Persons, Amending for the Purpose Act No. 3815, as Amended, Otherwise Known as the Revised Penal Code, and for Other Purposes." 1997.

Republic Act No. 8505. "An Act Providing Assistance and Protection for Rape Victims, Establishing for the Purpose a Rape Crisis Center in Every Province and City, Authorizing the Appropriation of Funds Therefore, and for Other Purposes." 13 February 1998.

Republic Act No. 8972. "An Act Providing for Benefits and Privileges to Solo Parents and Their Children, Appropriating Funds Therefore and for Other Purposes." 07 November 2000.

Republic Act No. 9208. "An Act to Institute Policies to Eliminate Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, Establishing the Necessary Institutional Mechanisms for the Protection and Support of Trafficked Persons, Providing Penalties for Its Violations, and for Other Purposes." 26 May 2003.

Republic Act No. 9262, "An Act Defining Violence Against Women and Their Children, Providing for Protective Measures for Victims, Prescribing Penalties Therefore, and for Other Purposes." 08 March 2004.

² The GAD budget legislation is considered by the NCRFW as a major milestone in its work to fully integrate women for economic, social, and cultural development at the local, national, and international levels. See <http://www.ncrfw.gov.ph/index.php/ncrfw-profile>.

³ Adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in December 1979, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) underscores "...the common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children, it being understood that the interest of the children is the primordial consideration **in all cases**" (Emphasis author's).

⁴ Following the 2000 UNFPA directions on partnership with men in reproductive and sexual health and rights (PMSRH), male participation programs are prescribed to foster three basic expectations of men – relating to partnership in sexual and reproductive health, being gender-equitable, and taking ownership of problems and being part of the solution (Cohen and Burger 2000).

⁵ The UNFPA also published guidelines to "increase men's involvement in reproductive health issues through research, advocacy, behaviour change communication and education, policy dialogues and well-tailored and innovative reproductive health services" (UNFPA 2003).

⁶ <http://222.davaocity.gov.ph/welcome-to-davao.htm>, accessed 19 January 2009.

⁷ Health Management and Research Group Foundation, Inc. information pamphlet. n.d.

⁸ The TB DOTS is a government health program to combat tuberculosis.

⁹ HMRG. "Men's responsibilities in gender and development (MR GAD): Breaking the culture of silence." Davao City, Philippines: December 2007.

¹⁰ Specifically, the Lupon Tagapamayapa is a functional committee in the barangay system tasked to resolve disputes in the communities, including those involving marital conflicts.

¹¹ Smallest unit of community organization.

¹² In later years of implementation, it was allowed to accept women as MR GAD Advocates.

¹³ The PNP Women's Desk was created to ensure unbridled disclosures of violence experiences of women when they report to the police.

¹⁴ The case studies form part of the HMRG publication for dissemination at a partners conference on 28-29 August 2009.

¹⁵ The Old Airport has since been converted into the Davao Air Base for the Tactical Operations Group-11 of the Philippine Air Force.

¹⁶ In comparison, PhP150.00 is set as the figure to meet the daily Minimum Basic Needs (MBN) of a family of five.

¹⁷ Barangay Protection Order (BPO), RA 9262, an irrevocable barangay protection order is issued to a male partner when a woman complains to the police or barangay official that he had subjected her to abuse. The BPO has a fifteen-day effectivity.

¹⁸ When MR GAD trainings are held in St. Joseph the Worker parish, this often involves lay leaders from Barangay Sasa and the neighboring barangays of Hizon, Pampanga, and Angliongto that are under parish jurisdiction. Some of these non-Sasa parishioners are also local government functionaries in their respective barangays. Through their participation in the parish-conducted trainings, they come to network with MR GAD also for assistance and information.

¹⁹ Pantalan is a Visayan term meaning port or wharf.

²⁰ During Lupon Tagapamayapa and Barangay Council meetings, this question came to be increasingly raised: *Ngano man nga babaye lang may Code?* (Why is it that only women have a Code?), in reference to the 1997 Women and Children's Code of Davao City that enshrines women's rights. There was an emerging recognition of the fact that men too had needs and that these were not being met. It was in this context that efforts were initiated to link the barangay to the MR GAD program.

²¹ The Bathaluman runs a half-way house in the relocation area within the barangay and has strong presence in its advocacy for the rights of women victims.

²² In separate FGDs facilitated by this researcher, a similar complaint was aired by local government officials in Barangay Calinan in December 2008 and by service providers in Barangay Daliao in May 2009.

²³ Government functionaries must enforce the fifteen-day cooling off period on pain of a hefty fine (Php10,000.00) for initiating a willful violation thereof, such as when moves are made to reconcile the couple.

²⁴ PO3 Absarah Khansi of the PNP observes that some woman complainants use RA 9262 and the attendant threat of police action as *panghadlok - murag mumu* (threat – like a specter) on their husbands.

²⁵ Abing has since been replaced by Barangay Secretary Remy Caday.

²⁶ Barangay Committee for the Protection of Women.

²⁷ Women's organizations were represented at the MR GAD partners conference held on 28 to 29 August 2009. At the culmination of the program, DPF director Lyda Canson, a prominent women's rights advocate, thanked MR GAD for "proving her wrong." She cited her personal knowledge of former doers of violence who had reformed and committed to adopt non-violent means at resolving marital disagreements.

²⁸ In August 2009, MR GAD drew the consolidated data from 391 screening forms that were accomplished. The findings reveal the SGD participants had been between fifteen to sixty-four years old (mean age at 42) with an average income of Php7,345 per month. They were mostly married (62%) and college graduates (57.6%). Only nine percent of them had yet to have sex. Of those who were sexually active, there were reports of STI symptoms such as painful urination (29%), urethral discharge (11%), and genital sores (12%). Problems of premature ejaculation (50%) and erectile dysfunction (40%) were also reported. Younger cohorts reported earlier sexual debut than older cohorts. The majority (82.5%) never used condom or any other contraceptive (58%). Almost a third had multiple sexual partners, but almost never had to pay for sex. Most of them (66%) experienced physical abuse as children; a third admits to having hit their partners at least once; and seventy-four percent directed hurting words. On the other hand, they also reported experiencing being insulted in public (24.6%) and hit (16%) by their wives.

²⁹ After the fact of the MR GAD pilot project implementation, The Rio Call to Action (2009) stipulates the need to "invest in men and boys to become engaged in changing their behavior and attitudes towards gender equality supported by communities, systems and national policies."

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Theoretical Underpinnings of the Counterinsurgency Strategy Employed in Basilan

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A counterinsurgency (COIN) strategy can only be effective when it builds and promotes democratic legitimacy for the state. It is imperative that in developing a COIN strategy, there must first be an understanding of the role of the population and its perceptions of the political legitimacy of its government. There are many different theories on the origination of a state's legitimacy — whether it stems from policies of good governance and inclusion of the population in the political process, or from the state's coercive control measures. Notwithstanding the notions put forward by some scholars that political legitimacy can also be derived from state coercion, this paper asserts that establishing democratic legitimacy based on good governance is a more effective and enduring strategy — particularly in the context of the insurgency problem in southern Philippines.

In this research's use of the term legitimacy, a distinction between the definitions of democratic legitimacy and coercive authority has to be established. Democratic legitimacy is a positive term that reflects the population's support for the regime as a result of its equitable political policies, application of justice, and appropriate use of control measures to safeguard the population. Coercive authority is, therefore, taken to mean as not "legitimate" because of the negative definition of the term coercion, i.e., to restrain or dominate through force or the threat of force (Merriam-Webster 1987). While control is a necessary and important characteristic of any state, the democratically legitimate state maintains legitimacy with the population through the discriminate use of control measures to maintain justice and order. The coercive state, on the other hand, uses an excessive amount of control most often directed against the population. A dictatorial state may effectively control its population

with surrogates deployed down to the village or block level. This does not, however, produce democratic legitimacy; rather, it produces coerced authority. Goodwin points out that these “exclusionary” regimes are more likely to incubate revolutionary movements. The indiscriminant or overwhelming violence of a state against its citizens can have the effect of creating insurgencies by driving the people targeted by state coercive measures to seek shelter within the protective influence of an insurgency (Goodwin 2001). Revolutionary groups, Goodwin suggests, may prosper not because of the popularity of their ideology but because they offer people some protection from violent states (47). These states may be viewed as firmly in control although lacking popular support. Maintaining that control means that they must expend significant state resources in the form of coercive instruments such as the use of surveillance, informant networks, secret police, etc. Arguably, the level of these coercive instruments is much greater than the means employed by a state that maintains control through non-coercive good governance.

Douglas Borer (1999) suggests that political legitimacy is more closely aligned with the principle of good governance because it is “...the basis of social unity, cohesion, and stability within any given polity, with the polity comprising the ruling state apparatus and the citizenry of a given territory. Legitimacy is a function of the state’s ability to govern effectively a society in which citizens see the state’s power over them as being correct and just.”

This perception by the population of correct and just rule is reflected in the degree of satisfaction the citizens feel in their security, opportunity, and prosperity. Borer further maintains that for a polity to survive in the long-term, the ruling state must have political legitimacy. The state’s failure “to acquire legitimacy at their inception and to maintain it over time will eventually fail. States can rule without legitimacy, but not well and not for long.”

Theories of legitimizing the state

Legitimacy through coercion

Max Weber (1947), describes three pure types of political authority: Traditional domination (based on the sanctity of tradition, patriarchy, and feudalism), legal domination (modern law, state, and bureaucracy), and charismatic domination (the appeal of leaders for allegiance based

on familial, heroic, or religious virtuosity). Weber theorizes that a natural progression or “rationalization” occurs over time where resistance to the traditional rule causes a state to inevitably move towards a “rational-legal” structure of authority using a bureaucratic structure.

He states that the effectiveness of a state’s coercion and control over its people has a direct correlation to its legitimacy. Based on this theory, a state is that institution which monopolizes the means of coercion over the society. This definition, however, proves incomplete: The existence of another organization within the same borders, which possesses significant coercive power, say an insurgency, does not make it a legitimate state. This definition also does not fully explain the existence of authoritarian states that are viewed as illegitimate by large numbers of their people, yet they remain in power through coercive measures (Goodwin).

Goodwin offers a more refined coercion-based definition of a state as “an organization, or set of organizations, that attempts, and claims the right, to monopolize the legitimate use of violence in an extended territory” (12). This definition is useful in describing how authoritarian states or those that lack popular support maintain control, but does not incorporate the concept of good governance. It only uses just rule or other traits often associated with the popular support of a state or “democratic” legitimacy.

Legitimacy though the paradigm of good governance

Manwaring makes an important distinction in defining a strategy for promoting legitimate governance through political engagement. He suggests that if there is to be hope that other nations will embrace democracy and free market economies, the United States (US), having won the Cold War, must move forward to a “legitimate governance” strategy of engagement (Fishel and Manwaring 2006). Manwaring defines this legitimate governance as

governance that derives its just powers from the governed and generates a viable political competence that can and will effectively manage, coordinate, and sustain security, as well as political, economic, and social development. Legitimate governance is inherently stable because it has the political competence and societal support to adequately manage internal problems, change and conflict that effect individual and collective wellbeing (57).

Definition of democratic legitimacy

By combining the ideas of Weber, Manwaring, Goodwin, and Borer, a definition for democratic legitimacy that explains a state's need to both solicit the support of the population and enforce legal authority can be developed.

The legitimacy of the state is determined by the effectiveness with which the polity applies both good governance and control in the appropriate proportions. A legitimate state provides its population with an environment in which citizens are secure and can prosper while exercising its legal authority to protect the population and prevent challenges to its supremacy. The citizens within this society identify themselves with the polity, participate in the political process, and recognize the state's right to rule over them (Borer 1999, xix).

Based on the ideas and concepts proposed by scholars, this paper puts forward assumptions relating to democratic legitimacy:

1. Democratic legitimacy that uses non-coercive measures illustrates the degree of influence and control that the state has over its population (Weber).
2. Reinforcing the democratic legitimacy of a state requires that the state improve the basic conditions of security and the availability of food, shelter, and opportunity for social and economic advancement within the society. These factors also apply to non-democracies. Because they lack coercive control, democracies are comparably more reliant on socioeconomic measures (Fishel and Manwaring).
3. The expectations and perceptions of the citizens determine the legitimacy of the democratic state more so than the non-democratic state.¹
4. The power "potential" of internal opposition groups is inversely related to the legitimacy of a state and the state's need to negotiate with them.²
5. Hence, using this definition of legitimacy and the four assumptions as a guide, there's a far greater challenge to develop strategies in improving a nation's legitimacy, and ultimately in countering the growth of opposition or insurgent groups that threaten to overthrow the state.

Strategy-Legitimacy paradigm: Help from an external state

Whether it is a state addressing its own internal issues or an external actor developing a strategy to assist another nation in defeating a domestic insurgency, it is essential that building democratic legitimacy be the primary goal of any COIN strategy. A key to the success of an external state developing and supporting the execution of a COIN strategy in another state is that the former state must avoid the appearance of propping up the host nation government. As Borer points out, if the endemic population views their government as an instrument of the external actor, it could have a severe negative effect on the state's legitimacy. In the cases of the US in Vietnam and the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, both the Vietnamese and Afghan governments were viewed by their own people as creators of foreigners. This fact, combined with their inability to provide security and stability, contributed significantly to the failure of both states and the ultimate defeat of the superpowers (Borer, 234). Borer also suggests that legitimacy is not something that can be forced on an unwilling or incompetent state by an external actor. Even with the assistance of a superpower, victory is not assured. The state must have the desire and determination, as well as a reasonably capable state infrastructure and security apparatus to successfully defeat an insurgency. Manwaring points out that a threatened government usually needs outside political help to deal with a threat of instability. Ultimately, that government must reform and strengthen itself.

Legitimacy in the Philippines

As the Philippines contends with lingering communist and secessionist insurgencies, problems of legitimacy hound the state. A recurring problem that impinges on legitimacy in the Philippines is the public perception that the state and its institutions are corrupt. It is not enough that a president is legitimately elected. S/he must also exercise effective leadership and governance. When s/he, or members of his/her administration, fails to deliver, or worse, are implicated in corrupt practices, his/her popularity decreases and, with it, the perceived legitimacy of his/her administration. This scenario has played out more than once in the Philippines — most recently with President Joseph Ejercito Estrada who was forced from office in January 2001 on

charges of corruption. He was replaced by his running mate and current Philippine President, Gloria Macapagal Arroyo (Walley 2004).

This perception is directly related to the perceived strength or weakness of the state apparatus (Fishel and Manwaring). When the state and its institutions fail to deliver basic goods and services and address issues of poverty, unemployment, injustice, and security — as is the problem in Mindanao — the population begins to question the legal authority of the state and its perception of the state's legitimacy decreases, leading to feelings of injustice and anger and a sense of relative deprivation among the population (Gurr 1965).

Challenges to legitimization

Relative deprivation: Setting the condition for conflict

In Ted Gurr's book *Why men rebel*, he argues that “men are quick to aspire beyond their social means and quick to anger when those means prove inadequate, but slow to accept their limitations” (58). Relative deprivation is viewed as a tension between one's actual state and what one feels s/he should be able to achieve (25). He adds that there is a “perceived discrepancy between value expectations and value capabilities” (37). Normally, deprivation occurs when one's value expectations exceed one's value capabilities. These values include welfare, security, self-actualization, and self esteem. The intensity and scope of relative deprivation strongly determine the potential for collective violence.

Fathali Moghaddam suggests that relative deprivation and an individual's feelings of injustice can lead him up a proverbial staircase to terrorism. In his 2005 book *The staircase to terrorism*, he describes the ascension of an individual from a disillusioned citizen to a terrorist as being achieved through the climbing of steps. He suggests that a strategy of targeting only the terrorists who have already ascended the steps is an ineffective plan. The best long-term strategy is prevention at the ground floor level.

At the ground floor of his model, individuals believe that they have no voice in society and feel neglected and deprived of opportunity. Leaders encourage these individuals to displace their aggression onto out-groups. Through this influence, individuals begin to see the terrorist group as legitimate and the state as illegitimate (161-165). This phenomenon can be seen in many under-governed areas of the world —

particularly in southern Philippines where a minority Muslim population lives in an environment of insufficient government infrastructure and security with little hope of improvement. This situation has resulted to armed conflict and demands for self-determination.

Revolutionary consciousness: Lighting the fuse of an angry population

If a population's sense of relative deprivation sets the conditions for revolution, the concept of revolutionary consciousness gives legs to the social movement and helps to organize the revolt. The concept of revolutionary consciousness or class consciousness was developed by Karl Marx to explain the awakening of a population to its situation and potential for self-determination. As A. Dirlik (2005, 132) explains,

“Marx conceptualized consciousness in its dialectical relationship with history, with the proletariat as its concrete reference. Revolutionary consciousness represented the development of proletarian consciousness as the proletariat became aware of itself as a class by comprehending itself in history.”

Mao Tse-Tung also wrote extensively on the subject and further developed the concept of revolutionary consciousness by suggesting that for the revolution to be successful, the revolutionary consciousness had to reflect and incorporate elements of the culture of the population. If the call for revolution was not put into a proper context wherein the population could relate to, or that it did not reflect their traditions, beliefs, and concerns, the population could view the revolution as alien and not representative of their goals (137).

