



**MULA TORE  
PATUNGONG PALENGKE**

*Neoliberal Education In the Philippines*

**Mga Patnugot**

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## Pasasalamat

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## Introduksyon

Para sa mga kolonyalista - Espanyol at Amerikano kapwa - iisa lamang ang layon ng edukasyon para sa mga mamamayan ng bayang kanilang sinakop, at iyon ay ang pasipikasyon. Dinadamtan ang layuning iyan ng kung ano-anong saplot na paliwanag na nagbibigay ng anyong marangal sa ginawa nilang pandarahas o panlilinlang, subalit lilitaw pa rin na binibigyan nila ng edukasyon ang mga katutubo upang mapasang-ayon ang mga ito sa kanilang pangungubkob. Samakatwid, hindi upang sagipin ang mga sinakop sa dagat-dagatang apoy ng impyerno, hindi upang buksan sa liwanag ng katwiran ang isipan ng mga kabataang namamahay sa karimlan, kundi upang patahimikin ang mga sinakop nang sa gayo'y maluwalhating matamasa ng mga kolonyalista ang bunga ng kanilang pangangamkam ng teritoryong magpapalawak sa kanilang kapangyarihan bilang bansa.

Ang Diyos ng mga taga-Europa ng Edad Medya ay dinala rito ng mga Espanyol noong Siglo 16. Ito ang ginamit nilang instrumento sa pasipikasyon ng mga katutubong dinatnan nila sa mga isla ng Filipinas. Naiiba ang Diyos ng mga Kristyano sa mga mumunting diyos na kilala ng mga katutubo. Para sa mga ito, may mga puwersang nagpapalago ng mga halaman, nagpapagalaw sa maiilap na hayop at ibon sa kagubatan, nangangalaga sa mga ilog at batis, at nagbibigay-lakas sa mga gerero ng lipi. Iyan ang mga puwersang iginagalang at ipinagbubunyi ng mga sinaunang tao bilang diyos. Nang dumating ang mga taga-Kanluran, may bagong kapangyarihang kailangan nilang kilalanin at dalanginan araw-araw upang kanilang matiyak na sila'y magtatamong-ginhawa sa kabilang buhay.

May mga taong pinili ng Diyos upang ipaalaala sa mga katutubo ang kanilang mga katungkulan bilang mga nilalang na biniyayaang maging bahagi ng paghahari ng mga Espanyol. Sila ang mga prayle. May mga simbahang itinayo ang mga ito at doon tinuturuan ang mga bata at matanda kung paano maglingkod sa Diyos na dinala nila sa Filipinas. Sa mga simbahang iyan, itinuturo ang dapat paniwalaan upang ang indibidwal ay mabuhay

nang matiwasay sa mundong ito at upang siya'y maligtas sa pagkahulog sa impyerno kapag siya'y namatay. Ang pangunahing aral na dapat isabuhay ng mga kabataan ay ang pagiging masunurin sa mga taong may kapangyarihan sa simbahan, sa lipunan at sa pamilya. Ganyan ang pasipikasyong ipinaranas sa mga kolonisado sa unang yugto ng kolonisasyong Espanyol.

Akdang nagtipon ng iba't ibang aral mula sa mga prayle mula pa nang unang nangaral ang mga ito sa mga katutubo hanggang Siglo 19 ang *Urbana at Feliza* (1864) ni Modesto de Castro. Ganito ang ipinararating sa kalalakihan: “. . . ang kamahalan at karangalan ang dapat humanap ng ulong puputungan, at di ang ulo ang dapat humanap ng koronang ipuputong.” Kulang-kulang na dalawang siglo na ang itinagal ng kolonisasyon, at ang aral ng pasipikasyon ay isa nang batas ng lipunan sa panahong nagsisimula nang mamulat ang mga katutubo sa kahungkagan ng mga pangaral ng mga prayle. Kung ating lilingunin ang kasaysayan ng edukasyon sa siglong malayo na sa pagdaong ng mga kolonisador, makikita natin na ang kumbento ang siyang tumayong sentro ng edukasyon at ang prayle ang makapangyarihang direktor na nagtatakda ng mga patakaran. Magugunita na ang pagtuturo ng Espanyol sa mga katutubo ay paulit-ulit na itinagubilin ng Korte sa Espanya, at iyon ay paulit-ulit ding nilabag o ipinagwalang-bahala ng mga prayle.

Noong 1863, isang dekreto ang ibinaba ng Korte upang lunasan ang kakulangan ng kolonya ng sistematikong pagtugon sa problema sa edukasyon. Ito ang Decreto Real ng 1863 na nagtakda ng pagtatayo ng paaralang primarya sa lahat ng pueblo at ng sapilitang pagpasok ng mga bata sa eskwelahan. Itinakda rin ang pagbubukas ng paaralang Normal na magbibigay ng dalawang-taong pagsasanay upang ihanda ang mga estudyante sa pagiging guro. Tila ang bagong patakaran sa edukasyon ng mga mamamayan ng kolonya ay paglihis sa kinaugalian tungo sa matinong edukasyon ng kabataan. Subalit ang sistemang ipinanukala ng dekreto ay hindi gaanong naiba sa dating sistema sapagkat nakapailalim pa rin ito sa pamamahala ng prayle o kura. Sa nobelang *Noli Me Tangere* (1887), pinuna ni Rizal ang patuloy na paghawak ng mga prayle sa edukasyon nang isalaysay ang pagtutol ng kura paroko sa plano ni Crisostomo Ibarra na magtayo ng paaralang primarya na hindi kontrolado ng kumbento.

Kung Diyos ang kinasangkapan ng mga Espanyol sa kanilang pagpapatahimik sa mga mamamayang ayaw pailalim sa kanilang kapangyarihan, ang wikang Ingles ang instrumentong ginamit ng mga Amerikano upang tiyakin na mananahimik ang mga Filipinong pinoot ng kanilang pa-traydor na pananakop. Mga ilustradong kumalas sa

rebolusyonaryong hukbo ng republikang pinamunuan ni Emilio Aguinaldo ang tumayong mga prayle sa pagpapatahimik sa mga nagtatanggol sa malayang pamahalaan ng mga Filipino. Sa pamilya ng mga ilustrado nanggaling ang mga elite na Filipino na naunang tumanggap sa wikang panturo na itinakda ng administrasyong kolonyal ng mga Amerikano. Sinadya ng mga bagong kolonyalista na ang elite ang una nilang kabigin sa kanilang hanay. Ang programang ginamit upang bitagin ang mga anak-ilustrado ay ang sistemang pensionado na nagpadala sa mga kabataang Filipino sa Amerika upang mag-aral sa mga kolehiyo at unibersidad at makipanirahan sa mga pamilyang Amerikano. Sa pamamagitan ng Ingles, samakatwid, isinubo ang mga kabataan sa kultura ng lipunang Amerikano na, sa dahilang may higit na maunlad na ekonomiya, ay nakapagdulot ng mga produkto, kagamitan at luho ng katawan na hindi pa malaganap sa Filipinas. Sa pagbalik ng mga pensionado sa Filipinas, may mga katutubong tagapamansag nang naitanim sa ating lipunan ang kolonyalismong Amerikano, hindi lamang sa larangan ng edukasyon kundi pati na sa ekonomiya at politika.

Noong 1901 pa lamang, tiniyak na ng Philippine Commission ang tagumpay ng kolonisasyong Amerikano nang itakda ng Act No. 74 ang pagtatayo ng sistemang pampublikong paaralan na magbibigay ng libreng primaryang edukasyon. Itinayo rin ng nasabing batas ang isang paaralang Normal kung saan sasanayin ang mga gurong Filipino na sasalo sa pagtuturong ginagampanan ng mga Amerikanong militar at sibilyan. Dahil Ingles ang wikang panturo, ang mga naunang teksbuk sa mga paaralang primarya ay mga librong ginagamit ng mga kabataang Amerikano, na tila бага walang pagkakaiba ang kulturang pinanggalingan ng mga mag-aaral na magkaiba ang lahi. Ang ibinunga ng ganitong kaayusan ay mga Filipinong nag-iisip, kumikilos, at nagpapasya batay sa mga pagpapahalagang hiram sa mga Amerikano, at ito ang ugat ng pagkakahiwalay ng mga “edukadong” Filipino sa mga kababayang, bunga ng kahirapan, ay bahagya na lamang nabahiran “edukasyong kolonyal.”

Taong 1935 na nang bitawan ng mga Amerikano ang Departamento ng Edukasyon at ipagkatiwala ito sa mga opisyal na Filipino, na nauna nang hinubog nila ayon sa kanilang imperyalistang oryentasyon. Ipinagugunita nito sa atin ang maigting na pagkapit ng mga prayle at kura sa oryentasyong pansimbahan sa harap ng repormang ipinapasok ng Dekreto Real ng 1863. Uulitin natin ang obserbasyon na ang mga kolonyalista ay may iisang layunin sa pagbibigay ng edukasyon sa sambayanang kanilang sinakop, at iyon ay ang pasipikasyon, pagpapatahimik sa anumang pagtutol sa pangungubkob ng dayuhan.

***Ang Mikrobyong Naging Katawan***

Tinutukoy ng neoliberalismo ang ideolohiyang nagtataguyod ng liberalisasyon ng ekonomiya. Mula sa kamay ng gobyerno, ipinipindeho ang mga pambansang industriya—kasama lalo ang paggawa—para sa globalisasyon. Ito ang blackhole na humihigop sa lahat ng ginagawa ng gobyerno, upang manilbihan sa negosyo, partikular ang mga dayuhang negosyo sa pamamagitan ng liberalisasyon (pagtanggap sa lahat ng pambansang balakid para makalabas-masok ang dayuhang kapital), pribatisasyon (pagpaubaya ng gobyerno sa mga industriya, kasama ang pambansang industriya, sa kamay ng pribadong sektor), komersyalisasyon (pagtanggap sa subsidyo at proteksyon, pagtapat sa serbisyo at produkto sa tumbas na halaga ng pamilihan), at kontraktwalisasyon (walang permanente dahil dagdag na balakid lamang ito sa puhunan, lahat ay pleksible na kinokontra, kabilang ang serbisyo at paggawa).

Ang layunin ng neoliberalismo ay paigtingin pa ang mga karapatan at imperatibo ng pribadong pag-aari. Tinatanggal ang mga balaho para sa mabilis na pagpapadaloy ng pribadong pag-aari na pagkamkam ng dagdag na yaman. Walang tigil, 24/7 na ang kita sa stock markets at derivatives, pagpasok sa mga kontrata, at iba pa. *Free market capitalism* ang inihahayag nito. Hindi ito hiwalay sa kultural na epekto ng neoliberalismo—ang pagbibigay-pribilehiyo sa pribadong indibidwal na magkamkam ng kita at yaman. Sa ating bansa, ang pagsasalin nito ay sa nagpapalaganap ng paniniwala sa kakayahan ng indibidwal na umigpaw sa uring kinasasadlakan nang nakararami at mapabilang sa pribilehiyadong status ng gitnang uri na nakakapagbukas sa mga pinto ng oportunidad sa ehersisyo ng politikal, ekonomiko at kultural na kapangyarihan.

Kung dati ay may safety net pa—ang gobyerno, halimbawa, ang humahawak ng mga pangunahing industriya, tulad ng bigas, tubig, kuryente, edukasyon, at gasolina—para matiyak ang kontrol sa presyong maaabot ng nakararaming naghihirap, ang kasalukuyang diin ay pribatisasyon o kanya-kanyang pag-agapay sa mga panuntunan ng tinatawag na disente (gitnang uri) na buhay. Kanya-kanyang paggawa ng bahay, pagtustos sa pag-aaral, paghagilap ng makakain at maiinom. Ang gobyerno na dating invisible na puwersa sa Keynesian economics ay ngayong ahensyang naglilingkod sa dayuhang kapital. Sa pagpapalabas ng mga batas, paggamit ng dahas, pagpako sa sahod at pagpaparaya sa dikta ng pamilihan, ang gobyerno ay mabilisang nawawala sa paghahatid ng serbisyong publiko at pumapapel sa pagsasanla ng yaman at paggawa nito sa dayuhang kapital. Ang may kultural

na kapital (edukasyon) ay nangingibang-bayan, tulad ng sampung milyong overseas contract workers (OCW), o ang special offer ng kasalukuyang gobyerno—ang maging kasapi ng pinakabagong rainbow industry sa bansa, ang call center. Pero ang nakararaming walang oportunidad sa panlipunang mobilidad ay dumaranas ng matinding pagkagutom, at ang opsyong natitira sa kanila: ang kumain ng “pagpag” (mangalaykay ng pagkain sa basurahan para muling iluto at ulamin).

Labinglimang milyong Filipino ang namumuhay sa \$1 bawat araw, lumalawak ang dumaranas ng gutom. Ang sabi ni Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, maging siya ay nakaranas na rin ng pagkagutom. Ang pagkakaiba, dumanas siya ng pagkagutom dahil pinili niyang hindi kumain at hindi dahil wala siyang makain. Siya ang may pansariling pagpapasya at may hawak sa pang-estadong kapangyarihan. Walang interes na iangat ang nakararami sa balon ng kahirapan dahil hindi ito ang layunin ng gobyerno. Kanya-kanyang pag-ahon sa balon ng kagutuman at kahirapan. Ang pangunahing sinusuportahan ng gobyerno ay ang lokal na negosyong higit na makakapanghimok sa dayuhang kapital, at ang mga ito ang puwersang bumubuo ng estado at ng naghaharing uri sa bansa.

Sa edukasyon, pinapalaganap ang Ingles bilang midyum ng komunikasyon. Tinanggal ang mga subjek na makakahimok ng kritikal na pag-iisip, kinompres ang lahat sa Makabayan Curriculum, at pinaboran ang syensya, matematika at Ingles. Sa tersyaryong edukasyon, ang bulto ng responsibilidad ay inilagi sa kamay ng pribadong sektor. Ang state colleges at universities (SCU) ay binabawasan ng budget, hinihimok na gamitin ang kanilang mga lupain at iba pang ari-arian para makapangalap ng dagdag na kita, kasama ang paghihikayat sa mga fakulti na maging aktibo sa pag-akit ng funding mula sa negosyo at global na ahensyang nagpopondo. Walang ceiling sa pagtaas ng matrikula sa pribadong sektor, at sa SCU ay itinatapat sa komersyal na tumbas ang halaga ng matrikula. Naglipana na ang review school para sa mga di-makapasok na aplikante sa call center, at vocational school para sa caregiving, isa pang rainbow industry. Mga vocational course ang iprineprenda ng pamahalaan para sa mabilisang re-skilling ng manggagawang higit na magagamit sa kumikitang negosyo.

Ang kasaysayan ng edukasyon sa bansa ay kasaysayan ng pamamayagpag ng elitistang interes na pangunahin nitong pinaglilingkuran. Kakatwa ang epektong dulot ng edukasyon: ang nakararaming naghahirap ay nakukumbinsing magkaroon ng identifikasyon hindi sa kanilang uri, kundi sa tila abot-tanaw, abot-kamay na gitnang uri. May pagtatwa sa politisasyon ng uring pinanggalingan para paboran ang gitnang uring pinagpapantasyahan.

Naluklok ang edukasyon bilang alternatibong kalakaraan ng panlipunang mobilidad. Hindi na lamang istorikal na pag-aari ng lupa at kapital ang nagbibigay ng oportunidad para umangat sa uring kinalalagyan, kundi ang papel na diploma ay tila bertud na pinaniniwalaang makakapagpabuti hindi lamang sa lagay ng indibidwal kundi maging ng kanyang pamilya at mahal sa buhay.

Hindi naman lubos na nagkakatotoo ang fantasyang ito. Sa 66 mag-aaral na makakatapos ng Grade 6, 43 lamang ang makakatapos ng high school, at 14 na lamang, ng kolehiyo. Kinahaharap ng kalahating milyong nagsipagtapos sa kolehiyo taun-taon ang pinakamataas na unemployment rate sa kasaysayan, at dagdag pa rito, ang tumitinding underemployment rate o ang pagpasok sa mas mababang uri ng trabaho kaysa pinag-aralan. Sa maraming pamilyang Filipino, sentral pa rin ang edukasyon sa panlipunang mobilidad. Pinaniniwalaang ito ang kultural na kapital na makakapag-angat sa kolektibong lagay ng pamilya kahit hindi naman talaga.

Ang neoliberalismo ay mikrobyong naging katawan ng ating gobyerno, at pilit tayong hinahawaan para sumanib sa paghahari ng paniniwalang malayang kalakalan at pribadong pag-aari. Wala nang hindi hahawaan ng mikrobyo, ayon sa naghaharing uri kahit pa dinadambana sa mismong deklarasyon ng opisyal na polisiya at kalakarang karapatang pantao sa Konstitusyon ang karapatan para sa kasarinlan (self-determination). Higit na sisipatin ng mga sanaysay sa antolohiyang ito ang mga salik, dilema, imperatibo at alternatibo sa namamayagpag na karanasan sa neoliberal na edukasyon.

### ***Ang mga Sanaysay***

Ang mga artikulo sa koleksyong ito ay pinagsamasama sa apat na bahagi. Sa bawat bahagi ay ang mga sanaysay na tumatalakay sa iba't-ibang aspeto ng neoliberalismo at ang relasyon nito sa kalagayan ng edukasyon sa bansa. Binibigyan ng historikal at teoretikal na pagpapakilala ang konsepto ng neoliberalismo sa unang grupo ng mga sanaysay. Mahalaga ang bahaging ito dahil nagbibigay ito ng kritikal na balangkas sa pagsusuri sa neoliberalismo bilang ideolohiyang nabuo sa isang partikular na panahon sa kasaysayan ng pandaigdigang ekonomiya. Ang pagsusuring ito ay lalong napapanahon dahil sa patuloy nitong pamamayagpag sa akademya sa pamamagitan ng postmodernismo at sa pagbibigay nito ng oryentasyon sa mga reporma sa sektor ng edukasyon.

Mula noong panahon ng mga Kastila, lalo na sa ilalim ng kolonyal na pamumuno ng mga Amerikano, ginamit ang edukasyon bilang paraan ng panunupil at pagdomina. Sinisikap patunayan ng mga sanaysay sa pangalawang bahagi na ang ganitong mga katangian ay patuloy na nananatili sa sistema ng edukasyon ng bansa sa ilalim ng mga polisiyang neoliberal na mahigpit na ipinapatupad ng IMF-WB. Ipinapakita ng mga sanaysay sa bahaging ito na hindi lamang usapin ng kakulangan sa pondo at misprioritization ng gobyerno ang problema ng sistema ng edukasyon sa bansa. Mas higit pa dito, may problema sa oryentasyon ang pambansang sistema ng edukasyon. Ramdam ang krisis sa edukasyon ng bansa hindi lamang sa maling oryentasyon nito kundi pati na rin sa mga neoliberal na polisiyang ipinapatupad gaya ng pribatisasyon at deregulasyon na mas lalong nagpapahirap sa mga magulang na makamit ang inaasam na edukasyon para sa kanilang mga anak. Sa ilalim ng neoliberal na agenda, ang turing sa edukasyon ay isang produkto sa pamilihan at ang mga eskwelahan ay pawang mga kompanya at pagawaan na sumusunod din sa batas ng pamilihan. At tulad ng mga pagawaan, ang mga gradweyt ng mga pamantasan ay parang mga produktong handa na ring isalampak upang manilbihan sa mga kapitalistang kompanya o dili kaya’y tumuloy sa ibang bansa upang ilako ang mura nilang lakas-paggawa.

Inilalahad naman ng mga sanaysay sa ikatlong bahagi ang kasalukuyang kalagayan ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas (UP). Maaaring tanungin kung bakit naglaan ng isang buong bahagi para sa UP. Maliban sa pangyayaring ito ang pangunahing institusyong pang-akademiko na itinatag ng mga Amerikano upang matugunan ang mga pangangailangan ng kolonyal na estado noong 1908 (mag-iisang dantaon na), makikita rin na ang pamantasang ito ang nangunguna sa pagtataguyod at pag-eeksperimento sa pagpapatupad ng mga patakarang neoliberal. Sanhi nito’y nagiging modelo ang UP ng mga patakaran at pakanang ipapatupad rin sa ibang SCU. Mayroon ditong sanaysay tungkol sa karanasan ng pakikipagtunggali ng mga progesibong grupo sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas laban sa pagpapatupad ng neoliberal na agenda. Nariyan ang paglalahad ng kalagayan ng mga kawani at mga estudyante sa pamantasan na pinamunuan ng mga “pseudo-progesibong” puwersa sa loob ng Unibersidad na nagsusulong kunwari ng reporma.

Ang patuloy at lalong tumitinding paggigiit ng gobyerno sa paggamit ng Ingles sa mga eskuwelahan bilang wikang panturo ay sumasalamin sa makadayuhang oryentasyon ng edukasyon sa bansa na siyang paksa ng ikaapat na bahagi ng koleksyon. Makikita sa mga sanaysay sa huling bahaging

ito ang epekto ng mga neoliberal na patakaran at ang mga maaaring maging tugon dito sa mga larangan ng wika, kasaysayan, panitikan, kulturang popular, agham, edukasyon ng mga pambansang minoritya at rebolusyonaryong edukasyon.

Ipinapakita ng lahat ng mga sanaysay na ito na mahalaga pa ring itanong kung para saan at para kanino ang edukasyon.

### ***Tungo sa Makabayan, Siyentipiko at Makamasang Edukasyon***

Kaharap ng ganitong mga hamon ng kalakarang neoliberal ay may kagyat na pangangailangang magkaisa ang mga edukador, mag-aaral at malawak na sambayanan upang mabisang malabanan at matutulan ang marahas na atakeng dulot nito sa lahat ng antas at aspekto ng edukasyon. Sa pagbubuo ng ganitong nagkakaisang hanay ay nararapat isaisip na iisa lamang ang larangang pang-edukasyon sa lahat ng mga larangang panlipunang lubhang naapektuhan ng neoliberal na globalisasyon. Matindi at pangmalawakan ang pinsalang idinudulot ng mga patakaran ito sa kabuhayan, kalusugan, edukasyon at iba pang mga karapatan ng mamamayan. Masasabi sa gayon na may tunay na posibilidad na maging isang malawak at popular ang kilusan ng pagtutol sa paglaganap ng neoliberal na patakaran sa lahat ng larangan ng buhay-pambansa. Maliban pa ang lokal na pakikibaka sa masiglang pagkakaisa at pakikipagtulongang umuusbong sa pagitan ng mga kilusang lumalaban sa globalisasyong neo-liberal sa hanay ng mga inaapi at pinagsasamantalahan sa iba't ibang bahagi ng daigdig.

Ang tuwirang panunuot ng mga puwersang pampamilyan hanggang sa pinakaubod ng teorya at praktika ng dominanteng edukasyon ang isang resulta ng pagpapatupad sa mga neoliberal na mga patakaran. Ang edukasyon, kaalaman at ang mismong mag-aaral ay ginagawang mga kalakal lamang samantalang pinapawalang-saysay ang lahat ng iba pang pakinabang at kabutihan na maaaring ibunga ng edukasyon maliban sa pagpapalaki ng tubo. Sa ganitong kalagayan ay patuloy na nagbibigay ng makabuluhan at matalas na perspektibang kritikal ang panawagan para sa Makabayan, Siyentipiko at Makamasang Edukasyon (MSME) sa pagsusuri ng kasalukuyang sistemang pang-edukasyon.

Magpahanggang ngayon ay malinaw na sinasagkaan ng sistemang pang-edukasyon ang pagsibol ng tunay na makabayang pananaw sa hanay ng mga bata at kabataang mag-aaral. Nagtatanim pa rin ito hanggang sa ngayon sa pag-iisip at kamalayan ng mag-aaral ng kamalayang kolonyal



kaharap ng mga dayuhang mananakop na sumalakay at nandambong sa ating bansa. Imbes na makatulong sa pagkakamit ng ganap na kasarinlan sa pulitika, ekonomiya at kultura ay nagiging kasangkapan pa ito sa pagpapanatili ng kamalayang alipin at patuloy na pag-iral ng bulok na sistemang nakatuon sa pangangalaga ng interes at kapakanan ng imperyalistang Estados Unidos, mangahulugan man ito ng pagdausdos ng sariling ekonomiya at pagkasangkot sa mga digmang walang kabuluhan para sa sariling bansa. Pinagtatakpan ang marahas at mapagsamantalang katangian ng kasalukuyang kaayusang pandaigdig sa pamamagitan ng retorika ng neoliberal na globalisasyon na inilalako bilang lutas sa lahat ng mga suliranin sa daigdig. Dagdag pa rito’y ipinapalaganap nito ang ideolohiya ng makasariling indibidwalismo na siyang nakapagpapahina sa diwa ng pagkamit ng pambansang kapakanan sa pamamagitan ng sama-samang pagkilos. Ikinikintal nito sa kaisipan ng mag-aaral na ang edukasyon ay para lamang sa pansarili nilang kapakanan at kasangkapan upang umasenso sa isang globalisadong daigdig. Ang dalawang salik na ito, ang kaisipang kolonyal at ang ideolohiyang indibidwalista ay labis na nakapagpapahina sa kamalayang makabayan sa hanay ng kabataan at mag-aaral.

Hindi ginagampanan ng sistemang pang-edukasyon ang tungkulin nitong magpalaganap ng kamalayang kritikal at siyentipiko na siyang magiging batayan ng materyal at panlipunang pag-unlad ng bansa. Sa halip nito’y nagpapalaganap ito ng mga ideyang kumikiling sa bulag na paniniwala, pananampalataya at hindi kritikal na pagsunod. Pinapupurool nito ang kakayahan ng mag-aaral na mag-isip para sa sarili upang masinsinang masuri ang daigdig ng tao at ng kalikasan. Ito ang sanhi kung bakit, sa kabila ng tumitinding bisa ng teknolohiya sa pang-araw-araw na buhay sa kasalukuyan, ay napakamalaganap pa rin ng kamangmangan at kawalan ng pag-unawa hinggil sa lapit at gawaing siyentipiko at patuloy na namamayani ang mga kaisipang sumisikil at sumasakal sa kritikal at mapanlikhang diwa ng mga bata at kabataan. Hindi naililinaw ang katangian ng mga konsepto tulad ng “teoryang siyentipiko,” “empirikal na patunay,” at “rasyunal na pangangatwiran” na nagiging sanhi ng paglaganap ng iba’t ibang uri ng kalituhang ipinaghahalo ang mga haka-hakang walang batayan at maging ang mistisismo sa gawaing siyentipiko. Nahahadlangan ng ganitong kahinaan ang tuluy-tuloy at mabisang pagsulong ng agham sa bansa. Hindi tuloy napapakinabangan ang malalim na balon ng talino ng ating kabataan sa pagtuklas ng bagong kaalaman at, sa halip, nagiging mga simpleng tagasilbi na lamang sila ng mga mauunlad na industriyalisadong bansa. Malinaw na hindi nakakabit/ikinakabit ang kasalukuyang edukasyon sa anumang

pangmatagalang programa ng pagkakamit ng industriyal na kapasidad at kasarinlang pang-ekonomiya. Makikita ring walang mabisang papel ang edukasyon sa popularisasyon ng agham at ng kaisipang siyentipiko. Sa sistemang pandaigdig na ibinubunga ng neoliberal na kaayusan ay nagiging purong kasangkapan lang ito sa pagkamal ng tubo para sa ilan, humantong man ito sa pagprodyus ng mga taong mistulang makina na sunud-sunuran at hindi nagtatanong.

May dalawa namang aspekto ng elitismo sa kasalukuyang sistemang pang-edukasyon na matutukoy rito. Una, elitista ang sistemang pang-edukasyon sapagkat hindi natutugunan ng komersyalisadong katangian nito ang pangangailangan sa edukasyon ng nakararaming bilang ng naghihikahos na mamamayan at kabataan. Pinagkakaitan sila ng oportunidad na mapalawak ang kanilang kaalaman at higit na makapag-ambag sa pamamagitan ng kanilang talino sa kaunlaran ng bansa. Lalo pang tumitindi ang problemang ito sanhi ng sagadsaring komersyalisasyon at pagsasapribado ng edukasyon sa lahat ng antas. Sanhi nito’y higit pang nalalayo ang napakamahal at komodipikadong edukasyon sa nakararaming mahihirap at ginagawa itong larangang eksklusibong pang-elite. Ikalawa, dahil labis nitong binibigyang-halaga ang mapagpasyang papel ng kasalukuyang naghaharing uri at ng mga makapangyarihang indibidwal sa pamumuno at paghuhubog ng kinabukasan ng bansa, sa pangkalahata’y hindi nagpapakita ang nilalaman ng edukasyon ng anumang pagpapahalaga at pagkilala sa malalim at mayamang tradisyon ng makabayang pakikibaka ng uring anakpawis, at imbes na inilalapit ang mag-aaral sa naghihikahos na sambayanan ay nagtatanim ito ng kamalayang nagbubukod sa kanila sa buhay ng nakararami. Hindi tuloy nakapagtataka kung nawawalan ito ng kabuluhan at saysay sa buhay, mga pangangailangan at kapakanan ng sambayanan.

Tungkulin ng lahat ng progresibong guro at mag-aaral ang pagpapalaganap ng Makabayan, Siyentipiko at Makamasang Edukasyon sa loob at labas ng mga pormal na institusyong pang-edukasyon. Sa ganitong paraan ay malilinang at maipapalaganap ang isang edukasyon na nagtataguyod ng kapakanan ng bansa, nagpapayaman ng diwang mapagtanong at mapanlikha at umuugat sa buhay at pakikibaka ng nakararami. Isa itong mabisang sandata laban sa rumaragasang neoliberal na opensiba sa edukasyon at may napakahalagang papel sa pagkakamit ng tunay, ganap at malalimang pagbabago.

- B.L., R.G. at A.A.

## **Edukasyong Kolonyal: Sanhi at Bunga ng Mahabang Pagkaalipin**

### **Bienvenido Lumbera**

Sandaang taon nang naghahari ang imperyalismong Estados Unidos (EU) sa Pilipinas, at sinadya man o hindi, nakipagtulungan tayong mga Filipino sa imperyalista sa pagpapatagal ng kanilang paghahari. Pinahintulutan ng Tratado ng Paris noong 1898 ang pag-angkin ng Amerika sa Pilipinas, at noong 4 Pebrero 1899 tahasang gumamit ng dahas ang mga Amerikano upang kubkubin ang ating bansa. “Insureksiyon” ang tawag ng mga bagong kolonyalista sa paglaban ng mga Filipino at ito ang iginigiit nilang matuwid sa kanilang pamamaslang, pagtortyur at panununog sa lupain ng mga ninuno natin. Ito ang unang hakbang ng imperyalismong EU sa mahabang kasaysayan ng panlilinlang na bumura sa mga krimen ng mga puwersang militar ng EU sa Pilipinas at nagpalaganap, sa Amerika at sa Pilipinas na rin, ng baluktot na mito ng “benevolent assimilation.”

