

**POLITICS FROM THE HEART:
PERSONAL CHOICES, THE WAR IN MINDANAO
AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE**

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SINGAPORE
2008**

Acknowledgements

My time in Singapore has been one of the most rewarding periods in my life. I am extremely grateful for the opportunity to have studied at the National University of Singapore and to have worked with the brilliant scholars of the region. This dissertation could not have been possible without the support of my previous supervisor, Habib Khondker who coached me through the difficult period of gathering data, or my current supervisor Vineeta Sinha who watched over the writing process. I am also grateful to Saroja Dorairajoo and Ananda Rajah for their help in constructing the overall project and providing useful comments on the theoretical framework. Furthermore, much of the conceptualizing for this dissertation were highly inspired by the courses I took with Goh Bang Lan, Farid Alatas and Steve Appold. I also would like to thank Hing Ai Yun and Ho Kong Chong for their support and guidance when I first entered the department. Lastly, I sincerely thank Rey Iletto for his important role in shaping my ideas on how to view history, rethink contemporary works on the Philippines and generally develop into a conscientious scholar.

But to me, Singapore will never be simply about academics. Much of my ideas, thoughts and experiences were shaped by people outside of the formal academe. I sincerely thank the staff at the Archdiocese Commission for Migrant and Itinerant people for welcoming me into their projects and teaching me about the experience of migrants in Singapore. Also, many of my students, although too many to mention here, made my stay in Singapore worthwhile. And lastly, I will never forget the kind friendship and support I received from the following close friends: Nadia Pulmano, Soon Chuan Yean, Nina Raghunath, Kelly Fu, Khai Khiun Liew, Jennifer Jarman, Mercedes Planta and of course, my bestest friend in the whole world, Henrik Sperber. All of you have made my stay in Singapore unforgettable.

Lastly, I would like to thank my mom, dad and sisters in Los Angeles, as well as my aunts, uncles and cousins in the Philippines. Your support has reminded me that this dissertation was important beyond its academic properties, and that it was the process that served as a tremendous personal accomplishment in itself.

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Summary

This dissertation attempts to analyze the war in Mindanao from an alternative perspective. By viewing history and its contemporary developments as a product of emotional choices, this dissertation argues that not only do we alter the way in which the history of Mindanao is looked at, but also the way the history of the Philippines is written and the way that we epistemologically see the world. Drawing from three sets of data, this dissertation starts off with an analysis of historical documents from the American Colonial Period to explore the emotional baggage of “guilt” the colonial administrators carried with them to assess its implication onto the predicament we see in Mindanao and the Philippines in general. This section of the dissertation will draw from archival work that was done at the Donn V. Hart Collection at Northern Illinois University and the Library of Congress in Washington DC. Next, an analysis of the fierce political scene in Manila, the “Center,” over Mindanao, will help to elucidate certain emotional issues that underlie the dynamic and deeply emotional discourses that take place. In contrast, these opinions will be juxtaposed with arguments that emanate from Mindanao, the “Periphery.” The data for this section will be drawn from document analysis and interviews that took place in both Manila and Mindanao. Lastly, the dissertation will examine the emotional choices that people living in a displaced community make to examine how these emotional choices help perpetuate the structures that lead to war. The data from this chapter will be drawn from participant observation that took place in a displaced community in Mindanao. Ultimately, this dissertation intends to argue that the emotional choices that all three groups of people make demonstrate the universal aspects to emotions. Thus, all people regardless of their social position or location are capable of experiencing the same emotions. Secondly, this dissertation argues that these emotional choices that we are all subjected to help to build the social structure that surrounds us, and not just influence our day-to-day interaction. Emotional choices lead to repercussions as dramatic as the war we see in Mindanao. Lastly, this dissertation hopes to help contribute to the discipline of the sociology and the sub-discipline of the sociology of emotions to shed light on the fact not all actions are highly cognitive or purely physiological—some actions transcend human rationality, and in the process of realizing this, we can learn to view the social sciences differently.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The Philippines is a strange country. As it straddles the line between Asia and the west given its unique relationship between colonial history and cultural past, religious and personal inclinations, its politics reflect the same kind of tenuous relationship. Its' fixation on the exploitative and extractive properties of some western nations has penetrated the mindset of many Filipinos: from the most "liberated" and westernized of Filipinos to the most stalwart nationalists who pride themselves on "Filipino roots." In juxtaposition to this hatred of the west however lies the Filipino secret love affair with the "White," modern, western world that has been introduced and built into the Filipino consciousness through over 300 years of colonization by Spain and another 50 years of contact with the US (Rafael, 2000). This wavering allegiance to both the idealized Filipino national identity that includes an uncompromising resistance to those who have questioned it in the past and to the shameful fantasies it secretly covets with the colonizer has led to a fiercely emotional political situation that is multifaceted and fractured at various levels. This incredibly loaded national history has contributed to one of the most vibrantly explosive democracies on earth.

Perhaps it is because of this vibrant and exciting political scene that the Philippines served for decades as a test tube for democratic principles and free market enterprise. As a former colony of the US whose post-colonial ties provided ample room for experimentation, the Philippines has gone from one of the most advanced and developed economies in Asia, to a plundered state at the hands of dictator. The nation has harbored literally the largest US military base in the world, while concurrently experiencing one of the longest histories of war between Muslims and

Christians in modern history. The nation experienced several glorious bloodless revolutions along side a currency that has devalued it self fifty-fold in the past 20 years. All of this takes place in a nation that still uses English in much of its formal institutions while much of its political infrastructure resembles those of the United States. Needless to say, the nation has captured the interest of countless American scholars who attempted to figure out “what went wrong” with America’s colony, and why it lost its way.

It is undeniable that the chaotic blend of entrenched wealth and abject poverty, glorious freedoms and oppressive realities has led to a vibrant and confusing array of explanations on the state of the nation. Nowhere are these arguments fiercer than when concerning the Islamic separatist movements in the south. Cited as a remnant of Marcos’ policies towards Muslims such as the tragic Jabidah Massacre that leads back to the Philippines’ claim over Sabah (Frake, 1998), in actuality, from the Spanish to the Americans, it has been acknowledged that Islam provided the islands with a social and political mainframe that tied indigent islanders to the locale making it more difficult to convert and conquer. In fact, it had been argued that because Islam had grounded itself in the south, this was one of the reasons why the Spanish had never been able to fully colonize the island of Mindanao (Majul, 1973; Gowing 1974, 1983). Interestingly, the fact that Islamic culture was one of the more developed modes of political and social organization in the islands, to this day, its cultural remnants have become embedded in the modern Filipino conception of what is indigenous, local and unique to the Philippines.

But the question is, what lies at the core of such vibrant politics? Is it the post-colonial fixation with the west? Is it the long and complicated history the Philippines experiences with Islam? This dissertation argues that at the core of the fiery debates

that takes place beneath all of these realities is the ambiguous and irrational human element that lies in our emotional nature.

What are Emotions?

The literature on the sociology of emotions is relatively new, beginning in the 1970's. Pioneering works such as those of Hochschild (1979), Kemper (1978, 1981) and Scheff (1979, 1983) helped to define the burgeoning field and develop its inclinations and approaches. Emerging out of a general movement away from the hard science approaches of the early 20th century, and more towards a liberalization of ideas heralded in by the massive social changes that were taking place in the US, in tandem with a fiercely anti-war academia, the sociology of emotions can trace its heritage to these major social forces. The fiercely anti-war propaganda can be seen in how much of the work produced at this time subtly focused on the ravages of an economic system that further exploits and denigrates the livelihood of the worker (Schulman, 1999). Drawing upon the dramaturgical language of Goffman (1961, 1959), many of the early sociologists of emotion focused on the issue of "feeling rules" and "display rules" in the workplace (Hochschild, 1979, 1983). Furthermore, these ideas which were developed to discuss female dominated jobs in the service sector such as airline hostesses, only contributed to an already growing genre of "female science fiction" that discusses the construction of gender roles and the unequal distribution of power between the two sexes as seen in Levine's (1974) *The Stepford Wives* and Russ' (1975) *Female Man*.¹

¹ It is important to note that feminists have attempted to challenge the traditional Cartesian mind body dualism arguing that for centuries women have been regarded as "of the body" with the men being considered "of the mind" (Hekman, 1990). It is because of sociology's emphasis on the rational and objective areas of the "mind," scholars such as Kandall (1990) and Wallace (1989) have argued that women's voices have been silenced in the body of mainstream sociological thought. Smith (1990) argues that this is problematic because it perpetuates "hegemonic" practices in sociology that neglects a "discursive presence [of] subjects in the fullness of their feeling, thought and knowing." (Smith, 1990: 53). Although Lloyd (1984), Harding (1984) and McMillan (1982) argue over whether or not sociology should dispense with the idea of objective reality or incorporate a more "feminine" approach, the

Apart from the major political changes taking place during this time, theoretical changes were taking place as well. With the publication of Berger and Luckman's (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality* some very influential ideas concerning the nature of knowledge and its roots in the personal and day to day interaction forming the social structure played a very important role in the study of emotions. Emotions became part of the rubric of social structure in that managing emotions and adapting to the "emotional culture" played a role in facilitating interaction between individuals. Herbert Blumer (1969) in *Symbolic Interactionism* took these ideas further by adapting George Herbert Mead's (1956) ideas concerning the "mind" and "self" as interacting entities that independently and creatively allow the individual to interact with the social structure and choose which aspects of the prevailing "emotional culture" to accept and which to reject.

Given this background, emotions have been defined in various ways by different people. Many times these definitions tend to support a particular epistemological understanding of the concept. One good all encompassing definition that embodies all of the different type of approaches can be found in Peggy Thoits' important article, *The Sociology of Emotions*. According to Thoits (1989: 318),

Emotions involve: a) appraisals of a situational stimulus or context, b) changes in physiological or bodily sensations, c) the free or inhibited display of expressive gestures, and d) a cultural label applies to specific constellations of one or more of the first three components.

Because Thoits attempts to present all different perspectives fairly, the definition she provides tends to address all three of the major approaches and definitions to emotions. The first is the "Social Constructionist" approach and definition. Components "c" and "d" of the definition, or "Free or inhibited display of gestures"

discussion on how to deal with the idea of a masculinized rationality is highly tangential to the delay in systematically studying emotions and the way in which the discipline has evolved.

and “cultural labels” respectively, bespeak of a social structure that bears down on an individual’s interpretation of his or her emotional experience. From the social constructionist view, “Emotions are collective ways of acting and being; they are cultural acquisitions” determined by circumstances and concepts of a particular culture, community, society” (McCarthy, 1989). Therefore, one is bound to feel according to his or her culture, and the interpretation is socially grounded.

Component “a” of the definition, or “appraisals of a situational stimulus or context,” hints at a symbolic interactionist perspective concerning how emotions are perceived and constructed. According to Susan Shott (1979), an “emotion is a state of physical arousal defined by the actor’s experience of emotion.” Although acknowledging the influence of biology, the emotional experience is ultimately defined by the actor—thus providing the individual with a measure of agency missing from the “strong” social constructionist analysis. According to a symbolic interactionist, even though the external social structure bears down on our emotional experience, through our own individual socialization and rearing practices, individuals make choices as to how they want to interpret external social rules in attempts to preserve and maintain their own sense of identity and self.

Lastly, component “b” of the definition or “changes in physiological or bodily sensations” can be seen as more central to the “positivist” approach to understanding emotions. Whereas both the social constructionist and the symbolic interactionist view society as the major driving force behind our definition and understanding of emotion, going so far as to say that emotions cannot be experienced without the existence of socially prescribed categories and definitions that one acquires through socialization (Averill, 1997), positivists see emotion as stemming from both biology and the social world. Ekman (1983) for instance systematically measures the

emotional responses to external stimuli across cultures to explore the biological universals that exist between us, while Mazur (1985) looks at similarities in emotional responses being formed in response to one's social status between all primates.

Without rejecting any of the three definitions, this dissertation intends to propose a fourth crucial, yet missing dynamic to the sociological study of emotions. This dissertation intends to incorporate more "humanistic" considerations with regards to emotions by arguing that emotions need not be purely cognitive processes that people actively engage in to preserve their own sense of self, or uncontrollable primitive reflexes conditioned by the external social structure or physiological constraints of the individual. According to philosopher Jean Paul Sartre (1939)

Emotion is not an accident, it is a form of existence of consciousness, one of the ways in which it knows (in Heidegger's sense of "Verstehen") its "Being-in-the-world." (quoted in Greene, 1948: 99)

Emotion therefore need not be placed into certain definitions and categories that are subsumed under the overly rational and scientific explanations found in the existing social sciences.² According to Sartre, emotions represent in themselves an alternative reality central to understanding the human condition. Painter Vincent van Gogh believed that emotions not only constituted an alternative form of human consciousness but something that constituted the basis to life. Through immersion in his study of beauty, van Gogh's dedication to the arts led him on

the path to self knowledge, to discovering his inner way of seeing and of hearing things, of pondering over the question of who he was in relation to himself, to others, to nature, and to God. Self-questioning or thinking, thus, was nothing for van Gogh but an irresistible passion for feeling life in the secrets of colors, the movements of lines, the pleasures of nature, the joy and sorrow that come our way, the "memories" of former times that constantly come back. (Caranfa, 2001: 4)

² Note that this dissertation lays the foundation to the sociology of emotions and therefore limits its contribution to this field alone. Other extremely useful discussions on emotions such as Lila Abu-Lughod (1990) or Catherine Lutz (1986) in the field of anthropology can be useful in expanding the sociological and social psychological disciplines.

Therefore, emotions constituted all that is important to van Gogh. Art was just a way of tapping into these emotions and transforming a canvas into a work of art and as well as a transformation of the self in the process. In both instances, the definition of emotion is neither cognitive or biological, but rather, transcendental and transformative, capable of capturing the essence of man due to its centrality to human existence.

Lastly, the approach that this dissertation takes towards understanding emotions is one that does not attempt to dissect or analyze its components. More interested in ascertaining its consequences rather than its roots, the origins of emotions therefore remain a mystery. Given the fact that emotions have been considered the antithesis to human rationality since the time of Socrates and Aristotle, this dissertation will not attempt to capture the essence of the phenomenon, but rather acknowledge its incredibly potent and influential force onto our social lives. According to Albert Einstein,

The most beautiful emotion we can experience, is the mystical. It is the sower of all true art and science. He to whom this emotion is strange, who can no longer wonder and stand rapt in awe, is as good as dead. To know that what is impenetrable to us really exists, manifesting itself as the highest wisdom and the most radiant beauty, which our dull faculties can comprehend only in their most primitive forms—this knowledge, this feeling, is at the center of true religiousness. In this sense, and in this sense only, I belong to the ranks of devoutly religious men. (Frank, 1947: 284)

The purpose of this dissertation therefore is not to define the term “emotion” but to broaden the scope of its analysis by using humanistic approaches to understanding the phenomenon. It intends to argue that emotion plays a very important role in the beliefs, ideas, behaviors and dispositions that we as individuals face, and this in turn alters the social structure that surrounds us and in the process forces us to rethink our understanding of Philippine history and the war in Mindanao.

Applying Emotions to the Study of the Philippines

Through studying the consequences of emotional actions in the Philippines, this dissertation addresses three very important issues concerning the discipline of the sociology of emotions and the historiography of the Philippines and Mindanao. Firstly, emotions help to address the *highly scientific and overly rational approaches used to studying society as well as the structure of emotions*. In the case of the sociology of emotion, as has been discussed, the discipline is dominated primarily by cognitive and biological approaches. The purpose of this dissertation is to introduce an alternative way of viewing emotions as incapable of being captured by the human mind. Certain examples will be given which demonstrate that actions based on emotions tend to escape logic, yet still very importantly contribute to the social structure. Using the Philippines as an example, examining the way in which emotions have played a role in shaping Philippine history will help to provide an alternative history to the contemporary scholarship that sometimes tends to essentialize or “orientalize” the Filipino landscape (Ileto, 1999).

Secondly, while both the study of the Philippines and emotions tend to emphasize the use of culture as a useful framework in deciphering the actions of people in a particular context, this dissertation intends to transcend *overly culturalist explanations that tend to essentialize certain actions and behaviors as peculiar to a particular society*. By arguing that emotions are purely a product of the social structure and that people follow “emotional cultures” ingrained in them through socialization (Gordon, 1990), these arguments have the ability to essentialize certain behavioral patterns to certain groups of people. In fact, the overly culturalist paradigm has led scholars such as Steinberg (1990) and Lande (1964) to argue that at the root of the failed Filipino nation state are flawed cultural values that inhibit the nation from

adapting impartial, bureaucratic procedures necessary for the development of modern capitalism to take place. This dissertation therefore states from the very beginning that emotions are not purely cultural. They entail certain “universal elements” that can be identified across cultures, time-periods and locations. Embarking from the starting point that all people have the capacity to act, think and feel in similar ways, the study of emotions and the study of the Philippines no longer become subjected to particularistic claims that hinge on the danger of essentializing groups of people as “culturally” amenable to particular behaviors.

Lastly, this dissertation intends to demonstrate how emotions do not just affect individuals on a personal level. These personal choices we make, which are driven by our emotional state of being, have the potential to alter our social reality. As will be demonstrated in the dissertation, at every level, from the office of the governor general to the homes of the displaced, each person plays an important part in shaping the course of history. This is important since the sociology of emotions tends to focus mainly on the micro-analytical levels of interpersonal relations, relegating emotions to the person-to-person level. In the study of the Philippines, focusing on elite members of society who have access to the tools of recording history has created a biased history that disenfranchises the minority. Therefore, by attributing the same level of importance to every emotional act in structuring our social reality, it becomes impossible to simply take into account the voices, perspectives and actions of the elite.

Drawing from these three important considerations, this dissertation focuses on three important segments of Philippine social reality. These three segments are: 1) the macro-elite, as discussed in the American colonial administration of the Philippines; 2) the micro-macro disenfranchised elite, as examined in the political

discourse of NGOs in Manila and Mindanao; 3) and lastly the micro-subaltern level, represented by individuals living in communities of displaced people in Mindanao. The following is a brief summary of what is to be found in each of the analyses of these three segments.

The Macro-Elite: Chapter 4, Guilty Americans

The US took their colonial rule further than the Spanish by conquering and subjugating the Moro population. The actions of the American colonial government helped to initiate the settlement of Christian Filipinos onto the lands of Mindanao. Since the American colonial government played a very important part in shaping contemporary Philippine reality, the Mindanao political landscape, and the current literature on the Philippines, these larger structural elements to Philippine reality can be considered “macro-elite.”

With regards to the American colonial government, what needs to be taken into consideration is the context to which the American administrators emerged, and the emotional baggage they carried with them that translated into the policies that shape the Philippine social reality that we see today. When the Philippines was thrust upon the young nation of the United States that just barely had explored the confines of its own territory, several important issues contributed to the way in which the Americans approached their new colony. Firstly as a nation that saw themselves emerging out of an “immaculate conception,” the U.S. saw itself as a nation borne of immigrants, each of which was afforded the same political standing (Miller, 1982). Secondly, as a nation that had very little experience in dealing with international politics, the country was thrown into a competition over the fabled “China market,” that was slowly being usurped by the existing colonial powers in the Asia. The Philippines was seen as America’s chance to gain a lever in the region (McCormick,

1970). Lastly, the Philippines was never developed by the Spanish into a economically viable nation. Serving Spain mainly as an entrepot between China and her colonies in Latin America, to develop the Philippines into a viable income generating colony would take time and money (Pratt, 1950). These three important issues, coupled with the staunchly Protestant values embodied in the American colonial administrators background led to a colonial project that worked hard to overcome the obvious economic motivations to their entry into the Philippines, and the US' hypocritical position of taking pride in an identity of freedom and equality while holding onto another nation of people and denying them autonomy. These conflictual realities led to a colonizer that constantly wanted to set itself apart from the Spanish, that espoused a policy of "benevolence" and that engaged in projects that were seen as uplifting and non-offensive to local customs and beliefs. Chapter 4 goes on to talk about how the issue of guilt drove the American empire in ways that ultimately affected the war in Mindanao and significantly shaped the face of Philippine history.

Ignoring these historical and emotional issues, contemporary scholars on the Philippines tend to look at the structure of Philippine politics as if they are maladaptive manifestations within an impartial bureaucratic structure provided by the Americans (Hutchcroft, 1998). Scholars such as Steinberg (1990) and Lande (1965) posit certain cultural values as fictive-kinship bonds or "utang na loob" (debt of gratitude) as cultural explanations for this inapplicability.³ By re-writing the history of

³ In discussing the Filipino cultural value of "utang na loob," Steinberg states, "Filipinos are acutely sensitive to the burden of paying back those favors done for them by others. The accusation that an individual is insensitive and thoughtless is damning" (Steinberg, 1990:4). Scholars working on Philippine political science, pick up where many of these early scholars left off by integrating these ideas about Filipino culture into their analyses of politics. According to Carle Lande, "Rural Filipinos, and to a certain extent, urban Filipinos as well rely more heavily upon the help of their kinsmen in their various activities and less upon the cooperation of nonkinsmen than do inhabitants of modern Western countries." (Lande 1965: 16-18)

the Philippines in light of the emotional baggage that drove it, hopefully this chapter will shed light on how Philippine history was shaped by a potent emotional force and how by ignoring it, we become caught in the trap of working within a set of literature that presupposes certain impartial and objective truths that alienate alternative perspectives to reality.

In order to address these issues, this chapter will draw upon months of archival research in the National Library, Ateneo de Manila and the University of Philippines-Diliman in Manila, Ateneo de Zamboanga and Davao, as well as Notre Dame University in Mindanao, and lastly the Library of Congress in Washington DC and Northern Illinois University in DeKalb, Illinois.

The Micro-Macro Disenfranchised Elite: Chapter 5, Center vs. Periphery

Another important layer that this dissertation analyzes is that of the political scene with regards to the separatist movements in the south. Within this discussion lie two important perspectives that can be understood as the “center” versus “peripheral” views on the conflict. The “center” perspective will be considered those emanating from the capital of Manila, or what many Mindanaowans refer to as “imperial Manila.” It is from this locality that activists and academics attempt to view Mindanao from the lens of governmental failure. Particularly with regards to the deployment of US troops to train and facilitate the process to eliminate “terrorist groups,” views from the center tend to focus in on the breaking of rules, the infringement of national sovereignty and the destruction of national civil liberties and freedom. They tend to view the American troops in Mindanao as a severe affront to Mindanao and see the Americans as an exploitative and harmful presence. From the “peripheral” Mindanaowan view, the presence of the Americans provided a much needed sense of security and attention. Issues such as national sovereignty take a back

seat to the elimination of violence, the promoting of peace and rebuilding of the local economy. Many of these goals seemed parallel to the US presence as opposed to contradictory.

Although on the one hand these groups tend to be antagonistic, on the other hand, they both tend to “mimic” the values of a democratic open system modeled after the former colonizer. It is from this hybrid state that the emotional burden of maintaining a local identity and pride in self while secretly admiring and harboring American ideals erupts into either a fetishization of the faults of the former enemy to the ferocity to which one attaches themselves to a particular issue. The data for this chapter will be drawn from interviews conducted in Manila in 2002 as an intern based at a local NGO with regards to the Balikatan Exercises and 4 months of focus groups and interviews in 5 Mindanaowan cities.

The Micro-Subaltern, Chapter 6, Emotional Choices

And on the micro-level, this dissertation attempts to look at the lives of those most affected by war in the south. By exploring the lives of three people living in a community of displaced people, this chapter explores how when all of the structural elements are put into place, and one were to analyze the logic behind the choices that these three people make, one will find great difficulty in ascertaining rational reasons behind their actions. Focusing on the actions of whether or not one speaks up in times of trouble, restrains themselves from speaking in times when speaking can lead to greater problems, and speaking words that directly contradict observable reality, this chapter aims to explore how people have the capacity to engage in activities that sometimes jeopardizes their own and their community’s well being and works against better judgment. Furthermore, it aims to elucidate the idea that these situations in which irrational actions takes place can be identified in our own lives as well.

Theoretically this chapter addresses two important issues. The first issue is with regards to the fact that emotions have the ability to affect the larger social structure. In the past histories were written on the basis of documents produced and recorded in languages to foreign populations by people in positions extracted from local reality. American colonial administrators, Manila based activists and sometimes even locals who gained an education and learned the language necessary to reproduce history all tended to direct the discussions on Mindanao. By acknowledging how the day to day interaction between people living in the communities of Mindanao play a crucial part in the escalation of war, their existence becomes validated, and their actions deemed important. This understanding of human interaction could help reshape the way in which we build histories and view politics: from the ground up (Scott, 1985; Kerkvliet, 1990). Secondly, by bringing in different approaches in the social sciences that have for decades aimed to analyze these types of behaviors, it should become evident that current approaches in the social sciences, particularly when it comes to actions dictated by emotions are limited by their overly rational and cognitive approaches. Lastly, by looking at the way in which the people in the community engaged in activities found in our everyday lives, this chapter helps to remind us that people all over the world share the same emotional capacity to love, hate and express jealousy, hope and fear.

Data for this chapter will be drawn from 4 months of living with displaced people in a community close to the town of Pikit in North Cotabato, Mindanao.

Two Main Intentions

There are two important issues that this dissertation intends to address. The first issue that this dissertation addresses is the necessity to employ a historical

analysis that is relevant to the nation being studied. Within the context of a nation that has experienced nearly 350 years of foreign control, it seems only natural that a “post-colonial” perspective that interrogates how knowledge on the nation has been produced to perpetuate structures of oppression and furthermore expose and address these issues. Particularly with regards to Mindanao, this dissertation intends to capture the fact that it is impossible for one to conduct research on the topic of Islamic separatism without taking into consideration the history that predates the conflict. This dissertation, from a sociological point of view, evaluates the significance of the institutions that affect the behavior of people living within them and it is impossible for an individual to do research on these institutions without delving into the historical circumstances that led to the creation of these institutions to begin with. Therefore a very important element to this research is the significance of history, and furthermore, a re-writing of history to one that questions the history that had been written before. The history that was written on the Philippines must be analyzed from the viewpoint that it was written for a particular purpose and within a particular mindset. This purpose was to justify the colonial machine that had taken control of the country and alleviate the emotional state of guilt attached. Furthermore in the context of Mindanao, although the different stereotypes brought on by the Spanish influence played a very important role in the creation of the Muslim identity that we see today, it is undeniable that the United States in its brief stint as the colonial master of the Philippines played a huge role in the integration of Mindanao into larger nation states of the Philippines. This as will be argued is a product of the colonial projects that were implemented in the south. Therefore, by delving into the historical conditions of the American colonial period, as will be seen in chapter three, can we then be

provided with a glimpse of a crucial historical precedent that runs through the remainder of the chapters.

The second main intention to this research, beyond looking at Philippine history and Islamic separatist movements from a post-colonial perspective, is the nature of knowledge. This dissertation proceeds from a starting point that argues that there are many things that exist in this world that cannot be completely explained and furthermore in the process of trying to explain these things, many times meanings get lost in the translation. In the process of conducting this research, several important lessons on the nature of life, hope, faith and loss have emerged. These intangible phenomena that affected the people researched, demonstrate how we as individuals have the capacity to cling to things that have absolutely no physical or material basis yet still mean more to us than things that supposedly have value. We as human beings cannot always explain or cannot see some of the things that mean the most to us yet for some reason we tend to overlook these facts and dismiss it as irrelevant or useless simply because it doesn't fit in to our schema or thinking.

In spite of the fact that these emotions or feelings cannot be observed physically, this does not mean that it is not of concern to the social sciences. The founding fathers of sociology inquired into some of the feelings that associated with coming of the industrial revolution. Marx talked about the significance of alienation in the workplace and how alienation from one's self or "species-being," characterizes one of the most extreme negative consequences that can be associated with the capitalist system (Marx, 1844: 76). Durkheim in his discussion on "anomie" argues that human "capacity for feeling is a bottomless abyss which nothing can fulfill," thus without society to regulate could lead to consequences as severe as suicide (Durkheim, 1963: 323). Finally, if we were to take an interpretive approach as

discussed by Weber, we would assume that the connection between cause and effect is not fixed or singular. According to Weber the junction between cause and effect is impossible to ascertain because of the multitude of different possibilities that could lead to the cause and effect. Yet in the process of understanding and accepting Weber's thesis why is it that we never take into consideration the fact that one of the reasons why we may never understand the connection between cause and effect is because 0.001% of every connection between cause and effect contains the nebulous idea of emotion?

The ultimate goal of this dissertation is to look at the fact that many of the actions and beliefs that we hold dear to us are significant precisely because of their emotional value. This is of particular concern in situations such as those found in Mindanao where one can find oneself questioning whether not there is a future. Regardless of the fact, many of these people continue to live their lives in constant knowledge that the war may return, or that the crops planted may go to waste, or the degree studied may not yield a job, the people still continue to live their lives in the shadow of this overwhelming doubt. So why do they do in this? Are they ignorant? Are they duped? Or are they continuing to behave in such a way because of the larger things that we cannot comprehend. This is what my research intends to comprehend. It does not want to just simply trace every action that these people to some concept of a strange and different culture but rather to trace their actions to that nebulous concept that pervades all aspects of our human nature that we continually to this day deny.

Structure of this Dissertation

The dissertation consists of six chapters, three of which contain the data on which this dissertation rests. Chapter one serves as an introduction to the topic of the Philippines, Mindanao, the sociology of emotions and the purpose of the dissertation. Chapter two discusses the way in which the data was gathered for the dissertation. Chapter three looks at the American colonial administration and how it affected the way in which we understand the Philippines and Mindanao today. Chapter four looks at the contemporary discourse on Mindanao from the “center” of Manila, to the “periphery” of Mindanao in light of the historical circumstances associated with its post-colonial location. Chapter five focuses in on the lives of individuals living in a community of displaced people and how their emotional choices affect the causes of war. Lastly, chapter six serves as a conclusion that connects all of the chapters back to their original purpose in the context of this dissertation.

Chapter 2: Methodology

Why don't you go back to China, where you can be coolies working your bare feet out in the rice fields? You can let your pigtails grow and grow in China. Alla samee, mama, no tickee, no shirtee. Ha, pretty good, no tickee no shirtee!

Set in the 1950's, Hisaye Yamamoto's short story, *Wilshire Bus* captures a lot of themes that remain central to this dissertation. In the story, Esther was on her way to meeting her husband at the Veteran's Hospital at the other end of that long stretch of Wilshire Blvd that ties central to peripheral Los Angeles together: starting off in the hustle and bustle center of the city to the palatial west-side with the sparsely developed lands of UCLA. She did not expect to run into the drunkard who unleashed a litany of racist remarks towards Asians on the bus nor the kind hearted old man who apologized for the racist remarks of the drunkard. Sitting in silence as both men spoke to her, she sat there motionless and stoic, as she tried to distance herself from the fact that they were both speaking to her. After all, she was Japanese, not Chinese. As composed as she tried to make herself out to be, and as far as she tried to remove herself from what was happening around her, she broke down and cried in the arms of her husband upon arrival at the hospital. "What's wrong?" he responded. "You must have missed me a lot, huh?" he added. "Yes," she remarked, "weren't women silly?"

Writing this dissertation is something similar to riding that bus. I had no idea what I was getting into nor did I expect to come across the issues that I did. In a sense, as an Asian American of Southeast Asian descent, my decision to study in Southeast Asia was an attempt to learn more about my roots, regardless of the fact that the topic I decided to study had little connection to my own personal history. However, the lessons learned in the process have helped me understand myself better, particularly

with regards to my ethnic and national identity in relation to others. “Riding this bus” has also taught me some valuable lessons in terms of learning to accept and acknowledge alternative narratives and expression of these narratives. Epistemologically, as opposed to choosing sides, I have learned to view contrasting views such as the racist and the non-racist men as equally crucial to the experience on the bus; and phenomenologically, I have learned to analyze the subtle and less subtle actions such as the breakdown of Esther as speaking volumes. Her emotional collapse was the crescendo of an eventful ride on a bus that brought forth issues of alienation from home, antagonism within one’s own racial category, and the complex political and racial realities in the United States during the 1950’s.

The reason why I included this quote in the methodology was also to discuss some of the interpretations that emerged out of this project. Firstly, in the process of conducting this research I found that one of the central issues to this dissertation is the issue of voice. As Esther rides this bus, constantly words are being thrown at her. Visual messages such as the “I AM KOREAN” button on another Asian man’s lapel, thereby differentiating himself from the Japanese identity she owns and that is negatively perceived by a nation she belongs to because it had just been bombed by people like her on the other side of the world, grab hold of her attention. Like a lightning rod in the middle of a thunder storm, she absorbs the shocks while she maintains here composed façade. Tangentially, in researching the lives of the people in Mindanao, a similar situation can be seen. While arguments fly and histories are written, the people of Mindanao many times remain as silent as Esther on the bus.

Secondly, as an American of Asian descent, she too much like the Propagandistas of the Philippines during the Spanish period, Renato Constantino during American colonial times, or many of the local Muslims who feel as if the only

home they ever knew was rejecting them in my research feels the brutal brunt of living the life of a mimic man—one who borders the line between acceptance and rejection. Esther straddles multiple identities, as a woman, a Japanese woman, and a Japanese American woman she looks out the window at the familiar sites around her as she tries to cling onto impartiality regardless of the fact that she is thrown right in the center of a conflict that spans oceans, nations and people—a conflict that hits close to home.

Lastly, is the issue of emotion. Her emotional outbreak and her inability to express the process to this emotional moment is central to this dissertation. The way in which we as a society have unilaterally internalized the triumphant conquering of man over nature through our acceptance of “modern” lifestyles that are “meritocratic,” “impartial” and “rational” overshadows the reality that we are still fallible human beings with emotions that may never be controlled. “Follow your heart” is a statement that is common knowledge yet rarely incorporated “systematically” into our highly scientific discipline of sociology. As we look for institutional constraints that further exploit, control or determine our emotional responses to stimuli in the external world, we tend to neglect the fact that emotions can in actuality help create these structures that we see. Hopefully this chapter will discuss how the role of emotions in shaping institutions around us will be studied and how the data to do so was collected.

How it was done

In order to understand how the data was collected, it is important to explain very basically the structure of this dissertation. In attempts to explore the emotional side to Mindanao within the Philippine context and to extract theoretical contributions

that can help us conduct sociology in what can be argued a more holistic manner, three analytical levels to the conflict are explored. Firstly are the historical underpinnings to knowledge of Philippine history. The role of the US in the Philippines and more specifically in Mindanao is highly influenced by motivations that rarely are brought to light. Therefore in order to bring forth some of these motivations, historical data and speeches from the crucial nation building and agricultural expansion period of the US in Mindanao will be analyzed from a lens that intends to pick up some of the underlying emotional currents that directed policies that arguably differed from what was seen throughout the world. Secondly, while angry voices fly across the board from Manila to Mindanao, these voices tend to express different sentiments and prerogatives in a fiery and emotional manner. Thus another data set will consist of interviews from both sides to examine the differences and similarity to their arguments. And lastly, the dissertation incorporates the voices of those most severely affected by the war—namely, displaced people. Through life histories and indigenous interview methods, this project intended to probe deep into the emotional choices of these people who may live beneath a multitude of structures, yet still end up acting in a manner that is unpredictable. These three data sets therefore have three different methods of gathering. This chapter will go into detail behind the rationale behind the selection of data and the process of accumulating it.

This chapter will be organized firstly in a manner that discusses the *personal path* that I had taken in the process of coming to the conclusions found in this dissertation. Then in relation to the sequence of events, individual sections will be developed to talk more specifically about each stage in the development of the project. Since the project path followed this pattern, each section and corresponding method will be discussed in the same manner: 1) Manila Interviews; 2) Mindanao

Interviews; 3) Participant Observation in a Displaced Community in Mindanao; 4) Archival Research.

Personal Path

This project is the result of nearly 6 years of engagement with the Philippines. Initially through a senior honor's project supported by the UCLA Undergraduate Research Scholar Program and the University of California, President's Undergraduate Fellowship, the original encounter with the Philippines took place through an examination of participatory democracy in the country. Based at a non-profit, legally based non-governmental organization (NGO)⁴, my preliminary area of interest was the participation of citizens through the use of NGOs in the political arena. I focused in on three areas: poverty, politics and Islam. Within each of these three topics, one particular issue was identified and explored in detail. These topics were the 2000 State of the Nation Address, the Payatas Landslide and the Maharlika 26 trial of accused "Islamic fundamentalists."

This initial encounter with the Philippines led to my ultimate return and specialization in one area. From April 2002 to December 2002, I enrolled as a full-time undergraduate student at the University of the Philippines, through the University of California exchange program. Because of the difference in academic calendars, part of the exchange included a 3 month internship at an NGO. In conjunction with this I decided to do an independent study course at the University of the Philippines under the University of California program coordinator and with my NGO to produce a research paper that developed one of the topics that emerged from my senior honor's topic. I decided to focus in on the topic of Islam through studying

⁴ The Public Interest Law Center was the NGO that first put me in contact with the issues I eventually worked with.

the on going military training exercise between the US and the Philippines. Called the “Balikatan Exercises,” these exercises were a yearly event that usually received little attention until the exercises were taken down south to Mindanao where American missionaries Martin and Gracia Burnham were being held hostage by the Abu Sayyaf (Marfil, 2001; Pazzibugan, 2001; Philippine Daily Inquirer 2002; Philippine Defense Department Report 2001). During the independent study paper, I spent 3 months at the university and another 2 and a half months at the NGO *Focus on the Global South* collecting data on the topic. Much of the data on the Balikatan Exercises in Chapter 6 were collected during this time.

Upon finishing up the program, I immediately enrolled in the MSc program in Sociology at the National University of Singapore. With the intention of researching this issue in greater detail, I soon upgraded the MSc to a PhD and prepared for a much deeper and richer entanglement with the issues of Islam, separatism and the Philippine state. Upon enrollment in the program I spent nearly 4 months of intensive reading up on the history and background to Mindanao, grounding my research in the academic, theoretical sense. It is also during this time that I realized that I would be able to avail of funds to allow me to return back to the Philippines with support from the University. Since the University of California due to safety issues prevented me from going to Mindanao, as a PhD candidate at the National University of Singapore, I was given the opportunity to go back, and this time with funding. It was during this time that I engaged upon a very ambitious project to gather information on the Balikatan Exercises except in Mindanao. While in Mindanao, I was able to collect nearly 60 interviews with scholars, politicians and activists working on my area.

Upon return from Mindanao, I took courses in preparation for my qualifying exam and participated in the Philippine Studies group in the Southeast Asian Studies

program under Reynaldo Ileto. It was during my trip to Mindanao and this period back in Singapore that I started to build a theoretical framework that allowed me to understand how and why the perspectives I had gotten from my time in Mindanao had differed so drastically from my interviews and data from Manila. It was also during this time that I started to read up and write on general issues with regards to the Philippines, such as the importance of the nation building project in Southeast Asia, the issue of corruption (Radics, 2004) and natural disasters (Radics, 2006). All of these experience help lend to the construction of the theoretical framework that now encompasses and runs through this work.

Caught up in post-colonial discourses on subalternity and providing voice to the marginalized, I decided to take this research further and do ethnographic fieldwork in a community of displaced people—a group of people I had considered the most disenfranchised of the lot. It was during my preparation for the qualifying exam did I realize that most of the literature that had been written on Mindanao had captured the sentiments of those who had access to the vehicles of recording history. Therefore those who were amongst the elite and who were exposed to institutional forms of education had their voices heard while those such as the displaced people, those most severely affected by the war were often marginalized from the discourse. Therefore it was during this time that I returned to Mindanao as a volunteer with a psycho-social NGO that was collecting life histories for their project on redefining the concept of “social trauma.” It was during this time that I lived in a community of displaced people in Mindanao for 4 months.

Lastly, in combination with my very rich experience at the Manila, Mindanao, community and theoretical levels, I decided to dig deep into not just the history of Mindanao, but also the history of the Philippines to understand at a more historical

level the ramifications of how the nation itself was conceptualized in the past, and how this has contributed to the existence of what we see today. In addition to the archival work done in Manila at the University of the Philippines and Ateneo de Manila libraries, I also decided to look at issues from the colonizer perspective by exploring archives in the United States. Conducting research at the library of Congress in Washington DC in July of 2006 and the Donn V. Hart Collection at Northern Illinois University in July of 2006 most of my archival work focused in on the period of 1900 to 1920, which constitutes the early period of US colonization in the Philippines. This was also the period that coincided with the development of the agricultural colonies that were set up by the US government that first integrated Christian settlers from the north.

Manila Interviews (July 2002-December 2002)

As an exchange student through the University of California, in July 2002, I enrolled in an independent study course under the supervision of Donald Goertzen. While I took classes in the political science department and the department of community development and social work at the University of the Philippines, Diliman campus, I met independently with Prof. Goertzen on a bi-weekly basis to discuss my progress on researching the presence of the US military in the Philippines. It was during this time that I mostly researched the historical background to the role of the US in the Philippines, such as the existence of the Mutual Defense Treaty (1951) that emerged as part of the conditions that allowed for the independence of the nation to the controversial military bases and the subsequent substitution of these bases through the Visiting Forces Agreement (1998) and the Mutual Logistics Support Agreement (2003). It was also during this time that I conducted searches in the libraries of the

Philippine House of Congress, the Senate as well as the numerous other libraries of NGOs that had played a part in protesting against the passing of the aforementioned legislation.

Contacting many of these NGO's was easy given the fact that part of the University of California exchange program was to expose the students to the various facets to Philippine, Manila-based civil society. At least one to two times a month visits to local NGOs were scheduled so that students had a taste of the vibrant political life that exists in Manila as well as to introduce these students a cross-section of social issues and causes affecting the Philippines. It is important to note however given the incredibly fractured political scene in Mindanao, many of these groups tended to represent the political camp that the organizer belonged to. Although the coordinator made us very aware of the factions that did exist, it is undeniable that his own personal political inclinations as a resident of Manila of several years as well as a participant in political issues influenced the selection of NGOs visited, after all, many of these NGOs served as physical extensions of the political parties that exist.⁵

Given my background on Philippine politics through my senior honor's thesis, I immediately appreciated the tours of NGOs and had identified which NGO I would eventually like to intern with, since part of the introduction process to these NGOs also was concerned with familiarizing students with the civil society movement in preparation for the end of the semester where all American students had to take up an internship to fill 3 month void between the end of the Philippine academic semester and the beginning of the American. This also expedited the process of gaining entrance with these NGOs since many of them had already become aware of the University of California and the possibility of its students interning with

⁵ Because this dissertation is not about the complicated political scene in the Philippines it will refrain from discussing this issue in great detail.

them. As for my selection, I decided to intern with *Focus on the Global South* an NGO founded by a professor of sociology at the University of the Philippines who had received his doctoral training at Princeton in the US.