As a Maoist organization, the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) employed Mao's ideas on revolutionary consciousness in successfully organizing the poor. This same process of organization can be seen in the Muslim insurgent groups in Mindanao. It is less clear, however, if they were following the teachings of Marx and Mao, or if revolutionary consciousness was a result of the scholarship program sponsored by the Philippine, Libyan, and Egyptian governments in the 1960s. These programs were the initiative of the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and were intended to provide Muslims from Mindanao with first rate education. The hope was that this program would begin to repair the perceived gap between the opportunities afforded to Christian Filipinos and those afforded to Muslim Filipinos. Egypt and Libya sponsored similar programs in

Mindanao and brought hundreds of youths to *madrassas* and universities in Egypt, Libya, and the Middle East. Many of the students studied law and, upon returning to Mindanao, began working through the legal system to effect change in Mindanao. This period was a turning point in Mindanao history. The combination of becoming intellectually empowered and the exposure to other Muslim cultures, such as Egypt and Libya, had a significant effect on many Muslims in Mindanao. It is reflected in the renewed call for independence in the 60s and 70s (Abuza 2003). Led by Nur Misuari of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), the Muslims of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago were organized into a popular revolt that threatened to wrest control of Mindanao from the GRP. This combined group declared Mindanao as an independent Muslim nation (Abat 1993). Reflecting on Mao's belief that the call to revolution must be presented in a population's cultural context, the MNLF coined the term *Bangsamoro* to describe the Muslims of the region as one people.³ The MNLF personalized the need for revolt and interpreted the goals of the revolution in terms that the Bangsamoro people could relate to, emphasizing the end of poverty, inequality, and destitution of the Muslim population in Mindanao.

Theoretical underpinnings of a COIN strategy

Understanding why a particular insurgency developed and the context in which it operates is critical in the conceptualization of any COIN strategy. It is essential that COIN strategies are tailored to fit the specific situation. This strategy may vary greatly within an area of operation, from region to region, or even from village to village based on a number of factors. These factors are determined through a careful and detailed analysis of the situation, population, enemy, history, root causes of the conflict, politics, socioeconomic conditions, strength/capacity of the host nation government, and external influences. COIN strategy is a combination of direct and indirect approaches. The difficulty of developing an effective strategy accurately determines the necessary degree of each. As Manwaring points out, "the balance of persuasive and coercive measures will determine success or failure in the achievement of a just civil society and a durable peace" (Fishel and Manwaring, 63).

The “nesting” of Mack, Arreguin-Toft, and McCormick

Applying the principles of Andrew Mack, Ivan Arreguin-Toft, and Gordon McCormick should be viewed as being rank-ordered or “nested” ideas. Mack provides a sort of litmus test for the state in deciding if it has the will to win. His theory is useful in demonstrating that superior commitment, political will, and possibly sacrifice will be necessary to defeat the opponent. Once the decision to fight is made, Arreguin-Toft’s theory is useful in determining what type of strategy will bring about the desired outcome. Arreguin-Toft relies heavily on Mack’s principles as he describes his theory of interaction. This theory helps strategists in determining what type of strategy will be assembled to counter the foe — direct or indirect. Once the need for an indirect approach (IA) is identified, the mystic diamond strategy then provides the framework for a COIN strategy that recognizes the population as the center of gravity (COG). This type of analysis will present the state with a clear understanding of the type of threat it faces and provide effective options to generate a favorable outcome.

Mack’s theory

Mack’s theory is relevant as it provides the basis for understanding the role commitment plays in support of a strategy (Mack 1975). In the Philippines, it is assumed that the government security apparatus is more powerful than any insurgent movement. This is the focus of Mack as he examines the power asymmetry between two contending forces (178). He argues that the analysis should focus on the differentials in the political will to fight which is rooted in different perceptions of the stakes at hand (177). He also says that power asymmetry translates to interest asymmetry. The materially weaker insurgent is more politically determined to win because he has more vested interest in the outcome of war than the stronger external power whose stakes are lower (177). For example, Mack observes that the successful post-1945 rebellions against European colonial rule, as well as the Vietnamese struggle against the US, all had one thing in common: The weaker actor is more committed to win the war (Record 2005-2006).

Furthermore, since the weak insurgent fights for his survival, he considers the war “total” while the stronger may only view it as “limited”

(Mack). As a consequence, it is not only politically impossible for the stronger power to mobilize its total military resources, it is also not deemed necessary (Record). Mack emphasizes that it is the actors' relative resolve or interest that explains the success or failure in asymmetric conflicts. In essence, the actor with the most resolve, regardless of material power resources, wins. As the gap in relative power widens, the strong actor is less resolute and, thus, becomes politically vulnerable. On the other hand, the weak actor is more resolute and less politically vulnerable (Mack). The weaker actor's superior strength, in terms of commitment, compensates for his military inferiority. The weak actor fights harder because his existence is at stake. He also displays more willingness to incur losses. This is something the strong actor cannot bear. Just as in Iraq with the US as the strong actor, its home population demands pullout if it incurs a lot of casualties — even though victory has not yet been achieved (185).

Arreguin-Toft's strategic interaction theory

This theory shows how an indirect strategy works. Arreguin-Toft argues that the likelihood of victory and defeat in asymmetric conflicts depends on the interaction of the strategies of weak and strong actors. For example, a strong actor is supposed to win against a weaker opponent by utilizing an indirect strategy against the indirect strategy of the enemy. All other things being equal, Arreguin-Toft contends that the stronger side is most likely to lose when it attacks with a direct strategy and the weak side defends using an indirect strategy. Any indirect strategy should seek to destroy the enemy's will to fight (Record). Using statistical and in-depth historical analyses of the history of conflicts spanning two hundred years, Arreguin-Toft contends that independent of regime type and weapons technology the interaction of similar strategic approaches favors the strong actors. On the other hand, the use of different strategic approaches favors the weak. The case of the US winning its war in Afghanistan in 2002 within a few months demonstrates what happens in a direct-direct confrontation. The opposite, however, occurred when the Soviet Union lost after a decade of brutal war by using a direct strategy against the Afghan indirect strategy (Record).

		Weak-Actor Strategic Approach	
		Direct	Indirect
Strong-Actor Strategic Approach	Direct	Strong Actor	Weak Actor
	Indirect	Weak Actor	Strong Actor

Figure 1 Expected effects of strategic interaction on conflict outcomes (Arreguin-Toft 2005).

Mystic diamond COIN model

Because it uses a holistic approach to the problem of insurgency, McCormick's diamond model of insurgency (Figure 2) is particularly useful (Wilson 2006). By placing the population at the apex of the diamond and presenting both the state and the counter-state as engaging in direct competition for their support, the people are the COG for both sides (McCormick 2007). The battle is over legitimacy and who controls the population. Legs 1 and 2 represent the state's efforts to work through the population. This improves the state's legitimacy and provides for the people's needs to gain their help in identifying the insurgents. Leg 3 represents the state efforts to strike the insurgents directly (Wilson).

The role of external actors is represented as the fourth point (bottom) of the diamond. Legs 4 and 5 represent the involvement of external actors. Leg 4 represents diplomatic measure taken by the state with external actors to gain assistance in defeating the counter-state. Leg 5 represents the state's efforts to cut off outside assistance and

supplies going to the counter-state. The dynamics between the external actors and the state show the latter working to improve its legitimacy in the eyes of foreign actors, receiving aid while also limiting the amount of aid that external actors can supply to the counter-state (6).

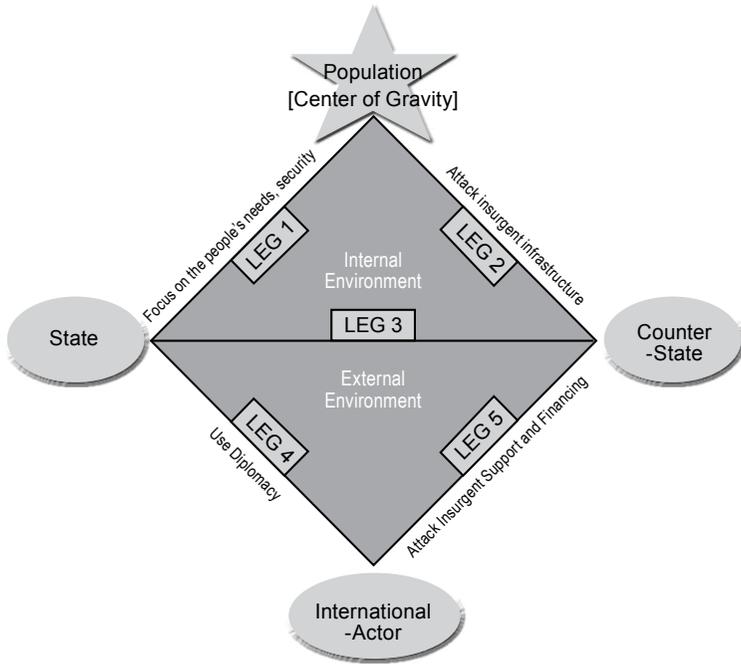


Figure 2. Basic diagram of the mystic diamond COIN model (Wilson 2006).

Figure 3 illustrates in greater detail how the diamond can be used to illustrate the dynamics between the state and the counter-state. Both the state and the counter-state must gain the support of the population but for different reasons. The state, marked by a 1 in Figure 3, is not immediately threatened militarily by the insurgent because it is insulated by a force advantage over the insurgent force. The state, however, lacks the information advantage to quickly identify and destroy the insurgency. It must get this information from the population within which the insurgency is hiding. The insurgency, marked by a 2, is also insulated. This insulation, however, is an information advantage providing it anonymity and protection from the state security forces. What the insurgency lacks is a force advantage with which to attack and defeat the state. The insurgency must rely on the population to maintain

its anonymity and to provide information on the activity of the state, resources, and members elicited through recruitment.

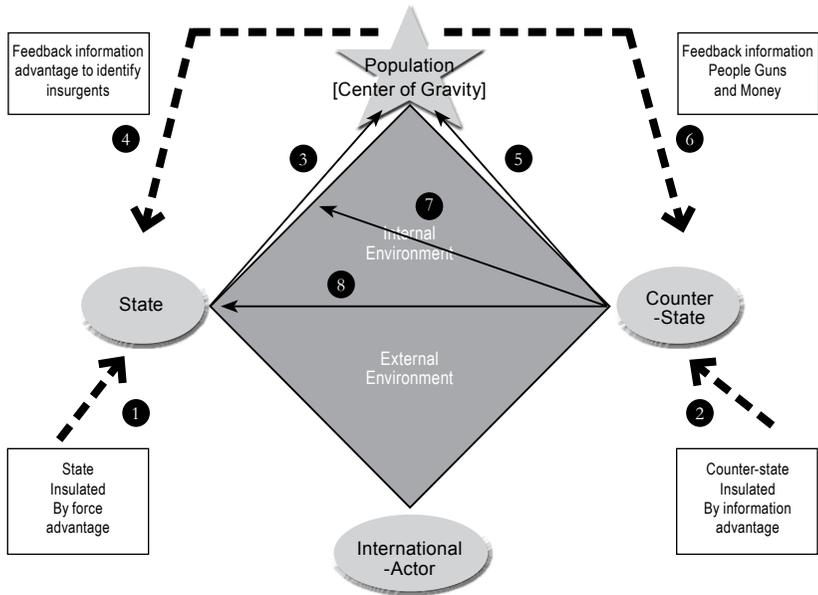


Figure 3. Illustration of the application of the diamond COIN model in describing the dynamics of the insurgency.⁴

Number 3 indicates the state's efforts to improve its legitimacy among the people by extending control over the population. If done properly, this has the effect of decreasing the legitimacy and coercive control that the insurgency has over the population. It also increases the amount of actionable intelligence that the state can then use to target the insurgents. This is shown by the arrow returning to the state at number 4.

The difficult task that the state faces lies in differentiating between the non-state actors and members of the population. The problem of using the right amount of coercion is a challenge that both the state and counter-state must try to formulate. Too much coercion from either side can force the population in the opposite direction. As such, too much coercion can prove disastrous and costly — not only through the loss of popular support, but also of legitimacy (Fishel and Manwaring). Number 5 in the diagram indicates the efforts of the insurgency to elicit the support of the population to provide information on the state, attract

new recruits, and gain money and resources (supplies and weapons) annotated by the arrow at number 6.

At number 7, the insurgency targets the state control measures affecting the state's ability to exert control. The state can do the same if and when it is able to identify the insurgent control measures. At number 8, the insurgency directly targets the state once it has sufficiently rolled back enough of the state's control measures and weakened the force advantage that insulates it. The state can also do this to the insurgency if it is able to overcome the latter's information advantage which insulates it. As McCormick argues, "the winner of this contest is the one who can most quickly overcome his disadvantage."⁵

Three stages of the insurgency's bid to "roll back" the state's control

The steps represented by numbers 5, 7 and 8 also represent stages that the insurgency goes through as it becomes more influential and effective:

Stage 1: The insurgency spreads its control over the population as it grows and pushes back the state's influence or "control measures" (indicated by the arrow at number 5 in Figure 3) (McCormick Lecture 2007). This period can take a long time and is highly dangerous as the insurgency is vulnerable to targeting by the state if it becomes visible (known) to the state.

Stage 2: As the insurgency "rolls back" the state's control measures (as indicated by the arrow at number 7 in Figure 3), it can begin to target the state's control surfaces (the state's methods of control, i.e., security forces and government infrastructure). The degree to which the insurgents can do this is in direct correlation to the success they have had with gaining the support of the population (McCormick Lecture). By targeting the state's control measures, the insurgency begins to affect the state's ability to exert control. The insurgency gains additional support from the population by demonstrating that the state cannot effectively target the insurgency or that it can no longer provide control and security to the population. If the state retaliates and lashes out at the population in an attempt to strike the insurgency, they may further alienate members of the population and unwittingly push them towards the insurgency. This is a difficult position for the state: If they do not react with enough force, it risks appearing weak and ineffective; if they respond with too much, it appears reckless and oppressive. Either end

of the spectrum results in the state losing legitimacy with its population that could result in strengthening the insurgency.

Stage 3: Once the insurgency has sufficiently weakened the state's force advantage by rolling back the state's control surfaces, it can target the state directly (as indicated by the arrow at number 8 in Figure 3) (Fishel and Manwaring). If the insurgents attempt to do this too early, they risk being destroyed by the state's superior force advantage.

To fully understand the role of the population as the COG, it is vital to know how population control is reached and its role in supporting state (or insurgent) control. A state's control over its population can greatly affect the ability of an insurgency to develop itself. This control is the result of a mix of the state's control measures and its policies of attraction or "good governance" that leads the population to view the state's right to rule over them as correct and just.⁶

The fine balance between control and cooperation

The application of force by the state requires a fine balance between creating the right level of control for the sake of security and stability and meeting the expectations of the population for freedom and rights. If the state increases the amount of force, exceeding the level perceived by the population as appropriate, the state's legitimacy can be damaged. Sometimes the state must employ its military force to maintain order, such as during the aftermath of a natural disaster or periods of social unrest.

The state may also attempt to co-opt or entice the population into supporting state objectives by making concessions or promises to the population such as agreeing to negotiate land reform measures desired by the target population. Hence, the ability of the government to establish control over a population and a territory enhances its legitimacy. When the state is perceived as legitimate, it is very difficult for an insurgent group to diminish that legitimacy.

Basilan: Winning the war of ideas in southern Philippines

How do the COIN models used in the Philippines tackle the issue of legitimacy? How does an indirect COIN strategy based on McCormick's diamond model deal with the relative deprivation that breeds insurgency?



Figure 4. Map of southern Philippines. The highlighted area is the Joint Operation Area (Wilson 2006).

In the case study on Basilan, the Philippine government, assisted by the US, faced an ideology-based insurgency waged by Muslim separatists and terrorist organizations. This case study examines how the Special Operations Command – Pacific (SOCPAC) partnered with the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) on a considerable interagency effort to successfully execute campaigns against the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG). This also examines how the IA, employing the framework of the diamond model, proves effective in addressing the issues of relative deprivation as a main effort and direct military action as a supporting effort.

Trouble in the south

Development of an effective COIN strategy for southern Philippines requires an in-depth understanding of the history of the region and the

roots of its internal problems. A clear understanding of the goals of the multiple insurgent groups is critical to developing a COIN strategy that would support the legitimacy of the GRP and siphoning away the insurgent's population support base. Influenced by their knowledge of the works of Mack and the principles of Arreguin-Toft's strategic interaction model, SOCPAC planners employed McCormick's diamond model as a framework on which to develop a plan that they believed was appropriate for the complex political and social environment of southern Philippines.⁷ Planners understood that much of the battle for the population's support would be won through the improvement of their socioeconomic condition. They also determined that a sophisticated information strategy would be required to synchronize actions and messages to promote the principles of good governance and the rule of law in countering the message of the opposition groups (Haider Interview 2008). McCormick's diamond model offers the right combination of direct and indirect strategy. It takes advantage of opportunities to target the insurgency directly with Philippine Security Forces (PSF) through a relentless pursuit campaign. It most often works through the population with a highly targeted civil military and information operations strategy to change the conditions that provided the ASG safe haven.⁸

Reestablishing the US-GRP relationship

By 2001, the Philippine government was facing several serious challenges. Already home to two of the world's longest running insurgencies, its southern region of Mindanao had become a training ground and transit point for international terrorist groups (Ressa 2005). Philippine intelligence documents show that throughout the 1990s, thousands of Islamic militants, Filipinos, and aspiring terrorists from all over the world had been traveling to Mindanao to train in more than twenty-seven camps run by the MILF (9). The presence of Al Qaeda in Mindanao had also become a growing concern to the Pacific Command (PACOM)⁹ and SOCPAC. These two began to look at training and assistance options to improve the capability of the AFP to combat terrorism (Briscoe 2004). Planning, however, would be complicated by some significant constraints.