Isa na namang kasinungalingan ang pinagbatayan ng pagyayabang na naigupo na ang “insureksiyon” ng mga Filipino nang ipahayag ni Presidente Theodore Roosevelt ang pagsapit ng kapayapaan sa Pilipinas noong 4 Hulyo 1902. Ang katunayan, malaganap pa ang paglaban sa mga bagong kolonyalista sa iba’t ibang dako ng Pilipinas. Pinatutunayan ito ng Brigandage Act (1902), na napilitang ipasa ng administrasyong kolonyal upang mapagtakpan ang realidad na may mga rebolusyonaryo pang tulad nina Artemio Ricarte at Macario Sakay na nagkukuta sa kabundukan at patuloy na humahamon sa kapangyarihang Amerikano. Katunayan din ang pagpasa sa Reconciliation Act (1903) na nag-atas na paalisin sa kanilang mga bukirin ang mga magsasaka sa mga lugar na pinamumugaran ng mga

gerilya at tipunin ang mga ito sa kabayanan upang maibukod ang mga gerilya sa mga karaniwang mamamayan.

At noong 1907, bagong kasinungalingan ang ipinang-akit kay Heneral Sakay upang ito ay bumaba ng bundok at umasang mapapayapa ang mga mamamayang pinahihirapan ng mga kolonyalista. Sa halip na negosasyon ang kinaharap ni Heneral Sakay, bibitayan ang kanyang kinasapitan. Nang itayo ang Asambleya Nacional sa taon ding iyon, binitag ng ilusyon ang mga makabayang ilustradong lumahok sa eleksiyon, sinilaw sila ng pag-asang sa pamamagitan ng kampanyang parlamentaryo ay kakamtin ng bayan ang kalayaan. Sa kabilang dako, ang nakararaming mamamayan ay naiwang walang lideratong magmumulat sa kanila sa wastong landas tungo sa paglaya, na kakamtin lamang kung aagawin nila ang layang kinadenahan ng Tratado ng Paris. Ang puta-putaking pag-aalsa ng mga milenaryong grupo sa iba't ibang bahagi ng bansa ay tanda ng dinapugtong pag-asam sa kalayaan ng mga mamamayang inabandona ng lideratong kanilang pinagkatiwalaang kasama nilang nakikipaglaban para sa kalayaan.

Sa ganyan nagsimula ang kakutya-kutyang tradisyon ng pagkabihag ng lideratong ilustrado, na sa panahon ng Republika ay paulit-ulit na nagpakasangkapan sa mga kinatawan ng imperyalismong EU. Magugunitang kumampanya si Presidente Manuel Roxas para baguhin ang Konstitusyon upang mapagbigyan ang kahingian ng Bell Trade Relations Act na magkamit ang mga mangangalakal na Amerikano ng karapatang pantay sa karapatan ng mga Filipino sa pagbungkal ng likas na yaman ng ating mga kabundukan at karagatan. Sa panahon ng panunungkulan ni Presidente Quirino, naging pugad ng CIA ang Department of National Defense, at nang sumiklab ang digmaang sibil sa Korea, nagpadala ang Pilipinas ng isang batalyon upang suportahan ang pakikialam ng EU sa alitang internal ng mga Koreano. Sa ilalim ng administrasyon ni Presidente Ramon Magsaysay, hayagang nakialam ang CIA sa patakarang panlabas at pati panloob ng Republika—naging lagusan ng pagkilos ng EU laban sa komunismo sa Vietnam ang bansang Pilipinas. Maging ang pagbalangkas ng mga programang ekonomiko laban sa kahirapan ay pinanghimasukan nito upang payapain ang naghihikahos na kanayunan. Upang patunayan na nasa panig ng imperyalismong EU ang kanyang administrasyong nagpanukala ng “Filipino First” sa larangan ng ekonomiya, ipinasa ni Presidente Carlos Garcia ang Anti-Subversion Law bilang katibayan na sa Cold War, nasa kampo ng EU ang Pilipinas. At nang manungkulan si Presidente Diosdado Macapagal, pinahintulutan niya ang dekontrol na siyang pinakamimithi ng mga empresang

Amerikano upang mailuwas ang lahat ng tinubo nila sa loob ng panahong ipinatupad ng gobyerno ang kontrol sa foreign exchange. Ibinunga nito ang krisis sa kabuhayan ng sambayanang Filipino sanhi ng biglang pagbagsak ng halaga ng piso. Umakyat si Presidente Ferdinand Marcos sa kapangyarihan, at ang pagbubukas pang lalo ng pinto ng ekonomiya sa pagdagsa ng mga empresang dayuhan sa ngalan ng national development ang kaniyang naging alay sa imperyalismong EU. Isang pangunahing dahilan sa pagpataw ni Presidente Marcos ng Batas Militar ay ang pagnanasang garantiyahan na ang mga dayuhang empresa ay makapagpapayaman sa Pilipinas na ligtas sa mga sagabal na likha ng kilusang pambansa-demokrasya.

Tila ang pinakamatingkad na pruweba ng pagkabihag ng liderato ng bansa sa kapangyarihan ng imperyalismong EU ay ang pagpapailalim ng presidenteng iniluklok ng pag-aalsang EDSA sa dikta ng mga Amerikano. Si Presidente Corazon Aquino, na kayang-kaya sanang igiit ang kapakanan ng sambayanang nagluklok sa kanya sa kapangyarihan, ay walang-pasubaling ipinaglaban ang pananatili sa Pilipinas ng mga base-militar ng mga Amerikano. Hinangad naman ng administrasyon ni Presidente Fidel Ramos na higitan ang lahat ng naunang mga pangulong nagpatuta sa imperyalismong EU Ang kumperensiyang APEC na idinaos sa Pilipinas ay naging okasyon upang ipakilala niya na mapagkakatiwalaan siya ng IMF-World Bank na isulong ang globalisasyong pakana ng mayayamang bansa upang kontrolin ang ekonomiya ng buong daigdig. At nang kauupo pa lamang ni Presidente Joseph Estrada sa Malakanyang ay kinailangan na niyang baguhin ang kanyang astring anti-imperyalista noong hindi pa siya presidente. Masugid niyang ikinakampanya ang pagtanggap ng “masa” sa Visiting Forces Agreement, na magpapabalik sa Pilipinas sa mga dayong hukbo na isa siya sa mga nagtaboy noong 1991.

Hindi mahirap tukuyin ang sanhi ng mahabang pagkaalipin ng ating mga pinuno. Kailangan lamang balikan ang mga salita ng mga naunang administrador na kolonyal, at agad ay matatalos natin kung paano nalubos ang tagumpay ng imperyalismong EU sa pagpapaamo sa mga Filipinong nabigyan ng mga Amerikano ng kapangyarihan.

Ayon sa unang gobernador na Amerikano, si William Howard Taft, magkaakibat ang kalakalan at edukasyon: “It is my sincere belief that when America shall have discharged her duty toward the Philippines, shall have reduced the tariff, and made the commercial bonds between the two countries close and profit-giving to both, the Filipinos will love the association with the mother country, and will be the last desire a severance of those ties...” Kailangan, aniya, na isulong ang kapakanang materyal at intelektwal

ng mga katutubo dahil sa ganito magaganap ang pagkakatali ng mga Filipino sa kanilang mananakop: "(This policy) will develop wants on their part for things which in times of poverty they regard as luxuries, but which, as they grow more educated and as they grow wealthier, become necessities." Mahihinuha natin mula sa bibig ng opisyal na naglatag ng pundasyon para sa relasyong Filipino-Amerikano sa simula pa lamang, na pangunahin sa isipan ng mga kolonyalista ang tambalang edukasyon-eksplorasyon. Samakatwid, habang pinagbibigyan ng edukasyon ang mga pangangailangang materyal at intelektwal ng mga Filipino, lalo silang nagiging bukas sa mga kaalwanang dulot ng mga produktong ipagbibili sa kanila ng Amerika.

Noong 1925, pinuna ng Monroe Survey Report sa edukasyon ang sistemang pinaairal ng kolonyal na administrasyon sa mga unang dekada ng pananakop. Mula sa mga puna, mahahango natin kung anu-ano ang mga sangkap ng edukasyong humubog sa isipan ng mga unang Filipino:

- The books now used in the schools are cast from American models. These very books are now used as textbooks by American children in the United States. The Philippine edition is but a slight modification. The whole course of study, reading books included, reflects American culture.
- As now organized and administered, (the secondary curriculum) reveals altogether too clearly American parentage. The textbooks and materials on instruction are adapted to the needs of American high school pupils and reflect American conditions.
- In none of the textbooks (on Philippine history in high school) which are used in these courses and which really determine what is taught, is there a comprehensive description and interpretation of Filipino life and culture...One seeking to learn of the life of the Filipino may read all of these volumes in vain, for they describe but the shell in which that life is lived.
- The textbook used in this course (Natural Sciences) is aptly entitled "The Science of Everyday Life," but it is the science of everyday American life, and American life is very different from Filipino life.

Ang mga puna ng Monroe Survey Report ay naglalarawan ng realidad ng kolonyal na edukasyon na humubog sa kamalayan ng mga Filipinong produkto ng sistema ng edukasyong itinayo ng mga Amerikano. Noong 1931, isang pag-aaral tungkol sa migrasyon ng mga Filipino papuntang EU at Hawaii ang nagsaad ng ganito: "The school system has

changed social standards, but economic standards lag behind. Thus the discontent which leads to the desire to find that land where their new social standards can be gratified in a society which provides economic stability.” May mag-asawang edukador, sina Austin at Josephine Craig, na nagsabi ng ganito: “Since 1922, the policy and practice of the American-controlled Bureau of Education has been—in the primary courses where the Filipino children are in greatest number and most susceptible to influence—to postpone and minimize reference to Philippine ideals, heroes and history.”

Noong 1942, mayroon tayong matutunghayang lagom ng naging bunga ng kolonyal na sistema ng edukasyon sa libro ni Joseph R. Hayden, na pinamagatang *The Philippines: A Study in National Development*. Buong pagmamalaking inilad ni Hayden ang “indoktrinasyon” na pinagdaanan ng mga Filipino sa mga paaralang itinayo ng mga Amerikano. Aniya, “It has been the English language and the very struggles necessary to acquire it that have brought to the Filipinos whatever ideas of value they have added to their national culture through their connection with the United States... The use of English brought the Filipinos to the Americans and their culture; contact in the native languages would very largely have reversed the process.”

Kasaysayan, politika at edukasyon. Narito ang tatlong puwersang kailangan nating pagtuunan ng pansin upang maging epektibo ang ating pagbaklas sa imperyalismong EU sa Pilipinas. Suriin natin ang kasalukuyang kalagayan ng sambayanan ngayong sandaang taon na tayong pinagsasamantalahan ng imperyalismong EU. At mula sa pagsusuring iyan, hanguin natin ang anumang sandatang epektibo nating magagamit upang kamtin ang ating pambansang kalayaan at demokrasya.

Ang wikang Ingles bilang wikang panturo ang pinakamatibay na kawing, sa ating panahon, ng kadenang kolonyal na ibinilibid ng sistema ng edukasyon sa sambayanan. Ang wikang ito ang nagluklok sa elite na burukrata, politiko, edukador at intelektwal sa hanay ng naghaharing uri. Samakatwid, ang makinarya ng kapangyarihan sa lipunan ay hawak ng mga taong naniniwala na sa pamamagitan lamang ng Ingles magkakamit ang isang Filipino ng “tunay” na edukasyon. Sila, na produkto ng naunang mga yugto ng prosesong pang-edukasyon na itinatag ng mga kolonyalistang Amerikano, ay kumbinsido na narating nila ang kanilang kinatatayuan dahil nagdaan sila sa edukasyong Ingles ang wikang panturo. Ayaw nilang kilalanin na mula nang sila’y magtapos ng kolehiyo, nag-iba na ang mga kondisyon sa lipunan at sa mga paaralan din. Halimbawa, ang motibasyon na pagbutihin ang pagkatuto ng Ingles dahil ang Civil Service Examination ay siyang daan upang makapagtrabaho sila sa mga opisina ng pamahalaang kolonyal. Hindi na

gayong kalakas ang hatak ng Civil Service Examination para sa mga mag-aaral, nang dumami na ang pintong nakabukas para sa naghahanap ng trabaho. Isang mahalagang aspekto ng pagbaba ng galing ng estudyanteng Filipino sa Ingles ay ang kontekstong panlipunan. Pagkaraan ng ilang dekada na ang Ingles ay prestihiyosong wika sa lipunan, unti-unti nang kumupas ang bakas ng Ingles bilang tanda ng edukadong Filipino. At nang muling dumaluyong ang nasyonalismo noong kalagitnaan ng Dekada 60, ang wikang pambansa na noo'y tinatawag nang "Pilipino," naging wika ng mga kabataang nasa high school at kolehiyo ang pinaghalong Pilipino-Ingles na binansagang "Taglish." Sa yugtong ito nagsimulang mabahala nang husto ang mga guro ng Ingles tungkol sa di-umano'y bumaba nang "kalidad" ng Ingles ng mga kabataan. Pansamantalang nabuhayan sila ng loob nang ang Peace Corps Volunteers ay pinakalat sa Filipinas ng U.S. Embassy upang "iwasto" ng mga katutubong Amerikano ang Ingles ng kabataang Filipino. Subalit hindi naging mabunga ang "pagwawastong" ginawa ng mga Peace Corps volunteers dahil wala namang kasanayan sa pagtuturo, kaiba sa mga Thomasites ng mga unang taon ng pananakop, ang karamihan sa mga kabataang Amerikanong lumahok sa proyektong ito ng Administrasyong John Kennedy.

May malaking kinalaman ang tagilid na kalagayan ng ekonomiya sa kasalukuyang diin sa paggamit ng Ingles bilang wikang panturo. Kung nilayon man ng kolonyal na pamahalaan na sa pamamagitan ng edukasyon ay isulong patungong industrialisasyon ang ekonomiyang agrikultural ng Filipinas, naging dahilan lamang ito upang igiya ang ekonomiya tungo sa pagluluwas ng mga produktong agrikultural na kailangan ng mga industriya ng Estados Unidos. Ang kawalan ng empleyong mapapasukan at ang taun-tao'y lumalaking hanay ng lakas-paggawa, ay sinagot ng diktadurang Marcos sa pamamagitan ng di-umano'y "pansamantalang" pagluluwas ng mga manggagawa. Nang matuklasan ng mga ekonomista ni Marcos na malakas magpasok ng foreign exchange ang patakarang Overseas Contract Workers (OCW), ang pansamantala ay nagsimulang maging permanente. Ngayon pinakamatingkad na dahilan ng pamahalaang Arroyo sa pagsusulong sa Ingles bilang wikang panturo ang ambag sa ekonomiya ng mga Filipino contract workers, at upang patuloy na masuhayan ng mga ito ang ekonomiya, kailangang matugunan ng sistema ng edukasyon ang pangangailangan para sa manggagawang Filipinong nakapagsasalita ng Ingles. Sa panahon ng neoliberalismo, samakatwid, napalitan ng pagluluwas ng mga tao ang dati'y pagluluwas ng produktong agrikultural. Sa ganitong "maka-taong" patakaran sa ekonomiya, tila nagbubulag-bulagan ang administrasyong nagbaba ng Executive Order 210 at nagpanukala sa Konggreso ng Gullas Bill sa



marawal na kalagayan ng mga kabataang Filipino na, dahil sa kahirapan, ay napipilitang huminto ng pag-aaral. Sa elementarya, gugugulin nila ang apat na taon sa pagbuno sa wikang panturo ng kolonyal na sistema bilang paghahanda sa pagkatuto ng mga araling idudulot ng natitira pang dalawang taon bago sila makapasok ng high school. At dahil apat na taon lamang ang kanilang kayang ipag-aral, iiwan nila ang paaralang primarya na ang tanging baon ay ilang salita at pangungusap sa wikang Ingles at pahapyaw na kaalaman tungkol sa sinasabing pambansang bulaklak, hayop at insekto. Bukod sa pagsasaka ng bukiring karaniwa’y hindi nila pag-aari, ano ang trabahong kanilang mapapasukan? Mapapadpad sila sa mga kalunsuran upang doon ay mamuhay sa komunidad ng mga maralita at, kung papalarin, maging arawang obrero sa pabrika, konstruksiyon at basurahan ng bayan.

Sa mga komperensiya at porum ng mga edukador, pinag-uusapan ang pagtuklas ng lalong mabisang “basic education.” Kung ang batayang edukasyon ay patuloy na sa wika pa rin ng dating kolonyalista ituturo sa kabataan, paano makakabalikwas ang milyun-milyong anak-kahirapan sa tambakang kinasadlakan nila bunga ng mga neoliberal na patakaran at panukalang batas tulad ng EO 210 at Gullas Bill?



## **Philippine Education in the Neocolonial Period**

**Alexander Martin Remollino**

Education is one of the most powerful tools for the molding of minds. The authoritative status of the teacher and the students' position as a captive audience converge to make this so. Education is thus a potent tool for any nation that wishes to subjugate another. Any nation that desires complete conquest of another would be expected to not just use the force of arms, but also to take over its subject's intellectual life – of which education is a major part. Conquest by force of arms alone is always uncertain.

The American colonizers of the Philippines knew this well. They subjugated the Philippines, “schoolbooks and Krag.” The end-products were generations of Filipinos convinced that American forces had come to the Philippines out of purely altruistic motives, oblivious of US imperialism's atrocities in its “pacification campaign” against Philippine resistance forces and unaware of its plunder of the country's riches. More than half a century after the Philippines was supposed to have been granted “independence” by the US, Filipino minds continue to be captives of US pedagogical hegemony.

### ***“Independence” as colonial bondage***

In 2006, the Philippines celebrated what was supposed to be the 60<sup>th</sup> year of Philippine independence from US colonial rule.

In 1946, the US granted the Philippines “independence” as provided by the Jones Act. This was after the much-vaunted Leyte Landing of 1944, signifying the return of the US troops nearly three years after leaving the

Filipino resistance forces to fight – and defeat – the Japanese by themselves. However, the Philippines remained and continues to be bound to the US through economic, as well as military, “agreements” which mold Philippine policies to ensure that these would be favorable to US designs. The US has at times even gone to the extent of directly interfering in Philippine political processes whenever personalities or parties it considers threats to its interests surfaced.

The Bell Trade Act of 1946 ensured that the US would have an economic advantage in its trade with the Philippines. The unequal trade relations quickly became so entrenched that even the passage in 1954 of the Laurel-Langley Agreement – which abolished US control over the foreign exchange rate, made parity privileges reciprocal, and provided for tariffication of Philippine goods entering the US market – did not undo the damage done. Meanwhile, the Mutual Defense Treaty between the US and the Philippines contained provisions that allowed the US to maintain military bases on Philippine soil.

A major development in Philippine-US trade relations took place in 1962 under then President Diosdado Macapagal. Wrote historian-economist Ricco Alejandro M. Santos:

Instructed by the IMF (International Monetary Fund), the elder Macapagal in 1961 instituted decontrol – the free inflow of imports through tariff reductions, and the free repatriation of dollar profits by foreign investors. This first policy measure of Macapagal set the Philippine economy into a tailspin, wiping out more than 10,000 businesses, and creating even greater poverty. Decontrol tightened the (neocolonization) of the economy, and whatever small gains were achieved in Filipino industrialization during the period of import and exchange controls.

The IMF, together with the World Bank (WB), are known as the Bretton Woods Twins. The WB raises its funds from donations by member countries, including the Philippines, and grants loans based on IMF prescriptions. The US is the biggest donor to the WB and thus controls IMF policies. The conditions generated by decontrol were filling up the streets with protesters – workers, peasants, students and intellectuals, and even sections of the business community.

Marcos assumed his first presidential term in 1965 amid nascent political ferment. During his second term (starting 1969), nationalist dissent

found its way into the corridors of the political establishment. Santos cites three major nationalist developments in the period 1969-72:

In 1969, Congress under pressure from a growing anti-imperialist public opinion, passed a Magna Carta that call(ed) for national industrialization against the dictates of the IMF. Then from 1971 to 1972, nationalists were gaining ground in gathering support for an anti-imperialist agenda in the Constitutional Convention. In 1972, the Supreme Court (SC) issued two decisions unfavorable to the foreign monopolist corporations: one, in the Quasha case, which nullified all sales of private lands to American citizens after 1945, and (an)other rolled back oil price hikes by the oil cartel.

Marcos' very first act after the issuance of Presidential Decree No. 1081 was a reversal of the Quasha case. A report by the US Congress would later admit that the martial law period was a time for the granting of greater privileges to foreign investment. Marcos was ousted in a people-power uprising in February 1986 after more than 10 years of popular struggle.

There was, however, no basic change in US-Philippine relations after the ouster of Marcos despite promises of "change." His successors Corazon Aquino, Fidel V. Ramos, Joseph Estrada, and Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo continued the old policies of neocolonial alignment with the US. Under the Aquino administration, the government began to allow 100 percent foreign ownership of enterprises in various sectors of the economy. In 1994, two years into the Ramos regime, the Senate ratified the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT); its leading proponent was then Sen. Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, who became president in 2001 through another people-power uprising.

The Philippines joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995. Since then, the entire economic policy of the Philippines has had to conform to the neoliberal standards dictated by the WTO, which favors the free entry of investments from developed countries into the developing world. The WTO is controlled by the US. The Philippine government plans to abolish tariffs altogether by 2010, in conformity with WTO prescriptions.

### ***The Bretton Woods Twins in Philippine education***

With the Philippines retaining bondage to the US after the "independence grant" of 1946, the country continued to witness US intervention in its

educational system – a continuation of its intrusion into the country’s academic life in the 1900s, when the American occupation forces used “education” as one of the means for pacifying a people resisting an onslaught against their hard-earned freedom from Spanish colonialism.

In 1969, Marcos created the Philippine Commission to Survey Philippine Education (PCSPE) through Executive Order No. 202. According to historian and social analyst Letizia R. Constantino:

This commission was charged with the task of undertaking “a thorough study and assessment of Philippine education in order to analyze the system’s performance and relevance to national goals.” Specifically, an assessment was to be made of the educational system’s capacity to meet human resources development goals, including manpower requirements of social and economic growth. The commission was instructed to examine the extent to which current educational aims and content are supportive of development requirements. Just as we expected to build or upgrade our roads, bridges and harbors, develop modern communications systems and sufficient power resources that the transnationals need for their efficient operation, so too must we prepare in advance the kind of manpower reserves they require.

The economic factor was therefore a major consideration, but political motives played their part, too, in (ensuring) the active interest of the government in this undertaking. Nationalist demands by worker, peasant and student sectors in the late sixties... dramatized the urgency of securing the intellectual front through early indoctrination.

The PCSPE came up with the “finding” that the Philippine educational system had to be redesigned and redirected to fulfill the objective of education for “national development.”

In 1972, Marcos issued the Education Development Decree (Presidential Decree No. 6-A), providing for the establishment of a mechanism to implement a Ten-Year Educational Development Plan. An Educational Development Projects Implementing Task Force (EDPITAF) was created to implement the project. The Ten-Year Educational Development Plan had an appropriation of P500 million.

Because there were not enough funds available to carry out the project, PD 6-A also provided for the amendment of Republic Act No.

6142, the Foreign Borrowing Act, “to allow for a more extensive funding of educational projects from foreign and external sources...”

A few years later, in exchange for a loan from the WB, the Marcos regime implemented a new curriculum, which stresses vocational and technical training at the expense of the social sciences and the humanities. The intention of this, in Constantino’s words, was “to provide the manpower required by foreign investors and their local partners.” The reduction of importance given to the social sciences and the humanities also served to erode the national and social consciousness that surged during the massive nationalist actions of the late 1960s and early 1970s. This facilitated, in the long run, the exploitation of the workers.

The implementation of the new curriculum, the New Elementary School Curriculum (NESC) of 1983, was facilitated with the use of textbooks funded by the WB. The increasing indebtedness of the Philippine government led to greater and greater involvement of the Bretton Woods Twins in policy formation. This included the crafting of educational policy.

After the fall of Marcos, the WB continued to impose curricular programs designed to train students according to the manpower requirements of transnational corporations. These were implemented through Aquino’s Education Commission, Ramos’ Education 2000, Estrada’s Philippine Commission on Educational Reform (PCER), and the Department of Education (DepEd) under Arroyo.

Aquino’s Education Commission designed the New Secondary Education Curriculum (NSEC) of 1989, which was basically a high school version of the NESC. The curriculum was implemented by the Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS).

Ramos’ Education 2000 – which was an integral part of his overall “development” plan Philippines 2000 – was characterized by the reduction of budget allocations for public education, especially state universities and colleges (SUCs). This was to allow for greater debt service appropriations. Education 2000 also contained plans to abolish the social sciences and humanities altogether as a form of streamlining the educational sector. These were, however, met with stiff opposition.

The abolition of the social sciences and the humanities as courses would have pushed in the higher educational level what the NESC and the NSEC were able to accomplish in the primary and secondary school levels, respectively.

**PESS**

In 1998, the WB and the Asian Development Bank released a study, *Philippine Education for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The 1998 Philippine Education Sector Study* (PESS). The PESS recommended, among others, the streamlining of Philippine education. The study states that:

The daunting medium-term challenge for Philippine education, therefore, is how to preserve the quantitative gains of the past, improve equality and raise quality – and to achieve all of these objectives during a period of limited or zero growth in the public budgetary allocation to education as a whole.

Among the PESS recommendations for the streamlining of education was the collapsing of subjects particularly those not considered relevant to the business needs of the transnational corporations. As the PESS stated:

The elementary curriculum... is overcrowded... with... as many as seven subjects per day. Having to cover too many subjects limits the extent to which teachers and students can focus on those basic skills critically important for good performance and success in the later grades. Research on student learning suggests that greater emphasis should be given to reading and communication skills and to understanding basic mathematical concepts.

The PESS also recommended the maintenance of only 12-15 SUCs by 2008. These SUCs would enjoy full autonomy and would utilize government services for “development objectives” and not to maintain the existing level of services. This is intended to further cut public spending for education, thereby making more funds available for debt service.

**PCER**

The PESS was one of the studies cited by the PCER in its recommendations for changes in the educational system. Among the PCER’s recommendations were “reorienting the premises for financing higher education,” which it explained as follows:



The use of the large allocations of the government budget for public higher education is perceived to be inefficient and inequitable. Budgets are allocated to state colleges and universities on the basis of incremental expenditures, without much regard for the basic rationale by which these institutions were established. Clearly the rationalization must be based on a system of financing these institutions which reflect fulfillment of student demand, equity of access, and program considerations, as well as greater accountability and efficiency...

Specifically, the PCER recommendations for SUCs included the following: the increase of tuition fees to “realistic levels,” supported by student assistance schemes in which students from higher-income families are to pay the larger cost of tuition; the implementation of business plans related to the use of idle lands and properties, in partnership with corporations where feasible; the exploration of “alternative” sources of income, whether agricultural, industrial, or entrepreneurial; the systematization of fund-raising activities and the solicitation of donor support from the corporate sector, alumni, institutions, and individuals; and the sourcing of funds from local government units, “provided local government support is not secured as the expense of taking away from basic education.”

The tie-ups between SUCs and corporate interests caused by the implementation of the PCER recommendations gave big business – particularly the transnational corporations – a more and more prominent role in public higher education. The business interests to which the SUCs turned for fund-generation exerted more and more influence over policy-making and even curricular design in particular SUCs. This led to the trend of increasing specialization in the curricula of SUCs, with technical courses being emphasized while the social sciences and the humanities were driven to the sidelines.

### ***Millennium Curriculum***

The PESS recommendations for streamlining in the curriculum were carried out through the crafting and implementation of the 2002 Basic Education Curriculum – also known as the Millennium Curriculum. The Millennium Curriculum abolished Values Education and collapsed the basic education program into five learning areas: English, Filipino, Mathematics, Science, and Makabayan (Pag-SIKAP). Pag-SIKAP stands for: Pag – Araling

Pagpapahalaga (Homeroom); S – Sining (Arts and Music); I – Information and Communication Technology (ICT); K – Kultura, Kalusugan at Kabuhayan (Culture, Health and Livelihood); AP – Araling Panlipunan at Araling Pangkatawan (Social Studies and Physical Education).

In the third draft of the *2002 Basic Education Curriculum Package*, the DepEd defined and explained Pag-SIKAP thus:

Love of country serves as the unifying principle for the diverse values in the fifth learning area, which is thus called *Pagkamakabayan* or *Makabayan* for short. Love of country, which Andres Bonifacio described as *banal na pag-ibig*, serves as the highlight that radiates the rainbow-like diversity of values in this area. As a practice environment, *Makabayan* will cultivate in the learner a healthy personal and national self-concept, which includes adequate understanding of Philippine history and genuine appreciation of our local cultures, crafts, arts, music, and games. *Makabayan* will promote a constructive or healthy patriotism, which is neither hostile nor isolationist toward other nations but appreciative of global interdependence.

The abolition of Values Education, as well as the integration of Social Studies into Pag-SIKAP, was a distressing development. Filipino students had long been fed with a version of Philippine history tainted with colonial distortions. The reduction of teaching time for Social Studies through its integration into Pag-SIKAP only lessened further the opportunities for students to take a more critical view of the country's past within the classroom framework. At the same time, the abolition of Values Education deprived students of classroom instruction in basic ethical principles that could guide them in approaching socio-historical and political questions.

Thus the limited space for the promotion and development of critical thinking among students under the existing educational system was further constricted. This situation lays the groundwork for making students more unaware of and apathetic to the current state of affairs instead of stirring them toward transformative engagement. The brand of patriotism inculcated by Makabayan or Pag-SIKAP is one that shirks from taking issue with the long years of US hegemony over Philippine economic, military, and political life.

**Conclusion**

Though the US granted independence in 1946, the Philippines remains economically and militarily aligned with its former colonizer through a variety of “agreements” that influence the crafting of policy along the lines of US economic and geopolitical interests. With that the US has continued to intervene in the Philippine educational system toward the aim of shaping young Filipino minds based on its neocolonial designs.