I decided to choose *Focus on the Global South* because I felt that much of its work tended to follow the line of its organizer and founder Walden Bello. Famous for his works *Dragons In Distress: Asia's Miracle Economies in Crisis and Development Debacle*, Bello is a prolific writer on the political economic situation of the Philippines. The work of his organization tended to take similar approaches to different issues in the Philippines and had people working on Mindanao. Therefore I decided to approach *Focus* with the support of my supervisor, who was a close acquaintance to Walden Bello. After setting up a “memorandum of agreement” between myself and the organization, I based myself at the organization and conducted much of my interviews and library searches from there.

Because of its political inclination as the “think tank” to one of the two main left leaning parties in the Philippines, many times I found it difficult to gain interviews if I were to position myself as an employee of the organization. I found it actually more convenient to address myself as a graduate student from the University of California conducting research for his thesis. Within this capacity, I was able to set up interviews as an intern at this office with 1 active senator, 1 former senator and 3 congressmen. Additionally, I conducted two interviews at the Department of National Defense and one at the Department of Social Welfare and Development. Numerous other interviews were facilitated through the NGO itself. These interviews were mainly through the network provided me as an affiliate of the organization and as a student of Donald Goertzen. All in all, over 20 formal interviews were conducted during this time. This is in addition to the numerous data gathering sessions that took

place all over Manila, as well as my active participation in at least two anti-war conferences. Much of the data from this period however were tainted by several methodological issues. The following are three of the main concerns that emerged from this set of data.

The first methodological issue I encountered was the fact that the various resources I used came from a wide ideological spectrum. Thus in addition to collecting the resources necessary to write this chapter, I had to be cognizant of its origination, political orientation, and purpose. This was difficult in a sense since value judgments had to be made all the time as to whether or not the information that I was analyzing was academically credible, biased or slighted. Therefore as I began to classify, the resources used for the chapter became subjected even further to my own biased analysis process. Furthermore, because many of the documents used come from conflicting sources, attempts were made to be as fair as possible in presenting all sides.

Moreover, at present the positions articulated from the various sectors of the population are so categorically extreme that all have the potential to sway, convince or derail one's original position. For instance, whereas press releases from the Philippine Department of State would argue the Balikatan Exercise was of great success, critical voices from the academe would argue differently. In an article written by Roland Simbulan entitled, "The Renewed Phase of U.S. Military Intervention in the Philippines," he argues, "...this could trigger a larger, protracted war on all fronts. Will the Philippines be another Vietnam?" (Simbulan, 2002) Another example can be seen in the positions elaborated by the thriving civil society sector. Whereas local non-government organizations would provide statements demanding that the Philippines should, "Stop acting like junior war mongers as they piggy back on the

sabre-rattling moves of the United States and its Western allies,” (Boondocks.net, 2001) President Macapagal Arroyo has been quoted as:

“...I decided to participate in this campaign because it is a moral cause. Beyond formal treaties, there is in all of us a deep moral purpose that is more powerful than any legal instrument. It is our belief that evil must not be allowed to rule even an inch of this earth.” (Keynote address by Gloria Macapagal Arroyo at the ASEAN Business Council Meeting in Washington DC, 2001)

Even more complicated is trying to insert the position of the United States into the amalgam. Whereas some political factions in the Philippines would consider Gloria Macapagal Arroyo a puppet of the U.S., this would also be hard to justify when the United States itself embodies a wide range of divergent opinions concerning the military presence of the US in the Philippines. For instance, even a conservative American policy think-tank such as the Cato Institute would release a document entitled, “The U.S. Military Presence in the Philippines: Expensive and Unnecessary” (Galen, 1991). But then juxtapose this with statements released by the Department of State, critical voices from the American academe, as well as surveys researching popular American support of the war and you get a very blurry description of a very complicated issue.

Lastly, due to the lack of well-equipped library facilities, I was forced to retrieve information through other means. This means more fact finding visits to various locations throughout metro Manila, be it library, NGO or home. The internet served as a major crutch to this phase of the research, but in effect this has also limited if not complicated my search for materials. The amount of literature placed on the net reflects the technological inclination of the few and silences a whole range of opinions that are not within reach of the computer.

Much of the data gathered during this time is not used in this dissertation simply due to the reason that it was gathered before the actual commencement of my degree at NUS. The reason it was mentioned here however is because as will be seen

in my data chapter, much of the ideas formed on Mindanao were formed in juxtaposition to my experience in Mindanao. The limited amounts of data that are used from this period are cited appropriately as part of an article I wrote on the basis of these experiences back in 2004. While providing the backdrop and the theoretical knowledge to issues in Mindanao, data that expresses the views found in Manila were derived from published articles and internet based sources identified in the process of writing this dissertation. It is also because of the published manner as opposed to the personal interview that I will be quoting directly from these sources since their public access make them less sensitive than the personal interviews conducted in Mindanao or in Manila.

Mindanao Interviews (June-July 2003)

After nearly a year of combined academic work and independent study in Manila, and after I had enrolled as a PhD candidate at the National University of Singapore, I returned to the Philippines, this time intending to conduct similar types of research, except in Mindanao. Because I had more institutional support, I spent more time attempting to systematically collect data. Approaching Mindanao as a complete foreigner new to the land, people and culture, I decided to take a “preliminary” survey approach to the project.

The original plan was to research the attitudes of Filipinos living in areas of high terrorist activities towards terrorism, the US’ war on terrorism, and US militarization in the Philippines. It was to be done through surveys, interviews and focus groups.

Intended Goals

More specifically the intended goals for the trip were to:

1. Establish Networks – These networks were established through basic knowledge of different Philippine institutions such as the Ateneo universities. During this time, I contacted many of the Ateneo universities in Mindanao, such as Ateneo de Zamboanga in Zamboanga City and Ateneo de Davao in Davao to request help in finding places to stay and people to interview. I also contacted Notre Dame University in Cotabato to do the same. Moreover, I contacted friends in Manila who could provide me with names and contact info on the different NGO networks down south. (See addendum for letters of introduction)

2. Conduct face-to-face interviews – In preparation for the surveys I had planned to administer later that year, I initially conducted interviews to be able to understand what issues to be and not be included in my survey. I was hoping that the surveys would have helped me: 1) gain an insider account of what terrorism means to individuals living in areas of high terrorist activity; 2) extract important variables that can be integrated into a survey that will then be used to measure people's attitudes on a much larger scale.

3. Conduct focus groups – In addition to interviews, I used this time to conduct focus groups to complement the survey data gathering process and to test certain variables in a group atmosphere. The social-psychological environment allowed for the opportunity to gain collective feedback on people's receptiveness to my topic and to the survey. Originally, three focus groups were to take place in three cities for a total of 9 focus groups.

4. Run test survey – In order to prepare for the actual data collection process which was to happen later in the year, I needed to conceptualize a practical sampling technique and run a test survey in the area I was to eventually draw my final data from. I used this first visit as an opportunity to run a brief test in three cities, as well as obtain important insight into sampling possibilities. A total of no more than 60 test surveys were to be administered at this time.⁶

Proposed Sampling Method for Survey

Originally, the sampling method that I intended to use was a random proportional stratification. Through the use of this method, the demographics of the city were analyzed, and the population of the survey aimed to emulate it. Quotas were to be set according to the demographic data, and participants for this study were to be recruited according to these quotas.

Additionally, two methods of data collection were to have been employed. The first of the methods was to be a survey. The survey was to consist of questions that help identify:

- 1) a regional/indigenous definition to terrorism
- 2) a measurement of attitudes towards terrorism
- 3) A measurement of attitudes towards the US and September 11

Moreover, the distribution of the survey would also take the form of a complex experimental design. This design was to have the survey come in four variations. Clustering each question into groups of similar or related questions, these variations were to depend on the ordering of the clusters in relation to each other. The purpose of this was to see how the ordering of the words affected the response. By doing so,

⁶ Please see *Results of First Phase of Results* on page 37 concerning how these surveys were eventually discarded.

not only did the affect of question order be analyzed, but also an analysis of the consistency of responses in spite of varying factors can be undertaken. Ultimately, of the four surveys, one was to serve as the control. This survey was to consist of 40% of those collected. Therefore:

Variant 1 surveys	=	200
Variant 2 surveys	=	200
Variant 3 surveys	=	200
Control surveys	=	400
Total surveys ⁷		1000

On the survey itself, I had employed a set of scale ratings. In order to facilitate analysis as well as provide participants with options beyond a simple binary (yes or no), half of the questions included a 5 point scale, using 0 as the base point and “No Comment” or “Don’t Know” as an option.⁸ (See addendum for Sample of Survey)

The second method that was to be employed was the focus group. These focus groups were aimed at capturing the qualitative and personal experiences pertinent to understanding the issue. These focus groups were to be conducted in the following manner:

- 1) twice a week, at 2-3 groups a day (target 24 meetings)
- 2) six to nine participants per focus groups⁹
- 3) homogenous in composition (in regards to religion)
 - a. three out of four per week will be homogenous
 - b. one out of four per week shall be mixed

⁷ Sniderman, (1996).

⁸ Scwhartz, et al, (1991).

⁹ Pramualratana, et al, (1995).

Geographical Considerations

Because I wanted to make sure to get a good grasp of the way in which people perceive terrorism throughout the island of Mindanao without bias, I made sure to select 3 cities that were urban. I selected these cities because it was assumed that in the cities, their facility in English and ability to express themselves in a manner that would allow for a more fluid discussion would further facilitate the research process. In order to select these cities, I paid special attention to the location of the cities in relation to the rest of Mindanao as well as the existence of terrorist activities in all three. In order to survey the terrorist activities in the three cities I reviewed the newspaper articles with “terrorism” in the headlines for from 1999-2004 and identified which cities were most mentioned. Of all the cities in Mindanao, the three cities that were mentioned were Zamboanga, Cotabato and Davao. Although the three cities had different issues, for instance, Davao seemed to be the most marginalized from conflict given its distance from war prone areas, while Cotabato and Zamboanga Cities were relatively closer to areas with ongoing military campaigns, they seemed to represent a good cross-section of the most pertinent cities to the Mindanaowan crisis. Although these cities were to serve as the core three cities to the survey, four other cities were to be visited and interviewed in order to ascertain additional views.

The time table for the in terms of the time to be spent in each city was as followed:

- Manila (May 23 to June 1)
- Zamboanga City (June 1-23)
- Basilan (June 11-12)
- Cotabato (June 24-July 16)
- Pikit, Internally Displaced People Refugee Center (June 29, July 2)
- Korondal City (July 3, 4)
- General Santos City (July 4)
- Davao City (July 5-8)

Results of First Phase of Research

Even though a significant amount of effort went into the planning of the actual research project significant changes took place in the process of collecting data. The following section will discuss the findings and changes to the methodology.

- Surveys

Although much thought had gone into the construction and distribution of the survey, it was found that in the process of translating the surveys, many of the terms and concepts were not only foreign but of little interest to the people I was interested in interviewing. The cities I was surveying were in actuality too provincial and inward looking to answer many of the questions. This was predominantly due to the fact that many of the issues that I had attempted to present were invalid, or inapplicable to the daily realities that many of these people face. While the survey was predominantly outward looking, drawing upon images of September 11th or looking at the way in which the war on terrorism were taking place in Mindanao, it was found that although much of these issues were of extreme importance to the people in Manila, in Mindanao, local issues tended to prevail. Furthermore, broad theoretical concepts such as national sovereignty and political impartiality did not register with many of the locals I spoke with. While many knew the meanings of the concepts, again, they were of little importance. This is one of the main differences I found with the Manila versus the Mindanao approaches to the conflict. Moreover, during a focus group discussion on the survey, although the survey was kept to two pages, it was found that people thought it was too long. Although the survey was designed to take less than 10 minutes, people took 20 to 30 minutes to answer the questions and sometimes were concerned whether or not they interpreted the question incorrectly. Although the questions for the survey were taken directly from existing surveys to allow for a

comparative set of data in other countries, many locals could not immediately make out the meaning of the statements regardless of whether or not it was translated in their own language.

Furthermore, some people considered elements of the survey “fun,” such as the Osgood scales, but many of the participants felt that there were issues that would not be reflected in the quantitative data. Much of the issues that were hovering in the room tended to stray away from the actual survey. There were many people who wanted to use the opportunity to speak about other issues, whether it was issues in their community, or generally the context of Mindanao. It was found that many of these discussions were far more interesting than the content of the survey. Lastly, sometimes these focus groups lasted longer than they were intended to and included some very fierce discussions. It was decided from this point that it would be simpler to discard the survey and focus in on qualitative interviews.

- Focus Groups

The problem with focus groups however was the fact that many times, the people that were recruited tended to come from a particular network of individuals that tended to relate back to the recruiting institution. This made it so that many of the people who dominated the discussion came from a political inclination and to a certain extent were espousing political beliefs that seemed contrived or forced. Although initial discussions with my supervisor led me to accept this type of situation, I ultimately felt that I would be collecting a biased sample of individuals considering how my network of individuals in Mindanao all came from either the “Peace Advocate” circle of individuals who have participated in many focus groups

before or the academe, people who were educated by the same institutions and who were discussing the war in Mindanao at a very theoretical level.¹⁰

Two focus groups of 15-20 people took place. The first was in Basilan. Organized primarily by a network partner of Ateneo de Zamboanga, the Christian Children's Fund had volunteers from one of their former projects in Basilan participate in the group discussion (See addendum 2). Many of these participants ranged from their late teens to their mid 50's. Because I was at the mercy of the organizers of this event and because it was my first focus group, I simply took this as an exercise in group interview and did not distribute the survey. Meeting with one of the research coordinators who helped organize and conduct the meeting, these were the intentions of the interview:

1. Conflict: How do you define conflict? What is the meaning of conflict to you? Why is there conflict?
2. Government: What can you say about the government in regards to the conflict situation? Did the government succeed/fail in addressing the issues of conflict?
3. Safety: Do you think that your province is a safe place? Can people be trusted in your community? What can you say about people in your community?
4. Religion: What is a true Muslim to you? How do you feel being a Muslim in the Philippines? How do you perceive Christians? What can you say about Christians?
5. War on Terrorism: What can you say about the war against terrorism? (Afghanistan, Iraq) What can you say about the US presence/Balikatan? Do you think that the US presence is a threat to your religion? How do you perceive the Americans?

All of the participants in the first group were Muslims. In addressing a lot of the questions, many of the people tended to get very excited while discussing terrorism and the role of military in Mindanao. Many cited their disdain towards the local military and national government and complained about how little attention was focused on the fact that Muslims and Christians living in Basilan had coexisted for

¹⁰ Although it was mentioned that in the focus groups for the surveys the participants did not think in terms of "national sovereignty" as they did in Manila, this just reflected their personal inclinations. They were able to think theoretically, just with different concepts. For instance, with the peace advocates, many times their conceptual framework dealt with "reconciliation" and "acceptance."

several years. Although the findings from the focus group were interesting and necessary, one of my concerns was that many of the people participating in the activity were recruited through a Christian NGO, therefore I felt that they were obliged to be polite to the Christians in the room and to paint a picture of very little animosity between the groups. Interestingly, though, as if to persuade, many of the active participants spoke passionately about “outside forces” to not offend the people in room. Another issues that emerged during this focus group discussion was the fact that many of the older participants tended to dominate the discussion, while the youth sat quietly eating the fried chicken that was provided.

The second focus group took place in Zamboanga City. Organized by the Office of Research itself, the recruitment from the office was much more formal. For this focus group, I was asked to write a letter formally inviting the participants (See addendum 3). Many of these participants represented highly placed individuals in the academic and NGO scene. Because of their advanced degrees and ability to discuss issues at a more national and global level, I felt that this was a perfect opportunity to talk about the survey. While most of the participants took 20 minutes to take the survey, others took a little longer. The general consensus concerning the survey was that it was too complicated and that many people would have a difficult time answering it in the form that it was in. Furthermore, many of the people in the focus group tended to discuss the issues on the survey in greater detail that I could ever have received in the survey themselves. In fact, the survey served more as a prompt toward the deeper issues that many in that group felt that had much to say in. After the group, some of the participants in the focus group scheduled further appointments to discuss these issues further, either in their personal homes or in their organizations. It was during this time that I decided personal interviews would have been best in

terms of gathering the rich data that people were too afraid to mention in group settings due to the controversial nature. Therefore for the remainder of my stay in Mindanao, I stuck to one to one interviews since it seemed to be the most effective way in getting information on the way in which people felt about the conflict in Mindanao in the most convenient and comfortable environment for the interviewee. Even though the process would ultimately provide me with a lot more extra work physically and emotionally, it was the preferred method of choice from this moment on.

- Interviews

The interviews conducted started before the pilot testing of the survey or the running of focus groups. Drawing upon networks in Manila, an old neighbor of mine as a student at the University of the Philippines, Professor Gareth Richards, provided me with the contact details of a student that he was supervising for the PhD in Political Science. This student, Gerry Salappudin, was the deputy speaker for Mindanao in the Philippine House of Representatives in 2004. His office provided me with extensive support in terms of contacting potential interviewees. After putting together a form letter requesting an interview (See addendum 3), it was his office that sent many of these letters to the participants. This greatly facilitated my research project at this stage not just operationally since I had very few contacts in Mindanao at this point, but also in terms of gaining entrance. Many of the people that I had interviewed in the local government and academe respected Rep. Salappudin and either responded positively to the letters or at least informed others of my project so that upon arrival in Basilan the territory that Salappudin was representing many people had anticipated my arrival. In fact, when I stayed in Basilan I was provided

with a military escort and a caravan of individuals from Basilan State College. This greatly facilitated my entry into Mindanao, considering how combined with my support from his office, I also was supported by Ateneo de Zamboanga, the university that provided me with access to their incredibly well organized office of research development.

Other important contacts came from interviews. In a very important and influential interview with Dr. Grace Rebollos, Vice President of Western Mindanao State University I was also provided with a list of important NGOs that worked in the area of peace building and service provisions in Mindanao. From this list, I asked around for the names and contacts in each of these organizations and set up numerous appointments this way. Through these contacts, I was able to conduct numerous interviews in all of the cities I had visited, since the list of NGOs were varied and covered an incredibly vast and diverse network of organizations. Many times I contact people individually from each organization and asked for referrals through them, or sent letters and e-mails to the organizations generally hoping for responses. Both methods worked, and eventually both provided me with great access to interviews since the complicated method of working through people in the process introduced me to the interviewees by word of mouth.

The content of the interviews were of great importance to the project, and in fact constitute one of the major data sets drawn upon in the construction of the main argument in this dissertation. Most of the interviews were conducted in English, and for those that were conducted in other languages beyond Tagalog, I had a research assistant with me to clarify or translate. These interviews were conducted in people's homes, canteens, offices and public spaces. During this phase, 60 officially organized and recorded interviews took place with several more taking place informally. These

interviews lasted from 45 minutes to sometimes 2 hours. For the interviews that were recorded, they were all recorded and later transcribed when I had returned to Singapore. For the interviews that were done on route to community events, or that were spontaneous and impromptu, these were recorded as closely as possible through field notes that were kept daily. Weekly correspondence with my former supervisor, Prof. Habib Khondker, also facilitated the process of synthesizing and compiling the data in that not only was my correspondence a form of weekly field note taking, but it was also a way to have many of my ideas cross-checked by someone outside of the field.

The questions in the interviews initially revolved around US occupation in Mindanao and the “war on terror” as can be seen in the proposed questionnaire and focus group topics. As was discussed in the earlier section on the two other methodologies, the interviews tended to use these themes as a general topics but then gradually shifted more to people perceptions to the war in Mindanao and the causes to this war. By removing the international and national focus of the interview and turning to the war in Mindanao itself, these interviews basically touched on the issue that I felt remained close to people hearts. Many of those interviewed were involved in some way in the NGO or service oriented sectors therefore many of them felt as if they needed to play some role in reducing the negative consequences of war. Therefore, by giving them this space to talk about what they do and why they do it, many of these interviews I felt really helped to capture the sentiments of an important group in Mindanaowan society.

In the data chapter, what will be found are samples of interviews that took place during this time. Given the controversial nature of the situation in Mindanao, all names of interviewees will be removed to protect against confidentiality. Many times,

the interviews conducted were done in a very personal manner, one which provided the interviewee with as much non-judgmental space to speak his or her mind on whatever issue. Therefore in order to protect that space, as well as to not to test the very fragile grounds in which many of these people are standing on, I will provide exact quotes and describe the person generally as opposed to stating their name.

Participant Observation in Mindanao (July 2005-December 2005)

After Manila and Mindanao, I decided to return to Mindanao to capture the perspective of people living in the context of war. Where as the people in Manila that I had interviewed were incredibly polemical in the views about the US and the war in the south, many had rarely been there and even if they had, it had been only on brief trips to assess the situation—each trip never lasted more than a week. With regards to the people I had interviewed in Mindanao, it was undeniable that many of the people interviewed were relatively safe from the conflict. In terms of their interaction and experience with the discrimination and frustration that serves central to my understanding Mindanao they undeniably felt it and could comprehend and discuss it, at the same time however, they were fortunate to live in homes that had electricity and receive an education. There was a whole mass of individuals completely disenfranchised from the discourse. Therefore I decided to return to Mindanao to live amongst people who I felt were the most affected by the war in the south. These people were those who had lost their homes due to war.

This phase of my research is different from the other phases that had taken place in the past. In this phase of my research I conducted an ethnographic study of their lives through living in a community of displaced people. As opposed to the interviews that were conducted in the first two data gathering sessions, all of the

interviews during this time were conducted in Tagalog and formal interviews were never arranged. Instead, more informal conversations formed the bulk of data that emerged from this period. However, given the deeper connection I had to the field site, two very important considerations had to be made. Firstly, I had to figure out a theoretical approach way before hand to understand how I was going to process this data, and secondly I had to affiliate myself with an organization that could insert me into their existing project in the field so that I could easily gain entrance as well as logistically handle the burden of moving into a community as an outsider. After reviewing the different NGOs that I had encountered while I conducted my interviews back in 2003, I identified the organizations that that had direct services being offered in the communities of Mindanao. Approaching one of these organizations, *Balay*, I became engaged in their project on “social trauma” and signed on as one of the research administrators to the project.

This section of the methodology will discuss the different elements to this phase of data gathering. Firstly, it will talk about the theoretical concerns that were important to my data collections. Secondly, it will discuss the NGO that I worked with and the project it was engaged in. Thirdly, it will talk about language. Lastly, it will discuss the how the data was gathered in three distinct phases.

Theoretical concerns

In Thomas McKenna’s work on the Muslim Filipino sentiment on separatism in Cotabato, Mindanao he opens his *Muslim Rebels and Rulers* with a description of the music that can be heard in his field site of Campo Muslim. In his description he vividly captures the multiplicity of genres that can be heard as one walks down the street at any point of the day. Western pop, traditional *gulintang*, rebel songs from a

by-gone era, and religious chants all coalesce into depiction of the coexistence of identities and sentiments in Mindanao. In McKenna's own, eloquent words:

These musics, like musical forms everywhere, tend to be associated with particular social identities. Western pop music, for example, is a central component of Philippine popular culture, arguably the most western-oriented mass culture of any southeast Asian nation ... the sound of indigenous music induces listeners to identify as Magindanaons, or often more particularly as 'upriver' or 'downriver' people. Rebel songs are the music of the proponents of a Philippine Muslim nation even though, as shall be seen, they also include many distinctly local associations; and those who listen to Islamic songs are partaking in a form of revitalized Islamic identity as self-consciously 'true Muslim' (in Magindanaon, *tidtu-idtu a Muslim*). Unsurprisingly, most residents of Campo Muslim prefer more than one music, and some listen to them all. The music (and their associated identities) occasionally jostle one another but mainly coexist, both in Muslim communities and in individual Muslim selves.

Appreciation for the inclusive nature of the everyday Islamic identity of Cotabato Muslims compels the realization that it is a privileged identity but not, as some have imagined, a primordial and determining one (one that transcends time and space). While it encompasses numerous cultural and social distinctions it by no means extinguishes them; and although it references a universal and scriptural Islam, it is grounded in localized and informally transmitted understandings of historical experience. (McKenna, 1998: 12-13)

His work represents one of the very few works that go beyond the history of elites as was discussed earlier in the literature review. Living in an urban Muslim dominated slum for several years, McKenna was able to capture the nature of the Islamic identity in Mindanao and its response to the separatist movement. Never directly asking people's opinion of Islam, separatism, or Filipino nationalism, he did his best to capture and interpret these sentiments in the day-to-day living experience of Muslim Filipinos. Something as simple as the observance of sounds in his field site unveiled to him aspects of their reality that go beyond the rhetoric espoused by their leaders and the "invented" or "imagined" histories of scholars.¹¹

¹¹ Although I value McKenna's work, it should be noted that my work and his have different goals and approaches. I came in as a part of an organization already conducting work in the community. I latched onto to this organization in order to facilitate my entrance into the community and to make use

This dissertation intends to do the same except in the context of internally displaced people in a rural refugee camp an hour and a half's bus ride outside of downtown Cotabato. However, framed in the context of history and political discourse, the purpose of researching this targeted group is to help contribute to the growing amount of literature such as that of McKenna that aims to uncover alternative explanations to separatism and the Christian Filipino nation-building project that are rarely explored. According to Stanley Tambiah,

A great deal has been written on the historical antecedents to ethnic conflicts, and on the political, religious, economic and social circumstances in which many of them have broken out.... In contrast to this vast literature relatively little is known about the nature of the destruction and dislocation caused by violence that is enacted during ethnic conflict. This issue involves the anthropology of displaced people. (Tambiah, 1990: 741)

By experiencing the day-to-day activities of people most marginalized from justice, an alternative understanding to the historical and theoretical issues proposed will emerge.

- Interpreting their Reality into the Language of Resistance: Using Subaltern Approaches

Ranajit Guha (1983) in his famous *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency*, Guha searches for signs of resistance in the language of the peasant and in the process has developed 6 useful categories of issues affiliated with the peasant uprisings in India. These categories provide a useful framework to which I can then begin to organize and categorize my observations under. These broad categories are as follows:

of the limited time I had with the community. I did not spend years in my field because this was not my research approach or goal.

1. Negation – the construction of the identity in juxtaposition to the other
2. Ambiguity – the unclear differentiation between crime and resistance
3. Modality – the way in which people systematically respond to circumstances
4. Solidarity – the relational differences between class, religion and ethnicity
5. Transmission – how people communicate emotions
6. Territoriality – definitions of space and community

Although these categories were developed from a historical survey of insurgencies in Europe and South Asia, it will be interesting to read and decipher the contemporary everyday language of Muslim Filipinos who live in conditions that are direct result of insurgency.

Stanley Tambiah (1996) also provides a useful set of tools to further understand the language of resistance amongst separatists. More specifically, Tambiah discusses three important issues that need to be taken into consideration when examining and observing the actions of individuals in oppressive situations. The three considerations are as followed:

1. Focalization – when something happens, this serves as the focal point of the anger and aggression of the people.
2. Transvaluation – the focal point serves as the target for the woes of the people exposing their “utopian dreams.” Furthermore, this must be accompanied by sentiment, notions, picture conjured up by external forces either the government or separatist groups
3. Ritualization/Routinization of violence – this becomes the language of dissent

Lastly, Tambiah reminds us to be aware of the existing “repertoire of collective violence” which have been used throughout history in various third world movements. This repertoire includes:

- Emotive symbols
- Rallies
- Noisy propaganda that demonizes the enemy
- Intimidation
- Triggering actions
- Rumors

Therefore, with these methodological issues in mind, as opposed to interpreting the separatist movement in the Philippines along western-centered models that hold third-world actions to the standard of “modernity,” this project draws upon works developed in the context of post-colonial realities as conducted by subaltern scholars in South Asia. In the Philippines, many scholars have attempted to, similarly produce a historiography that employs alternative sources of data. Works such as those of Reynaldo Ileto (1979) and Vicente Rafael (1988) have demonstrated a movement away from simply western and elitist based narratives of history and society in the Philippines in their analyses of nationalist rebellions against the Spanish and the American colonial governments respectively.¹²

The remainder of this section will be devoted to the field site and case study.

The Field Site of Pikit

In June of 2003, I had the opportunity to conduct a preliminary investigation of potential topics of research and sites of investigation. In the process, I conducted interviews with over 60 scholars, activists and community leaders in Mindanao. Some of the most intriguing interviews were 1 and a half hours outside of Cotabato in the refugee camps of Pikit

Formed as a response to former Philippine President Joseph Estrada’s “All Out War” in 2000 in which he states,

May I give the MILF some unsolicited advice? Secession in the Philippines is an impossible dream. There is simply no space in our geography, in our demographics and in our national psyche for forcibly carving another state out of the present Philippine territory. (State of the Nation Address, 2000)

¹² As will be seen throughout this work, in spite of my citing of these authors, this does not mean my work will emulate theirs. This dissertation does not intend to seek out nuanced meanings as Rafael’s does. Therefore the usage of language in this dissertation is different than how language was used in his work.

Along with his scathing attack at separatist claims, Estrada pressed the MILF to violate the 1997 ceasefire and unilaterally declare the end of the peace talks. In response, Estrada sent nearly 10,000 AFP troops into Mindanao. The escalated fighting in Mindanao led to a massive flight of both Muslim and Christian Filipino peasants into makeshift evacuation centers in the Cotabato region (Orlando, 2003).

According to a UNDP report released in November of 2000,

increased militarization has also led to the destruction of over 6000 homes and the internal displacement of nearly one million persons, 300,000 of whom were in that status in October 2000...The type of displacement being seen is now qualitatively different from those seen in recent years. There now exists a tendency towards longer term displacements since the 1970's . Only 10% of the persons whose home was destroyed desire to return to their place of origin.

According to a report released by the Department of Social Welfare and Development in May of 2003, the total number of displaced people served by the Philippine government was 338,193 with more than half of that number still residing in governmentally subsidized evacuation centers. In Pikit, the town I intend to conduct my research, 11,160 people still reside in evacuation centers throughout the city. (National Operations Office, 2003)

Non-Government Organization Affiliation: Balay

The organization worked with is called "Balay" a Visayan (A Filipino dialect) word for home that was established by former Senator Jose Diokno and Dr. Mita Pardo de Tavera in 1985 to deal with the rehabilitation of torture victims of the Marcos regime. Attracting the services of lawyers, caregivers, health professionals, social workers and human rights activists, the organization provided psychosocial services to recently released prisoners, providing financial and legal services for the former detainee and his family.

In the 1990's due to increased militarization in Mindanao, along with a declining need to deal with political detainees, the organization shift focus to render their services to this emerging group of individuals. After moving to Zamboanga in the mid-1990's in 2000 Balay moved to Pikit, Cotabato in response to the massive influx of internally displaced people into the region after the most severe fighting associate with Estrada's all out war earlier that year. To date, it is one of the only non-governmental and non-religious organization based in Pikit.

Some of the programs it engages in are as followed:

- Debriefing, counseling and therapy
- Immediate relief and medical assistance
- Livelihood support and assistance
- Educational assistance for youth and children
- Community rehabilitation assistance
- Critical Incident Stress Management
- Psychosocial Training

One of the main reasons why I intended to work with this organization is because it was the only non-governmental organization that had direct on-site activities arranged on a day-to-day basis in the township of Pikit. Furthermore, this particular non-profit organization also employed mainly Christian, Tagalog speaking employees who were relatively educated and well spoken. This facilitated communications in that they were able to convey their experiences as "foreigners" working in with the refugees. Furthermore, since many of them do not speak the local dialect, they are equipped with translators to help with communication with the refugees. Thus, after I had sent the organization a copy of my dissertation proposal, and was interviewed by the organization as to my background and intentions, I was allowed to participate in their projects as a participant and as an observer.¹³

¹³ In the American Sociological Association Code of Ethics, Principle B states that "Sociologists conduct their affairs in ways that inspire trust and confidence; they do not knowingly make statements that are false, misleading, or deceptive." In addition to clarifying my role as a participant observer, I ensured that *Balay* received a copy of my dissertation prior to submission and will receive a copy of the

- Project on Social Trauma

In the past, Balay members conducting psychological tests of whether or not an individual was experiencing trauma encountered the strange situation in which many of these people who had been displaced from their homes and had experienced loss were not feeling the typical signs of trauma that one experiences in these types of situations. The conventional signs of trauma related stress include nightmares, anxiety, fear and depression were not all exhibited by the people who had just recently been displaced. While an individual experiencing trauma would be unable to continue with day to day tasks given the fact that individuals afflicted with trauma related stress should be experiencing “scattered” mental processes and indecisive decision making. People in the communities that Balay served however actually returned routinely from the evacuation centers to tend their fields, some even remaining in the communities at night and maintaining a typical work day as the women and the children of the community remained in the evacuation centers. In fact, in a typical community in Mindanao, if an individual were afflicted with many of the signs of trauma related stress they would be unable to fulfill the basic physiological needs by inhibiting them from continuing to fulfill the daily tasks necessary for their survival.

So does this make the community members any less vulnerable? Does the fact that they do not experience signs of trauma mean that they are not experiencing pain? Or does this send a sign that the pain that they are going through is not captured or

final dissertation. Additionally, placing oneself in an organization as part of one’s research is common. Such organizations are many times considered “gatekeepers” in the community, organizations that facilitate entrance (Bogdan, 1972). Individuals have used their positions as professors to study other professors, bankers who study the IMF and researchers in large R&D department of major companies (Feldman, 2003). Gatekeepers that facilitate access into fieldsites are particularly important in violent situations or communities (Smyth, 2001; Kovats-Bernat, 2002).

understood with the conventional types of definition? As part of the social trauma project, Balay sought to redefine the boundaries of social trauma to make sense of the experience of the people they serve in localized terms and on a localized level.

Language

As was discussed earlier, the informal interviews conducted as part of the participant observation were all done in Tagalog. In addition to the 1 year of intensive study at Ateneo de Manila and the University of the Philippines, along side individual tutorial at the Christian Language Studies Center, I continued to practice my speaking and listening skills on my own. Prior to my entrance into the field I took another two months of one-on-one tutoring with a language tutor five days a week. To practice my listening and speaking skills, I lived with my family in Cainta, Rizal and attempted to speak Tagalog exclusively. Although, my language ability did not reach the level of native fluency, I did not enter the field until I felt confident that I could communicate effectively with people on a day-to-day, personal level. In the last month of my daily language tutorials, I requested that our lessons allowed me the opportunity to exercise my communicative ability and deemphasize my reading and writing practice since reading and writing would not be as useful in the field for my research.

Although the lingua franca of my community was not Tagalog, most if not all of the community spoke Tagalog. Some even laughed at my strange accent and enjoyed correcting my pronunciation. This facilitated my building rapport with the community members, not as an individual who wanted to blend in and live, act and speak like a “native” but as a Filipino American visitor from abroad who was interested in their stories, who they were and wanted to help. Furthermore, I was sent out in teams of two. My research partner and I would debrief each other and the rest

of the research teams about what stories we had heard. This ensured that the stories I had heard were interpreted correctly. Because I knew that my language capacity would never be strong enough to seek out meaning in people's usage of language, I focused on the stories people told me. Significant activities in people's lives became more important than the words they used. Physical reactions spoke volumes. This made an analysis of emotions even more appropriate because it was one of the levels of communication I understood in the clearest of terms.

Lastly, the organization I worked with, and the research partner I worked with spoke predominantly in Tagalog. When community members could not speak Tagalog, other community members translated for us. Although it would have been useful to learn a language of Mindanao, to speak to each community member would require a mastery of several different languages. Tagalog was the most practical and convenient. This is especially in light of the fact that this dissertation rests on multiple layers of data, and is not exclusively reliant on the ethnographic portion.

Practical Application: The Method

In the process of conducting research, the research team had to learn to adapt to the field and modify initial assumptions to fit the circumstances that they encountered epistemologically and methodologically. Therefore, the research methodology section can be discussed in phases relative to the experience of the data gathering in the field. *Phase one* of the research project took place at the conceptualization and initial data gathering period. Characterized as phase of "Pakapa-kapa" or preliminary searching of ideas, concepts and methods, no definite research method was selected (Torres, 1980). As a result, before the research teams were sent to the field, extensive planning and research took place prior to the entrance

into the community in order to tool the research team with a comprehensive understanding of the several optional tools they can employ in their research. Next, an intensive all day workshop was conducted to introduce the team members to the situation in each community as well as to share initial data gathered from the field. Furthermore, it was during this time that an interview schedule was devised to provide for some direction and synchronization between community data gathering sessions among the different teams. *Phase two* took place after the research team completed their first gathering session and regrouped to discuss the success of the prearranged methodology and theoretical framework. As team members engaged in periodical debriefing and reassessment, they were able to continually assess the progress of their work and the success of their methods. With each reassessment, it was found that initial methods such as the use of an interview schedule were difficult and inefficient in collecting the data necessary for the research project. Furthermore, it was found that some of the assumptions the original framework had, such as the existence of universal cultural codes per community, were wrong and a more nuanced and stratified methodology was employed to capture the diverse cultural codes along significant social cleavages. Lastly, it was during this phase that the interview schedule was restructured to take the form of a life history, or more culturally grounded “Istorya ng Buhay” approach.

It was found that as each research team entered each community, different methodological issues arose such as issues of trust and entrance. Therefore, phase three was the adaptation of phase one and two to the experiences of the individual researcher and community. The research methodology therefore reflects the projects adherence to a reflexive methodology that allows for the researchers to be sensitive to the different issues and responses to this project, and the project attempts to modify

and reconstruct itself to meet the needs of each specific issue. The remainder of this section will be spent elaborating on each phase.

Phase One

Dictated by the guidelines of the study, we approached our designated community with the intention of accumulating data that could help Balay further understand the concept of trauma in the context of its social setting. This was to be done through an extensive examination of the social and cultural context of the communities in order to understand the concept of “well being.” Since by understanding the concept of well being one can eventually recognize what is important to the community and how these important elements can become disrupted, many of the initial questions that were posed to the community members during the initial research period were aimed at exploring the various aspects of the community resources. By community resources, the project looked closely the different elements of the social organization such as kinship, religion and other social structures in the community to identify the important elements to the communities’ social protective factors. Interviews were then conducted to identify the major conflicts affecting their lives and how these social protective factors affected the community response. The assumption behind the two sets of questions was that the type of conflict that took place lead to diverse response dependent on the social protective factor affected. Moreover, questions were devised to help probe into the various elements of the conceptual construction of the psychosocial implications of armed conflict and displacement. Some of the questions focused in on the topics of social organization, kinship relations, village organization etc. Furthermore, some of the questions that

were asked more broadly discussed the issues of trauma by probing into areas that helped us understand their notion of trauma. Some of these questions included:

1. What is social well being to the community?
2. What is the local conception of justice?
3. How does healing take place in the community?
4. What is important to the community as a whole?

This framework and set of preliminary research topics served as the start off point for the first phase of the research. However, it must be noted that along with these very particular objectives and theoretical considerations, methodologically, the project still adhered to the localized concept of “pakapa-kapa” or the preliminary searching of ideas, concepts and methods. Therefore, no particular approach was unilaterally or universally applied since the first phase of the research was more experimental. According to Carmen Santiago (1975) the five basic tenets to “pakapa-kapa” are: 1) emphasize the building of a relationship and the level of interaction; 2) enter the field at the same level as the people you are interviewing; 3) place more emphasis on the well being of the interviewee over the data; 4) choose a method most appropriate to the people and the context, 5) lastly, as much as possible learn to adopt the language of the community.

Phase Two

Phase two of the research can be characterized as a re-evaluation of the research methods that were used during the first phase of the project. After the research teams had experienced their first immersion in the communities of their study, we convened both formally and informally to discuss the success of the methods that were used. It was generally found that the initial attempt to identify sources of social protective factors, through the use of key informant interviews or

strict adherence to an interview guide served as too difficult. Many of the issues brought up were too broad and abstract for the community members to discuss or contemplate in the short span of an interview. Furthermore, the answers that were given were highly dependent on the social position of the interviewee in the community, family and stage in life. For those who had children to support, their answers with regards to the most important issues for them primarily revolved around education and providing for a family. The elderly who had already seen their children grow up choose to respond more into the area of health and sustenance. Therefore, it became clear that to identify themes or concepts at the broad community level was also very difficult given that we did not systematically organize our interviews in a matter that would allow us to view each interview within the context of a more specific social cleavage other than the fact that they came from a purely Christian community, etc. Lastly, another important issue that made itself clear to the researchers was that due to our own personal identities, personalities, and affiliations, we were prone to speaking to different segments of the population. Thus, while one team talked more often to male of the middle age range, the other team seemed to be more comfortable speaking to the women in their 60's to 70's. Hence, phase two was meant to reconcile these issues by modifying our initial methods and assumptions to accommodate the issues we were encountering.

The first methodological concern was to address the deficiency in our method to obtain data on such abstract concepts as “magandang buhay” (well being) and justice. After encountering several interviews where questions on these abstract concepts led to a disruption in the flow of the conversation, it was decided that the research teams had to find an alternative route to seeking out the communities’ understanding of magandang buhay. Therefore, it was decided that instead of seeking

out information from the community through formal interviews, we would lean more heavily on the life history, or more appropriately “life story” (Istorya ng Buhay) method. By doing so, the team members would then allow the community members to convey to the research teams the stories that to them were deemed important in the course of their lives and furthermore allow us to analyze how they perceive themselves and how they in turn hope to project these selves to us. Secondly, it was found that formal interviews were hard to come across and hard to conduct. In situations where the community members were very preoccupied with their day to day activities, expecting a one to two hour time block from them seemed to be too demanding and presumptuous on the part of the research team. Additionally, interviews that took on too much of a formal atmosphere tended to put off our respondents.