The first major hurdle that PACOM and SOCPAC planners had to overcome was to reestablish US/Philippine military relations severed in 1992 after the closure of US military bases in the Philippines. Beginning in 1991, the US drastically reduced its security assistance funding to the Philippines – from \$350 million in 1991 to \$5 million by 1993.¹⁰ This drastic and massive cut in funding, combined with the reduction of exchange training to less than one exercise per year (the *Balikatan* exercise was held intermittently between 1992 and 1999), resulted in a measurable decline in Philippine military readiness (Walley 2004). Also, as a result of the long presence of US forces in the Philippines in the past, the Philippine government had written an article into its Constitution that outlines any future US presence. The 1987 Philippine Constitution specifically states under Article XVIII, Transitory Provisions: Section 25, that

“after the expiration in 1991 of the Agreement between the Republic of the Philippines and the United States of America concerning military bases, foreign military bases, troops, or facilities shall not be allowed in the Philippines except under a treaty duly concurred in by the Senate and, when the Congress so requires, ratified by a majority of the votes cast by the people in a national referendum held for that purpose, and recognized as a treaty by the other contracting state.”

In February of 1999, the Philippine government ratified the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA). This bilateral agreement restored protections to US military personnel deployed to the Philippines (Adan Interview 2008), paving the way for renewed cooperation between the US and GRP and the reestablishment of US/RP military exchange training.

The next step was to coordinate the legal justification for US assistance. To reinforce and demonstrate US respect for Philippine sovereignty, the GRP would need to lobby for and justify the assistance of the US. Fortunately, the US and GRP had previously signed a Mutual Defence Treaty (MDT).¹¹ As planning progressed, this document became the framework on which the future strategy would be built (Adan Interview). The importance of this document cannot be overstated. The MDT was the cornerstone document that supported US military assistance to the Philippines. It, however, was written to address outside threats and the Philippines was facing internal threats of insurgency and terrorism. Opponents to US involvement within the GRP were adamant that such involvement was not supported by the Philippine Constitution or the MDT. In response, PACOM representatives and the Arroyo administration drafted the Terms of Reference (TOR) for *Balikatan*

2002, outlining and clarifying the extent of US assistance. The TOR stated that the US presence in southern Philippines would not exceed six months; US forces would not participate in combat operations although they were authorized to defend themselves if attacked; all operations would be AFP-led; and US personnel would always be accompanied by AFP personnel. In 2001, the TOR was signed by the then Philippine Secretary of Foreign Affairs Teofisto Guingona. This completed a critical phase in US/GRP efforts to combat terrorism (Adan Interview). This partnership would later be supplemented with a Mutual Logistics Support Agreement (MLSA) in November 2002, outlining the storage of US materials and resources on Philippine bases.¹² These agreements are essential to the continued presence of US forces in the Philippines and are frequently used by the VFA Commission to answer legal challenges to US involvement in southern Philippines (Adan Interview).

Another constraint facing SOCPAC planners was the requirement for a small US presence in the Philippines. Size was a constraint for several reasons. First, a primary goal of the US task force was to promote the legitimacy of the Philippine government, but planners acknowledged that a large US presence would likely detract from that goal. It would, instead, give the appearance of US unilateral operations, leaving locals the impression that the GRP was just a puppet of the US (Mossberg Interview).

Second, there was also tremendous pressure on President Arroyo and her government to deny, or at least strictly limit, the number of US forces deployed to the Philippines (Briscoe 2004). After long negotiations with the PACOM and SOCPAC commanders, permission was granted and a “force cap” was placed on the number of US personnel (660 task force members).¹³

Lastly, SOCPAC had ordered assessments as the first step in developing a strategy for Basilan (Wilson). Assessments of the local populace indicated a lingering resentment over the US COIN operations conducted in the early 1900s (Briscoe). Although nearly one hundred years had passed since Generals Pershing and Leonard Wood had fought in the Archipelago, locals still recall the conflict like it had occurred fairly recently.¹⁴ Insurgent propaganda themes spoke of past US betrayal of the Moro people, accusing the US of planning to steal what little the local people possessed.¹⁵ A large US presence would likely inflame a population that was already distrustful of the intentions of the United States (Mossberg Interview).

Limited US resources also created a constraint for planners. US commitments in Afghanistan and the build-up to Operation Iraqi Freedom left little in the way of men and resources to commit to Operation Enduring Freedom-Philippines (OEF-P) (Haider Interview 2008). A small advisory force had always been the goal of SOCPAC Commander, MG Wurster, 1st Special Forces Group Commander, David Fridovich, and the SOCPAC planners. This constraint helped them achieve that goal. If OEF-P had been the “only show in town” or the only US military combat zone, the US military would likely have been much more interested in beefing up the size of the task force with conventional units and equipment. This constraint is now viewed as having contributed to the success of the operation because it allowed PACOM/SOCPAC to develop a strategy that was less intrusive as opposed to a US unilateral operation. The relatively small operation also drew little attention from Washington when compared with operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. This allowed SOCPAC a degree of freedom to plan and execute the operation without significant influence or interference from Washington.¹⁶

SOCPAC and GRP planners also had to consider the reaction of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) forces in Basilan.¹⁷ Planners had to figure out a way to target the ASG without inciting hostilities from the MILF or MNLF (Dolorfino Interview 2008). A tenuous ceasefire was in place between the GRP and MILF forces in Mindanao. After decades of fighting, the ceasefire was a result of a mutual agreement between the GRP and the MILF to discuss terms for a peaceful resolution to MILF ancestral rights claims. The deployment of US and GRP forces to Basilan could threaten the ceasefire and bring thousands of MILF fighters into the conflict. The GRP sent envoys to discuss the upcoming operation with the MILF. It explained that the AFP was targeting the ASG because they were engaging in criminal and terrorist activities. The GRP requested that the MILF Central Committee declare the ASG outlaw and deny them support or safe haven in MILF camps. In return, the GRP would continue negotiations of a peace treaty with the MILF and possible concessions to MILF claims of ancestral domain rights in Mindanao. The MILF agreed and remained neutral, at least publicly, throughout Balikatan 2002 (Dolorfino Interview).

First steps in assisting the Philippines in its fight against terror

By 2000, PACOM and SOCPAC had developed a plan to assist the Philippines in addressing its growing terrorist threat, but when it was offered to then Philippine President Estrada, it was rejected. It was only after Estrada was forced out of office on corruption charges and Arroyo took office as President that the US offer of assistance was accepted (Briscoe). With the kidnapping of several US citizens by the ASG and an overall increase in attacks by terrorist and insurgent groups, President Arroyo approved a SOCPAC plan to address the threat. The plan included improving the COIN capacity of the AFP as well as establishing a counter-terrorism (CT) capability. It also included a Joint Special Operations Group (JSOG) to coordinate the efforts of Philippine Counter Terrorism Forces (Mossberg Interview).

Initial Security Assistance (SA) programs focused on creating a CT capability and improving other capabilities to support CT missions. Specifically, the plan included:

- Establish the three Light Reaction Companies (LRC). Responsibility would fall to 1/1SFG(A) to train and equip these new companies.
- Establish and train the first Joint Command in the Philippine Military. The JSOG was designed to command and control the LRCs and LRB (Light Reaction Battalion).
- Train and equip six light infantry battalions and conduct non-commissioned officers' leadership training.
- Train and equip twelve Naval Special Operations Unit (NAVSOU) teams and develop an instructor cadre.
- Develop night vision capability among Philippine UH-1H pilots and train six instructor pilots and co-pilots.
- Support Philippine intelligence modernization (Haider Interview).

In May 2001, the need for a Philippine CT capability was reinforced with the ASG kidnappings of Martin and Gracia Burnham from a resort in Palawan Island (Ressa 2003). This kidnapping was just the latest in a series of kidnappings perpetrated by the ASG and served to demonstrate its ability to operate with a high degree of impunity in southern Philippines. The perpetrators of this latest kidnapping were quickly traced back to Basilan where they took refuge in MILF camps

deep in the interior jungles of the island (Kaplan 2005). This event and the launching of other kidnappings and attacks by the ASG served to underscore the lawless environment present in southern Philippines and to convince President Arroyo to accept the US offer of military assistance (Walley).

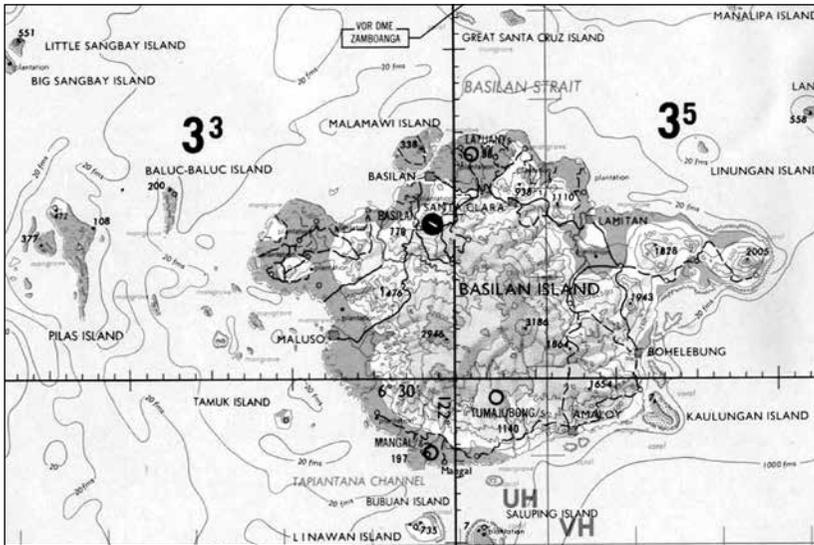


Figure 3. Map of Basilan.

Making the case for Basilan

Influenced by the principles of the theories of Mack and Arreguin-Toft, SOCPAC planners began developing a strategy that would employ McCormick's diamond model as a COIN framework to address the underlying causes of insurgency and promote the legitimacy of the Philippine government. It would also concurrently improve the AFP's ability to provide security and defeat the ASG forces in Basilan (Fridovich and Krawchuk 2007). Understanding that promoting legitimacy was the key to successfully assisting the GRP, SOCPAC considered the challenge of removing the ASG and Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) terrorist threats from Mindanao without igniting hostilities with the MNLF and MILF (Abuza 2003).¹⁹

To keep them out of the fighting, the GRP and the US viewed negotiating with the MNLF and MILF as key to the success of the strategy. This difficult task was accomplished through GRP negotiations with both the MNLF and MILF (Haider Interview). As Goodwin (2001) points out, government negotiations with mobilized groups have typically served to deradicalize them as they anticipate the accumulation of greater influence and resources. Negotiations and political inclusion also create an impact on the population by demonstrating that the state is “reformable” and interested in the concerns of its people (46). Negotiations with the state can also serve to bolster the insurgency. The mere fact that the state is officially recognizing the group creates legitimacy and credibility that can assist the insurgency in recruiting members and resources (47). In this case, the negotiations organized by the GRP with the MNLF and MILF were successful in motivating the two groups to deny support to the ASG and JI – at least publicly – and acknowledge them as criminal elements suitable for targeting by PSF.²⁰ The lead Philippine negotiator was then Colonel Benjamin Dolorfino, of the Philippine Marines, a Muslim, and native of Sulu (Dolorfino Interview). The success of the negotiations was a tremendous achievement by the GRP and contributed significantly to the overall success of their operations against the ASG. While there were clear signs that the MNLF and MILF were still supporting and providing safe haven to the ASG, both maintained neutrality in public and did not openly support the ASG.²¹ The agreements were successful in keeping these groups and the approximately 17,000 fighters they command out of conflict while allowing the AFP to pursue the ASG and JI (Dolorfino Interview). If the GRP had not sidelined the MNLF and MILF, Mindanao and the Archipelago would likely have deteriorated to a full-scale war (Banlaoi Interview).

Understanding that the MNLF was heavily supporting the ASG, President Arroyo also suspended Nur Misuari as Governor of Autonomous Regions in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) in November 2001. This sent Misuari into hiding and sparked attacks in both Sulu and Zamboanga by a splinter group of the MNLF calling themselves the Misuari Breakaway Group (MBG). These attacks were repelled by the AFP. Casualties were high on both sides.²²

Assessment of the population and atmospherics

Analysis of the Basilan population and environment began before US forces were actually deployed to the island. This assessment became the baseline for planning and was critical in determining how the development of an IA strategy²³ would effectively separate the population from the insurgent. It was imperative that the RP/US identify the areas that supported the insurgency (Wendt 2005). The assessments focused on determining the enemy situation, Philippine military training requirements, local demographics, condition of infrastructure, and socioeconomic conditions or relative deprivation (Wilson) to aid planners in building a “map” of disenfranchisement and identify where likely active and passive support for the ASG would develop (6). As the operations continued, successive assessments were done regularly to evaluate the effect that the strategy was having in the area (Wendt). From these evaluations, more effective initiatives were recommended (Fridovich and Krawchuk). A similar assessment was also done on each AFP unit to determine resource requirements and track progress in building capacity (10). This “effects-based” measurement was used by SOCPAC to closely monitor the return on investment on the operation and activities with host nation partners (10). The assessments and measurements of effectiveness were also necessary to SOCPAC in demonstrating mission progress when reporting to US military and civilian leadership. The protracted nature of the IA means progress is often incremental and difficult to quantify. The assessments and measurements of effectiveness assisted SOCPAC in demonstrating progress as well as requirements for additional resources. Assessments were also critical in the development of the Information Operations (IO) strategy (Martin Interview 2008). An accurate understanding of the local population facilitated the development of information products and the targeting of civil military projects that would have the greatest positive effect.

Diamond model in Basilan

The assessments conducted on Basilan found significant levels of relative deprivation with high levels of poverty, illiteracy, low school attendance, and little government infrastructure (Wilson). These

were issues that affected the legitimacy of the GRP and needed to be addressed through Leg 1 of the diamond model (Wendt). The assessments did not, however, find significant signs of an ideological alignment between the population and the ASG. In other words, the population was supporting the ASG out of necessity because of the lack of government infrastructure and security. While the assessments indicated that planners were facing an insurgency, the root causes were correctible with the application of good governance and a secure environment (Mossberg Interview).

To sever the relationship between the insurgent and the population, the next step was to address Leg 2 of the diamond model (Wendt). Support for the ASG had been attained largely through coercion and intimidation with just a small percentage of the locals categorized as ideological supporters. The in-depth analysis of the local population allowed the SOCPAC planners to determine that physical security was the single greatest need in Basilan (10). They predicted that if the GRP could provide security, as well as begin to improve the socioeconomic conditions on the island, the GRP should be able to sever the population's support to the ASG. SOCPAC planners began to develop a strategy to counter the terrorist/insurgent ideology by promoting a different ideology — one of good governance (10).

Leg 3 of the model represents the effort by the state to target the insurgents directly when they can be identified (10). Capacity-building efforts were aimed at improving the capability of the PSF to effectively target the insurgents (Mossberg Interview). While kinetic operations would be a necessary and prudent aspect of the strategy, SOCPAC planners estimated that the majority of the battles would be information-based and non-kinetic (Haider Interview). The IA that concentrates on countering the insurgency by attracting the populace towards an ideology of good governance consisted of two distinct but mutually supporting campaigns (Haider Interview). The first campaign was the COIN strategy, designated as the “main effort” that would erode the population's support of the stateless networks and promote an ideology of good governance. The second campaign and the “supporting effort” was the CT campaign that would defeat key nodes of stateless networks within southern Philippines, rendering them ineffective.

The result of this analysis was illustrated in what SOCPAC planners called the Basilan model. Built on the McCormick diamond model, the Basilan Model (Figure 7) depicted the specific struggle in Basilan and the basic SOCPAC strategy.