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## ***Liberalism, Neoliberalism and the Rise of Consumerist Education***

**Edberto M. Villegas**

The rise of the bourgeois class into economic and political powers in the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries in Europe correspondingly brought with it a theoretical justification of this social phenomenon, the dissemination by this class through their intellectuals of the theory of the natural rights of men. Though the theory of the universal rights of men first gained academic credence in the Peripatetic school of the Stoics of Ancient Greece, dominated by the Athenian middle class, it was revived in Northern Europe, particularly among the active merchant class in the Netherlands by two philosophers, Athusius and Grotius. The Ancient Stoic philosophy had still a religious basis as it expounded that all persons are the breaths of One God and therefore are equal and that there is a Divine Plan in the world. Stoic philosophy did not, however, reach the masses as it was confined as a culture of high learning among the intellectual elites of Greece and Rome, the most notable of which is seen in the writings of the stoic Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius (121-180 AD ). The theory of natural rights as it was resurrected by the intellectuals of the rising bourgeois class in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, after its long hiatus during the Middle or the Dark Ages when all forms of Greek thought were eschewed, later found expression in the theory of liberalism of Thomas Hobbes. While his predecessors still advocated a God as the basis of rights, Hobbes eliminated all religious justifications of these rights. To him they are founded on the basic instinct of self-preservation or what he calls the right to life of every person.

John Locke, who was closely associated with the English bourgeois class as a custom official, developed the right to life and happiness of

Hobbes to include the right to property of the individual. The theory of liberalism when it appeared in Europe primarily emphasized the rights of the individual against the state, which was then controlled by the nobility and the clergy, who had as their favorite milking cows when their coffers ran out, the emerging wealthy bourgeois class in the form of new taxes, enforced monetary contribution and even outright confiscation of properties. Thus to the liberals the right of the individual became the right to do business unmolested by the state (Adam Smith and the French Physiocrats) and the right against unjust taxes, the rallying cry of the French bourgeoisie in the French revolution of 1789. This was also the case in the earlier American 1776 revolution in which the main spark of the rebellion against colonial master Britain was what the nascent American bourgeois class considered unjust taxes on imports which led to the Boston Tea Party.

After the successful revolutions of the bourgeois class against the feudal monarchies in Europe, using the masses as cannon fodder who were led to believe that they too will enjoy political and economic emancipation after these social upheavals, this class forthwith limited the right of suffrage to the propertied and educated. And all promised economic reforms were all but forgotten. The masses were made to believe that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed by the National Assembly in 1789 will bring about their liberation from the shackles of feudalism, under a new regime of liberty, equality and fraternity for all “citizens or people” as the French revolutionary bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals call them. But such trust in their bourgeois leaders proved to be misguided.

The betrayal of the libertarian promises to the lower classes pushed them to seek for an explanation of their unfortunate fate as some of their leaders were even hanged by the victorious bourgeois classes (the cases of the Levellers in the Cromwellian Army in the English revolution and Babeuf and other leaders of the League of the Just during the French revolution). For indeed the liberal philosophy of the bourgeoisie only reflected the morality of this class which became economically and politically dominant in Western Europe and the United States. Thus the virtue of individualism and the inviolability of private property were lauded in the constitutions of this class and none of the rights of man went beyond egoistical man, “an individual separated from the community, withdrawn into himself, wholly preoccupied with his private interest and acting in accordance with his private caprice” (Marx 1964: 26). In short, the modes of life of the successful bourgeois became the rights of the citizen.

In the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848, which was written at the request of the banned League of the Just (which later became the Communist Party), Marx and Engels analyzed the historical roots of the betrayal of the masses, particularly the working classes, and explained the causes of their continued impoverishment and even more intense exploitation. Marx would later go into a more in-depth study of the exploitation of the working class and the rapacity of the now-dominant bourgeois capitalist class in controlling the resources of societies. Using the methods of political economy, class analysis and the labor theory of value, which were earlier developed by theoreticians who themselves defended the rights of the bourgeois class, Marx used these tools of analysis to expose the oppressive nature of capitalism itself. Forthwith, the writings of Marx and Engels instantly became popular among the masses, especially the working classes of Europe and America, later also inspiring and arousing to action the common peoples of all continents. Though Marx was hard to read, there emerged among the masses intellectuals who sided with the plight of the poor and endeavored to teach to them the basic principles of Marxism. Going into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, socialist revolutions riveted Europe, spreading into Asia and later into South America and Africa. The bourgeois class was shocked from its momentary complacency during the period of the glorious rise of capitalism from the point of view of its leaders in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and encouraged and supported intellectuals in the academe to formulate theoretical arguments to confront Marx's scathing critiques of capitalism, which were threatening the very foundations of the comfortable existence of the bourgeois. (Hobsbawm 1979)

In the field of economic analysis, the German Böhm-Bawerk (1851-1914) from his university pedestal, attempted to demolish the theory of Marx, but it is generally acknowledged today by economic theoreticians that Böhm-Bawerk committed the error of isolating volume I of *Das Kapital* from volume III. (Böhm-Bawerk 1954: 597; Negishi 1989: 77) What dismayed the bourgeois academics and their mentors, the big bourgeois class, was that the very discipline that was developed by their predecessors, political economy, was the very same weapon utilized by Marx to show how the capitalist system that sustains them was self-contradictory in its supposed role as the bringer of progress to humanity. Capitalism itself was instead, as Marx elucidated in *Das Kapital*, bringing the world order into a state of economic chaos and degradation of the humanity of individuals.

Political economy with its assumption of the existence of classes in society afforded a tool for Marxists to emphasize the irreconcilable interests

of the dominant and the subordinate classes. Thus, to avoid the onslaughts by the Marxists with their concept of the class struggle, the study of political economy was increasingly transformed by the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois intellectuals in the academe into a variant of mathematics. The first notable expression of this was the equilibrium analysis of economic variables - prices, supply, demand and interest - by the Englishman Alfred Marshall in his *Principles of Economics* (1891, 1920) where economic phenomena were analyzed abstracted from the existence of classes in societies. Later on, the term *ceteris paribus* would be utilized as a methodological premise in economic analysis, which is the assumption that all individuals are equal in their influence on the economy ("market" to the bourgeois economists). Thus, the concept of exploitation of the dominant class over the subservient class, which was even seen by the classical political economists Adam Smith and David Ricardo, was done away with one stroke of "keeping all else constant." Inevitably, the word "political" was dropped from the study of the productive activities of humans, and only the term "economics" was retained in American universities starting in the 1930's and the so-called mathematics of economics (econometrics) was developed, notably in Harvard. Economics was finally divorced from the social inequalities of classes and became a supposed science of scarcity (Samuelson) involving the interaction of land, labor and capital. When Simon Kuznets introduced his concepts of gross domestic product, gross national product and per-capita income - the latter an assumption that the wealth of a nation is equally distributed among its population *ceteris paribus* - capitalist-dominated/ influenced countries, starting with the US, adopted his methods to map the economic development of their societies. For these countries, the growth of Gross National Product (GNP) and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) henceforth became the mantra for progress, including the Philippines, from the 1950's to the present. Pleased with the non-political economic ideas of Kuznets, the bourgeois-influenced Nobel Priza panel in Stockholm awarded the Nobel prize in economics to this Harvard professor in 1971.

With the advent of capitalism, private corporations gradually made strong inroads into the universities of the US and Europe. They funded studies and researches of professors and scientists to advance their business interests by putting up educational foundations like the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Fullbright Foundation, and more recently the Bill Gates Foundation. These activities of the bourgeoisie were two-pronged - they were able to save on taxes since educational foundations were tax-exempt and they could co-opt academic intellectuals who may have leanings



to Marxist theory. In order to accomplish the latter objective, generous scholarships and study grants were extended to graduate and post-graduate students to develop and disseminate theories which counter the Marxist analysis of societies. Such theories were the equilibrium analysis, first popularized by Marshall in economics and applied by Pareto to sociology, the functionalist theory of Talcott Parsons, inspired by the anti-Marxist social studies of Max Weber, the theory of growth of Walt Rostow (*Five Stages of Growth* has the sub-title of *A Non-Communist Manifesto* [1960]) and of course the ideas of Kuznets.

### ***Neoliberalism and Globalization***

With the fall of the USSR in 1991, considered by capitalist nations, especially the US, as their arch-rival in controlling states and their resources, especially in the Third World, the bourgeois class has reconstructed the ideological meaning of liberalism, placing greater emphasis on its economic application. After the demise of the USSR, monopoly capitalism, through its influence on the academe wanted to make sure that its ensuing more intensified expansion and entrenchment in the global economic order will have secure theoretical trappings. Thus, the theory of the “global village” first popularized by Marshall McLuhan from the University of Toronto and the so-called globalization of market by the Harvard professor Theodore Levitt were developed by capitalist-dominated economic institutions, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO), to justify the more aggressive drive of the Transnational Corporations (TNC) in the global order. While formerly, the theory of liberalism had a more dominant political connotation when the rising bourgeois classes in Europe used it as an ideological weapon against the feudal order to wrest power in national and local politics, the theory of “neoliberalism” in its advocacy of global free trade is more encompassing.

Neoliberalism as befitting its usefulness for the bourgeoisie has been given a development meaning in line with the economic growth of societies to the advantage of the capitalist nations. For instance, the theory in politics of Theda Skocpol and Peter Evans of Harvard of “strong and weak states” had been hyped-up by capitalist-funded institutions and spread in universities in order to orient states, particularly in the Third World, including the Philippines, to the economic programs of the TNCs to open wider their markets. (Macapagal-Arroyo’s strong republic was inspired by this theory.) Evans, for instance, lauds the so-called tigers of Asia, like South

Korea and Japan, with their export-driven economies as examples of strong states. Evans calls these states “developmental states” with their “embedded autonomy” or their capacity of mixing two contradictory features which is a “Western bureaucratic insulation with intense immersion in the surrounding social structure.” (Evans 1989: 561-587) It is to be noted that the theory of strong and weak states, sometimes referred to as the “relative autonomy of the state” is just a revival of the idealist theory of the state of the liberal George Hegel of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Hegel viewed the state as independent from civil society and thus could play an arbiter role in reconciling conflicting interests of different classes in society. Hegel takes the state as an abstract moral entity which must lead a society to the realization of the Absolute Reason. It thus could function as a savior of defective societies, if it only truly assumes its designated moral responsibility.

With the more aggressive excursus of private corporations in the 1990s into the educational system, curricula of schools have been gradually patterned to the globalization programs of the monopoly capitalists. More and more schools the world over have given greater emphasis to the needs of capitalist business, emphasizing vocational courses, recruiting grounds for rank and file workers in factories, in lower and middle schools and promoting research in universities for the profit goals of companies, e.g., research for high-breed plant varieties, which use fertilizers of capitalist firms, and simulation studies to prove that an export-led economy is best for national development. Universities, as in UP, have put up pools of scientists and professors, who can be hired at call by private corporations needing their expertise. This trend is epitomized in the so-called UP Intellectual Property Office of former UP President Emil Javier presented in his UP Plan 2008. Slowly, subjects, particularly in the social sciences, which capitalist creditors of indebted countries consider irrelevant to their interests and even potentially threatening, are to be phased out in the schools of these countries, even in state universities, like the UP. Such epithets as being “world-class” in education and being competitive are being given honorific meanings or hyped-up meaning that universities must give priorities to the natural sciences, important for the discoveries of new saleable products and considered socially neutral. Thus, more funding are extended to courses needed by the TNCs as in schools of engineering in Third World universities, which supply the personnel for global corporations, and so-called techno-parks are put up in campuses as is the case in UP where private firms can more immediately gobble up good graduates and sell their products to school authorities.

Ever since the first liberal apologists of the bourgeois class have become ascendant in universities in the US with their fervid emphasis on individualism, knowledge has been considered a commodity as is true with all products produced by capitalists. Terms like the universities as “marketplaces of ideas” and “students as consumers of knowledge,” inspired by the market mentality of the bourgeoisie have seeped into the academic vocabulary. With their new-found confidence after the fall of the USSR, US monopoly capitalism is now more than ever determined to commercialize education. In UP, this took the form of the Revised General Education Program (RGEP) introduced in 2002 where students are given the choice as “free” consumers of knowledge to select what subjects they want among a variety being offered in the university “market” to suit their personal interests. As a result, subjects which are vitally important for nation- and culture-building like history courses are dependent upon the economic calculations of the students. Since these students exist in a capitalist milieu where monetary advance is considered of primary importance, students consider if they will profit from such knowledge materially or not. In this market-driven culture, the purpose of education of instilling the values of social responsibility is defeated in the face of intense individualism promoted by liberalism and neoliberalism as they are expounded in theories in our schools today.

With the drive to dominate the global market by monopoly capitalism with its neoliberal rationalization of globalization, which is of course detrimental to weaker economies, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB) and World Trade Organization (WTO) have popularized the call for liberalization, deregulation and privatization as beneficial for all societies. With the approval of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) in December 1995, the TNCs have eyed the educational systems as a lucrative area for business. It is to be noted that the TNCs under GATS have already succeeded in opening wider the global financial and retail systems, causing the great financial crisis of Asia, Russia and Latin America from 1997 to 2001 which have wrought havoc to the lives of millions of peoples in these areas.

The TNCs, led by US monopoly capitalism, has lobbied in conferences on GATS in Geneva for the elimination of government subsidies for education under the program of privatization and deregulation being pushed by globalization. They have formed a so-called Global Alliance for Transnational Education (GATE) headed by a certain Gleen R. Jones, CEO of the virtual university Jones International Inc. This Alliance with the support

of the World Bank aims to make the service of education market-based as it has identified the \$2 trillion cost for education or 1/20<sup>th</sup> of the world GDP as a very promising new investment area. The World Bank had been very cooperative in this project, pressuring governments, including those in Europe, either to privatize state schools or to increase tuition fees, gradually freeing governments from educational subsidies. Moves to eliminate state support for education in France and Germany have, however, been met with massive student and faculty demonstrations, with French students forcing the closure of Sorbonne University for two months in early 2003 in their show of force against the commercialization of education. The Chirac government as a result of these student protests rescinded its decision to abolish free tertiary education.

The GATE, with the assistance of the WB's own Alliance for Global Learning, has sponsored so-called Information Technology (IT) rooms in schools and universities under their program of e-learning, primarily aimed to sell their computer products. It has undertaken training for teachers and is working closely with governments and private firms to conduct intervention programs in educational institutions. Other business sponsors of such programs are the corporate bank JP Morgan and Goldman Sachs, the consultancy firm Ernst & Young and TNCs in IT, such as Sun Microsystems and 3 Com. The Bill Gates Foundation has also been funding the putting up of techno parks in English universities to sell Microsoft products. As Glenn R. Jones enthuses, "Education is one of the fastest-growing of all markets. Private training and the adult education industry are expected to achieve double-digit growth throughout the next decade."

The intrusion of private business into the educational system of welfare-state societies in Europe has alarmed student and faculty organizations in this continent. This is expressed by Per Nyborg, Chairman for the Committee for Higher Education and Research, Council of Europe:

The emergence of other providers of higher education than the domestic universities has caused concern in many countries. Especially in developing countries and in countries in transition, governments have felt the need to increase their control over these new providers. National standards, curricula and degree-awarding powers must be protected to safeguard the inclusion of higher education in national objectives for economic development for protection of the culture and for the further development of a democratic society. Little is known about the consequences of

GATS for quality, access and equity of higher education. There is in the university sector a fear that GATS may influence the national authority to regulate higher education systems, and have unforeseen consequences on public subsidies for higher education. Both the European University Association (EUA) and the National Unions of Students in Europe (ESIB) have taken a critical stand on trade in educational services.

### ***The Rise of Consumerist Education***

Neoliberalism as purveyed in universities serves as a reliable base for the growing commercialization of education. It has created a new generation of highly-individualistic students, imbibing in them the belief that the knowledge that they acquired in schools was due to their capacity to pay and no thanks to society. They graduate from schools with the consumerist mentality of getting back from society what they have invested in their education. The consumer is self-centered with the aim of maximizing his/her pleasures in the market or calculating what he/she will benefit for himself/herself in the future for any present spending.

Under the aegis of liberalism and neoliberalism, educational institutions, including state schools, are being made to eschew value-directed education. Especially in the United States, with the rise of pragmatism and behaviorism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which are offsprings of liberalism, it has been contended by many academicians that a discipline can only be respectable if it is value-free. Within this knowledge milieu, universities have shirked from the inculcation of social responsibility among its students, consequently breeding mostly go-getters and socially-indifferent humans. This situation has been aggravated by the phasing-out of social science and art subjects in favor of technical and business courses favorable to the interests of private corporations, in the era of globalization of monopoly capitalism. Education to form the well-rounded person, the generalist-oriented individual, has been considered less important compared to the molding of technical and scientific specializations. The techno-freak has been a product of this emphasis on specialization in contrast with education in the past ages of humanity when the development of the socially-aware and compassionate person was highly valued, the Renaissance man in European classical education and the great man in Confucian education. Specialization in knowledge has been a natural consequence of specialization in the production of a good as argued for by the founding fathers of

capitalist thought, Adam Smith and David Ricardo. Smith strongly advocated specialization and division of labor to improve the quality of a product and efficiency on the factory floor, while Ricardo vies for specialization in the manufacture of a trade good by a country in his theory of comparative advantage. In the age of neoliberal trade, developing nations are made to specialize in the making of manufactured parts of machines needed by the leading TNCs, whose mother companies are based in the developed countries. This assembly type of business is being promoted by capitalist institutions like the World Bank and the IMF as an export-oriented industrialization for developing nations. Well-paid economists and other intellectuals in these institutions and the academe have presented this set-up as a so-called international division of labor, which of course reduces the production cost of TNCs since labor in developing nations is cheap.

With the rise of capitalism, knowledge has become a commodity sold and bought in the market of the capitalists. Computer, business, engineering and nursing schools have cropped up like mushrooms in the forest to service the assembly lines, offices, call centers, department stores and hospitals of the big bourgeoisie. Students anxiously look forward to the interview with the personnel managers of the big firms, and their drive for good grades are directed to impress these recruiters of capitalism who are in the lookout to buy at the cheapest price possible *summa* and *magna* graduates.

Under consumerist education, schools are becoming like huge factories to mass produce students for the TNCs. But this mass production of graduates has only created an excess of skilled individuals who increase the number of unemployed in a society. But this is to the great advantage of the private companies who can offer lower salaries and wages to the numerous applicants competing for scarce jobs in the labor market as the very advance of technology in capitalist undertakings constantly render labor redundant. The emergence of the reserve army of labor under capitalism, particularly in the age of globalization, where according to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) around 2 billion people are unemployed or under-employed, has resulted in a tremendous wastage of knowledge acquired by peoples in their long education and who are unable to find work.

With the trend of privatization of state schools, initiated by neoliberalism, education may inevitably become just an adjunct of corporate business. Since business primarily regards the utilization of things and values as means for the advancement of profit, this trend of education will

expectedly turn out mere specialists of knowledge and techie freaks, whose social and cultural sensitivity may be sorely lacking. Since culture and art to the capitalists are only useful for as long as they could lead to more profits (note the attempt to appeal to Filipino culture by McDonald's advertisements), graduates from capitalist-influenced educational institutions will most likely just add to the coterie of humans who may not be able to grasp the value of selfless sacrifice for the welfare of society. Such a phenomenon is slowly being witnessed in the epitome of capitalist societies, the United States, with the rise of individual crimes such as corporate malfeasance, inheritance and thrill killings and the growing number of callous retrenchments of workers to save on costs by competing firms. The rule of capitalism, with the consumerist kind of education it engenders, can only lead to material greed and social decadence, not to speak of the economic crises of overproduction that it gives rise to. The deterioration of post-industrialized capitalist society is slowly unfolding before our eyes, with the greater and greater concentration of the wealth of the world in the hands of the few, while the have-nots continue to swell in all continents. Never in the history of the world have we seen such extensive hunger of its populace - according to the United Nations numbering nearly one billion people - this while the resources to support humanity continue to increase tenfold. Such an appalling contradiction can only happen in a materialistic culture that champions private ownership at the expense of the collective good. Engineers, workers, and scientists continue to churn out and invent technological goods that can improve the lot of humanity. These, however, are owned and are under the disposal of the parasitical bourgeois class.

### ***Conclusion***

Unless the commercialization set by neoliberalism in schools with its theoretical incantations of free trade, competition, the level playing field, and consumer preference, is ended, the goal of education for the emancipation of humanity from want and social ignorance will indeed become more remote. Neoliberalism as it is peddled in universities today has taken by-ways and side-ways to snare in its grasp intellectuals who are prone to follow new fashions of knowledge set by the capitalist societies in the West. Liberalism and its variant neoliberalism have been the inspirations behind such theories like post-modernism and that of the weak and strong states which have attracted intellectuals in institutions of higher learning the world over. But as we have seen, liberalism and neoliberalism are the

ideological paraphernalia of the bourgeoisie or the capitalist class, the dominant economic class at present. The clever ideologues of this class have coated these theories as if they will promote the freedoms of all individuals. However, the freedoms promised by these idealist ideologies, are only abstract freedoms as the bourgeoisie will never aim to liberate all classes from want through a social distribution of the resources of societies, since this might displace their control on the social means of production. Thus, the kind of education that the bourgeoisie encourages is one of endless theoretical debates on issues, and the governments they control discourage, even persecute, those who would advocate a radical change in the private ownership of the production and distribution of social goods and services. For indeed, the selfish bourgeois is becoming more and more aggressive in the struggle to perpetuate its intellectual hegemony in schools today in its preaching of neoliberalism and the globalization of markets. Socially-aware intellectuals and leaders must not allow this battle go the way of these enemies of the collective will to advance the economic and social liberation of humanity.

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## **The Symptom Called Marketisation**

**Sarah Raymundo**

It was the evening of December 15, 2006:

Decembers in Diliman are usually cold in a refreshing way. That night, however, was humid. I was marching with a huge crowd of about two thousand protesters composed of students, professors and university employees who engaged in a spirited one and a half kilometer march from Malcolm Hall (College of Law) to Quezon Hall (Central Administration Building). As the crowd marches along the Faculty Center and the Vargas Museum, a feisty young man with thick eyeglasses is maintaining his balance as he stands on a pick-up truck, the fingers of his right hand gripping the handle of a medium-sized megaphone. With much conviction and anger in his loud voice, he declares: “Hindi magtatapos sa gabing ito ang pagkakaisa ng mga Iskolar ng Bayan. Sa pagbabalik natin sa darating na bagong taon, pulang dagat ng protesta ang sasalubong sa administrasyon...” [Our unity does not end this evening. When we come back next year, the administration will be confronted by a red sea of protest].

### ***The Traditional View of Education***

I was particularly struck and overwhelmed by the metaphor of “pulang dagat ng protesta” not only because of its powerful imagery and edgy suggestion but even more so since it concretizes Bourdieu’s oft-forgotten insight into the academic field. That this field is “the objective space of possible intellectual positions offered to academics in a given moment and

beyond the field of power” is something that often escapes academic administrators while crafting university policies; and on account of which makes them sound more like financial managers whose stakes in the financial game can only follow the rules of the market.

In his introduction to a landmark text on the sociology of education, Henry Giroux asserts that “[s]ince the early part of the twentieth century, the educational field has struggled to establish itself with a firm scientific foundation.” This foundation, Giroux adds, “[draw] heavily upon a positivist rationality” which, in turn, shaped the dominant theoretical orientation of the various disciplines both within the natural and the social sciences. Furthermore, the hegemony of positivist philosophy in the field of educational theory and research has spawned the latter’s “[entrenchment] within an instrumentalist tradition that defined progress as technological growth and learning as the mastery of skills and the solving of practical problems” (Giroux 1981).

From the traditional view of education, there is only one way by which to approach knowledge and its production. And for De Dios et al., constraints to or issues that affect knowledge production can only be resolved by following the dominant logic that structures knowledge production.

Let me illustrate the preceding point by referring to the following statement in a document entitled “Ad-hoc committee to review tuition and other fees: Final Report” prepared by professors from the University of the Philippines-Diliman, namely, Emmanuel S. de Dios (Chairman), Rene P. Felix, and Helen S. Valderrama:

Notwithstanding a good deal of debate at its inception, the principles underlying STFAP, it seems fair to say, have now been largely accepted by the University’s various constituencies. The hitherto prevalent notion that state-owned institutions are obliged to set uniformly low (even zero) tuition fees has gradually given way to acceptance of the principle that students themselves – rather than the general taxpayer – should pay for the cost of higher education, subject only to the equity-proviso that poor students who qualify should receive financial relief and assistance. This growing realisation has been prodded on by the stagnation of state-support given the government’s chronic budgetary difficulties<sup>1</sup>; the spread notwithstanding of privately provided undergraduate education (though at times of uneven quality), thus reducing the social case for a public subsidy<sup>2</sup>; and finally the University’s desire to reinforce its intellectual freedom through financial self-reliance.

<sup>1</sup> The idea of students paying their way through higher education (though possibly through state-financed loans) has gained ground even in developed countries not facing budget-constraints demonstrates on the other hand that this is not merely a response to the exigency of a budget-shortfall but a general principle to be affirmed. (See, e.g., “Pay or decay,” *The Economist*, 24 January 2004.)  
<sup>2</sup> A public subsidy to an activity is justified based on likely positive externalities arising from it, i.e., social benefits not apparent to the individual himself. It can be argued that virtually all the benefits of an undergraduate education are in fact appropriable by the private individual himself, who should therefore be willing to pay for its cost. Proof of this is people’s demonstrated willingness to pay for private college education (and indeed the Philippines already has an unusually high ratio of college finishers to the total of its labour-force). The matter may be different, however, for graduate studies in some fields (e.g., the natural sciences) whose preservation and expansion are nationally significant though not privately profitable.

When ideological stakes, such as the one cited above, assume the status of official university policy, they cease to be position-takings coming from a particular perspective. Rather, they become part of the academic field’s doxa— a field’s unquestioned assumptions that people “accept without knowing” (Bourdieu 1994: 268).

The traditional view of education can only affirm prevalent practices and set these as universal laws to be followed, thereby rendering history as an abstract process. From this view, the concrete struggles for dominance of one paradigm is completely ignored. This is why De Dios et. al. adopts a very narrow valuation of education. For them, it can either be a public or a private good. It is a public good when it can produce “social benefits not apparent to the individual himself.” On the contrary, tertiary education is a private good when “all ...[its] benefits... are in fact appropriable by the private individual himself, who should therefore be willing to pay for its cost.”

Some of the naïve errors in operationalization made by those who naively raise the naïve question of education’s function for the society and/or for the individual are corollaries to their failure to account for the “contribution that the educational system makes to the reproduction of the social structure...” (Bourdieu 1996: 256)

The effacement of social reproduction from the traditional perspective of education can thereby critique the current educational system in terms of its failure to respond to the demands of the global market. On the one hand, we often encounter reports lamenting the ineffectiveness of teachers and/or the decreasing aptitude of students in subjects like English. On the other hand are sporadic yet emphatic celebrations of “exceptional” Filipinos who make it in the “borderless world” owing to their exceptional skills, foremost of which is a proficiency in the English language. This perspective reduces schooling to a mere mechanism that functions to fulfill the demands of the market as it constructs a personalist philosophy which “tends to reduce the public to the private, the social to the personal, the political to the ethical, and the economic to the psychological” (Bourdieu 1996: 282). This is clearly shown in De Dios et al.’s interpretation of people’s willingness to pay the cost of education: “Proof of this is people’s demonstrated willingness to pay for private college education (and indeed the Philippines already has an unusually high ratio of college finishers to total its labour-force).”

To account for the legitimating function of education in the reproduction of the social structure *by no means* rests on a mechanistic assumption “that schools simply mirror the interests and wishes of a conspiratorial ruling-class” (Giroux 1981: 72). Henry Giroux offers a concise explanation of the process of legitimation inherent in schooling:

The process of legitimation should be viewed in terms of what may be called the special ambiguity of schools. This special ambiguity stems, on the one hand, from the representation of schooling as...a vital human need—common to all societies and all people in some form, and as basic as subsistence or shelter. On the other hand, schools are a fundamental part of the power structure, ideologically and structurally committed to the socio-economic forces that nourish them. It is in this nexus of vital needs and power that the special ambiguity of schooling takes on its meaning. Also, embedded in this nexus is the key to the socio-political structure of schooling, the hidden curriculum. (1981: 73)

The hidden curriculum structures even the formal content of courses. As Bowles and Gintis argue, “[t]he heart of the (educational) process is to be found not in the content of the educational encounter—or the process of information transfer—but in the form: the social relations of educational

encounter.” (Giroux 1981) The battle to reproduce existing social and economic inequality is also fought within the field of schooling owing to its institutional power to mediate and legitimize dominant values, categories and social relations in society.

### ***Technocratic Rationality***

When the field of education is not recognized as such and is, instead, misrecognized as a neutral entity that performs specific functions for the society and/or the individual, the field can only follow the logic of technocratic rationality.

The defenders of the Enlightenment, as well as its critics, are one in acknowledging the shift in the notion of progress from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, progress “was linked to the development of moral self-improvement and self-discipline” (Giroux 1981: 41). Progress in the twentieth century however “was stripped of its concern with ameliorating the human condition and became applicable only to the realm of material and technical growth” (Giroux 1981). In this context, we witness the subsumption of social relations to economic imperatives. Hence, the economization of the cultural sphere. This shift in the view of progress does not mean that people have consciously changed their minds to suit present conditions. The case is that the discourse of progress in the eighteenth century combatted the economic and cultural crisis of the feudal structure; and the resolution to this crisis can only be posited through the freeing up of human labor for the development and expansion of the capitalist mode of production. The twentieth century, on the other hand, has witnessed the most brutal and violent consequences of capitalist expansion and accumulation. It has resulted in pauperization, hunger, social exclusion, and imperialist wars. These were generated by a type of rationality that has reduced the question of values and human ends and needs “to the issue of what is technically possible” (Giroux 1981: 41). What is technically possible is gauged upon capitalism’s *causa sui* and because capitalism, as Istvan Meszaros argues, is its own causal foundation, it is “structurally incapable of addressing causes as causes” (1995). Is this perhaps why the document by De Dios et.al. cited earlier can find no other solution to the budgetary crisis in public education but through tuition increase? And a false solution, in fact, since the lack of state subsidy to Philippine public education is only a symptom of the general crisis of Philippine society’s neo-colonial integration into the new world order.

Therefore, tuition increase is only a coping mechanism that seems to alleviate a particular crisis within the neo-colonial structure, which economists sugarcoat as the “real world.”

Let me identify, at this juncture, at least two adverse consequences of technocratic rationality in the academic field.