Interestingly however, more “indigenous” methods discussed by the Sikolohiyang Pilipino school of thought were seen to be already the adaptive methods being used to overcome some of these issues. For example, it was found that while interviews were difficult to conduct, people were more interested in telling stories or *pakikipagkwentuhan* (Orteza, 1997). Instead of asking the community member to seek out disjointed points and concepts from their life to answer questions on abstract ideas, storytelling allows the community to engage in an age old practice of passing on experiences to others. It also provides community members the ability to take control of the conversation and reveal what he or she feels most important for the researcher to know. As an informal method, this approach helps to provide the background and context to the lives of the people being interviewed and allows for multiple interviews in multiple stages to take place in one sitting. A second research method that is central to the Sikolohiyang Pilipino methodology is the *pagtatanong-*

tanong or the asking of questions in a semi-guided informal fashion. Drawing upon the importance of the relationship and influence of the researcher to the interviewee, at the same time, *pagtatanong-tanong* departs from *pakikipagkwentuhan* in that it allows for further probing into issues that are discussed in passing in the telling of stories (Pe-Pua, 1985). However, it must be noted that both research methods rely on the building of an equal relationship between the interviewee and interviewer as much as possible, or the *pakikipagkapwa-tao*, building of respect between each other as human beings (Salazar-Clemina, 1991). Some of the methods that have been used in the field and have facilitated this are: *pakikipanuhuyan* or living in the homes of the people one interviews not as a researcher but a valued guest; *pagdalaw-dalaw*, or the short but frequent appearances that slowly help to build the rapport central to *pakikipagkapwa-tao*; and *napadaan lang po* ensuring that on the way to ones' home to always greet and acknowledge those you pass (Enriquez, 1994).¹⁴

In order to organize the data in some comprehensible manner, the life histories or life stories were collected in a way to reflect some core central themes that the researchers found significant in many of their interviews. After reviewing their experiences on the data gathering process and reviewing the data gathered, the researchers identified four categories of investigation that emerged from the initial interviews. These categories of investigation, which can be considered crucial elements to the social domains in the communities are: timeline of historical events; roles of insiders and outsiders; spirituality and social organization. With regards to the first category of significant events, the purpose of this particular category of investigation was to have them identify the most significant events in their life in

¹⁴ There are controversies concerning Sikolohiyang Pilipino. For instance, localized terms instead of Ragalog or Pilipino would be more apt in describing the situation or the methods employed. However, the methods of Sikolohiyang Pilipino, regardless of the language used were extremely useful. The methods employed worked, and even if the Tagalog terms were translated into the local dialect, the effect would have been the same.

order for us to juxtapose with the historical context of Mindanao. Recognizing that war and displacement served as a significant event central to many of their stories, the research team built many of the life stories around the major historical events that took place in their lives to compare how two community members viewed the same event. Some of the events that we drew upon were the Japanese occupation of Mindanao, the Ilaga and Black Shirt conflict of the 1970s, and the recent wars between the government and the MILF in 2000 and 2003. The second category that was explored was the category of insider/outsider. While conducting the research, we realized that without the support of the regional staff entrance into the community would have been impossible. For many of the community members, the regional staff of Balay represented extended family members that played an important role in their lives. This prompted the research team to probe into the role of insiders and outsiders with regards to the role of NGOs, the government and most importantly the migration and immigration of different people into their community. Thirdly, although all people had different views on this category, spirituality served as an important social factor in the community's adjustment to the major events in their life, not to mention served as an important social marker that differentiated one social group to another. And lastly, social organization served as an obvious area of inquiry in that it was the kinship relations, community boundaries and social identities that bound the community together.

The second methodological concern was the fact that when the data was collected, many times the ideas of "magandang buhay" were actually situationally based in context of ones life. Therefore, in order to capture the nuances along their particular social cleavage, in addition to compensate for the fact that we knew that each team was either consciously or unconsciously speaking to only a particular

segment of the population, we constructed an interview personality schedule that systematically organized the amount of interviewees according to ethnicity, gender and age. Ethnicity was used as an obvious social category in that it was the ethnic diversity of the community that led to our investigation of it in the first place. Gender was another category that prompted our attention in that a disproportionate amount of males in one community was being interviewed, while in the other, it was disproportionately skewed towards the women. Lastly, age was used as a category to the selection of participants in that age was also important in terms of the life histories. Since the life histories focused in on certain significant events, it was important that those interviewed would be able to recollect the significant historical event. All four categories helped the team members approach the regional staff to more thoughtfully select community members that could speak within their social category more effectively. Moreover it assures at least some measure of representation with regards to the people spoken too since the selected individuals only serve as a guide whereas the interviews with other community members still take place. Thus while interviews were ongoing, in spite of the fact that the research teams may continually talk to certain segments of the population, thanks to the core represented group, the community will always have at least some level of representation.

Phase Three

Phase one and two provided us with the theoretical and methodological background to conduct our research in full knowledge of the issues, conditions and context of the study. It also allowed for the continual exchange of ideas and experiences to provide the research teams with an understanding of the larger issues

involved and the proposed project wide solutions to the issues. Phase three then was more of a continuation of phase two, however with the research teams having control over the way in which the data is gathered and analyzed. After several months in the field it only becomes natural that some research teams would develop an attachment and in depth knowledge of the community we had so intensively studied. Each team however has had different experiences and issues and therefore not all research teams advanced at the same pace.

Therefore the theoretical approach of subalternism and the methodological usage of *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* framed this phase of research. Much like with the data gathered in Mindanao back in 2003, the data gathered in this section was collected with extreme personal confidence. The stories told were provided to us in the context of friendship and of genuine interest as opposed to solely for the purpose of research. Therefore as part of the analysis in the section, not only the names of the interviewees but also the specific communities will be changed in order to protect the sanctity of some of these communities at the edge of violent upheaval, as had been seen in the past. The issue of social trauma was one that not only was discussed as was done in previous interviews, but was now poignantly felt by the researchers themselves. As such, these issues became more real and of connected value to myself, and much of the motivation in analyzing the other sections emerged from this section of the data gathering period.

Archival Research

After gathering the data in the field, several themes came up. It was found that many of these families interviewed when traced back all linked back to the same families and places of origination. Whole communities could be traced to a particular

town in the north that had migrated down south at the same time. In fact, the multiplicity of dialects reflected this. One could trace and identify themselves along these community lines because till this day many of these people kept many of the traditions and languages alive, in spite of nearly 3 generations of living in Mindanao.

But historically what was of interest to me was what served as the impetus to bring many of these families to Mindanao. Tracing back to the 1913 with Legislative Act 2254 and 2280 encouraged Christian Filipinos to settle in Mindanao by granting them land rights and providing transportation to and from the Christian dominated north to the vast expanses of land in the Muslim south. I was interested in why the American colonial government chose to encourage the migration of Christian Filipinos to Mindanao. Was it a preference towards this community because of their “work ethic” as compared to the local Muslims who were considered “lazy”¹⁵? Or was it simply an economic decision to shift people from overpopulated lands to the areas that needed more labor. Although these questions would have been difficult to answer directly, the process of seeking an answer could perhaps shed light on why the historical legacy of conflict between Christians and Muslims emerged in the form that we see today. In many of the interviews in the community, it was found that originally the relationship between Muslim and Christians were amicable. In the early period of migration there was resistance and even killings of Christian migrants, yet eventually many of these communities learned to embrace one another to build the major cities of Mindanao. Many people in these communities were proud of their former relationships and the way in which it manifested into a productive situation where both parties mutually benefited from each other. But the remaining question to me

¹⁵ Syed Hussein Alatas (1977) is famous for introducing the idea that for centuries scholars had looked to the Malays as lazy and indolent. This he argues was necessary to justify foreign presence to uplift the native.

was, but what intentions lied beneath this eventual bond and could it have been these original intentions that led to the eventual fractures we see today.

In order to seek out answer to these questions, I decided to delve into old documents, journals, speeches and newspaper clippings from two distinct periods under the Americans. The first was the early American period circa 1913 to review the sentiments American policy makers took towards the Philippines during this initial movement of people from the north to the south. The second was the Philippine commonwealth period in 1935 with the second phase of “colonization” through the passing of the Legislative Act 4197, also known as the "Quirino-Recto Colonization Act." In order to ascertain views during this time, particularly towards Muslims in Mindanao, I spent time in two archives that had data on these two periods.

The two archives accessed are among the several archives consulted while conducting research for my dissertation. Archives such as the American Historical Collection at Ateneo de Manila University, the National Archives in Manila, as well as the libraries of Ateneo de Zamboanga, Ateneo de Davao and Notre Dame University in Cotabato City were consulted as well. The two archives in the United States (Donn V. Hart Collection and the U.S. Library of Congress) were the two archives that seemed most useful in complementing and expanding my archival work at these other sites.

- Early American Occupation: Library of Congress

Contacting the Library of Congress beforehand, I was able to make use of the finding aids online and provided to me by Kathryn Wellen, the staff librarian at the Asian Reading Room. After identifying the key figures in the colonial administration during the period between 1910 and 1930, I then searched their files for any reference

to Mindanao and then took digital photos of the documents that were of importance. Many of these files included personal correspondences, journal entries and official speeches written or prepared for the administrator. Additionally, articles from newspapers and journals that were of interest to the administrator or that had mentioned their names anywhere were usually included in their file. Many times pictures of these were taken too if they had any reference to Mindanao. The following is a partial list of some of the names of colonial administrators that had their files stored and that I had reviewed at the Library of Congress.¹⁶

1. Samuel Sumner: Commander of the Military Department of Mindanao, 1902-1903
2. Leonard Wood: Commander of the Military Department of Mindanao, 1903
Governor of the Moro Province, 1903 - 1906
Governor of the Philippines, 1921-1927
3. John J. Pershing: Governor of the Moro Province, 1909-1913
4. Frank C. Carpenter: Governor of the Moro Province, 1913-1914
Governor of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, 1914 – 1920
5. William Taft: Governor of the Philippines, 1901-1904
6. William Forbes: Governor of the Philippines, 1908-1913
7. Francis Harrison: Governor of the Philippines, 1913 – 1921

Additionally, photos and maps were collected in the Library of Congress maps collection as well as the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs collection. Rare books which were found on the library's website were reserved before hand and pulled out of storage by Wellen and placed on hold until my arrival. This facilitated

¹⁶ Not all colonial administrators had their files stored at the library of congress. If these administrators had taken on different positions in American politics such as the presidency as in the case of William Howard Taft, the first Chief Civil Administrator, not all of his files were kept in the Library of Congress but were shifted elsewhere. Others who had military careers or served in particular sectors in the administration had special archives to hold their personal documents.

the surveying of their materials and copying them. These books were also copied through the use of a digital camera and a normal flatbed scanner.

- Philippine Commonwealth Period: Donn V. Hart Collection, Northern Illinois University (NIU)

Whereas the data collection at the Library of Congress was straightforward, and well planned (partially because I had conducted my collection of data at the Library of Congress after I had collected the documents at NIU), the collection at NIU was a little more confusing. Part of the reason was because the archive itself was small and not electronically catalogued. The documents were mainly type written, stored in boxes and catalogued according to the way in which Donn Hart had arranged it.

As an avid Filipinist and anthropologist, Donn Hart served as the head of the Southeast Asian Studies Department at Northern Illinois University and was one of the first Fulbright Exchange scholars in the Philippines. (Bernard, 1985) His interests lied more in the area of cultural anthropology, specifically the usage of stories and novels to understand values and beliefs of Filipino communities in the Visayas, or what he considered the “heartland of the Philippines.” (Hart, 1985) According to Hart, “One cannot fully understand most customs without tracing their intricate relationships to the *total* culture.” (Hart, 1981)

Although it can be argued that the data gathered at NIU could have been gathered somewhere back in the Philippines, especially because all of the documents were pertaining to Manuel L. Quezon’s personal file, according to the staff librarian there, Donn Hart had in the 1970’s found much of these documents in the Philippine National Archives literally falling apart. Therefore, he took it upon himself to type each and every document found in the file to ensure that the documents would be

preserved in some manner. Ironically, many of these typewritten documents have not been preserved further in terms of being scanned and they simply sit in Manila folders occupying four shelves in a metal cabinet. Needless to say however, these documents perhaps contain certain pieces not found in the National Archive of the Philippines.

Since the collection consisted of an expansive array of personal correspondence of Manuel L. Quezon, the first president of the Philippine Commonwealth, while the documents were plentiful, given the fact that the entire collection was just his works, I was able to peruse most of the documents in a few days. Much of the collection was copied through the use of both a digital camera and a flatbed camera.

Although I am not a historian by training, I felt that to complement the data gathered both in Manila and Mindanao, it was important to tie it all together through an analysis of the impact of the US colonial period. After all, it was the American colonial policy towards Mindanao which marked the beginning of a massive change in Christian-Muslim Filipino relations. It was during this time that the first wave of Christian migrants entered the lands of the Mindanao. This initial entrance of Christians helped set the stage for some of the dramatic demographic shifts that take place later on in Philippine history (see chapter 5). Therefore, by reviewing the political roots and more importantly the personal motivations behind these political roots, a more comprehensive picture of Mindanao will emerge—one that is seen from very different and important analytical angles, and one that is grounded in history.

Chapter 3: Guilty Americans

Take up the White Man's burden--
 In patience to abide,
 To veil the threat of terror
 And check the show of pride;
 By open speech and simple,
 An hundred times made plain,
 To seek another's profit
 And work another's gain.

- Rudyard Kipling,
 McClure's Magazine 12 (Feb. 1899).

To many, the object of colonization seems obvious. Colonization of one country over the other can be seen as a parasitic relationship, one in which the colonizer imposes a system that extracts the wealth of another nation for its own benefit (Legasse, 2000). But it can be argued that the manner in which the colonization that took place in the Philippines under the Americans can be seen as something different. Months after the Spanish surrendered the Philippines to the Americans, President William McKinley announced the existence of the United States in the Philippines in his now infamous speech on “benevolent assimilation”:

It will be the duty of the commander of the forces of occupation to announce and proclaim in the most public manner that we come not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends, to protect the natives in their homes, in their employment, and in their personal and religious rights. All persons who, either by active aid or by honest submission, cooperate with the Government of the United States to give effect to these beneficent purposes will receive the reward of its support and protection...

“Benevolent Assimilation” Proclamation of
 President William McKinley, December 21, 1898

While the British welcomed the Americans to the elite group of nations that have had colonial aspirations throughout the world, the Americans saw themselves as different from the colonizers of the past (Gilmour, 2002). Firstly, as a nation, the United States broke away from its colonial captor and established itself as an independent state,

cherishing its well-deserved freedom. This guided much of American colonial policy in that it was assumed by many that it would violate the basic tenets of the American constitution if the US did not uphold its own values in administering a foreign people (Karnow, 1970). Secondly, Americans generally see their country as a nation borne out of “immaculate conception.” The United States is a nation founded and sustained by immigrants and “settlers who sought to escape the political and social sins of [their] country’s origin” (Miller, 1982: 1). This was different from nations which had emerged out of centuries of ethnic or religious homogeneity (Smith, 1991; Gellner, 1993) and which carried this national identity with them as they conquered the new world (McGee, 1996: 5).¹⁷ The US on the other hand was marked the “new world” by many important thinkers such as De Tocqueville based on its democratic ideals which embodied the most advanced form of government applied within a context free from the baggage of historical legacy (De Tocqueville, 2004). Lastly, it can be argued that America entered the relationship with the Philippines in a manner that was different from how other colonial administrators had approached their colonies in the past. While the other colonial administrators had left their countries of origin specifically to accomplish the task of acquiring new territories to expand its markets and engage in trade, the United States gained control of its colonies through negotiation with another colonizer. When the US engaged the Spanish in the Spanish-American war over Cuba, the consequence of the war was that the US was ceded the Philippines and Puerto Rico as well. In fact, initially, the Americans were more interested in claiming just Manila to establish a trading port in the region, yet discarded the idea when it

¹⁷ As Europeans gained the technology to explore the exotic new world, they grappled with making sense of the new people they encountered. To justify their social position as superior to these new people they would encounter and eventually rule over, evolutionism as espoused by Herbert Spencer, Sir Edward Burnett Tylor and Lewis Henry Morgan and functionalism as expressed by Bronislaw Malinowski, A.R. Radcliff Brown and E.E. Evans Pritchard, demonstrate this European desire to maintain their developmental advancement over these new people. See Part One and Part Two of *Anthropology Theory* by R. Jon McGee and Richard L. Warms.

became clear that the Spanish would be unable to control the Filipino insurrection, and had the Philippines received its independence, the fledgling nation, along with the American port of Manila would be threatened by the already existing competing interests in the region (Pratt, 1950: 66-68).

Therefore the presence of the United States in the Philippines can be seen as emerging from a different history and embodying a different set of motives as a response. Others however have engaged in a contemporary debate to expose the ethnocentric foundations to such an “exceptionalist” discourse that tends to color American historiographies in manner that depicts the US as fulfilling its “Manifest Destiny” (Tyrell, 1991). It is a prerogative of many Americans, including people of color, to dispel the myth that the American institution was out to “save” and “expand” the empire. Particularly from the perspective of those who have been exploited by the system internally, the proposed benign intentions behind American policy need to be exposed for their devious and manipulative schemes (Madsen, 1998). In the case of the Philippines, some have argued that the US was far from “benevolent” in its dealings with the nation. According to prominent critic on US policies in the Philippines, William Pomeroy (1974), “Honest studies of US history and foreign policy are still rare. In classroom, press and official government statements, defense of policy and apology for policy is the rule, laid down by those who make or benefit from it.” According to Pomeroy, the US constructed the Philippines as a site to massive exploitation. The Anti-Imperialist league in the United States also toed a similar line in arguing that pacifism and egalitarianism were central tenets to the American tradition and should not be violated. By annexing the Philippines, the United States was violating these traditions and engaging in “criminal aggression” in the process of subjugating a foreign people under US control (Atkinson, 1899).

Ironically, however the Anti-Imperialist critiques of American exceptionalism were in themselves drawing upon a moralistic framework which stated that the US stood for higher beliefs. According to the platform of the Anti-Imperialist League, “We regret that it has become necessary in the land of Washington and Lincoln to reaffirm that all men, of whatever race or color, are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” (Bancroft, 1913). Much of the Anti-Imperialist literature was grounded in the same type of analysis that posited American “values” at the heart of the discussion. Many times citing the words of Lincoln or other historical figures who used the same arguments to free the slaves, the literature and arguments that emerged out of this group tended to employ the same logic as the exceptionalists, reiterating the existence of a higher moral ground that the US represented.

Furthermore, certain historical circumstances challenged the idea that the United States was unilaterally interested in obtaining the Philippines as part of its grand scheme to form an “empire.”¹⁸ First of all, the initial intention with regards to the retention of the Philippines was to establish an “integrated trade route which could facilitate realization of America’s overriding ambition in the Pacific—the penetration and ultimately the domination of the fabled China market” (McCormick, 1970: 129). As American industries matured it realized that the Asia market was slowly but surely becoming dominated by the Japanese, the Germans, the Russians and the British. Parcel by parcel, they were claiming a foothold in the region and edging out American businesses. American businesses realized that much of their products sold in China were entering foreign owned territories such as those controlled by the British and Germans and being transported by foreign owned transport such as the railways that were controlled by the Russians, thereby experiencing higher costs and

¹⁸ See some of the arguments in Chapter 4.

losing competitiveness in the market. Therefore by creating its own political and economic lever in the region, the US could then create an entrepot that propelled their interests into China.

Moreover, while the Philippines under the Spanish was not developed to become an export oriented economy nor was it economically viable at that point as a destination for American products, for the Americans to maintain the Philippines as a colony for herself would have cost the United States more initially than it would return. In fact, between 1905 and 1930, whereas 45% of total imports in the Philippines came from the United States, 58% of total imports were going to the US (Pratt, 1950: 292). This was evident in the fact that anti-imperialists and imperialist alike acknowledged this reality in that it was argued that this economic policy would have left the Philippines almost completely dependent on the free trade access it enjoyed with the US (Pomeroy, 1970). By the 1930's nearly 80% of products produced in the Philippines were sent to the US, experiencing tariff free entrance and other preferential benefits to the country. Negatively however, these policies only served to create an entrenched class of individuals who eventually benefited off of the massive amounts of trade taking place at this time, and placate them to become receptive and docile political players with a vested interest in the US occupation. (Diokno, 2001; Radics, 2004) Yet in spite of the fact that much of American investments went into the hands of an entrenched class of Filipinos, it can be convincingly argued that the US was not the only nation in the relationship that benefited.

Lastly, according to Richard Hofstadter (1970), in the late 1890's the US was experiencing a "psychic crisis." Emerging from economic depression in the 1870's, beyond the immediate effects of a nation emerging from dire economic straits, three

major issues made Americans and their business prone to the acceptance of a colony. First off, it has been widely argued that American businesses never felt the need to establish a colony in order to conduct their daily businesses. It was seen as an unnecessary burden that was expensive to obtain and difficult to administer. Many times, extended and difficult wars would be required to gain these colonies (Pratt, 1950: 1). This was a problem considering how the US at that point still had relatively little experience in international warfare. Yet in the 1890's people's ideas started to change. One of the first major reasons according to Hofstadter was the fact that in 1896, as Americans emerged from the "long depression" of 1873 and fearing the movement towards the gold standard would lead to disastrous results for western agricultural interests, a massive "populist movement" evolved in the US (Magliari, 1995). For the first time in US history, a protest movement was strong enough to capture a major party and rise to national prominence. Secondly, the maturation and bureaucratization of American businesses and the development of an established network of businesses large enough to overshadow the old order of competitive opportunities for smaller companies was also looming over the young nation. Lastly, by the late 1890's much of the US' continental frontier had been explored, creating for the first time in US history a complete knowledge of the remaining possibilities for expansion. These three very important historical circumstances according to Hofstadter created the conditions for the "psychic crisis" that motivated the US' decision to acquire new territory (Hofstadter, 1970: 36-43).

Therefore, although it may be argued that the presence of the United States in the Philippines had economic intentions, it would not be fair to say that these were the only motivations that drove the US to acquire an entire nation with a people and culture foreign to their own. The importance of China, the huge economic investment

this new acquisition would require as well as the “psychic crisis” that engulfed the US at the end of the 1800’s all helped to contribute to a change in US opinion towards the idea of acquiring foreign lands. Important to this dissertation however, was not just these historical conditions, but also how these historical conditions have contributed to the acceptance and internalization of the logic behind the rhetoric of “benevolent assimilation” introduced by McKinley as the guiding principle behind the American presence in the Philippines. This chapter will thus discuss the importance of the American policy of benevolence and how this policy eventually affected Mindanao.

As has already been discussed, this chapter intends to discuss the alternative motivation to US occupation of the Philippines. The political rhetoric of “benevolence” that many deride as a political “smoke screen” that shrouds the US’ ultimate intention of economic extraction, although partially true, tends to ignore some very important emotional aspects to the reason why the Philippines was acquired and how the colony was administered.¹⁹ This chapter is entitled “Guilty White Men” because its intention is to demonstrate how the guilt associated with American expansionism and economic and political prowess that emerged from a nation in which these actions could easily have been seen as contradictory to the beliefs of the nation, manifested itself in a discourse that attempted to justify the US presence in the region. Although it is contentious as to whether or not the Americans soldiers or teachers and other civilians who came to the Philippines to serve in the US colony actually believed the words their politicians were saying, this dissertation

¹⁹ See the law suit filed by the Permanent People’s Tribunal, Via della Dogana Vecchia, 5-00186 Rome – Italy. In their law suit against the Philippine and US presidents, IMF and Multinational Corporations they state, “The American colonizers invoked “benevolent assimilation”, democratization and education to conceal and sugarcoat its real goal of turning the Philippines into its military outpost, source of raw materials and cheap labor, market for its products and outlet for surplus capital.” (Statement of Support for the Permanent People’s Tribunal, Second Session on the Philippines. 20 February 2007)

argues that many of the leaders who espoused this doctrine believed what they said. This first part of this chapter will focus on the official line of “benevolence,” who engaged these ideas and how this benevolence transformed into actual policy. Next, drawing upon historical correspondence between Manuel L. Quezon and other important political figures of that time, the Filipino response to these policies will then be explored. Lastly, this chapter will explore how the Puritanical roots to the “benevolent” policies and the official Filipino responses created historical conditions that have helped to shape the nature of the relationship between Muslims and Christians in Mindanao. The works of Max Weber (2001) will be used throughout to help explain the significance of Protestant values. This will help lay the foundation to understanding the pretext to American colonial rule.

Benevolent Assimilation

I must say to you that the time is not right for independence...At this time it is not for me to suggest the day, distant or near. Meanwhile, I can only renew the proven assurances of our good intentions, our desire to be helpful without exacting from your private or public purse, or restricting the freedom under which men and peoples aspire and achieve. No backward step is contemplated, no diminution of your domestic control sought. Our relation to your domestic affairs is that of unselfish devotion which is born out of our fate in opening you to the way of liberty of which you dreamed.

Address of the President
to the Philippine Legislative Commission²⁰

In his speech to the Philippine Legislative Commission, the president of the United States had the dreadful task of announcing to the Filipino people the prolonging of American sovereignty over the Philippine Islands. After over 20 years of American presence in the Philippines, the US in its first assembled commission to

²⁰ Also see *New York Times*, “Harding won’t let Filipinos go now.” June 22, 1922.

assess the ability of the Filipinos to govern themselves had the sad duty of announcing that the US would continue to control the islands indefinitely. This was initially part of the bargain found in the Jones Bill, the document that framed the US presence in the Philippines.

Whereas it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the

incipiency of the war with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement; and

Whereas it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States

to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein; and

Whereas for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in

the hands of the people of the Philippines a large control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without, in the meantime, impairing their exercise of rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States, in order that, by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of

America in Congress assembled, That the provisions of this Act and the name "The Philippines" as used in this Act shall apply to and include the Philippine Islands ceded to the United States Government by the treaty of peace concluded between the United States and Spain on the eleventh day of April, eighteen hundred and ninety-nine

Jones Law, 1916

Originally drafted in 1912, the bill filed by William Atkinson Jones intended for full Philippine independence by 1921. Although the bill was passed in 1916 with the date of independence removed, the independence commission led by William Cameron Forbes and Leonard Wood, in which the presidential address above was a result of, as late as 1923 reported that the Philippines would not be ready for independence (Agoncillo, 1971: 344). However, the intention was clear, it was the intention of the US to prepare the Philippines for complete independence, and the prolonged period of

US sovereignty over the islands was not meant to impose foreign powers onto the nation for self-serving purposes, but in the president's own words, with "unselfish devotion" commit themselves to the task of establishing a stable government, through franchise and governmental supervision introduce the Philippines to the world of modern politics in which the privileges of independence could be fully enjoyed.

This task of preparing the Philippines for independence dominated the popular rhetoric concerning the role of the US in the Philippines. According to Pomeory (1974) "Older people with a memory of events are likely to say, 'the Filipinos? We took them under our wing, we educated them, we taught them how to run their country, and then we set them free.'" Miller (1982) reaffirms this idea in his discussion on "patriotic school of writers," he writes, "Americans altruistically went to war with Spain to liberate Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Filipinos from their tyrannical yoke. If they lingered on too long in the Philippines, it was to protect the Filipinos from European predators waiting in the wings for an American withdrawal and to tutor them in American style democracy." Both authors discuss these ideas with the intent of deconstructing them to expose the alternative versions of conquest in contrast to the "official version." In contrast, the purpose of this section is not to provide alternative reasons to why the US occupied the Philippines but rather to explore why this reasoning was so widely accepted. This section aims to explore the historical conditions as well as a bit of the emotional reasons behind why this type of logic would successfully justify US sovereignty over another in the eyes of a nation which had itself escaped the clutches of colonial rule.

Official Version

As had already been discussed in the Jones Law as well as the American presidential address to the Philippine Legislative Commission, the official line of argument was that the American government was in the Philippines for beneficent purposes. The task of providing Filipino preparation for independence was not going to be easy. In contrast to what was perceived as a “less than-ideal Spanish influence [in which] large portions Philippine society remained backward,” some Americans believed intensely that “enlightened American rule in the Philippines for an extended period of time could accomplish miracles in social and human transformation” (Clymer, 1976: 504-505). Thus part of the American project to prepare the nation for its ultimate independence was to educate Filipinos on the modern values necessary to run a country independently and to transform the “backward” practices and beliefs that were a product of their history. At the same time however, the Americans knew that they could not commit the same crime as the Spanish had by eradicating local traditions and values (see Barrows, 1907). Therefore the American approach had to take on a form that implanted new values of modern efficiency and self-reliance without challenging the existing cultural system. Two ways in which the American government was able to accomplish this was through the construction of a public educational system and through the encouragement of industrial enterprise.

Public Education

According to David Prescott Burrows, a former director of education for the Philippine Islands and a man who served in various capacities within the educational system of the American colonial government in the Philippines from 1900-1909:

In the Philippines, the fundamental aim of the school system is to effect a social transformation of the people, and the system can only be understood in the light of the social conditions which prevail (Barrows, 1907: 69).

Again, unlike the Spanish that preceded them, the Americans were concerned with altering the values and beliefs of the Filipino people by implanting the morals of industriousness and individualism without changing the nature of Philippine culture completely. To the American colonial administrators, the educational system under the Spanish was seen as overly religious and unattainable to a large mass of Filipino students. Due to the *Patronado Real* it was difficult in the Spanish empire to separate the church and state. Therefore the educational system tended to reflect this merging of political and religious beliefs. The Spanish tended to create an educational system that perpetuated the idea that rationality and God coexisted, and that much knowledge that can be attained in this world could be attained through religious study and devotion. Even though a wave of “liberalism” that swept through much of Spain in the 1860’s prompted a change in her colonial administration, the highly religious foundation to Spanish control in the Philippines remained, as well as the existing institutions that tended to influence the Spanish’s attempts at providing universal education. Americans on the other hand tended to subscribe to a more Protestant outlook on life and education based on much of the Puritan values that lied central to American conceptions of their own roots and success in the “new world.” Contrary to the Spanish Catholic based socio-political infrastructure, the Americans tended to place more emphasis on a separation of church and state, importance on the values of individual achievement rather than acceptance of the status quo and finally a

concerted effort towards universal education that provided Filipinos with valuable skills that could be transferred into actual trades (Hunt and McHale, 1965).²¹

Educating Filipinos was a necessary step in preparing them for ultimate independence fulfilling the “white man’s burden” in the country. Embedded within such a policy was an obvious air of superiority of one culture over the other. It was clear that American values were far more superior and that Filipinos needed the help of the White man to uplift themselves morally. In his private journals, Leonard Wood, former Brigadier General in Mindanao in 1903, who served as the governor of the Moro province in 1903-1906 as well as former Governor General of the Philippines from 1921-1927 remarked,

We landed at Santa Cruz in the late afternoon. Found a settlement of about 700 Bagobos, with a fairly good schoolhouse, and a good village street running parallel to the water. The whole town is run in a rather patriarchal way by Wood. The people go to work in the morning by the school bell and return at noon by the sound of the bell. The whole town is immaculately clean...This town is almost ideal in many ways, and the whole thing is fascinating. One little girl from the school came out and spoke to us in English. Of course her vocabulary was limited but she could make herself understood and when asked her name she smoothed off the dust in the street with one of her bare feet and then sat down and wrote her name intelligibly...This whole place is prosperous and shows so clearly what can be accomplished by sensible practical methods under the guidance of one intelligent white man (Leonard Wood, 24 October 1903).

From the perspective of the colonial administrators they were fulfilling their obligation to the Filipinos by inculcating them with productive beliefs and practices that could usher them into a more prosperous era in Filipino history. But again, at the same time, this was done in a manner which posited American Protestant and even

²¹ It is acknowledged that there was hostility between the Catholic Church and the newly established American colonial regime. Such hostilities help to highlight the secular position of some Americans that served as an extension of their Protestant emphasis on progress and development over religious indoctrination.

racial values as superior to Filipino. Accord to an American volunteer teacher in Leyte, Philippines:

I know I do not take any pains to give the Filipinos the impression that they are as good as we are. I feel the same now as when I was at home, yet I do not doubt that I am getting a somewhat proud and domineering manner...I guess that there is not much change only in my pride for our own race as compared with others—I really do not think that is *bad* in itself. (Letters from Henry Cole to Family in 1904, Quoted in Alidio, 1999)

This “intelligent” and “proud” white man as seen above had to derive this sense of superiority from some source. Based on the idea that the Americans were inculcating Filipinos with superior beliefs, not only were these superior beliefs providing them with a sense of purpose but also of moral duty in the country. These superior values of industriousness and individualism can be seen as part of the Protestant work ethic that many of these Americans brought with them to the Philippines. According to Chester Hunt and Thomas McHale,

American educational philosophy and objectives in the Philippines were in sharp contrast to those of the Spanish colonial regime. Schools were no longer thought of in terms of educating or indoctrinating Christian members of a church; instead, the new philosophy saw schools, in the words of Coquia, “as institutions in which the government, not without high moral motive, attempted to produce good and industrious citizens, able to carry out the economic purposes of mercantilist policies and increase the political prestige and power of the state.” (Hunt and McHale, 1965: 66)

These values that were inherent to the American education system reflected very closely to what Max Weber considered the underlying values that created the “spirit of capitalism” that allowed the industrial revolution to flourish in spite of its drastic cultural break from the past. According to Weber, “labor in a calling appears to him as the outward expression of brotherly love.” (Weber, 2001: 41). The American emphasis on industriousness and mercantilism reflected the Protestant’s indispensable connection to hard work and progress. However, the Americans were resistant to

claiming that their presence in the Philippines was for their own material gain. According to one political observer in the 1930's, "the obligations we have voluntarily assumed with respect to the Filipinos preclude us from adopting a solution resting exclusively upon the consideration of our own advantage" (Fisher, 1930: 461). This sense of moral duty to uplift and manage a people different from their own was a manifestation of what Weber called a "calling." The "calling" according to Weber was the valuation of the fulfillment of duty in worldly affairs that as the highest form which the moral activity of the individual could assume" (Weber, 2001: 40). This "calling" according to Weber also required that in the process of investing one's being into his labor in an attempt to reach out to others, he must do so in a manner which is selfless and looks for no sense of reward. This ascetic attitude is rampant throughout the discourse pronounced by the Americans as well as in the educational system which served as a manifestation of this discourse.

Another important aspect to the American educational was practical applicability. Whereas Americans tended to paint the Spanish educational system as one which emphasized the theoretical understanding of morality and the influence of the holy onto reality, Americans saw their education as "secular" and focusing on this worldly issues as opposed to other worldly concerns (Hunt and McHale, 1965). In other words, while the Catholics were preoccupying their time with understanding this world in efforts better prepare Christians for heaven, the American Protestant work ethic and secular educational system simply focused on the tasks at hand that needed to be accomplished in this world. According to David Barrows, universal primary education was necessary to provide the "training of young men in industrial efficiency, the development of both men and women as leaders among their own people and in the requisite professions" (Barrows, 1907: 74). Education was meant to

create for more efficient means of production and a more rational approach to industry. Barrows goes further to say with regards to education,

...we are giving it to the population in the belief that it will make future countryman a better farmer than his father has been, more anxious to own his own farm, better able to appreciate and to learn improved methods of farming and to husband his resources, to adopt a better standard of life, to build a better and more durable house than the nipa structure in which the great mass of people live, to calculate the value of his crop when he has harvested it and to secure a fair price where he now is defrauded, to compute his liabilities and so gradually get out of the condition of bonded indebtedness in which day to day, as we have seen, the mass of population is sunken (Barrows, 1907: 77).

According to Barrows, the purpose of providing education to Filipinos was not to enrich their minds or souls, but to improve their lives in the most tangible sense. Education had the most practical of purposes: to provide Filipinos with a more efficient and rational mode of production. For to be productive according to the Americans would improve the Filipino lifestyle immeasurably--from the homes that they live in to the crops that they reap.

Furthermore, uplifting the productive capacity and enriching their lives in the process through education was not the only benefit that emerged from the American public schooling system, to many Americans, it was also seen as a prerequisite to the granting of independence. This was because, as it is argued, by providing Filipinos with universal education, Barrows stated that they could, “destroy caciquismo²² and replace the dependent class with a body of independent peasantry” (Barrows, 1907: 73). In the process of doing so, Filipinos would be free to make decisions for their nation as an informed and conscientious mass of individuals, as opposed to being led by leaders who have dominated politics in the past. With regards to the purpose of

²² “Caciquismo” is a term that many early American scholars on the Philippines adopted from Spanish analysis of South America. It is a term applied to discuss the “patron-client” relationship that exists between the center of power and the subordinates. But others have argued that this term was applied incorrectly in the Philippines.

providing education in the English language, in a “Digest of Philippine News in American Press” produced by the Philippine Press Bureau in 1921, the author writes,

There is only one fundamental fact that rests the relationship between the Philippines and the United States. It springs wholly from benevolence, and is unaffected by any way by considerations of possible hostilities in the Pacific. This fundamental is purely the education of the Filipino into a conscious social unit, particularly in language: so that not an educated minority, however honorable, but the entire population may become responsible for government (Philippine Press Bureau, 1921).

Reiterating the utilitarian aspect of education, language and industry are practical consequences of a public school system. Not only is it an extension of American benevolence to the Philippines, it is a necessary burden to prepare Filipinos for their ultimate self rule. Education under the Americans therefore took on a practical and necessary role in the construction of a nation.

Again, American approaches to education reflected deep Protestant beliefs in the devotion to the “methodically rationalized ethical conduct” (Weber, 2001: 77). Due to the Protestant’s de-emphasis on the role of the church and an external mediator between God and himself, he was forced to constantly supervise his own devotion to God. In assessing one’s “state of grace with god” the measure was no longer in how many good deeds one can do for another, since predestination eliminated the necessity to please God, but rather how committed one is to excellent and morally upright behaviors in ones day to day transactions. This thereby sanctified every action that a person experienced and transformed ones morality into his success in becoming a well adjusted and law abiding citizen. One’s morality henceforth took on the form of one’s dedication to impartial, efficient and industrious practices in every action one takes. Education in the Philippines was not only a project to enlighten Filipinos, but also to methodically improve the way in which they conducted their day-to-day activities. By investing effort into improving the way in

which they lived, worked and communicated, Filipinos were becoming closer to the economic position necessary for independence.

Furthermore, according to Weber, this emphasis on a methodical devotion to improving industriousness as a path to national salvation is reflected in his discussion on Pietism. With regards to Pietism, Weber argued two important elements ideas remained central to one's salvation. Firstly, "the methodical development of ones own state of grace to a higher and higher degree of certainty and perfection in terms of the law was a sign of grace," and secondly, "God's providence works through those in such a state of perfection" (Weber, 2001: 84). Once the Americans had witnessed the Filipino adoption of higher more efficient means of production and running their businesses and daily lives, they will be worthy of "independence." Independence was a manifestation of their ability to reach the highest level of moral development. It signified the furthest development of the Filipino mind, and the improvement of the Filipino livelihood.

Therefore, the approach of the Americans in their educational system was one which tended to reflect their Protestant roots and industrial inclinations. In a nation which they considered consisting of massive potential in the hands of idle people who culturally tend to rely predominantly on their leaders and a Spanish colonial administration who reinforced this mentality (Barrow, 1907), education therefore tended to take on the form of inculcating the values necessary to fulfill this American mission to turn Filipinos into productive beings capable demonstrating political independence as demonstrated in their capacity for capitalist enterprise. According to a letter published by a Zamboanga schoolboy in 1911,

We have learned why the lands of the Filipino lie uncultivated, and why the people struggle against poverty, superstition and ignorance; that if our country would be free from this poverty we must

cultivate our rich soil, for there lies our wealth. We must raise our own food and make our own clothes, must export more than we import.

If we would be free industrially we must raise up an army of workers who will be willing to work long at the same wages. The boys and girls of this country must learn to be proud of their ability to do things and not be ashamed that they have to work. The long finger nails will have to go...

We hope to see every foot of tillable soil under perfect cultivation; to see these islands shipping rice to America or other nations of the world instead of importing it from China.

We hope to see Filipino merchants selling largely Filipino goods; to see the Filipinos rich enough to afford foreign luxuries but industriously producing their own necessities.

We hope to see the Filipinos eating good, nourishing food not only on fiesta days but every day, to see every window in every sleeping room wide open to the fresh air at night.

All this we hope to see, and more, because these are the ends for which we are striving (Quoted in Hunt and McHale, 1965).

Industrial Enterprise

While education was one of the ways in which the American colonial government inculcated new beliefs into a country without radically altering Filipino values, creating situations for Filipinos to engage in industrial activity was another example of how Americans attempted to impart a new set of “superior” beliefs without severely challenging Filipino core values. According to Major John Finley, former Governor of the District of Zamboanga,

Uncompromising eradication of long established customs, immediate change in the daily routine of life, baptism by force of deception, radical divergence from existing forms of control of women and children, denunciation of what the people hold dear and sacred, unrestrained abuse of their feelings, ridicule of their customs...and various other practices engaged in through Christian missionary effort have failed to be successful in the propaganda of Christian proselytism (Finley, 1913: 354).

In contrast, Finley argued that through the creation of “exchange systems” where Muslim and Christian Filipinos could under the supervision of Americans “develop” their race and engage in an industrious enterprise that transcends the boundaries of race and religion:

Under the supervision of a patient, just and powerful government, every man, woman and child would have equal opportunities to secure an honest living and enjoy the fruits of their labors, without unnecessary loss or violation of rights insofar as existing law and executive law could provide (Finley, 1913: 363).

The concept of the “exchange system” was created by John Finley to provide the people of Mindanao an activity to commonly engage in and to focus their attention on, developing their capacity to engage in industrial activity and concentrating their attention on their own economic well being as dependent on others as opposed to having them focus on their historic animosity (Brownell, 1911: 928). Through construction trading centers, Muslim and Christian Filipinos were given space to sell the products that they produced, and trade using government approved currency. Additionally, they were taught the idea of impartiality in law, replacing the feudal system that was inherently part of their culture and nurtured by the Spanish (Finley, 1913: 331). Ultimately, the goal was to inculcate in Muslim and Christian Filipinos the values necessary to engage in “honest work” while at the same time create an environment which negative relations between the two groups prevailed and complicated administering the people. At the forefront of American colonial administrators minds was always the fragile relationship that existed between Muslims and Christians in Mindanao. In commenting on the manner in which General Wood, first governor of Moroland (Mindanao), governed Mindanao John Finley went on to say,

It was indeed a delicate task and one requiring qualifications of a special order, to successfully organize a practical form of government to embrace and control the heterogeneous elements of Moroland (Finley, 1912: 17).