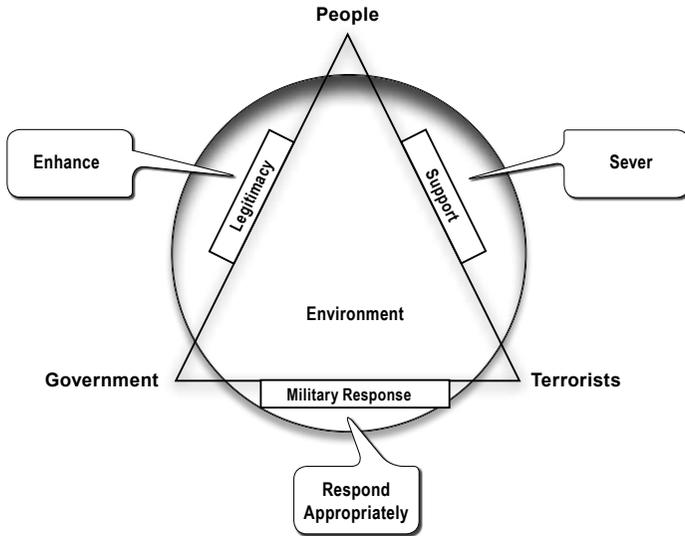


Figure 6. *The Basilan model.*²⁴

Planners also had to address the external political environment affecting the insurgency. This step is illustrated by the bottom half of McCormick's diamond model which defines the influence of external actors on the conflict (Wilson). In this case, support from the US and other nations coming into the GRP to help them in their COIN fight is represented by Leg 4. Efforts of external actors supporting the insurgency are represented by Leg 5 (5). Partnered with the US country team in Manila, SOCPAC planners developed a plan to assist the GRP in disrupting outside resources from getting into the insurgency, such as guns and money, among other things. With the COIN strategy focused on the population and the CT strategy focused on the stateless networks, each was designated as a COG.

Ideology of the IA

Using the McCormick diamond model as a framework to develop their strategy, SOCPAC planners began with the premise that the IA

must promote an ideology of Philippine government legitimacy rather than trying to directly counter the insurgent ideology.²⁵ The IA, in short, promotes a core democratic ideology – locally applied – that good governance is of, for, and by “the people” and that a government is obligated to provide basic needs, i.e., security, infrastructure, rule of law, and economic opportunity (Wilson Interview 2008). The planners recognized that all elements of the strategy must demonstrate this ideology (Haider Interview).

Recognizing that the Department of Defense (DoD) was just one of the many stakeholders in the Philippines, SOCPAC planners developed a strategy that proposed a division of labor which specified the role of the DoD in general, and SOF in particular, within a broader host nation and interagency environment (Haider Interview). Finally, the planners articulated the need for patience. Success in the IA meant changing the perceptions of a population and improving the capacity of its government to expand its infrastructure and provide security. They described the IA process that requires a long-term view of accepting measured developments and incremental results.

The IA strategy developed for Basilan was made up of three major interconnected efforts or “Lines of Operation” (Haider Interview):

- The first line of operation was operations and intelligence fusion support to AFP units. This meant that the US would provide assistance in planning and synchronizing AFP operations as well as provide logistics support. US forces would also provide intelligence to support AFP forces.
- The second was capacity-building. US forces would train, equip, advise, and assist AFP forces through long-term SA and direct US military engagement. The objective was to assist PSF in improving the physical security situation and in effectively countering terrorist and insurgents. Improved security will demonstrate to the people that the Philippine government is capable of protecting them from the insurgency and make them more likely to assist the AFP in targeting lawless elements. Improved capacity would increase effective targeting of lawless elements and minimize civilian injuries.
- The third was to conduct strategic communication and humanitarian action efforts to rehabilitate and develop communications that counter existing terrorist or extremist

ideology (Haider Interview). Strategic communications or information operations were designed to enhance the legitimacy of the Philippine government by promoting the successes of the first two lines of operations. The term strategic communications referred to many different informational efforts including building rapport and trust with the local leaders and population, properly framing US/AFP operations to the media and other entities external to Basilan, and developing themes to discredit the terrorist ideology of the ASG. Effective strategic communications were essential to mission success. Upon the deployment of US forces to Basilan, all SF detachments began to communicate and interact with local leaders and government officials (Haider Interview).

Information themes also targeted the insurgents. For example, playing card-sized handouts were circulated, offering cash for information leading to the capture of ASG members (Haider Interview). Civil military operations targeted areas where ASG had developed a support base and had a measurable effect on improving the socioeconomic conditions of the local population.²⁶ The investment in infrastructure, improved medical care, and education was targeted to demonstrate the commitment of the Philippine government to its people and to improve their quality of life (Martin Interview). Improved economic conditions would also encourage the non-radical elements of the population to seek safer work rather than fighting government security forces (Haider Interview).

These lines of operation complimented the efforts of the US country team to improve the legitimacy of the GRP and strengthened its efforts along Legs 1 through 3 of the diamond model. SOCPAC and what would later become the Joint Special Operations Task Force-Philippines (JSOTF-P) worked closely with the US Embassy country team, GRP officials, and key members of the PSF to develop a combined strategy, one that would ensure that PSF forces were the lead in all operations and that the US would remain in a strictly supporting role. This involvement of other stakeholders was essential to the SOCPAC strategy (Wilson).

Important lessons from Basilan

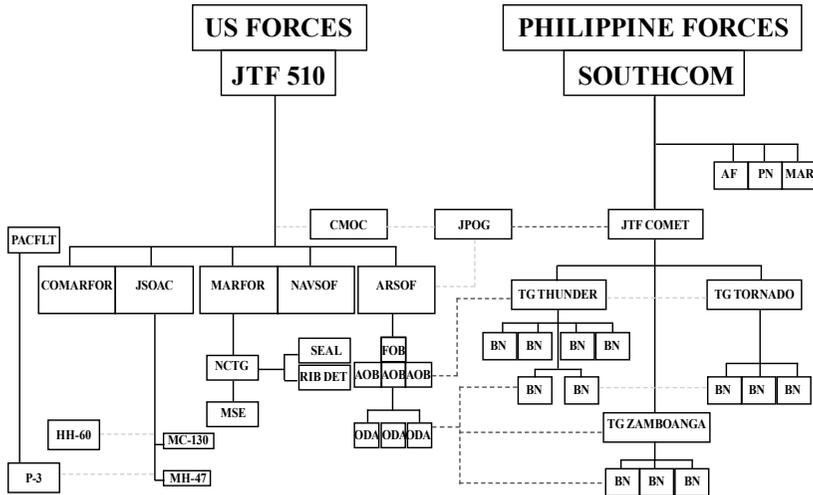
By all measures, the IA strategy used in Basilan was highly effective in denying ASG terrorists safe haven as well as improving GRP legitimacy, security, and the socioeconomic situation on the island.

Operations and intelligence fusion and capacity-building

By the end of Balikpapan 2002, there were clear indicators that the Basilan strategy had been effective. Initially, it had taken fifteen AFP battalions to establish a secure environment. By 2004, that number had been reduced to two AFP battalions and a small contingent of Civilian Armed Forces Geographical Unit (CAFGU) and a lightly armed and under-resourced village civil guard service (Mossberg Interview). ASG operations in Basilan and throughout the archipelago had been significantly disrupted by the loss of both its safe haven and its sub-leader, Abu Sabaya.²⁷ According to the Congressional Research Service Report (CRSR 2007), the operation reduced ASG strength from an estimated 1,000 active fighters to an estimated 200-400 in 2005 (Lum and Niksch 2007).

Joint Task Force (JTF)-510 efforts to build the capacity of the AFP subsequently resulted in improved security on the island (Wilson). SF advisor teams had focused on military skills that improved the AFP's capacity to track and defeat the ASG. The JTF had partnered with US advisors at each level of Philippine command from the Southern Command (SOUTHCOM) Headquarters, to the Task Group Headquarters, and to the AFP battalions (Wurster). USSF advisors also accompanied Philippine units on combat missions, but remained with the Battalion Commander of the Philippine unit out of direct enemy contact and in a strictly advisory role (Wurster). Figure 8 outlines the task organization and relationship of the JTF-510 with its AFP counterparts. Gray lines denote coordination and synchronization nodes at each level of AFP command to provide advice and assistance. JTF Comet was the AFP task force headquarters, supported by the USJTF staff and Civil Military Operations Cell (CMOC) through the Joint Psychological Operations Group (JPOG). The SF companies or "AOBs" were collocated with the AFP task groups or brigade headquarters. At the battalion level, typically, one SFODA was assigned to advise and assist

each AFP battalion to conduct capacity-building as well as to advise and assist during combat operations (Wurster).



Legend: ARSOF, Army Special Operations Forces; AOB, Special Forces Company; BN, Battalion; COMAFFOR, Commander, Air Force Forces; CMOC, Civil Military Operations Cell; FOB, Special Forces Battalion Forward Operating Base; JPOG, Joint Psychological Operations Group; JSOAC, Joint Special Operations Aviation Cell; JTF, Joint Task Force; ODA, Army Special Forces Operational Detachment – Alpha; MARFOR, Marine Forces; MSE, Marine Security Element; NAVSOF, Naval Special Operations Forces; NCTG, Naval Construction Task Group; PACFLT, Pacific Fleet; P-3, Airplane Surveillance Unit; HH-60, Helicopter Unit; MC-130, Cargo Plane Unit; MH-47, Helicopter Unit; PN, Philippine Navy; RIB DET, Naval Special Boat Detachment equipped with 11 meter rigid inflatable boats; SEAL, U.S. Navy Special Operations Forces; SOUTHCOM, Philippine Southern Command; TG, Task Group.

Figure 7. Task organization chart for JTF-510 depicting advise and assist relationship with AFP counterparts (Wurster 2008).

CMO and improving GRP legitimacy

At the outset of Balikatan 2002, most of the GRP infrastructure and services were located in the northern, predominantly Christian, part of the island. On the eastern and southern sides of the island, which were predominantly Muslim, there were few government facilities and a weak or nonexistent government security presence (Kaplan 2005). By the conclusion of the Balikatan 2002, that situation had changed dramatically. The construction of eighty kilometers of roads, four bridges, and two piers on the island had dual benefits: Improved security on the island (allowing PSF forces to respond quickly to emergency situations) and improved economics (making it possible for some remote villages that previously supported the ASG to get their goods to market). Completed civil military projects by the end of Balikatan 2002 included sixteen schools, seven medical facilities, and twenty-five fresh water proj-

ects. Over 20,000 local patients were treated during medical civic action programs (Wurster).

In 2004, an assessment team visited Basilan and observed several other indicators that the GRP/JSOTF initiatives continued to impact significantly on the security situation (Wurster). As compared to the situation in 2002 to 2004, a clear change in the behavior of the local population was evident. Children who lived in Basilan were now attending school in large numbers, unlike prior to *Balikatan 2002* when the ASG had closed the islands' schools and hospitals by kidnapping and executing several teachers and nurses (Kaplan). Children were also observed to be playing outside, something that was not often seen during the ASG's reign of terror. At night, parents brought their children inside to get a good night's sleep in preparation for school the next day (Mossberg Interview). This was a marked change from 2002 when many children did not attend school and often stayed out late into the night (Haider Interview).

When the assessment team toured the facilities that had been constructed during the *Balikatan 2002* exercise, they found that they had been well maintained by the local people (Wurster). In the two years since *Balikatan 2002*, the ASG had attempted to reestablish a presence in Basilan, but the population had refused to support them (Mossberg Interview). Indications demonstrated that the people of Basilan valued the alternative to supporting the ASG and had chosen instead to support the GRP (Wurster).

The improved security situation in Basilan also had a positive effect on the overall economic conditions on the island. Initial investment had been provided largely by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) through the Growth with Equity in Mindanao (GEM) program. By 2004, Basilan was also experiencing an increase in corporate investment. With the installation of the new road system, farmers and craftsmen were now able to get their goods and products to merchants in the larger towns and cities where they could be processed and exported for sale all over the Philippines (Wurster). The lucrative rubber plantations were also active once again. This provided much needed revenue and jobs. Refrigerated warehouses and export facilities had also been constructed, reestablishing Basilan's once thriving export industry. Philippine corporations also recognized the dramatic change in the security and socioeconomic conditions in Basilan. One very

visible indicator of this was the construction of a Jollibee franchise in the capital city, Isabela. The decision by the Jollibee Corporation to open a franchise in Basilan was not based only on an assessment that the environment was secure enough, but also that the population had the disposable income to support the fastfood outlet. This had not been the case two years earlier when Basilan held one of the lowest Human Development Indices (HDI) in the Philippines.²⁸

Information operations

The strategic communications or information strategy also had a significant effect in establishing local confidence in the GRP. In his 2002 Summary of Operations, then LTC David Maxwell, commander of 1/1SFG(A), described the US efforts to establish a dialogue with Basilan locals and leaders in the following terms:

“Initial actions by all elements were to immediately establish rapport both with military counterparts and in the local communities. The reception by the citizens on Basilan was generally excellent. Although at first very apprehensive and wary, the local citizens quickly warmed to the presence of US forces.

“Immediately upon arrival all units began interaction with the local governments (from provincial to barangay levels). Many municipalities including the Basilan Provincial Council passed unanimous resolutions supporting the deployment of US troops under the auspices of Exercise Balikatan. Many SF personnel were able to speak at various democratic forums (*sic*) to answer questions about the US mission and intentions. These meetings were instrumental in putting the local government officials as well as the local citizens at ease and turned their opposition or apprehension to support.

“The local governments and citizens of Basilan have embraced the US presence. They have passed unanimous resolutions initially supporting US forces presence and then later requesting extension of the presence past the original six months in the terms of reference. Many officials and citizens describe how peace and order has returned to most areas. Evidence can be seen in such events as the return of civilians to Upper and Lower Mahayhay (an ASG stronghold), the return of 1000 displaced civilians in the Sumisip area, and the conduct of celebrations such as the 28th Anniversary of Basilan and the First Anniversary of Isabela as a component city. Numerous outdoor events supposedly could not have been conducted just months ago but now are conducted with confidence. School graduation ceremonies in

Sumisip had been suspended for five years but were again held in March of 2002 with AFP and US presence. These are indicators that the combined US and AFP presence is improving the lives of the citizens of Basilan.”

Challenges amid the success in Basilan

While the ASG had not been completely wipe out or driven from the island, most of the ASG leaders had been either killed or forced to flee the island. Those who remained were able to blend into the MILF forces or general population and await another opportunity to revive their lawless activities.

The strategy used by the GRP and JSOTF was successful in making the environment untenable for the ASG, but the lack of good governance practices and poor socioeconomic conditions that first created the insurgency still exist in Basilan. If continued improvements are not made in this area, Basilan could once again become a safe haven to the ASG or other groups offering an alternative to poverty. Despite improvements since 2002, Basilan remains one of the poorest provinces in the Philippines (PHDR 2005). If it hopes to maintain peace there, the Philippine government must continue to expand government infrastructure and encourage investment in Basilan both from corporations and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) (Banlaoi Interview). Money alone, however, will not solve the problems in Basilan. According to Rommel Banlaoi, Chairman and Executive Director of the Philippine Institute for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (PIPVTR), eighty percent of foreign aid given to the Philippines since 2001 had been spent on Mindanao, yet it still counts as one of the poorest provinces in the country. Banlaoi believes that the issue is a lack of good governance and that where poor governance persists, so will terrorism.

One of the greatest challenges for US Special Operations forces during Balikatan 2002 was the restrictions placed on them by theater and national-level leaders who lacked an understanding of unconventional war (Maxwell 2004). The combatant commander and Secretary of Defense had imposed restrictions on Special Operations forces that severely limited their ability to effectively advise AFP forces in the fight against terrorism. This had been based on a misunderstanding of

the Philippine Constitution and poor coordination with the GRP in establishing the limitations of the US/RP partnership.²⁹ A more effective information strategy would also have helped to counter Philippine media misinterpretation of the Constitution (Banlaoi Interview 2008).

As AFP operations shifted to Sulu, Tawi-Tawi, and Mindanao in general, the JSOTF was faced with another significant challenge: Their ability to continue to provide assistance and capacity-building to AFP forces in Basilan. The JSOTF is constrained in terms of personnel and resources and must prioritize areas where SF detachments are deployed. In July 2007, fourteen Philippine Marines were killed and ten beheaded in an engagement with what was, at first, thought to be the ASG, but was later determined to have been most likely MILF members from the 103rd Base Command (Associated Press 2007). This engagement reinforced other assessments that the security situation was deteriorating in Basilan. With the end of Balikatan 2002, the US presence in Basilan had been reduced to occasional short duration Joint Combined Exchange Training (JCET) events. Concerned that the progress made in Basilan was in jeopardy, the US and GRP quickly developed a plan to “re-enter” the island. In response to the killing of the fourteen Marines, President Arroyo, now confident in the effectiveness of the IA, announced to the media that the GRP would launch a “humanitarian offensive on Basilan” in retaliation of the beheadings.³⁰ The JSOTF deployed a small contingent of US Army and Navy Special Operators to the island to assist the AFP in maintaining the progress that had already been made there.

In effect, the Marine killings highlighted the tenuous GRP ceasefire with the MILF. A breakdown in the ceasefire could be disastrous — not just for Basilan, but for the region as demonstrated by the recent failure of the Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain (MOA-AD) and the subsequent fighting between elements of the MILF and AFP in Mindanao.³¹

Another shortcoming of the operation is the failure by the US and the GRP to properly market the Basilan success story to the Filipino people (Banlaoi and Mendoza Interviews). Rightfully touted as a success story in the United States, the operation and its outcome have gone largely unrecognized among Filipino citizens. Banlaoi and recently retired Philippine National Police (PNP) Intelligence Chief, General Rodolfo Mendoza, explained that if the story of the Basilan success was

advertised to the Filipino people, there would be much less suspicion as to what the US military was doing in the Philippines. They also believe that if other local government leaders in the Philippines learned of the success of the IA, they would likely be more supportive of GRP efforts to improve governance in their home districts.