Because of their atomization, the various disciplines are now unable to relate themselves to the social realities that shaped them in the first place. Scholarly production has approximated technocratic logic described so well by Masao Miyoshi:

... [L]iterary and theoretical discourse is drastically losing its audience. No one except determined academic cadres and aspirants participates in it. The books and journals that publish them have a cliquish circulation. One recalls that their point of departure and *raison d'être* once – in the 1960s and 1970s – lay in passionate concern with the forgotten and unrepresented, which was a matter of vital importance to a far wider range of readers. The abandonment of, and indifference to, the wretched of the earth fractures the credibility of their intellectual enterprise. Gibberish – not so much in terminology as in substance – attracts graduate students and mature scholars alike, precisely because it is incomprehensible to many and thus exclusive... Their attention is almost always riveted on each other's publications, seldom ever venturing out to the outside world. Ideas rapidly circulate the world over, skimming the scholarly consciousness which is ever ready for the next move just like TNC [Trans-National Corporation] investments. Conformism in gibberish is the doctrine that best befits the TNC academia because it enhances the exclusivism and obscurantism inherent in the TNC doctrine. (1997: 62)

Another related consequence is social amnesia. Akin to clinical amnesia, social amnesia is an affliction that makes us forget the social context of knowledge. This condition is responsible for granting knowledge a suprahistorical and supracultural status—the view that our disciplines are beyond history and culture—which in turn warrants the transmission of knowledge through tedious practices such as memorization and perfunctory submission of requirements.”

***The Transformative View of Education***

Having laid down the basics of the traditional paradigm in education, let me now focus my discussion on the foundations of transformative education. It is important to clarify that there are no hard and fast rules towards the achievement of transformative education because the very concept of transformation signifies a process rather than a strict procedure. But mainly, it differs from the traditional perspective in its objectives. The transformative perspective, like the traditional paradigm asserts a critique of education. But unlike the latter, its critique is focused precisely on the ways by which schooling plays a reactive reproductive role amidst the demands of global capitalism. It questions the subsumption of education under the logic of capitalist accumulation. Thus, a transformative view of education would question the correlation that is made between education and economic development as defined by the State. This correlation has resulted in the reproduction of knowledge that is geared towards technocratic rationality. If the traditional perspective critiques the educational system in terms of its failure to respond to the demands of the global market, the transformative perspective questions precisely the coordinates of the global market.

***Philippine Educational Reforms and Neoliberal Globalization***

Education as a practice of freedom demands a confrontation with the imperatives of the existing system that is marked by the policies of neoliberal globalization. Imaginary representations of globalization paints the current system as a borderless world of bigger and more promising opportunities for the redefinition and extension of social identities. The actually-existing process of globalization on the other hand “is merely the international phase of neoliberalism: a worldwide strategy of accumulation and social discipline that doubles up as an imperialist project spearheaded by the alliance between the US ruling class and locally dominant coalitions” (Saad-Filho and Johnston 2005: 2).

When did globalization begin? A historical account of globalization could easily dispel the inescapability and inexorability attached to it. Contrary to the idea that globalization is a “benevolent process leading to greater competition, welfare improvements and the spread of democracy around the world,” (Saad-Filho & Johnston 2005) globalization began as a solution

to the economic crisis faced by the United States in the onset of the 1990s. According to Edberto Villegas:

After the fall of the USSR in December 1991, the US Military budget fell by 19% from 1992 to 1996 or from US\$ 328.6 billion to US\$265.6 billion. This decrease, coupled with the intensifying crisis of overproduction starting in the 1970s, caused the rates of profit of US firms to go down. The rate of profit in manufacturing fell by 40% on the average from 1973 to 1990. US capitalism undertook an aggressive drive to open other economies, particularly in the Third World, through so-called “globalization of markets”- formalized in the Uruguay Round Treaty of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995 – and was able to recover in 1997. (2002: 62)

The brief history of globalization cited above renders useless the problematization of globalization that would commonsensically account for its pros and cons as though it were some transcendental and ahistorical category.

The impact of neoliberal globalization on the educational system can be examined through existing policies in education. The Presidential Commission on Educational Reforms (PCER) created by virtue of Executive Order No. 46 dated 07 December 1998, is part of the Estrada administration’s ten-point action plan, mandated to “define a budget-feasible program of reform and identify executive priority, policy recommendations and items for legislative action.”

The reforms were precipitated by an observation that “the use of large allocations of the government budget for public higher education is perceived to be inefficient and inequitable.” The document further states that “budgets are allocated to state colleges and universities on the basis of incremental expenditures, without much regard for the basic rationale by which these institutions were established.” On the basis of these issues, the PCER’s general recommendation is to “restructure the financing mechanism for existing state colleges and universities through the [reorientation] of the premises for public higher education.”

The following citations have been selected to show how the rationale for tuition increase discussed earlier is actually based on state policies on education. That the approved tuition fee increase in the University of the Philippines is a product of a creative and analytical process among its administrators is far from the truth. Instead, the new tuition scheme, as well



as other commercialization schemes, are merely anchored on government policy:

- All capital and development budget requirements will have to be raised entirely from revenues generated outside of the DBM SUC support mechanism.
- In the second year, the Student Assistance Budget line will be doubled, enabling gradual introduction of an even higher tuition structure to be put into place with expanded scholarships. Gradually the scholarship/voucher/ assistance schemes will be based more and more on need or parents' income, so that equity of access is assured for those capable of pursuing higher degrees.
- In the third, fourth, and fifth years, the Student Assistance Budget will continue to be proportionately increased, as tuition fees begin to approximate costs, students continue to have access through generous student assistance, and the institution increases its tuition revenue to cover more and more salary supplements, MOOE requirements, and capital outlays.
- Institutionalize in each SUC a Scheme of Cost Recovery and Maximum Utilization of Assets to augment their operating and capital outlay budgets. Increase tuition and other school fees to a more realistic level.
- This will be supported by a corresponding adequate amount of student assistance available, either to all students equally, or eventually to students depending upon family income, using the same principles as the UP socialized tuition fee scheme for example, where students coming from financially-capable families shall pay the larger share of the cost or tuition structure.
- Prepare and implement business or development plans relative to the use of idle lands and properties; where feasible, this can be done in partnership with the private sector. Alternatively, contracts can be entered into with individuals or institutions competent in business. This scheme will enable the presidents of SUCs to focus on their basic function, which is to educate and not to do business.
- Explore other means of generating revenue, either agriculturally or industrially, or entrepreneurially, in line with existing resources and capabilities of the institution.
- Introduce the proposed scheme for reorienting the premises for financing higher education as contained in the following proposal,

including a fixed budget for personnel services and operating expenses from DBM, increasing the budget for student assistance from DBM, and schemes for increasing revenue, including the raising of tuition fees. Monitor, adjust and amend the scheme, learning from the experience of its implementation.

- Finalize a rationalization plan for public higher education. Establish within it the guidelines for the creation, conversion, expansion, privatization, merging, or phasing out of State Universities and Colleges.

### ***The “Marketisation” of Public Higher Education***

The policies above demonstrate how higher education has, indeed, become “a terrain of marketisation agenda.” In an essay entitled “Neoliberal Agendas for Higher Education,” Les Levidow observes a situation in most American state universities that is akin to state universities in the Philippines. She argues that “overt privatisation has mainly targeted non-educational aspects such as catering and security” (Saad-Filho & Johnston 2005: 156). She cautions, however, that the “threat” should be understood as marketisation rather than privatisation. Levidow defines marketisation as “changing people’s relationships and values towards stimulating those of the market, while operating the institution as if it were a business” (Saad-Filho & Johnston 2005).

Reshaping society on the model of the marketplace, as Levidow suggests, entails pressures that coincide with wider free market/neoliberal policies. The development, function and nature of the market, in the era of monopoly capitalism is similar to that of technocratic rationality discussed earlier. Levidow provides a succinct explanation of the evolution of the market:

The original nineteenth century liberalism idealised and naturalised “the market” as the realm of freedom; its militants pursued this vision through land enclosures and “free trade,” while physically suppressing any barriers or resistance as unnatural interference. In comparison, today’s neoliberal project undoes past collective gains, privatises public goods, uses state expenditure to subsidize profits, weakens national regulations, removes trade barriers, and so intensifies global market competition (Saad-Filho & Johnston 2005).

Restructuring public higher education through the policies cited above enthrones the market as the means and ends of education. Indeed,

the global reconfiguring of capital on account of its severe crisis in the 1990s has led to the creation of a global network of complicit states and institutions that refurbishes a dying territorial world-system (Tadiar 2005). The various measures which serve such purpose are subsumed under the banner of rationalization of higher education, which means higher tuition, state-abandonment of subsidy to education and the normalization of marketised relations in schooling, hence the abstraction of human relations within the field of education, are symptoms of a larger crisis. Defenders of this process, however, justify their proposals as “innovative” and “realistic” measures when all they do is mistake symptoms for solutions.

Questioning the political, social and economic coordinates of our time within the academic field is a critical practice made possible in and through a transformative paradigm, which in turn posits education as a practice of freedom. Against dystopian ideas of neoliberal economists, academic conservatives and politicians who could only amplify the slogan “there is no alternative” made famous by Margaret Thatcher, the practice of *actual* freedom would allow us to expose the monstrous power of capital and hammer it home by reasserting our noble social dreams (Zizek 2004: 168).

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## **Deregulation at the Expense of Quality Education**

**Danilo Araña Arao**

Analyzing the state of education in the country leads one to ask why age-old problems persist despite government initiatives to study the situation and formulate certain policy reforms. We can only analyze our educational system by looking at the roots of its problems and determining for whose interests it is being maintained.

Education can either be an instrument of liberation or subjugation. It can promote either “popular culture” characterized by obedience and conformity or “counter-culture” characterized by resistance and change. We need not stress our pivotal role as teachers in the formal educational system. We are all engaged in a profession whose main prerequisites are our intellectual acumen and our commitment to serve. And contrary to popular belief, our role goes beyond teaching, since we are also engaged in research and extension work.

Our passion for sharing knowledge and for molding young minds drives us to do what we are doing now. Our inherent hunger for information and insatiable desire to read allow us to continuously teach the same disciplines and topics year after year, using different approaches and enriching the content. Indeed, we continue to learn so that we can teach, and we continue to teach so that we can learn. There are objective and subjective forces for such passion and hunger among us.

Objectively speaking, we are all raised in a society that looks upon learned individuals as the hope of the country. Consequently, our parents or guardians inculcate in us the value of education in a time of poverty and deprivation. We are taught that education is an intellectual investment,

something that we can use in the future to ensure a good and comfortable life. What our parents or guardians say are complemented by the reality of poverty that we see around us, from a neighbor who constantly borrows money from practically everyone, to our own teacher who sells tamarind in class to augment his or her income. Even at a young age, we already become aware of the social class we belong to and of the need to change our lives for the better.

At a subjective level, our personal ambitions to graduate and get a good paying job are replaced by a commitment to serve the people, particularly those who are marginalized. This, however, is not necessarily a whimsical decision but rather a product of deep appreciation of the prevailing social reality. Our class consciousness is further deepened not only by what our professors taught us but by our involvement in organizations and the prodding of our classmates and friends. We see the convergence of both theory and practice in analyzing what is happening around us and in realizing the need to act and contend.

Indeed, there is material basis for our continuing commitment to our chosen profession. Despite the host of problems facing the country's educational system right now, we perform our respective jobs and at the same time, fight for our rights and welfare.

### ***Unlearning Environment***

Our resolve to do what is right does not falter even with the sorry state of our educational system. That education has become inaccessible to many may be gleaned from official statistics.

When Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo assumed office in 2001, data from the Department of Education (DepEd) show that the completion rate was pegged at 66.33% (elementary) and 71.01% (secondary, based on First Year). (See Table 1) This simply means that out of 10 pupils, only seven can finish elementary education. And out of the seven, only five can finish secondary education. In other words, only half of those at the elementary level can graduate from high school.

This is the case even if 16.5 million students (or 88% of total enrolled elementary and high school students) go to public schools. Aside from the fact that elementary and secondary public schools account for 84% of total schools in the country, we need not be reminded that they also provide free tuition.

**Table 1: Selected Basic Education Data at the start of the Macapagal-Arroyo administration SY 2001-2002**

	Elementary	Secondary	Total
Schools	40,763	7,683	48,446
Public	36,234	4,422	40,656
Private	4,529	3,261	7,790
Enrolment	12,826,218	5,813,879	18,640,097
Public	11,916,686	4,562,317	16,479,003
Private	909,532	1,251,562	2,161,094
Public School Teachers a/	331,448	112,210	443,658
Participation Rate	97.02%	73.44%	
Completion Rate	66.33%	48.39%	(based on Grade 1)
		71.01%	(based on First Year)
Dropout Rate (SY 2000-2001)	7.18%	8.70%	
Achievement Rate (SY 2000-2001) (mean percentage score or MPS)	51.73	53.39	
Mathematics	49.75	51.83	
Science	49.75	45.68	
English	47.70	51.00	
Hekasi/Araling Panlipunan	53.93	57.19	
Filipino	57.49	61.26	
Gross Teacher-Student Ratio	1:36	1:39	
Source: Office of Planning Service, Department of Education a/ not including laboratory schools			

Nothing much has changed in the years that followed. According to Education Secretary Jesli Lapus during a Senate hearing in January 2007, for every 100 pupils who enter Grade 1, only 66 reach Grade 6; 58 reach First Year High School; 23 reach the first year in college; and 14 can earn a college degree. Lapus added that at present, there are 200,000 six-year old children (accounting for eight percent of the age group's population) who are deprived of formal education. He said that out of 2.6 million children who enter Grade 1, more than 800,000 fail to finish Grade 6.

Access to education becomes worse upon reaching the tertiary level, since a little more than one-fifth of the school age population of 16-21 years old can manage to enroll. To make matters worse, only 68.36% of them can reach 4<sup>th</sup> year College. (See Table 2) It is also interesting to note that private tertiary schools outnumber public tertiary schools. As of AY 2003-2004, there were only 424 public schools throughout the country, as opposed to 1,363 private ones. It should not be a surprise therefore, that there are roughly 1.6 million students in private tertiary schools as against 829,181 enrollees in public tertiary schools.

Just the same, there was a substantial increase in the number of public tertiary school enrollees apparently due to the 1997 financial crisis which exacerbated the already unrewarding toil of the masses. That the parents or guardians cannot sustain the high cost of education of their children may be rooted in the situation of low wages amidst high cost of living. Indeed, there is a need to distinguish between free education and free tuition. Government may have been able to provide for the latter but parents or guardians still shoulder the daily expenses of children going to school.

As of December 2006, the National Wages and Productivity Commission (NWPC) stressed that a family of six living in Metro Manila needed P768 to fulfill food and nonfood requirements for one day. In areas outside Metro Manila, the required family living wage ranged from P478 (Eastern Visayas) to P1,008 (Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao). The current minimum wage cannot fulfill cost of living requirements. In Metro Manila, for instance, the P350 daily minimum wage only translates to a monthly gross pay of P6,160 (\$110.04). The NWPC's required family living wage, however, amounts to P16,860 (\$301.18).

Quoting from a 2001 study by the NWPC titled "Development of Methodology for Estimating the Living Wage," living wage refers to "the amount of family income needed to provide for the family's food and non-food expenditures with sufficient allowance for savings/investments for social security so as to enable the family to live and maintain a decent



**Table 2: Selected Higher Education Data  
Academic Year 2003-2004**

Schools	1,787
Public (with satellites)	424
Private	1,363
Enrolment	2,420,856
Public	829,181
Private	1,591,675
Graduates	401,787
Public	145,172
Private	256,615
CHED Scholarship/Student Loan Grantees	52,013
Faculty Members	113,716
Degree earned not classified	3,346
BA/BS degree holders	65,514
MA/MS degree holders	34,330
PhD/Doctoral degree holders	10,526
Average Passing % in National Board Exams, 2003 (across all disciplines)	41.71%
Gross Enrolment Ratio/Participation Rate a/	21.87%
Gross Survival Rate b/	68.36%
Graduation Rate (AY 2002-2003) c/	58.87%
Source: Higher Education Statistical Bulletin (AY 2003-2004), CHED	
a/ Gross Enrolment Ratio/Participation Rate - % of pre-baccalaureate and baccalaureate students over the schooling age population of 16-21 years old	
b/ Gross Survival Rate - % of 1st year baccalaureate students who were able to reach 4th year, 5th year and 6th year level	
c/ Graduation Rate - % of 1st year baccalaureate students who were able to graduate	

standard of human existence beyond mere subsistence level, taking into account all of the family's physiological, social and other needs." The current family living wage works on the assumption that a family has an average of six members and that two of the family members are earning.

A teacher with the item Teacher 1 belongs to salary grade (SG) 10 and consequently gets a gross monthly salary of around P10,000 (\$178.63) monthly. Wherever he or she goes, however, this is still not enough to provide for the needs of a family with six members. The situation is even worse for a government employee who belongs to SG 1 since he or she only gets around P6,000 (\$107.18) monthly.

In the eyes of government, however, teachers and other workers do not need to struggle for higher wages since poverty is not a major problem in the country. If the government is to be believed, a person with

**Table 3: Poverty in the Eyes of the Government, 2003  
(poverty threshold in pesos)**

	Annual Per Capita Poverty Threshold	Daily Per Capita Poverty Threshold a/	Number of Poor Families
Philippines	12,309	33.72	4,022,695
National Capital Region (NCR)	16,737	45.85	110,864
Areas outside NCR	12,186	33.39	3,911,831
Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR)	14,033	38.45	72,084
Region I (Ilocos)	13,281	36.39	213,846
Region II (Cagayan Valley)	11,417	31.28	113,298
Region III (Central Luzon)	14,378	39.39	242,820
Region IV-A (CALABARZON) b/	14,720	40.33	316,911
Region IV-B (MIMAROPA) c/	12,402	33.98	199,485
Region V (Bicol)	12,379	33.91	383,625
Region VI (Western Visayas)	12,291	33.67	397,073
Region VII (Central Visayas)	9,805	26.86	286,478
Region VIII (Eastern Visayas)	10,804	29.60	266,423
Region IX (Western Mindanao)	10,407	28.51	258,497
Region X (Northern Mindanao)	11,605	31.79	278,538
Region XI (Southern Mindanao)	11,399	31.23	231,068
Region XII (Central Mindanao)	11,328	31.03	227,093
CARAGA	11,996	32.86	195,622
Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM)	12,733	34.88	228,970
Source of basic data: NSCB a/ annual per capita poverty threshold divided by 365 days b/ consists of Batangas, Cavite, Laguna, Quezon and Rizal c/ consists of Marinduque, Occidental Mindoro, Oriental Mindoro, Palawan, Romblon			

only P33.72 can meet food and nonfood requirements in one day. (See Table 3)

### ***Globalization of Education***

The root cause of the dismal state of our country's educational system is the development thrust of the Philippine government through the years. Adherence to globalization has become a bane to the development of our educational system along nationalist, scientific and mass-oriented lines. Instead, the youth are given an education that is colonial, feudal and elitist.

The colonial character of our educational system may be gleaned from Act No. 74 enacted in 1901 which established the public school system in the country. It is clear that as early as that time, emphasis was given on the use of English as medium of instruction, and the teaching of the three Rs (reading, writing, arithmetic) was oriented towards the introduction of the American way of life and the inculcation that American culture is superior to ours. Subsequent policies related to education did not seek to alter this orientation.

Feudalism, on the other hand, is seen in the way our educational system is managed. Instead of promoting critical thinking among the youth, education is used as an income-generating measure by the capitalist-owners and an instrument of subjugation by the powers-that-be. The prevailing atmosphere in schools also has vestiges of feudalism. Generally speaking, the hiring and promotion of teachers, for example, rests not on qualification and performance but on how close they are to the administrators.

Elitism is manifested by the fact that education remains more of a privilege rather than a right. Notwithstanding the provision for free tuition in public elementary and high schools, the school-related expenses remain prohibitive due to high cost of living and the lack of government support. Education is also inaccessible especially in remote areas.

### ***Manifestations of Deregulation***

An important tenet of globalization is deregulation. In the book *The Deregulated Society* (1988) by Larry Gerston, Cynthia Fraleigh and Robert Schwab, deregulation is said to be the "theme of the 1980s," referring to the de-emphasis of governmental oversight of activities in the private sector." Studying the economic history of the United States of America, the authors said, "At a time when public functions have become increasingly intertwined

with private functions, the deregulation movement has come to represent an effort at minimizing governmental impact on society, for the cost of regulation has been great in both dollars and manpower.”

In other words, deregulation refers to the removal of the regulatory environment of particular economic sectors. In a previous study on the downstream oil industry in 2005, I wrote that in the context of political economy, “an industry, composed of either private or public enterprises, is integrated into the market economy and provides a defined good or service to identified end-consumers. Theoretically, the determination of unit cost could either be profit-oriented or service-oriented.”

Adherence to globalization and its tenets (deregulation, liberalization and privatization) results in the conversion of what used to be service-oriented sectors into profit-oriented ones. The current educational system proves to be no exception given the government’s failure to provide quality education to majority of the country’s youth, as proven by the official statistics and policy pronouncements cited earlier.

Ironically, Art. XIV, Sec. 1 of the 1987 Constitution states:

The State shall protect and promote the right of all citizens to quality education at all levels and shall take appropriate steps to make such education accessible to all.

The Higher Education Act of 1994 (Republic Act No. 7722), which established the Commission on Higher Education (CHED), takes the issue of quality education one step further:

The State shall protect, foster and promote the right of all citizens to *affordable quality education* at all levels and shall take appropriate steps to ensure that education shall be accessible to all... (Sec. 2, italics mine)

On the surface, agencies like the DepEd and the CHED are meant to regulate the country’s educational system. Sec. 4 (1) of the 1987 Constitution after all, requires regulation of the educational system:

The State recognizes the complementary roles of public and private institutions in the educational system and shall exercise *reasonable supervision and regulation* of all educational institutions. (italics mine)

While both DepEd and CHED provide a system of accreditation for all educational institutions, it cannot be denied that in the case of tertiary education, CHED policies prove the government's thrust towards "progressive deregulation."

CHED Memorandum Order No. 46 (series of 1996) states that in order to provide more leeway to higher education institutions (HEIs) in determining curricular offerings and student eligibility requirements, "progressive deregulation vis-à-vis HEIs is hereby declared a policy of the Commission." This particular order allows HEIs, subject to certain minimum requirements, to determine the eligibility of students who want to take up law, medicine and dentistry. HEIs can also design the curricula of courses. Lastly, those that have Level III accreditation for Arts, Sciences and three other professional courses are given the prerogative to offer new courses without the CHED's approval.

What has proven to be more detrimental to students, however, is the provision in the Higher Education Modernization Act of 1997 (RA 8292) which states as among the powers of the boards of regents/trustees of state universities and colleges the following:

*to fix the tuition fees and other necessary school charges, such as but not limited to matriculation fees, graduation fees and laboratory fees, as their respective boards may deem proper to impose after due consultations with the involved sectors.*

Such fees and charges, including government subsidies and other income generated by the university or college, shall constitute special trust funds and shall be deposited in any authorized government depository bank, and all interests shall accrue therefrom shall part of the same fund for the use of the university or college: Provided, That income derived from university hospitals shall be exclusively earmarked for the operating expenses of the hospitals.

Any provision of existing laws, rules and regulations to the contrary notwithstanding, any income generated by the university or college from tuition fees and other charges, as well as from the operation of auxiliary services and land grants, shall be *retained by the university or college*, and may be disbursed by the Board of Regents/ Trustees for instruction, research, extension, or other programs/ projects of the university or college: Provided, That all fiduciary fees shall be disbursed for the specific purposes for which they are collected.

If, for reason of control, the university or college shall not be able to pursue any project for which funds have been appropriated and, allocated under its approved program of expenditures, the Board of Regents/Trustees may authorize the use of said funds for any reasonable purpose which, in its discretion, may be necessary and urgent for the attainment of the objectives and goals of the universities or colleges. (Sec. 4d, emphasis mine)

This provision clearly empowers the SUC administrators to impose tuition increases to generate much-needed income. In the context of low budgetary allocation for education, the government, through the CHED, saw the need to deregulate tuition and other fees so that SUCs could become self-sufficient. This, of course, is done at the expense of impoverished students and parents whose incomes are not even enough to provide for the needs of their families.

Clearly, the deregulated regime is anathema to quality education.

### ***Struggling Against Deregulation of Education***

It is in this context that we must analyze the kind of educational system that government wants to impose. At present, it is in the interest of government to maintain docility instead of vigilance among the country's youth. They are, after all, the future labor force.

In the final analysis, the 2002 Basic Education Curriculum (BEC) only seeks to perpetuate a social order mainly characterized by blind obedience to the powers-that-be. It promotes a pedagogy that subjugates instead of liberates.

The controversial integrated learning area has been euphemistically called MAKABAYAN (nationalist), but it is nothing but a hodge-podge of unrelated subjects geared towards, among others, reducing the number of textbooks and ensuring continued education even at a time of zero economic growth (i.e., which implies less budgetary allocation for education).

The Alliance of Concerned Teachers (ACT) has been consistent in its struggle for teachers' rights and welfare and quality education and has provided a comprehensive critique of the 2002 BEC.

We do not need to repeat what has been argued before. We only need to remember that opposition to the Millennium Curriculum does not make us conservative critics or protectors of the *status quo*. The Medium-Term Higher Education Development and Investment Plan 2001-2004

(MTHEDIP) is very explicit in the need to produce graduates who are globally competitive. While it also stresses the need to inculcate nationalism, it nevertheless promotes schemes that would allow increased private sector participation in tertiary education.

Given the domination of transnational corporations in our local economy, it becomes inevitable that foreign investors will further penetrate and influence the country's tertiary education especially with government approval. The MTHEDIP actually cites as case study the partnerships of transnational corporations like IBM with, say, the Far Eastern University (FEU) in setting up the East-Asia College. The government also argues that we should "internationalize" our curriculum in order to attract as many foreign enrollees as possible as in the case of the Asian Institute of Management (AIM).

In order to further justify decreased budgetary allocation for education, the MTHEDIP makes no pretense at advocating the commercialization and corporatization of the tertiary public school system. We need not argue at this point the negative repercussions these bring on teachers' rights and welfare, not to mention the content of the curriculum.

As we struggle for better working conditions of teachers, we also move towards attaining an educational system and culture that is nationalist, scientific and mass-oriented.





## **Ang Irasyunalidad ng Rasyonalisasyon: Isang Pagsusuri sa Public Higher Education Rationalization Program**

**Jonnabelle Vidal Asis**

Nakapaskil sa website ng Commission on Higher Education (CHED) ang Public Higher Education Rationalization Program na isinusulong ng pamahalaan. Nahahati ito sa tatlong bahagi: “governance rationalization and restructuring; resource rationalization and fiscal autonomy; and program rationalization.”

Saklaw ng una ang Regional Complementation Program (RCP); Regional Integration Project for Efficiency and Effectiveness (RIPE); Corporatization Project; at SUC Career Executive Service System (SUCCESS). Ang ikalawa naman ay patungkol sa “Development of SUC Funding Formula and the Formulation and Implementation of SUC Development cum Business Plans.” At kabilang sa huli ang “Regional Program Specialization.”

Kaugnay nito, nagkomisyon noong 2003 ng mga pananaliksik (at ibinahagi ito sa isang symposium) ang CHED upang sumuporta sa ipapatupad na rasyonalisasyon. Ilan lamang dito ang Pagrerebyu sa mga “Enabling Instrument” at Charter ng mga pampublikong Higher Education Institution (HEI) at RA 8292 (Higher Education Modernization Act of 1997); Profiling at Typology ng mga pampublikong HEIs; Pagmamapa ng HEIs, mga programa, kampus at resources; Socio-economic profile ng mga estudyante ng State Universities and Colleges (SUCs); at mga pag-aaral ukol sa student cost.

Bago tuluyang talakayin ang mga programang ito at ang kanilang implikasyon, mahalaga munang isakonteksto ang kasalukuyang tunguhin ng pamahalaan sa sistema ng edukasyon. Nagsimula ang pagtutulak ng

rasyunalisasyon sa sistema ng edukasyon sa Pilipinas noong dekada 90. Konsistent ang pagrekomenda nito sa lahat ng ginawang pag-aaral sa sektor ng edukasyon noong 1991-1992 (Congressional Commission on Education), 1998 (Philippine Education Sector Study), at 2000 (Presidential Commission on Education Reform). Mahalagang banggitin na laging ka-tie-up ng pamahalaan ang mga institusyon tulad ng World Bank (WB) at Asian Development Bank (ADB) sa pagsasagawa ng mga pananaliksik at rekomendasyon na ito. Nakaangkla ito sa mas malawak na layunin na ang edukasyon ay tumugon sa hamon ng globalisasyon upang makapag-adjust sa pabagu-bagong demand ng global market. Kaugnay nito, nilalayan nitong gawing self-supporting ang mga SUC. (WB and ADB 1999: 65) Ayon kay Ester Albano-Garcia, dating tagapangulo ng CHED, may tatlong direksyon ang rasyunalisasyon: a) pagbabawas ng bilang ng SUC; b) pag-minimize sa duplikasyon ng programa sa pagitan ng pribado at pampublikong HEI; at c) pag-optimisa sa paggamit ng limitadong resources sa higher education. (Bernardo 2003: 16)

### ***Mito 1: Ang “Unibersal” na Trajektori tungo sa Rasyunalisasyon***

Dapat himayin ang mga asumpasyong gumagabay sa mga rekomendasyong ito. Una sa lahat ay ang pagpapalagay sa globalisasyon bilang tanging landas tungo sa kaunlaran para sa lahat ng bansa. Higit itong binibigyang-diin sa mga bansang Third World na ginagamitan ng euphemism tulad ng developing country para kumbinsihin ang mga ito na magiging maunlad at industriyalisado rin sila kung susunod sa mga preskripsyon ng mga institusyon tulad ng International Monetary Fund (IMF), WB, at ADB.

Ang ikinukubli ng ganitong diskurso ay ang penomenon ng neokolonyalismo – ang patuloy na pagkakatali ng mga bansa sa imperyalismong Estados Unidos. Sa larangan ng ekonomiya at pulitika, makikita ito sa pagpapaloob ng Pilipinas sa Structural Adjustment Program bilang bahagi ng pangungutang ng pamahalaan sa IMF-WB. Kapital ng perang pinautang sa bansa ang mga polisiyang pang-ekonomiya na kailangang ipatupad upang mabigyan ng “seal of good housekeeping” at patuloy na makapangutang. Ang lohika sa likod ng mga preskripsyong ito ay higit na maiangkop ang ekonomiya ng bansang nangungutang upang pumaloob sa globalisasyon. Sa ganitong paraan daw matitiyak na mararating ng mahihirap na bansa ang industriyalisadong antas at dahil rito ay tiyak na makababayad sila ng utang-panlabas. Isinusulong nito ang mga neoliberal na polisiya tulad ng deregulasyon (pagtanggap sa kapangyarihan ng estado

para magpataw ng mga regulasyon, halimbawa sa paglimita ng presyo), pribatisasyon (pagbebenta sa mga asset na pag-aari ng gobyerno sa pribadong sektor upang kumita ang pamahalaan at gayundin upang makatipid dahil sa hindi na ito kailangang pondohan), at liberalisasyon (pagtanggali sa mga taripa at buwis sa mga produktong imported na pumapasok sa bansa). Saklaw din nito ang presyur para magpataw ng mga regresibong buwis (tulad ng EVAT) para makakalap ng salapi ang pamahalaan pandagdag sa bayad-utang.