Beyond the difficulties associated with the administering of a diverse group of people, at the same time the animosity found between these two groups complicated even the idea of independence. Because Muslims felt that the Americans had gained their

respect, to hand control of Mindanao over to the Christians was a major concern to the Americans who knew if they were to withdraw and leave the government to the Christian Filipinos, the Muslims would retaliate. In another article by John Finley,

In this connection it is well to keep in mind the fact that Moros and Pagans have informed the Secretary of War and the Governor-General of the Philippines, in public meetings in Zamboanga, that they will not submit to Filipino²³ control but resort to arms against it should political change result in removing American authority in the southern islands (Finley, 1913: 333).

Therefore administering diverse groups of people with hundreds of years of animosity had to be addressed in order to placate what potentially could be a disastrous situation. A solution had to carefully bring together these two groups of people in a non-confrontational way and at the same time not challenge the core beliefs and value systems of either group while at the same time imparting American puritanical beliefs of hard work and discipline.

Concurrently, through the eyes of these industrious Americans they tended to see huge possibilities for agricultural and commercial development. These administrators eventually realized that massive amounts of potential land for development lied idle and people's time and effort remained untapped. Therefore, in addition the very unstable ground of social relations lied fertile grounds for economic advancement and development. Finley went on to say,

The Moro Province offers great agricultural possibilities for the social uplifting of the Moros and Pagans and their energies must be directed along commercial and agricultural lines. The land, sea and the forests team with the fullness of natural riches that are well within the capacity of the natives to gather for their sustenance, and to place the surplus in the markets of the world (Finley, 1912: 24).

Thus these two conditions in the eyes of colonial administrators constituted the major issues that needed to be addressed by the American colonial government. They

²³ In the article Finley defines Filipino as "(eight tribes) [that] are Roman Catholic Christians." Pp 333.

approached these issues again with a very industrially oriented, Protestant view of entrepreneurship.

By creating a system that allows for the exchange of goods, the Americans devised a solution that addressed both the issues of historical animosity and idle lands and people. However, it was not simply a practical solution. It can be argued through the integration of new beliefs and the altering of the Muslim and Filipino work ethic that the Americans were actually uplifting their moral value. According to an essay entitled, “Turning Savages into Citizens” Atherton Brownell went onto say,

The Moros have not been tamed. Their morals are unregulated and they remain Mohammedans, hating the Christians...the idea of the New York produce exchange as a method of educating these people and of leading them from their ways of savagery into the walks of peace— [is] possibly the most unique of all experiments in the history of civilization of native tribes (Brownell, 1911: 922).

In another article reiterating the belief that replacing current values with more productive and industrious characteristics would benefit the local’s advancement of a people, according to another article written by Atherton Brownell entitled, “What American Ideas of Citizenship may do for Oriental Peoples,”

The existing order of slavery must be replaced by honest toil. All classes of the Moro and other non-Christian people must be given an equal chance in the race for existence, advancement and the opportunity for prosperity (Brownell, 1905: 981).

Honest toil will lead these men from the world of savagery to the modern ideal of citizenship. Whereas the lack of direction and the inability to efficiently and within legal bounds govern their time and activities these White men with the burden of uplifting Moro beliefs and values were again drawing from their own Puritan beliefs and values. The language used in many of the articles produced during this time tended to depict the “advancement of a race” or movement away from “savagery” in a manner that argued the moral values of industriousness and legal abidance can elevate

these people. According to Weber, because the Protestant acceptance of predestination removed the necessity for satisfying this-worldly requirements for admittance into heaven, Protestants tended to devote their energies into their enterprises. Therefore, while Americans triumph the announcement of values of honest toil and moral regulation, parallels can be seen in Protestant doctrine. In discussing “Asceticism and the Spirit of capitalism” Weber goes onto write,

Waste of time is thus the first and the deadliest of sins. The span of human life is infinitely short and precious to make sure of one’s own election. Loss of time through sociability, idle talk, luxury, even more sleep than necessary for health, six to at most eight hours, is worthy of absolute moral condemnation. (Weber, 2001: 104)

Furthermore, Weber goes on to write that in one’s vocation it is necessary for individuals to work hard, as Calvinists tend to interpret St. Paul’s quote, “He who will not work shall not eat,” as unconditionally for every one. “Unwillingness to work is symptomatic of the lack of grace” (Weber, 2001: 105). According to the Calvinists, regardless of one’s class or profession, in spite of the fact that one is comfortably positioned, it is his calling to work, or what God has announced as an “unconditional command.” Americans in Mindanao attempted to deliver this message by smashing religious and status distinctions and willing everyone to the project of developing the massive lands of Mindanao. According to Finley with regards to Muslim Christian relations,

Christians, even the despised Filipinos, may now attend a public gathering of Moros and Pagans and feel assured that, manifesting due respect for others, will ensure them a safe and hospitable reception (Finley, 1913a: 359).

Within the hierarchical Muslim communities, these same practices were universally employed as well,

When the American system replaced the feudal form of government of the Spanish and the Moros, and generally subjected all classes of people to the same imposts, and provided the provisions of law

uniformly, the native chiefs and their immediate followers protested their inability to conform to the new plan, because of class distinction and inability to labor. These special classes were promptly met with the declaration that the Moro Exchanges system of markets, trading stores and tribal ward farms opened the way for them to engage in profitable employment (Finley, 1913a: 363).

Therefore, the industrial enterprise accompanied by the public educational campaign helped to inculcate Filipinos with the upright Protestant moral values of hard work, industriousness and impartiality. They posited these cultural values as superior, yet complementary to local customs and beliefs. While the Americans wanted to change the way in which locals worked, they hoped that this would eventually allow the locals to also change the way in which they governed their lives. By doing so, the Americans were then transforming the social and political environment to lay the foundations to what they deemed as necessary for self-government. According to Finley,

If these benighted people are willing to say voluntarily, after 10 years of labor with them, and they have said it to Governor Finley, "help us to avoid temptation and sin, and to regulate our customs and laws so that they may be brought into line and agreement with the customs and laws of the American government, and that we as Mohammedans may become better citizens," then there is most encouraging hope that their complete regeneration along social moral and industrial lines has made a strong beginning in the right direction (Finley, 1913a: 355).

Regeneration

Looking at the policies that existed during this time is only one way of assessing the way in which American values tended to influence the way in which they administered their colony. It should be evident therefore how economic interests could not have been the only motivating factor behind the colonization of the Philippines. Religious and moral influences tended to color people's interpretation of their role in the Philippines and drive certain policies affecting the colony. These intangible and somewhat emotional elements help to build the situation that we see in

the Philippines and in the manifestation of what we see in Mindanao as well. Yet beyond the policies themselves lied the men that enacted these policies. This next section further develops the idea that American colonial policies were driven by American values by exploring the puritanical concept of “regeneration” within the context of the lives of central figures in the American colonial government in the Philippines.

The concept of regeneration was initially used to discuss how man’s fall from grace necessitated our return to the mercy of God by reiterating our vows as Christians dedicated to his name (Law, 1739). As was discussed earlier, as the United States reached a point of economic maturity many Americans witnessed a sense of “psychic crisis.” Ushered in by the usurpation of available lands, the chaotic contest for power, the growth of economic empires, many well to do Americans who had abided by the principles of their Protestant work ethic of industriousness and devotion to business felt that their devotion to capitalist ventures had led them to a spiritual and personal plateau. Economic prominence was seen as an extension of American empire into the unknown, and as America grew richer many white-collared men in spite of their country’s commercial success signaling the beginning of unending wealth and prosperity felt as if they were turning into “sedentary, flabby bourgeoisie.” (Lears, 1994: 112). The necessity of a spiritual “regeneration” presented itself to them, and many of these white-collard men turned their attention to public service and devoting themselves to solving some of the major “questions” of the times.

One of the major questions that presented itself to them was that of America’s emergence as a colonial empire. The war with Spain may have provided military men with the chance to achieve regeneration through violence, but once this war was over, the United States government needed a class of civilian leaders to help create an

efficient political infrastructure that could buttress the American colonial administration abroad (Slotkin, 2000). This next session will discuss briefly the rise of two civilian colonial administrators who entered the Philippines with this emotional baggage and how it was precisely this drive for spiritual regeneration that made it so that the rhetoric of benevolence took on a profound significance in the way in which they conceptualized their own role in the Philippines. Moreover, it looks at how this emotional baggage in effect contributed to the way in which the policies above were constructed. The two civilian administrators this section will discuss are the Philippine Secretary of War Elihu Root and Director of Education David Prescott Barrows.

Elihu Root

Born in 1845, Elihu Root was the son of a college professor in upstate New York. Graduating first in his class at Hamilton College, and then eventually receiving his degree in law from New York University in 1867, Root prospered as a “clever and ruthless corporate lawyer” (Karnow, 1989: 169). However, his social conscience propelled him into the progressive wing of the Republican Party leading him to work for the government: a career to which he would devote most of the rest of his life to. Sacrificing his lucrative legal career to enter public service earned him much praise and transferring much of his uncompromising and dedicated discipline from his career on Wall Street to his service to the government only propelled him further into the limelight of America’s most prominent politicians. In 1899, he was promoted secretary of war by McKinley and was considered one of the finest administrators to have ever graced the position. (Stimson, 1937). By 1905 he was appointed by Theodore Roosevelt to become secretary of state. Within this capacity, he fought hard to prevent the outbreak of war through arbitration and due to his assiduous efforts,

was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1912 (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1973: 175).

In reviewing the Philippine “question” of independence, he carefully reviewed the British experience in ruling over India and discarded it on the basis of differential values. In commenting on the establishment of an international “Court of Arbitral Justice” in which he was asked to sit on the advisory commission in 1907, drawing upon his experiences as an administrator who has had to deal with important political issues,

The greatest obstacle to doing justice as between nations is a failure of nations to understand each other. I don't believe anybody can experience that without actual experience (Root, 1924: 37).

In the Philippines, Root was keen on examining thoroughly the conditions that preceded American authority to fully assess the necessity for constructing an entirely new political system based on the American experience. In a commencement address he delivered at Yale Law School in 1904 entitled, “Some Duties of American Lawyers to American Law,” Root went on to say this about the process of acquiring new territory,

No part of the duties imposed upon the Government of the United States in the exercise of authority over the islands yielded or ceded by the Treaty of Paris, with their millions of inhabitants, called for more study and consideration than the solution of the question of how far and in what direction the system of laws under which the people of the islands had lived should be changed or modified under the new authority. There were those who thought it our duty immediately to give to the people of Cuba, of Porto Rico and the Philippines, the blessings of the common law. A careful study of the subject, however, soon led to the conclusion that these people already had in force an admirable body of municipal law, regulating their rights and obligations, and far better adapted to their needs than the system of rules which we prize so highly for the guidance of our own conduct. Certain constitutional principles needed to be established: the laws relating to crimes and punishments, and the methods of criminal procedure which had been adopted and had been used for purposes of oppression, needed to be changed; but the great body of municipal law which regulated the relation of people to each other was far better for

them than anything we could produce out of our experience; and it was left, and properly left, substantially unchanged. (Root, 1904: 68-69)

Therefore, the way in which Root approached the Philippines was in a manner that was straightforward, critical and with an eye towards practicality—in spite of the existence of simple answers that could easily have been implemented. Viewing each case individually and within its own context was what Root considered not only necessary, but his duty. Root's meticulous attention to the highest standard of conduct demonstrates his dedicated work ethic that is transferred from the private firm to the public realm. In the same address, Root makes it clear that regardless of which profession one chooses, the same amount of commitment is not only necessary but mandated by his profession.

The conditions precedent to a lawyer's success are severe. He must acquire sound learning; he must be trained to clear thinking and to simple and direct expression; he must be both intellectually and morally honest, and he must have the quality of loyalty to every cause in which he enlists (Root, 1904: 63).

The issue of severity of conditions that precedes a lawyer's duty tends to emerge quite frequently in Root's writings and beliefs. Admitting to the existence of easy answers and the fallibility of man in terms of constantly falling to the temptation to adopt these easy answers, Root consistently pressed for perseverance in spite of adversity. He believed that only through one's abstinence in partaking in fallible solutions and characteristics can redemption be achieved. One excellent example of Root's steadfast allegiance to the highest of moral values and the staunchest of thorough work ethics is his commitment to averting war. Ultimately culminating in his nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize, in his acceptance speech for the award, Root posited war as the "easy answer" and "fallible solution" posed on man. According to Root,

...we have to deal with innate ideas, impulses, and habits, which became a part of the caveman's nature by necessity from the conditions under which he lived; and these ideas and impulses still survive more or less dormant under the veneer of civilization, ready to be excited to action by events often of the most trifling character. As Lord Bacon says, "Nature is often hidden, sometimes overcome, seldom extinguished." To eradicate or modify or curb the tendencies which thus survive among civilized men is not a matter of intellectual conviction or training. It is a matter primarily of development of character and the shifting of standards of conduct - a long, slow process in which advance is to be measured, not by days and years, but by generations and centuries in the life of nations. (Root, Nobel Peace Lecture, 1912)

These evil impulses that lurk internationally, between nations, do not just affect the way the world works without existing within the United States as well. A fallible solution that seems second nature to man is his quest to aggrandize his own wealth and power. In a famous speech entitled, "Invisible Government" delivered at the New York Constitutional Convention in 1915 Root went on to discuss how politics of patronage coexisted with the presence of a modern just system. According to Root,

Everywhere, sir, that these two systems of government co-exist, there is a conflict day by day, and year by year, between two principles of appointment to office, two radically opposed principles. The elected officer or the appointed officer, the lawful officer who is to be held responsible for the administration of his office, desires to get men into the different positions of his office who will do their work in a way that is creditable to him and his administration. Whether it be a president appointing a judge, or a governor appointing a superintendent of public works, whatever it may be, the officer wants to make a success, and he wants get the man selected upon the ground of his ability to do the work. (Root, 1916: xiv)

In response, Root goes on to say that it is through individual effort and vigilance that one can overcome the devastating and ravaging effects of one's tendency to fall victim to human nature over justice. Through war or through politics of patronage, man must continually hold himself up to a higher moral standard if we are to coexist peacefully and justly.

These issues of commitment to higher standards and devotion to the continual improvement of one's capacity to engage in their profession again echo the Protestant concept of the calling. According to Weber,

The valuation of the fulfillment of duty in worldly affairs as the highest form which the moral activity of the individual could assume. This is what eventually gave everyday worldly activity a religious significance... (Weber, 2001: 40).

"Worldly" affairs in this sense was not one's devotion to international issues, but rather one's concern for the tasks to be done in this world as opposed to the next. Root's continual reference to moral standards without referring to the next world demonstrates his almost religious commitment to improving his trade, either as a lawyer for the government or for private enterprise. As Protestants tended to apply their work ethic to capitalist enterprises, Weber went on to quote a Calvinist proverb, "Seest thou a man diligent in his business? He shall stand before kings. (Prov. Xxii. 29)" (Weber, 2001: 14). Therefore success in one's business was rewarded and praised by the Protestants. In the public sector, success was not measured by the amount of wealth that one had possessed but rather, the accomplishments one has made.

Yet the successes either in private or public enterprises were never to be seen as ends in themselves. Ascetic moral values were to reign supreme, and in spite of one's success in either sphere, to partake in this success would be to give in to temptation. To the Protestants, "the holiest task was definitely to surpass all worldly morality" (Weber, 2001: 40). Therefore, one must devote himself or herself to perfection in this worldly activities while keeping their eye on other worldly salvation. This ascetic approach to life can also be seen in Root's constant references to the difficulties that plague mankind due to our proclivity towards human nature. Fallible human values such as greed and jealousy tend exist all around us and need to

be kept in check through the use of vigilance and self-discipline. Root believed that through adhering to ones' values, a just man sets precedent for others to follow. Just as through restricting one's tendency to allow emotions to overtake ones self and lead to war, Root argued,

It is to be observed that every case of war averted is a gain in general, for it helps to form a habit of peace, and community habits long continued become standards of conduct. The life of the community conforms to an expectation of their continuance, and there comes to be an instinctive opposition to any departure from them. (Root, 1912)

Much like the Lutherans who saw themselves as a "holy vessel" to which God's name could be disseminated and exalted, Root believed through dedication to hard work and abstinence from this worldly temptations, he was diligently fulfilling his mission of serving his country, his world and ultimately his religion.

Therefore, as can be seen in Root's actions, his religious values ultimately transformed into secular works. His secular commitment to his role in administration was seen not just as his "white man's burden" to the Philippines, but his religious calling to serving not just God but also his country. By rejecting the lures of fame in fortune in his private life and transforming his commitment to one of social causes, through his devotion to the aversion of war and the just and upright administration in the Philippines, Root was engaging in spiritual "regeneration." This regeneration is precisely what allowed him to not only accept but whole-heartedly believe in the cause of the "white man's burden" as announced in the context of the Philippines as "Benevolent Assimilation."

David Prescott Barrows

As the superintendent of schools for the American colonial government in the Philippines, Barrows also entered his position with a divine providence that although

couched in secular language tended to manifest in similar ways to Root.²⁴ As a man who was drawn to the Philippines more so due to his academic inclinations rather than capitalist spirit, he too was highly influenced by Protestant groundings. The son of a minister, and an anthropologist in training, his background colored his interpretation of his role in the Philippines. As an anthropologist he tended to fall into the American anthropological school that tended to paint dignifying pictures of the people that Franz Boas and other anthropologist saw as rapidly “disappearing,” such as the American Indian (McGee, 1996: 129). As a Protestant, his religious inclination led to an interpretation of his purpose in the Philippines as a civilizing agent (Clymer, 1976: 501). These two issues helped contribute to his acceptance and internalization of the Benevolent Assimilation “rhetoric” that was used to justify most of the policies that were influenced at that time. These two issues will be discussed in further detail in this section through an examination of the controversies surrounding Barrow’s textbook on Philippine history entitled, “History of the Philippines.”

Anthropological Groundings

Conducting research for his PhD in Anthropology on the Cahuilla Indians, it is argued that his thesis was considered one of the most “humane doctor’s dissertation ever written” (Clymer, 1976: 500). His relationship with the people he studied usually transcended purely the academic realm in that he had come to respect, admire and even love the people he had studied. When commented on by the people he studied, it was noted that Barrows was “closer to our hearts than any white man before or since” (Clymer, 1976: 501).

²⁴ David Prescott Barrows was also the first Director of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes that was set up in 1901. Patterned after America's Bureau of Indian Tribes, this office (later absorbed by the office of the Secretary of Interior under Dean Worcester) was instrumental in laying down the policies of the colonial government toward minorities, especially the Moros.

Much as he did with his subject of study in the US, it can be argued that Barrows also developed a profound relationship to the Filipino people. After 5 years of administration in the educational system in the Philippines, Barrows wrote a comprehensive history of the Islands that he had hoped would have been used as a basic historical textbook for Filipino high school students. Much like Root and the other colonial administrators who entered the Philippines with the intention to civilize the natives, his domain was the area of education. In the preface to the second edition of his book, published in 1907 Barrows writes,

There is no shortcut to Philippine Nationality. Its attainment is a long task, calling for infinite patience and self-control. The population must greatly increase and must effectively occupy the entire archipelago, satisfactory relations with the Pagan and Mohammedan peoples must be established, education must do its work, and the social order be entirely transformed, before the basis of national life is laid. (Barrows, 1907: 4)

In his book and elsewhere Barrows did his best to study the natives and to understand their biological and historical context. In “The Negrito and Allied Types in the Philippines,” Barrows argues, “Nine years of residence and travel in the Philippines have produced the conviction that in discussions of Malaysia and particularly of the Philippines, the Negrito element has been slighted” (Barrows, 1910: 358). Similar to the American anthropologists who dedicated themselves to documenting the cultures of the Indian Americans who they believed were rapidly disappearing, Barrows took the same sentiment with him to the Philippines. In the Philippines, the Filipino under the tutelage and sovereignty of the US was transforming into a rapidly modernizing peoples on a similar path to the Japanese. The purpose of Barrow’s textbook therefore was to help Filipinos “round out the story of his people and learn the lessons of the history of his people” (Barrows, 1907: 23).

One of the major criticisms associated with his book however was the harsh and hyperbolic attacks Barrow launched against the Spanish governance that preceded American control. The manner in which Barrows criticizes the Spanish sovereignty was many times in response to their adherence to overly static and politically ravenous parties. Although he tended to discuss some of the improvements the Spanish were able to achieve in the colony during their reign, ultimately he argued that the presence of the Spanish in the Philippines was more in terms of a spiritual advancement versus a material gain. From the Spanish King Philip whom he described as “not only a cruel bigot, but a politician of sweeping ambition,” (Barrows, 1907: 44) to the Spanish government in the Philippines which he argued had brought “ruin and misery to some parts of the country” (Barrows, 1907: 163), Barrows was incredibly critical of the Spanish colonial administration over the Philippines. In a discussion on the governor-general of the Philippines under Spain, Barrows wrote,

The Spanish system as above described was undeniably fatal to the initiative, independence, and vigor of her governors. Placed in a difficult situation, distant from the Spanish court by half the circumference of the globe, compelled to rely on Mexico for economic support, the focus of jealousy and contention, balked by ecclesiastical rivals and civil associates and conscious of the grim day of reckoning at the end of their terms, the governors of the Philippines during most of the 19th century sank in character, and their achievements too futile to be recalled. (Barrows, 1907: 296)

Criticisms such as these made it evident that the way in which the Spanish government prevailed over the Philippines was under constant and vicious scrutiny by Barrows. Ultimately, the effect of greedy kings and lackluster governors was an inefficient and poorly run colony. According to Barrows,

The colonial policy of the motherland, selfish, short sighted, and criminal was soon to make its paralyzing influence felt upon trade and administration alike...They left the Philippine despoiled and insignificant for a whole succeeding century, a decadent colony and an exploited treasure (Barrows, 1907: 186).

In the final section in which he discusses the end of the Spanish rule over the Philippines, he entitled it, “The Spanish Misrule Ended.” It should be evident at this point that Barrow summarizes the 333 years of Spanish control over the Philippines as defunct.

It is very clear however, that much of this criticism was not based purely on his assessment of the Spanish political infrastructure, but that much of these criticisms were also based on his sometimes overtly Protestant bias. In the preface to his book he states, “The book has received some severe criticism, especially for its treatment of the Roman Catholic Church and the policy pursued at times by the Spanish government” (Barrows, 1907: 2). Many times however, he argues that the policies pursued by the Spanish government were inextricable from the policies pursued by the Church. Upon discussing the “Increase of Political Power of the Church,” Barrows writes,

Under Philip the Second, the champion of ecclesiasticism, the Spanish crown cemented the union of the monarchy with the church and devoted the resources of the empire not only to colonial acquisition but to combating the Protestant reformation on the one hand and heathenism on the other (Barrows, 1907: 119).

Moreover, Barrows was very critical of the members of the Church as well. Cited in the article, “Textbook Wars: Governor-General James Francis Smith and the Protestant-Catholic Conflict in Public Education in the Philippines, 1904-1907” by Judith Raftery, Barrows was quoted as saying, “The Bishop was one of these authoritative, ambitious, and arrogant characters, so typical in the history of the Church” (Raferty, 1998: 156). In response, when the book was published, the Archbishop of Manila sent a letter to the local Catholic newsletter *Messenger* that the book company was acting as an agency

for placing such a partial, prejudiced, and bigoted piece of literature as Doctor Barrows's History in the hands of any people, whether these people be in the Philippines or elsewhere (Raferty, 1998: 156).

Barrows was not blind to much of this criticism. As superintendent of schools in Manila, it was very clear that there were problems associated with his book when the book was pulled off of the reading list for secondary school students in Manila. This could easily have been seen as a response to the conflict of interest between a superintendent and having his book assigned in classes (Raferty, 1998: 155). However, when his second edition was printed two years after the first, in his preface Barrows writes,

I have carefully reviewed all the criticisms that came to my attention and concluded that, almost without exception, the statements should remain as first presented (Barrows, 1907: 2).

Thus, in spite of the resistance to his ideas, Barrows held firmly to the belief that the Spanish were poor administrators and religiously intolerant of other beliefs. They were driven by immense greed and provided very little by way of social progress to the Philippines islands.

On the one hand however, his fixation on the atrocities committed by the Spanish was a way in which he can then posit the Americans in a better light. Americans were inherently different from the Spanish because they were the polar opposite, as opposed to greedy, they were selfless, and as opposed to static and ineffectual, they were progressive and dynamic. According to Barrows,

The United States having overthrown the Spanish government here was under the obligation to see that the government established in its place would represent all and do injustice to none (Barrows, 1907: 295).

On the other hand, through the critical analysis of the Catholic Church he is able to position Protestantism and the values that they purported as part of the American project to liberate Filipinos. Moreover, demonstrating yet another difference between

the Americans and the Spanish set his administration further apart from the administration before his which was “despoiled” and “exploited.”

Barrows was not the only American administrator to take this attitude towards the Spanish. According to Historian Kenton Clymer,

The fact that many Americans used the most hyperbolic terms in attacking Spanish rule may indicate feelings of guilt about the whole colonial undertaking. Protestant Missionaries for example often describe Spanish Catholic influences in extreme language (Clymer, 1976: 504)

Therefore, behind much of the fierce criticism Barrows had against the Spanish could have been evidence of a guilty conscience based on the restriction of liberty of an entire race of people, while much his religious groundings and motivation to save the native from the vestiges of the savage history can be seen as his attempts to alleviate some of this guilt. Thus in both cases, the rhetoric behind the “white man’s burden in the Philippines,” was not simply propaganda. Many Americans sincerely felt the need to be in the Philippines and the drive to make a difference. According to Clymer, “For many Americans, the White Man’s Burden was more than a hypocritical concept masking baser motives”(Clymer, 1976: 517).

It should be clear at this point that the way in which the Americans enacted their “Benevolent” administration was undeniably affected by concerns that transcend economic or “baser” motives. For better or for worse, the “benevolent assimilation” and its subsequent administration was in some sense real in terms of the creation of policies and was a doctrine that remained in the hearts and in the minds of the administrators who enacted these policies. The question remains however as to what were the ramifications of such policies and beliefs and furthermore how were they received by the Filipinos who constituted the receiving end? This remaining section will briefly discuss the responses of the Manila based politicians who the Americans

called “Little Brown Brothers” and who were being groomed for governance and eventual independence, contrasted lastly with the views of the people of Mindanao who were very much resistant to the idea of being controlled by Manila.

Little Brown Brother: Manuel L. Quezon

While the Americans were dealing with their own domestic issues at home in addition to their emotional issues in the Philippines and the rise of an American “Empire,” Manila based politicians never took their eyes off the prize of independence. One very important Manila based politician was Manuel L. Quezon, a major political figure in Philippine history.

Using the term “Little Brown Brother” to create a connection between the American public and their new dominion, this term was used to describe those Filipinos who the Americans had seen as partial to US rule, and participants in its commonwealth. Manuel L. Quezon is a perfect representative of a Filipino who toed the line and faithfully served his country of the Philippines, while fulfilling his duty as an American prodigy (Karnow 1998).

Starting off as a governor to his home province in 1906, by 1907 he was elected to the general assembly under the Americans. Serving as majority floor leader and chairman of the committee on appropriations, he eventually served as one of the two Filipino resident commissioners in the United States House of Congress. In this position he fought for independence tirelessly. (Agoncillo, 1974: 187-188). By 1935 he was elected as the first Filipino president in the American commonwealth government, and was instrumental in drafting the Tydings-McDuffie Act, a document that would eventually frame Philippine independence.

Leaving his indelible mark on Philippine politics, his unflagging effort to achieve full independence from the United States will go down in history as one of his most important contributions to the Philippines. According to historian Aruna Gopinath,

The fundamental basis of Quezon's illustrious political career was his remarkable capacity to weave together two distinct goals: the relentless pursuance of national aspiration for securing the freedom of the Philippines from the United States; and the active satisfaction of his own relish for personal power and glory. There was, in his mind, no clash of interests between these two ends (Gopinath, 1987:172).

However, how was he able to navigate the complicated terrain of American politics? Furthermore, what were the repercussions of his actions?

While American policies that ensured Filipino participation in politics tended to exclude the non-landed and non-educated masses, those who had achieved both were given a golden ticket to participate in politics and expand their own economic base and for once transform their economic power in political prowess under the Americans (Anderson, 1988).²⁵ As a member of this elite group of people, Quezon continually pushed for an independence that would provide people such as himself with even greater political will over the country. In fact, as resident commissioner, he many times spoke on behalf of the Filipino people, presupposing their: 1) homogenous composition and; 2) their agreeable position towards his beliefs. In an undated letter written by Manuel L. Quezon to President Wilson circa 1916,

I am sure that I represent the unanimous opinion of my people and of many of the citizens of this country who have studied the subject when

²⁵ See Michael Cullinane, *Illustrado Politics: Filipino Elite Responses to American Rule, 1898-1908* (Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2003), Frank Hindman Golay, *Face of Empire: United States-Philippine Relations, 1898-1946* (Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998) and Ruby Paredes (Ed.) *Philippine Colonial Democracy* (Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1989) for further discussion on Filipino leadership. The author does not discuss these works in great detail here because they invoke the "patron-client" model of Philippine social relations which the author considers problematic. These issues are taken up in George Radics (2001) "Globalization, Corruption and the Structural Historical Perspective." *Philippine Sociological Review*. Volume 8, Issue 53, Spring. Also, see Reynaldo Ileto, "Orientalism and the Study of Philippine Politics," *Philippine Political Science Journal* 22, no. 45, 2001 for a similar critique of these works.

I say that the different points of this question which at various times had been (sic) for discussion, should be dealt with by congress in the following order of importance.

- (a) Congress should declare that the Filipino people are of right entitled to their political independence.
- (b) Congress should provide for the prompt constitution and formulation of an elective senate in the Philippine Islands to substitute the present Philippine commission in its legislative capacity
- (c) Congress should provide for the time, manner and form in which that political independence is to be granted (Quezon, no date).

His commitment to the independence issue tended to dominate his thinking and evidence of this is rampant throughout his correspondence with other politicians of his time. At the same time however, he was very careful not to jeopardize his close relation with the American government which had supported his positions throughout his political career. In a letter that was meant to clarify his position on the independence issues, Quezon refers Alfred Winslow, a prominent member of the Anti-Imperialist League to his statement to the proceedings on the Insular Committee's inquiry on the issue of independence. In the letter he writes,

Perhaps my affirmative answer to Mr. Jones' question: "you would be content with either plan if you could get immediate independence?" is what caused the impression that I am for the American protectorate. You will notice however, that I stated twice in answering Mr. Parson's questions that the general opinion in the Philippines is that the islands be neutralized. Reading my whole statement before the insular committee which you will find in the 17th and 18th parts of the Hearing you will notice that the main fact that I wanted to impress upon the members of the committee is that the Filipinos want immediate independence (Quezon, 1911a).

In this passage it is clear that his position was fluid with regards to independence, because as a representative of the Filipino people he was representing their will as opposed to his own. When pressed for an answer to whether he personally believed in independence, he was able to cunningly project his aspirations onto the Filipino people, assuring that he spoke for the others who ardently desired independence.

This was also the manner in which he conducted a public campaign to push for independence. As opposed to in a forthright manner declaring his desire for independence, Quezon in another letter to Winslow, discussed how he would pass on this message through a writer he employs to publish articles on the independence movement.

Mr. Tavenner is the man employed by me to write articles about Philippine independence twice a month. His articles are published by some five hundred newspapers in this country. Of course, I let nobody know that he is paid to do this work and so that it appears that as if his articles are written just because this matter is a part of his democratic principles (Quezon, 1911b).

These articles published in the US were not the only attempts at pushing for independence. In contrast to much of the more politically savvy ways in which Quezon pushed for independence, politicians in the Philippines were echoing the same sentiments and demanding the same independence. Interestingly however, rival parties overtly demanded independence on behalf of the same Filipino people, and argued that Quezon and his party did not. According to a “confidential report” of the Philippine Constabulary in 1914, the contents of some fiercely debated showed similarity of interests, yet contradictory and conflicting positions,

Mr. Santa Ana also spoke in Tagalog. He said that sometimes in a political aggroupment the opinions of the head are not the opinions of the body, and when that occurs, as in the present case, the thing to do is to cut off the head and replace it with another. It was evidently an allusion to the Nationalist party, whose head is Mr. Osmena and whose body the members that follow him (Philippine Constabulary, 1914: 2).

At the same meeting, another of the speakers emerged to speak for the people of Mindanao. Calling himself the “son of Davao,” he said,

The inhabitants of Mindanao, including the Moros, feel the same as the rest of the Filipinos regarding the political status of the country; that the people of Davao are poor because their wealth has passed into the hands of the Americans (Philippine Constabulary, 1914: 3).

Reiterating the fact that many of these Filipinos wanted the same thing, yet argued them from different camps, Quezon also felt that he spoke for the people of Mindanao. Except in his more politically astute manner and due to his very keen awareness of the American fear that Mindanao would serve as a source of instability to the nation if the country were to be given its full independence, Quezon delivered his opinions in a manner that was much more concerned with independence and in a manner that was more impartial. In a letter to President Wilson in 1914, Quezon writes,

Mr. President, there is one question that I would like to impress very well in your mind, and that is this: that I have no doubt as to the capacity of the Filipinos to administer their domestic affairs. I am positive in my opinion that we can govern the Moros and that they will submit to our rule, more readily than to American rule (Quezon, 1914).

It should be evident at this point that the response of many of the Filipino politicians was that, in spite of the American rhetoric of benevolence, they truly believed that they were ripe for independence. In spite of American claims for universal education and laying the foundation for fruitful industry and economic development, Filipinos saw through these arguments and hinted at US exploitation. While Americans argued that an important issue to be solved before the granting of independence was that of the ethnic and religious strife in Mindanao, Filipino politicians argued that the problem was non-existent and that they were capable of ruling over their Moro brother's and sisters who they believed genuinely felt the same need for independence. Uninterested in the excuses, Filipino politicians on all sides of the fence laboriously fought for their independence from the US, all the while claiming that this was the demands of the Filipino people, and not simply their own.²⁶

²⁶ At the same time it is acknowledged that there were also pro-American rallies and support groups existing during this time. Many articles in newspapers and press releases can be found supporting the US regime in the Philippines. But this only reiterates the fact that in the very politicized climate of the

Mindanao Responses

As was discussed earlier, Americans who had a sincere interest in solving the problems of Mindanao in terms of its inter-ethnic and religious strife, did so using their highly economic based approach in efforts to prevent against an eradication of local values. By inculcating the values of industriousness and equality through the development of the “exchange systems” Americans were able to address the two looming issues of massive idle and undeveloped lands in conjunction with a very unstable social climate, at the same time practicing the Protestant values that they held so dear. The consequence of such an approach however was enormous when this similar approach transformed into a policy which encouraged the migration of Christians from the north to help develop the vast and rich agricultural plains of Mindanao.

Following along the same logic of addressing idle lands and inter-ethnic and religious strife through impartial and egalitarian economic policies, Act 2280 was passed by the Philippine commission in 1913 to encourage the migration and settlement of Christians from the north to the vacant lands of Mindanao. The act reads,

No. 2280 – An Act appropriating the sum of fifty thousand pesos for the establishment, in that part of the Philippine Islands inhabited by Moros or other non-Christian tribes, of colonies and plantations for the cultivation of rice and other food cereals for the better distribution of the population and for other purposes (Philippine Commission, 1913).

This act provided a number of Christian farmers from the north free transport, financial assistance, town sites and surveyed properties in Mindanao. By 1917, seven colonies were established under this act. Six of these colonies were in Cotabato, while one of these colonies were in Lanao. The colonies established were Pikit, Silik, Peidu,

Philippines, many politicians claim to be speaking for the Filipino people as a whole, when obvious contradictions can be seen in the rivalry between parties, economic interest groups, etc.

Pulangi, Pagalungan, Glan and Talitay. The colony in Lanao was at Momungan (Wernstedt and Simkins: 1965: 87-88).

Commonly known as the “Homstead Act,” these new colonies were meant to introduce agricultural values to Moro inhabitants. According to “The Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province” by John Pershing,

A thorough investigation by the Insular authorities has led to the settlement in the Cotabato valley of an experimental rice colony of one hundred families of Filipinos from Cebu. A few years ago such a venture would have met with armed resistance and would have been attended with bloodshed; but peace conditions have made it safe to settle anywhere in the Province. The plans for this colony have been so carefully worked out that its success seems assured. In the end, each colonist will have a homestead of its own and will become a habitual rice producer. A well managed Filipino colony in the heart of the Moro country as an example should act as a stimulus to Moro agriculturalists (Pershing, 1913: 11).

A few issues were implied in this statement. Firstly, was the issue of the Christian work ethic. Although American administrators were Protestant in orientation, they still tended to believe that Catholic Filipinos from the north were more adapted to civilized life, and an infusion of these Filipinos would allow for the introduction of some of these values to the Moro. In a memo entitled, “Disarming Non-Christians” Major John Finley writes,

Of all the Non-Christians the Moro (Mohammedan) especially will refrain from and evade every form of honest labor so long as he can by the use of weapons to gamble upon the chances of piracy (Finley, No Date).

Secondly, the vast amount of arable lands will slowly be transformed into a productive territory which would eventually solve the issue of idleness. By infusing the values of the Filipinos from the north, and converting idle lands into productive

homesteads, the success of this project will lie in the eventual transformation of the landscape, industrially and economically.²⁷

Lastly, the American administrators felt as if with the establishment of peace, the time was right for the introduction of Christians to Moro lands. These homestead acts used the term “colony.” Colony in this sense was not a foreign sovereignty over the territory (even though this was the ultimate goal when providing the northern Christian Filipino control over the entire archipelago), but rather the type of colony that was meant to grow and expand and eventually populate the vast lands of Mindanao. This act was to lead to severe implications in the future when the population of Christians eventually grows to overtake the population of Muslims on the Island. Although it was implied that the situation in Cotabato was peaceful and that the environment was ready for the introduction of foreign colonials, this did not mean that the Americans believed that the racial animosity between Muslims and Christians had been solved. According to Major Finley,

The Moros desire a continuance of the American military control under which they have existed and progressed since May 19, 1899. They feel that frequent change in authority is not conducive to their well being, and as they have just learned to regard the American army as strict but just, true to its promises, honest in its dealing with them, impartial in its judgment and wholly tolerant in religion, its in the interest of all such Mohammedans that such military control should remain undisturbed in the Moro Province. The continued exercise of such authority will avoid serious outbreaks, due to racial animosities, that have been rampant and very destructive in the Philippines, between the Muslims and the Christians for more than three hundred years (Finley, 1913: 334).

It is clear that the Americans were fully cognizant of the importance of their presence to the preservation of racial stability in the region. As was discussed in an early

²⁷ This section does not attempt to contradict the argument others have made stating that American administrators distrusted Christian Filipinos. Regardless of how Americans felt toward Christian Filipinos, their thoughts, as seen in the documents presented, as well as their actions, as evidenced in the Census figures of 1903 and 1939 both show that Filipino Christian settlers grew rapidly during this time.

section of this chapter, Muslim leaders throughout Mindanao have continually requested the continuance of American authority as opposed to the introduction of Filipino leaders.

Contrary to the arguments of Manuel L. Quezon and other politicians of the north during this time, much of the Muslim population in Mindanao considered the Americans their sovereign leader and resented the idea of being controlled by the north. Whereas Filipino nationalist leaders fighting their cause of independence knew the Americans were afraid that interethnic strife in the south would require a longer period of tutelage, they tended to push their cause of independence even harder by claiming that Christian and Muslim Filipinos were closer in blood than either were to the Americans. Newspapers in Manila tended to portray Muslims and Christians as bound by racial similarity:

Full page headlines in “La Democracia and “El Democrata” announce the arrival of the Sultan of Jolo. The former says: “Filipino Unity Confessed By the Sultan of Jolo. Filipino Christians and the Moro sod the South are Sons of the Same Race (Philippine Constabulary, 1913).

On the other hand, Muslim leaders continually pushed for the Americans to remain and at every stage of American control in Mindanao tended to reiterate their allegiance only to their American leaders. In a report of the military situation in the Moro province, Major-General, J.F. Bell when discussing his conversation with local people in Mindanao concerning the change in colonial administrators he states that, “the Moros had no requests or comment to make upon the announced departure of Pershing, except that they wanted an American appointed to succeed him” (Bell, 1913: 36).

Evidence of this type of sentiment among Muslim Filipinos continued throughout the American colonial administration. By 1921 a congregation of 57 Moro

Datus and leaders of Sulu petitioned American authorities to continue their sovereign control over the island indefinitely and not turn over control to the Filipino,

Whereas, it would be an act of great injustice to cast our people aside, turnover our country to the Filipinos in the north to be governed by them without our consent and thrust upon us a government not of our own people, nor by our people, nor for our own people (Jumaani, 2000).

These ideas mixed with interests of the American Chamber of Commerce and other business interests emerged again except in a more formal request. By 1926, House Bill No. 12772 was introduced in the US House of Congress to separate Mindanao and Sulu from the rest of the Philippines and have both considered sovereign territory of the US indefinitely (US Congress, 1926). In 1935 with the construction of the first Philippine Constitution, Moros again raised the issue of separation from the Filipino republics. This time 120 datos came together to create the “Dansalan Declaration” in which they reiterated:

We do not want to be included in the Philippines for once an independent Philippines is launched, there would be trouble between us and the Filipinos because from time immemorial these two peoples have not lived harmoniously together. Our public land must not be given to people other than the Moros (Kamlan, 2003).

Finally, on the verge of independence, in 1946 Filipino Muslims further reiterated the claim that they did not want to be included in the Christianized north. In another memorandum supported by Moro leaders,

we do not want to be included in the Philippines Independence. For once independence is launched, there will be trouble between us and the Christian Filipinos because from time immemorial these two peoples have not lived harmoniously. . . . It is not proper [for two antagonistic] peoples [to] live together under one flag (Islam, 1998).

Therefore, the call for independence in the north, and the attempt to pull in their Moro counterparts in the south only served to push Moros further and further away from the

cause of independence. Furthermore, although the American realized this, they continually introduced more and more Christian Filipinos into the lands of the Moros.