Conclusion

Generally, the operational environment provides the basis for any given COIN strategy. Any environment is unique in terms of the dynamics of politics, information, economy, and security that interplay with the culture and identity of the nation. The perception of legitimacy may also differ among people of different races and in different regions. The manner by which people recognize as well as resolve their problems ultimately changes relative to specific context or environment. As such, while the COIN models in the Philippines had a profound effect in addressing the threats, there is no guarantee that these will work in other areas. Given this, the Basilan model cannot be a “perfect template” to any insurgency in the world. Any strategy to be adopted in any country shall be justified by certain context or operational environment. There is no one-size-fits-all model for COIN. Successful models, however, provide important lessons that could enhance the prosecution of any COIN strategy. In the final analysis, the models may provide ideas that could work in Mindanao, but the government must be careful in analyzing the differences in context that may require some innovations or changes in the strategy.

Specifically, the case in Basilan worked in as far as addressing the problems on a shorter term is concerned. The building of infrastructures, provision of basic services, such as water supply, health and education, and attempts to address poverty are just the necessary components of a long-term commitment to address the roots. And for as long as poverty, unemployment, injustice, and marginalization remain, the seeds that breed discontent could still sprout and provide the rationale to challenge the Philippine state’s legitimacy. In a more specific note, the case study in Basilan described in this research presents compelling evidence that the McCormick diamond COIN model and its IA strategy have been highly effective in improving the security situation in southern Philippines. Coupled with other measures to improve governance and

the inclusion of opposition groups in the political process, the IA is changing the culture of violence in Mindanao. The successful peace negotiations with the MNLF, the continued involvement of the MILF in peace negotiations, and the involvement of the CPP in the political process demonstrate the mutual desire of these groups to resolve the conflict in a peaceful manner. The success of the IA strategy has had the effect of compelling these groups to pursue a peaceful resolution to the conflict by diminishing their influence, mobility, and popular support. By offering economic opportunity, hope, and security, the GRP has given the people of Mindanao a viable alternative to supporting the insurgents. With the significant emphasis on peaceful resolution demonstrated by the Arroyo administration and the assistance of the US military forces in continuing to improve legitimacy and security in the region, there is reason to hope that Mindanao will experience a new awakening — not one of revolutionary consciousness, but one of economic and social prosperity.

Notes

¹ Borer (1999, xix) explains that legitimacy is a function of the state's ability to effectively govern a society in which citizens see the state's power over them as being correct and just.

² Goodwin suggests that the degree of radicalization of mobilized groups against the state is largely attributed to the group's perception of their chances of attaining some significant share of state power or influence. He further suggests that the political "incorporation" of mobilized groups has typically served to "de-radicalize" them. Political inclusion also discourages the sense that the state is unreformable or an instrument of a narrow class or clique and accordingly, needs to be fundamentally overhauled.

³ Banlaoi explains that prior the MNLF movement in the 1970s, the term "Moro" was actually a derogatory term used to describe the Muslims of southern Philippines. The word Moro comes from the original term Moor, which was used to describe the Muslims of Spain.

⁴ This diagram is a combination of points made by both COLs Wilson and Wendt in their illustrations of the diamond model.

⁵ McCormick lecture on the diamond model attended by the authors, 13 September 2007.

⁶ Borer, xviii. It should be noted that under certain conditions strong coercive measures can result in public support when the alternative to those coercive measures is perceived as being worse. For instance, Thomas Hobbes' notion of the Leviathan is based on the idea that "the state of nature" is a state of chaos with a constant struggle for power among all individuals. Hobbes asserts the first order of legitimacy of the state (his

Leviathan) is based solely on imposing order over that chaos. Hobbes' experience was based on the English Civil War, which has modern parallels to the state of Afghanistan following the departure of Soviet forces. The Taliban government was considered legitimate by many Afghans despite its heavy-handed policies.

⁷ Interview with LTC Haider, former JSOTF-P Forward Commander, 2005, by MAJ Hastings, 25 May 2008, Camp Smith, HI, hereafter cited as Haider interview. SOCPAC planners were well versed in COIN theory and historical examples of successful and unsuccessful COIN operations. Some of the planners, like COL Wendt, were also recent graduates of the Naval Postgraduate School (NPS) and they had studied Mack and Arreguin-Toft. Professor McCormick is the Chairman of the Defense Analysis department at NPS and teaches the Guerrilla Warfare Seminar where he explains several theories on COIN that includes Mao, Guevara, Mack, and Arreguin-Toft. He also introduces his COIN model known as the "mystic diamond."

⁸ Interview with MAJ (P) Steve Mossberg (pseudonym) by MAJ Hastings, 28 April 2008, hereafter cited as Mossberg interview.

⁹ The combined Navy, Army, Marines, and Air Force units of the US military forces in the Pacific.

¹⁰ Interview with Undersecretary Edilberto P. Adan, Executive Director for the Office of the President, Presidential Commission on the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFACOM), interviewed by MAJs Hastings and Mortela, 16 September 2008, Manila. Hereafter cited as the Adan interview.

¹¹ The US is the only country with which the GRP has a MDT.

¹² The MLSA would be clarified further in a July 2006 document known as "Kapit bisig"

¹³ C. Walley, "Impact of the semi-permissive environment on force-protection in Philippine engagements" (*Special warfare*, 2004, 37). The force cap for Balikatan was established in the December TOR – 500 personnel for the JTF Headquarters and 160 SF soldiers on Basilan Island.

¹⁴ Interview with MAJ (P) Dan Howard (pseudonym) by MAJ Hastings, 10 October 2008, Camp Aguinaldo, Manila, hereafter cited as Howard interview. Although many residents of Mindanao and the Archipelago had had positive experiences with US personnel in the past, many were suspicious of the true intentions of the US. MILF, MNLF, and ASG propaganda also played on previous US combat operations, particularly in Sulu, bringing fear and distrust to the surface.

¹⁵ Interview with MAJ Jeff Martin (pseudonym) by MAJ Hastings, 28 May 2008, SOCPAC HQs, Camp Smith, HI, hereafter cited as Martin interview.

¹⁶ Haider interview. Hy Rothstein also discusses this situation in his 2007 article, "Less is more," *Third world quarterly*, vol. 28, no. 2, 275-294. He describes the lack of interest of the DoD during both OEF-P and the US operations in El Salvador in the 1980s. He also suggests that if the US had not been involved in both Iraq and Afghanistan at the time and the GRP was willing to accept a large contingent of US forces, DoD may have displaced the "right-minded" SOCPAC command and sent large numbers of US forces creating a magnet for jihadist.

¹⁷ Interview with MG Ben D. Dolorfino, Commandant, Philippine Marine Corps, by MAJs Hastings and Mortela, Marine Barracks, Manila. 18 September 2008, hereafter referred to as the Dolorfino interview.

¹⁸ Map of Basilan, FETEC Geographic Information System, http://map.primorye.ru/raster/maps/asia/basilan_island_tpc_1984, accessed 14 September 2008.

¹⁹ The ASG differed from the MNLF and MILF in that it acted more as a criminal organization than as an insurgency. It seemed uninterested in mobilizing the population to oppose the GRP, but focused instead on criminal activities and targeting the Philippine population with intimidation and violent attacks (Ressa). The MNLF, on the other hand, with the signing of the peace treaty with the GRP and the assumption of control of the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM), has moved into the “politics” segment with a bit of overlap into the “insurgency” segment. This is due to the threat of armed conflict with GRP forces and continued support of the ASG. Since entering into negotiations with the GRP, the MILF has moved away from the “terrorist” segment into the insurgent segment. As it makes progress towards a negotiated peace agreement with the GRP, it becomes more moderate and closer to functioning as a legitimate political organization (Abuza).

²⁰ Interview with Rommel Banlaoi, Chairman and Executive Director, Philippine Institute for Political Violence and Terrorism Research, by MAJs Hastings and Mortela, 15 September 2008, Camp Aguinaldo, Manila.

²¹ Operation Ultimatum Assessment, Armed Forces of the Philippines, Headquarters, Western Mindanao Command Camp, after Action Report, Zamboanga City, 29 March 2007.

²² C. Walley, 18. MBG fighters attacked the airfields in Sulu and Zamboanga resulting in sixty AFP killed and 100 MBG members killed. The fighting lasted one week.

²³ COL Eric Wendt, author of “Strategic counterinsurgency modeling” (*Special warfare*, September 2005), 10. COL Wendt was also one of the key planners involved in developing the Basilan strategy. He also served as Deputy Commander, Army Special Operations Task Force during Balikatan 2002, Commander of 1/1 SFG(A) and Commander 1st SFG(A). COL Wendt is also both a graduate of the Defense Analysis Department at NPS and a Senior Fellow of the department.

²⁴ Taken from a presentation given by LTG Donald Wurster, former SOCPAC Commander and Commander of JTF-510: Operation Enduring Freedom-Philippines to the Defense Analysis Department, NPS, Monterey, CA. and attended by the authors, February 2008.

²⁵ Interview with COL Greg Wilson, Former JSOTF-P Forward Commander, 2005, Commander, 2/1 SFG(A) 2002-2004 and Senior Fellow, Defense Analysis Department, NPS, Monterey, CA, 11 September 2008, Interviewed by MAJs Hastings and Mortela. COL Wilson is also the author of “*Anatomy of a successful COIN operation: OEF-Philippines and the indirect approach.*” Thereafter referred to as the Wilson Interview.

²⁶ COL David Maxwell, “1/1SFG(A) Battalion Commander’s OEF-P Unclassified Operation Summary OPSUM,” 5 May 2002. As the commander of 1/1SFG(A) and SF forces Assigned to Balikatan 2002, then LTC Maxwell wrote this summary of operations on Basilan.

²⁷ The effect of the JTF-510 operations on the ASG was described by MG Wurster when he visited the NPS to brief the Defense Analysis Department of the operation. He

placed particular emphasis on the effect the CMO operations or IA had on separating the population from the ASG, February 2008.

²⁸ In 2003, Basilan ranked fourth from the bottom in terms of Human Development Index (HDI). This evaluation of Philippine provinces considered not just economic poverty, but also literacy, life expectancy, and other indicators. The other three provinces making up the lowest in HDI were in the ARMM: In descending order, Maguindanao, Tawi Tawi, and Sulu. See *Philippine human development report 2005*.

²⁹ Specifically, US advisors had been restricted to operate no lower than the AFP battalion level. This restriction implied that there was some safety for US advisors with the AFP battalion headquarters. It was based on the misconception by theater and national leaders that there was a definable front line that the battalion headquarters would stay well behind. Repeated requests by Special Operations forces to advise GRP troops at the AFP company level or lower were denied for the first six months of Balikatan 2002. Once permission was granted, this new authority still severely restricted the Special Forces' ability to advise AFP forces effectively in combat.

³⁰ Telephone interview with COL David Maxwell, former Commander JSOTF-P, Oct 2006 to Oct. 2007 and Battalion Commander 1-ISFG(A). COL Maxwell was also one of the original planners of the Basilan strategy and commanded the SF soldiers who executed the early SOCPAC initiatives of training the LRC and executing Balikatan 2002. Interview by MAJ Hastings.

³¹ Interview with Secretary Hermogenes C. Esperon Jr, Presidential Peace Advisor, Office of the President of the Philippines and former Commander of Philippine Armed Forces (2006 -2008) by MAJs Hastings and Mortela, 17 September 2008, Manila.

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Traditional-Professional Health Systems Convergence on Child Healthcare in Balut Island, Sarangani, Davao del Sur

Anderson V. Villa

Introduction

The “health for all by 2000” campaign initiated in 1978 sparked debates on the integration of the two traditions – traditional and scientific/modern/professional health systems. In colonial times, authorities frequently outlawed traditional medical systems and marginalized these indigenous healing practices. In post-colonial times, the attitudes of Western-trained medical practitioners and health officials have maintained the marginal status of traditional healthcare providers despite the important role that these practitioners play in providing basic healthcare to the rural indigenous communities in most developing countries (Bodekar 1994).

In the late 1990s, policy interest in traditional approaches to healthcare led to a resurgence of interest, investment, and program development in many developing countries (Bodekar). In fact, there are already fourteen countries and areas in the Asia-Pacific region that have developed official government documents recognizing traditional medicine and its practice. This is a remarkable development as opposed to a decade ago when only four countries¹ had done so.

In 1997, the Philippines signed into law the Traditional and Alternative Medicine Act that lays down the policy of the state to improve the quality and delivery of healthcare services to the Filipino people through the development of traditional and alternative healthcare and its integration into the national healthcare delivery system. The act also created the Philippine Institute of Traditional and Alternative Healthcare to accelerate the development of traditional and alternative healthcare in the country (WHO 2002).

Today, it is evident that a number of public health systems work concurrently with the traditional medical systems. Communities, including indigenous groups and ethnic minorities, are highly encouraged to avail of the different forms of healthcare systems that they think could help them attain a desired quality of life. Hammond (1994) argues that while “indigenous medicine has been seen for a long time as an impediment to ‘developed’ healthcare,” relatively advanced levels of healthcare may be accompanied by high rates of utilization of indigenous health care, as illustrated in the case of the Ada Bai returnee community.² Each type of service fulfills certain functions within the community and in most cases local residents do not perceive a tension or contradiction between the two systems. Where access to biomedical healthcare is limited, indigenous medicine can prove to be an important resource to the community; and even when there are enough drugs and doctors, it appears that indigenous healthcare continues to have a role to play in the community. Indeed, by working together, different kinds of healers can complement each other. According to Hammond,

“It could be argued that the decrease in level of biomedical services available has led to an increase in the utilization of indigenous healers. Popularity of indigenous medicine is often attributed to a lack of access to biomedical care. Information from Ada Bai seems to contradict this argument, however. Utilization of indigenous healing methods appears rather to be a product of a perceived failure on the part of biomedicine to adequately identify and treat certain illnesses.”

Despite the growing popularity of traditional medicine, professional healthcare practitioners in many countries are still in doubt as regard the kind of services available, the organization and management of services, and the human resources responsible in providing for the healthcare using this traditional system. However, the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) identifies the “traditional healer” as the most numerous and continuously present healthcare providers in many of such communities (ICN 1999). In this context, it can be argued that in providing health interventions to relatively conservative communities such as indigenous and ethnic minorities, traditional healers are important as their ubiquitous presence indicates that they are culturally appropriate and culturally compelling for those availing of their services.

The Filipino concept of health and illness

The individual's perception of his/her health status necessitates him/her to seek varying levels of health service utilization. Tan (1987) explains that Filipinos exemplify health as a condition of being free from illness. A healthy person is called *malusog* while health is called *kalusugan*. The typical indicator of this physical state is the ability to perform usual tasks. Psychologically, a sick person may also exhibit melancholia, and hence the description *malungkot* (sad), while a healthy person demonstrates verve, vivacity, strength, and happiness (Palaganas, et al. 2001; Tan). In the study of Portugal (2005), it is indicated that rural mothers in Cebu evaluated the health status of their children based on physical indicators: "...Mothers perceive their children to be healthy when they are active, free from illness, have a good appetite, regularly gain weight, can walk and (are) not thin..."

Amundsen (as cited in Palaganas, et al.), in contrast, remarks that in traditional societies, the field of medicine is inextricably linked to the area of social relationships and to the magico-religious world. For instance, the Mapuche tribe in Ethiopia believes that health and illness are but processes involving struggles between good and evil. In the Amazon, traditional treatment is believed to work better because of the faith that the natives have in its powers. This suggests that many indigenous communities still have a strong belief that illness stems from supernatural causes or black magic. Traditional healers are perceived to be better equipped than scientific medicine to deal with such problems. Thus, the concept of health and illness can have consequences that may impinge or facilitate the utilization of modern healthcare services (Palaganas, et al.; OPNAH n.d.; Offlong 1999).

However, this cannot be generalized in all cases. Kleinman (in Bodekar) contends that cultural factors still play a significant role in the continued reliance on traditional medicine. After unsuccessful treatment with traditional healers, villagers often seek symptomatic relief from modern medicine, while turning to traditional medicine for treatment of what may be perceived as the "true cause of the condition" (Bodekar).

Tan (in Palaganas, et al.) presents the traditional theories that explain the causes of illness in Philippine society. He enumerates three general classifications of theories namely: 1) mystical; 2) personalistic; and 3)

naturalistic theories. Quoting Murdock, Tan defines mystical theories as based on the premise that impairment of health is an automatic consequence of the victim's act or experience. An example of this is a traditional belief in the Tagalog region where a pregnant woman's kin is prohibited from digging earth as this implies the preparation of a grave for her. Personalistic theories, on the other hand, assume that illness is caused by "the active, purposeful intervention of a sensate agent who may be a supernatural being or evil spirit, or a human being or a *mangkukulam* or *aswang* (a witch or non-human)." The sick person, in this case, is a victim – the object of aggression or punishment directed specifically against him for reasons that concern him alone. Finally, theories that attribute disease to "natural forces or conditions as cold, heat, winds, dampness, and above all, from an upset in the balance of the basic body elements" are classified as naturalistic theories. Examples are *pilay-lamig*, *pasma*, and *singaw ng lupa* (the heat that escapes from hot soil during an initial downpour). All these are believed to cause body aches and ailments.