Alinsunod ito sa dogma ng globalisasyon ukol sa birtud ng *laissez-faire* at ng superyor na kakayahan ng market forces – ang pagpapalagay na ang indibidwal na pagsulong ng pansariling interes ay lagi't laging hahantong sa pagtataguyod ng kagalingan ng lahat ng tao. Pinasisinungalingan ito ng mahabang karanasan at kasaysayan ng malawak na mga mamamayan ng mga neokolonya, tulad ng Pilipinas. Ang hindi sinasabi ng mga tagapaglako ng globalisasyon ay ang katotohanan na ang kahirapan ng mga neokolonya ay dulot mismo ng isang pang-ekonomiyang sistema na nakasalalay sa patuloy na akumulasyon ng kita mula sa mga murang hilaw na materyales at murang lakas-paggawa ng mga bansang Third World na nagsisilbi ring tambakan ng mga labis na produkto at kapital ng mga industriyalisadong bansa. Kung gayon, ang mga kondisyon na ipinapataw ng IMF-WB ay lalo lamang magsasadlak sa mahihirap nang bansa sa mas matinding pananamantala.

Sa kabila ng matapat na pagsunod sa mga idinidikta ng IMF-WB, hanggang pintura lamang sa mga bulok na bubong ng mga pampublikong paaralan ang pantasya na maabot ang istatus ng Philippines 2000 o NIChood (newly-industrialized country) ng dating Pangulong Ramos. Ito pa rin naman ang ipinipilit ni Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo (GMA) sa kanyang Strong Republic – ang lalong pagbubukas ng bansa sa di-pantay na pandaigdigang kalakalan at kasabay nito, ang pasistang pamumuno upang pigilan ang anumang uri ng pagsalungat mula sa mga biktima ng kanyang mga anti-mamamayang polisiya.

Nagaganap ang lahat ng ito sa konteksto ng kasalukuyang matinding krisis ng monopolyo kapitalismo kung saan nagiging mahalaga ang ideolohikal na pagpapatanggap sa buong mundo na ang globalisasyon ang natural na kurso ng mga bagay-bagay (at kung gayon ang kawalan nang iba pang rekurso). Ito ang binibigay na di-mapasubaliang katwiran sa mga ipinapatupad na polisiya ng pamahalaan – na kailangang maging “world-class” dahil mapag-iiwanan ang mga bansang hindi makikilahok sa globalisasyon. Direkta itong maiugnay sa sistema ng edukasyon dahil hinuhubog ng ganitong pananaw ang mga education reform na

inirerekomenda ng WB at ADB. Sa ilalim ng balangkas nito, ang sistema ng edukasyon sa bansa ay primaryang tutugon sa mga pangangailangan ng pandaigdigang pamilihan at hindi sa pangmatagalang pangangailangan ng isang bansang nagsasarili. Sa halip, pinananatili nito ang atrasadong katayuan ng Pilipinas bilang isang mala-kolonyal at mala-pyudal na bansa. Higit na binibigyan nito ng diin ang mga kagyat na bentaheng makukuha ng Pilipinas sa pagtiyak ng mura, siil, at maasahang lakas-paggawa para sa dayuhang namumuhunan sa loob ng bansa (i.e. industriya ng semiconductor), at gayundin ng “de-kalidad” na human export (i.e. mga doktor na kumuha ng nursing, mga domestic helper na college graduate o kaya mga “supermaid” na kumuha ng mga kurso sa TESDA). Inilalayo ng ganitong oryentasyon ang edukasyon mula sa potensyal nitong mag-ambag sa pambansang industriyalisasyon sa pamamagitan ng paghubog sa mga mamamayan upang maging mapanlikha, kritikal at makabayan.

Batayang saligan ng imperyalistang globalisasyon ang pagpapalaganap sa ilusyon ng isang panlipunang kaayusan na pinagagalaw ng purong market forces, na walang interbensyon ng estado. Ipinagpapalagay nito na ang anumang anyo ng “pakikialam” o regulasyon mula sa estado ay magdudulot lamang ng kapalpakan sa malayang operasyon ng market forces. Ang kinakalimutan ng formulasyong ito ay ang kabalintunaan na ang anumang tangka tungo sa isang free market na ekonomiya (ang paglipat mula pampublikong pag-aari tungo sa pribatisasyon at malawakang deregulasyon) ay nakasalalay sa pinatinding tendensiya ng pagbubuhos ng buwis o pera ng mga mamamayan para bigyan ng subsidyo ang pribadong negosyo. Nagaganap ito sa pamamagitan ng pagbibigay ng tax holidays/breaks, grants, loan guarantees at iba pa. (Shutt 1998: 1-2)

Isinusulong ng globalisasyon ang pagbabawas ng interbensyon ng estado hindi lang sa usapin ng ekonomiya, kundi maging sa larangan ng mga pampublikong serbisyo. Ang dominanteng anyo nito ay ang sistematikong pagbabawas ng pondo para sa edukasyon, kalusugan, at pabahay. Ipinangangalandakan ng mga tagapaglako ng globalisasyon na ang rasyunalisasyon ng mga nabanggit na sangay ng pampublikong serbisyo ay isang trend na nagaganap sa buong mundo (industriyalisado o atrasadong bansa man), kung kaya’t hindi ito dapat ikabahala at dapat tanggapin bilang bahagi ng normal at natural na kalakaran.

Ang ganitong tono at pangangatwiran ay matatagpuan din sa mga pananaliksik na kinomisyon ng CHED upang ipatupad ang programa ng rasyunalisasyon sa pampublikong HEIs. Isang grupong nagsagawa ng pag-aaral ukol sa korporatisasyon ng mga unibersidad ang nagtangkang magbigay

ng paliwanag kung bakit ganito ang kasalukuyang oryentasyon ng polisiya sa edukasyon:

Historically, the governments have tried to do most of the challenges of development – administer the sector policy, allocate public resources, implement, maintain, regulate or intervene. However, the benevolent and omniscient state postulation that underlies the role of the state as central planner (*dirigiste dogma*) has lost its primacy in the early 80's to an alternative paradigm, whose advocates assign crucial but limited role for the state. Some argue that it would be a mistake on the part of the government to try to do too much in pursuing development. It simply cannot afford to carry all overheads entailed by the provision of public goods and the extensive systems of social services.

Recent wave of policy reforms reflect this debate, which put greater credence on the virtues of the market or price system in allocating society's resources. Shrinking the size of government through privatization programs and elimination of policies that become ready source of rents in a factional state while getting prices right, became the key policy description. Liberalization, deregulation and privatization of state assets are buzzwords in the reform agenda that seeks higher efficiency and a more robust economic growth pattern. As Holdgate (1994) puts it, the government must be willing to create the economic and administrative condition for success, and, this may well involve decentralizing decision-making and action and giving more scope to local initiatives and partnerships.

The expanding fiscal deficits, mediocre performance of some state-financed entities or projects, and the general trend toward competition in the midst of the increasing demand for quality education prompted the rationalization of the public subsidy on higher education. (Catelo et al. 2003: 295)

Hindi nito ipinapaliwanag kung bakit nawala ang primacy ng papel ng estado bilang central planner noong 1980s. Bigla na lamang nitong sinabi na nagapi ito ng isang “alternative paradigm” na nagsasaad ng limitadong papel para sa estado. Hindi nito ipinaliliwanag ang dahilan ng pagbagsak ng welfare state sa Europa at Amerika (kung saan ginagastusan ng estado ang

mga pampublikong serbisyo), at ang pag-usbong ng neoliberalismo noong dekada 80.

Ngunit kailangan ding mag-ingat sa tendensiyang i-romantisa ang panahon ng welfare state o welfare capitalism, bilang isang panahon kung kailan “the heart rather than the market reigned supreme.” Ayon pa rin kay Ramon Guillermo, ang nagbago lamang naman ay ang primaryang moda ng ideolohikal na lehitimasyon, ngunit nananatili pa rin ang interes na na nagdidikta ng absolutong sukatan ng kung ilan at anong tipo ng manggagawa ang kailangan, kung ano ang dapat pag-aralan sa eskwelahan, at kung hanggang saan dapat isapraktika ang mga kasanayang natutunan. (1997)

Hindi makakatulong ang pagtatampisaw sa nostalgia ng isang panahon kung kailan ang kapitalismo ay makatao. Mahalagang isakonteksto ang mga pagbabago ng oryentasyon sa policy reform sa mas malawak na konteksto ng pag-unlad (at pagkabulok) ng sistema ng kapitalismo. Nang matapos ang Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig at nanaig ang Estados Unidos bilang nag-iisang superpower, unti-unting umusbong ang welfare state sa mas mauunlad na bansa. Narating nito ang rurok nito noong 1950s hanggang kalagitnaan ng dekada ‘70 – kung kailan nagkaroon ng mabilis na kapitalistang pagpapalawak (Post-WWII economic boom), pinondohan ang panlipunang serbisyo, at tumaas ang sahod at benepisyo ng mga manggagawa.

Ayon kay James Petras, ang lahat ng ito ay hindi bahagi ng internal na istruktura ng kapitalismo at ng kakayanan nito upang pagkasunduin ang interes ng kapital at paggawa (labor), kundi bunsod ng mga partikular na pulitikal na kondisyon matapos ang WWII. Una, naging kuwestiyonable ang kapitalismo dahil sa nakitang ugnayan nito sa pasismo – na lumalabas ang pinaka-represibong anyo ng estado sa panahon ng kapitalistang krisis. Ikalawa, ang pagyabong ng sosyalismo at ng prestihiyo ng USSR dahil sa malaking ambag nito sa pagkagapi ng Nazi Germany. Ikatlo, ang pagkakaroon ng maunlad na mga welfare program sa mga sosyalistang bansa. Nagkaroon ito ng epekto sa pagpapataas ng aspirasyon ng mga manggagawa sa mga kapitalistang bansa. At ikaapat, ang pag-unlad ng mga rebolusyunaryong kilusan sa mga kolonya at mala-kolonyang bansa. Inimbento ng mga kapitalista sa Europa, at bahagya, sa Estados Unidos, ang “welfare state social democracy” upang pigilan ang potensyal na pagkalat ng komunismo. Nakabuwelo lamang ang neoliberalismo nang humina na ang sosyalismo sa USSR dahil sa rebisyonismo (pagbalik sa landas ng kapitalismo) (Petras 2000). Nang matapos ang Cold War, sistematiko ring bumulusok ang mga subsidyo sa mga serbisyong pampubliko sa mga welfare state.

Hinudyat ng neoliberalismo ang pagbabalik at intensipikasyon ng *laissez faire* na oryentasyon – ang progresibong buwis ay pinalitan ng regresibong anyo nito, ang pondo sa serbisyong panlipunan ay napunta sa subsidyo sa mga pribadong korporasyon, at higit sa lahat ang pagpapataas sa mobilidad ng kapital at eliminasyon ng mga batas na nangangalaga sa paggawa. Nakilala ito sa pangalang “Thatcherism” sa Europa, at “Reaganism” sa Estados Unidos. Ang pagkawala ng welfare state ay itinulak pang lalo ng pagtindi ng krisis ng sistema ng kapitalismo sa anyo ng matagalang ekonomikong stagnasyon (mula pa noong kalagitnaan ng 1970s at nagpatuloy hanggang 80s). Kinailangan lamang nito ang “welfare state” sa panahong malakas ang banta ng komunismo, ngunit hindi naman ito kayang panindigan nang nababangkarote na ang pamahalaan dahil sa internal na krisis ng sistema.

Sa kasalukuyan, ang neoliberal paradigm ang niyayakap ng mga isinusulong na reporma sa edukasyon. Kung babalikan ang sipi, makikita ito sa pagdidiin sa “virtues of the market or price system” na nagtataguyod ng higit na pagiging episyente. Ang implisitong konsensus sa lohikang ito ang pumapailalim sa mga pag-aaral kaugnay ng programang rasyunalisasyon ng CHED. Nag-aambag ito sa pagno-normalisa ng neoliberal na globalisasyon bilang di-mapipigil na puwersang humuhubog sa mundo sa kasalakuyan. Epektibo na itong tumimo sa ating kamalayan dahil sa pagtanggap natin sa mga premise nito.

Makikita ito sa mga rekomendasyon ng mga pananaliksik na nagsasabing wala nang ibang alternatibo kundi ang isagawa ang rasyunalisasyon, na sa huling pagsusuri ay makikitang isang manipis na tábing lamang para sa pribatisasyon. Makikita ito sa isang pag-aaral kung saan ginawang case study ang Thailand upang magsilbing modelo sa planong korporatisasyon ng mga unibersidad sa Pilipinas. Ibinigay bilang background ang sumusunod:

Privatization has become a major concern for public universities in Thailand as the country has suffered economic crisis in 1997. The Thai government wanted to privatize all 23 state universities as a reform and as part of International Monetary Fund (IMF) conditions for recovery.

Privatization has been discussed for more than three decades in the country before its public universities finally agreed to privatize by the year 2002. The reform was accelerated by the economic crisis which reduced government funding for state-owned

universities by about 20-30 percent. The budget cut affected operating expenses, faculty research and further training.” (Petras 2000: 307)

Iminumungkahi nito ang pagsunod sa ginawang hakbang ng Thailand at isapribado na rin ang mga unibersidad at kolehiyo sa Pilipinas dahil hindi nalalayo ang kalagayan ng dalawang bansa. Sa isang banda, totoo ito dahil parehong lugmok ang ekonomiya ng Thailand at ng Pilipinas, at gayundin, makikita na pareho rin ang preskripsyon ng IMF para sa recovery daw. Ngunit sa kabilang banda, tahimik ito sa mga sanhi ng Asian Financial Crisis. Hindi nito sinasabi na ang deregulasyon ng kanilang ekonomiya at ang malawakang pinansyal na ispekulasyon ng neoliberal na globalisasyon ang mismong sanhi ng pagbulusok ng kanilang ekonomiya (ngunit ito rin ang gamot na iniaalok sa kanila ng IMF). (Petras 2001)

Mula sa mga naunang pagtalakay, magiging malinaw na kung may mga isinasagawa mang mga hakbang tungo sa rasyunalisasyon, ang trajektori na ito ay hindi ibinubunsod ng isang likas o natural na katangian sa lahat ng lipunan. Ito ay sintomas ng krisis ng kasalukuyang sistema at isa ring imposisyon mula sa neoliberal na ideolohiyang gumagabay dito. Hindi lilipas ang krisis sa pagsunod sa mga preskripsyon/imposisyong ito, kundi lalo lamang magpapatindi nito.

### ***Mito 2: Limitado ang Pondo kaya Kailangang Magsakripisyo***

Isa sa mga pangunahing ibinibigay na katwiran para sa rasyunalisasyon ay ang pagkakaroon ng limitadong badyet ng pamahalaan. Ayon sa ganitong asumpisyon, dahil kakaunti lamang ang pera ng gobyerno, dapat magtakda ng prayoridad. Sa kaso ng sektor ng edukasyon, hinihiling ng estado na magparaya ang tersaryong edukasyon at huwag nang makipag-agawan ng pondo sa basic education. Kaugnay nito, iminumungkahi ang pagbawas ng alokasyon sa tersaryong edukasyon.

Dapat linawin na ang mas sentral na tanong ukol rito ay ang pagtatakda ng alokasyon ng pondo. Sa unang tingin, tila sumusunod ang gobyerno sa nakasaad sa konstitusyon na ang edukasyon dapat ang may pinakamalaking bahagi sa apropiyasyon ng pambansang badyet. Ngunit kung isasama ang mga awtomatikong bawas para sa pambayad sa utang panlabas at gayundin sa pondo ng sandatahang lakas, makikita kung alin ang higit na binibigyan ng prayoridad ng pamahalaan. Buwis rin ang unang tinataasan ngunit ang alokasyon sa mga pampublikong serbisyo naman ang patuloy na binabawasan.



Mapanghating istrategiya ito ng estado dahil pinag-aaway nito ang basic at tertiary education, ngunit hindi nito sinasaling kung bakit ganoong halaga na lamang ang natitira para sa sektor ng edukasyon. Dito pumapasok ang rasyunalisasyon, kung paano pagkakasyahin ang kakaunting badyet para sa marami pang gastusin. Pinili nilang ibuhos ang pondo sa elementarya at hayskul (basic education) dahil mas pundamental ito, at higit na malaki at inepisyente ang pagpapatakbo ng HEI.

Upang mabawasan pa lalo ang maghahati-hati sa pondo, isang iskema tungo sa rasyunalisasyon ng pampublikong HEI ay ang pagbawas ng bilang ng mga SUC. Ayon ito sa pagsusuri na nakasasama ang proliferasyon ng SUC dahil inepisyente naman daw ang karamihan sa mga ito at nag-aaksaya lamang ng limitadong pondo. Mahalagang banggitin na sa 1,728 na nakatalang HEI sa buong bansa, dalawampu't apat na porsyento (24%) o 413 lamang sa mga ito ang pampubliko, at higit na marami (76%) ang pribado (Tayag et al. 2003: 127). Ngunit sa kabila nito, tila higit na isinasaalang-alang ng pamahalaan ang kapakanan ng pribadong sektor. Nilalayan nilang iwasan ang duplikasyon ng mga programa sa pribado at pampublikong HEI dahil inaalala ng pribadong sektor ang “di-pantay na kumpetisyon” na dulot ng SUC. Masyado raw mababa ang tuition nito sa mga programa na iniaalok din ng mga pribadong unibersidad (Bernardo 2003: 16). Nagrereklamo ang mga ito na nagkakaroon daw ng “crowding out” dahil lumilipat ang kanilang mga estudyante sa mas malapit at mas murang SUC. Ngunit kung susuriin nang mas malapitan, ang “crowding out” na ito ay epekto lamang ng kawalan ng kakayanan ng maraming mag-aaral sa kolehiyo na makaagapay sa mahal at lalo pang nagmamahal na bayarin sa mga pribadong paaralan. Kung kaya't kaysa bawasan, mas nangangailangan pa nga ng higit na suportang SUC mula sa pamahalaan dahil ito ang tumitiyak sa akses sa kolehiyo ng mas malawak na bilang ng mga mamamayan.

Isa pa sa mga iskemang isinasagawa ng CHED ay ang paglusaw sa mga “underperforming” na HEI. Dalawa ang ibig sabihin nito, ang una ay ang pagpapasara ng mga programa at HEI na mayroong 0-5% na passing rate sa mga licensure exam noong lumipas na limang taon (1997-2001). Ayon sa ebalwasyon ng Office of Programs and Standards ng CHED, 116 HEI at 134 programa ang may 0-5% passing rate. Sa 134 na programang ito, 60% rito ang nasa Accountancy (Tayag et al. 2003: 131). Bagama't hindi nakasaad sa ulat ang hiwalay na tabulasyon para sa pampubliko at pribadong HEI, sinabi naman nito na “[p]ublic higher education programs appear to have fared slightly better, as 49 percent (compared to 40 percent of the

private) of the professional programs with examinees in the 2001 licensure examinations obtained passing percentages higher than the national passing” (Tayag et al. 2003: 130). Kung tutuusin, dapat pa ngang hangaan ang mas maayos na performance ng pampublikong HEI sa kabila ng napakaliit na badyet para sa kanila (kumpara sa mga pribadong HEI na kadalasang ipinagpapalagay na mas episyente – ngunit hiwalay pa siyempre ang usapin ng pagiging epektibo). Hindi ba interesanteng makita kung gaano pa ang iuunlad ng mga ito kung ganap na susuportahan ng estado?

Bukod sa paglusaw sa mga may mababang passing rate, layunin din ng CHED na ipasara ang mga SUC na hindi umaabot sa break-even point. Ayon sa DBM, ito ay ang pagkakaroon ng minimum na 25 estudyante kada programa sa undergraduate at 15 estudyante kada programa sa gradwadong lebel. Mahigit walong libong programa, kabilang na ang 2,664 programa ng pampublikong HEI ang matatamaan nito (Tayag et al. 2003: 132). Pinapatunayan lamang nito ang ganap na pagsalig ng estado sa lohika ng kapital – ang paggamit ng marketability para itakda ang patuloy na pag-iral at pananatili ng isang kurso. Nakakalimutan nito na may mga kursong mahalaga, ngunit hindi gaanong marketable tulad ng mga kursong agham upang maging saligan ng paglikha ng mga batayang industriyang pambansa at mga kursong agham panlipunan (upang bigyang-direksyon ang pambansang agenda) at humanidades (na nagbibigay diin sa pangangailangan para sa holistikong pag-unlad ng tao.

Ayon na rin sa ulat, higit na namumuhunan ang pribadong sektor sa mga kursong mas mura at sikat. Sa ganitong paraan, nama-maximize nila ang potensyal para sa kita dahil sa hindi pag-aalok ng mga programang hindi masyadong magastos (tulad ng Business Administration at Education na hindi nangangailangan ng mga laboratoryo) at kung saan tiyak ang mataas na bilang ng enrollment. Ngunit tulad ng naipakita na, may higit na mahalagang sukatan kaysa sa pagiging episyente – ang tunay na pagtataguyod sa karapatan ng bawat indibidwal na makapag-aral.

Dapat alalahanin na ang mga tinalakay sa itaas ay *hindi* kumukondena sa pangangailangan para sa pagsasagawa ng rasyunalisasyon sa sektor ng edukasyon. Ngunit kailangang tutulan ang anyo, proseso, at motibasyon ng kasalukuyang isinasagawang rasyunalisasyon. Makakatulong sa bahaging ito ang paglilinaw ni Guillermo:

It is important to keep in mind a broader and more effective definition of “Privatization” which states that it is any move on the part of the government to reduce its involvement in any area or

activity. “Privatization” would therefore point to a process of reducing State participation rather than to a simple, direct sale. “Rationalization” per se is not necessarily “Privatization.” The State can and should “rationalize” its functioning according to a standard and measure necessary and the unnecessary arrived at through a genuinely democratic means of public deliberation. It is only when “rationalization” occurs under the unmitigated pressures of private enterprise that it is possible to speak of “privatization.” While the government has always been subservient to imperialism, it can still be said that the process of “privatization” hands over the direct control of the “privatized access” to monopoly capitalism and eliminates the traditional mediatory role of the State leaving monopoly capitalists with an “unmediated” and direct control over the national system of education. (1997)

Malinaw na ang kasalukuyang oryentasyon ng rasyunalisasyon ay tungo sa pribatisasyon at tuluyang pag-abandona ng estado sa mga responsibilidad nito sa kanyang mga mamamayan. Sa mga isinagawang konsultasyon ng CHED sa pamamagitan ng symposium nito ukol sa rasyunalisasyon (eksklusibo lamang sa mga pangulo ng SUC, ilang miyembro ng Senado at Kongreso, mga kinatawan galing sa mga kolehiyo at unibersidad ng pribadong sektor at mga pilantropong elemento nito tulad ng mga bangko at samahan ng mga negosyante, at mga kinatawan ng CHED), nakatakda na at tanggap na ang mga asumpson ng neoliberalismo, at ang pagsusog sa agenda nito.

### ***Mito 3: SUC = State University of the Coños***

Sa pag-aaral ni Edita A. Tan, propesor sa UP School of Economics, ukol sa akses ng mga mahihirap sa SUC, sinabi niyang:

The SUCs do not serve the poor because their operational objective is not to do so. Their subsidy system and their admission policies and practices are not geared to serving the poor. They cannot serve the poor youth who have not completed high school. They cannot serve the poor HS graduates who do not meet their admission requirements and those who qualified for admission but cannot afford the full cost of their study. This will be seen in the admission policy that is biased against the poor and the fact that little effort

has been devoted to solving the income bias. SUCs allot minimal budgets for scholarship and for remedial programs so they are unable to provide assistance for living expenses and remedial learning to compensate for the deficiencies in their pre-college education. (Tan 2003: 229)

Walang nakagugulat rito. Matagal nang napatunayan ang relasyon ng katayuang pang-ekonomiko at ang kakayahang makapag-kolehiyo. Kung titingnan pa lamang ang participation rate ng enrollment sa kolehiyo, makikita agad na 29.28% lamang ng kabuuang populasyon na dapat nasa tertiary education ang nakakapag-aral. Ang may pinakamababang bahagdan ng nakakasampa sa kolehiyo ay ang ARMM na hindi man lang umabot sa apat na porsyento (4%). Ilan lamang kaya rito ang makapagtatapos ng pag-aaral?

Ang higit na kagimbal-gimbal ay ang lubos na pagsuporta ni Tan sa pribatisasyon ng mga SUC. Ginagamit niyang katwiran ang kawalan ng akses ng maraming mahihirap sa kolehiyo upang lalong paliitin ang akses nila rito. Dahil 6.2% lang naman daw ng mga nag-aaral sa SUC ay talagang mahirap (below poverty line), ibig sabihin nito ay may kakayahang magbayad ang mga nakakapag-aral sa mga SUC. Kung kaya't iminumungkahi niya ang pagpapabayad ng "full-cost tuition fees" sa lahat ng mga SUC at palitan ang "indiscriminate subsidy" (tulad ng kasalukuyang sistema na nagsa-subsidize sa lahat) ng "merit-based scholarship" at "socialized tuition." Ayon sa kanya, hindi na maaasahan ng mga SUC ang malaking pondo mula sa estado kung kaya't kailangan na nilang kumita ng revenue mula sa paniningil ng full-cost tuition sa kanilang mga estudyante, ang iba namang kita ay magmumula sa mga scholarship para sa mga mag-aaral at ibinabayad sa unibersidad, at ang ilan pa ay ang pagsasagawa ng loan program. (Tan 2003: 229)

Mapanlansi ang istratheyang ito dahil nagpapanggap itong nagtataguyod ng "pagkakapantay-pantay" (kung saan ang mayayaman ay magbabayad ng mas malaki sa tuition habang ang mga "tunay na mahihirap, nangangailangan at karapat-dapat" lamang ang susubsidyuhan ng pamahalaan), ngunit sa katunayan, ginagawa lamang itong rason upang unti-unting magtaas ng tuition. Kabaliktaran din ng pagkakapantay-pantay ang naidudulot nito.

Nakabatay ang ideolohiya ng neoliberalismo sa isang social neo-Darwinism, kung saan alinsunod sa prinsipyo ng "survival of the fittest" pinaniniwalaan na ang nagtatagumpay lamang ay ang "the best and the

**Talahanayan 1: Higher Education Crude Participation Rate (Tayag et al. 2003)**

REGION	ENROLLMENT <sup>1</sup> PRE-BACC AND BACCALAUREATE	COLLEGE- GOING <sup>2</sup> POPULATION	PARTICIPATION RATE (%)
I	124,170	442,527	28.06
II	80,937	296,277	27.32
III	166,788	812,650	20.52
IV	242,917	1,191,489	20.52
V	114,013	486,830	23.42
VI	186,379	673,135	27.69
VII	203,955	597,313	34.15
VIII	82,355	365,552	22.53
IX	79,197	331,765	23.87
X	77,121	293,068	26.32
XI	128,560	566,474	22.69
XII	84,191	292,756	28.76
NCR	637,722	970,920	65.68
CAR	86,627	153,268	56.52
ARMM	12,555	315,440	3.98
CARAGA	39,396	225,879	17.44
TOTAL	2,346,883	8,015,343	29.28

<sup>1</sup> Enrollment Data AY 2001-2002  
<sup>2</sup> NSO Census data of 2000 (15-19 years old)

brightest.” Sa ilalim ng kasalukuyang sistema, kumpetisyon ang pangalan ng laro, at tulad ng lahat ng laro, talagang may panalo at may talunan. Nagiging batayan ito ng pagnanaturalisa ng panlipunang istratipikasyon dahil ipinagpapalagay na ang mga nasa dominanteng uri ay yaong may “likas” na kakayahan at talento (at kung gayon, sila rin ang nakakatuntong at nakakapagtapos ng kolehiyo, at kasunod nito, nakakakuha ng trabahong may mataas na sahod). Kung susundin ang pilosopiyang ito, lumalabas na ang kakaunting mayayaman ang “the best and the brightest,” samantalang ang mga mahihirap na bumubuo ng mayorya ng populasyon ay likas na bobo, mahina, at walang kakayanan. Kung gayon, makatarungan lamang ang kanilang mas mababang posisyon sa lipunan. Kabilang din sa ideolohiyang namamayani ang pagkakaroon ng distinksyon sa pagitan ng “undeserving poor” (mga hindi karapat-dapat na mahihirap) na siyang may kasalanan ng kanilang kasalukuyang kinalalagyan sa buhay, at ang “deserving poor” (karapat-dapat na mahihirap) na itinuturing na dapat pag-ukulan ng charity (Bourdieu 1998: 43). Ito ang lohika sa likod ng STFAP at mga “merit-based scholarship.”

Sa katunayan, maaaring ituring na mistipikasyon ang buong pilosopiyang ito. Ikinukubli nito ang katotohanan na ang talino ay higit na produkto ng posisyon ng isang indibidwal sa lipunan at sa kanyang akses (o

kawalan nito) sa mga tamang kultura at kaugalian, at mga institusyon (tulad ng paaralan) na maggagawad sa kanya ng higit pang kapital. Binubura nito ang sosyolohikal na dimensyon na ang hindi pagkakapantay-pantay sa intelektwal na kapasidad ay sintomas at epekto lamang ng hirarkiyang panlipunan (Bourdieu 1998: 42).

Makikita ito sa datos mula kay Tan, kung saan pinakakaunti ang bilang ng mga mag-aaral sa mga SUC na may magulang na walang pinag-aralan, at karamihan naman ng mga estudyante ay may mga magulang na nakatapos rin ng kolehiyo. Higit siguro itong matingkad kung ipinakita rin ang datos mula sa pribadong HEIs. Marahil ay makikita rin kung ano ang education background ng mga magulang na may kakayahang magpaaral ng kanilang mga anak sa mga pribadong paaralan. At marahil mapagtatanto na kahit na kakaunti lamang ang mga “mahihirap” na nakakatuntong sa kolehiyo (dahil na rin sa iba pang istruktural na hadlang), ang mga SUC pa rin ang tanging pag-asa nila para makamit ang tertiary education.