Thus the manner in which the Americans dealt with their emotional guilt of withholding the freedom of another nation, translated into policies that led to severe repercussions that transformed the face of Mindanao. Their devotion to educational and economic policies to uplift the Muslim Filipino through industry only superficially addressed the undying effort for Muslim Filipinos to be considered on different terms from their Christian neighbors to the north. Furthermore, these policies that the Americans enacted only served to further agitate the Christian Filipinos' political drive for sovereignty, a task that was inextricably tied to the Moro question in the south. Therefore, these "Guilty Americans" were not only driven by guilt, but can also be seen as "guilty" of contributing to the conditions and the complications associated with the modern Philippine nation state's post-colonial issue of dealing with separatist movements.

Conclusion

Although it can be argued that the Americans were attempting to "Filipinize" Mindanao through the introduction of northern Christianized Filipinos into Mindanao, ultimately, the American policy in Mindanao and in the Philippines for that matter was partially driven by the "Benevolent Assimilation" rhetoric that was intended to "save" and "improve" the conditions of those living in the islands. As can be seen in the educational policies and the industrially oriented social policies enacted by the Americans, all throughout, these policies were highly influenced by the Protestant values that Americans held so dear. Furthermore, by examining the background to some of the most influential figures in the US colonial administration system, it can

be seen how not only were these policies highly reflecting lofty American ideals that tended to set these Americans apart from the colonizers of the past, but the administrators themselves tended to come from a social, political and personal climate that made it so that these beliefs were part of who they were. While many may focus in on the extractive qualities of the American colonial government in the Philippines, this chapter on the other hands helps to explain how in spite of the obvious negative repercussions of American involvement in the islands, the Americans continued to whole heartedly believe in their “divine” purpose to uplift these native. In clinging to these values, many Americans were able to relieve themselves of the guilt of engaging in a project that was so very contradictory to their values as a nation that espoused “liberty and justice for all,” and that in itself had experienced the injustices associated with being a colony.

On the other hand, this chapter also endeavored to assess the implications of these actions onto both the Filipino and the Muslim elements in the Philippines. Whether or not they tended to accept the justification to their loss of sovereignty is a separate issue. With the Christian Filipinos, they used the rhetoric to continually assert their cause for independence claiming all the values they knew the Americans aspired for them to have. In Mindanao on the other hand, this drive for independence in the north only fueled their resistance to the incorporation into the islands. Furthermore, the manner in which the Americans approached Mindanao had led to some lasting repercussions in terms of a shifting demographic, an overt dependence on impartial economic solutions, and a negative stereotype of the Moro as the least civilized of the natives have left a profound impression onto the landscape of Mindanao as will be seen in the following two chapters. The American Homestead experiment is of particular importance to this dissertation in that one of its chapters

will be devoted to several months of fieldwork conducted in one of the original sites to this agricultural colonial experiment.

Chapter 4: Center versus Periphery

Can the Subaltern Speak?

In Gayatri Spivak's (1988) seminal essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" she posed the important question as to whether or not those at the periphery have the power to articulate their experiences without having an external medium synthesizing their experiences for them. She asks this question because she argues that in process of speaking for those who cannot be heard, this situation creates yet another site to the subaltern's oppression in that their original stories are no longer their own as they pass through the lens of a western based academic discourse—perhaps framed in the linear version of history that proposes that every aspect of our lives can be attributable to an industrial revolution that took place in another part of the world. (Mbembe, 2001). Borne out of her love of Derrida and a fiercely self-critical approach, she posed an argument that all scholars should ask themselves. For whom is this research, and by whom is it being told.

Although this argument was meant to both criticize and support the generation of subaltern studies authors who helped claim Gramsci's term and apply it to post-colonial India, one could argue that Spivak's argument neglects to see that in the process of synthesizing the subaltern experience and processing it through a "western," "educated" or "privileged" position, these leaders in the subject have attempted to redefine the categories to begin with and contribute to the building of a counter hegemonic discourse that can resist the system it is built within. Furthermore, in addition to the incredibly useful contributions the subaltern school has made in terms of providing new ways to listen to and interpret the lives and histories of the

subaltern, many post-colonial scholars can be attributed to addressing the Spivak's concerns by breaking up the "logocentric assumption of cultural solidarity" inherent to subaltern work to demonstrate nuanced differences between class and how these differences were all central yet different to the process of nation building in the post-colonial era. Partha Chatterjee's *A Nation and Its Fragments* demonstrates how the effects of colonization vary according to one's social class, yet the exploitative effects of the system and in response the various manifestations of resistance still link each social cleavage to the whole of the changes taking place in India. And even if Spivak were to accuse Chatterjee of co-opting or re-inscribing neo-colonial imperatives onto the other classes to which he did not belong, it could be argued that this is yet another example of the totalizing effect of one's colonial history, and his interpretation to the process of emerging from the colonial history's shadow is a necessary narrative within the discourse.

Sociological Frame

Furthermore, to take a sociological stance on the matter, sociologists have always been concerned with the effect of one's social position or class onto the perspective that one experiences on the matter. Marx believed that in fact it is precisely from this very basic social component that all history springs forth (Tucker, 1978).²⁸ Yet class conflict alone is not how sociology can help mediate the discussion as to whether or not subalterns can speak. Interpretivist approaches would focus on how a multitude of different causes contributes to the leading up to an event. Although Weber has been cited for creating ideal types that epitomize the

²⁸ It should be noted that many subaltern scholars were themselves Marxists and this was partly what Spivak was critical of.

characteristics of a particular phenomenon, in actuality, ideal types are a compilation of various angles on the phenomena at hand—with each angle being as central to the whole as the other. Furthermore, the founding fathers of the discipline have forged new directions in epistemology by focusing on the effects of one's external realities onto the processing of individual experience. C. Wright Mills (1959) sums up the work of the founding fathers by arguing that sociology is based on an imagination that connects the “larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals” (Mills, 1959: 5). Durkheim (1951) for instance looked at the rates of suicide as a product of one's sex, marital status, religion and educational background. Weber (2001) argued that it was the revolutionary changes that took place within the Protestant Reformation that led to an assemblage of individuals who happened to share a similar religious faith that led to the formation of a spirit that embodied and propelled the new era of capitalism forward. It is therefore in the discipline's history that when approaching the issue of agency and importance placed on individual voice that these voices are fraught within a multiplicity of social worlds and realities that all lead up to the reality we experience today.

Post-Colonial Discourse and Emotions

Another important aspect to the discussion as to whether or not a subaltern can speak, from which social location do we begin our exploration and how to make sense of analyses laden with personal subjectivity is to look at the way in which some post-colonial scholars have approached the matter. Homi Bhaba (1994) in *The Location of Culture* helps to provide the useful concept of the “mimic man,” a hyperbolic caricature of the colonizer emerging both as an attempt to suppress and in the process

of slippage resist the colonial master. Essentially, the mimic man embodies a hybridized conception of power deriving its conceptions of authority from the colonial master and integrating elements of their distinct cultural identity knowingly or unknowingly. According to Bhabha, the colonial subjects “appropriates the other as it visualizes power.” Yet how this power is used depends on the individual. Therefore one finds a much contested location in which the colonized must attempt to emulate the colonizer to overcome him.

At the national level, this situation is well discussed by Arundhati Roy (1999) who argued that India’s conception of freedom was a modern vision. According to Roy, breaking away from British control was to break away from poverty and exploitation. A non-British India was an India that had removed a cancerous disease which had held the nation’s progress back. Citing Nehru’s vision of an India that had broken way from British control as one in which the “dam was India’s modern temple,” she alluded to the fact that even the nation’s early leaders were still consumed with emulating the path of development as the colonizer (Roy, 1999: 13). Atul Kohli (1997) discusses how in post-colonial multi-ethnic “democratic” nations, the vestiges of an extractive and exploitative past make it difficult for nations to move beyond an already institutionalized system of corruption. He also argued that early leaders attempted to emulate political systems that were not only contrary to their own political history, but oppressive and ineffective as during the colonial ruler’s time.

Neither example can compare to the intense amount of personal turmoil that an individual experiences when straddling the line between colonial subject and master. The psychoanalytic effects of such an experiences are well documented and explored by Franz Fanon (1967), a man who arguably helped formed the foundation to post-colonial studies. What sets his analysis apart from the other more national

level discussions is that he demonstrates the turbulent and confusing sense of identity that emerges from a Black man raised as an educated and respectable white man in his native home land of Martinique and yet who feels apart from this upon arriving in France. In a very moving passage, in discussing the potential to eliminate discrimination by removing the Negro from France, Franz argues:

The Negro problem does not resolve itself into the problem of Negroes living among white men but rather of Negroes exploited, enslaved, despised by a colonialist, capitalist society that is only accidentally white...The Martinician is a French-man, he want's to remain part of the French Union, he asks only one thing, he wants the idiots and the exploiters to give him a chance to live like a human being." (Fanon, 1967: 202)

In the Philippines, a whole generation of scholars experienced the trauma of being raised as educated, wealthy and respectable elites and then being denied equal treatment upon arrival in the host colonial country of Spain. This group of Filipinos who faced prejudice and inequality in spite of their wealth and education formed the "Propaganda Movement" in Spain. Within this movement these educated elites fought for recognition of their rights and a reformation to which their home nation of the Philippines was governed and perceived. One of the most famous of the "Propagandists" was Jose Rizal:

It will never come. The peaceful struggle must remain a dream. For Spain will never learn from her earlier colonies in South America. Spain does not see what England has learned in North America. But in the present circumstances we want no separation from Spain; all we demand is more care, better instruction, better officials, one or two representatives, and more security for ourselves and our property. Spain can still win the Philippines for herself forever, if only Spain were more reasonable. (Schumacher, 1991: 94)

It can generally be argued that these two perspectives demonstrate a frustration that one feels towards a colonial nation he feels he belongs to. Both Fanon and Rizal towards the end of their lives moved more toward an angry analysis of their situation and pushed harder for reforms unleashing harshly critical attacks towards their

colonizers. These quotes were chosen however to demonstrate the uneasy balance between acceptance and criticism. Both wanted to associate themselves with the “mother country” yet both were asking for more recognition. Although both argued for radically different end goals, both men demonstrate the personal and emotional turmoil that one goes through in the process of negotiating space in a colonial landscape.

Post-Colonial Philippines

It is from this dynamic dialogue within the subaltern literature, my disciplinary training in the field of sociology, and issues of post-coloniality that this chapter emerges. Although Spivak (1988) brings up an important point of being critical of the author’s positionality in conjunction with maintaining a critical eye to the positionality of those being interviewed, Chatterjee (1993) reminds us that acknowledging that one is caught within one’s class is an important realization as well. In addition, hybridized identities that emerge as products of mimicry and slippage help to lay the foundation for a very turbulent and emotion experience. Lastly, sociologically, we are reminded that in order to understand a particular phenomenon, one must prepare to see many sides to the picture—each individual action and perception of reality contributes to the whole.

Center versus Periphery Politics in the Philippines

The preceding arguments help to provide the backdrop to essentially what one can see with regards to the way in which politics are crafted in both Mindanao and Manila with regards to the ongoing war in the disputed south. On the one hand,

Mindanaowan scholars and activists are disenfranchised from the mainstream media and sources of funding while Manila based activists maintain a stranglehold on the attention, therefore branding the Mindanaowan as “subaltern.”²⁹ On the other hand both can be considered hybridized “mimic men” who in their attempts to attain power antagonize the other. Importantly, both sides provide a more multifaceted view on the war itself, each helping to demonstrate a whole range of varying priorities that differ with locality. This chapter ventures to argue however that it is the heightened emotional conflict between one’s local and colonial identity that contributes to the vibrant debate.

Initially, the interviews to be found here were considered yet another example of neo-imperialism from within. Centered around the controversial joint Republic of the Philippines-United States (RP-US) military exercises that took place in 2002, the interviews were meant to assess the reception and eventually success or failure of the exercises. Conducted initially among Manila based scholars who spoke of harsh brutal realities of American occupation in the south, many of these highly educated and many times American trained scholars and activists pushed forth an impeachment agenda grounded on the argument that the current regime served as a thoughtless puppet to US imperial interventions. As a researcher from outside this social milieu, I tended to immediately accept these ideas and in fact published a paper on these ideas (Radics, 2004). But it was not until after the interviews had been conducted in Mindanao that I realized that much of these interviews conducted in Manila were touting an agenda quite different from those who were actually experiencing the

²⁹ This can be attributed to the fact that most of the multinational projects and news agencies rely on Manila based organizations more than those based in Mindanao. Many of the international participants who observe Mindanao do so through a Manila based organization. Most international publications of the war in Mindanao cite Manila based papers and authors.

militarization itself. Initially, it was as if I had broken through the neo-colonial layer to get through to the subaltern themselves.

Things are not this simplistic however. It was not until after I had lived in a community of displaced people did I begin to see an even further change in disposition towards the presence of the US in the Philippines. I found that those actually living in the sites of combat and displacement had a completely different set of beliefs and needs that transcended both the political agendas of the academics and political activists in Manila versus Mindanao.

This chapter will focus mainly on the different perspectives on US militarization in the south of the Philippines, from the perspective of the “imperial” Manila and the “peripheral” Mindanao. Although it may be argued that the Mindanao perspective is the perspective that seems to lack attention and is continually overshadowed by the Manila activists, this chapter is not attempting to claim that one view is more important than another. Both views are bound within their immediate locality. Furthermore, both views are driven by a subconscious hybridized sense of justice that is based on colonial visions of “what is right,” and it is this process of mimicry which creates such a heightened debate.

This chapter will be organized in the following manner. In order to understand the nuanced difference between the Mindanao and Manila based approaches to the situation in the south, the chapter will begin with a discussion on the different ideas both have on the war in the south. Reflecting the different priorities each locality experiences, each explanation will provide a uniquely and at times contradictory view on the conflict in Mindanao. The chapter however will then attempt to show similarity within dissidence to demonstrate how regardless of how divergent the views are they all stem from the process of overcoming their post-colonial legacy. It is precisely this

process, the chapter will argue that contributes to the incredibly rich and vibrant discourse that is emotionally loaded and personally intertwined. In effect, both sides to the picture help us understand Mindanao in the shadow of a post-colonial national project that still in the making.

Perspectives from the “Center”

It can be argued that arguments from the center tend to dominate local and international media. In fact, during the presence of US troops in the Philippines in 2002 two human rights “fact finding missions” took place, both consisting of international delegates. Both fact finding missions were organized and implemented solely by Manila based NGOs. Using September 11th as a backdrop to their complaints of neo-colonial American invasion in the Philippines, their arguments centered around three main areas. Firstly was the idea that Philippine national sovereignty was threatened by the presence of US troops. Secondly was the idea that the Philippines was being targeted as the second front in the war on terrorism and therefore was being used as pawn in global US hegemonic enterprises. Lastly, a picture was painted of Mindanaowan citizens as innocent bystanders caught in the brutal war machine of the US. The following section will discuss each issue in detail.

Threatened National Sovereignty

One of the mainstays to the arguments revolving around Manila circles with regards to the war in the south is its implication and relation to Philippine national sovereignty. Linking up to nationalist arguments that can be traced as far back as to

the Philippine revolution against Spain³⁰ the statements against US militarization rest very closely upon the idea that a sovereign nation need not depend on foreign troops on local soil. In fact, the constitution is continually drawn upon to justify this position:

Section 25. 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. (*1987 Philippine Constitution, Article 17: Amendments or Revisions. Section 25*)

Therefore with the arrival of US troops in the Philippines post September 11th to train alongside Filipino troops in the controversial “Balikatan Exercises” the yearly exercises between Filipino and American soldiers took on new significance. Many political observers and academics went on to argue that the presence of the US in the Philippines was an “insult to the Filipino soldiers...It is also an abdication of our sovereignty” (Nemenzo, 2002). Drawing upon the fears of a dictatorial repeat, the exercises were seen as a violation of constitutional provisions in that the presence of US troops on Philippine soil represented a situation in which foreign troops were entering the Philippines without the existence of an acceptable treaty. Furthermore, according to Simbulan (2002) in a seminar on post-September 11th politics, Filipinos were being deceived into thinking that the legislation to create a treaty that was under review regarding the US-Philippine troops at the time of the exercises were a breach of the constitution in that they allowed for the establishment of a legal mainframe that allows the US to establish a permanent military presence. He argued that through the establishment of legal documents such as the Mutual Logistics Support Agreement

³⁰ See *The Renewed Phase of U.S. Military Intervention in the Philippines*. Roland Simbulan

(MLSA) which was pushed through the Philippine House of Congress shortly after September 11, 2001 in conjunction with the already existing and equally controversial Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) of 1998, the US government is slowing creeping back into the Philippines to recapture its lost military bases.

Contributing to these fears of the reestablishment of US military bases in the Philippines is the idea that the legal documents in question will provide for a situation in which the entire country can be used as a launch pad into the region. Ilocos Norte representative Imee Marcos called the legislation the “Trojan Horse” that would allow for the return of US troops into the region in a more permanent manner (Javellana, 2002). According to Daniel Schirmer, the presence of the MLSA provides for a situation in which the US can legally situate its military supplies anywhere throughout the country allowing the US to call upon these supplies whenever necessary (Schirmer, 1999). This some Manila based scholars have argued is a product of the changing face of US foreign policy that emphasizes “spaces not bases.” In a report by a prominent NGO based in Manila, the author goes on to argue, “Rather than just lone-standing missions, the US troops’ actions in the Philippines are part of a comprehensive and wide ranging transformation of the US’ military organization and its global posture” (Docena, 2007).

The reentrance of the US through the exercises and the surrounding hysteria regarding the length and purpose of their stay unleashed a massive response from the political activist circles in Manila. Perhaps emerging from the residual anger this community felt concerning the US military bases in the Philippines and their role in facilitating the elongation of Ferdinand Marcos’ dictatorial regime, the return of US troops in any shape or form triggered an immediate sense of skepticism and fear of the return of repression at the hands of the state. In his speech to graduating students

at the University of the Philippines, Dr. Francisco Nemenzo (2002), former president of the University of the Philippines and political exile during the Marcos regime, stated, “foreign intervention may achieve the immediate purpose of crushing an internal revolt...but would reduce the principality into a colony of the stronger ally” (Nemenzo, 2002). According to long time political observer and author of *The Bases of Our Insecurity* a pivotal work on the offenses of US military bases to the Philippine political and social environment,

In the Philippines today after 11 September 2001, there are indications that in the name of a “war on terror,” we are becoming a police state. The government of President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo is riding on the coat tails of the United States, which in its declaration of war against international terrorism, has launched repressive acts at home and abroad against its perceived enemies. The consequences are grim and chilling for a country like the Philippines. (Simbulan, 2002)

Therefore the presence of the US military in the Philippines represented something more than just a threat posed onto the nation. The arrival of the Americans signaled to this group of watchdogs the potential for the Philippine government to overstep its bounds and deceive citizens of the truth regarding the return of US troops. Because the US bases in the past had been seen as the external arm to the incredibly oppressive and exploitative Marcos regime, these Manila based scholars believed that the return of the US had the potential to reintroduce a tyrannical regime that would deny Filipinos the freedom they received when the Marcos regime was overthrown.

Global Connections

Much of the arguments surrounding the war in the south revolve around national sovereignty and the role of the US in breaching it. Yet Manila based scholars tended to stray away from arguments that remained locally based. As was mentioned earlier, the presence of the US in the Philippines represented a part of the

“comprehensive and wide ranging transformation of the US’ military organization and its global posture” (Docena 2007). Much of what was seen in the Philippines was considered part of a global hegemonic plan to protect US interests throughout the world. According to retired Philippine Military Captain Dan Vizmanos:

But we should not allow a few trees to block our view of the forest. The Abu Sayyaf, al-Qaida and other perceived terrorist groups are but the emotionally-laden facade that Bush exploits in the exercise of power politics to carry out the grand designs of U.S. global hegemony. (Vizmanos, 2002a)

This does not refer to the world outside the US alone however. According to these scholars the Philippines itself is considered a part of this American global military enterprise by allowing the US to expand its military presence in the region.

Connecting the Philippines to the larger picture, many of these observers tended to bring to light the fact that the Philippines was dubbed the “second front in the war on terrorism.” According to Randy David, a sociologist at the University of the Philippines, “it’s a show of force, a show of determination to the world...it’s an attempt to warn the Muslim population in Southeast Asia, especially radical Muslims, that America is not going to just stand by if its interests are threatened” (Chao, 2002). Therefore the Philippines is not just exploited in terms of its physical landscape to facilitate the cause of war, but it is considered a symbolic and real battle ground for US projects abroad. Many of these scholars also tended to draw upon facts and history, citing the fact that the Balikatan Exercises served as the second largest set of American troops deployed after September 11th outside of Afghanistan and the second largest of American troops within the Philippines since the Philippine War against the US in 1899 (Simbulan, 2002; Leupp, 2002). The Philippine through the “war on terrorism” becomes part of a larger, more global war that the US has launched to protect its interests.

This posturing of the US as the larger evil with the Philippine government serving as the willing puppet to a certain extent relocates the center of power to the outside. These scholars then use the Philippines as merely a part of the much larger American global hegemonic enterprise. According to Vizmanos,

To return to the main topic, let me reiterate that Basilan and the Abu Sayyaf issue comprise but a tiny corner of a much bigger picture. The big picture I am referring to is the endless exercise of power politics by US imperialism for economic and political hegemony on a global scale.

Today the centerpiece of the superpower's economic thrust is *imperialist globalization*. This is the overpowering imposition that consigns the broad masses of all nations to perpetual servitude, wretchedness and misery for the benefit of the economic elite of the superpower. (Vizmanos, 2002b)

Therefore, the war in Mindanao becomes secondary to the larger war the US is launching in order to pursue its economic interests throughout the world. This argument helps link up Manila based observers and activists to the more transnational arguments on the purpose of American military enterprises around the world. Some have argued for instance that as the United States' economy continues to transfer from one that depends on speculative capital to one that relies on industrial capital, the need to protect its business interests through out the world has become even more important (Morley, 1988). Anti-globalization activists outside of the Philippines have argued that these business interests rely on the neo-liberal pillars of trade liberalization, privatization of national assets and lowering of barriers to introduce foreign investment.³¹ Popular radical US voices such as Noam Chomsky have argued

³¹ This can be seen in the collapse of Asian Economies in 1997 and the "game of global arbitrage led by US financial opertors," in Walden Bello's *The Future in the Balance: Essays on Globalization and Resistance*. pp 166-167. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press. 2001. Specific references to George Soros can be seen in his advocacy and role in the implementation of "shock therapy" treatments in Poland and the rest of the former Soviet ecoinomies. See "Executive Intelligence Review: Special Report 1997. *The True Story of Soros the Golem—A Profile of Megaspeculator George Soros*." Washington DC: EIR News Service. 1997.

that countries are not always receptive to such enterprises. “Radical nationalist” and “communist insurrectionist” were then envisioned throughout history by US presidents from Nixon to Reagan to construct a series of “rogue states,” that are placed inextricably at the end of the spectrum. Chomsky argues that these states provide the US with a convenient excuse to increase military expenditures, send US troops to quell nationalist sentiments and in many cases install complacent governments.³² Manila activists argue that the “War on Terrorism” as manifested in Mindanao waged by Bush’s administration serves a perfect example of this situation (Chomsky, 2001; Chomsky, 1998).

Secondly, in addition to economic globalization, the Philippines is also seen as part of the larger US military industrial complex. According to Vizmanos,

It was President Dwight D. Eisenhower who, 50 years ago, voiced his concern over what he referred to as the dominant role of the ***“military-industrial complex”*** in American society. He underscored the danger to world peace posed by this very powerful and influential conglomerate whose vast war-oriented business enterprises and ever expanding instruments of war feed on continuing tensions and conflicts in all regions and corners of the world. Insatiable greed of giant corporations and vested interests of the US military hierarchy dictate the need for a ***“permanent war economy”*** that accounts for the very lucrative arms market and counterproductive and self-destructive wars that plague the world today. (Vizmanos, 2002b)

Again, this argument is not far from what has been argued in the United States for years. Seymour Melman has for decades commented on the detrimental effects of the American dependence on the military industrial complex. The premium placed on investments in infrastructure and research and development purely for military purposes has led to an out dated and deteriorating situation for American schools, roads, transportation and business environment. However, because the US military

³² Chomsky, Noam. *Rogue States: The Rule of Force in World Affairs*. pp 22-34. Cambridge, MA: South End Press. 2001. Also, for specific examples of how the US installed such governments in Latin America refer to Noam Chomsky’s *Deterring Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: Hill and Wang. 1998.

industrial complex currently serves as the largest employer and feeder institution to some of the largest American corporations and universities, to downsize the military would lead to grave economic consequences. According to Melman (1974), this is why new wars are continually fought and military budgets continue to soar. This dependence according to Melman has been described as a “permanent war economy” that will lead eventually to the US’ demise. Another excellent example of very similar arguments to those being found in Manila being found elsewhere is the work of C. Wright Mills. In his work on the “Power Elite” Mills was also very critical of the role of the military in that although he did not argue that it had severe economic implications onto America’s future, this segment of the government had become so powerful that it would have been necessary for both government elites and businessmen to concede power to the military leaders (Mills, 1956). Therefore he argued that it was this tripartite that provided the direction of American policies.

To reiterate, many of the issues being purported from the center actually have roots in the global movements against American capitalist expansionism abroad. The Philippines is seen as the “second front” in the war on terrorism, and is yet just a pawn of US military and economic expansionism. Manila based academics and NGOs have effectively legitimized their claims of exploitation by drawing upon and successfully applying many global arguments onto their own territory. To them, the war in the south is seen as just another example of rampant military expansionism at the hands of a ravenous American economic empire.

Innocent Bystanders

Yet who are the ones to suffer? According to Manila based observers, what places their work in a superior position to those written in the south is that they

fortunately are not the ones in the line of fire. They can speak freely about the conditions in Mindanao without the fear of reprisals from the military (Docena, 2007). Many of their arguments are based on “top secret memorandums” and official US government documents and reports that bespeak of an aggressive US position in the south (Simbulan, 2007). Mindanaowans on the other hand are less privileged to this information. Furthermore, they do not have the freedom to analyze or process issues in the same manner due to their oppressive environment, one controlled by war mongering “hawks” in the local government and a vicious military. Lastly, many of those living in Mindanao are considered vulnerable and easy to be taken advantage of. These issues are constantly referred to in interviews with Manila based scholars and in their works published online and elsewhere. The following section will elaborate further on these ideas.

According to Herbert Docena from a report entitled “Unconventional Warfare,” published by the Manila based NGO *Focus on the Global South*, Docena argued that one of the main difficulties with writing the report on the situation in the south is,

...the reluctance of residents living in the areas of operations to publicly relate what they have witnessed for fear of reprisals from the military. In a region where rampant accusations of abuses and human rights violations allegedly have gone unresolved, these witnesses refuse to talk knowing that their testimonies directly contradict the public pronouncements of the military stationed in the province. (Docena, 2002)

Yet he is not the only one to suspect fear and oppression dictating the discussion that many activists had with local Mindanaowans in areas of war. According to one report emerging from an international solidarity mission that visited the war torn parts of Mindanao,

U.S. military presence in the Philippines is directed against all domestic forces opposed to U.S. domination and exploitation,

including the New People's Army (NPA), the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), factions of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), and even the legal democratic mass movement. Over the past few months, for example, 23 members of the legal political party Bayan Muna have been murdered and 6 have disappeared. (Kim, 2002)

Similarly, on the Bayan Muna Political Party website, a similar argument was posted with regards to the oppressive situation for people living in Mindanao:

No one is spared, whether leaders or volunteers of peasant, agricultural worker, indigenous peoples, women and other people's organizations, lawyers, priests, media people and local government officials. The threat is over the head of any dissenter.

These quotes represent views from individuals who had participated in two different fact finding missions that aimed to record examples of human rights violations and at the same time publicize these findings to substantiate arguments similar to those found above: the US is breaching Filipino national sovereignty and that it is using the Philippines as a military launching point in the region to pursue its global economic and political aims.

These fact-finding missions usually consisted of foreign and local delegates. The first fact finding mission, which was called an “international peace mission” sponsored by the *Akbayan Citizens Action Party* and organized by *Focus on the Global South* and the *Institute for Popular Democracy*, two non-governmental organization with ties to political parties, featured 13 observers, 9 of which came from abroad. This mission was held on March 23-26, 2002.³³ The second fact-finding mission was sponsored by a much larger coalition of 13 organizations all part of the Bayan Muna network. In this fact-finding mission that took place on July 24-31, 2002, 68 delegates participated with many of these delegates hailing from the

³³ See the Focus on the Global South Website <http://www.focusweb.org/philippines/content/view/6/4/>

Philippines, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Taiwan, Japan, South Korea, the Netherlands, and the United States.³⁴

These fact finding missions tended to present similar pictures of a dire conditions of those situated in Basilan, a war torn region in Mindanao that served as a site to US military exercises. According to a piece written by Victoria Brittain, a peace mission participant and writer for *The Guardian*,

Ita Ajarul, a copra farmer, got up before dawn as usual and went to the well to wash in preparation for prayers two Sundays ago. But he never made it home. According to his wife, Haring, he was stopped by soldiers, arrested and killed. Pregnant, and with two small children, she was forced out of the house and fled to relatives nearby. “Everyone was running when the soldiers came, they don't speak our language, they just made us go,” she said. (Brittain, 2002)

Similarly in a statement released by the organizers of the *Bayan Muna* solidarity mission:

There were chilling stories of women and minors harassed and then arrested, thrown in prison on unsubstantiated charges with no medical care. At least one woman prisoner lost her unborn child. Their only “crime” it seems, along with the others killed, arrested and imprisoned, is that they are Moro people who live in an area where thousands of Filipino troops and hundreds of US troops equipped with tons of the latest in military equipment are sowing terror among the local population.³⁵

While these fact finding missions, organized by Manila based NGOs, presented the argument that Mindanao based residents were caught in an oppressive situation in which they fear for their lives thereby jeopardizing their ability to speak candidly on their situation, at the same time, these same activists had much to say with regards to human rights violations. Complicating the situation even further, many of these same activists tend to argue that when one comes across a local who presents a positive side

³⁴ See the website <http://www.nispop.org/ISmission.html>

³⁵ See the website <http://www.yonip.com/main/articles/intervention.html>

to the US presence in the south, they are usually individuals who are speaking out of fear or are being manipulated. According to Docena,

The JSOTF-P (Joint Special Operation Task Force-Philippines) actively promotes their “civil-military operations” or CMOs in the local press. This includes school-building projects, construction of deep wells, roads, bridges and other infrastructure, medical and dental missions, and the like. But the military’s own conception of what these projects are for is clear in their definition of CMOs as a “group of planned activities in support of military operations that enhance the relationship between the military forces and civilian authorities and population and which promote the development of favorable emotions, attitudes, or behavior in neutral, friendly, or hostile grounds.”(Docena, 2002)

Docena writes about these projects in a manner which hints at their purpose to launch a psychological offensive to win the “hearts and minds” of the locals. Other scholars have used more direct language in discussing the purpose of these military projects conducted by the US military in conjunction with their exercises. According to Jean Enriquez,

I’ve been to the ARMM and then the people there, there will be some people who think that, you know, these Americans are bringing in goods or are bringing in development in the region. But that region is very vulnerable. I don’t know how to make it sound less patronizing but our people, our Moro brothers and sisters are suffering from much neglect with our national government. So with any such delivery of infrastructure and projects will be appreciated. But the point is when I am there I see the massive underdevelopment. They need water, they need employment, they need, you know, reconstruction of the communities because of the ravages of the war. The women don’t have jobs to be able to spend their times there, of course to increase the income of the families. So of course those are the very basic needs that are, you know that are...communities the Moro communities are having been expressed for a long time. So we always, we know that these projects by the American military or the American agencies are meant to deceive the people, they are definitely meant to make the people think that they are only for war purposes, that they also have develop them intense but you know, as I was saying, my question is, do the people really say those are what they want? (Interview with Jean Enriquez, 2001)

In a similar statement provided by another Manila based activist, Cora Fabros, on the same subject, she goes so far as to say that not only are the projects win over the local population but deceive them into thinking that the projects are done for their benefit and on their behalf.

Support only happens where military operations are going, and people are affected...But it is an insult...people are being made to believe that they are being helped...but at the same time, the problem that is being created, is being created by no less the people who are giving them this aid. What's worse is that they are being led to believe that it is being done on their behalf... (Interview with Cora Fabros, 2001)

Therefore, the situation in Mindanao is dire for indigent populations who bear the brutal brunt of militarization. Not only are they unable to speak due to reprisals from a vicious military, but when they do speak, their words are shaped and manipulated by powerful forces who deceive them. Manila NGO's therefore step into the picture to provide that much needed voice to those who cannot be heard.

Summary on the Perspectives from the Center

It can be argued that many of the views from the center are a product its locality. Some Mindanao scholars tend to accept the politically charged accusations launched from the center are actually in response to the fact Manila serves as the center to political decisions. The global connection between international and local arguments can also be seen as a more outward looking and internationally connected metropole. Lastly, the views on human rights violations and oppressive local governments and brutal Filipino and American soldiers help to substantiate the national sovereignty issue and publicize it through these global networks. What will be found in the next session is how Mindanaowans respond to such issues, again with their ideas being highly influenced by their locality.

Perspectives from the Periphery

Although the issues from the center demonstrate a sincere and concerned interest in the south, undeniably the approach and analysis is different. This can be argued is a product of the distinct locality and environment from which the arguments emerge. For instance, according to Professor Gloria Salazar³⁶ and dean at a major state run university in Mindanao, on commenting on these differences she noted that,

It's very logical because you're in Manila which is the center of government and so there is a concentration of all this international suffering stuff and it's there where you're very clearly addressing this issue of foreign relations and policies that emanate from the Manila based government. Down south here, the realities are such that you have to come face to face with the poverty, you have to come face to face with the atrocities of the Abu Sayyaf and then other than that you still have residuals, if not residuals, actual extensions still of colonial mentality. And so that combination would make for a positive feeling for the community, forces for example, talk to somebody who's had a kidnapped relative or talk to somebody who's had a trauma of all these killings and then they'll ask you, 'Then who do we turn to?' They'll even say, This government has been quite sterile in addressing that issue. Why isn't it stopping? There are a series of military operations going on. And so you'll see in the next ... coming from the Americans. So, tell them about security, tell them about peaceful sleep in the night. And this is the real thing to them, they want it over and done with. (Interview with Salazar, 2003)

Therefore it is clear that issues will be viewed and expressed differently based on the origin. Manila perspectives therefore are not only accepted but also expected by many political observers in Mindanao. The problem is however that sometimes these subjectivities tend to dominate the discussion and frame issues in ways foreign to and contradictory to the way in which it would be analyzed in the south. The next section will go on to discuss the ways in which Manila has claimed and perpetuated its position as the center and how it consciously or subconsciously subordinates Mindanaowan voices to the periphery. It will first discuss this "peripheralization"

³⁶ The names in this section are pseudonyms to protect the identity of those interviewed.

with regards to the construction of an “imperial discourse” one which emanates from the center and ignores or even silences the fringes. Secondly, this section will go on to discuss the alternative view that Mindanaowans take towards the war and its causes.

Imperial Manila

As was noted in the quote above, Manila is not only seen, but simply is the center of political power in the Philippines. As a country that draws upon a national form of government, much of the political decisions that take place in the country must go through Manila first. This in essence makes it so that people located in the political center tend to be influenced by and take part in the political debates, as opposed to addressing social concerns such as poverty or rehabilitation. Arguments that must go through a democratic system like that found in the Philippines must be framed in a manner that simplifies the facts and homogenizes the issues. Unfortunately in the process, many voices tend to be left out and unheard. This leads to a situation in which arguments about Mindanao are proposed without consultation with Mindanaowans themselves. An example of how this takes place is with regards to how the two fact-finding missions on the Balikatan exercises were conducted. Professor Salazar had this to say:

It’s interesting, fact finding missions coming down here, one organised by Akbayan and the other organised by Bayan. And not even those people in peace around here they were sensitive to us. It was the only time we were invited is when they were leaving forever. When they were leaving (we were invited to) their last dinner. They had gone off to Basilan and for 2 days, coming back to Zamboanga all of them were saying “You have to be there, you have to stay there”; They stayed there for 2 days! And you can say everything about Basilan. (Interview with Gloria Salazar, 2003)

What wasn’t widely publicized with regards to the fact-finding missions was that upon arrival in Mindanao, the larger solidarity mission of Bayan Muna experienced

resistance towards an Anti-US protest that they staged. In addition, some of the panels in which the other fact-finding mission organized received harsh criticism from members of the audience. In response, Bayan Muna argued that much of the resistance was paid for by the local war mongering government (Interview with Salazar, 2003). With regards to the harsh criticism found during the other fact-finding mission, it was argued that this is in part a natural, skeptical response of people in a war torn region. In response, according to one Mindanaowan, a professor of culture at another university in Mindanao, upon being asked why these fact-finding missions received such hostility, he argued:

I think first in terms of pride, maybe some of the people of Zamboanga or Mindanao felt that they were hurt because there was not consultation so they were never being involved in the plans and so I think the people when the caravan was not readily accepted, because the people were just so hurt about the process because it seemed they are the one thinking about what's good for Zamboanga or for people in Mindanao. (Interview with Bandaya, 2003)

Again, it can be seen that the issue of not being included or consulted in the process of forming a fact-finding mission peripheralizes local activists and intellectuals. This, although interpreted as simply misguided anger or sheer manipulation, is a very real situation for activists down south. Not only does it affect the way in which the discourse is ultimately shaped but it affects the way in which many of these local scholars feel about the process of understanding Mindanao. According to Prof. Salazar, she argued:

You see fact finding missions come here and leave and then were done. People here they interview, continue to live their lives and ultimately, one of the questions they ask, is, "What do you do with the things you find out about it? You see there were Australian Parliament, newspaper people together with the mission even legislators from here, the committee of human rights congress, they came here and I felt it was media hype ultimately, what it should all amount to is when you're over and done with your fact finding, what is to do with the people here? What are we seeing in terms of the resources, what's left who can muster up solidarity for the people down South? I mean, we

continue to be around here, you know it's like, when I was hungry for the conference to decide on my hunger, when I was sick you called a meeting to, you know... We get talked about. They get ogled at with microscopes and things like that. And then ultimately it's done and atrocities continue and when you think you've seen the light of day, you're back to square one. The light at the end of the tunnel is the light of an oncoming train. (Interview with Salazar, 2003)

Ultimately, as can be seen from the preceding passage, the way in which Manila approaches Mindanao can actually be detrimental to the relationship between local and Manila based scholars. This is difficult to overcome. In a conference among local and foreign scholars, one of the participants who had lived in Mindanao and conducted further investigations beyond "2 days" in consultation with local groups was asked the question, "Why are you here and what is this research for?" The situation in Mindanao is a very sensitive issue. Not only does it entail massive personal and social consequences, it is constantly observed and prodded by those from the outside to see what is actually happening and sometimes to substantiate arguments that locals see no part of.

Manila based perceptions of what is happening in Mindanao again reflect the priorities of an active group of academics and political observers who live at the center of politics in the Philippines. This is problematic in that their sets of priorities tend to overshadow the priorities of people actually living in Mindanao. For instance, with regards to the issue of national sovereignty, Prof. Bayani history professor went on to argue that,

Naturally nationalists would raise their voices against suspicions that the possibility that the constitution is being tainted. On the other hand, the administration to the president has also made it clear that they would not allow the constitution or any of its provisions to be broken. And when they say the Balikatan will not be extended, it was not extended. (Interview with Bayani, 2003)

With regards to the priorities of locals in contrast to the human rights violations that were touted in Manila, Bayani went on to argue,

[People felt safe] Generally that was the reaction someone gave me, and at least one person from Basilan said they did not want the US military to leave. I've read that, I've heard that and I've seen it in the papers near the end of the exercises when it became clear that it would not be extended. If I were to make an educated guess as to why, it was probably because of the economic activity. From tricycle drivers to hotel owners to restaurant owners, night club owners, simple laundry women, even the guides that led them from Zamboanga...all of them had extra income. For some, it really changed their lives. The presence of the military to do the exercises do also include side activities. There were support activities like civic action work, medical outreach and you could see that the poor, the disadvantaged were really given some comfort, some improvement in their lives, albeit temporary. But those who were operated on had a chance of a lifetime. (Interview with Bayani, 2003)

Two important issues emerged from this passage. Firstly was the issue of safety. In most of the interviews conducted, it was found that safety was a considerable concern for many of the residents of the territories currently experiencing conflict. It was found that the presence of the US helped to provide an environment that felt safer and people felt protected in their communities because of the presence of the US.

According to Bandaya,

I think the majority of the people would be supportive [of the US presence] especially in conflict areas where they have experienced a lot of kidnapping. And one of the things that we can look at here is they just lost hope and trust in their own military. Because they believe that our own military is so big and that they can't make them feel safe all, that is why they are receiving in that area. American soldiers can provide them protection and safeguard their safety in the community. (Interview with Bandaya, 2003)

Whereas in Manila, nationalist observers claim that the presence of the United States serve as an "insult to Filipino soldiers" and an "abdication of our sovereignty," those of Basilan want to see action and feel as if the government and the military has already proven to be ineffective. The presence of the Americans helped to provide a

brief sense of hope and safety to local residents who not only benefited from the influx of income but also the life changing opportunities the Americans provided.

In a sense, it can be argued, as the Manila activists had done, that this was an attempt to win over the hearts and minds of the people in Mindanao. But on the other hand, the other important issue that emerged from Prof. Bayani's discussion was the issue of economic need. Many of the locals were not interested in the political ramifications of the presence of the US. According to Prof. Salazar, "common people don't look at it this way. They live, they sell fish in the markets, they go out fishing, they plant rice. It's the same living." Although she argues that the presence and expansion of war was a negative product of the American troops in Mindanao, ultimately, much of the attention and many of the goods brought to Mindanao have greatly facilitated the lives of the locals. Moreover, not all locals have had negative stereotypes of Americans. According to one NGO employee and community leader, when the mayors expressed great interest in the arrival of the Americans, he stated,

They knew that the coming of the Americans, from the development point of view. Among the Muslims, they have very good experiences with the Americans in the past and you know....In the past, the American brought us education, they brought us democracy, they brought us chocolate. Our parents were education by the Americans, and they did not lose their religion. In fact it prepared them to see the challenges of society to be educated by the Americans. (Interview with Samar, 2003)

Therefore, contrary to the belief found in Manila circles that the Americans were wholeheartedly rejected by locals as an oppressive and exploitative force, on the contrary, many of the locals did not seem to feel threatened or taken advantage of by the Americans. Many of them saw the Americans in a more positive light.