Writing on the traditional healers in Antique, University of the Philippines-Visayas anthropologist Alice Magos (1992) presents two ways to categorize illness. She notes *sakit nga espiritubanon*, or illness attributed to the supernatural, and *sakit nga natural*, or those attributed to normal causes like fatigue, overexposure to changes in weather, or similar causes.

In traditional societies, the traditional concept of diseases still prevails and is still being adhered to especially by older mothers. One of the more common traditional beliefs is the hot-cold paradigm cited by Jimenez, et al. (1999) which argues that a cold bath could cause convulsions among children and sudden changes in weather are a major cause of children's diseases. When the climate turns very cold or very hot, or when it is rainy, many children become sick (Jimenez, et al.). Mosley and Chen (1984) also elaborate more on traditional health beliefs attached to child survival by delineating what they termed as "personal illness control" or preventive measures taken to avoid diseases. Mothers may respond using traditional practices such as observance of taboos or may employ modern practices such as immunizations or malaria prophylaxis.

As to choice of healthcare provider, Jimenez, et al. (1986), observe that the residents of the depressed, urban communities they have studied

seem to emphasize tolerance of poor health rather than efforts toward the preventive and promotive aspects of good health. In contrast, Mishra, et al. (2003) point out that respondents who had obligations that kept them working at their job or at home and perceived their health status as either fair or poor were proportionally more likely to seek treatment from indigenous healers than from medical providers.

Blaan healing system: Child healthcare

Balut Island is the smaller island of the twin-island town of Sarangani, Davao del Sur. The municipal population of 20,394 (NCSO 2007) is composed of roughly sixty percent Blaan,³ thirty percent Sangil,⁴ and ten percent mix of Visayan and Manobo settlers. There is little by way of tribal or religious tensions among the residents, with each seemingly given the freedom to practice his religious and cultural beliefs. The Blaans make up most of the residents, although their settlements are largely found in the highlands where they engage in producing copra.⁵



Blaans in general perceive their children important in the light of tribal survival. Most Blaans however are driven by their poor social economic status into a fraught and subsistent-level type of living. As the results of this study show, the way they view their child's health is also part

and parcel of their whole cognition of child healthcare system. Children are viewed in terms of psychological as well as economic attachment, such that children's health impact on the psychological and economic burden for parents to bear. Such view necessitates parents, especially mothers, to ensure that their children receive adequate healthcare attention as, in effect, this also ensures their very own survival.

Earlier studies seem to indicate that the child healthcare practices of Blaan mothers have been influenced by their converged concept of health and diverged concept of illness. Mother-respondents claim that to promote their child's health, professional health system prescription like breastfeeding their newborn babies are practiced along with traditional behaviors such as not exposing their children outside or to open air. In contrast to other tribes mentioned in related studies, Blaan mothers' breastfeeding practices are an amalgamation of both traditional and modern principles which are recognized by international organizations as a strategy for children's healthy survival and well-being (WHO 2005; Engle 1999).

Moreover, Blaans view traditional and professional health system as separate entities, each with its own ways and methods of identifying and curing diseases. Both traditional and professional child healthcare services, however, are relatively accessible and are recognized among their communities, although it is the latter that has government support. Such finding has been corroborated by WHO (2002) which claims that the traditional health systems in the world are either recognized, supported, integrated, or even neglected in the mainstream health services while providing more credence on the professional health system. Thus far, integration of the traditional and professional health system has not been formally recognized by the local government. Lack of support from the local and regional governmental levels either hampers or disrupts the process of integrating both systems.

Convergence of traditional and professional child healthcare systems in Balut Island

In this study, convergence of the two types of healthcare systems available in Balut Island is examined in the light of the Blaan mothers' perceptions. Fifteen Blaan mothers from the different communities in the island were interviewed on their health beliefs and practices and

the utilization of healthcare systems peculiar to their concerns about managing their children's health.

This study finds that the two health systems converge on the presence of human resource for each and on the curative and promotive aspects made available by both. On the other hand, there is divergence on the matter of set standards followed by service providers and clients' criteria for availing of services from either system.

Healthcare service providers in the traditional health systems have their counterpart in modern health system. Traditional healers like herbalists, masseurs, fortune tellers, or birth attendants can perform various functions which are synonymous to what nurses, midwives, and health workers do. In the Blaan communities in the island, there is what Bodekar refers to as a tolerant type of healthcare services between the traditional and professional medicine: Traditional healers may not be officially recognized by the local government, but they are allowed to practice their healing traditions.

In terms of service delivery system, findings show that traditional and modern healthcare systems converge in that they both offer preventive and curative measures following their respective methods and regimens. The curative nature of the traditional healthcare involves the provision of herbal medicine through *taybop*⁶ and *hilot*.⁷ Preventive medicine is practiced through the provision of *anting-anting* or special amulets to prevent untoward attacks of supernatural forces or evil spirits, as well as from witchcraft. In the professional or modern health system, on the other hand, curative care is about the provision of modern drugs while its preventive aspect focuses on the free provision of immunization and vaccines.

There is, however, a divergence on the matter of provision of services from both health systems. Professional medicine is comprised of a set of services with specific standards and procedures. Traditional medicine, on the other hand, is seemingly dependent on the individual competence of traditional healers, with no standard procedure followed in the provision of its services. Also, the Blaan traditional healthcare system is characterized by its simple and informal nature. It is not time-bounded as compared to the professional health system where a system or a protocol has to be followed in the provision of services, such as specific work schedule and delineated work areas of professional service providers.

In Balut Island, healthcare seekers reckon in terms of who is best needed in a specific situation and who can offer immediate remedy. In terms of the client-provider relationship, the Blaans' healthcare system is founded more on trust and rapport and less on formal and bureaucratic organization. One mother contrasts the speed of service delivery this way:

Sa center man gud, daghan man pasyente. Pananglitan nagdali ka unya madugayan ka kay dugay kaayo. Maayo na diri (sa mananambal) kay dali pa. (There are many clients waiting their turn at the center. It would take a long time before you are served, so if you are in a hurry, the traditional healer could attend to you faster).

A younger mother shares that:

Mas okay pa ang mananambal, sayon lang sila duolon. Ayuhon gyud ka nila ug asikaso unya buotan pud sila sa amoa. Sa center kay kasab-an paka, bisag wala ka kabalo unsa imo sala, kasab-an ka ug kalit. Maayo pa ang mananambal kay sige mo katawa unya motambag pa sila sa imoha. (The traditional healers are more approachable and they treat us well. We laugh together and they are accommodating. The health center personnel, on the other hand, scold us even though we do not know what we did wrong).

The respondents report that they could only access the health center/modern facilities during specified clinic hours; while in the traditional health system, patients can go to the healers' houses any time as the need arises. Modern medicine is perceived to be clinic/facility-based while traditional medicine is informal or house-based. Nonetheless, the presence of both the modern and the traditional healthcare systems offers two options for the healthcare seeking residents to choose from on the basis of propinquity, availability of medicines and health providers, and accessibility and efficacy of health services. While traditional health practitioners are perceived to be more accessible to the Blaans, barangay health workers also exert effort to improve the Blaans' access to modern medicine through outreach into even the remotest places in the island.

Data also reveal that Blaans mothers are already availing of the immunization programs offered by the local government through the Rural Health Unit (RHU), validating the findings of earlier studies that reported rural women to have high utilization of immunization services for their children (NSO 2003). The studies of Lamberte (1998) and Jimenez, et al. (1999) report that mothers would be more likely to go to a nearby public health facility when there is free vaccine for their children.

Similarly, Blaan mothers report that they bring their children to avail of the free immunization services of the health center.

Blaan concept of health and illness

The findings reveal that the convergence and divergence of both the traditional and professional health system in the Blaan community influence their concept of health and illness. Their concepts of health and illness, child healthcare practices, and management of illnesses are part of their bigger worldview. The integration, if not division, of both systems has in one way or another influenced their existing health beliefs and practices in relation to their utilization of child healthcare services in their communities.

The traditional concept of health and illness is still prevalent in the Blaan communities. Many Blaan health beliefs today resonate with the findings of a number of studies that recognize the dominant traditional concept of health and illness among indigenous peoples: Health and illness as a struggle between good and evil, between the supernatural and natural, and between clean and dirty environment. However, when the respondents' concept of health is singled out as a category to be examined, findings suggest that convergence exists in this context. While Tan uses the Tagalog term *malusog* to describe a healthy person, Blaans use the Cebuano term *himsog*, connoting physical fitness to perform usual tasks. The Blaans perceive healthy individuals as those who are strong, happy, and not sickly or weak. Healthy individuals are believed to draw from "stored energy" that allows them to speedily recover from sickness.

When the verbatim responses of the Blaan mother-respondents are categorized and examined, several perceptions associated with illness come up. Echoing related literature, Blaans view their children's illness as caused either by sudden climate changes and by supernatural beings or by environmental pollutants. As discussed by Tan (in Palaganas, et al.), using personalistic theories, people assume that illnesses are caused by a supernatural being. Similarly, results of this study indicate that the Blaan community still adheres to this mystical belief of supernaturalism. In addition, the hot-cold paradigm is still prevalent among the Blaans. They see sudden changes in weather to cause children to get sick. According to one respondent, for example:

“Ang sakit gikan na o depende sa panabon. Naay usabay init unya mukalit ug ulan ba, maapektuhan pud ta sa klima, pati ang bata...kay naa man gud usabay na mag-ulan unya maulanang ko, tapos nagatotoy ang bata, unya nagsakit ko, basig natakdan na ang bata sa akong sakit kay kadtong kaisa nag-ubo dayon na siya ug nagsipon.” (An illness can be caused by or is dependent on the weather. There are hot days when it suddenly rains. That affects us, as well as the children. If I get caught in the rain, I could get sick. Since I breastfeed my baby, he could get sick also. That happened to me once and my baby had cough and cold).

The Blaans recognize the potential health hazards of *bugaw ang palibot* (dirty surroundings). Illness is also attributed to physical exhaustion and mosquito bites. The seemingly Western influence on these health beliefs may have been through the Protestant churches that have evangelized the Blaans and now dominate the other religious denominations among the native population. Despite these modernizing beliefs, however, Blaan mothers are comfortable with ambiguity, assimilating modern beliefs while at the same time subscribing to traditional practices in their daily lives. The traditional health system serves as an alternative to the professional health system when the former fails to address the mothers' child health concerns. As Hammond argues, the utilization of indigenous healing methods appears rather to be a product of a perceived failure on the part of biomedicine to adequately identify and treat certain illnesses. Where professional healthcare fails, the traditional healer may be able to help.

Management of children's illness

Common illnesses and disorders prevalent among indigenous peoples' (IPs) communities in the Philippines are cholera, dysentery, parasitism, diarrhea, hepatitis, malaria, goiter, tuberculosis, polio, measles, pneumonia, and skin diseases (Custodio 1999). Such morbidity patterns have also been observed specifically in the Blaan communities in Balut Island, in addition to acute respiratory infections and high fever episodes.

The Blaan mothers' child healthcare management depends on what they perceive to have caused the illness based on their observation of its symptoms and indications. When they perceive the cause to be supernatural or due to sudden change in weather, they usually consult

traditional healers. Conversely, if the ailment is perceived to have been due to natural elements, they often seek medical care from the health centers. On this point, there seems a divergence in the maximization of both modern and traditional healthcare systems in managing children's illness. This study finds that a majority of the mothers directly consulted the health center when they perceived that their children's illnesses could be categorized under common diseases. Other ailments that defy categorization are then considered mystical diseases, such as *piang*⁸ and *buyag*,⁹ which are believed to be due to sudden change in weather or due to evil spirits. According to one respondent:

"Tan-aw nako, kung sakit na nabuyagan, epektibo gyud diha ang mananambal. Pero natural nga sakit pareha anang ubo, sipon, kalibanga, ang health center gyud ang makaayo ana." (The way I see it, if it's due to buyag, the traditional healers would be more effective. But if it's a natural disease like cough, cold, or diarrhea, the health center could better treat that).

Respondents report that they resort to readily available home remedies like herbal or over-the-counter medicine during the early stages of the illness. It is only as the sickness progresses that they may decide to seek the help of health center personnel or their traditional healers. In cases when they have sought professional healthcare and this fails to make the child better, they may proceed to the *mananambal* or *hilot* (alternative healers). Similarly, when a traditional healer fails to arrest the progress of the child's illness, a doctor, health worker, or clinic personnel is consulted. The flow of the Blaan mothers' management of their children's illness is seen in Figure 1 below:

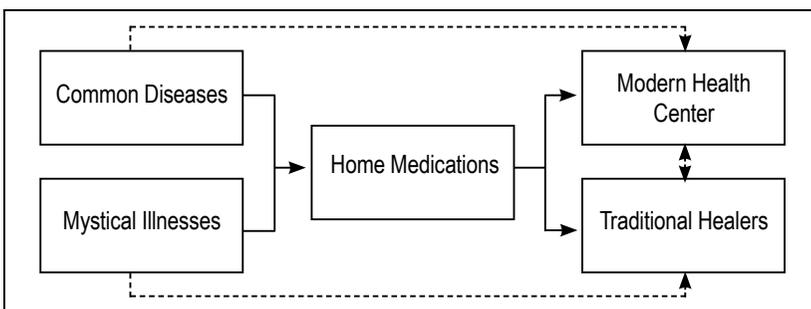


Figure 1. Blaan mothers' management of their children's illness.

Recommendations

Among Balaan mothers in Balut Island, the utilization of child healthcare services is strongly influenced by access and cost. Thus, government health programs at all levels must be directed towards improving access of IP communities to both the traditional healers and to modern health facilities. This necessitates that provision of manpower to serve the healthcare needs of indigenous communities, especially as these communities are often in very remote areas. In designing the healthcare services package for these communities, there is a need to recognize and encourage cultural elements that have sound basis to contribute to good health, such as the emphasis on clean surroundings, adequate protection from exposure to inclement weather, and too much physical exertion. To introduce modern healthcare elements like immunization and vitamin supplementation, service providers must also recognize that their attitude towards their clients has a major effect on the decision of the latter to access these services from the health centers even as these services are provided at no cost. At the moment, the Balaan residents in Balut Island have started to engage the professional healthcare system in their communities, giving them more options to address child healthcare requirements. Their continued patronage is indicated to be highly dependent on the reception they get from the service providers manning these stations.

Given that the Balaans have access to both the traditional and professional health system, further studies could be done to focus on the best practices for the co-existence of and residents' access to both of these systems in the Philippine context. The findings of these researches could inform the design of appropriate health programs for the IPs. Other research agenda indicated by the findings of this paper include the perception of traditional and professional healthcare practitioners towards each other and the cultural adjustments necessary for health workers to deliver service in indigenous communities.

Notes

¹ China, Japan, the Republic of Korea, and Vietnam.

² Ada Bai returnee settlement is in Humera wereda, Ethiopia where Tigraayan returnees from Sudan are in the process of being reintegrated back.

³ The Blaans are one of the indigenous peoples in Mindanao.

⁴ The Sangils are descendants of migrants from Indonesia who have settled in Balut and Sarangani islands after rowing over from nearby Marori Island.

⁵ Mayor Jerry Cawa estimates that Sarangani draws ninety percent of its economy from coconut and coconut products.

⁶ Faith healing. Herbal oil is believed to be sanctified, bearing the power to chase away the evil element that brought the illness. Its application on the affected part of the body is supposed to restore the patient's health.

⁷ Traditional masseurs use herbal oils and ointments for hilot for sprain, muscle aches, or even when setting broken bones.

⁸ Piang is a catchall term for body aches, sprains, and muscular stiffness.

⁹ Buyag may take the form of unexplained swelling, rash, digestive problems, persistent headaches, high fever and delirium that are attributed to the victim having incurred the wrath of dwarves, fairies, or water and woodland spirits.

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Jesuit Notes

Notes on the 35th General Congregation of the Society of Jesus

Daniel J. McNamara, SJ

Jesuits around the world met in Rome in January of 2008 for a meeting called a *general congregation*. Well, not all the Jesuits, but their representatives who were elected to go to this meeting totaled some 200 plus strong. So what is a general congregation?

Let's look at it this way. Religious orders have regular meetings to conduct business proper to their orders. So when Ignatius founded the Society of Jesus – the Jesuits, he had a long tradition before him. There were the Benedictines, the Dominicans, and the Franciscans, to name just the major groups. These orders meet regularly – every six years for most – in what are called general chapters. At these meetings, the matters pertaining to the general government of the order are discussed and plans are made. Also, the major superior for most of these orders holds office for a limited time, often for six years also, so a major piece of general chapter business is to find a new superior for the order.

Ignatius knew this procedure all too well but did not want his men to follow this pattern. He wanted his men working, not attending meetings. He felt that every six years was too often to have such a meeting because it would mean his men would have to travel to Rome as often. Rather, he said, let the general congregation meet only when absolutely necessary. And when would that be? Certainly, they would have to meet when the Superior General of the order died and a new superior had to be elected. So he had the Jesuit superior elected for life¹

and this was approved by the Pope Paul III. Thus, in the 450 years of Jesuit history, there have only been thirty-five general congregations. On the average, it is something like every thirteen years. I think Ignatius would be pleased with that.