Pinagbatayan din ni Tan ang istatistika na nagsasaad ng konsistent na pagtaas ng mga estudyanteng kabilang sa bracket nine ng STFAP – ipinagpapalagay na may kakayahang magbayad ng may minimal o walang subsidyo mula sa estado. Ngunit sa halip na tingnan ito bilang sintomas ng kabiguan ng STFAP na gawing mas demokratisado ang pampublikong edukasyon sa kolehiyo, itinuturing itong indikasyon ng “pagyaman” ng mga estudyante sa mga SUC. Nang aprubahan ito noong 1989, sinabi ng dating

**Talahanayan 2: Enrollment in Private and Public HEIs by Region, AY 2001-2002 (Tayag et al. 2003)**

REGION	NO. OF HEIs			ENROLLMENT		
	Private	Public	Total	Private	Public	Total
I	68	26	94	85,256	44,143	129,399
II	46	24	70	52,212	34,112	86,324
III	132	21	153	52,212	34,112	86,324
IV	194	73	267	148,068	108,334	256,402
V	92	41	133	66,849	52,715	119,564
VI	74	57	131	121,205	74,205	195,410
VII	94	25	119	172,670	38,953	211,623
VIII	47	36	83	33,998	52,595	86,593
IX	41	13	54	46,162	35,412	81,574
X	62	11	73	61,352	20,786	82,138
XI	63	9	72	113,383	21,184	134,567
XII	66	7	73	45,611	42,177	87,788
NCR	238	24	262	508,035	168,161	676,196
CAR	28	18	46	66,486	24,426	90,912
ARMM	23	15	38	3,433	10,181	13,614
CARAGA	37	13	50	28,748	12,114	40,862
TOTAL	1,305	413	1,718	1,657,735	808,321	2,466,056

pangulo ng UP na si Jose Abueva na radikal at progresibo ang ideya ng STFAP ng “socialized tuition.” Ngunit mahigit isang dekada pagkatapos itong ipatupad, makikita ang negatibong epekto nito. Kung dati ay P80/unit lamang ang tuition ng UP, umakyat ito sa P300/unit nang ipatupad ang STFAP. At sa kasalukuyang plano ng administrasyon ng UP bilang tugon sa rationalization program ng CHED, nais nitong singilin ng “full-cost of tuition” ang mga mag-aaral ng mga SUC dahil marami na raw ang mayayaman sa mga SUC. Ilan sa mga karananiwang maririnig na komento ay ang problema ng parking space sa UP dahil dumarami na raw ang mga estudyanteng de-kotse. Kung tutuusin, problematiko ang datos mula sa STFAP dahil sa maraming dahilan: a) marami ang hindi nag-aaplay para sa STFAP dahil na rin mismo sa dami ng gastusin para lang makuha ang mga papeles upang tugunan ang mga rekisito para sa aplikasyon; b) tumaas na ang sahod ngunit hindi nagbabago ang income bracket ng STFAP – kung gayon, talagang dadami ang kabilang sa mga mas matataas na bracket; c) kaugnay nito, may nagaganap na “bracket creep” kung saan tumataas ang bracket ng isang estudyante ngunit hindi naman nagiging mas maunlad o maalwan ang buhay nila (dulot rin ito ng iregularidad sa proseso ng bracketing). Kung tutuusin, higit pa sa STFAP, mas makatotohanang pagbatayan para sa pagsasabi kung mayaman ba o hindi ang mga estudyante

**Talahanayan 3: Distribution of SUC Students by Education of Household Head (weighted) (Tan 2003: 241)**

EDUCATION LEVEL	URBAN		RURAL		TOTAL	
	Number	% of Total	Number	% of Total	Number	% of Total
No grade completed	134	0.2	158	0.2	292	0.2
Elementary undergraduate	3,440	4.0	7,300	9.8	10,761	6.6
Elementary graduate	5,495	6.4	13,391	18.0	19,397	12.0
High school undergraduate	6,757	7.8	7,703	10.3	14,460	8.9
High school graduate (including voc-tech)	19,652	22.7	16,573	22.2	36,353	22.4
College undergraduate	15,826	18.3	11,395	15.3	27,506	17.0
College graduate or better	33,425	38.7	16,274	21.8	49,912	30.8
No response	1,742	2.0	1,737	2.3	3,479	2.1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>86,471</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>74,532</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>162,159</b>	<b>100.0</b>



**Talahanayan 4: Distribution of UP Students by Income Brackets (%) by Campus (Tan 2003)**

CAMPUS/ BRACKET	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	N <sup>1</sup>
<b>Diliman</b>										
1990-91	1.4	2.0	5.1	3.5	23.5	8.7	7.0	4.8	43.9	14,107
1992-93	2.2	2.1	4.5	4.1	20.4	6.5	4.7	3.1	52.5	14,534
1994-95	1.3	1.2	2.7	4.2	17.6	7.9	4.9	2.1	57.1	15,031
1997-98	0.6	0.5	1.3	2.0	15.1	5.9	4.1	2.8	67.7	20,062
2000-01	0.3	0.2	0.8	1.5	6.3	2.9	2.1	1.3	84.7	19,941
<b>Manila</b>										
1990-91	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
1992-93	4.5	0.9	3.2	3.3	15.5	5.8	4.2	3.4	59.1	3,686
1994-95	3.7	0.5	1.4	2.7	13.0	5.3	4.6	3.3	65.6	4,144
1997-98	4.3	0.2	0.9	1.6	12.2	3.1	2.4	1.8	73.5	4,488
2000-01	3.7	0.1	0.3	0.7	5.6	2.2	2.0	0.9	84.6	4,744
<b>Los Baños</b>										
1990-91	7.8	6.3	11.5	6.2	20.7	7.3	4.7	2.9	32.7	5,718
1992-93	9.1	5.8	9.7	6.5	29.0	4.9	3.2	1.5	30.4	6,725
1994-95	5.0	3.9	6.1	9.2	19.7	7.8	4.3	2.7	41.5	7,313
1997-98	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
2000-01	0.9	0.9	2.2	3.2	4.0	4.2	2.9	2.1	79.6	8,352
<b>Visayas</b>										
1990-91	10.8	7.2	10.4	9.6	17.8	7.1	5.8	3.3	28.1	3,039
1992-93	18.2	8.6	8.8	8.8	19.1	5.0	4.2	2.4	24.9	3,370
1994-95	13.7	8.1	9.6	11.6	17.6	8.5	2.8	1.9	24.3	3,865
1997-98	8.4	4.1	7.6	8.6	19.0	9.2	5.6	2.7	36.7	5,044
2000-01	4.8	2.4	5.1	5.2	13.3	6.0	4.1	2.3	56.9	5,501

<sup>1</sup>The numbers are based on average of two semesters of each school year  
Source: University of the Philippines Office of Scholarship

mula sa istatistika ng “working students,” mga nag-aaplay para sa student loans, at mga nage-LOA at AWOL dahil sa pinansyal na dahilan.

Maging sa karanasan ng mga mas mauunlad na bansa ay makikita ang negatibong epekto ng polisiya ng rasyunalisasyon. Lumabas sa sarbey sa isang unibersidad sa Australia na ang mga estudyanteng “paying their way” ay napupuwersang magtrabaho sa average na 14.5 oras kada linggo para lamang makapagpatuloy ng pag-aaral. Bukod dito, pito sa bawat sampung (7 out of 10) mag-aaral ang “employed” habang nag-aaral, at isa sa bawat sampung ito (1 out of 10) ang “madalas” na lumiliban sa klase dahil sa trabaho. Sa ating bansa, hindi na bihira ang mga mag-aaral na nagpa-part-time sa tutorials at call centers para lamang patuloy na makapag-aral. Marami rin ang pansamantala o tuluyan nang tumitigil sa pag-aaral dahil sa kakapusang pampinansya.

Nagiging katanggap-tanggap ang kawalan ng panlipunang hustisya dahil sa pagpapalaganap ng ideya na ang edukasyon ay isang “private good.” Marapat lamang daw na pagbayarin ang indibidwal para sa kanyang pag-



aaral dahil personal lamang naman daw, at hindi panlipunan ang pakinabang ng edukasyon. At dahil ito’y isang “private good” tulad ng iba pang komoditi, tinitingnan na nararapat lamang na ipasailalim din sa disiplina ng market forces ang pagtatakda ng presyo nito. Ang klase ng edukasyon na matatanggap ng isang indibidwal, kung gayon, ay itinatakda ng kanyang kapasidad na magbayad bilang isang “willing customer” na handang magbayad – o kaya’y mabaon sa utang – para sa presyong hinihingi ng mga institusyon. Ito ang pinagmumulan ng mga nagsasabing “kung gusto ng isang indibidwal ng de-kalidad na edukasyon, dapat handa siyang magbayad ng katumbas nito.”

Taliwas ang lahat ng ito sa prinsipyo ng edukasyon bilang isang pundamental na karapatang pantao. Ginagarantiya ito ng konstitusyon ng Pilipinas na nagsasaad na ang estado ay dapat na nangangalaga at nagtataguyod sa karapatan ng lahat ng mamamayan para sa de-kalidad na edukasyon *sa lahat ng antas*, at kailangang magsagawa ng mga hakbang upang gawin itong “accessible” para sa lahat. Hindi lang ito artikulasyon ng isang ideyal, kundi produkto ng mahabang kasaysayan ng paggigiit ng mga mamamayan para sa ekstensyon ng mga batayang karapatan at serbisyo sa lahat ng tao. Ang pagtalikod ng estado sa tungkulin nitong pondohan ang pampublikong edukasyon sa lahat ng antas, kasabay ng pagtangga sa panlipunang aspeto ng edukasyon (at ito ay hindi isang private good), ang bumubuo ng buod ng neoliberal na rasyunalisasyon.

Ang mga SUC ay hindi na itinuturing na mga pambansang ahensya kundi mga “income-earning entities performing socially-oriented activities and hence entitled to government subsidy contributions” (Guillermo 1997). Dahil binibigyan ng higit na importansya ang “cost recovery” o pagbawi sa mga gastusin kaysa sa pagtitiyak ng serbisyo sa pinakamaraming bilang, nilalayon na gawing kahalintulad ng negosyo ang pagpapatakbo sa mga unibersidad – kailangang kumita ito. Direktang tatamaan nito ang mga nasa panggitnang uri na sa kasalukuyan ay hirap na hirap nang mairaos ang kanilang mga anak sa pag-aaral sa kolehiyo dahil sa patuloy na pagliit ng bilang ng mga SUC at pagtaas naman ng matrikula sa mga pribadong unibersidad. At sa harap ng palagiang lugmok na ekonomiya ng Pilipinas, maasahan ang lalo pang pagiging mardiyinalisado ng mahihirap sa elitista, kolonyal, at komersyalisadong sistema ng edukasyon.

***Mito 4: Benepisyal sa Pamublikong Sektor ang Amalgamasyon at Korporatisasyon ng mga SUC.***

Kabilang sa mga rekomendasyon ng mga nagsusulong ng rasyunalisasyon ay ang pagsasagawa ng amalgamasyon o merger ng mga SUC at kasunod nito ang layuning i korporatisa ang mga ito. Tinalakay ito sa ilalim ng policy alternatives bilang huling bahagi ng symposium ng CHED ukol sa rasyunalisasyon. Ayon kay Roberto N. Padua ng Mindanao Polytechnic State College, “[a]lmgamation of universities has been hailed as a 21<sup>st</sup> century phenomenon sweeping across the world in response to the seriously declining resource for higher education” (2003: 271). Tulad ng iba, maraming nagtutulak ng ganitong tipo ng rasyunalisasyon, sinasabi nito na bahagi ito ng kalakaran sa kasalukuyan at ipinapahayag din nito ang pagsunod sa ganitong trend dahil wala namang ibang alternatibo kundi maging “self-sustaining” ang mga SUC, ang hayaan silang humanap ng pera para sa pagpapatuloy ng sariling operasyon.

Dagdag pa ni Padua, hindi nagkakalayo ang layunin ng amalgamasyon ng unibersidad mula sa layunin ng pagme-merge ng negosyo: “Business mergers result in the elimination of competition, enhanced productivity, and greater efficiency in the operation of business enterprises resulting to bigger profits...” (2003) Muli, makikita na isinasantabi ng ganitong polisiya ang “pamublikong” katangian ng mga SUC sa ngalan ng “efficiency” at higit na kita. Sa programa ng CHED, binibigyan ito ng magandang bihis sa pamamagitan ng proposal para sa Regional University System – ang pagkakaroon ng tatlong klasipikasyon ng mga SUC: (1) multidisciplinary state universities (tutuon sa pananaliksik); 2) four-year state colleges (pokus sa pagtuturo at ekstensyon); at (3) mga two-year community colleges na magbibigay ng teknikal at bokasyunal na edukasyon.

Sa halip na magbigay ng higit na suporta para sa pagpapaunlad ng mga SUC, layunin nito na gawing iisa na lamang ang state university sa bawat rehiyon na may sariling espesyalisasyon. Ang iba pang SUC ay ime-merge sa mga ikakategorya bilang state college o community college. Inaasahan na ang klasipikasyong ito rin ang magtatakda ng alokasyon sa badyet. Bagamat sinasabing ang mga tipolohiya ng mga SUC ay hindi dapat ipagpalagay na may hirarkiya/ranking (Bernardo 2003: 20), taliwas ang aktwal na implikasyon nito. Binabawasan nito ang akses ng mas maraming bilang ng populasyon sa mga state university sa pamamagitan ng pagbabawas ng bilang nito. Lumilikha rin ito ng panlipunang eksklusyon dahil ang karamihan sa mga mahihirap ay inaasahang makatuloy sa kolehiyo sa pamamagitan ng

mga community college. Kapag “napatunayan” na nila ang kanilang sarili ay maaari silang sumubok makapasok sa state college para sa pagtatapos ng baccalaureate course o kaya sa mas prestihiyosong state university. Dapat ring alalahanin na ang lahat ng ito ay nakaangkla sa mas malawakang rekomendasyon ng World Bank at ADB:

All SUs would be expected to increase their reliance on income from fees and other independent revenue sources... Over the longer term, income from fees would gradually replace the financial support provided to SUs from the budget... SUs would be the only public sector institutions eligible for support from the GAA budget allocations to higher education and also from the Higher Education Development Fund administered by CHED. Those SUCs and CSIs unable or unwilling to merge with SUs would progressively have their public funding withdrawn and would be expected in the future to raise all of their own revenues from private sources. (WB at ADB 1999: 66)

Bukod sa mga natalakay na, naisasakatuparan rin ito sa pamamagitan ng deregulasyon ng HEIs. Sa kasalukuyan, 30 HEIs na ang ginawaran ng autonomy, habang 24 naman ang binigyan ng “deregulated status” ng CHED. Ibig sabihin lamang nito na may karapatan ang mga HEI na magsagawa ng mga income-generating projects na hindi na kailangang dumaan sa DBM. Magkakaroon din sila ng 100% kontrol sa perang makakalap. Pinahihintulutan din ang pagtataas ng tuition at iba pang bayarin nang hindi na daraan pa sa CHED. Kapalit ng sistematikong pagbabawas ng badyet sa edukasyon, hinihikayat rin ng estado na gamitin ang idle assets ng mga SUC. Kabilang dito ang pagpasok ng mga SUC sa mga tie-up project kasama ang mga pribadong korporasyon. Ngunit kung tutuusin, nananatili lang namang idle o nakatiwangwang ang mga lupain ng mga SUC dahil sa kakulangan ng badyet para sa capital outlay o pagpapatayo ng mga imprastruktura.

Hindi nag-iisa ang Pilipinas sa mga bansang nagsasagawa ng amalgamasyon bilang isang hakbang tungo sa neoliberal na rasyunalisasyon. Sa pag-aaral ukol sa prospect ng merger ng mga SUC, ibinibigay bilang ehemplo ang matagumpay na karanasan ng iba pang mga bansa, kabilang ang Tsina at Belgium:

Since 1992 when the reform in higher education was carried out [in China], 556 institutions of higher learning (387 being institutes in general, and 169 for adult education) have been merged into 232 institutions (212 being those of general education and 20 for adults), a cut of 324 higher education institutions. In 2000, some 53 general universities and institutes under the administration of various Ministries of State Council were merged into 20, and six institutes for adults incorporated into five general ones. (Padua 2003: 272)

Verhoeven (2003) writes of the ten years experience of Belgium in merging universities and colleges. To date, out of 164 original colleges and universities, only 22 universities exist by merger and are supported by the state. These 22 universities are funded by lump sum appropriation from the national government. (Padua 2003: 275)

Sinaklaw din ng pag-aaral ang mga negatibong epekto ng merging, partikular sa Belgium. Una ay ang problema ukol sa staff redundancy lalo na sa mababang lebel. Nakaramdam ng demoralisasyon ang mga kabilang sa rank and file dahil sa mababang partisipasyon nila sa mga proseso ng pagdedesiyon. Taliwas ito sa pahayag ng mga nasa itaas ng hirarkiya na nagsabing dahil sa merger nagkaroon ng linaw at naging mas matatag ang mga programa sa kolehiyo, naging mas financially stable at nagkaroon ng pag-unlad sa mga pasilidad (i.e. ICT, imprastruktura), nagkaroon ng mas malakas na kolaborasyon sa pagitan ng mga departamento, at natanggal ang duplikasyon ng programa.

Ikalawa, sa lebel ng polisiya, lumalabas na higit na nakinabang ang malalaking kolehiyo sa naganap na amalgamasyon kaysa sa maliliit na kolehiyo, at naging higit na sentralisado ang kontrol sa administrasyon. Bukod pa rito, sa antas ng mga propesor at lektyurer, napag-alaman na 70% ng akademikong kawani ay hindi nasiyahan sa mga merger sapagkat sa kabila ng pag-unlad ng mga pasilidad, higit na dumami ang gawaing administratibo ng kaguruan at wala rin namang nakitang pagbabago sa kalidad ng edukasyon.

Kakatwa na sa kabila ng karanasan ng demoralisasyon ng mga nasa rank and file at diskontento maging ng karamihan sa kaguruan, sa kabuuan ay itinuturing pa rin bilang matagumpay at dapat sundin ang karanasan sa merger ng mga unibersidad sa Belgium (Padua 2003: 276).

Ganito rin ang pagtrato sa pagbaybay ng karanasan ng korporatisasyon sa ibang bansa tulad ng Malaysia at Thailand. Ang korporatisasyon ay isang proseso na kinapapalooban ng pribadong sektor bilang istrategikong partner sa pribatisasyon ng mga asset ng pamahalaan sa pamamagitan ng divestment, asset management, o kumbinasyon nito (Catelo et al. 2003: 296). Saklaw din nito ang reorganisasyon ng mga pag-aari ng gobyerno upang tumakbo ayon sa mga komersyal na prinsipyo – nangangahulugan ito na patatakbuhin ito tulad ng iba pang negosyo, kailangan nilang magbayad ng buwis, magpataas ng kapital, magmaximize ng kita, at maghangad ng paborableng balik sa pamumuhunan. (Catelo et al. 2003: 301)

Sa ginawang pag-aaral nina Catelo (2003), binanggit rin ang mga negatibong epekto ng ginawang pribatisasyon sa mga unibersidad sa Thailand (bilang pagsunod sa mga rekomendasyon ng IMF tungo sa economic recovery matapos ang Asian Financial Crisis noong 1997). Hindi biro ang idinulot ng korporatisasyon ng mga pampublikong kolehiyo at unibersidad. Ginagawa nitong kongkreto ang mga takot at kritisismo na ipinupukol sa kasalukuyang itinutulak na neoliberal na rasyunalisasyon sa sistema ng edukasyon sa bansa.

Una na rito ang lalo pang pagbaba ng bahagdan ng populasyon na kayang makapag-aral sa kolehiyo bilang resulta ng substansyal na pagtaas ng bayarin sa matrikula na awtomatikong nagaganap sa pribatisasyon. Ikalawa ay ang katotohanan na ang karamihan sa mga estudyante na nangangailangan ng low-interest loans mula sa pamahalaan ay hindi rin makakayanang makapagbayad sa konteksto ng kasalukuyang sistemang pang-ekonomiya. At karugtong ng dalawang nauna, kahit ang mga scholarship mula sa mga pribadong institusyon ay hindi magagampanan at matutumbasan ang lawak ng saklaw na kayang maabot ng pambansang sistema ng subsidyo mula sa estado. Ang edukasyon ay isang “common good” na nangangailangan ng higit na pambansang komitment kaysa kabutihang loob ng pribadong sektor. Gayundin, kung walang tunay at integral na pag-unlad ang isang bansa, ang pribatisasyon ng mga pampublikong unibersidad ay magreresulta lamang sa pansamantalang bentahe, at higit na pangmatagalang kawalan para sa bansa (Catelo et al. 2003: 308).

Ngunit ang lahat ng pagsasaad ng mga malalimang negatibong epekto ng korporatisasyon ay parang palamuti lamang sa pananaliksik nina Catelo. Tila hindi ito naging mahalaga sa pagtitimbang kung dapat bang ituloy ang pagsusulong ng korporatisasyon ng mga SUC. Dahil tinatanggap ng mga mananaliksik ang premise ng neoliberalismo na “wala nang

pagpipilian pa” at “ito na lamang ang tanging paraan,” sinusuportahan nila ang programang rasyunalisasyon ng CHED sa kabila ng malinaw na ebidensya ng kabiguan nitong magdulot ng higit na bentaha sa mga mardyalisadong sektor ng lipunan. Ipinagmamalaki pa ng pangulo ng Batangas State University na:

BSU’s modest experiences in corporate governance give its leadership the confidence to share with leaders of state institutions of higher learning that the University has gone a long way in shouldering a major portion of its operating expenses, in holding investment shares, in borrowing money from a government bank, in getting into business ventures, in raising funds through income-generating activities, and more importantly, in increasing tuition fees and other charges to augment meager subsidy from the government. (CHED 2003: 333)

Makikita rito na hindi naman talaga pinahahalagahan at isinasaalang-alang ng ganitong proseso ng rasyunalisasyon ang mayorya ng populasyon na nakararanas ng negatibong epekto nito. Ang mga paghihirap, inseguridad, at eksklusyon na dulot nito sa tao ay mga collateral damage lamang. Sa huli, higit pa ring matimbang ang economic cost kaysa sa anumang lubha ng social cost na dala ng merger at korporatisasyon. Inilalantad nito ang paghihiwalay ng batayang economic mula sa social – na pawang magkahiwalay ang usapin ng interes ng tao sa interes ng merkado. Sa kasalukuyang sistema, ang market ay isang entidad na hiwalay sa mga indibidwal at uri na bumubuo nito. Isa itong uri ng mistipikasyon na ipinalaganap ng neoliberal na ideolohiya – ang pagsamba sa kapangyarihan ng market forces na dumisiplina sa mga indibidwal tungo sa higit na pagiging episyente at produktibo (ipinagpapalagay din nito na ito lamang ang pinakadakilang hangarin at dapat hangarin ng tao sa lipunan at wala nang iba pa).

### ***Konklusyon***

Mapagpasya ang paggamit ng wika upang gawing mas madulas ang pagtanggap sa neoliberal na kaisipan, at kasabay nito, mga polisiya. Katulad ng tinalakay sa unang bahagi ng papel na ito, naging mahalaga ang pagpapakalat ng ideya ng globalisasyon bilang natural at di-maiiwasan upang tanggapin ito bilang bahagi ng commonsense. Ang namamayaning diskurso

ang humuhulma kung paano nag-iisip at kumikilos ang tao, kung kaya't sentral na gawain ang paglalantad sa artipisyalidad ng globalisasyon at pagpapakita ng ugnayan nito sa imperyalismo.

Sa kabilang banda, kadalasan namang ipinapakete ang mga neoliberal na kaisipan bilang bago at progresibo. Minsan, kinakabitan pa nga ito ng label na radikal o rebolusyonaryo. Ngunit sa katunayan, ang neoliberalismo ay pagre-recycle na lamang ng atrasado at konserbatibong lohika ng monopolyo kapitalismo. Ang STFAP, halimbawa, ay tinaguriang revolutionary policy ng dating pangulo ng UP na si Abueva. Naitago nito ang tuition increase sa maskara ng pagkakaroon ng socialized tuition na nagtataguyod raw ng equity. Sa kasalukuyan, mistulang déjà vu ito sa nakaambang pagtataas ng matrikula sa UP, ngunit ginagamitan ng euphemism tulad ng tuition adjustment (sa bersyon ng CHED, ito naman ay bahagi ng “cost recovery”). Kaysa tawaging komersyalisasyon o pribatisasyon, ang pagtataas ng matrikula at pagsasagawa ng income-generating projects ng mga SUC ay sinasabing pagbibigay ng higit na awtonomiya (i.e. fiscal autonomy) at kung gayon, kapangyarihan sa pamunuan ng mga SUC. Samantala, ang pagtanggap naman ng mga redundant na empleyado (dulot ng amalgamasyon o korporatisasyon) ay itinatago sa tawag na “rightsizing” Mapanlinlang din ang salitang “rasyunalisasyon” dahil tila batay sa reason o makatwiran ang mga hakbang na isinasagawa nito sa ngalan ng pagiging episyente at produktibo, ngunit makikita na nakasalalay at gayundin ay dumudulo lamang ito sa mga irasyunalidad.

Ang sistematikong pag-abandona sa responsibilidad ng estado sa kanyang mga mamamayan ng pagtitiyak ng akses sa pampublikong edukasyon ay ikinukubli sa pretensyon ng grassroots empowerment sa pamamagitan ng desentralisasyon at pagbibigay ng espasyo sa mga lokal na inisyatiba at partnership, kadalasan sa mga non-government organization (NGO). Ayon kay Guillermo, ginagatungan nito ang ilusyon na “where there is minimal state power is where the people’s power lies” (maaalala sa puntong ito ang mga civil society groups), ngunit ayon sa kanya, “the power of the people should reside in the state or there should be no state at all” (1997). Hungkag ang isang estado na hindi kumakatawan sa interes ng mga mamamayan nito.

Napapatatag din ang mga neoliberal na kaisipan sa pamamagitan ng pagbibigay dito ng pseudo-siyentipiko (at kung gayon, obhetibong) mukha. Makikita ito sa kung paano ginamit ang istatistika, at ang matematikal na saligan ng neoliberal economics (at ang batas ng supply at demand) upang gawing bahagi ng natural at social laws ang mga prinsipyo nito.

Kabilang din sa pangunahing sangkap at layunin ng neoliberalismo ay ang pagpapatingkad sa elemento ng inseguridad at pagwasak sa nosyon ng kolektibo (ang kinikilala lamang nito ay ang mga indibidwal na ipinagpapalagay nitong may absolutong awtonomiya at kumikilos ayon sa walang hanggang pagtugis sa personal na interes at kaligayahan). Ginagawa nitong insecure at kompartmentalisado ang bawat isa, habang winawasak ang konsepto ng sektor at ng kolektibong interes nito.

Sa mga estudyante, inilalako nito ang socialized tuition at scholarship para bitawan ang panawagan para sa “edukasyon para sa lahat” (dahil ayon sa prinsipyo ng competence, likas na may indibidwal na karapat-dapat at hindi karapat-dapat). Sa kaguruan, ang banta ng “post-tenure review” sa ibang bansa, o ang mismong pagtanggap ng polisiya ng tenure, ay sinusuportahan ng meritocracy na nagsasabing nagiging patuloy lamang na produktibo ang mga indibidwal kapag laging nasa bingit ng kawalang-katiyakan at laging isinasabjek sa proseso ng monitoring at renewal (na humahantong sa kontraktwalisasyon ng kaguruan). Malapit ito sa polisiya ng individual-based incentives na ipinapatupad sa mga manggagawa. Sinisikap nitong sirain ang potensyal ng unyonismo sa pamamagitan ng pagtataguyod ng indibidwalistang aktitud sa paggawa. Ang pagtatagumpay ng anti-kolektibong ideolohiya ay nagtitiyak lamang ng mas madulas na produksyon ng mura at siil na paggawa para sa imperyalistang globalisasyon.

Kapansin-pansin din sa mga ginawang pananaliksik kaugnay ng programang rasyunalisasyon ng CHED ang pagtukoy sa kawalan ng political will bilang pundamental na suliranin kung bakit hindi maisagawa ang mga reporma sa edukasyon. Paulit-ulit na isinasaad sa mga pag-aaral na maisasakatuparan lamang ang rasyunalisasyon kung may malakas na political will ang administrasyon. Ang implisitong ideya sa likod nito ay ang pangangailangang isawalambahala ang pagtutol ng mga natatamaan ng ganitong polisiya, at pikit-matang ipatupad lamang ang mga anti-mamamayang patakarang ito. Kinokondisyon nito ang estado at ang administrasyon ng mga kolehiyo at unibersidad na ituloy ang mga neoliberal na polisiya, sa kabila ng maraming pagtutol. Sa kabila ng higit na pangmatagalang negatibong epekto nito. Sa kabila ng katwiran.

Ang rasyunalisasyon ay isang neoliberal na imposisyon. Ngunit hindi kailanman magiging sapat ang political will upang puwersahang ipatupad ito. Sapagkat habang ginagawang malawakan at unibersal ang karanasan ng papatinding kahirapan at inseguridad, muli rin nitong binubuhay ang diwa ng kolektibo na yayanig sa mabuway na batayan ng mistulang kaayusan.



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## **Economics of Philippine Education: Serving the Global Market**

**Jennifer del Rosario-Malonzo**

Education is vital to human and social development. As such, it is upheld as a right and a social service that the state is responsible for. In the Philippines, as well as in some neighboring countries, the government is mandated to provide free education.

The Philippine Constitution provides, “The State shall protect and promote the right of all citizens to quality education at all levels and shall take appropriate steps to make such education accessible to all.” Thus, public schools exist supposedly to accommodate everyone, especially the poor.