In actuality, this was what was presented in the media (Ingram, 2002). Perhaps because the journalists who had visited Mindanao were less interested in the political considerations and reported simply what was told to them by locals, they on the whole

tended to present the US presence in Mindanao as positive. In response, as was seen in the section on Manila's response to such a claim, many of these articles were seen as pro-government propaganda written by people who basically took the stories of people who were unable to tell the truth. But at the same time, many Mindanaowans did not feel like the media had any concern for Mindanao beyond its own self-interests. Therefore the remaining section will discuss Mindanaowan perspectives towards the media.

Another way in which local scholars are disenfranchised from the discourse is through what some locals considers a slighted and misinformed media. According to Bandaya:

[People in Manila] are fearful because I think when you talk of Mindanao in general the people in Manila would immediately have a negative image. Immediately they believe the people in Mindanao as warriors, terrorists and stuff. That's the general picture that immediately comes to their mind...And we can't just blame them....this is the product of the media. This is the picture that they are singing on the radio and on TV. (Interview with Bandaya, 2003)

Negative stereotypes of Mindanao not only preclude the ability for alternative perspectives to emerge, but also tends to silence the minority, again peripheralizing their experiences. Much like many of the NGO's that tend to exclude local voices and perspectives from the planning of their events, the media too tends to exclude local voices or frame them in a manner that sells. According to a priest who lives in Mindanao, when asked whether or not he felt any resentment towards Manila, he argued:

Yeah, yes of course, because all of the problems in Mindanao are being feasted on by the people in Manila. You see those living in Manila are speaking much about Mindanao...look at the newspapers, people from Manila are speaking lots about Mindanao, about us, but the people in Mindanao, my goodness, I don't know if they have space in the media to speak for our own, to speak for us. (Interview with Father Dungan, 2003)

Beyond just the issue of Mindanaowan frustration with the media which depicts their home in a manner that perpetuates stereotypes of a war torn region and a hub of human rights violations, many times these images tend to perpetuate stereotypes of different groups as well further tip the delicate balance between the different ethnic groups in Mindanao. Perpetuating one sided viewpoints on the nature of the conflict, again Manila based journalists tend to exploit Mindanaowan news to feed into national and many times international stereotypes of what the basis to conflict should be.

Particularly from the media and the media sectors. They keep harping and using the name of Muslims to connote people who are bad. And this melody has been there even during Martial law. We Muslims have complained about this, you know instead of identifying one just like a Maranao or a Tausug, just like the Christian, they never say a holdupper is Christian...but the media is very fast to say Muslim hold up, Muslim bandits, Muslim Abu Sayyaf, well probably because most of these rebels are now in Mindanao, but there are also NPAs and there are bandits all over. (Interview with Rajab, 2003)

Therefore, by looking at the ways in which Mindanaowan views are overshadowed by the political motivations of those living in the center of politics in the Philippines, by comparing and contrasting Mindanao versus Manila views on the US military presence and lastly in looking at Mindanao views towards the media, it can be concluded that Mindanao voices are peripheralized by Manila. Either consciously or subconsciously, Mindanao, according to its residents is further exploited by the center to meet its goals of either selling newspapers or pushing political agendas locally or abroad. It should be clear by now that what are considered priorities in Mindanao are very different from what are considered priorities in Manila. Therefore the remaining section to the “views from the periphery” will be focused on discussing some of these priorities and analyses to the “real causes of war.”

Real Causes of War

The preceding section discussed the way in which the media perpetuates stereotypes of the Muslim minority, further disenfranchising this group and marginalizing them from acceptance into the mainstream conception of what a Filipino is. This issue is further compounded by the reality that the Christian population is continually growing and displacing Muslims from their lands and their original position as a majority in Mindanao. According to the Census of Population and Housing (1990) in the past 100 years, the population of Christians had grown from 45% to as much as 81%.

Year	Mindanao Population	Moro Population		Non-Moro Population	
		Number	As % of Min. Pop'n	Number	As % of Min. Pop'n
1903	706,529	390,386	55	316,143	45
1939	2,244,421	755,189	34	1,489,232	66
1948	2,943,324	933,101	32	2,010,223	68
1960	5,686,027	1,321,060	23	4,364,967	77
1970	7,963,932	1,669,708	21	6,294,224	79
1975	9,146,995	1,798,991	20	7,348,084	80
1980	10,905,243	2,504,332	23	8,400,911	77
1990	14,269,736	2,690,456	19	11,579,280	81

*Found in Wan Kadir Che Man.³⁷

According to Che Man, accompanying this growth of Christian settlers was a series of policies that provided Christians with preferential treatment in terms of land ownership and employment (Che Man, 1990). Even more tragic, was the amount of stereotypes that emerged during this time and that were strengthened by the growing pool of the landless and unemployed Muslim population. Furthermore, Muslims

³⁷ The chart was altered to reflect actual data found in the *Census of the Philippine Islands*, 1903. Volume II, Washington: United States Bureau of the Census, 1905.

particularly in the post-September 11th times, with the rise of kidnap for ransom groups such as the Abu Sayyaf, are continually seen as the enemy.

This tends to be a very sensitive and painful issue to many interviewed Muslims in Mindanao. When asked what served as the “real causes” to war in the south many of those interviewed discuss a deep seeded and emotional connection to the Philippines, and to being Filipino, but a resentment at the way in which they are treated and perceived.

Sometimes when the Christians are talking they say things. Who says that Muslims are very terrible in society? We never say the same things about the Christians! Christians always say that Muslims have only one love. But we tell our men to not just love one another, but others as well. Even in 1974 when the military was bombing Mindanao, many Catholic sisters went to the Muslims in the mountains instead of going to the military camps for protection. The state spoon-feeds the people that we are terrorists, you are the terrorists, you must remember Muslims you are the terrorists. You bombed the twin towers in the United States. They spoon-feed the world into thinking we are terrorists. The Muslims in this world have never been terrorists! (Interview with Samar, 2003)

In the same interview, Samar went on to say:

This is the only homeland that God has given us you know. It is the birth of our freedom, of our happiness and all this. But imperially they must understand, that our separation is dictated by reality. We need a government that we can rule ourselves that is guided by Islam. We don't have to be separated. They just have to realize that the Muslims in this country have contributed to the growth of national culture, and we are part of building this nation. (Interview with Samar, 2003)

Not all Muslims feel the same way about a Muslim state however, although many do sympathize. For instance, many Muslims who play a role in the government feel that they are a part of the national project and feel as if they are playing an important role in the process of changing people's perceptions of Muslims. According to Amir Miglani an official in a government agency aimed at addressing Muslim issues,

I am now with the government, I am an employee of the government, and am paid by the government. [The MILF] speak for themselves, they do not speak for me, nor do they speak for my employees... The

problem is actually kept in the heart. Once you look at me, it's like, "ah! Abu Sayyaf!" But I told them, "everyday you are looking at Jesus Christ. I am trying to imitate him here." (Interview with Miglani, 2003)

From an institutional point of view, many of the MNLF rebels who have been absorbed into the Philippine government through various programs have taken on a very similar view. Although the feelings of resentment and powerlessness still exist among many of these rebels, reaffirming the ongoing existence of discrimination and oppression, some of them have just resolved to accept the reality of their position in Mindanao. Furthermore this is not in a negative way either, many Muslims who have been absorbed into the system are quite content with where they are in spite of the difficulties. According to a former MNLF rebel and now government official in the education branch of the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao,

Personally, I want independence. You know, when you are independent, you can move what as you wish, freely. Of course we want this, but we stay neutral now because we are in the government.... It is our belief that Mindanao is ours. But we ignore the MILF because we are in the government... So to our mind, if the MILF wins, alright, its up to them what they will do, we civilians will just continue our work. (Interview with Pagbuaya, 2003)

It is undeniable therefore that Muslim Filipinos feel a sense of attachment to the country either in a professional sense tied to their duties and responsibilities to the nation, or as a genuine bona-fide Filipino who has contributed greatly to the building of the nation. On the other hand, there is also an irrepressible resentment towards a national government that is seen as oppressive and discriminating. The combination of the two helps to lay out the foundation for a volatile environment, one mixed with love of ones country and hatred of its flaws.

Although they currently consist of the majority, Christians too feel this resentment that the Muslims experience. They realize the stereotypes that have helped to create this situation are deep seeded in their own life histories and experiences.

Many Christians relay stories of their parents and grand parents warning them of the dangerous Muslims that kidnapped and enslaved bad Christian children (Interview with Salazar, 2003). According to one Christian,

Seemingly there are biases that we have been dealing with, there are long time biases, prejudices. I would even say these are generational things, generational in the sense that a lot of us may not have experienced these biases in the same way but are still products of those biases. Because in the case of the Muslim and Christian, you know that you can never trust one another. Suspicion is always there. So a lot of trust is lacking due to prejudices. (Interview with Delgado, 2003)

Many Christians believe that it is precisely this underlying tension between the two different groups that have led to the conflict that can be seen to day. According to one priest who was taken hostage by a groups of rebels,

The animosity between Muslims and Christians is there in somewhat of a dormant stage. But when the attack on Siocon happened, somehow the dormant animosity between Muslim and Christian in [my community] had revived. It is because of this that the growing mistrust between the three different groups is growing. (Interview with Father Dunguan, 2003)

On the other hand, many of these Christians also feel bad that these stereotypes exist because many of these Christians that were born and raised in Mindanao tend to see the problem as not a religious or ethnic problem. According to one Mindanaowan,

I do not believe that the conflict is religious in nature because I grew up with Muslims and I know them by experience so it was only when those educated theologians, nationalists, those who wanted change [when these problems came about]. People just live with each other. They'll take your price even if you're a Muslim. They'll buy from you even if you're a Christian. Things like those. (Interview with Bayani, 2003)

The way in which Christian Filipinos view the potential for conflict between the two groups tends to vary according to various factors, the amount of time one has lived in the region, how connected they feel to their community etc. But overall, the existence of the tension between the two groups is undeniable. These underlying fears and

stereotypes lay the foundation for a very uneasy and tenuous sense of stability. Both parties feel it.

In response, many of the local community members have attempted to address the issues between the two groups through discourse. It is a general consensus that no matter how much money is poured into Mindanao, if the fear and mistrust between the groups are not addressed then the problems will remain. According to Salazar,

We are not looking at how much money should be invested in one place. In places that are depressed, deprived and underserved, it could actually lead to more divisions, especially if the criteria for support is not clearly laid out. There are ethical considerations, some guys who are not assisted would want to resent all the more the fact that other guys are assisted. So they keep on asking, "What do they got that we don't have? Were just as bad as they are. In our situation, why are they assisted while we're not, oh because we're not like this..." So the feeling is that we have to build on good relationships. Even opening doors. You don't hurt your friends. You may talk religion, but when the doors are closed no amount of talk is going to alleviate your problem. So if it is at all possible to invest in friendship that no matter if you talk different things, you know your friend is your friend, he is not going to harm. (Interview with Salazar, 2003)

But this is not as easy as it seems, for people either tend to not accept the idea that talking about stereotypes can help, or fear that by discussing these things in the open they can actually perpetuate problems and suffer the consequences. According NGO employee Delgado,

You see you are willing to risk, you are willing to sacrifice, ok, but who can do that? Except the person who believes, who has the sense of the sacred in her. Who has the guts to say I don't care if I lose my job or what but this is what I am called to do and I am going to do it. (Interview with Delgado, 2003)

People may speak and acknowledge the existence of problems in Mindanao, but who will go so far as to try and make a difference. Many of the people interviewed tended to say that the conflict was not just religious, or was not just economic but was about person-to-person interaction. Thus how does one reconcile the problems? According

to many of the “Peace Advocates” in Mindanao, the path to ending the cyclical violence is through heartfelt discussions between Muslims and Christians. This discourse actually goes beyond simply looking at civilians but even rebels and the military can be seen as central to it as well. Once all people see the connection between one another as human beings they can then begin to respect one another as equals. According to Delgado,

When I am giving this [peace seminars] I don't care whether I am a Muslim or whatever, I don't care if I am with the MNLF rebels or with the Military because always at the end of the seminar they are all the same, and you know during the sharings, they really express. At the beginning it was so suspicious, especially those in the military. So even my group and all the others said, “Will you feel comfortable?” I said I think it is fine. I think life is a risk. (Interview with Delgado, 2003)

Although hard to accept by some, the object of the Peace Advocacy platform is for Mindanaowans to share their feelings on one another to breakthrough much of the stereotypes that have been passed on through the generations. Again, person-to-person interaction becomes more important than economic development, corruption and even global hegemonic schemes employed by imperialistic nations. The object of the seminars are to get the people of Mindanao and eventually the Philippines to see how the fighting that exists needs to stop at the individual level. By passing on this message person by person, the goal is to enlighten each Filipino of the importance in respecting one another on equal terms. According to Minda Pagadilaw and Lily Go at a Peace Advocate NGO,

I hope that in the future things will change. Transformation will change as long as there is openness for the people to change their mentality, their minds and their hearts for a better world. (Interview with Pagadilaw and Go, 2003)

Hybrid Identities at the Core of the Fierce Politics

The existence of fierce politics is no stranger to the Philippines. From the highly critical satires and essays written by Jose Rizal against the Spanish to the radical anti-imperial, anti-colonial views of Renato Constantino against the Americans, politics in the Philippines is rarely ever devoid of action. This historical reminder is of importance, particularly since much of the literature on the vibrant civil society in the Philippines tends to focus on the role of the Marcos regime, the “People Power” movements that overtook the regime and the role of civil society today in trying to safeguard against the return of an authoritarian dictator (Eaton, 2003).

Yet one must remember that one of the motivations behind and justifications for the declaration of martial law under Marcos was the ferocious protests sweeping across Manila against the government in the 1970s. Known as the “First Quarter Storm,” these series of protests marked what some have argued the development of recent Philippine history (Montiel, et al, 1991). Centering around the issues of student’s rights, economic equality and nationalism, although many have argued that this movement is simply a part of the wave of Anti-war student movements that swept the globe, on the other hand, many of themes that emerged during this time were similar to and peculiar to the Philippines’ unique colonial history.

From Rizal to Constantino, First Quarter Storm to the People Power Revolution, the ongoing debates in Mindanao has links to these issues and similarly carries the same themes. Within each movement can be seen a dialectical relationship of power between a foreign “more superior” actor the local disenfranchised “minority.” In the case of Rizal, although he himself came from an elite class, he attempted to speak on behalf of the larger group of exploited “indios,” who in the process became converted to the “Filipino,” individuals worthy of respect and pride. Constantino in his works *A Past Revisted* and *Neo-colonial Identity and Counter*

Consciousness explored the continuing subjugation of the Filipino to the beliefs and values of the American colonial masters. He argued that in order to counter the effects of hundreds of years of colonial subjugation, it behooves Filipinos to create a counter-consciousness, one that builds on the indigenous values central to the Filipino identity.

Roots to Various Perspectives

In Manila, the prevailing anti-imperial and nationalist stance can be attributed to the communist roots that predate and in some cases continue to be part of the NGO history. In fact, the two fact-finding missions that were organized by the two different network of NGOs discussed earlier are actually a product of the split within the student movement that was forced underground during the first quarter storm. The communist underpinnings to some of these groups continue to resonate in much of its political discourse today. According to Jose P. Magno, many of these groups “makes recourse to several recurrent themes to maintain the requisite of emotional salience—the exploitative character of US imperialism and international, as well as domestic, capitalism and the feudal and oppressive character of “bourgeoisie” rule in the Philippines” (Magno, 1986: 504-505). This is not very far off from the arguments that first framed the movement that started with the birth of the Philippine Communist Party (Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas) in the 1930s. One of the reasons why the Philippine Communist Party of the Philippines was forced underground initially was because of its explicit manifesto that aimed at ending the “US imperialist domination” during a time in which the Philippines was still a US colony (Van der Kroef, 1973).

In Mindanao, there are two schools of thought on the role of Muslims in Filipino history. The literature on Muslim Filipinos tends to fall into two schools of

thought: the primordialist, or those who believe that Filipino Muslims deserve their own home land on the basis of history (Kamlan, 1999; Rodil, 1994; Lingga, 2000, 2002; Bauzon, 1991; Gowing, 1983; Tangol, 1993) and the constructionist who sees the Filipino Muslim identity as a modern fiction that emerges from the highly political desire for independence (McKenna, 1998; Casino, 2000; George, 1980; Junker, 2000; Laarhoven, 1989). Regardless of the approach, born out of the spirit of struggle in the 1970s and the repercussions of the US colonial regime two intellectuals arose to help funnel the anger and frustration into areas which they saw productive. The first was Nur Misuari, a Muslim Filipino from Sulu who had studied at the country's premiere university, the University of the Philippines Diliman Campus in Manila. By the time of the Jabidah Massacre³⁸, Misuari was already a lecturer at the university. He had forged alliances with the nationalist and leader of the communist party, Jose Maria Sison and helped found the Kabataan Makabayan, the nationalist youth organization. Upon return to Mindanao in 1969, he ardently believed that it was only through the radicalization of the Moro struggle along progressive lines that the Islamic community in the Philippines would be able to surmount the ugly face of discrimination and subjugation in their own land. Founding the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), one of the first armed rebellion groups in the south formed on the basis of separatist ideology, this group fought against the Philippine government from 1971 to 1976, when the Philippine government was forced to cede to the demands of this group and allow them an "autonomous region." This region is

³⁸ In 1968, when Ferdinand Marcos attempted to train a group of Muslim insurgents to undermine Malaysia's claim to Sabah, those who refused to obey his commander's order were slaughtered in what is now call the Jabidah Massacre (Che, 1990). Since most of those trained were Muslim, Muslim communities saw this as the government's complete disregard for their rights. Coupled with the increased governmentally subsidized migration of Christians from to the North to Mindanao, tensions ran high as Muslim leaders began to organize politically and began to demand for political power and eventually, separation (Bauzon, 1990).

now called the “Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao” or the ARMM (Tan, 1977, 1981, 1993; Majul, 1973, 1988)

The second leader that arose out of this period was Salamat Hashim. Also born on the island of Mindanao, he was raised to be very religious by his parents. At the age of 17, he left the Philippines on scholarship to study at Al-Azhar University in Cairo, pursuing a degree in the Alqeeda (Islamic Creed) and Philosophy. While in Cairo, he learned of the history of colonial oppression of the Islamic world and decided to become involved in the revolutionary Islamic movement of that time. As part of his activities, he helped organize the first batch (Batch 90) of Filipino Muslims to receive training in insurgency and combat techniques in the Middle East. This cadre then formed the group that initiated the campaign against the Philippine government. When the Moro National Liberation Front engaged in a peace agreement with the Philippine government, Salamat led a group of counter revolutionaries that challenged the secular agreement that Misuari had agreed to. Splitting from the MNLF in 1976, the war raged on as his faction, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front continued to fight with the Philippine government for a peace agreement that authentically attempted to provide Muslim Filipinos with religious autonomy as opposed to just political autonomy. With peace negotiations on going till this day, his faction has not signed any agreement as of yet with the Philippine government (Morella, 2001). Salamat died August 6, 2003 (Ramzy, 2003).

Both in Manila and in Mindanao, the radicalization of the leaders all happened as a result of education and contact with the outside world. In Manila, the communist movement emerged in response to US involvement and control of Philippine politics. In Mindanao, both Nur Misuari and Hashim Salamat obtained their revolutionary standpoint by receiving their education either outside of Manila or outside of the

Philippines. Much like the Propagandistas that came before them, or Franz Fanon in France, the identity crisis that paves the way for the confrontational attitude one takes towards the system is grounded upon one's own personal experience with the outside.

The Political Scene Today

As can be seen in the intense political scene today, particularly with regards to the controversial situation in Mindanao, the legacy of such roots still can be seen. Furthermore, it can easily be argued that while the roots may continue to persist, new confrontations with the outside world maintain the existing sense of frustration and personal anguish. In the context of Manila perspectives, this can be seen in the way in which the anger towards the US manifests itself in an almost uncompromising manner. In Mindanao, it can be argued that Christian academics in being disenfranchised from the center of power experience the resentment of exclusion fueling their drive to promote alternative perspectives such as the culture of peace. Lastly, and most importantly, it is the continual discrimination and subjugation of the Muslim Filipino identity that fuels not just the ongoing political debate but silently feeds the separatist movement in the south.

Manila Voices

As was seen in the section on threatened national security and global connections in the perspectives from the center, the situation in Mindanao is a product of a failed state. The Philippines cannot seem to get its priorities in order and instead of perpetuating economic growth, it engages in war (Docena, 2007). But as was argued, this is not a fault of the Philippine state alone, it is attributable to the

American hegemonic system that continues to perpetuate its strength throughout the world. According to Vizmanos (2002),

Even if the September 11 tragedy did not happen and even if the Abu Sayyaf did not exist, the US power elite would still have imposed its will on the subservient Arroyo government for US military access and basing rights in the Philippines. This was already spelled out in the US Department of Defense East Asia Strategy Report as early as 1995. Let me cite its most relevant points:

- 1) To establish a base of operations for the imposition of Pax Americana and US hegemony in southeast Asia within the framework of a global strategy in furtherance of economic and geopolitical interests.
- 2) To enhance US capability to control and interdict sea and air lanes traversing southeast Asia between the Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean & between the Far East and southern hemisphere.
- 3) For redeployment of US troops and facilities from Okinawa in the face of mounting opposition to continued US military presence on the island from the people of Okinawa.
- 4) To suppress national liberation and anti-imperialist revolutionary and progressive forces and movements in Southeast Asia in the guise of war against international terrorism.

Although it has already been argued in this chapter the role of the US in international politics has been undertaken throughout the world and in fact many of these Filipino arguments tend to link themselves up to already existing arguments, the arguments presented by Manila based observers have focused on the US in an almost fixated sense. From the formation of the Philippine Communist Party to the war in Mindanao, it should be clear that central to failure of the Philippine state will be the omnipotent American empire which either physically or politically controls the country.

While the argument that the “personal is political” emerged in the 1960s through the radical feminist movement, C. Wright Mills has argued even earlier that public issues can be linked to personal troubles (Willis, 1984). Therefore it is not

difficult to see how one's personal beliefs could be reflected in one's political observations. People's personal views can also be seen in the way in which they project their anger and ideas towards others. In a similar article by Vizmanos, he then goes on to discuss his ideas of the Philippines in contrast to other nations in Southeast Asia,

Even if U.S. promises them double of what it promised the Philippines, other Southeast Asian nations will not accept if it means allowing U.S. military intervention in their internal affairs. They have a high sense of self-respect and national dignity. Philippine leaders are political prostitutes.³⁹

One can and many have argued that the Gloria Macapagal Arroyo has actually revitalized a crucial relationship necessary for the modernization of the Philippine Military through the exploitation of the "war on terrorism." Michael Montesano has argued that in light of "crippling revenues" and "mounting fiscal deficit," the war on terror provided the Philippine government with at least some bargaining power in pushing for preferential trade agreements. Yet regardless of the potential to view such events in the Philippines as providing some sense of relief, several political observers in Manila tend to continually interpret the relations in the Philippines as one sided, unfair and even shameful. As demonstrated in the passage above, Philippine leaders are considered prostitutes and atypical of leaders in the region who have at least some form of "self-respect." This very personal and critical attack on US-Philippine relations must stem from something deeper than just "communist roots" or the usage of "inflammatory language." There must be a reason to this deep seeded and continual anger that has lasted against the US for the past century and against Spain centuries earlier.

³⁹ Rejoinder to Pro-Balikatan Arguments by Vizmanos

Mindanao Voices

And then colonial mentality. Anybody who's white. Anybody who's sharp nosed and things like that. This is also what constitutes the concept of beauty around here, the well chiselled features, etc. The Americans only start coming in, people just look up to them and they have this post-Spanish nostalgia. (Vizmanos, 2002c)

Post-colonial mentality reverberates throughout the country and not just in the political center. In Mindanao, the way in which the Americans were received demonstrated the flip side to the colonial mentality. While the Manila political observers were expressing their deep disdain towards the American presence, discussing the US in the most vehement of terms, on the other hand Mindanaowans tended to see Americans as liberating, generous and sincere. According to one Mindanaowan,

[Nationalism is not an issue in Sulu⁴⁰]. I think the issue in Sulu is whether the Americans will be sensitive to the culture of the Tausugs. Because if you look at the history of the Tausug resistance against the Americans one of the reasons why the Tausugs fought is because they felt that their traditional culture was threatened and when they realized that the Americans were more accommodating to their culture, to their religion, than the Filipino government [they] accepted the American military presence under American ruling. (Interview with Bandaya, 2003)

As was discussed in the preceding section, the Americans were the ones that brought education, development and chocolates to Mindanao. They are also reminiscent of a romantic visualization of life under the Spanish. Therefore the enemy to which the anger is directed towards is not necessarily the external one, but more so the internal one. Of course however, given the diversity of ethnicities in Mindanao, these views can be seen from different perspectives.

⁴⁰ This was in response to a question on the role of nationalism in the debates regarding the next Balikatan Exercises which were speculated to take place in the island archipelago off the western coast of the Philippines called Sulu.

Activists and academics in Mindanao also take politics very personally. Christian academics tend to see the war in Mindanao and the ideas perpetuated on the war in the south as central to their own daily existence. Many locals tend to see the conflict between Muslims and Christians as contrived given the fact that many of these Christians had lived in Mindanao their entire lives and fraternized with Muslims in various institutions from work to school, and feel a profound sense of connection to Mindanao and the people of Mindanao, regardless of religion. According to Bayani, a native of Mindanao, he argued,

They'll buy fish from the Muslims, the Muslims will buy vegetables from the Christians. Muslims will patronize the movie houses owned by Chinese, eat in Chinese restaurants. It was only after the division and it didn't start from the bottom, it started upstairs. That's what's weird to me. (Interview with Bayani, 2003)

Whether or not “upstairs” describes Manila or political leaders in Mindanao, through many interviews it became clear that Mindanaowans do not all view their neighbors with fear and mistrust even though they accept that the sentiment exists. More importantly however is the idea that the conflict that exists is not solely ground up, but rather an external imposition. The fact that some Manila NGOs and the media tend to marginalize certain realities in Mindanao only emphasize how “upstairs” or “imperial Manila” take on a foreign and external tone, not one central to or even parallel to the beliefs and values of Mindanaowans.

The animosity that emerges from this resistance to the center manifested itself in the protests that emerged against one of the “fact finding missions.” According to Bandaya,

This is also one of the dilemmas of some of the issues that is being rallied in Manila. They are against the military exercising the Balikatan Exercises and at one point there was a caravan that come here to do a rally against the Balikatan Exercises and this was not readily accepted by the people in Zamboanga or Mindanao because for them, they say,

you do not know the situation here. You are not the one affected when the conflict arise. (Interview with Bandaya, 2003)

Bandaya and others went on to discuss how the caravans were stoned and Mindanaowan protesters carried their own banners asking the caravan to go home. In personal interviews with members of Manila NGO circuits, the common understanding of this situation was that the locals were paid off by the Mayor and supported by the Americans.

With regards to media portrayals as was discussed in the previous sections, many Mindanaowans resented the way in which they were depicted as violent and that their homes were described as unsafe. With regards to the question of whether or not Mindanao was unsafe, Bandaya went on to say,

I think we are even more relaxed in the downtown area, going to Manila, you have to be very watchful of every move because some people would just snatch your personal belongings. Here in Zamboanga you are even more free to move around and if there are incidents, they only exist in the outskirts. (Interview with Bandaya, 2003)

Even though the resistance stated here is just an issue of impression, it is an expression of how some Mindanaowans feel that they are not the ones who are undignified or war prone. Locals of Mindanao feel a sense of attachment to their home and pride in their unique identity. When this identity is framed and discussed in a manner that is either negative or exclusive of Mindanaowan voices, resentment emerges. This resentment can emerge in a manner that pushes their agenda further into the limelight or it can manifest itself in the form of counter stereotypes. Either way, it can be argued that much of this bitterness is fed into their own activities to make a difference within their localized capacity.

Muslims on the other hand have a much harder time reconciling some of these negative stereotypes perpetuated either in the media, Manila or home grown. As was seen in some of the quotes from Muslim Mindanaowans, the emergence of the resistant identity in response to the prevailing Christian stereotypes can be heart wrenching. This complex struggle between ones attachment to the Philippine nation and to one's ethnic or religious identity continually serves as the foundation to the struggle for a homeland that can be seen today. According to Samar,

The Birth of the Moro liberation front, the MILF and the Abu Sayyaf, these are manifestations of frustration. You must learn from our history of the systems, our histories of colonization, whether it is external or internal colonialism, it did not bring any advantages to the Moros. We were brought to the brink of extinction...so geographically we are diminishing. Demographically we are diminishing. Spiritually you know because they look at us as trouble makers. We are bombarded by a lot of pressures. These are manifestations of a [series of oppressions]. It seems that imperial Manila does not look at the root causes of the problem. They look at these from the symptomatic point of view. (Interview with Samar, 2003)

Therefore as can be seen from above, it is precisely this aggravation towards the state and towards Christians that fuel the conflict in Mindanao. Not all Muslims feel as if it is the external sources of oppression that tends to lead to violence. Muslims Filipinos are not only victims of injustice however. Many times, Muslims tend to see the problems in Mindanao as also stemming from their own violent history or cultural traits. When asked what were the causes to conflict in Mindanao, according to one Muslim she argued,

It's very much deep, they say because it has many causes. You see there are problems with "rido," you know the term? It means family feud, or family conflict. So these families sometimes they have conflict because of politics. So there's conflict in communications. Political families, who's to win. That's where it starts and sometimes its just by egocentrism. We call that "Maratbat" in Muslim. (Interview with Panglao, 2003)

On the other hand, Muslims also feel pushed into the wave of violence engaged by already radicalized Muslims. Due to the highly politicized environment, it becomes a situation where even complacent or institutionalized Muslims feel the push towards militancy. While Muslims in urban and highly diversified environments are somewhat safeguarded by the pressure, to a certain extent all Muslims are subjected to the strain,

- A: In the government side, Moros who are working in the government do not support. But other civilians in the area, they will support. Because they are afraid!
- Q: Of the government?
- A: No to the MILF! They are Muslims, although they are Muslims, if they do not support, the MILF will get angry. (Interview with Pagbuaya, 2003)

Stating that Muslims in the government tend to be neutral and to a certain extent safer from the pressures of other radicalized Muslims, Pagbuaya went on to say when placed in a position to join the government, many Muslim Filipinos would choose to be part of the system rather than participate in the war. According to Pagbuaya,

You see what happened to the MNLF? Not all are in the government, so there is a jump! Not all are given spaces in the government, so what did they do? Others went to the MILF, others become neutral and become businessman, that is the scenario here in Mindanao. (Interview with Pagbuaya, 2003)

One wonders what happens to those who become neutral. Do they also end up feeling the same pressure to join the MILF as the other civilians Pagbuaya mentioned earlier?

Therefore, Muslims in Mindanao all do not want the same thing nor do they experience the pressures of discrimination in the same way. Some have been absorbed by the national project, some have been marginalized, and some are complacent, but overall the general sense of historical injustices tend to prevail and continually feed the anger many feel towards their government and in times of desperation, their neighbors. They react to the pressures of discrimination and stereotyping in several different ways. Some become radicalized due to the anger that they feel towards

Christians, history and the government. Others tend to internalize the stereotypes and search within for reasons why they are considered the problem in Mindanao. On the whole, all seem to feel the pull of radicalization from all directions. This leads to a highly emotional debate that is only further complicated by the even more emotional debates coming in from Manila and the highly biased and inflammatory media.

Conclusion

The way in which Mindanao is envisioned in the Filipino consciousness is inextricable from the highly political and emotional debates that have been evolving for centuries. From Spanish times with the Propagandistas to the nationalist and communists during the American colonial period, it is impossible to view the passionate debates surrounding Mindanao without interrogating why these debates throughout the history of the Philippines have taken such a personal and fiery form. Clashing beliefs, chaotic interpretations and deep personal turmoil characterize the complex political terrain in Mindanao. In order for one to understand the complexity behind the diverse and fragile situation in Mindanao, the role of hybridized post-colonial identities in the formation of perspectives needs to be analyzed.

Chapter 5: Emotional Choices

While the emotional elements that have contributed to the social and political institutions that help to frame our understanding of Mindanao should now be quite evident, it should not be forgotten that emotions also factor into some of the most immediate and personal of concerns. These immediate and personal of concerns ensure that although the emotions of guilt or anger may have driven the way in which the political institutions that Mindanao now rests on were created and the ways in which these institutions were received, at the same time these institutions are conversely being shaped from the individual up. As has been already discussed, institutions and political discourses are shaped by emotions. Conversely however, these institutions and discourses are not “one way” processes that are then arbitrarily accepted by the people of Mindanao. Although their realities are shaped by the historical conditions that predate them or the reality of how Manila based discourses tend to disenfranchise their voice, the people of Mindanao do not have to blindly accept the rational or emotional choices of the people around them. Mindanaowans regardless of whether or not they desire it also possess the potential to alter their situation. This chapter aims to talk about how in the process of understanding the reality of displacement, war and violence in Mindanao, the “subaltern” or those not engaged in the fierce debates in Manila or the intellectual discussions upheld by Mindanaowan activists also have the ability to shape their reality.

The difference is however, as we have seen with the other two important groups in Filipino society, this type of agency is not one that people are necessarily conscious of. Just as the Americans did not go into their position of colonizers

cognizant of their guilt, Manila based political observers would never have accepted that much of their political zealotry was based on residual feelings associated with their colonial past. Similarly therefore, those of Mindanao, although it will be argued have the capacity to resist and redefine the structures that bear down on them, are also guided by a deep well of emotions that they too cannot control nor are necessarily conscious of. Regardless of whether or they are conscious of their actions, they nevertheless experience the consequences of them thereby altering their conditions and reiterating the fact that they are not bound by the institutions that surround them. In spite of the historical, political and social conditions that surround them they still have the ability to affect their destiny, either for better or for worse, and in the process redefine the conditions that then those above them have to respond to.

This chapter will examine the way in which the people who throughout this entire dissertation had been spoken for have the ability to speak for themselves. It endeavors to prove that not all action that takes place is dictated by the social confines that surround us. At the same time it highlights the fact that because not every action is a summation of circumstances and opportunities, some actions cannot be predicted or explained. The people of Mindanao in this section are products of a history with the Americans, with the Filipino nation and with the contemporary discourses that swirl above them and yet they can act in ways that even with the utmost diligence and dedication cannot be enumerated out and explained in terms that one can understand. Even in situations where everyone speaks for them, they have the ability to speak for themselves.

Because the last chapter was devoted to the issue of voice, and whether or not the subaltern could speak, this chapter will develop the idea of voice and examine the different ways in which the people of the displaced community studied speak through

their emotions. It will focus on three different types of emotional actions that had severe repercussions in the community. Firstly is the issue of not speaking at all. In situations where one would rationally try to calculate the losses and gains associated with his or her voice, there are situations in which people who would undeniably gain from voicing out their concerns on certain issues or putting certain facts out on the table still do not take the opportunity to improve their situation. They act in silence. This silence not only hurts them, but the others around them. Secondly is the issue of saying too much. Dramaturgical analysis and social interactionists would argue that our interpersonal relations are guided by rules that are either explicitly or implicitly known to us (Goffman, 1961, 1967). There are certain things we say and do not say in the presence of others to achieve social stability or at least to achieve some type of acceptable goal for the interlocutor. But what happens when people disregard these rules and break them to their own and to others' disdain? Lastly is the issue of telling lies. Whereas most literature on the subject tend to focus on the intent behind lying, it is presupposed that if one were to lie, economic, cultural or prestige all exist as motivating concerns that precede the act (Passin, 1942). Yet in situations in which lies tend to hurt the person eliciting them and the people around them, lies take on a form that supersede the traditional definition of addressing the various concerns of the person lying. All three issues are discussed here because all three situations have taken place, and all three types of actions have actually served to further deepen the animosity and antagonism between the different community members studied. Yet if all three types of actions serve to further destroy the social fabric that holds the community together, why do these people engage in these activities? It is argued in this dissertation that these actions are not actions that can be understood in traditionally, rational terms, but rather, these three actions express emotional actions

that perhaps even the community members would have liked to be able to control if given the chance.

Therefore, when asked whether or not the subaltern can speak, it is argued by this dissertation that they definitely can. They can speak through the same type of emotions that drove the proud Americans to the far-flung islands of Mindanao, and the same type of emotions that drives the incredibly fierce and political debates that rage on throughout the country. Furthermore, their voice does make a difference. The actions that they take consistently have severe repercussions onto their lives and in effect their lives help to redefine the way in which both the Manila observers and the former American colonial advisors shape and reshape their attitudes towards Mindanao. This chapter will discuss the three emotional actions in detail through the analysis of three events that help to illuminate these actions.

Unable to Speak

Q: And then?

A: That's all.

Q: And then?

A: That's all.

Q: You decided to study. But...

A: But because of my textmate...

Interview with Hayati, 26 October 2005

It took almost two years for Hayati to say something about what had happened to her in Manila. Pledging to help her family and after several failed attempts at attaining a degree, Hayati was recruited by a Magindanaowan agent in her small village in Mindanao to travel to Manila to become a domestic helper bound for the middle east. Upon arrival in Manila however, after paying the 1000 pesos health fee, she had found that the agent that had sent her there did not actually have a placement for her. After weeks of waiting, she and many of the other girls who had also been

recruited by the same agent eventually realized that the agency had not even applied for their visas nor had they any idea as to how long an actual placement would take to locate.

Furthermore she realized that the recruiter that had sent her to Manila was going to receive the first four months of her salary upon finding a job. This was in addition to the three months of salary she would have to surrender to the agent as well. Because of this, she decided that it would be best to find another agent and to cut ties of with the first completely. However, after looking around for other agents and realizing how complicated it was going to be for her to wait in Manila for another agent and placement, she realized that she was going to go broke living in Manila while she sought a job. Thus, she decided to contact one of the sisters that accompanied the NGO that had come to her small village after a breakout of fighting back in 2003. She explained her situation to Sister Lourdes, and the sister brought her to the Manila office of the NGO. Although she had informed one of the staff members of her intention to travel to Manila in preparation for a job abroad, there was very little connection between her decision to work abroad and the work of the NGO in the community.

While at the NGO however she was embraced with open arms. As a former client of theirs, she was treated like family and asked to share her experiences in Mindanao with other people so that they too could know what had gone on in her small village and what type of work the NGO had done for them. The NGO also decided to give her simple tasks to which they would then give her a daily wage upon completion. Although she was now spending much of her time with the NGO, she continually refused the invitation to sleep at the NGO, in spite of the fact that the NGO was actually housed in a small house to which some of the staff members

actually did sleep in during the evenings. The NGO did this to encourage Hayati to move out of the house of the agent to which she was staying at. Regardless of where she was staying, she reported to the NGO dutifully and she fraternized with the staff who became very close to her: no longer as a client but as friends who were genuinely concerned with her well-being.

Sister Lourdes was also just a volunteer with the organization. Although she had dedicated years to the NGO and had served the NGO in several capacities, she was not officially working for the NGO and Hayati's presence in the NGO was also informal. Sister Lourdes therefore integrated Hayati into many of her other activities such as speaking sessions at high schools in the Metro Manila area. Hayati spoke fondly of some of these events where she was asked to talk about her experiences in Mindanao and her beliefs and culture as a Muslim. She commented on how beautiful some of the campuses were and was mesmerized by some of the modern conveniences these schools had such as air conditioning. Because many of these events were also held in conjunction with the NGO, she was also given honorariums for her time and commitment. But her experience during this time was what she valued more than the small stipend they would give her.

Because of her exceptional speaking ability for someone her age and background, and due to the lack of other young women from Mindanao such as her self who were willing to share their experiences, she became highly integrated into many of the activities of the NGO that were meant to advocate for children's rights. Perhaps given her participation in youth groups in her small community back home, or because of her interaction with the NGO, she in this very short time grew into a forthright speaker and important resource for the NGO and the Manila community at large who were lacking adamant and sincere voices directly from the communities

affected by war. This made it inevitable that when the NGO pushed for a “children centered” agenda to the Philippine House of Congress to advocate for certain policy changes regarding children, their platform was altered to include internally displaced people. She was one of the people who helped to substantiate their cause and was asked as a result to speak briefly on this issue at the *Batasan*, where the Philippine House of Congress meets.

At the same time, Sister Lourdes continually pressed her to continue her education. Although she had completed one semester of college at a state-run polytechnic university in Mindanao, she was not interested in returning to school in spite of the sister’s pressure. Her excuse was that education would take too long and would provide her with no means to help her family in the present time. Sister Lourdes then proposed that she pay for a care-giving course for Hayati that would have taken six months and would have ensured her a higher pay and a better placement abroad. On the interim, Hayati could have stayed in Manila and continued her activities under the sister and with the NGO. By that time, the NGO had already identified a more permanent task for her on one of the projects. Although it was just a simple task of cutting newspapers, it was a job nevertheless. Initially Hayati complained about how she wanted something more exciting that included working on computers, but eventually she resolved to take on the task. Overall, things were looking up for this small town girl who aimed to be a domestic helper abroad, but ended up doing and preparing for much bigger things in Manila.

It was a Thursday when she complained of a stomachache and decided to leave early. By Friday, she did not return, and over the weekend there was no news either. By Tuesday of the next week, she had sent a message to the NGO saying that she had gotten married and that she would not be able to return to the NGO. When the

NGO had inquired into the meaning of the text message and requested her to return to the NGO to explain in person what had happened to her and all of her plans, she arrived with a female companion. Upon arrival she had said that she had not gotten married but was planning to become the third wife of a man based in Manila. The NGO pleaded with her to return. They said that whatever had happened between her and the man over the short few days she had disappeared didn't matter and that they would take her back regardless of the circumstances. In the short period before the actual marriage, there was a chance to undue some of the recent event and return back to the activities and the plans she had for herself just weeks before she had met the man. She refused. The NGO pressed for her return and for a further explanation to her reasoning behind leaving the NGO. She said very little, and although she had returned once in a while to meet the staff and continue some of her activities, she refused to talk about her new life and why she had chosen to marry this man. She smiled pleasantly and carried on her tasks as she did normally even though her relationship with the NGO and the people around her had changed fundamentally.