Why did the Jesuits meet in 2008?

As you may suppose, the main purpose was to elect a new Superior General. Strictly speaking, this election was not needed because the former general was still very much alive. Thus, the 35th congregation was making history. For the first time since its founding, the Jesuits were electing a new Superior General without the previous general being dead. Therein lies a story.

Being already in his eighties, Fr. Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, SJ, Superior General from 1983 up until early 2008, was feeling his age. So much did he feel it was time for him to retire that he asked the then Holy Father, Pope John Paul II, for permission to retire. The Holy Father did not grant the petition. Thus upon the election of a new pope, Fr. Kolvenbach approached Pope Benedict XVI to try again. This time, his petition fell upon favoring ears and he was granted permission to retire from his office. Hence, in January 2008, a general congregation was needed to elect a new superior.

But given the mind of St. Ignatius about his men going to meetings, the congregation decided to also take this opportunity to look at the Society of Jesus around the world and discuss what should be done so as to further the mission of the Jesuits at this time. Thus, the meeting extended from the election of a new general – the first order of business – to the discernment of practical matters of concern to the Jesuit apostolic work around the world. For this purpose, the delegates, numbering some 200 plus Jesuits coming from all corners of the world, stayed on in Rome after electing Fr. Adolfo Nicolas, SJ as the new Superior General.

A word about Fr. Nicolas.

He is well acquainted with the Philippines as he has spent many years living in the country. He first came to Asia as a Spanish missionary to Japan in 1960. In the course of these years, he also spent a great time as the Superior of the East Asian Pastoral Institute (EAPI) on the campus of the Ateneo de Manila University (ADMU). He eventually became the Provincial Superior of the Japanese Province of Jesuits. After that, he was again assigned to the Philippines, this time as the Superior of the East Asian Jesuits and their many works in Asia. Now at the 35th General

Congregation (GC 35), he was named as the new general of all the Jesuits of the world. This event itself can tell us much about Fr. Nicolas, so let me quote him speaking of the events surrounding his election:

“I went to GC 35 with great peace of mind. I was convinced that I was out of danger, if only for my age and the many shortcomings and inadequacies I have... But then the GC began and [the time for discussions on possible candidates]. The first day I had to speak with many people who were asking information about “others.” I was delighted to inform on how good the other fellows were; after all, I was supposed to know more people than most. The second day was basically the same with slight changes in some [events]. The third day, things changed even more and people started to ask me about my health. I have never seen so many Jesuits concerned about my health...”

So there you can have some idea about the very human side of this lifelong Jesuit missionary.

The work of the congregation continued after the election and was finally codified in several documents, the major ones of which are called decrees. However, there are really no new themes in these decrees as the delegates felt that there are already well stated treatments of the major concerns of the worldwide Jesuits coming from the earlier general congregations.

Let’s quickly review these themes already treated by previous congregations. We will start with the 32nd General Congregation which was held from 02 December 1974 until 07 March 1975 where what I might call the “modern thematic” of the Society of Jesus was born. Up until that time, a common understanding of the Jesuit apostolic work was to think in terms of building up or forming “good Christians,” especially in the schools where the paradigm was the “good Christian gentleman” as the fruit of a Jesuit education. By the 1970s, however, the world had changed and while the goal was the same, the way to articulate it called for more emphasis. All around the world, the call for equal rights for all classes of society was being heard, but many a “good Christian” was not hearing that call and was even standing in the way of realizing it in his own country. A new vision was needed to articulate just what it meant to be a “good Christian.” Thus, in GC 32 was born the phrase a “faith that does justice.” The Society of Jesus meeting as a world body wanted to emphasize that the “good” faith life meant a living faith – one that embodied in acts the faith that motivated the Christian. The vision of a living faith, a faith that does justice, was then later coined as the phrase used by the then Superior General Fr. Pedro Arrupe, SJ: “Men for others.”

This quintessential thematic was then to be spelled out in the subsequent general congregations. So was born the call for Jesuits and those of like minds to enter into their cultures and make the Gospel message alive for that particular culture and peoples. Further experience and reflection soon enough gave rise to later GCs decreeing that what was needed was dialogue so as to make the inculturation meaningful and fruitful. This was particularly important in regions where various religious groups were involved.

We thus arrive at GC 35 and its relevance to Mindanao: GC 35 in our day and place. The call for interreligious dialogue would seem to be the major emphasis for us. So, a word about the meaning of “dialogue.”

When persons enter into dialogue, they are not entering into a debate. A debate situation exists when one or both parties believe they hold the truth and the aim of the debate is to convince the other of their truth. “I am right and you are wrong” is the backdrop for the meeting. The background is different in a dialogue. Both parties respect the other and enter into the dialogue with the attitude that “I know something of the truth and I respect that you, too, have encountered the truth. Let us each share our experience and learn from each other.”

Thus, a dialogue is a search for more truth than I have experienced, respecting the good faith of the other as a searcher for the truth also. As partners in the search, we dialogue with each other.

Feeling that these are still very relevant for our times, GC 35 reiterated these themes and approaches for the Jesuit mission in this century. It did, however, sum these up by issuing as its first decree a document entitled *A fire that kindles other fires: Rediscovering our charism*. To me, this recalls the scriptural scene where Our Lord speaks out about his mission in the words: “I have come to light a fire on the earth. How I wish the blaze were ignited!”(Lk 12:49).

Note

¹ The Jesuit Constitution states that the Superior General holds office until death.

Book Reviews

Dalisay, Jose Y. Jr. 2009. *Wash, only a bookkeeper: A biography of Washington Z. SyCip*. Manila: SGV Foundation, Inc. and the AIM Scientific Research Foundation, Inc. ISBN: 978-971-91948-3-5. 304 pages.

The banana industry, the German STEAG coal-fired power plant outside Cagayan de Oro, rural electric cooperatives – these developments in Mindanao had the hand of a man who describes himself as “only a bookkeeper,” but stands as one of the most respected and brilliant business and economic figures in Asia.

The life of Washington SyCip – founder of SGV, the country’s and Asia’s largest and most prestigious accounting and consulting firm – is chronicled in *Wash, only a bookkeeper* by award-winning writer Jose Dalisay, Jr. The result is an excellent and fascinating read on a man described as “having a Filipino heart, an Asian mind, and an American citizenship.”

SyCip was born in Manila on 1921 to a well-off family. His father Albino was a respected lawyer-banker, and his mother Helen a music graduate. He and his siblings were sent to public schools during elementary and high school. The quality of education in public schools then was at par with private institutions. Don Albino also wanted his children to lead modest lives. The boys walked or commuted to school, even if the family owned a car.

A “glutton for studying,” SyCip was accelerated three times in elementary and finished accounting, *summa cum laude*, at the University of Santo Tomas (UST) in two and a half years, graduating at seventeen. This Presbyterian then became the only non-Catholic on the faculty at UST. With his consent, a priest talked to SyCip to try and convert him. It was not to be. SyCip would not give up his own beliefs if it disagreed

with a papal encyclical. Much later, he would become an advocate of family planning and artificial contraceptives to deal with the country's population growth.

While teaching, he finished his master's degree and passed the board exam. He was a Certified Public Accountant (CPA) at nineteen – too young to practice the profession. So he went to New York to take his doctoral studies at Columbia University.

When war came, SyCip enlisted in the US military. He acquired American citizenship and was sent to India as a codebreaker. After the war, he returned to Manila to find the city ravaged. His father, who survived imprisonment by the Japanese, told SyCip there was a lot to do in the country with the period of reconstruction.

Not wanting to join the big accounting firms ran by Caucasians, he found himself a secretary and put up his own firm "W. SyCip & Co." in March of 1946, sharing office space with his brothers. He tapped small and medium-sized businesses in Manila, helped in great part by his father's reputation. SyCip soon found his business flourishing. On top of his "murderous" workload, he taught at three schools after office hours.

In 1948, SyCip married Anna Yu, a childhood friend who studied in the US. SyCip's foresight benefited his family; they built their own house in what was then a suburban and cheap residential area called Forbes Park in Ayala.

SyCip's wide connections and optimism on the Philippines enticed foreign companies to invest in the country, among them Dole, STEAG, and Texas Instruments. As his business grew, SyCip invested in training and giving his people good incentives such as bonuses and the promise of becoming a partner if they performed excellently. This became a hallmark of SGV, which gradually attracted the best people. SyCip was strict and set the example of work ethic. He showed up even on Sundays, when his staff did the inventory.

Later on, his company became known as SGV – the G for Ramon Gorres and V for SyCip's childhood friend Fred Velayo. The firm expanded in number and services, eventually providing management consultancy. SGV provided full-time training to its staff and sent some to post-graduate studies. To help their husbands move up, wives were given classes on social graces.

Always, SyCip emphasized the virtue of integrity in all transactions. This made them lose some clients but it preserved the company's good

name. Even when he was sought by government people for advice, SyCip kept his independence. SGV became a prime recruitment ground of the government, which took partners like Cesar Virata, Gem Carague, Roy Navarro, and Cesar Purisima. SyCip sees this as SGV's contribution to our developing country. SGV has a policy of not taking back a partner who's worked in government, to "avoid any suggestions that it was positioning its people to promote its corporate interests."

Over the years, SGV established international alliances and expanded its operation in Asia. In SGV partner offices in Taiwan, Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Vietnam, SyCip promoted the local talent of each country by finding a local to head it.

SyCip has received numerous awards, such as the Ramon Magsaysay Award for International Understanding in 1992, among others. His top priority among his pet causes is education, which has been declining in quality because of its low budget. His answer has been to donate generously to public schools. In 1956, he then helped set up the Asian Institute of Management (AIM) as Asia's premiere management school. SyCip believes that countries that spend more on education grow faster. "Students should be encouraged to get into sciences, mathematics, physics, engineering, medicine, and management."

To him, the three main causes of poverty are high dropout rates in basic education, high cost of credit to the poor, and poor rural health conditions – causes which SyCip with various groups are working to improve. In 1970, he helped establish the Philippine Business for Social Progress (PBSP), where member companies donate one percent of their net income before taxes for efforts to alleviate poverty. He does not hide his frustration over the Philippines' poverty, especially compared to our neighbors. A pragmatic optimist, he believes the country has a premature democracy. "I am not against democracy—but to have democracy when people are hungry or poorly educated results in a democracy of the upper class."

He believes that once people's basic needs are met such that they will not sell their votes, democracy will evolve – as it did in Taiwan and South Korea. He prefers a "benevolent authoritarianism" similar to Singapore under former Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, believing that "ideally, political developments should follow economic development." It's a belief that may jolt freedom fighters, but it is a sentiment common among businessmen. SyCip speaks his mind and gets away with it

because of his integrity and objectivity. You may disagree with him, but one cannot deny that at eighty-nine, SyCip has seen and knows it all, having met presidents from Quirino onwards.

A man with a purpose, he relishes his role as an unofficial ambassador of the Philippines and Asian business to the West. He believes in Asia as a dynamic growth center and works to create regional cooperation. His dream is for a borderless Asia. "All of us should think and act more as Asians, in the same way that the French and German are starting to identify themselves as Europeans." He advocates Asian values of family and thriftiness, and believes the rights of the individuals should be secondary to the rights of the community.

Despite his American citizenship, his patriotic allegiance to the Philippines stands out. Said former Central Bank governor Joey Cuisia, "Whenever he's abroad, he always sees how he can promote the good image of the Philippines... He's more Filipino than most Filipinos I know."

What does it take to be a Filipino? SyCip shows it's not the citizenship; it's what you do for the country. His greatest contribution is his efforts to reconstruct the economy after the war and enrich the accounting profession. You don't need to be a businessman or SyCip admirer to appreciate his biography. Dalisay's work captures the story of a man who used his brains and heart to help the Philippines grow, not through politics but through honest business. And in a country that has too many lawyers and too few businessmen, that's one inspiring story.

Debbie A. Uy

Virola, Madonna T. and Virola, Marides V. 2009. *Living peace*. Davao City: GoP-UN ACT for Peace Programme. ISBN: 978-971-93278-4-4. 144 pages.

After decades of armed conflict, the Final Peace Agreement (FPA) was forged between the Government of the Philippines (GoP) and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) on 02 September 1996. With

the impetus from development aid provided by many friendly nations as expression of their commitment to help the GoP and the MNLF realize the terms of the 1996 FPA, post-conflict rebuilding soon took place following policies for reintegrating MNLF communities into the Philippine body politic.

A tripartite review of the success of the peace pact commenced ten years after the FPA was signed. *Living peace* is among the publications that came out of the review. This book examines the experience of various stakeholders who devoted efforts at translating the spirit of the FPA to concrete measures of social transformation in the former conflict-affected areas. While low on quantitative measures, this collection of narratives finds relevance in providing an insider view on the post-conflict mindset-changing, problem-solving, and culture-transforming processes crucial to war to peace transition. It puts on record an account of the collective memory of the participants to this important segment of Mindanao history.

Living peace provides a glimpse of the concerted efforts to rebuild and heal communities from the scourge of war. It tells of the difficulties of the adjustments required at the level of the individual as he engages institutions, donor groups, and his own people towards convergence of actions for directed social change. It chronicles the commitment to stay the course. It tells that the hope for peace resides in the individual and his ability to transform his reality.

Gail Tan Ilagan

Claver, Francisco F., SJ. 2009. *The making of a local church*. Quezon City, Philippines: Claretian Publications, Jesuit Communications. ISBN: 978-971-0511-33-4. 237 pages.

Francisco F. Claver, SJ has been an outstanding bishop in the Philippine church since his ordination in 1969. This book gives personal testimony to his many years of pastoral leadership. For fifteen years, from 1969 to 1984, he was bishop of Malaybalay in Bukidnon Province in Mindanao. When he retired, he worked from 1984 to 1995 as a writer/researcher in the Institute on Church and Social Issues in Quezon City.

During this time, he was asked by Jaime Cardinal Sin to be the district bishop of North Quezon City from 1991 to 1995. Finally, he was asked to return to active service as the local ordinary of the apostolic vicariate of Bontoc-Lagawe, in the Mountain Provinces, his home diocese from 1995 to 2004. All these years, he was an active member with voting rights of the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines (CBCP), holding chairmanships at various times of the Commissions on Social Action and Indigenous Peoples. He asserted outstanding and courageous leadership within the CBCP, enabling the Catholic Church to take an active stance in combating the abusive aspects of the Marcos martial law regime, from 1972 until 1986.

Claver states that his pastoral approach has been influenced by his training. He has a doctorate degree in cultural anthropology from the University of Colorado (Boulder) in the United States. He cites two studies that have influenced his pastoral approach: Goodenough's work on participation in change, which states that effective social change can come about only if the people undergoing the process of change are treated as acting subjects, not merely as acted-on objects, of change; and Holmberg's work on "participant intervention," which counsels for the director of the project to be actively involved in the way it goes.

He also says that his pastoral leadership was characterized by the preoccupation and strengthening of the Basic Ecclesial Communities (BECs), promoting the making of a local church. During his years as bishop, there were several significant church assemblies that provided the theological dimensions he embodied in trying to actualize the church renewal that the Second Vatican Council advocated. In 1971, the Mindanao-Sulu Pastoral Conferences (MSPC) met for the first time, bringing together delegates from the dioceses and prelatures of Mindanao. It promoted three germinal ideas from Vatican II namely dialogue, participation, and co-responsibility. At this initial meeting, the MSPC proposed the training of lay ministers for barrio chapel congregations and the improving of the work among the indigenous peoples of the region. It would continue to meet every three years bringing much vitality to the Mindanao church.

In 1974, the first General Assembly of the newly constituted Federation of Asian Bishops Conferences (FABC) affirmed that the church in Asia must have an "Asian face" through the triple dialogues with religions, cultures, and the poor, becoming a church *in* Asia, but also a church *of* Asia.

The Bishops Synod of 1974 on Evangelization preferred to use the term “the particular church” instead of “the local church.” *Evangelii Nuntiandi*, Paul VI’s outstanding Apostolic Exhortation issued in 1975, promoted an integral evangelization at the heart of the church’s mission, not only to promote the Gospel but also total human development. However, while it promoted BECs, it did not mention the term “the local church.” In 1991, the Second Plenary Council of the Philippines (PCP II) made the creation of BECs a pastoral priority of the first order, embodying the three key ideas of the ecclesiology of communion, the empowerment of the laity, and preferential option for the poor.

Claver makes much of actualizing the church’s teaching on solidarity and total human development: Citing the local church as the locus of the social apostolate promoting social transformation; inculturation or integrating the faith of the Gospel with the culture of its people; communal spiritual discernment (to know what the Holy Spirit is asking); and pastoral renewal.

This book must be read by anyone wanting to understand the positive movements in the Philippine church for the past forty years. However, if one were to actually study the entire Philippine church, one would see that the BECs are more of a reality in the periphery of the church rather than in the center, more in the remote dioceses and prelatures than in the archdioceses and dioceses in big cities, more among the rural and urban poor than among the middle and upper classes. Many parishes are still traditional parishes, focusing primarily on sacramental ministry and failing to move towards an integral evangelization that also focuses on social concerns. There is still a long way to go. One area where there has been more progress in the church has been the empowerment of the laity. More and more laymen and laywomen are becoming active in the church, especially through covenanted communities such as Couples for Christ (CFC) and the Brotherhood of Christian Businessmen and Professionals (BCBP). These have become discerning communities actively involved in the process of social transformation, including upper and middle class memberships. This book is excellent reading for these communities as well. It will enable them to realize what they are called to actualize.