Countries such as Brunei Darussalam, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand also provide free education in public schools. In Brunei, the government provides not only for tuition and textbooks, but also transport and accommodation for students from rural areas. Malaysia and Singapore have even made primary education compulsory, with fines or imprisonment for parents who fail to send their children to school. Thailand guarantees free basic education for at least twelve years. (SEAMEO)

According to a UNESCO Institute for Statistics report, public expenditure on education in Thailand and Malaysia are 40% and 28%, respectively, of total public spending. Supporting public educational institutions with a percentage of gross domestic product (GDP), Malaysia spends 7.4% and Thailand 4% of the GDP. In absolute terms, Malaysia shells out 1,830, 2,920, and 10,792 purchasing power parity (PPP) dollars per student for primary, secondary, and tertiary education, respectively. Thailand, on the other hand, spends 3,442, 2,484 and 4,474 PPP dollars for

**Table 1: Expenditure on Educational Institutions as a Percentage of GDP of Selected Countries**

Countries	Year	Primary, secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education			Tertiary education			All Levels of education		
		Public	Private	Total	Public	Private	Total	Public	Private	Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Malaysia	2003	5.1	...	...	2.2	...	...	7.4	...	...
Philippines	2003	2.8	x(8)	x(9)	0.4	x(8)	x(9)	3.3	2.0	5.3
Thailand	2003/04	2.4	x(8)	x(9)	0.5	x(8)	x(9)	4.0	1.9	5.8
Source of basic data: UNESCO										
Notes:										
... data are not available										
x (y) data are included in another category/column of the table										
Public expenditures include public subsidies to households attributable for educational institutions. Including direct expenditure on educational institutions from international sources.										

each student. PPPs are currency conversion rates that eliminate the differences in price levels between countries and equalize the purchasing power of different currencies. (UNESCO 2006)

Meanwhile, the Philippines spends only 17.2% of total public expenditure and only 3.3% of the GDP on education. The government spends only 500,505 and 1,718 PPP dollars per student for primary, secondary, and tertiary education. (UNESCO 2006) These figures are a far cry from what some of the country's neighbors are spending for their peoples' education. (See Table 2)

It is not surprising that the Philippines lags behind its Asian neighbors in some education indicators. The country's teacher-pupil and teacher-student ratios, for instance, are among the lowest in the region. Among Southeast Asian countries, the Philippines has one of the highest transition rates, but survival rate among elementary students remains low. (Andaqui 2006) (See Table 4)

**Table 2: Public expenditure on education as a percentage of total public spending of selected countries**

Countries	Year	Primary, secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education	Tertiary education	All levels of education
Malaysia	2003	17.9	9.8	28.0
Philippines	2003	14.7	2.3	17.2
Thailand	2004/05	32.3	6.1	40.0

Source of basic data: UNESCO

**Table 3: Annual expenditure on educational institutions per student of selected countries, in PPP dollars, by level of education**

Countries	Year	Pre-primary education	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education
Malaysia	2003	439	1,830	2,920	10,792
Philippines	2003	64	500	505	1,718
Thailand	2004/05	481	3,442	2,484	4,474

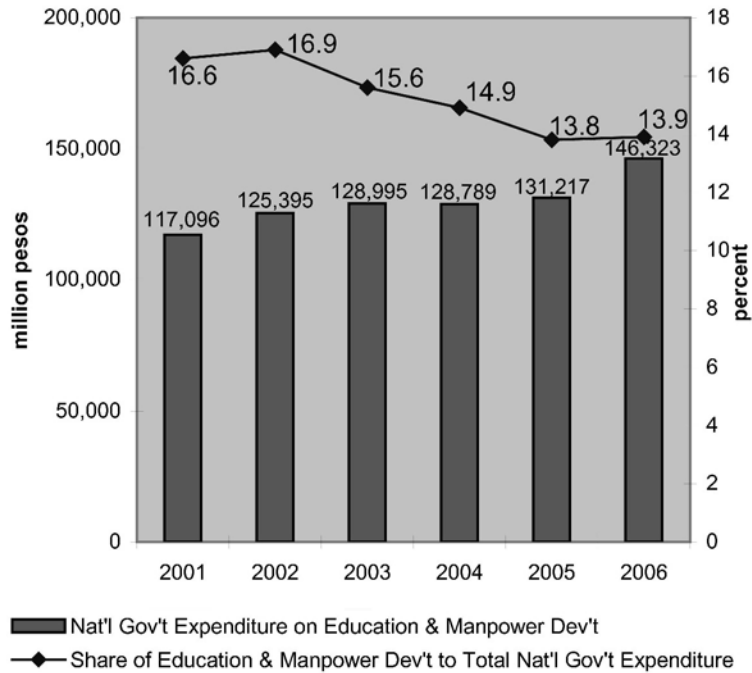
Source of basic data: UNESCO

**Table 4: Selected Education Indicators in Asian Countries, 2004**

	Pupil-Teacher Ratio Elementary	Secondary	Survival Rate to last grade	Transition Rate from primary to secondary
Philippines	35	37	73	97
Brunei Darussalam	13	10	NDA	89
Cambodia	55	25	54	83
China	21	19	99	97
Indonesia	20	14	86	81
Japan	20	13	NDA	NDA
Laos	31	27	63	78
Malaysia	19	18	84	NDA
Myanmar	31	33	70	72
South Korea	30	18	100	99
Thailand	21	25	87	100
Vietnam	23	25	NDA	NDA

NDA – No data available  
Source: Global Education Digest 2006, UNESCO Institute for Statistics

**Chart 1: Government Expenditure on Education and Share to Total Expenditure**

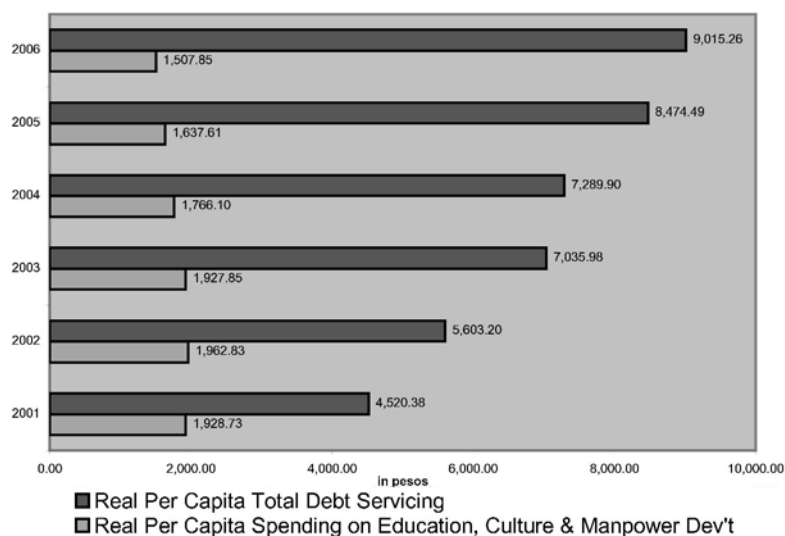


### *Diminishing State Role*

State support for education is dwindling. Looking at the education expenditure from 2001 to 2006, the amount spent, though increasing from P117 billion in 2001 to P146 billion in 2006, was actually getting smaller relative to the total national government spending. The share of education has been on a decline, from almost 17% in 2001 and 2002 to merely 14% in 2006. (See Chart 1)

The diminishing importance given to education is the result of the government's debt policy that misappropriates a huge chunk of the national budget to debt servicing. From 2001 to 2006, the annual budget for education grew by only 20%, while actual debt service for interest payments in the same period increased by 44% and principal payments grew by 82 percent. In the 2007 proposed national budget, the education sector is allotted P162 billion, or a 10% increase. It should be noted that the education budget already includes appropriations for military schools. Debt interest payments

**Chart 2: Real Per Capita Spending on Education and Total Debt Servicing**



Source: Department of Budget and Management

will increase by only 6% to P329 billion, but still account for roughly a third of the total national budget. (Andaqui 2006) (See Table 5)

The actual value of the education budget has also been declining. Real per capita spending for education dropped from P1,929 in 2001 to P1,508 in 2006. Meanwhile, real per capita total debt servicing increased from P4,520 in 2001 to P9,015 in 2006. (See Chart 2)

**Table 5: Comparative government budget on education and actual debt service, 2001-2007 (in billion pesos)**

Particular	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007 (proposed)
Education, Culture and Manpower Development	117.1	125.4	130.0	128.8	131.2	146.3	162.0
Debt Servicing (Interest payments)	174.8	185.9	226.5	260.9	299.8	310.1	328.7
Debt Servicing (Principal payments)	99.6	172.1	243.6	340.8	379.1	544.3	

Sources: Budget of Expenditures and Sources of Financing, Department of Budget and Management; Bureau of Treasury

**Table 6: Elementary and Secondary School Enrolment in Government and Private Schools SY 2001-2002 to SY 2004-2005**

SY	Elementary			Secondary		
	Total	Public	Private	Total	Public	Private
2001-2002	12,878,600	11,945,161	933,439	5,801,008	4,519,815	1,281,193
2002-2003	12,980,743	12,056,162	942,581	6,044,192	4,824,789	1,219,403
2003-2004	12,986,360	12,065,686	920,674	6,272,099	5,027,847	1,244,252
2004-2005	13,015,487	12,089,365	926,122	6,312,031	5,043,776	1,268,255
Source: Department of Education						

The misappropriation of the country's resources has severely affected education and other social services. According to the Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan 2004-2010 (MTPDP), there is still a P4.54 billion worth of remaining backlogs in hiring new teachers, building classrooms, and providing textbooks, desks and seats. The government aims to construct 6,000 new classrooms annually to close the classroom gap by SY 2008-2009. From July 2004 to October 2005, the government claimed a total of 13,316 new classrooms built, or 75% of the remaining classroom gap of 17,873. But this figure assumes a multi-shift use of classrooms and if the original figure of 45,775 is used, the government still has 70% of the classroom backlog to be fulfilled within the next two years. (Andaqui 2006)

### ***Inaccessibility and Inadequacy of Public Education***

As a consequence of the low level of government spending on education, poor Filipinos are losing access and the quality of education in the country is undermined. The Arroyo government admits the declining quality of education but blames it on rapid population growth and budgetary constraints. It fails to recognize that the country's education crisis is rooted in its policies and skewed priorities.

In 2000, almost 4 million Filipinos had not entered school or completed any grade level (NSO 2000). Enrolment in basic education in public schools has increased only minimally in recent years. Participation rate is declining. From 94% in 2001-2002, the participation rate in elementary schools dropped to 92% in 2003-2004. High school participation rate, which was barely 70% in 2001-2002, has worsened at only 66% in 2003-2004.



**Table 7: Performance Indicators in Basic Education (in percent)**

School Year	2001-2002	2002-2003	2003-2004
<b>Participation Rate</b>			
Elementary	94.31	94.13	91.63
Secondary	69.35	65.06	66.29
<b>Cohort Survival Rate</b>			
Elementary	67.11	68.11	69.03
Secondary (a)	48.46	50.31	50.95
Secondary (b)	72.01	74.22	75.39
<b>Completion Rate</b>			
Elementary	66.33	66.85	65.75
Secondary (a)	48.39	50.00	45.74
Secondary (b)	71.01	59.90	58.22
<b>Dropout Rate</b>			
Elementary	6.51	7.30	8.90
Secondary	8.53	13.03	14.30
<p>Participation rates for elementary schools are based on 7-12 yrs. population, while rates for secondary schools are based on 13-16 yrs. population.            (a) Based on Grade 1            (b) Based on First year</p> <p>Source: Department of Education</p> <p>Participation Rate – the ratio between the enrolment in the school-age range to the total population of that age range.            Cohort Survival Rate – the proportion of enrollees at the beginning grade or year who reach the final grade or year at the end of the required number of years of study.            Completion Rate – percentage of first year students in a level of education who complete/finish the level in accordance with the required number of years of study.</p>			

Not all who were able to enroll finished their last year in the elementary or secondary level. By SY 2003-2004, out of ten who enrolled in Grade 1, only seven reached Grade 6, and of these seven, one was not able to graduate. Of the remaining six, one was unable to reach fourth year high school and only four were able to graduate. Thus dropout rates had been increasing from 7% to 9% in elementary schools, and 14% from 8% in secondary schools. (Andaquist 2006) (See Tables 6 and 7)

Meanwhile, Filipino students suffer from inadequate classrooms and other facilities, and lack of textbooks. There are also not enough teachers especially in public schools. Latest government data put the national classroom-student ratio at the elementary level at 1:38, but this gets worse at the secondary level, where the average is 61 students per classroom. By SY 2003-2004, there is only one book for four elementary students and

**Table 8: National Education Ratios, SY 2003-2004**

Particulars	Elementary	Secondary
Classroom-Pupil Ratio	1:38	1:61
Teacher-Pupil Ratio	1:36	1:42
Classroom-Seat Ratio	1:1.19	1:1.57
Textbook-Pupil Ratio*	1:4	1:3
* SY 2002-2003		
Sources: Basic Education and Information System, DepEd 2005; MTPDP 2004-2010, National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA).		

three high school students. There is also one teacher for every 36 elementary students and 42 high school students in the country. (Andaquiug 2006) (See Table 8)

### ***Undue burden to families***

At the household level, poverty is preventing families from sending the children to school. In 2003, households spent only 4% of their income on education. This is even a decline from the 4.2% level in 2000. Food, transportation and communication, and fuel, light and water took up most of the family income. (See Table 9) This can only be expected with the rapid increase in prices of commodities and services.

Escalation of prices has accelerated the rise in the cost of living. IBON estimates that a family of six in the Philippines needs at least P551.77 to live decently. In the National Capital Region (NCR), the daily cost of living has reached P672.02. (See Table 10)

But wages have remained low, with the highest minimum wage at only P350.00 (NCR), or only 52% of a family's needs. (See Table 11) Thus, more and more families are falling into the mire of poverty. IBON estimates that 8 out of 10 Filipino families are poor. Since the proportion spent on education rises with family incomes, the high level of poverty in the country means most families have very little or nothing to spend for education.

With this scenario, the people all the more need government-provided education. But even if basic education is supposedly free through public schools, the costs of schooling that include materials (e.g. notebooks, pencils, crayons, etc.), transportation, and food allowance are insurmountable for many.

This is aggravated by the privatization and commercialization of education. Whether public or private, schools must be institutions of service. But the periodic increase in tuition and other fees seem to make education not a wellspring of knowledge but of business opportunity, with a number of schools ending up among the top corporations in the country (Del

**Table 9: Distribution of Total Family Expenditures by Major Expenditure Group**

Expenditure Group	2000	2003
Total Families (in 1,000)	15,072	16,268
Total Family Expenditures (P1,000)	1,791,132,882	2,023,353,939
Average Total Expenditure (per family)	118,838.43	124,376.32
In percent		
Food	43.6	42.8
Fuel, Light and Water	6.3	6.5
Transportation and Communication	6.8	7.4
Household Operations	2.3	2.2
Clothing, Footwear and other wear	2.7	2.9
Education	4.2	4.0
Medical Care	0.2	0.2
Source: National Statistics Office		

**Table 10: Daily Cost of Living\* for a family of six, in Pesos annual average**

Year	Philippines	NCR	Areas Outside NCR	
			Agricultural	Non-Agricultural
2001	427.03	511.29	391.58	411.99
2002	439.87	527.45	403.05	424.06
2003	455.17	546.91	416.64	438.36
2004	482.37	578.26	442.01	465.05
2005	519.27	628.08	474.05	498.76
2006	551.77	672.02	502.17	528.35
* Estimates of daily cost of living are inflated figures of the 2000 daily cost of living.				
Source of Basic Data: National Statistics Office				

Rosario 1998). The high tuition fee charges in many schools, especially colleges and universities, makes education almost exclusive for the affluent. For example, in 2005-2006, the estimated tuition in the most expensive school in Metro Manila was P108,972, or 99.8% of the estimated annual income of a minimum wage earner. (Bonabente 2005)

**Table 11: Current Regional Daily Minimum Wage Rates  
As of March 2007 (In pesos)**

REGION	NON- AGRICULTURE	AGRICULTURE	
		Plantation	Non-Plantation
NCR	P 313.00 - 350.00	P 313.00	P 313.00
CAR	229.00 - 235.00	216.00 - 222.00	216.00 - 222.00
I	180.00 - 225.00	195.00	170.00
II	210.00 - 218.00	198.00 - 206.00	198.00 - 206.00
III	227.00 - 278.00	212.00 - 248.00	192.00 - 232.00
IV-A	218.00 - 287.00	198.00 - 262.00	178.00 - 242.00
IV-B	209.00 - 230.00	183.00 - 192.00	163.00 - 172.00
V	177.00 - 220.00	188.00 - 198.00	168.00 - 178.00
VI	199.00 - 222.00	185.00 - 203.00	180.00
VII	200.00 - 241.00	180.00 - 223.00	180.00 - 223.00
VIII	220.00	201.00	201.00
IX	215.00	190.00	170.00
X	219.00 - 234.00	207.00 - 222.00	207.00 - 222.00
XI	238.00 - 240.00	228.00 - 230.00	207.00 - 209.00
XII	224.50	208.00	205.00
XIII	214.00	204.00	184.00
ARMM	200.00	200.00	200.00
Source: National Wages and Productivity Commission			

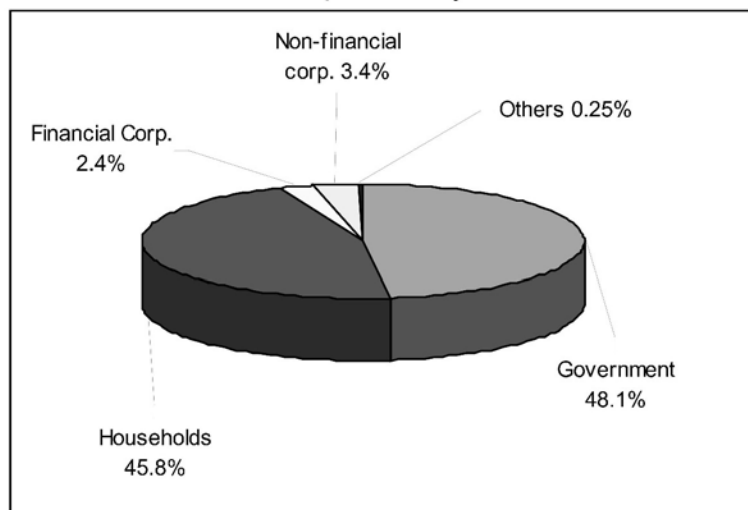
Matriculation fees in state colleges and universities (SCUs) have also increased dramatically since the 1990s. This can be traced to the declining budget allocated for SCUs. The government also encourages the schools to generate their own income. The University of the Philippines Board of Regents has recently approved the imposition of a 300% increase in basic tuition, or P1,000 per unit from P300 per unit that has been in effect since 1989. The UP administration also plans to impose a yearly tuition increase depending on the inflation rate. (Andaqui 2006)

With the country's commercialized education, it is no wonder that households carry the burden of educating the Filipino youth, accounting for almost 46% of education expenditures, just a little less than what the government spends. (See Chart 3)

**Debt-dependency**

The increasing role of international financial institutions not only in resource generation but also in developing the country's education sector contributes to the crisis of education. The so-called partnerships with foreign creditors in the funding and execution of vital education services further encourage the commercialization of education. Among the biggest creditors are the World Bank (WB) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB).

**Chart 3: Education Expenditures by Source of Funds**



Source: National Statistical Coordination Board

The WB has been the biggest loan provider in education. Under its National Support for Basic Education Project, the WB provided \$200 million in loan last June 2006 – reportedly one of the biggest WB credit to the Philippines. The loan is earmarked for training school staff in financial accountability, improving teaching standards and raising the quality of key curricula, particularly English, Science and Mathematics subjects. The ADB also provided about \$163.4 million worth of loan to finance its Secondary Education Sector Development and Improvement Project (SESIP), which was completed last June 2006. (Andaqui 2006)

Foreign lending conveniently provides the government the excuse to further lessen its support to education and to maintain its debt dependency, creating a vicious cycle that impacts the people's right to education and other social services.

#### Major Foreign Funding Agencies to Philippine Education:

- World Bank  
Has implemented 11 loan-financed education projects since 1965, focusing on elementary and post-secondary education, including the Third Elementary Education Project (TEEP) approved in November 26, 1996, worth \$569.4 million and co-financed with the Overseas Economic Cooperative Fund of Japan.  
In June 20, 2006, approved the provision of \$200 million loan to help the Philippine government implement its Basic Education Sector Reform Agenda. The National Support for Basic Education Project aims to improve quality and equity in learning outcomes of all Filipinos in basic education.
- Asian Development Bank  
Has provided for five loan-financed education projects since 1977, focusing initially on post-secondary technical and vocational education.  
Since 1988 has provided priority loans for basic education development through the 10-year Secondary Education Development Project (SEDP) and its follow-up, the Secondary Education Sector Development and Improvement Project (SESIP).
- United States Agency for International Development (USAID)  
Recently provided for \$10 million worth of educational loans in six priority countries including the Philippines; focuses on provision of books and teaching materials and improvement of schools in the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM).

- Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)  
Provides assistance for vocational education, science and math teacher training, and school facility improvement.
- Australian Agency for International Development  
Provides assistance for technical and vocational education projects.
- Canadian International Development Agency  
Focuses on non-formal education and provision of paper for textbooks.
- German Agency for Technical Cooperation  
Provides assistance for development of basic science laboratory equipment.

The government's prioritization of debt servicing over education abides by the imposition of these foreign lending institutions that have shaped government policy-making. The WB and the International Monetary Fund, in particular, have imposed the prioritization of debt servicing over government spending on social services. This is in line with the neoliberal thrust to limit government role through the "rationalization" of public spending and allow the private sector to invest in the delivery of social services such as education.

This can be seen in the government's education policies such as the Education Act of 1982, which has resulted in the proliferation of private schools, particularly at the tertiary level. The law allows private schools to determine its tuition and other school fees. Eventually in 1993, the former DECS institutionalized deregulation of tuition in all levels of education, making education all the more commodified and elitist. (Del Rosario 1998)

### ***Producing labor for globalization***

Foreign financing of education is also meant to ensure that the country's education policies adhere to globalization and neoliberal policies. For instance, the WB funded the implementation of the Revised Basic Education Curriculum (RBEC), the main product of the government's 10-year Master Plan for Basic Education (1996-2005) that sought to develop and prepare students with skills needed by the global economy. This made the teaching of Filipino, history, social science, and values education secondary to English, science, and mathematics.

The Basic Education Sector Reform Agenda (BESRA) is the DepEd's current priority program in curriculum and resource development

in primary and secondary education. The WB provided \$200 million for the BESRA's implementation. This program builds up on the 10-year Master Plan and focuses on the upgrading of skills in English, science, and mathematics, with special emphasis on career improvement skills. The program also advocates school-based management and further resource mobilization through restructuring of the education budget. (Andaqui 2006)

In a forum, Education Secretary Jesli Lapus spelled out the government's priority initiatives – to develop an English proficiency program and to upgrade technical and vocational education in high schools, designed to “provide technical skills to secondary school students as a key ingredient in solving the mismatch between labor supply and demand.” (DepEd 2006)

This can only be expected given the government's reliance on OFW remittances and its objective to make the country Asia's information technology hub through business process outsourcing. Students are systematically being prepared to participate in the global arena as highly trained, English-speaking, cheap and docile labor force catering to the demands of the international market in line with the neoliberal project. This is essentially the economics of education from the perspective of government.

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## **Pribadong Tubo sa Tersaryong Edukasyon**

**Ronalyn Olea**

Maraming kabataang Pilipino ang napagkakaitan ng karapatang makatapos ng tersaryong edukasyon. Hindi tataas sa 2.4 milyon ang kabataang nakapasok sa kolehiyo kada taon sa nakaraang anim na akademikong taon. Samantala, sa datos ng National Statistics Office (NSO) noong taong 2000, may mahigit walong milyong kabataang edad 15-19 at higit pitong milyon pa ang edad 20-24.

Dinodolina ng pribadong sektor ang tersaryong edukasyon sa Pilipinas. Batay sa talaan ng Commission on Higher Education (CHED) para sa akademikong taon 2006-2007, may 1,428 na private higher educational institution (PHEIs) samantalang 111 lamang na state university at college (SUC) at 56 na local university at college.

Noong 1980, sampung porsyento lamang ng mga estudyante sa kolehiyo ang pumapasok sa SUCs. Sa pagsapit ng 1994, umakyat ang enrolment sa SUCs sa 21 porsyento at pagsapit ng akademikong taon 2002-2003, ang populasyon ng mga estudyanteng nasa SUCs ay aabot na sa 34 porsyento.

Bagamat kalakhan pa rin ng mga estudyante sa tersaryong edukasyon ay nasa PHEIs, manipestayon ito ng higit na papaliit na bilang ng mga nakakapag-aral. Una, nababawasan ang bilang ng SUCs at dahil sa maliit na badyet, may kota sa pagtanggap ng mga estudyante. Ikalawa, lumiliit din ang bilang ng pumapasok sa PHEIs. Sa taong 2002, halimbawa, bumaba ng 2.8 porsyento ang enrolment sa PHEIs bagamat dumami pa nga ang bilang ng PHEIs. Nabawasan ng higit 46,000 ang populasyon ng mga estudyante sa PHEIs para sa akademikong taon 2002-2003.

Sa bisa ng Republic Act No. 7722, nilikha ang CHED noong 1994 para pangasiwaan ang tersaryong edukasyon sa bansa. Sa pangkalahatan, nasasaklawan ng mga patakaran, pamantayan at panuntunan ng CHED ang mga pribadong institusyong pang-edukasyon kaugnay sa program offerings, curriculum, administration and faculty academic qualifications at iba pa. May 79 lamang na PHEIs na binigyan ng CHED ng awtonomiya o deregulated status bilang pagkilala sa kanilang serbisyo sa pagbibigay ng dekalidad na edukasyon.

Isa sa mga tungkulin ng CHED ang pagsasagawa ng mga hakbang upang tiyaking accessible sa lahat ang edukasyong tersaryo. Gayunman, kinukwestiyon ng iba't ibang grupong pang-estudyante sa pangunguna ng National Union of Students of the Philippines (NUSP), unyon ng mga konseho ng mga mag-aaral, ang kakayanan ng CHED na kontrolin ang pagtaas ng matrikula

### ***Pagtaas ng Matrikula***

Batay sa mga datos ng CHED mula akademikong taon 1997-1998 hanggang 2005-2006, aabot sa 119.49 porsyento ang itinaas ng matrikula sa loob ng siyam na taon. Mula 1997-1998 hanggang 2001-2002, halos 15 porsyento ang taunang average na pagtaas. Sa huling limang taon, 12 porsyento ang karaniwang tantos ng pagtaas ng matrikula. Para sa taong 2005-2006, aabot sa 305 PHEIs o 21.36 porsyento ng kabuuang bilang ng PHEIs ang nagtaas ng matrikula. Ang average na matrikula sa National Capital Region ay P722.41 na kada yunit o P15,170.61 para sa karaniwang 21-yunit kada semestre. Pinakamababa na ang average na matrikulang sinisingil sa CARAGA region na P203.44 kada yunit o P4,272.24 para sa karaniwang 21-yunit kada semestre.

### ***Iba pang Bayarin***

Kung isasama ang iba pang bayarin, lalo nang hindi abot-kaya ang edukasyong tersaryo para sa marami. Sa talaan ng CHED sa taong 2005-2006, nagpataw din ng pagtaas sa miscellaneous fees.

Kung tatlo o apat ang semestre sa bawat akademikong taon, tatlo o apat na ulit ding binabayaran ng estudyante ang matrikula at miscellaneous fees. Trimestral ang De La Salle University (DLSU) at apat na semestre na ang Mapua Institute of Technology.

**Talahanayan 1: Datos Hinggil sa Pagtaas ng Matrikula**

Region	Total Number of HEIs	No. of HEIs which Applied for Tuition Fee Increase	Percentage of HEIs which Applied for Tuition Fee Increase	Average Peso Equivalent / Unit	Tuition Fee Rate/ Unit	Average % Increase
I	72	16	22.22	28.37	265.56	11.96
II	46	6	13.04	23.58	208.78	12.73
III	142	26	18.31	44.12	405.74	12.20
IV A	173	40	23.12	55.00	493.09	11.68
IV B	28	6	21.43	26.09	262.64	11.05
V	113	23	20.35	35.56	334.81	11.88
VI	74	24	32.43	36.01	371.70	10.73
VII	95	24	25.26	43.32	453.04	10.57
VIII	52	1	1.92	52.00	322.00	19.26
IX	47	15	31.91	28.84	312.97	10.15
X	62	21	33.87	25.66	299.76	9.36
XI	67	20	29.85	30.11	338.01	9.78
XII	64	4	6.25	28.72	267.45	12.03
NCR	244	65	26.64	73.52	722.41	11.33
CAR	29	9	31.03	32.00	347.32	10.15
CARAGA	39	5	12.82	19.11	203.44	10.37
ARMM						
TOTAL	1,347	305	22.64	36.38	350.55	11.58

Sa mga PHEIs sa buong bansa, maliban yaong nasa NCR at ARMM, tumaas nang 21.03 porsyento ang registration fee. Ang library fee naman ay tumaas sa average na 15.80 porsyento. Tumaas din ang medical/dental fees nang 18.23 porsyento, athletics nang 16.86 porsyento at guidance nang 18.60 porsyento. Bukod pa rito ang libong pisong sinisingil para sa iba't ibang laboratoryo ng mga estudyante, depende sa kursong kinukuha.

Kuwestiyonable ang iba pang mga bayaring sinisingil ng ibang mga kolehiyo at unibersidad. May 27 PHEIs ang nangongolekta ng developmental fee. Sa Lyceum of the Philippines, halimbawa, P1,517 ang sinisingil bilang developmental fee. Ginagamit diumano ang nakokolekta rito sa pagtatayo ng mga bagong gusali at pagpapaganda ng mga pasilidad. Samakatwid, kinukuha sa mga estudyante ang dapat sana'y bahagi ng kapital ng mga may-ari ng eskwelahan. May 10 pang eskwelahang naniningil ng energy fee. Ang enegy fee ay para sa kuryenteng nakokonsumo ng mga eskwelahan. Ang halaga nito sa La Consolacion College ay P1,811. Sa Ateneo de Zamboanga University, may faculty developmental fee na kinukuha sa mga estudyante na nagkakahalaga ng P1,211.32. Sa Philippine Maritime Institute (PMI)-Manila, naniningil sa freshmen ng P800 bilang familiarization fee.

Ang ganitong mga bayarin ay dapat nang nakapaloob sa matrikulang sinisingil mula sa mga estudyante. Isinasaad ng Republic Act 6728 o Government Assistance to Students and Teachers in Private Education (GATSPE) ang tinatawag na incremental proceeds ng pagtaas ng matrikula. Sa Sec 5 (b) ng nasabing batas, nakasaad na 70 porsyento ng bawat pagtaas ng matrikula ay dapat na mapunta sa sweldo at benepisyo ng mga guro at empleyado ng mga pribadong eskwelahan at 20 porsyento naman ang dapat mapunta sa pagsasaayos ng mga gusali, aklatan, gym at iba pang mga pasilidad at sa pambayad sa iba pang gastos sa operasyon.

Malinaw, kung gayon, na ang paniningil ng energy fee, developmental fee, maging ang library fee ay iskema upang higit na kumita ang mga may-ari ng pribadong eskwelahan.

Kahit taun-taon kung magtaas ng matrikula ang ilang PHEIs, maliit ang pagtaas kundi man napapako ang suweldo ng mga guro at kawani. Sa Philippine Education Sector Study noong 1998, napatunayan na ang suweldo ng mga guro sa pampublikong eskwelahan ay mas mataas ng 70 porsyento kumpara sa mga guro sa pribadong paaralan. Sa nakaraang limang taon, hindi iilang faculty union ang nagwelga dahil sa deadlock sa kanilang Collective Bargaining Agreement (CBA). Ilan sa mga ito ang mga kawani ng Miriam College, Ateneo de Manila University, mga guro at kawani ng Adamson University.