Negative Repercussions

The Hayati sacrifices made with her decision to marry the man should be quite evident. On the one hand, Hayati had lost all of the plans that she originally had for herself. Her position with the NGO was now tenuous and there was no future for her there since she had refused to continue her position and chose to pursue the relationship with the man. Secondly, her plans to go abroad were severely limited if not ended completely by the decision to pursue the marriage. She did not continue with the six-month caregiver course that the NGO and Sister Lourdes had promised to pay for, nor did she maintain the more permanent project the NGO had assigned her.

Lastly, her relationship with the NGO and Sister Lourdes had changed. Whereas initially the NGO and Sister Lourdes were excited and interested in her future, after a while they began to see her as a failed investment. (Interview with Nadine Martirez, NGO employee, 31 October 2007) They saw little potential in her because they had offered her every opportunity they could give and she had methodically refused each and everyone with a polite smile and convenient excuse. She was a changed woman, people thought. Her real priorities had emerged and they were no longer in tandem with the goals of the NGO. There was little they could do for her now and they just pleasantly and cordially saw their relationship through, providing every convenience they possible could for her, but at the same time realizing that major plans and projects were no longer viable with her.

At the same time, people began to see her in a negative light. Much of the hope and dreams that had for her had evaporated and they felt that many of these dreams had vanished. All of the effort they invested into this young woman had vanished into a person who was at one point considered ungrateful. Her commitment to the NGO was considered lackluster and fragile and they began to see her as someone who didn't commit. They began to see her as lazy. People began to feel as if they no longer wanted to have anything to do with her because regardless of the effort and time and hope that they could invest into her, it would all be swallowed and ingested into an insincere and corruptible young lady. Some even considered her *malandi* or flirtatious. They saw her as a girl more interested in pursuing relationships and love over personal development and advancement. People began to ask her if the love and sex was worth it. They saw how she had discarded all the promise for something they saw as trivial and wasteful. Hayati had transformed her self in the

eyes of the NGO. She was once youthful, dynamic, smart and progressive. She was now seen as lazy, “flirty,” unreliable and irresponsible. (Martirez, 2007)

Two Years Later...

In her small village in Mindanao, we conducted an interview with her to assess her ideas on well-being and social trauma. Interested in the contents to what was considered the “social fabric” to the community in efforts to see which elements of this social fabric contributed to the rebuilding effort in war affected communities, we took more of a life history approach to see which events stood out most clearly in her recollection of the past as well as to capture the different perspectives on the development of the community from the angle of different age categories. Given Hayati’s superior speaking ability and the fact that she was living in the community again, she was selected as part of our sample to represent her particular social cleavage as a female, of a younger age bracket and who happened to be Muslim. Given her relationship with NGOs in the past along side her former commitment to youth groups, we thought it would be convenient to use her in our sample.

In the process of collecting her life history she recounted the tale that was provided above. She discussed her failed attempts at school, her decision to support her family by working abroad and lastly the details of her marriage. She was with child now, and as she spoke to us about her life, she proudly clutched her child who cried off and on throughout the interview.

The interview started off normally and as we gained rapport and joked a bit, Hayati was at first hesitant but eventually became more jovial and lively during the informal discussion on her life and community. She started off by telling us the origins of her name which for some reason traveled down the mother’s line as

opposed to the fathers and basically provided us with the details of her ancestry. Then she told us how she enrolled in a Bachelor of Science course in Civil Engineering and how the first semester gave her such a headache that her father joked that if she continued she wouldn't come back alive. She recounted the tale of her experience living in the agent's home in Manila and how she found out about the excessive levy that would have been placed on her through a "brave" girl who picked a fight with the agent. Lastly, she happily discussed her experience with the NGO that had taken her in and have given her the chance to engage in all the speaking engagements throughout the city and visit lovely private schools with beautiful and modern campuses. She spoke proudly about her opportunity to participate in the children's agenda project in Congress.

But when pressed about why she decided to not pursue her studies and why she stopped working for the NGO, her demeanor changed. Suddenly she fell silent. When the question was asked again, in a joking manner, she politely smiled and looked down. Looking as if she was hiding a big secret we pressed further not realizing that the situation had changed. Upon the third time we asked she started to cry and walked away from us.

It took her a few seconds to come back to the two of us who sat there dumbfounded sitting on her porch. Neither of us knew what was going on or why suddenly what seemed like an informal, lazy afternoon chat had turned into a painful recollection of the past. The first part of the interview entailed jokes and smiles and pleasant happy stories. When she returned after regaining her composure, she told us why she had decided not to pursue her original plans in Manila.

I decided to get married. That was my decision. I thought that he was going to be a nice boyfriend, but after I got married I realized that it was different. I was forced to drop everything for it. I had to change all

my plans for him. It was a new life, that was the price I paid...I'm crying again... (Hayati, 2005)

After she had come back to the porch she asked us about the project and whether or not the interview was done. We told her that we just wanted to learn more about the community and reiterated the purpose of the interviews and she said that it seemed as if we were just focusing on her life and it was nothing but pain. We continued the interview except tiptoeing around the painful events surrounding her marriage. We talked more about her life now in Mindanao and how she used to play an important role in the youth organizations in the community.

Afterwards, my research partner and I discussed whether to pursue the line of questioning that had revolved around the marriage for the project and agreed that for the purpose of the project the details of her marriage would not be recorded or included into the social trauma project, but that my research partner who was very close to Hayati would continue to interview her not as a researcher for the project but as a friend. Therefore we decided to continue our interviews with her, but keep our questions to the more general details of her life and allow her to talk about her marriage to my partner as a friend. This was important because as was disclosed to my partner, no one knew what really happened to Hayati after the marriage, or why she decided to abandon her plans in Manila. It was not until that moment when she cried in front of us did we realize that she was not happy with how things had worked out, and that she actually suffered a lot during that time.

In an informal chat with my research partner, Hayati recounted to her how she had met the man through a phone number she had gotten from a friend in the agent's house in which she was staying. She decided to give the number a try and sent him a message through her cell phone asking who he was and how he was doing. They became "text-mates" and continued to send messages to each other over the phone for

weeks, prior to the moment in which they decided to meet up. After receiving an invitation to meet him, she ventured to a far off section of Manila to meet him. It took her a while to find the place, but she eventually did and met him at his home. They met and talked. At first she had thought that she was alone with him when eventually she found out that there were a lot of other men there. When she tried to leave, they did not let her go saying that it was too late and dangerous for her to go home that night. So she was forced to stay the night. Although she did not say whether or not sexual relations took place that night, she said that she did sleep in the same bed with him and that she cried the whole time.

Additionally, she finally came out and discussed what the man was like. He was very “different,” she said and he had many *anting anting*⁴¹ in his home. Additionally, he was very “jealous.” He would not let her leave the home without first knowing where she was going and with whom. This is why when she had first gone back to the NGO, he had sent with her a female companion to scope out the place and to make sure she didn’t run away. She was very unhappy with the man that she felt as if she was forced to marry. Even though she came back to the NGO on several occasions and maintained contact with some of the staff, she never let them in on what she was actually feeling with this man, and how she was severely disappointed in having to drop all of her plans. When my research partner had asked whether or not Hayati had discussed this with Sister Lourdes who had initially helped her or any of the staff at the NGO, she said that nobody knew. She held the secret for nearly two years, after all of the plans and opportunities she had had disappeared. Plans and opportunities she actively turned down to pursue this relationship that she sincerely did not want.

⁴¹ These are considered amulets that contained magical power to protect one against evil, or conversely to project ones power over another.

When asked why she was back in Mindanao, she said that months of living with the man had proven to be too difficult for both her and the man to sustain. She cried every night and complained dearly that she missed her family and home in Mindanao. He finally agreed to let her return to Mindanao. At this time she was pregnant and perhaps would have caused more a burden to the man than a blessing. Allowing her to return to her family, she then contacted the sister again to ask for her help in purchasing a ticket back home. Hayati was also ashamed at the fact that instead of going home to Mindanao with money to help support her family, she had returned with no money, no job and an extra mouth to feed. Because of this she convinced the sister to buy her a television which she could bring back to her small village. At least this way she thought, she wouldn't return empty handed.

Why didn't she speak up?

A number of reasons could have contributed to her decision not to speak up. The first obvious reason was fear. Her preservation of the negative conditions and refusal to abandon the relationship that caused damage to her emotional and physical well-being could have been driven by the fact that her husband could have retaliated against her. He could have placed her in a state of terror that paralyzed her ability to think practically. Characterized as an event composing of three elements, terror is a phenomenon that epitomizes fear *in extremis* and is usually the product of violence, fear and reactive behavior (Walter, 1964). In these types of situations, it has been argued that human beings tend to lose direct control over their complete facility since they tend to be driven by the fear of punishment or death. Psychologists Pyszczynski, Greenberg and Solomon (1997) through their "Terror Motivational Theory" go so far as to argue that all behaviors that take place in ones life can be subsumed under the

end motive of preserving ones emotional well being in light of the existential issue concerning our mortality. Hayati's actions therefore can be seen as her attempt to extend her emotional well being in the fear of punishment for her attempts to escape the relationship. Her new husband was creating a "culture of fear" which left her with limited options and opportunities and convinced her of the inevitability of their relationship in spite of the flagrantly obvious opportunities that existed with the NGO that was already assuming that she was being forced into the marriage and that they could still undue the damages that they assumed he had caused her.⁴² Because of her short tenure with the man and the expediency to which the relationship came to fruition it was never assumed that it was set immediately in stone. It was Hayati's decision to convey her self in a light that made it seem like everything was fine and that her relationship was stable. Fear could have been one of the emotional reasons that drove her to act the way that she did.

Another reason that someone in a position such as Hayati would continue to stay in an abusive relationship could be the fact that she could have been harboring secret feelings of love for the man. Interestingly, literature on the reasons why women stay in abusive relationships tends to focus on the "costs" associated with ending the relationship. Other studies tend to look at the relationship patterns of the individual in the past and whether or not her parents were violent (Herbert et al, 1991). Love as an emotion however has consistently been dismissed by social scientists. In Margaret Meade's important work on Samoan adolescent patterns of emotional and sexual maturation in contrast to modern western relationships she argues,

Romantic love as it in our civilization, inextricable bound up with ideas of monogamy, exclusiveness, jealousy and undeviating fidelity,

⁴² Although the concept "Culture of Fear" has been used by sociologists such as Barry Glassner and political observers such as Noam Chomsky to describe the political situation in the United State as being affected by media, the same type of control can arguably be said to exist in the home and in relationships.

does not occur in Samoa. Our attitude is a compound, the final result of many converging lines of development in western civilization, of the institutions of monogamy, of the ideas of the age of chivalry, of the ethics of Christianity (Mead, 1949: 88).

Love as an option as to why she decided to pursue this relationship seems to be a ridiculous excuse if we follow Meade's description of how the concept itself is merely an amalgamation of different values and beliefs contingent on the historical foundations to the west as opposed to an organic emotion that actually exists. Freud dismisses the concept of love as a valid emotion as well by describing it simply as "aim-inhibited sex" that emerges as an idealized passion that exists as a result of the frustrations associated with sex (Goode, 1959). In interviews with Hayati, it became clear that love could not have been the sole motivating factor behind her actions with regards to the relationship. Needless to say however, in many situations in the past, love has driven people to do many very different things that often severely impaired their physical, emotional and mental health. Love as an emotion however is rarely theorized as a factor that has the potential to legitimately be the main attributing reason behind ones actions.

Culture could also be seen as a driving mechanism behind her actions. Defined as the beliefs, values, norms and institutions that bear down on one's choices and opportunities in a particular society, this highly structural view tends to paint the individual as the bound by the cultural constraints that the individual is found in. (Griswold, 2004: 3) Either particular to one's society, or part of a larger infrastructure that plays an important role to the functioning elements within the system, culture at its fundamental level serves as man's attempt to make sense of the outside world (Kluckhohn, 1969). In this case, the values that tend to frame Hayati's actions can be seen as being derived from notions of family and marriage in the Filipino Muslim tradition. In the Filipino Muslim tradition, usually, marriage between two adults takes

the form of a negotiation between the family of the two and the primary subject of the contract that is established is sexual relations and all that follows (Gowing, 1979). Many times however, in congruence with the activities that took place in Hayati's case, *dolang*, or forced marriage can take place. Although a very old tradition involving the capturing of the woman in a thick *malong*⁴³ with the help of family members and withholding her from the clutches of her tribe or family, in this case, it could be argued that had the NGO voiced their opinions against her marriage and reclaimed Hayati from the man, traditional Muslim Filipino law would force him to return the girl and pay a fine (Gowing, 1979: 77). Furthermore, it can also be argued that in the *luwaran*, or official Maguindanowan code of laws, if the woman is seen as the one that approaches the man with the intention to marry, then she is to be held liable for the consequences that transpire. If the family of the girl eventually requests her return, then she may return to her community with no penalties levied onto the man who did not initiate the relationship (Saleeby, 1905: 67).

Problems with these explanations

With regards to culture, one of the difficulties of applying a cultural explanation is that many of the events then become essentialized into a static and unquestionable occurrence.⁴⁴ For instance, it is evident throughout the literature on Islamic values that family lineage is traced along the fathers line. In Mindanao, as can be seen in Hayati's family, the family name was passed down the mother's line given the traditional Philippines matriarchal past and the Maguindanaowan strict emphasis on class and clan prestige. Therefore, culture can be interpreted to fit the context. In

⁴³ This is a woven piece of cloth that is used daily to serve various purposes as dressing or as a sleeping bag.

⁴⁴ Because in the Philippines the Muslim identity goes beyond the purely religious aspects, in this section, religion and culture will be discussed as "culture."

this case, how can a young girl who is fairly ignorant of Maguindanaowan *luwaran*, and without consultation with her elders be considered the final word in the marriage? Secondly, many aspects of the cultural explanations tend to contradict themselves. Whereas, a marriage is supposed to include the negotiation between families, Hayati's situation is one in which the family was not consulted. Furthermore, although as a single female she chose to send the text message and meet the man in his home this does not necessarily mean that this act alone can be interpreted as intent to marry. Thirdly, to accept the cultural definition would mean that there could not be any existence of similar types of situations in alternative cultural environments. However, as was already discussed in the emotional explanations, remaining in abusive relationships exist in different parts of the world all the time. Therefore the inability to speak up and leave a relationship that is abusive cannot purely cultural.

The emotional explanation however helps to explain how women in similar situations in different parts of the world may act in the same way. Although the two emotional responses are but two of a whole range of motivating factors that could have influenced Hayati's decision to settle into a relationship that actually caused her more harm than good, it is clear that we can assume that these would be and in fact were the two main explanations for her actions. Initially, when the NGO had thought Hayati was *malinde* or flirtatious, "love" was seen as one of the potential reasons she tossed away all of her plans. When it was discovered that she was forced into the relationship, her actions were then translated into fear or terror. As seen in the literature that frames some of these emotional issues however, although these are perhaps two of the more common explanations to this event and many other similar events that might take place, emotional explanations tend to not fit completely. In the case of fear, if Hayati decided to engage in activities that actually hurt her and posed

potential to end her life as it did in the case of committing herself immediately to a man whom she did not know, then she would be engaging in an act that contradicted the general purpose of fear. On the other hand, if love was the motivating factor, the literature on love tends to dismiss the emotion of love, to focus on more goal-oriented activities that lie beneath the emotion such as economic well being, cultural and historical baggage or the intent to procreate. Therefore, although the emotional explanation seems to be what is initially assumed, the way in which emotions are highly rationalized help to reduce its applicability to the situation.⁴⁵

Speaking too much

Don't hug them! They are of the same blood!
(Community member quote as stated in an interview
with Babbu Nora Abdullah, 7 October 2005a)

Residents of the community of Kapayapaan have a long-standing history of relations between Muslims and Christians. Originally a Muslim dominated community consisting of the four families of the Moosa, Safwan, Omran and Musad with Christian families settling as early as the 1930s under the colonization acts of the American colonial and subsequent commonwealth governments, the community experienced a transformation over the next several decades. As one by one, the sons of the Muslim families moved away to settle their families in other areas, one of the four families began to dominate the territory. The Musad, under the remaining son Abdullah, were the ones that remained and were considered a “sultanate” family, or one with prestige and lineage back to a powerful leader in the area. Because of the

⁴⁵ By looking at an emotional perspective as a potential alternative to existing explanations, not only does this perspective add to a richer understanding of Hayati's circumstances, but it also fends off explanations that intend to conclusively speak for her. Thus in this section, the emotional perspective does not speak for Hayati, but rather reminds us that existing definitions are missing a crucial element to the discussion of her actions.

Muslim tradition of taking on the father's name, the family took on the name Abdullah. This family became so prominent that even upon marriage many of the female clan members retained that name.

When the Christians arrived, they were forced to deal with this well entrenched family. Officially introduced to the territory through the institutional "agricultural colonos" act which provided these Christian families from the north with land and transportation, many of the Christian settlers were from the same families and communities up in Luzon. When they arrived in Mindanao, they tended to rely on one another and concentrate themselves in the lands of families that they knew. Eventually, when these families grew accustomed to the territory and terrain, they bravely ventured out into the vast lands, some of which belonging to the Abdullahs. Of the Christians, three families traveled down from their province of La Union to settle in the vast lands of Mindanao. Of the Marcelo, Andrada, and DeGuzman, the DeGuzmans were the first to enter the community of Kapayapaan (Martirez, 2007).

Donard DeGuzman came to Mindanao with his wife and four children. At the time, the Abdullahs were finding it difficult to maintain the vast lands of their family plot and found the Christian family helpful and diligent. They worked together to transform the idle fertile lands into rice fields and fruit orchards. When tragedy struck the DeGuzman with Donard's wife Violeta passing away while giving birth to their sixth child, Abdullah allowed for the arrangement of his half daughter Consuela to marry the Christian forging blood ties between the two families and spawning the first generation of inter-religiously and inter-ethnically mixed children. With his five children with his first wife Corazon and another five children with Consuela, the DeGuzmans became just one example of the intermarriages that took place in the community. In time, the DeGuzmans brought in the other Christian families once the

community became as much theirs as it was the Abdullahs. These families followed a similar trajectory marrying into the local landscape. As these families began to intermarry, the community became a complex web of families who shared the same blood but practiced different religions because as families became intermixed, parents usually left the choice of which ethnicity to adopt up to the child. Many of these choices remained unpredictable and sometimes based on chance. Therefore a clear cut definition of which person belonged to which culture became harder and harder to come by.

This complex web of families provided the strong foundation to the community throughout the years. Interviews with community members bring up fond memories of Thanksgiving celebrations in which all families shared their crops and shared their labor. Just as there was never any shortage of labor, there was also never a shortage of food as their fields yielded abundant crops and their rivers teemed with fish. City dwellers from the nearby urban centers would choose Kapayapaan as their preferred destination for leisurely outings and picnics. The Christians would invite the Muslims home for Christmas just as the Muslims would invite the Christians home to break the fast during Ramadan, over all the community experienced a familial bonding that was secured in blood. They were not only just members of the same community, but they were also family--figuratively and literally.

This bond was to serve them well in times of difficulty. Firstly, although the families were intermarrying and growing in tandem with one another, the lands of the original families such as the Abdullahs began to disappear slowly. Coupled with the several sexual misconducts of some of the male family members which led to the handing off of lands to settle their compensation to the offended families, their domain began to be dominated more and more by other Muslim and Christian

families. Secondly, as tensions began to mount in Mindanao over the conflict brought about by the fighting between the Muslims “Blackshirts” and the Christians “Ilagas,”⁴⁶ many of the Muslim family members felt threatened and feared for their lives. It was during this time that many of the Muslim residents had to flee into the mountains and other hard to reach places to protect themselves. It was also seen as a difficult time for them since the abundance of their lands that they once were able to enjoy was no longer in their immediate possession. Thirdly, was the issue of family feuds or *rido*. In the 1990’s it was suspected that one of Moosa, one of the Muslim families in the community had commissioned the murder of a Safwan, another Muslim family member in the community. Within the next few years, murders between the two families continued to take place, taking its toll on the entire community since many of the Christian community members were either related to by blood or married to some of the victims. Lastly, in 2000, the Estrada Administration launched an all out war to dig up and extinguish the Islamic separatist movement in the south. This displaced the entire community for months.

In spite of the difficulties, many of these families were able to survive through a communal effort to support one another. During the days of the fighting between the Ilagas and the Blackshirts in the 1970’s, many times the Christian community members would protect and hide the Muslims when the Ilagas came, or would sneak food to them so that they could survive while being displaced. During the all out war in 2000, and throughout the past 20 years, Muslim inhabitants were harassed by the Philippine military, being suspected of separatist activities. Many times it was their

⁴⁶ This was a battle between to militant vigilante groups that was initiated by the growing clamor for separatism in the south. Although not all Muslims had agreed with the propositions of the group, nevertheless they joined sometimes for political reason, or sometimes for self protection. Some of the Christian “Ilagas” (or Ilongo for “Rats”) took on very violent and demeaning tactics to scare Muslim residents. Stories of ears of the Muslims being used as necklaces and heads being decapitated were rampant. In response, the Blackshirts were the Muslim vigilante response.

Christian counterparts that vouched for these suspected insurgents and defended their freedom when the military came to take them away. Muslims on the other hand in addition to gracefully accepting the eventual usurpation of their lands to the Christians also contributed what they had to the Christian families lending a hand in the fields or using their extended network to facilitate the activities or necessities of their Christian neighbors.

However, in 2003, their trust in one another was severely shattered when the violence of war took place in their small community. Whereas the Ilagas and Blackshirt conflict that took place from time to time or the militarization of the area that took place sporadically were seen as external impediments, the harassment of 2003 by Muslim insurgents sent a deep shockwave throughout the entire community. In April of 2003, at 5:00 in the afternoon 50 armed men entered the community and demanded that all CAFGU's⁴⁷ and cell phones be surrendered. These armed men pointed their guns at community members and left with the community's working farm animals. Although the harassment took less than 30 minutes and nobody was injured the harassment deeply offended the sincere relationship that existed between the two communities and left a lasting impression that till this day has not been removed.

Immediately after the harassment, the entire community evacuated to the school beside the highway. Carrying nothing but blankets and their meager personal belongings, many of the community members of Kapayapaan experienced shock and were traumatized by the event. Maria Marcelo, daughter of Carmelita Marcelo-DeGuzman did not eat properly for nearly 2 months while she stayed at the evacuation center of the school. Her daughter Jenny Marcelo, refused to return to the

⁴⁷ CAFGU stands for the Citizen's Armed Forces Geographical Unit. It is a paramilitary unit that was trained and established by the Philippine Military.

place in which they used to live for months. Haleema Abdullah, collapsed out of shock while she was at the community center and was put on medication for her grief. Carlos Marcelo turned to alcohol immediately after the event and since the event split up with his wife over the habit. Aljun DeGuzman decided to tear down his home piece by piece and relocate the entire structure beside the evacuation center. Most of the Christian community members followed suit, while many of the Muslim family members decided to return home to Kapayapaan except in the far eastern section of Kalayaan. Very few people actually returned to the center of the town, where most of the people used to live. Kapayapaan, which once was a lively village consisting of family members who lived in harmony with one another is now somewhat empty, devoid of the life that used to reside within it.

Feelings of Betrayal

To many of the Christian families, they felt a profound sense of betrayal. Whereas they had believed they had defended the Muslims in the past, they felt as if the Muslims turned their back on them when they most needed them. According to one community member,

I am so angry. I cannot help but cry whenever I remember what happened. I lost weight. I wish they could have taken other things, not our carabao. Our carabaos are important to us. But then, I saw my (Muslim) neighbors with the armed men. They (Muslim families) have carabaos, too, but these were not taken. Why didn't the armed men take them, too? I told them, when the soldiers harassed you, I took you to my home. If not for me, you would be dead by now. (Interview with Carmelita Marcelo-DeGuzman, 15 September 2005)

The Muslims on the other hand felt that they were unfairly blamed for the events that took place. After the event, many of the Muslims felt as if the attitude between the two groups had changed and they were no longer accepted as part of the

family. Christian families would approach the leaders of the Muslim members of the community to report things missing. In one occasion, even grapefruits that had been suspected as being picked were reported to the leaders with the Muslim community members being accused of committing the act.

To the Christians, they felt extremely hurt that although the Muslim community members had carabao and property, these things were not touched. Additionally they felt that they were unfairly targeted while the Muslims were not affected at all by the events. But this was not true according to the Muslims, because they too suffered from the shock and trauma of being harassed. Although the insurgents realized that some of the people in the community were Muslim and left them alone, this did not mean that the Muslims did not evacuate to the evacuation center on the other side of town or collapse from shock. Furthermore, according to one community member, when asked why they had returned to the community while the Christians did not, and whether or not they knew about the harassment before its arrival, she said that the only knowledge they had of the harassment was that the soldiers were going to maintain them if they leave the community because they would be suspected as collaborating with the militant groups. Additionally, it was added that the ongoing insurgency was between the government and the MILF (Moro Islamic Liberation Front) whereas most of the Muslims in the community were MNLF (Moro National Liberation Front). Yet regardless of what the Muslims said, the Christians still half-heartedly held the Muslims community members responsible for the harassment. According to one Muslim community member,

Some of the Christians were mad at us before but then they realized that we were not part of the plan (things got better)...but you can tell by the different face they showed when they were mad at us. You could really tell. It was like they didn't want to talk with us anymore. (Interview with Babbu Haleema Abdullah, 11 October 2005)

The blaming of Muslim residents did not end simply with the way in which the Christians interacted with the Muslims, it also manifested in the things that they said. According to one Muslim community member, when she was asked if she was angry at the Christians she responded,

No! They were the only ones that are angry. Not us. They were the ones who said, "the MILF were the ones who harassed us and they are Muslim. And you are Muslim." Gladiosa Andrada was the one who said because the ones that harassed us was Muslim, and you are Muslim, you guys are the same. I said, "Don't say that! We are both against the MILF!" But she said to me, I feel like you are the same. I told her not to compare...My brother was shot in the back by the MILF. (Nora Abdullah, 2005b)

Additionally, when the same Muslim community member who was away during the actual harassment returned to Kapayapaan to see some of her family and friends who were affected by the conflict, she was again accused of being in collusion with the perpetrators.

I visited them because I wanted to see how they were. Because we were in Batulawan Evacuation Center while they were here at the school. So when I arrived, Carmelita started to cry and she embraced me. She said, "Auntie, our animals are lost. Our carabao are gone. They took them" I asked her why and she said, "We had a harassment here." Assumption then called to her, "Don't hug her! She's Muslim! They are of the same blood!" I told him, don't say that. I just got back from Manila. I didn't know there was a harassment. (Nora Abdullah, 2005b)

This sentiment was not just reported by the Muslims, the Christians themselves reported their distrust and anger towards the Muslims. According to one Christian community member,

Before, how many days did we fight? Babbu Haleema used to come to my house and call me Auntie! Auntie! I told her that she had no auntie here. That's when we started to argue. When they were harassed by the military, who was the one who helped them? If it wasn't for me they would have been dead. (Interview with Gladiosa Andrada, September 25, 2005)

The accusations did not stop. Regardless of the excuses the Muslims had, regardless of the facts that seemed so clear, regardless of the fact that some of the Muslims actually asked for help on behalf of the Christians, the harassment had destroyed the longstanding relationship these two groups had established over decades that was sealed in blood. A combination of anger, pain, loss and jealousy tended to over ride the rational logic behind people's action and actually extend the pain.

Negative Repercussions

Instead of moving back eventually to the community of Kapayapaan, the Christians decided to settle permanently in the lands near the highway and locate their businesses and homes there. Although they would still till their farms in the daytime in the lands of Kapayapaan, they would retreat back to their homes near the highway. Secondly, whereas the community of Kapayapaan existed as a single entity only divided geographically by the existence of a field and swamp that separated the two parts, this single entity became real and permanent in many of the Muslims moving to Kalayaan and many of the Christians either staying in Kapayapaan or moving to the land beside the former evacuation center. This movement thereby caused not just an emotional split but a geographical split in the community. Most importantly, instead of bearing the pain as a community, as they had in the past, they allowed their fears and biases control their actions and up to two years after the event, continued to harbour the resentment towards one another. Although only 9 carabao and four skinned chickens in total were stolen, nearly 80 years of a relationship between the two groups was destroyed. Furthermore, even though the actual event only last for

less than half an hour, the anger that they held onto and the hatred that they harboured lasted for more than two years and perhaps may never be fixed.

The inability of Christian residents to hold back their negative and biased comments only served to aggravate the relationship between the two communities. In spite of overwhelming evidence that point to the fact that the Muslims had very little to no relation to the actual event, or the fact that the retention of some of these beliefs could only serve to sever the ties between the two groups and create an even more tense and unstable working and living environment, these two groups continue to espouse their beliefs of one another regardless of the consequences. “Speaking too much” is yet another example of an action taken that actually injures a person’s social well being by inflaming interpersonal hostilities and perpetuating destructive prejudices.

Personal Choice

Several opportunities were provided to the community to bring back the community to the harmonious relationship of the past. The following are just a few of the attempts by the NGO community and the local government to step in and ameliorate relations between the two groups.

Because Kapayapaan was selected as one of the main sites to a project that was to observe the differences between individualistic trauma and social trauma, the NGO that I was associated with conducted a series of interviews that were meant to both ascertain the conditions within the environment as well as gain entrance. Several focus groups were held with community members to gather information on the history of the community and the relationships within. During these focus groups consisting of groups of ten community members ranging in ages 18-80 were asked about their

life and experience with the community. This approach provided the NGO with a convenient timeline of events that started off with details of life in the community from before World War II till the armed conflict in August of 2003. Focusing mainly on the relationship between the two groups as well as their history of displacement, this focus group provided community members with the opportunity to eventually come to discuss the particular events that had led to the severe mistrust and animosity between the two groups. Unfortunately, this did not happen.

Notes from the interview showed that much of the data that was recorded was mainly factual and that the community members would discuss more about the events that had taken place as opposed to the repercussions of the event. Even though it was clear in the actions that some of the members took that they felt fear and distrust, many times the words that were spoken in the focus group discussions were opposite to these gestures. For instance, in an interview with one of the community members who had permanently moved his home from the center of the village a site close to the evacuation center, he went on to say that the relationship between Muslims and Christians were fine and that ever since the incident there was no grudge or animosity between the two groups. In fact, he added that Thanksgiving celebrations took place in the community, in which the Muslims and the Christians would share their harvest. All community members talked about the “beautiful” relationship that the Muslims and Christians in the community shared. Words such as *Bayanihan* and *Nagtutulungan* which express community spirit and helping one another were used to describe the relationship between the two groups. One Christian did comment on how the fear of another attack sent many of the Christian community members to the land behind the schoolhouse. Another Muslim community member felt that with the death of her older brother, the relationship between the two groups was moderately affected.

Over all however, when asked how the relationship stood between the two groups much of the anger was projected onto people from the outside. Even though the NGO that came in was relatively new to the area and could have affected the way in which the community members responded, at the same time, the actions of the community members definitely contradicted the idea that their fear and anger was more due to external forces when they were constantly seeking ways to escape their neighbors.

In another NGO, since 2003 consultation sessions with the community took place over several months and were conducted amongst the Christian and the Muslim groups separately (Martirez, 2005). When the consultation was taken place individually, the Christians told the NGO that they felt that the Muslims were partly responsible for the attack. They argued that the Muslims must have known something about the harassment and that in the past the Christians had protected their Muslim neighbors from the ongoing violence of the family feuds by hiding their Muslim neighbors from their enemies. They stated that the Muslims on the other hand betrayed the Christians by not protecting them when the harassment occurred. In the individual Muslim session, the Muslims admitted that some of them were informed of the harassment yet they were not completely sure of the time or location. They reiterated the fact that the group that was responsible for the harassment was of a different clan and that even if they had known about the harassment, the information was not enough to be sure of what was to take place. Both the groups agreed to come together to talk about exactly what they knew and what they felt since they both acknowledged the fact that they were close friends and neighbors. A resolution that stated that both groups were not to be held accountable for the harassment was achieved and both parties in the group session agreed to let go of their anger. At the same time, the Christians were also provided with some compensation to replace their

lost water buffalo by the local municipal government. The NGO concluded the sessions considering how much progress the two groups had made and the assurance on both ends that the animosity and distrust was a thing of the past. However, regardless of the positive words and promises made, ultimately the situation remained the same with many of the Christians refusing to move back to the center of the community and permanently relocated their homes to the road close to the school which was used as the evacuation center. Even though the NGO concluded the session, in an interview with some of the mediators they admitted that the amount of fear and distrust that remained in the hearts and minds of the people living in this community has made it so that no amount of consultation and intervention would help to mend the broken relations in the community. Although it was stated that more tangible livelihood projects may ameliorate the pressure felt on the strained relations between the two groups, it was implied that even this measure may not ensure a return to the original state of affairs.

Both instances demonstrate a concerted effort by the NGO community to intervene and provide the community with opportunities to address the animosity felt between the two groups. In both instances, the community members engaged one another in a dialogue yet failed to address some of the core issues of mistrust and betrayal that they felt. In a sense it was almost as if the two groups wanted to hold onto their anger and maintain a status quo of fear and mistrust. Although they paid lip service to the idea of reconciliation, in practice they maintained their suspicion and prejudices of one another.

Inhibition and Freedom of Speech

While Hayati refused to speak inhibiting a form of expression that could improve her situation, the residents of Kapayapaan also were inhibiting the

improvement of their situation though the uninhibited use of free speech. Because these two forms of expression both demonstrate the same act of controlling their speech, the section will briefly explore the duplicitous nature of these reciprocal speech control tactics.

Inhibition can be seen as either a self-preserving mechanism or conversely a self-destructive behavior if taken to extremes. A review of the literature found on the field of inhibitive speech and behavior will reveal a preoccupation with the process by which children learn the skill as a means of adapting to their rapidly changing environment (see Kagan, et al 1984; Asendorpf, et al 1992; Kochanska et al, 1992). With regards to adult inhibitive behavior, questions with regards to the motives behind such behavior and the consequences associated tend to cause controversy. For instance, according to Polivy (1998) certain motivations emerge in direct conflict with the negative consequences attached to them. If the inhibitive behavior associated with the negative consequence is stronger than the actual motivation, the behavior will not take place. Therefore, Wright (1998) argues that a metaphor that can help explain this phenomenon is intruders attempting to push down the front door while the person inside presses back. This process Polivy (1998) argues most commonly results in heightened emotionality, cognitive disruption, behavioral excess and long-term emotional effects. Wright and Brehm (1998) argue that even if these motives exist, they are contingent upon the surrounding circumstances. Furthermore, the consequences are not always easy to discern since they emerge unconsciously or highly efficiently, like a water faucet adjusting the level of water escaping the spout (See Brehm, 1998; Brehm & Brummett, 1998; Wright, 1996, 1998). Dalglish and Wood (1999) argue however that there are two types of inhibitive behavior, namely the controlled and automatic type. They argue that the automatic type of inhibition

which prevents individuals from experiencing appropriate emotional releases necessary for mental and physical well being only emerges after a consistently controlled effort is enacted by the individual to repress painful or socially prescribed negative memories. Therefore, although inhibition of act or speech maybe harmful to the individual, this is only the initial benefits have been exploited completely.

Conversely, the ability to express oneself can be seen as central to one's well being. The issue of "free speech" has been well discussed by political scientists who aim to trumpet the cause for freedom of speech and its centrality to the health of a nation and its people. Joel Schwartz (1986) in defense of one's individual autonomy with regards to speech in a democracy used Freud's work on verbal slips and jokes to demonstrate impartial psychological benefits to the ability to speak freely. In his article he argues, "Freud argues that freedom of speech benefits people by providing a harmless outlet for aggression, suggesting that it is better to express aggression in words than in violent deeds or to repress it altogether." Jose Delgado (1983) goes so far as to argue that free speech is a necessary requirement for the biological development of the brain. Freedom of thought and action therefore takes on the crucial role in the physiological progress of the individual, beyond the psychological benefits that one experiences when able to express how he or she thinks or feels.

The ability to express one's self freely and in relation to their emotional well being can be seen again as a learned behavior central to an individual's maturation process. In order to assess the mental development of American school children the California Test of Mental Health explores the "behavioral immaturity, emotional instability, feelings of inadequacy, physical defects, and nervous manifestations" by observing the overt behavior of children, including their ability to express what they think and how they feel in the presence of others (Cramer, 1950). These ideas concerning ones mental and physical health in positive correlation to the ability to

express oneself can be seen in a cross national study by Weisz et al (1995) in which Thai and American children were observed with regards to their ability to control their behavior in the classroom. In Thailand whereas the student has a higher level of personal control over their actions due to a stricter educational environment, they tend to show higher levels of respect and deferral to figures of authority than American children. On the other hand however, these Thai children were also found to exhibit higher levels of behavioral problems outside the classroom as response to the repressive learning environment. Therefore the ability to express oneself ameliorates the internal pressures one experiences on the day-to-day, and a repression of this freedom only deteriorates one's mental and emotional wellbeing.

Kapayapaan and Emotional Wellbeing

Applying the two theoretical assumptions behind the behavior in Kapayapaan sheds light on how their actions can be seen as a residual effect of the war and displacement that many of these people experienced. Wegner (1994) argues that high emotional stress may disrupt normal mental processes such as the ability to filter out harmful thought and memories from and individuals immediate consciousness. This process can lead to or may be the result of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. Therefore, Hayati's inability to speak was a physiological, stressful, and perhaps self preserving mechanism that ultimately caused her more harm than good, and the inability of the community residents to filter their thoughts and actions through a rational process before speaking could also be seen as a consequence of this interrupted psychological process.

The problem with such arguments however is that while inhibition can be seen as initially a self preserving mechanism, it served no useful purpose for Hayati immediately or towards the end of her ordeal. Secondly, while the literature on freedom of speech makes it seem as if the residents were releasing the tension and

anger they harbored in order to relieve themselves of the excess emotional burden, this actually caused more harm to the individual than good. Thus while the literature helps to shed light on some of the community's action, some lingering questions remain, including the overarching issue of whether or not people outside of extreme situations such as war and displacement experience similar behaviors, and whether or not we can attribute these behaviors to post-traumatic stress disorder as well.

Speaking Lies

I overcame most of my fear because of the NGO's intervention programs. Things are better. The elders are better too because after the harassment, there was a gap between the Muslims and the Christians. Both parties had many prejudices...Especially my self, I was scared of all Muslims...but now its ok. (Interview with Jenny Marcelo, 27 October 2005)

Among the youth in the community, the connection they had to the locale was weak. They were not as connected to the community as the elders were considering how their memories of Kapayapaan were shorter and the pleasant memories were counterbalanced with the memories of displacement, war and the harassment. Among the younger generation in the community, some of the geographical issues of separation between Kapayapaan and Kalayaan as well as the religious and identification differences amongst community members were definitely more pronounced. Thus when the harassment took place, much of the stereotypes and fears became further solidified. While the parents could not deny the fact that some of their brothers and sisters were of Muslim and Christian blood, as the lineage became further diluted and as family members sought to marry people within their own ethnic or religious grouping, the connection to one another became weakened. Therefore, whereas for the parents their brother or sister could be of another religion, for their children, it was more of their cousin or second cousin that was different.

Yet this did not deter the youth from engaging in the same type of activities that exist in all small towns and city centers. In Kapayapaan, the youth were particularly active in forming several groups that organized outings, sports competitions, dances and other events meant to fill their days with pleasurable memories. While their parents tilled the fields, many of the children in the community found ways to preoccupy their time. Because the community was small and most of its members were related in some way, everyone knew one another. The kids through these activities therefore only formalized the relationships and activities they normally would have engaged upon, except with some type of hierarchy with roles delegated out and with responsibilities clearly delineated. This was useful in that it facilitated the day to day activities by giving them a sense of purpose as well as provided NGO's and other actors in the community such as the church with an opportunity to support the youth by funding some of these activities and groups.

Jenny Marcelo

Jenny Marcelo was one of the youth in the community that was particularly keen in participating and taking up responsibilities in these youth organizations. Serving as secretary to two of the main youth groups in the community Jenny was the driving force behind some of the main projects such as the yearly beauty contest or occasional dance. Much of the youth in the community were her personal friends and they organized many of the main events together. When asked why she was so active in the activities she said,

I like to participate, I like to help, I like the feeling of leadership...I do it for everybody, the community for the youth; I think its good to serve as a role model for the youth. I want to encourage the youth to participate. (Marcelo, 2005)

In fact, she is so active in working with the youth that her future plans are to become a teacher and tutor children. However, even though she has committed herself to a lot

of activities in the community, her dream is to eventually leave the community and move to another country to work. She informed us that her ideal partner would be a British man who would take her to London where they would raise their family away from the war and difficulties.

Her interest in leaving the Philippines could stem from her negative experiences in the community during the harassment. During the harassment, she and her brother were still outside playing when the rebels entered their home. Her mother was indoors preparing the celebratory meal they were to enjoy the next day after Jenny's graduation from high school. Suddenly, while her back was turned to the entrance, several men entered through the front door. With dark oil on their faces, and speaking a mixture of "Muslim" dialects and Tagalog, they demanded that Jenny's mother hand over all of the money and cell phones they had. More rebels were entering the small community at this time and many of them carried guns. Outside, people could see the rebels walking along the main path that leads through the village. Some were carrying knives and stabbing into the air. When the children had returned home in fear, the rebels already inside the home, turned in fear and pointed their guns at the children. At this point, Jenny's mother fainted. The rebels continued to ransack the home, stuffing many of the family's meager possessions, including the skinned chickens that were to be eaten the next day into large sacks. After the rebels took what they could, they left the home. Once it seemed like the coast was clear, the family left their home to meet their neighbors who had also been threatened and had also lost their possessions to the thieves. When they took count of what was stolen, they realized that their working farm animals were stolen, and they watched as three of the homes in the community burned to the ground. The livelihood of Jenny's family was taken away from them forcefully, as eventually they found that the same fate was to

follow their fellow Christian family members, even though the livestock of the Muslim families in the community remained untouched.

As soon as the family could regroup as well as collect their family members, including Jenny's grandmother and grandfather, they made their way to the elementary school along the main road that had in the past served as an evacuation center for the community. Because the elementary school was located along a major highway, the rebels refused to enter the area for fear of easy capture by the military who frequented the route. However, because it was already late in the evening, the school was closed. Whereas in the past evacuations, their family waited outside the school with all the possessions they could take with them, including their livestock, until the school opened, the intensity to the event forced the family and the rest of the community members to flee to the high school further down the road and wait there for shelter.