The Philippine church still has a long way to go to actualize what she is called to be. Bishop Claver’s book will help to show the way.

Pasquale T. Giordano, SJ

Bello, Walden. 2009. *The food wars*. London, New York: Verso. ISBN-13: 978-1-84467-331-5. 176 pages.

As a practitioner in aquaculture and consequently in the food industry, I have always had a keen interest in the politics and economics of food production, especially on government policy's teeter-totter between food security and commodity production. Logic dictates that in a commodity economy one should engage in production for purposes of trade, preferably for those commodities that command a high price in the international market.

At what cost, however?

In his recent book, *The food wars*, author Walden Bello provides a close look at the consequences of runaway export-oriented agricultural production. The book comes in the wake of the 2006 to 2008 global food crisis that took the form of sharp increases in the prices of basic commodities in many countries like Indonesia, Haiti, and Mexico.

At the risk of sounding like a pathetic armchair revolutionary with pretensions of legitimate involvement in the Peoples Movement, I'd say this book is vintage WB! (From hereon, however, I shall refer to the author simply as Dr. Bello to avoid confusion over his initials and that of the World Bank's, which he depicts as one of the culprits in the global food crisis.)

Through analysis of historical fact, Dr. Bello explains the grisly images of street demonstrations, burning cars, and shattered windows as police tried to quell rioting citizens in thirty-something countries. Most Filipinos only experienced these chilling images vicariously from watching international news broadcasts and may have, by now, consigned these images among the casualty of their short CNN-jaded attention span. Food prices have gradually returned to normal levels since the height of the riots in 2008. But back then, many of us were probably thinking, "Thank God, it's not happening here!" This book, however, shows that we are also very much in the same sod. We just might have our own share of riots when the next skyrocketing of prices of staple goods comes around.

I am no great fan of Dr. Bello's published work or his occasional articles bashing the mainstream Left, but as early as the first chapter in this book where the author takes us back 400 years and swiftly outlines

the social evolution of the peasantry, how it became marginalized as a class, and, ultimately how its economic condition tied in with the current food crisis, I was enthralled.

Of course, the author would not be who he is without waxing historical materialist and spattering Marxist analyses all over the book. Nonetheless, he is able to explain in plain enough terms the underlying motives behind foreign development assistance. Many a Filipino had questioned the *quid pro quo* for foreign aid, offered rudimentary analyses on how such “aid” serves First World purposes, and accepted its conditions as long as the codicillary of assistance is served. The author reveals that even the “assistance” is a clever manipulation to swing our economy a certain way and ultimately served First World interests.

This book also makes us realize that imperialism is apparently quite multi-faceted and not as narrow as the textbook definition. In the chapter, “Eroding the Mexican countryside,” Dr. Bello provides a concrete example of how imperialist machinations caused massive upheavals on Mexico’s economy and agricultural production. Surprisingly enough, these came about because of Mexico’s intent to get a horse’s share of the local corn market rather than engage in monopolistic commerce of capital goods or export its surplus capital. The author points to NAFTA¹-induced neoliberal policies and WB-imposed structural adjustments as the main armaments to cause the food crisis in Mexico. As a result, in the land where corn was first domesticated, it is an irony for Mexico to become dependent on corn from the United States for its own food production needs.

Dr. Bello also homes in on our own country, the Philippines, devoting one chapter to the rice crisis that has pervaded our agricultural sectors since the mid-nineties. The ubiquitous WB – with its structural adjustment policy - once again rears its ugly head. This time, Dr. Bello points out that the policy weakens our already pithy industrial base and, combined with the trade liberalization imposed by the World Trade Organization (WTO), erodes our self-sufficiency in food production.

For a book so compact, Dr. Bello manages to squeeze in the plight of Africa as another case in point in the adverse impact of WB-financed development programs. Before readers skip this part on Africa and dismiss it as “exhibit C” in the long list of economies ravaged by imperialist intervention, however, I exhort them to read on. The author

reveals some interesting twists in the dynamics between and among foreign aid agencies, notably British Aid's recently distancing itself from the WB's structural adjustment policy in Malawi, as well as the WB's own admission in 2008 of the negative consequences of its inflicted policies upon African nations.

Dr. Bello likewise tackles China's own version of a food crisis. Was it hoist by its own petard when it decided to liberalize its agricultural trade and join the WTO, or did the WB again have a hand in China's dramatic turnaround from its policy of food self-reliance? The author suggests a combination, compounded by historical developments that have shaped the China of today. True to form, the author lambastes the Cultural Revolution, the Great Leap Forward, and everything else his erstwhile and fleeting comrades in the CPP hold dear about Mao. But forget that for a moment and just focus on his narration of the progression of China's internal policies that have led to its current demise.

Lastly, the author deals with biofuels and its impact on food production. Lest we be taken in whole hog by the ostensibly innocuous alternative to fossil fuels, Dr. Bello admonishes us to tread carefully and to see the interlocking capitalist interests that stand to gain from the promotion of massive biofuels production, as well as its role in exacerbating the food crisis.

What, then, are we to do? Seemingly, globalization has gotten the best of us as we are reduced to nations subservient to IMF, WB, and WTO-imposed economic policies.

Fortunately, the author proffers some optimistic examples of efforts at resistance. Moreover, he clearly distinguishes between the concepts of "food security" and "food self-sufficiency." He argues that the latter is neither anachronistic as the First World would like us to believe nor is it some neo-Luddite model espoused by your average tree-hugger.

However, despite Dr. Bello's numerous caps – sociologist, congressman, Marxist ideologue, environmentalist, author, university professor – he invariably goes along with the rest of the pussyfoots in condemning biotechnology as totally incompatible with small-scale agriculture or production for food self-sufficiency. As the author does not have a degree in molecular biology, agronomy, or similar specialization that would allow him to expertly argue genetically modified organism (GMO) production, we have to forgive his less than

expert opinion on the matter. He does not even consider the possibility of using biotechnology to help improve production efficiency and yields.

The implied assumption is that GMOs – wrought by biotechnologists-cum-mad scientists – is not safe, pure, or nutritious food. Nowhere in the author’s argument, however, could you find any mention of evidence to support such an assumption, save for a statement that the “empirical evidence is well-grounded.” Nor could you find any qualifiers stating that one might adopt GMOs if they turn out to be better than their unaltered counterparts.

From a scientific standpoint, I would say that the implication is that new is bad, without any honest attempt to determine rationally whether it is true or any openness to the possibility that it might not be. The attitude seems to be that biotechnology is the modern equivalent of Evil Spirits, to be rejected because this month’s version of a priesthood says so.

Perhaps Dr. Bello should take a leaf from the *Via Campesina*,² in whom he places much faith, particularly in its declaration that the alternative model it espouses combines traditional farmers’ knowledge with new technology when and where appropriate.

Notwithstanding the less than stellar argument on the evils of GMO and the sentimental pining for a return to the small-scale organic farm, this book does forward a comprehensive analysis of the global food crisis using updated information and factual accounts. It provides some very gratifying answers to questions on how the seemingly most benign acts of development assistance and economic policy recommendations actually perpetuate foreign interests.

Lauro Tito C. Ilagan

Notes

¹ North American Free Trade Agreement.

² *Via Campesina* is a federation of peasants and small farmers founded in 1994 which is now an influential presence on the global agriculture and trade scene.

Giordano, Pasquale T., SJ and Catan, Nancy Russel. 2007. *Evangelizing presence: Living the moral life today*. Manila: The Philippine Foundation of the Brotherhood of Christian Businessmen and Professionals. 141 pages.

What does it mean to live one's moral life? Is living one's moral life evangelizing? From a Christian and, specifically Catholic perspective, Pope John Paul II's encyclical, *Veritatis Splendor (VS)*, provides an insight: "It is Christ, the last Adam, who fully discloses man to himself and unfolds his noble calling by revealing the mystery of the Father and the Father's love" (*VS*, no. 2, citing *Gaudium et spes*, no. 22). Jesus, in his very person, "fulfils" the natural law which universally binding norms are moral absolutes and which "re-affirmation" is the "central" theme of the encyclical.

Commenting on the encyclical, moral theologian William May¹ notes, "Thus to live a Catholic moral life is in essence to follow Christ, *sequela Christi*." Following Christ, John Paul writes, is the essential and primordial foundation of Christian morality and following him "involves holding fast to the very person of Jesus" (*VS*, no. 19). It means "becoming conformed to Him who became a servant even to giving himself on the Cross (Phil. 2:5-8, *VS* no. 21). In this context, evangelization finds its resonance. What is proclaimed is not only the truths of faith and moral precepts alone but also the following of Christ in His humanity and by appropriating His values and attitudes. Thus, for Christians, living one's moral life as *sequela Christi* is indeed evangelizing because the process of living out the implications of following Christ in one's moral life is a proclamation of the Good News. This, in effect, is an evangelizing presence.

How can this affirmation of living one's moral life as evangelizing presence be formed? Fr. Pasquale T. Giordano, SJ (formerly associate editor of the *Tambara* and chairperson of the Theology Division of the Ateneo de Davao University) and Nancy Russel Catan's *Evangelizing presence: Living the moral life today* is an apt and relevant guide for those who seek direction in forming one's moral life according to Christian moral principles and praxis. More importantly, the book engages those who are looking for guidance in tackling moral, sometimes ambiguous ethical, issues and dilemmas in the "marketplace," may it be in public arena or business sphere. Given initially as a series of lectures to the Brotherhood of Christian Businessmen and Professionals (BCBP), the

third volume of the series *Evangelizing presence* presents a link between integral evangelization and fundamental moral theology. Important concepts and principles of Catholic moral theology and Christian anthropology such as the human person, conscience, freedom, moral norms, among others, are treated comprehensively and succinctly. Organized in clearly defined topics with coherent exposition of key concepts and appropriate principles behind them, the reader learns to approach moral issues with a clear understanding of the mores and values involved, as well as the implications of his/her decision towards moral growth *ad intra* and social development or transformation *ad extra*.

What is interesting and helpful in this book are the discussion topics and case studies at the end of each section or module that engage and stimulate the readers to explore the principles presented and seek their use in moral decision in actual cases. Thus, this book not only encourages personal learning but also engages the person to interact with others. College teachers of moral theology and adult catechists will certainly find this book invaluable for their instruction and group discussion.

Moral theology is often perceived as cumbersome and daunting for many people and especially to students of theology. More than just a theoretical exposition of morals principles and norms and an enumeration of what's right and wrong, morality and ethics can also be best appreciated if presented in ways that both engage the mind and heart as well as impel the person to go beyond the self towards others. In this perspective, Giordano and Catan's book provides an important guidance and relevant contribution in the formation of a just and moral life, grounded in the Spirit of Christ and nurtured by the community of faith and a human fellowship of good will. Moreover, the significance of this work lies in its challenge to develop a "spirituality" or a way of life that, in a process of purification, change, and conversion, conforms to Christ and becomes *alter Christi*.

Archimedes A. Lachica, SJ

Note

¹ This reference is taken from William E. May's talk "New evangelization, Catholic moral life in the light of Veritatis Splendor" at the Catholic University of America, Washington, DC, May 2003, 5.

Forthcoming

Ford, Aida Rivera. Forthcoming. *Don Jose Oyanguren: The forgotten founder of Davao*. Davao City: Mindanao Foundation for Culture and Arts, Inc.

This book on Don Jose Oyanguren, the founder of Davao, contains the most significant aspect of Davao history – the conquest of Davao in 1848 from the hands of Moro pirates who terrorized the region. As a result, trade and settlement from other parts of the Philippines and Christianization of *reducciones* (settlements founded by Spanish colonizers) took place. The settlement at the mouth of Davao River was named Nueva Guipozcoa after Oyanguren's native province in Spain. Unfortunately, political intrigue ousted him from the governorship of Davao and in 1858, he died a broken man.

A brief account of the courageous founder of Davao as researched from the National Archives, the University of Sto. Tomas archives, the Jesuit archives, and the National Historical Institute follows:

Jose Cruz Oyanguren of Vergara in the province of Guipozcoa, Spain had taken up two years of law at the Real Universidad de Vergara when at the age of twenty-five in 1825 he sought adventure at *Las Islas Filipinas*. When the Universidad de Sto. Tomas opened a Law course in 1835, he enrolled and became the first law graduate in 1837. He served for five years as a Judge in Tondo, Manila. Later, he sought adventure in Palawan and Northern Mindanao. The pillaging of the ship San Rufo under a son of Datu Bago off Malipano Island in Samal was the instigating factor for Oyanguren to seek a grant from Governor General Narciso Claveria to head a campaign against sea-pirates dominating the Gulf of Davao. The grant with three gunships was signed in 1847. On 28 June 1848, Don Jose defeated Datu Bago in his *kuta* (fort) at the mouth of Davao River.

The Christian settlement established by Don Jose was named Nueva Vergara and the province extending to the boundary of Surigao was named Nueva Guipozcoa. Oyanguren sought to instill new ways of agriculture and establish Christian communities all over the province. Unfortunately, the governor-general succeeding Claveria was not supportive of Oyanguren's project. Don Jose Oyanguren, Davao's founder, died a broken man in 1858. According to his biographer A.

Santayana, “he died a despondent man, ruined and broken in spirit, not suspecting perhaps that in the history of the colonization of Mindanao he will be assured of a distinguished place.”

In 1909, the Americans honored Oyanguren and Claveria by naming the principal streets of Davao after them. In 1963, however, the City Council of Davao went into an orgy of renaming Davao’s streets. Among them, “Oyanguren” was renamed “Magsaysay” and “Claveria” was renamed “CM Recto.”

In 2007, the City Council of Davao unanimously approved the petition of this book’s author to restore the historic names “Oyanguren” and “Claveria” into its principal streets. At the moment, the petitioner, along with the Davao Historical Society and the Datu Bago Association are awaiting the national approval of these street changes. We hope that by 2010, the proper place of Oyanguren and Claveria will be back in their historical significance.

The publication of *Don Jose Oyanguren: The forgotten founder of Davao* will make Filipinos know his important place in Davao history.

Aida Rivera Ford

Aradanas, Ernesto. Forthcoming. *Seeing through a split vine*. Davao City: Eastern Mindanao Command. 51 pages.

With the optimism borne by the prospect of ending the war in Mindanao, the challenge for the military organization today is to prepare itself for war to peace transition by maintaining its relevance and effectiveness in creating a climate that is physically and psychologically conducive for peace and development, especially in the former conflict affected areas. Soldiers who have traditionally focused on warfighting are increasingly coming to recognize the need to improve the military organization’s repertoire of responses in contributing to the effort of building lasting peace.

As a career soldier who has so far spent most of his military service in the south, Ernesto Aradanas contends with the bitter legacy of the long-running conflict in Mindanao and the toll it takes on civilians the soldiers have pledged their lives to protect. One day, amid what

was seemingly a routine exchange of fires from grenade launchers, the lesson comes home to him in its purest form. He sees it in the fearful eyes of a grateful Muslim mother as he hands over her child into the shaky safety of her arms. In that moment, the author had his epiphany. He realized that there had to be more that the soldier should do to ensure that children could rest in true security and comfort of their mothers' arms.

The author brings his personal transformation for peace and community security into the tasks and thrusts of his command of the 603rd Infantry Brigade in Camp Iranun. In *Seeing through a split vine*, he details how the 603IBDE integrates peace building activities into the functions of the various offices. This provides the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) a model for using its units as a peace machinery that actively works to put in place conditions for sustaining peace and ensuring the safety of civilians.

Across the globe, armies of various nations are getting ready for the crucial role they would take in post-conflict rebuilding. This publication is, therefore, very timely and relevant. In consonance with the Eastern Mindanao Command's thrust to explore ways to prepare Mindanao troops for the changing arena of engagement that the AFP will face in the future, this groundbreaking work underlines that after and despite all his time at fighting and war, when all is said and done, a soldier's prime directive is to build peace. *Seeing through a split vine* attempts to show that and how.

Raymundo B. Ferrer

Authors' Notes

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Anderson V. Villa, MA in Social Research from the Ateneo de Davao University, also has a master's degree in Health Social Sciences from the De La Salle University. He is currently taking up further studies in Japan.

Dalawang Mukha ng Kasaysayan
sa Silangang Mindanaw • *B.R. Rodil*

Identity Politics and the Struggle for Peace
in Mindanao • *Macario D. Tin*

Including Mindanao: A Review of Mindanao
in Literature • *Paz Verdades M. Santos*

Piloting a Community-Based Male
Participation Program for Gender and
Development • *Gail Tan Ilagan*

Theoretical Underpinnings of the Counterinsurgency
Strategy Employed in Basilan • *Krishnamurti A. Mortela
and Jonathan P. Hastings*

Traditional-Professional Health Systems Convergence
on Child Healthcare in Balut Island, Sarangani,
Davao del Sur • *Anderson V. Villa*

Jesuit Notes

Notes on the 35th General Congregation
of the Society of Jesus • *Daniel J. McNamara, SJ*