Once in the shelter, the conditions were incredibly poor. While past evacuations were meant as a precaution against encountering violence first hand, this evacuation was in direct response to a violent encounter. Whereas during the last evacuation they also brought the personal belongings worth of value, including their farm animal, this time they took only those that they could carry and left their village without second thought to what they left behind. When they arrived at the shelter, Jenny's mom refused to eat for days losing several pounds and physically taking on the persona of a withdrawn and lifeless woman. Her grandfather took to the bottle to escape the pain associated with his newfound loss of purpose and direction.

Life after the shelter was also very painful. Many of the people in the evacuation center vowed not to return to their original homes in the village center. Instead, many of them, including Aljun DeGuzman, Jenny's uncle and neighbor, tore

down their original homes and moved them brick by brick to the land behind the elementary school that served as the evacuation center. Jenny witnessed her uncle sob as he piece by piece tore down the home his family slowly built over the years. Jenny's grandmother and grandfather also moved to the land behind the school in order to stay close to Jenny's mother who was still highly traumatized by the harassment, and due to her unwillingness to eat, was too weak to continue with the daily chores of the family. Her grandparents were also traumatized however. Since the harassment, Jenny's grandfather's drinking problem became more and more serious. Because of the drinking problem, he withdrew from his normal activities and would roam around the village speaking to no one in particular and sometimes engaging in violent verbal outbursts at no-one in particular. Because of this he and his wife ended up living in separate homes, with Jenny's grandmother moving back to the village center without him. Living in the land behind the school, Jenny's grandfather roamed aimlessly around their home, occasionally asking for food or drink. In response, the family refused to acknowledge his problems and just clothed and fed him. Running out of energy and answers to his problems the family simply continued their lives and ignored him. It took weeks for us to realize who the vagabond was since even though he stopped by the home we stayed in daily, Jenny's family never introduced us.

Jenny was not spared from the trauma as well. After the harassment it took months for her to be able to return to the village. When her mother regained her strength to continue her normal activities, many times she would ask Jenny to bring food or supplies to her grandmother in the village center. Jenny would turn down these requests flatly. When the entire family would make their way down to her grandmother's home, as they walked down the long road to the community, Jenny

used to breakdown halfway and freeze, refusing to move another inch. Jenny's relationships with others tended to suffer as well. After the harassment, Jenny admitted that she began to fear all Muslims she met regardless of who they were or where they came from. Although she grew up with Muslim neighbors who she claimed were some of her best friends, it was evident that she grew apart from them, refusing to visit them or participate in the same activities. Her best friends became mainly Christian and she began to fraternize with people outside of the community completely, looking back at the community as closed off from the rest of the world and unexposed to new ideas or ways of living.

Much of these problems persisted two years after the event. And to be fair to Jenny, the harassment happened just before she was to graduate and take up scholarship at a local Christian College. She admitted that immediately after the event, she harbored a lot of ill feelings and prejudice in her heart, but says that thanks to the numerous outreach events by the church and the NGOs she began to realize that harboring prejudice was counterproductive to the healing process of the community. When asked about the harassment and whom she felt was to be held accountable, she said that she did not know and didn't want to spread rumors. She refused to partake in speculation for she felt it was not nice and unfair. She said that she believed that everyone in the community was affected by the harassment and to focus in on the negative repercussion onto simply one group, namely the Christians would be wrong.

Living in the land behind the evacuation center also became part of her day-to-day life, and she eventually began to prefer it to her old life in the village. In their new home, one of the main differences that she cited between their new home and their old was the existence of electricity, and of course with this electricity came modern conveniences such as the television, both of which were impossible in the community.

The family had also opened a “sari-sari” store,⁴⁸ so money and products seemed to move through the home more quickly than when they lived in the community. Because she now lived in the guesthouse of the school she came home as much as she possible could, and by living by the main road, coming home was much easier. This was also the case for when she and her family had to commute to the larger towns in the area. Living by the main road made transportation a lot faster and easier considering how they lived only minutes away from main jeep, tricycle and bus routes that traveled east and west, to and from Cotabato City and Davao two of the largest cities in the whole of Mindanao. Lastly, she believed that by living in the land behind the school house, she was able to mix with different types of people from different places. Life in the new home therefore became more modern, convenient and outward-looking.

Her ideas about the situation in Mindanao had changed as well. Even though she admitted that she feared Muslims people and places initially, she said that she overcame this fear, and no longer believed that they were universally bad. She added that although she has heard that Muslim culture and beliefs are at the core of the conflict in Mindanao, she said that this cannot be completely true. She said that she wholeheartedly believes that at the core of the Mindanao conflict were injustices with regards to land. When asked who was responsible for the injustice, she that that she did not know, and that she could not say for sure since she did not want to engage in speculation. She did add however that she fears how Christians can be implicated with regards to the injustice. This may have negative repercussion to many Christians who also consider Mindanao their home. When asked how she as a young, Christian woman living in Mindanao could make a difference, she said that she just wishes that

⁴⁸ A sari-sari store is a small neighborhood shop that sells storable food items and sometimes personal convenience items such as toothbrushes and soap.

the conflict in Mindanao could be resolved through negotiation. Her role as a young, Christian woman in Mindanao, she added was to insert the voice of the youth onto the negotiating table and to make sure that their issues are heard.

Umar Addas

As a young Muslim man, who hails from a single parent family, Umar had a difference experience growing up than Jenny. Whereas Jenny had grown up in a relatively stable home environment interspersed with violent outbreaks that the family fled in fear of coming into contact with this violence, Umar on the other hand had moved from place to place and never had a stable home to call their own precisely because of this violence. Born in Kapayapaan, he and his family moved from the community when he was very young to escape the violent Ilagas who were ransacking the community and terrorizing the Muslim residents. Moving to a neighboring community that consisted primarily of Muslims, his family did not find safety here either. Due to the family feuds and military raids that plagued this pure Muslims community, they fled again to another purely Muslims community. Their fate remained the same and they continued to flee until the year 2000 when they returned to Kapayapaan. Even though they had to give up the ability to live and practice their religion in a purely Muslim community that lived by the Koran, this sacrifice was made in exchange for the relatively peaceful environment they found in this mixed community of Christians and Muslims. The community was also convenient for him and his family since it was close to a school. This was very important because in the past, he had trouble pursuing his education, since when he had to commute daily from his former purely Muslim community, he was once captured by the military and accused of being a rebel. Therefore the shorter commute and the less controversial nature of the community made pursuing his education a little easier.

Umar's father died when he was really young. This was difficult for him and his family since his mother was left alone to fend for her two young sons, one of which, Umar, was partially disabled. Being born with one shorter leg, he visibly hobbled wherever he went, making it difficult for him to engage in the same type of farm activities his brother and the other young men in the community participated in. When asked how his father had died, Umar told us that because of his father's controversial nature as an individual who was active politically, a spell was cast upon him, and therefore when he was taken to the hospital, nothing the doctors did could save his father from his illness. Without his father around, his mother had to rely on family members to help support her and her two sons. This helped to explain why the family moved around a lot. It also made life a little more difficult for his mother, a single woman, to raise her children on her own in a conservative Muslim community. Nevertheless, the family survived and his brother, who is one year older than Umar ended up getting married. Since his mother was getting older and because his brother now had a family to take care of, Umar was left with the task of taking care of the family; and he did a very good job at it as well. Although unable to work in the fields, through a small amount of saving, he was able to save up enough to set up a small *sari sari*. The profits from this small business went into hiring laborers to till their small plot of land that grew rice. Additionally, Umar also helped to weave thin bands of bamboo into large and flat square pieces that were then sold as wall or roofing material. The income he was able to earn from these activities was enough for him to purchase two small homes, one in which he and his mother sleeps in and store a few items that they sell in the small sari-sari store, and another home which he uses to sleep in occasionally and uses to store the pieces of bamboo housing material and sacks of rice that need to be kept dry.

Although life was finally stable for him and his family he added that sometimes life could also be very difficult. For instance, much of the money that he uses to buy the seedling and the fertilizer at the beginning of the planting season comes from loans. These loans come with a nearly 100% interest rate and because the loans taken can sometimes be quite large, this means that more than 50% of one's yield will usually go to paying the interest alone. But if the rains don't come, or if there are rats or flooding, it would be difficult to pay back the debt on time. If the debt isn't paid back on time, then the excess fines are added to the original debt, and many people in his community, such as himself rely on these loans at the beginning of the season to start off their crops. Therefore if they are unable to pay back their loans, they will not be able to attain the next set of loans necessary for their next planting season.

Yet in spite of his responsibilities and the difficulties associated with them, Umar still enjoys partaking in activities that take his mind off of his work. Because to be considered a youth in the community usually means that you are still single or without child, since Umar was not married, he was able to take part in a lot of the activities that the youth participated in such as basketball tournaments, dances and the yearly community fiesta.⁴⁹ Due to the multi-religious nature of the community, sometimes these groups arrange activities for the religious holidays of Christmas and Ramadan. As an active member who was a little older and more responsible than the rest of the group, when the president of the organization had decided to relinquish her position in order to move to Manila in preparation for a career abroad as a domestic

⁴⁹ Fiestas in Filipino communities are usually celebrations in which the entire village comes together to celebrate their patron saint. A procession usually takes place in which the young girls in the village are chosen to represent different saints and boys serve as the pallbearers to the statue of the saint. Music and dancing usually takes place.

helper, Umar stepped up to take the responsibility of coordinating and organizing the activities of the youth as president.

One of the benefits of starting up a youth group in these multicultural communities was the fact that many times NGOs see these groups as an easy way to contribute to a community. Because these youth groups already have an inherent hierarchical structure, defined roles and responsibilities as well as an already organized set of clients, contributing funds to a community can easily be done through these youth groups. Thus when Umar became president, it was only natural that an NGO came into to contribute funds. As president, Umar was approached by an NGO to set up a livelihood project that aimed at giving the youth a communal task that forced the different people to work together and foster deeper community relations as well as provide the youth with a set of duties that taught them the meaning of being responsible and hard working. The NGO that had approached Umar therefore asked him to put together a proposal that set out the guidelines as to how a set of several dozen of young ducklings would be raised and harnessed for their eggs that can be sold in the local market. Umar was set to his task and held a series of meetings with his group of nearly 80 members to establish the logistics of the project and assign roles amongst its members. Umar said that sometimes he would have to put in some of his own money to pay for the snacks that were provided at the meeting. He put in a lot of time and effort into the project.

Eventually however, much of the decision-making, project management and communication started to drift to the upper parts of the community and slip from his control. This bothered Umar who as president of the organization was now being sidelined as other members of the group would communicate directly with the NGO without his knowledge. Umar was partly resentful over the fact that much of the

decision-making started to take place with these people. While much of the coordination and communication shifted to the upper parts of the community, the part of the community that was predominantly Christian, Umar argued that slowly, little by little, much of the people from the lower parts of the community which consisted mainly of the Muslim residents, became disenfranchised from the project. This was particularly unfair since out of the 80 members of the group, a majority came from the lower parts of the community. Although he admitted that one of the reasons why the project tended to have an upper Kapayapaan bias was because the area did have a creek to which they could use for the ducklings as well as larger homes to keep the ducklings in, this only emphasized the stark difference between the two parts of the community.

Eventually the project failed. Umar felt however that more than the project itself, the thing that was most negatively affected was his relationship with the community. Although he felt that the people in Upper Kapayapaan were still close in terms of blood, in terms of geography as well as in terms of their relations, the distance between the two parts of the community was stark. Because of this, he believe one of the reasons why the project failed, and why projects to follow will fail, is because people such as those in the NGOs fail to realize that the two parts of the community are now separate entities. If money is to be given to the community for a project, it needs to be taken into consideration that the two communities need to be treated as separate but equal parts, willing to work together but distinctly different.

Changing Reality

Whereas Umar discusses his ideas about his community as he sees it, many in the community, including those of his generation tend to hold back their comments and convey statements that tend to preserve the status quo of the past. Jenny, even

though she clearly is experiencing major changes to her experiences with regards to the community and her relationship with those outside of her ethnic and religious grouping, still tends to cling to optimistic ideas about her current predicament in the community and as a Christian in Mindanao. Thus although she feels and experiences these changes, she can't seem to express these changes in the same way that Umar speaks about his changing interpretation of reality. Many reasons can be drawn upon to justify this disjuncture between reality and how one portrays it as. At this point however, we come to how the act of "lying" will be interpreted. Focusing mainly on how one speaks in a way that circumvents reality, "lying" in this sense is not meant to be pejorative or immoral. It is simply an act in which people feel one thing yet speak of another.

Returning to the main topic of this dissertation, this section argues that emotions sometimes have the tendency of creating situations in which people are unable to speak of what is really on their minds. Moreover, sometimes these emotions have the ability to inhibit one from admitting the truth about certain situations and can actually lead the individual to saying things that may not only be counterproductive, but also detrimental to their own well being. In situations such as these, emotions can lead to an individual speaking in terms contrary to their own self-interest. This section will explore the issue of "lying," or the act of conveying information that is divergent from the truth.

For a long time in the social sciences, lying was ignored or relegated to the periphery of concern (Barnes, 1994). This could be contributed to the movement in the social sciences to develop rigorous methodological confines in order to further its claim to being an empirical science rather than a humanistic art. Lying or the lying informant stood as an example of how social science will inevitably be flawed in the

eyes of positivists who sought tangible and infallible data sets that were dependable and scientifically rigorous. (Salamone, 1977). By the 1960's however, as attempts such as those made by prominent anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1964) to deconstruct dogmatic and impenetrable phenomena such as ideology by interpreting them as examples of "cultural systems," lies and lying informants too became the center of attention. By understanding the motives that impel the act of lying, one can ascertain the substructural elements that lead to the act. Furthermore, it was during this time that anthropology and the social sciences in general were experiencing influences from the post-modern challenge to metanarratives of an impartial and flawless science. Mary Douglass on commenting on a conference on "Lying and Deceit" was quoted as saying, " More and more, physiology, neuropsychology and the behavioral sciences recognize that perception requires a heavy dose of subjective organization" (Douglass, 1974). Therefore lying became a topic of discussion, not simply as an obstacle towards objectivity, but rather a "cultural system" in itself, allowing the sociologist or anthropologist to peer into the social world of the people who lie.

Although significant efforts to understand the act of lying have been undertaken, the approach of the social sciences have been highly influenced however by the same type of preoccupation with the task of systematizing the process of collecting data that in the past had preclude its study. Many of the earliest works on lying and its methodological implications tended to categorize the different types of lies and the purposes that they served in fulfilling one's social role within a particular culture. For instance in Passin's (1942) pioneering work on the topic of lying he argues that lies can fulfill four very important social and personal needs of the liar. The four types of lies are as followed:

Category	Social Function
Economic	Lies can help to serve one's personal goal of expanding or protecting one's wealth. By lying about one's wealth the liar can play to the social norm of either showcasing his wealth or exhibiting reticence. Liars can also expand their wealth by deceiving another into investing or purchasing his or her products.
Cultural	Lies also serve to protect the communal interests of the community. In communities that value wealth, beauty or age, it may serve one's interest to lie to another about these ideas to promote social integration and harmony.
Pride	Otherwise known as a "Prestige-Lie," these types of lies help to preserve one's image in a society or to augment it. Again the issue of self identification is dependent on the cultural norms and practices of the society.
Personal	Types of lies that play to personal needs that exist outside the confines of the cultural. These personal lies tend to represent the beliefs of the individual and can provide useful glimpses into their psychological state.

As the field developed, more sophisticated analysis of lying tended to emerge. Goffman (1975) tends to differentiate between "lies" and "fabrications" with the latter defined as "an intentional effort of one or more individuals to manage activity so that a party of one or more others will be induced to having a false belief about what is going on." Philosophically, the issue of deception has also been interrogated and categorized into further categories such as: 1) the delivery of false information; 2) presenting ourselves as people who believe this information in spite of our knowledge to the contrary; 3) intentionally attempting to manipulate ones trust for our own benefit (Simpson, 1992). Increasingly, the study of lying has grown as a result of the expanding of the topic to deception. In a chapter entitled, "Everybody Lies," lying is discussed as a tool that people have used to deceive others for their own personal gain; from sexual predators to doctors and their patients, the use of lying is as ubiquitous as the advertising campaigns that use subtle nuances in wording to deceive the consumer into buying the product (Ford, 1996). From a categorization to the types of lies a person engages and how it allows us to peer into his social world, to lies

taking on the form of fabrications that exist all around us lies therefore are no longer simply a methodological problem but a sociological conundrum within itself.

Using the Social Science to Analyze Jenny's Words

Methodologically, it can be argued that Jenny simply was telling us what we wanted to hear, particularly because we were associated with one of the NGOs that came in to conduct the intervention in the community after the harassment. But if this were the case, then what she is effectively doing is prohibiting herself from achieving a state of satisfaction with her own state of affairs. Furthermore, by claiming that financially and physically she was happy she further prevents others from understanding what is really on her mind. Although she may genuinely be happy with living in a temporary shelter made permanent behind the school, there must be some residual feelings associated with continuing to live in a place that was the site of so much anguish in the past. Much like her grandfather who roams the grounds as a walking ghost of the past, they grin and talk about the weather to us as they quickly sweep him under the table. Lastly, as researchers we were more concerned with what she said and how she interpreted her reality as opposed to whether or not what she was saying was the "truth." Therefore when she conveys to us a picture that is drastically different from what others speak of and what is so evidently present around us, it implores us to ask why, as opposed to peer into whether or not our data set is incorrect.

Secondly, in terms of some of the social reasons why she would lie, it can easily be argued that her lies help to preserve the status quo. By not speaking of the problems that exists, she does not instigate conflict but rather masks existing problems in a way that shelters them from view in hopes that they eventually disappear. Categorized as a "cultural" lie (Passin, 1942) it can be argued that her

actions actually help to maintain community relations whereas perhaps Umar's responses were meant to deconstruct or disentangle the two communities from one another. The problem with this categorization however is that after two years of living apart from the rest of the community, and with the community so visibly split along ethnic and religious lines, by preserving the status quo, she was only serving to preserve a negative situation. Speaking about her new home as better than the older one in the village and emphasizing the convenience of the new home could also be seen as a "pride" or "prestige-lie" or one meant to aggrandize one's own sense of success and ownership. By conveying to us outsiders the pleasantries attached to living her life she can impress us into thinking her life is great and not worthy of pity. The problem with this analysis is that as NGO workers, our job was precisely to help lift people out of their negative situations be it physical or emotional. Therefore by masking her problems she is only preventing people from stepping in and helping.

Lastly, was it really her intention to say the things that she said? Did she really have control over her own words? Whereas some may argue that she was actively attempting to present herself to the outside world in a manner that seems befitting of her cultural and social constraints, as discussed above, by doing so she actually only further perpetuates the negative repercussions of her displacement. It can also be argued that perhaps she was laboring under some type of "false consciousness" in which she truly believed her circumstances were improving and that her current predicament was without problems. But even if this were the case, why would she feel the need to protect the predicament that she is currently in? What led to her to the internalization of the idea that living in a permanent state of displacement was positive? If this is some sort of self-preserving mechanism, it is counterproductive to its task.

Conclusion

What can be conclusively drawn from all three sections is the fact that these three actions of not being able to speak, speaking too much or speaking lies all demonstrate how an individual can engage in an activity that negatively affects their personal well being. While much of the literature that exists with regards to these actions tends to focus on the benefits that these people reap and the motivations that lie beneath engaging in such activities, these explanations tend to ignore the fact that some of these actions actually do the opposite. This chapter aimed to demonstrate how sometimes people engage in actions that may not necessarily make sense but serve as an extension of their emotional state of being. This state of being furthermore is one that cannot be easily categorized or understood in the academic literature that exists. While social scientists tend to look for an inherent rationalization behind every action we conduct, they neglect the instances in which our actions have no logic. Whereas to some it is precisely this unpredictable emotional nature that makes life worth living, to others, namely social scientist constantly seeking order, this emotional nature does not exist. Considering how many of the situations in this chapter can be found in locations throughout the world, it therefore should remind us of the emotional element that factors in to the decision making process we all experience at the everyday level.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Considering how emotions factor into so many important decisions we tend to make, it is hard to believe that systematic sociological studies on emotions and their consequences have only begun to pick up in the past 30 years. “Follow your heart” has to be one of the most commonly used expressions when advice is solicited, and is probably what factors into at least half of the decisions we make when it comes to life changing choices. Can you imagine not taking into consideration your feelings when choosing what course to study in school, where you intend to relocate afterwards or whom you intend to marry? Emotive concerns factor into many of the important decisions we tend to make throughout our lifetime. Thus, is it possible to make decisions without the use of the heart at some level? Through the study of emotions and how they factor into the social structure we see today, we can hopefully make sense of some of the irresolvable issues we commonly face, such as why certain vital problems such as religious wars, racial violence, extreme nationalism and inter-ethnic rivalry have plagued mankind from the dawn of existence.

The Philippines as a Case Study

Such a study is important in a country like the Philippines, which has continually faced many of these issues throughout its history. But a study such as this on this nation would have to take into account several important implications on different levels peculiar to Philippine history. At the theoretical level, centuries of external rule have left an imprint on the conception of self and notions of nationalism and it is because of this, western standards of explanation to nationalism don't always fit onto the Philippine case perfectly. Whereas the west emerged out of consensus building and consciousness raising (Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1989, 1991) much

like other post-colonial nations, the Philippines has had to grapple with overcoming an institutional bias that has in the past been used to justify discrimination as opposed to promoting equality (Appadurai, 1997; Kohli, 1997; Asad 1996). On another level, academically, the scholarship that emerges to study the country tends to perpetuate certain traditional structures that imprison alternative views on the Philippine self. By blaming Philippine culture for the Philippines' inability to adapt to impartial and bureaucratic modern structures (Lande, 1965; Steinberg, 1990), the Philippines is held up to an institutional yardstick it will inevitably fail to measure up to since the measurement was never created to fit the nation. And at the political level, after experiencing three "People Power Movements" and several dramatic attempts to overthrow the existing government, one may question how and why such predicaments continue to plague the nation. Moreover in the process, political organizers and groups continually "speak for the people," many times in the process leading the "people" in directions they had no role in selecting.

Emotional factors can help us to reconceptualize our notions of political institutions and can facilitate the introduction of alternative forms of data and evidence to analyze these institutions themselves. This is because many of the analysis of these institutions grounded in the west tend to embody the overly rational and scientific epistemological approaches that disenfranchise the emotions that remain so central to many bold and important decisions we make in our lifetimes. Yet as was discussed in chapter two, many problems tend to plague the sociological study of emotions. Firstly, many of the same scientific and overly rational approaches to studying political institutions tend to dominate the very cognitive discipline of the sociology of emotions. Secondly, much like with the studies of Philippine political institutions and society, the overly culturalist approach has the potential to

essentialize certain actions and behaviors as peculiar to a particular society based on ingrained personal beliefs and not characteristic of a nation that stands at the crux of several different, conflicting social, cultural and political spaces having to make difficult decisions. Thirdly, the contemporary body of literature on emotions tends to neglect the influence that emotions have on shaping and reshaping the social structures that surround us. By focusing on micro-interpersonal relations, these studies tend to overlook the larger picture and downplay the significance of emotions at the structural and global level.

Departing from these two important problematic areas of two vast and diverse bodies of literature, this dissertation attempts to address some of the limitations mentioned earlier. Firstly, this dissertation attempts to use emotions to contribute to a post-colonial analysis of the Philippines. By integrating an alternative factor into the process of writing Philippines history, this dissertation aims to provide an alternative angle that eschews the typical problems associated with overly cultural and “orientalist” perspectives on the Philippines. Secondly, taking into consideration the role and influence of colonial legacies and influences onto the Philippine landscape, emotions can help us to make sense of some of the unique and peculiar events that take place in the Philippines, which under the same conditions may exist elsewhere. And lastly, through a microanalysis to the roots of a much larger problem, emotions can help us think about how and why the current social structures that surround us exist and perhaps why they manifest themselves in the way that they do. The next section will explore in detail how these three issues were addressed in the previous chapters.

Re-writing History

As Americans attempted to make sense of the “colony that got away,” they implicitly tended to operate under the assumption that the “benevolent assimilation” rhetoric of President McKinley and the colonial regime was the actual purpose and practice of the administration. Conversely, Filipinos and anti-imperialist scholars would have interpreted “Benevolent Assimilation” as a smoke screen for devious intentions.

This dissertation however looks at the history of the Philippines in a different way. Accepting the rhetoric of “benevolence,” it does not immediately assume that because Americans aimed at “helping” the country, it did not in the process create inept bureaucratic institutions and political solutions that created more long-term negative effects. By exploring the emotional issue of guilt, this dissertation has argued that the political institutions put in place were created by people blinded with guilt. Ushered in by the baggage associated with the hypocrisy of espousing freedom from external rule, particularly when the nation it self emerged from the clutches of colonial control, to then become a master of another country would defile the very beliefs the US cherished. Therefore, in a constant effort to set themselves apart from the supposedly exploitative Spanish, the Americans embarked upon a non-invasive and non-judgmental platform that focused on two very benign and objective projects: education and creating industrial entrepreneurship. These two basic programs tended to very superficially address some larger looming questions that affected the nation such as an entrenched oligarchy left behind by the Spanish and most importantly to this thesis, the deeply embedded conflict between the religious groups in the south. Therefore, while important contemporary scholars on the Philippines such as Hutchcroft (1998) and Abinales (2000) draw from political concepts such as the

“patron-client” model that implicitly integrates Philippine culture into the its analysis, this dissertation looks the other way around, at those that create the structures and how emotions subliminally guided and motivated their actions.

Choosing Sides: Mindanao Contested

Secondly, whereas as was demonstrated in chapter four (“Center vs. Periphery”) many issues in the preceding section such as post-colonial nations and projects tend to converge onto the highly contest Muslim Filipino and Mindanaowan landscape. Whereas the literature on Muslim Filipinos tends to fall into two schools of thought: the primordialist (Kamlan, 1999; Rodil, 1994; Lingga, 2000, 2002; Bauzon, 1991; Gordon, 1983; Tangol, 1993) and the constructionist (McKenna, 1998; George, 1980; Junker, 2000; Laarhoven, 1989) with regards to the war in Mindanao, a similar grouping of people can be found. On the one hand we have the Manila observers (Docena, 2007; Vizmanos, 2002; Simbulan, 2002) who staunchly believe that foreign intervention lies at the heart of the conflict by positing the US and the “war on terror” as central to the escalation of violence in the south, and on the other hand we have numerous Mindanaowan observers who would argue otherwise. According to some based in Mindanao, the war is based on century old animosity between the two groups. Discrimination at the structural and social level has turned what many Mindanaowans felt as their multicultural haven into a hotbed of political conflict. Mindanaowans have also argued that these perspectives from Manila tend to peripheralize their voices, many times referring to their compatriots of the north as hailing from “Imperial Manila.”

But this dissertation is not interested in taking sides or approaching some type of safe compromise between the two. In actuality even though there is truth to both perspectives, this dissertation is more interested in the way in which post-colonial

realities have made it so that the vibrant and emotional discussion emerges in the form that it has. Drawing parallels to the fiercely anti-colonial literature of the propagandistas such as Rizal (Schumacher, 1973), to anti-colonial struggles in other parts of the world (Fanon, 1967), this dissertation argues that the incredibly fierce political discussion that emerges in the Philippines is one that is a product of “mimicry” and dual identities (Bhaba, 1994). Where as the local attempts to assert an identity that is indigenous and independent from the colonizer, it does so by using the same categories and definitions given to them by the colonizer. This contradiction emerges in an incredibly emotionally charged political scene that embodies this internal contradiction that continues to serve as an undercurrent that runs beneath the debates, but is rarely ever spoken of. This issue becomes even more acute when beyond the struggle for an autonomous identity, these identities attempt to speak for others who don’t immediately identify with the same struggle. Using the imagery of the “center vs. the periphery” this situation becomes incredibly intense when by asserting a national identity, in the process, alternative national identities such as the Muslim or Mindanaowan identity is peripheralized. This dissertation hopes to show how the incredibly fierce emotional debates in the Philippines has its roots in colonial groundings and is even more sensitive when it comes to Mindanao.

Emotional Choices

Lastly, as was seen in the discussion of sociological studies of emotions, the discipline is split into three categories, namely the social constructionist, the symbolic interactionists and the positivists. According to Barbalet (2002: 6),

At present time, research in the sociology of emotions is no longer novel and untried. Since the mid 1970’s there has been a growing number of important publications that self-consciously set out to expand the horizons of sociological writing by focusing on emotions.

The discipline is split between two very different yet important approaches. Firstly, with the “cognitive approach,” social constructionist and symbolic interactionists such as Gordon (1990), McCarthy (1989) and Hochschild (1983) tend to focus on the way in which we as human beings actively attempt to manage our emotions in relation to prescribed “emotional culture” or “feeling rules.” They argue that the social structure plays an important part in either completely structuring our experience of emotions or at least providing us with opportunities to interact with the outside world as we partially choose which emotional rules to follow and which to reject. On the other hand, the “affect approach” tends to look at emotions as partially influencing our beliefs about the world, and the way we interact with it. Many times, these scholars such as Averill (1997), MacKinnon (1995) and positivists of Mazur (1985), Ekman (1983), Kemper (1981, 1978, 2002) believe that emotions are “wired into” the system, providing some type of biological basis to our emotional experiences (Thoits, 1989: 321). Whereas the symbolic interactionist believes there is some space for *personal agency* in terms of people making a conscientious decision to experience certain emotions in certain situations, positivists tend to see agency having the capacity to alter social structures, or *structural agency*, by altering the way in which we interact with the social world consequently redefining our emotions in the future. Furthermore, by focusing on the cognitive and affective bases to our emotional responses they limit the roots and causes to our emotions as either coming from the “social” outside, or emerging from the “biological” inside.

This dissertation goes further to ask whether or not emotions can exist outside of the highly cognitive and pure affective explanations. Secondly, it intends to explore the possibilities for further influence emotions have onto the outside world, or developing structural agency beyond the micro-level. Firstly, as was mentioned in the

introduction, the sociology of emotions emerged to address the highly scientific and overly rational developments in the social sciences of the past century. In the process however, it becomes caught in the bind of using very similar categories and explanations. Taking the epistemological leap into the unknown by exploring an already very nebulous topic as the human heart has been a major step in terms of understanding human reality. But is it possible to argue that the human heart and emotions attached to it remain an unchartable territory incapable of ever being defined? This dissertation ventures into that direction by analyzing the lives of three people living in a community of displaced people. By analyzing the personal choices of these three people in three very crucial time periods in their lives, it is found that the choices that they make tend to circumvent reason, therefore making it so that the “cognitive” approach loses complete applicability. Also, whereas the biological approach tends to argue that human processes tend to pattern themselves in a manner that extends one’s livelihood and protects one’s self interest such as the release of adrenaline in times of fear to promote speed and agility or endorphins in times of happiness to reaffirm biologically that certain actions or situations are pleasurable, in these three stories, their emotional responses actually deteriorate their physical health as well. Therefore, the biological explanation does not always completely fit as well. However, in these analyses very similar situations should be immediately identifiable in our daily lives. People who hold back in times when speaking up would most suit them, or hold on to relationships that hurt them are all guilty of falling prey to emotions that may not always allow for reason or even biology to take control.

Furthermore, these three stories help to demonstrate how all individuals make choices based on emotions that eventually altered their social conditions and eventually the social structure. By choosing not to speak up, stereotypes of one’s self

and community tends to become negatively affected, as people tend to project negative ideas onto the individual and group as seen in one story. In another story, by failing to control one's emotions and the words that one says, the community bond suffers, leading to the predisposition for further misunderstanding to prevail—further contributing the possibility for war. Lastly, by being unable to depict reality in a manner that is closer to how one emotionally feels and distancing one's self from the situation, this prevents others from stepping in to help ameliorate some of the negative conditions that exist. Again these types of situations are not unique to Mindanao, the Philippines or even the world outside of this. How many of us have been caught in situation where our emotional choices have altered the conditions that surround us in a way that is irreconcilable? Emotions in the most acute sense have the capacity to change the way in which we live our lives by changing the social structures that surround us in a drastic sense. Our actions help to shape our world, and if our actions are partially shaped by our emotions, then we must take into account this ambiguous yet potent force that helps to shape this changing external world.

Concluding Remarks

To strip life of emotions, would be to strip human beings of life. As has been demonstrated in this dissertation, emotions have the capacity to alter the lives of millions of people through colonial projects and war. At the same time, it permeates the day-to-day living of people in some of the most desperate of situations: from destroying a dream, to providing a glimpse of hope. Acknowledging the centrality of emotions at some level, even at a miniscule level, could revolutionize the social sciences by reminding sociologist that a society is a sum of individuals, individuals with personal and private concerns that in its totality construct the whole—not the

other way around. We are not simply prisoners of our predicament, but active participants in the restructuring of our social world. And we do this simply through living life and experiencing it at its most basic levels. Therefore, we should not always view our moments of despair or instances of happiness as separate and distinct from our social reality. By acknowledging how our most private of emotional spaces influence the external world, we begin to realize how our most private and most personal of concerns parallel those around us, who also contribute to this external social world. We are not alone, therefore. The social structure that surrounds us is a compilation of the beliefs, ideas and actions of people who all share the basic human denominator: the human heart. Emotions are what bring meaning to the social world, not the other way around.

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Appendix

Appendix One

Dates	Description of Activities
3/03 – 6/03	Contact people in Mindanao, conduct background research, discuss methodology and project with scholars and supervisor.
5/19/03	Arrive in Manila – conduct interviews, meet with professors, discuss Mindanao and set up appointments down south, collect data from Manila based governmental agencies, confirm travel and housing arrangements.
6/2/03- 6/22/03	Zamboanga City – conduct interviews, meet with government officials, media, non-governmental organizations, scholars, conduct focus groups, profile the demographics of the city, visit site of US militarization, conduct interviews on site (Basilan), work with co-coordinating institutions on the methodology and survey, run test survey.
6/22/03- 7/20/03	Cotabato and General Santos – conduct interviews, meet with government officials, media, non-governmental organizations, scholars, conduct focus groups, profile the demographics of the city, work with co-coordinating institution on methodology and survey, run test survey.
7/20/03- 7/28/03	Davao – Conduct interviews in areas of most recent terrorist activities, meet with government officials that directly monitor conditions, meet with media, the academe and non-governmental agencies, run focus groups, test run survey. Return to Manila and then to Singapore to analyze data.

Appendix Two

SOCIAL SURVEY



This survey aims to assess people's attitudes on certain issues. Please answer the questions to the best of your ability. Your responses will be kept confidential and will be used for academic purposes.

Age: 20-30 30-45 45 - above	Total Family Income:
Sex: (M) (F)	Religion:
Marital Status: (Single) (Married)	Number of Children:
City of Birth:	Year of immigration to current city:

1. Government: Please check (A) for Agree and (D) for Disagree

	A	D
I believe public officials don't care much about what people think		
There is no way other than voting that people like me can influence actions of the government		
Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that I can't really know what's going on.		
People like me don't have anything to say about what the government does.		
These days the government is doing too little to help its citizens.		
For the most part, our government the government serves the interests of a few organized groups, such as business or NGO's, and isn't concerned with the needs of people like myself.		
It seems to me that the government often fails to take necessary actions on important matters, even when most people favor such actions.		
As the government is now organized and operated, I think it is hopelessly incapable of all the crucial problems facing the country today.		
I am proud to be Filipino.		

2. Faith in People Please check (A) for Agree and (D) for Disagree

	A	D
Most people can be trusted.		
Most people are out to look out for themselves.		
If you don't watch yourself, people will take advantage of you.		
No one is going to care much what happens to you.		
Human nature is basically cooperative		

3. Religion Please check: (5) Definitely Agree; (4) Agree; (3) No Opinion; (2) Disagree; (1) Definitely Disagree--unless asked otherwise.

	5	4	3	2	1
I try hard to carry my religion into all other dealings in life					
Quite often I have been very aware of the presence of God or the Divine Being					
My religious beliefs are what lie behind my whole approach to life.					
The prayers I say when I am alone are as important as when I say them in church or with others.					
If not possible, I go to church or the mosque: (1) more than once a week; (2) about twice a week; (3) two or three times a month; (4) less than once a month					
Religion is especially important to me because it answers many questions in life.					
I read literature about my faith: (1) Frequently; (2) Occasionally; (3) Rarely; (4) Never					
It is important to me to spend periods of time in private religious thought and meditation					

4. My Beliefs on People Please mark an "X" in the direction of the value that you believe most represents your view of the following Religious/National groups

	Filipino					
Kind						Cruel
Noble						Beast
Strong						Weak
Tolerant						Intolerant
Religious						No religion
Fair						Unfair
Honest						Dishonest
Happy						Sad

	American					
Kind						Cruel
Noble						Beast
Strong						Weak
Tolerant						Intolerant
Religious						No religion
Fair						Unfair
Honest						Dishonest
Happy						Sad

	Arab							
Kind	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Cruel
Noble	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Beast
Strong	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Weak
Tolerant	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Intolerant
Religious	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	No religion
Fair	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Unfair
Honest	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Dishonest
Happy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Sad

	Communist							
Kind	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Cruel
Noble	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Beast
Strong	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Weak
Tolerant	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Intolerant
Religious	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	No religion
Fair	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Unfair
Honest	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Dishonest
Happy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Sad

	Christian							
Kind	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Cruel
Noble	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Beast
Strong	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Weak
Tolerant	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Intolerant
Religious	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	No religion
Fair	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Unfair
Honest	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Dishonest
Happy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Sad

	Muslim							
Kind	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Cruel
Noble	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Beast
Strong	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Weak
Tolerant	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Intolerant
Religious	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	No religion
Fair	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Unfair
Honest	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Dishonest
Happy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Sad

<i>Please answer "Yes" or "No"</i>	Y	N
Is western culture superior to Arab culture?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do you feel suspicious of Muslims?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

<i>Please answer "Yes" or "No"</i>	Y	N
Do the Americans want to help Filipinos?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is communism a problem in Mindanao?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Who is a terrorist? *Please place a check all that apply*

- | | | |
|---|---|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Abu Sayyaf | <input type="checkbox"/> United States Military | <input type="checkbox"/> MNLF |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Philippine National Police | <input type="checkbox"/> Osama bin Laden | <input type="checkbox"/> George Bush |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Gloria Macapagal Arroyo | <input type="checkbox"/> Saddam Hussein | <input type="checkbox"/> MILF |

5. **What is more important to you:** *Please order following issues according to importance*

- | | | |
|--|------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Economy | <input type="checkbox"/> Education | <input type="checkbox"/> Health care |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Transportation | <input type="checkbox"/> Housing | <input type="checkbox"/> Terrorism (Bombings) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Presidential Campaign | <input type="checkbox"/> Drugs | <input type="checkbox"/> Dealing with Poverty |

6. **War against Terrorism**

Why does terrorism exist in the world? *(Please check all that apply)*

- Extremism US policy Policies of the Middle-East Different Religious Values

<i>Please answer "Yes" or "No"</i>	Y	N
Is war against terrorism a war against Islam?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Are actions in Afghanistan warranted?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Will the US be able to defeat terrorism?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is the news doing a good job reporting terrorism?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Are you going to prepare for future attacks?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Was September 11 th an "Act of War?"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix 3

June 4, 2003

Mrs. XXXX, Coordinator
Christian Children's Fund
Isabela City, Basilan

RE: SETTING UP OF FOCUS GROUPS

Mrs. XXXX:

Given the recent bombings in Davao, coupled with the ongoing military operations in Sulu and North Cotabato, the Philippines continues to be labelled a "hot spot" of terrorist activities. With the existence of ideological conflict, religious liberation groups, a genuine historically-based separatist movement in addition to illegal kidnap for ransom activities, Mindanao is one of the most dynamic regions in the world. With the entrance of the United States into the region via the the Balikatan Exercises of 2002, these issues were further amplified with the introduction of the largest amount of US troops in the Philippines since the Philippine-American war of 1898.

In these heightened times of international conflict, it has become crucial that the sentiments of those most affected by the US "War on Terrorism" are recorded and taken into account. Do the people in Basilan appreciate US military involvement? Has September 11th altered the realities of people living in Mindanao? How did residents of Mindanao view the war in Iraq?

As a graduate student from the National University of Singapore, I wish to research these issues in Basilan by conducting two focus groups in the city of Isabela. I was hoping that your organization could facilitate the conducting of these focus groups by:

- 1) Helping me find 2 groups of Muslim individuals interested in participating
 - a. The first group consisting of 6 men -- 3 religious leaders and 3 community leaders
 - b. The second group consisting of 6 women leaders of displaced groups
- 2) Providing a meal to participants as well as distributing foodstuff as compensation for their participation
- 3) Finding a venue for the event
- 4) Setting these up preferably by the end of next week (Saturday, June 14th) or anytime afterwards *before* the 20th of June (my expected departure date).
- 5) Finding a translator

I sincerely appreciate any help your organization can provide me with. I hope the result of this experience can bring about an understanding of the issues that can shed light on the lives of those most affected by this "War on Terrorism."

Your truly,

George B. Radics

Appendix 4

June 4, 2003

RE: REQUEST FOR PARTICIPATION IN FOCUS GROUP

Dear Zamboanga resident:

Given the recent bombings in Davao, coupled with the ongoing military operations in Sulu and North Cotabato, the Philippines continues to be labelled a “hot spot” of terrorist activities. With the existence of ideological conflict, religious liberation groups, a genuine historically-based separatist movement in addition to illegal kidnap for ransom activities, Mindanao is one of the most dynamic regions in the world. With the entrance of the United States into the region via the the Balikatan Exercises of 2002, these issues were further amplified with the introduction of the largest amount of US troops in the Philippines since the Philippine-American war of 1898.

In these heightened times of international conflict, it has become crucial that the sentiments of those most affected by the US “War on Terrorism” are recorded and taken into account. Do the people in the region appreciate US military involvement? Has September 11th altered the realities of people living in Mindanao? How did residents of Mindanao view the war in Iraq?

This letter is a formal request of your attendance to a focus group on these issues. The focus group will be held on the campus of Ateneo de Manila and is in collaboration with the National University of Singapore. The results of this project will be used for academic purposes.

Your truly,

George B. Radics
Graduate Student
National University of Singapore
Department of Sociology