### ***Panunupil***

Sa loob ng maraming pribadong kolehiyo at unibersidad, panunupil ang sagot sa makatwirang pagtutol.

Bagamat nakasaad sa memorandum ng CHED na kailangang maglunsad ng konsultasyon kaugnay ng anumang panukalang pagtaas ng matrikula, nilalabag ito ng maraming PHEIs. Sa maraming kaso, nagpapatawag man ng pulong ang administrasyon ng mga eskwelahan, hindi nila agad na binabanggit na kasama sa agenda ang panukalang pagtaas ng matrikula. Sa Asian School of Arts and Sciences, ipinagbigay-alam ang konsultasyon apat na araw bago ang konsultasyon. Paglabag ito sa isinasaad ng CHED Memo No. 14 na dapat abisuhan ang mga estudyante 30 araw bago ganapin ang konsultasyon.

Kinakasuhan din ang mga estudyanteng lumalahok sa mga kilos-protesta laban sa pagtaas ng matrikula at iba pang bayarin. Sa Centro Escolar University, halimbawa, kinumpiska ang ID ng mga estudyanteng nagsuot ng black ribbon bilang simbolikong pagtutol sa pagtaas ng matrikula noong

2006. Sa UST, kinasuhan ang mga estudyanteng sumali sa piket-rali laban sa pagtaas ng matrikula at iba pang bayarin.

Sa pamamagitan ng mga student handbooks at iba pang memo, maraming ipinagbabawal ang administrasyon ng mga pribadong kolehiyo at unibersidad. Sinusupil ang karapatan sa malayang pagtitipon, karapatan sa organisasyon, karapatan sa malayang pamamahayag at karapatan laban sa diskriminasyong nakabatay sa kasarian. Sa maraming PHEIs, hindi kinikilala ang mga progresibong organisasyon ng mga estudyante gaya ng League of Filipino Students, Anakbayan at Student Christian Movement of the Philippines.

Napakaraming porma rin ang panggigipit sa mga publikasyong pang-estudyante tulad ng censorship, withholding of funds, non-mandatory collection of publication fees, pakikialam ng administrasyon at pagpapasara ng tanggapan ng mga publikasyon.

Layunin ng ganitong mga patakarang supilin ang paglaban ng mga estudyante kundi man panatilihin ang kultura ng pagkakimi at pagsunod.

### **Malaking Negosyo**

Hindi nakapagtataka, kung gayon, kung bakit may mga PHEIs na kabilang sa Top 1000 corporations ng bansa. Noong 2003, siyam na PHEIs ang napabilang sa Top 1,000 corporations na may pinagsamang kitang P1.13 bilyon.

Ika-66 ang National Teachers College (NTC), isang maliit na kolehiyo sa Maynila. Nakapagrehistro ito ng kitang P297 milyon noong 2003 o 5,214 porsyentong pagtaas mula sa kita nito dalawang taon ang nakaraan. Ang Centro Escolar University (CEU) naman ay lumapag sa pang-198 at may

**Talahanayan 2: Mga Paaralang Kabilang sa Top 1,000 Corporations (2003)**

School	Rank	Profit in thousands	% Change from 2001	Equity in thousands
Natl. Teachers College	166	297,042	5,214.80	51,508
Centro Escolar University	198	240,206	7.4	1,941,478
Mapua Institute of Technology	218	218,701	42.9	946,790
Far Eastern University	272	155,793	50.8	814,781
Feati University	364	103,820	152.9	408,471
University of the East	517	63,262	-0.4	690,145
Manil Central University	785	30,735	8,231	111,315
Cebu Doctors College	845	26,734	68.1	352,516
Velez College	987	20,256	10.2	50,746

Source: Top Money-makers, *Graphic* December 2003 issue

pinakamalaking equity sa halagang P1.94 bilyon. Ang equity ay tumutukoy sa assets minus liabilities. Noong 1999 at 2000, ang CEU ang nangunguna sa mga PHEIs sa laki ng kita. Samantala, ang Manila Central University (MCU) naman sa Caloocan ang nakapagtala ng pinamalaking porsyento ng pagtaas ng kita mula 2001, aabot sa 8,000 porsyento. Lagi ring kabilang ang University of the East sa Top 1,000 corporations sa bansa. May kampus ang UE sa Caloocan at Maynila. Ika-517 ito noong 2003 mula ika-867 noong 2000 at ika-935 noong 1999. Nananatili rin ang Mapua Institute of Technology (MIT) at Far Eastern University (FEU) sa mga PHEIs na may pinakamalalaking kita.

Kabilang sa mga mamumuhunan sa tersaryong edukasyon sa bansa ang pinakamalalaking negosyante.

Kontrolado ni Emilio Yap ang 55 porsyentong stocks ng CEU. Si Yap ay tagapangulo ng Philippine Trust Co., publisher ng *Manila Bulletin*, at may-ari ng Manila Hotel. Nagsimula namang mamuhunan si Lucio Tan sa UE noong 1999. Si Tan ay itinuturing na isa sa mga pinakamayamang negosyante hindi lamang sa Pilipinas kundi sa Asya na may personal net worth na \$1.5 bilyon. Siya ang may-ari ng Fortune Tobacco, Asia Breweries, Allied Bank, at Philippine Airlines. Binili ng Yuchengco Group of Companies ang MIT noong 1999 mula sa pamilya ni Don Tomas Mapua. Ang YGC ang may-ari ng Malayan Insurance, Great Pacific Assurance Life Corp., Pacific Plans Incorporated, at Rizal Commercial Banking Corporation. Pinasok na rin ni Henry Sy ang tersaryong edukasyon. Kasosyo ni Sy ang IBM sa Asia Pacific College. Si Sy ang tagapangulo ng SM Group of Companies na may revenues na aabot sa \$1.7 bilyon. Hindi rin nagpapahuli ang mga Gokongwei, may-ari ng Cebu Pacific at Robinson's malls. Nagbigay si John Gokongwei ng P200 milyon sa School of Management ng Ateneo de Manila. May pinansyal na suporta ring ibinigay ang mga Gokongwei sa University of San Carlos sa Cebu, Xavier University sa Cagayan de Oro City, De La Salle University, Sacred Heart School, at Immaculate Conception Academy.

Dahil kumikitang negosyo, kapansin-pansin din ang paglobo ng bilang ng mga PHEIs. Mula 1,008 PHEIs noong 1997, nadagdagan ito ng 420 pagkalipas ng 10 taon. Ang masaklap, may mga eskwelahang may mga kursong wala pang permiso mula sa gobyerno. Sa listahan ng CHED noong Enero 2005, pitong eskwelahan sa buong bansa ang may mga kursong inaalok kahit walang permiso. Pinakatalamak dito ang ABE International College of Business and Economics. Tatlong kampus nito sa NCR ang nag-aalok ng kursong BS Hotel and Restaurant Management, BS Business

Administration, BS Tourism at BS Accountancy kahit wala pang government permit.

### **Mababang Kalidad**

Palagiang argumento ng mga may-ari ng PHEIs ang linyang “Quality education is expensive.” Maging si dating CHED Executive Director Roger Perez, ganito ang banggit sa mga lider ng NUSP sa isang diyalogo kaugnay sa pagtaas ng matrikula.

Taliwas sa ilang pag-aaral ang kanilang buladas.

Sa Survey of 77 Best Universities noong 2000 ng *Asiaweek*, ang University of the Philippines, ang pangunahing state university ng bansa, ay ika-48 lamang. Tatlo lamang sa PHEIs sa bansa ang nakasama sa listahan. Ika-71 ang De La Salle University na sinundan ng Ateneo de Manila University (ika-72) at ika-74 naman ang University of Santo Tomas. Sa “The Best Comprehensive Universities” in Asia noong 2003 ng International Exchange Center, parehong mga eskwelahan ang nakasama sa listahan. Ika-32 ang UP at ika-71 ang Ateneo de Manila University, ika-76 ang DLSU at ika-78 ang UST. Sa ulat na pinamagatang “Technical Assistance to the Republic of the Philippines for the Organizational Development of the CHED” na nailathala noong Oktubre 2002, pinansin ng Asian Development Bank (ADB) ang padausdos na kalidad ng tersaryong edukasyon sa bansa. Sa nasabing papel, binanggit ng ADB, “As recently as the 1970s, the Philippines was seen as one of the region’s leading education centers.”

Sa mismong Task Force on Higher Education na inorganisa ng CHED noong 1995, isinaad na, “College education in the Philippines is comparable to top science high schools in the country and regular secondary education in Europe and Japan.”

Ang ganitong pagbaba ng kalidad ng edukasyon ay masasalamatin din sa resulta ng licensure examinations. Mula 1997-2001, aabot lamang sa 18.4 porsyento ang nakapasa sa board examinations para sa Certified Public Accountants (CPA). Ang pinakamataas na average passing percentage ay sa Medicine na 66.4 porsyento. Sa loob ng limang taong nabanggit, may 35 eskwelahang nakakuha ng zero-passing rates sa BS Accountancy, 28 sa BSC/BSBA Accounting, walo sa Secondary Education at tatlo sa BS Nutrition and Dietetics.

Sa katunayan, naglabas ang CHED ng phase out order sa 115 PHEIs noong 2002. Kabilang rito ang mga eskwelahang nakakuha ng zero hanggang limang porsyentong passing rates sa licensure exams simula 1997

**Talahanayan 3: Reyng Pagpasa sa mga Licensure Examinations 1997-2001**

COURSE	%
Accountancy	18.4
Chemical Engineering	39.4
Civil Engineering	30
Electrical Engineering	38.8
Electronics & Communication Engineering	48.2
Mechanical Engineering	41
Dental Medicine	31
Medicine	66.4
Nursing	52
Occupational Therapy	60.4
Physical Therapy	25.4

Source: Professional Regulatory Commission

hanggang 2001. Gayunman, matumal ang pagsunod sa atas na ito ng CHED. Sa loob ng isang taon, 17 lamang mga PHEIs ang nagsara ng kanilang mga programa.

### ***Deregulasyon ng Edukasyon***

Ibinubunton ang sisi, maging ng mga opisyal ng CHED, sa patakarang deregulasyon sa pagtaas ng matrikula. Nakasaad sa Section 42 ng Education Act of 1982 o Batas Pambansa Blg. 232, “Each private school shall determine its rate of tuition and other school fees or charges. The rates and charges adopted by schools pursuant to this provision shall be collectible, and their application or use authorized, subject to rules and regulations promulgated by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports.”

Ganito ang himutok maging ng mga pre-need firms na nagdeklara ng pagkabangkarote noong 2005. Sa pahayag ng Pacific Plans Incorporated na pag-aari ng mga Yuchengco, kanilang sinabi, “The deregulation of tuition has caused a tremendous rise in the cost of education, which in turn put an enormous pressure on traditional (open-ended) plans and their respective trust funds considering that pre-need companies dealing in such securities could not pass on the additional cost to their planholders.”

Gayunman, ang ganitong argumento ay mistulang pagtatakip ng CHED sa pagkainutil nitong kontrolin ang pagtaas ng matrikula. Sa kasong Jose D. Lina Jr. vs Isidro D. Carino noong Abril 1993, pinagtibay ng Korte Suprema ang kapangyarihan ng DECS na i-regulate ang pagtaas ng matrikula. Ang isyung pinagpasyahan ay kung ligal ba ang DECS Order No. 30 na nagbibigay ng panuntunan sa pagtataas ng matrikula at iba pang bayarin.



Sa desisyon ng Korte Suprema, isinaad nito na ligal ang DECS Order No. 30 at marapat na ipatupad ng lahat ng eskwelahan, “since no other government agency was vested with the authority to fix the maximum school fees, that power should be considered with the DECS Secretary.” Maging sa Section 42 ng Education Act of 1982, nakasaad na anumang pagtaas ng matrikula ay batay pa rin sa mga panuntunang ilalabas ng MECS. Sa Sec. 2 ng Presidential Decree No. 451, nakasaad, “The Secretary of Education and Culture has the authority to regulate any increase or change in the rate of tuitions and or other school fees or charges collected from pupils or students and/or their parents by all private schools, colleges, and universities.” Nakasaad din sa parehong batas, “Any increase or change in the approved rates, including new tuition fee and/or other school charges, of private schools shall not be effective without the prior approval of the Secretary of Education and Culture. Any violation shall be considered unlawful and subject to the penal provision of the law.”

Malinaw sa Sec. 18 ng RA 7722 na ang dating tungkulin ng DECS o MECS sa panahon ng gobyernong Marcos ay naisalin na sa CHED. May ligal na batayan, kung gayon, taliwas sa patuloy na iginigiit ng mga may-ari ng PHEIs, ang pagkontrol ng CHED sa pagtaas ng matrikula at iba pang bayarin. Nitong 2005, inilabas ang CHED Memo No. 14 na nagtatakda na maaaring magtaas ng matrikula at iba pang bayarin ang mga PHEIs nang hindi tataas sa national inflation rate. Nakasaad din na dapat isama sa konsultasyon sa mga estudyante ang mga panukalang pagtaas ng iba pang bayarin. Sa artikulo ng *Tribune* noong Enero 27, 2007, ipinagtanggol pa nga ni CHED Chair Carlito Puno ang CMO 14. Aniya, “Why do they have to pass it to students, if they want to improve or upgrade their facilities they should put up additional capital... I think, at this point in time, it’s not possible to change the rules.”

Subalit nito lamang Pebrero 20, 2007, naglabas ng suspension order ang CHED kaugnay sa pagpapatupad ng CHED Memo No. 14. Kaalinsabay nito, idineklara ng CHED na sundin ang CHED Memo No. 13. Sa dating memo, walang ceiling na itinatakda sa pagtaas ng matrikula at hindi rin kasali sa konsultasyon ang panukala sa pagtataas ng iba pang bayarin.

Ang pagbaligtad ng CHED ay bunsod ng matinding pressure mula sa mga grupo ng mga may-ari ng mga PHEIs. Sa kanilang advisory nitong Pebrero 7, 2007, umalma ang Coordinating Council of Private Educational Associations (COCOPEA) at sinabing niyuyurakan ng nasabing memo ang mga karapatan ng mga educational institutions.

Binubuo ang COCOPEA ng malalaking grupo ng kapitalistang namumuhunan sa edukasyon gaya ng Philippine Association of Colleges and Universities (PACU), Catholic Educators Association of the Philippines (CEAP), Philippine Association of Private Schools, Colleges and Universities, Association of Christian Schools, Colleges and Universities, at Technical Vocational Association of the Philippines.

Sa katunayan, unang idineklara ni Puno ang suspensiyon ng CHED Memo No. 14 sa kanyang talumpati sa 2<sup>nd</sup> National COCOPEA Congress nitong Pebrero 19, 2007. Sa advisory ng COCOPEA sa mga kasapi nito isang araw matapos ang kanilang Kongreso, ibinalita nito na nakipagdiyalogo ang asosasyon kay Gng. Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo. Sinabi rin ng COCOPEA na nangako si Arroyo na rerebyuhin ang CHED Memo No.14.

### ***Ipinagkakait na Karapatan***

Napakabilis tumiklop ng CHED sa harap ng paggigiit ng mga PHEIs. Napakabilis din nitong tumalikod sa postura nitong maka-estudyante.

Sa huli, ang walang habas na pagkakamal ng tubo sa tersaryong edukasyon ang nagkakait sa maraming kabataang Pilipino ng pinapangarap na diploma. Nananatiling sa papel lang ginagarantiyahan ng gobyerno ang karapatan ng mga mamamayan sa edukasyon.

Hindi maaasahan ang gobyerno na salingin ang interes ng mga namumuhunan sa edukasyon. Hindi nito sasagkaan ang kauri lalo pa't tumutulong ang huli sa pagpapatibay ng kulturang nagsisilbi sa reaksyunaryong sistema.

## **Docile Minds, Commodified Bodies: Young Women in the Context of Globalization and Neoliberal Education**

**Joan M.E. Salvador**

According to a recent report by the World Economic Forum, the Philippines is the 6<sup>th</sup> country in the world with the smallest “gender gap.”(2006) In this survey of 115 countries, the Philippines landed among the top slots because of its “triumph in closing the gender gap” in the spheres of education and in health and survival. The report also shows the Philippines as the only Asian country in the top 10, ranking even ahead of more developed economies like Great Britain and the United States, which are at 9<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> places, respectively.

The report attributes the Philippines’ high ranking to its “triumph in closing the gender gap” in the spheres of education and in health and survival. Yet when viewed beyond numbers and indices, the situation of Filipinas, particularly the young, shows a continuing state of marginalization in education and employment in the context of globalization and the neoliberal character of education that it promotes.

This marginalization of women takes on various forms: young women being thrown out of schools due to the corporate re-orientation of education; young women who, due to lack of access to health services succumb to otherwise-curable illnesses; the loss of access to land and food because of the integration and prioritization of corporate interests in agriculture, mining, and fisheries; the growing number of unemployed and underemployed young women who are forced to survive subhuman wages, contractual work agreements, and sweatshop-like working conditions; the increasing hordes of young women driven to migration in the hope of saving their families from poverty, which makes them all the more vulnerable to abuse and exploitation.

In the Philippines, as elsewhere in the Third World, imperialist globalization's offensives in the economic, political and cultural spheres intensify further the displacement, commodification and modern-day slavery of young women. Often touted as the future and hope of humanity, young women ironically find themselves victimized by the very social fabric that imperialist globalization engenders.

### ***Imperialism's Cultural Offensives***

The neoliberal character of education in the country dulls young women to indifference, individualism and consumerism. This mode of conditioning prepares women to eventually join the ranks of low-paid, semi-skilled, overworked and docile laborers.

Imperialism relies heavily on the vast reserve of cheap female labor to bail itself out of its worsening crisis of surplus production and capital generation. To maintain this reserve of female labor, imperialism takes advantage of society's inculcation of filial responsibility to the family, while at the same time launches cultural offensives that promote neoliberal values and aspirations.

In Third World countries, where colonial and feudal vestiges continue to influence value formation, filial duty to the family assumes primary importance to young women. Experiencing poverty almost throughout their lives, most young women aspire to save their family from poverty by working hard and not passing up on any economic opportunity that would come their way.

Young women often realize, however, that mere hard work can never be enough to survive poverty; one must now sacrifice and choose to work abroad despite slave-like conditions and emotional difficulties, or to marry a rich foreign man from a First World country who can provide financial and material relief to her family.

This strong sense of familial responsibility is reinforced by social apparatuses such as the school, the community and the mass media. By launching various forms of cultural offensives that target young women in particular, imperialism promotes concepts of "girl power" and "economic independence" while clinging to the colonial and feudal vestiges of Third World societies. Young women's freedom from oppression and exploitation then becomes tantamount to asserting one's individuality, living independently, and building a career whose measure of success is her ability to earn lots of money. Yet as long as filial duty to the family remains strong,

young women would still make their own sacrifices and help their families survive rather than chart an independent course for themselves.

Such offensive necessarily conditions young women so they will easily accept their predetermined place both in education and employment, thus the systematic establishment of courses and schools that provide technical and service-oriented skills that primarily target young women as future laborers in these spheres of work.

Yet it is important to note that this deceptive propaganda essentially glosses over the reality that so long as imperialist countries continue eating up Third World resources, markets and social services, women and the rest of the oppressed and exploited people will never be free from the bondage of poverty. In the Philippine experience, the situation of young women in education and employment merely reinforces, rather sordidly, their oppressed and exploited state.

### ***Education as a Commodity***

In a semi-colonial and semi-feudal set-up such as that in the Philippines, imperialist globalization employs the feudal-patriarchal system to ensure that future generations imbibe their exploited and oppressed condition. Education, as a crucial agency of socializing the youth, is colonial, commercialized and repressive in nature.

The Philippine education system reeks of subservience to the interests of imperialism, that of ensuring a steady supply of cheap, semi-skilled and docile workers. Government policies and programs related to education do not take off from what is necessary for the people to surpass poverty and ignorance. What the Philippine government promotes instead is an education fashioned after globalization schemes designed by imperialist interests.

Because globalization needs a steady supply of female workers mostly in the service sector, academic courses stress on the provision of skills that train young women into becoming future nurses, caregivers, hotel, restaurant and fast food attendants, and a host of other occupations that would ensure additional means to satiate imperialism's hunger for profit.

The state itself sanctions the re-fashioning of the education system pursuant to globalization's labor demand. Academic curricula are redesigned to put particular stress on the development of proficiency in English as the language of globalization. Vocational schools and programs are likewise set up all over the country to provide short trainings that would immediately

throw the youth into low-paying and short-contract jobs. Nursing schools and training institutions for caregivers are likewise allowed to operate and proliferate, at times even without the requisite state authorization, to provide an enormous supply of reserve laborers for the increasing market within First World countries.

From primary education to tertiary level of schooling, neoliberal policies of privatization, deregulation and liberalization intensify the commercialization of education. Privatization allows big businesses to operate schools as profit mines. Deregulation, on the other hand, legitimizes state abandonment of its role to regulate school fees and policies affecting the students and other democratic sectors in the academic field. In the end, liberalization puts the price tag on education as an item for trade. Education then becomes an item up for sale, and young women whose families cannot afford its expensive price tag end up being robbed of their basic right to education.

Private schools collect an average of PhP 22,200 for every year that a student enrolls. This is enormously high when compared with the standard of living in the Philippines, considering that the average minimum wage level would amount to approximately PhP 90,000 when computed annually. Worse, a student would still need to be provided with transportation, book, food and miscellaneous allowances, the increasing costs of which are becoming more difficult to bear for ordinary wage-earning families.

Education has indeed become a very lucrative business, as can be gleaned from the rapid increase of private higher education institutions in the country. Latest statistics show that private tertiary schools comprise 76% of the total number of colleges and universities in the Philippines (CHED 2004). These private institutions rake in billions of dollars in profits out of the pockets of Filipino youth. In 2003, for example, nine such institutions were listed in the Top 1,000 corporations in the Philippines, with a combined profit amounting to PhP 1.23 billion (\$ 21 million). (*Business World* 2003)

As a result of the ever-increasing cost of education, young women are forced to transfer from private to public schools. Students attending private schools decreased significantly from 44.5% in 1994 to 32.3% in 2002. This shift is more pronounced among the females, which dropped from 47.1% to 33%, than among the males (CHED).

Yet it is becoming more improbable for public education institutions to absorb an increased number of enrollees, because the government, meanwhile, has virtually abandoned its responsibility to provide accessible

education to the youth. The government allocates only about 2% of its total GDP (gross domestic product) to education, whereas the UNESCO promotes that countries in the Third World allot 6% to its education sector (CWR 2006). This year, President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo has allowed for the allotment of merely 24.7% of the national budget to the whole of the education sector, encompassing components such as student subsidy, salaries of teachers, staff and personnel, instruction materials and infrastructure maintenance and development.

The state of tertiary education in the Philippines is equally alarming, as the government is wont to satisfy neoliberal prescriptions of imperialist institutions such as the World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund, World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. As part of its adherence to the WTO, the government has implemented the Long-Term Higher Education and Development Plan (2001-2010), which specifically impels the rationalization and specialization of state universities and colleges. In essence, this means the continuous restriction and eventual denial of the youth's access to education.

The Philippines has one of the highest dropout rates in the Asia-Pacific region. For every 100 young children who enter primary school, only seven of them eventually graduate from college (CWR 2006). In effect, more and more young women are becoming out-of-school youth (OSY). Alarming, while the total youth population in the Philippines grows only at an average of 2% annually, the OSY population grows at a staggering 8.14% per annum according to the National Youth Commission (NYC). Young women are hardest hit by this phenomenon, with their registered figure far exceeding the male OSY population by almost 70% (CHED).

Yet while the drop-out rate in the country grows at an alarming rate, young women enrolled in tertiary schools exceed men by 17% of total college enrollment (CHED 2004). This in fact is driven by the employment biased towards the service sector that needs young female labor. Although these jobs only require low levels of skills to be accomplished, young women are required to bear the additional burden of acquiring higher education prior to employment.

Education, indeed, has become a tragedy subjugating young women's stake for earning a ticket to a better future. The onslaught of imperialist globalization in the realm of education has only pushed women farther to the margins of society.

And so the culture of indifference, consumerism and individualism that imperialism inculcates among the youth conveniently coheres with the

commodification of education. Imperialism must thus have generations upon generations of young women who, wittingly or unwittingly, think only of how through hard work they could surpass in earnings what they had spent in education. To imperialism's benefit, many young women become debilitated by their and their families' need for survival that they are driven farther away from being critical of how imperialist globalization drains them of their skills, knowledge and labor.

### ***Vast Reserve of Cheap and Docile Labor***

Because imperialism is driven by profit and not by a commitment to engender true human development and empowerment, it is patently logical for it to require of young women - its massive reserve of cheap labor - merely low levels of skills and apt compliance. Imperialist powers in relation to their ravaging of the Third World are not only after the latter's large market and rich natural resources, but also its massive supply of workers who are desperate for jobs.

Promoted in collusion with the local ruling elites and their puppet regimes, the Third World's response to imperialist globalization is to harness its competitive advantage in the labor market by ensuring cheap wages. In the Philippines, minimum wage has been pegged to a mere PhP 350 since year 2000. In addition, the ballooning number of unemployed and under-educated out-of-school youth due to the increasingly inaccessible education in the country presents itself as a huge stockpile of additional unemployed working-age adults that increases competition among jobseekers and pulls further down the wage level. This spells bane to young women in the Philippines, as they are forced to enter into low-paying, stultifying, contractual jobs that require long hours of work.

Young women usually find jobs in the service (telecommunications, wholesale and retail trade) and manufacturing (garments, food processing, and electronics) sectors, where labor flexibilization through contractual work agreements abound. Often, such sectors also impose long hours of work and terrible work arrangements, such as forced extension of work hours, continuous work without rest days, and graveyard night shifts. Job security is also absent, as workers are hired for not longer than six months, the mandatory period after which an employee becomes regular under the Philippine Labor Code.

Yet apart from women's work becoming harder and requiring longer hours as a result of globalization, globalized labor has also become



feminized, requiring as it does women's work in sectors crucial for imperialist countries to keep their capital productive. Because of imperialism's need to acquire new and vast markets to dispose of its surplus products, women's work is tapped to supply labor that would encourage the sale of imperialist products. Hence, the growing trend in employment that siphons off young women into the service sector.

Feminizing labor means requiring potential employees to be female, young, single, educated and with pleasing personality. Companies need to secure the vast reserve of cheap women's labor and ensure that newly-hired women are single so maternity benefits need not be provided and family-related issues would not hamper the workflow. Workers should have already achieved a certain level of education, usually college level, so that they need not be trained. "Pleasing personality," meanwhile, also indicates docility and perpetual optimism despite setbacks to personal and career development.

In fact in the Philippines, a new labor phenomenon is on the rise, with the swelling up of the call center industry, which particularly target college graduates and undergraduates from "reputable schools" for their supposed ease in the English language and exceptional communication skills. It has in fact become disastrously normal for many young women whose courses range from engineering and molecular biology to political science and journalism to work as call center agents. The government even touts the call center industry for hiring at least 3,000 call center agents per month.

What the government purposely downplays, however, is the fact that these agents have no job security, are required to do long hours of work in graveyard shifts, and perform stultifying tasks for the multinational companies that contract out these jobs to the Philippines where wages are kept at the barest minimum. Moreover, it is one thing for the country to lose its youth to multinational companies whose interests are more often than not at odds with the rest of the Filipino people; it is of course another thing, probably even more unfortunate, that young women work hard to acquire education only to fall into the trap of semi-skilled work.

Yet imperialist globalization, apart from making women's work longer and harder, also results in the restriction of women's access to work. Unemployment thus balloons not only due to the scarcity of jobs - a reality that proves the lie behind globalization's promise of poverty alleviation through the abundance of available jobs - but due also to chronic mass lay-offs and job insecurity characteristic of so-called "globalized labor." Unemployment rate in the Philippines, which at 11.7 % is the highest in the

whole of the Asian region (CWR 2007). But the effect of massive unemployment is particularly worse for women, as the sector registers higher at 7.8% of the total number of eligible for work, compared to 7.6% in males.

Due to job scarcity, many young women are forced to leave the Philippines in search of better work opportunities. Thus a phenomenon of “free movement of women” has developed in relation to the “free movement of labor and capital” spawned by globalization. In fact for the past two decades, Filipino migrant work has been feminized, as more women than men work abroad and jobs offered out of the country require female labor.

Yet despite, or even because of, this phenomenon of “free movement of women” relative to globalization, Filipino women, continue to be tied down to a kind of work that society has long stereotyped them into. Almost an extension of household work, service work, even in migration, is largely stultifying, and menial. Filipina migrant workers, who are strewn across more than 180 countries the world over, often work as domestic workers, caregivers, or entertainers.

But due to the relatively better employment opportunities abroad, a growing number of young women have fashioned their choice of college courses according to what is needed to be able to work abroad. Nursing and caregiving schools in the country have mushroomed, operating as diploma mills. Schools for entertainers to facilitate “cultural exchange” have also been institutionalized, with these training institutes required to get accreditation from appropriate government agencies.

Yet this labor export policy of the Philippine government, pursuant to globalization policies, actually paves the way for young women to be further exploited and oppressed. In the absence of strict monitoring and provision of support services by the Philippine government, women often fall into the hands of illegal recruiters, cruel employers, or even sex traffickers.

### ***Challenges and Resistance***

The neoliberal character of education constricts further women’s access to education and employment, thereby leading to the violation of young women’s right to their social, economic and political development. Apart from utilizing bourgeois notions of “girl power” and women’s economic independence, imperialism also draws heavily on feudal and semi-feudal culture to serve its need for young women’s cheap, semi-skilled and docile

labor. Stripped of all the lies that it peddles, imperialist globalization is thus revealed as nothing but the further displacement, commodification, and modern-day slavery of young women.

What is even more disturbing is the fact that imperialist globalization also comes with a cultural tag of indifference, individualism and consumerism that fashions young women to fall passive in the face of the offensives of globalization. Adding insult to injury, the Philippine government acts to cement globalization's hold on the psyche of young women. Waving the banner of the war on terror, the current administration of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo ensures that young women are barred from political involvement. In schools, policies are in place as regards institutional control over the students' right to form or join organizations that protect and assert their rights. Arroyo's bloody record of human rights violations ensures that those who state their dissent against the government and its anti-women and anti-people policies are silenced or eliminated.

Yet despite this reality, there lies a growing need for young women to continue asserting their rights and fighting for the victories that women all over the world have gained so far in the long-drawn battle waged in the name of women's liberation. A growing number of young women the world over have already stood up and resisted imperialism's attempt to water down the youth's brewing social and political involvement. The challenge for us then is to become more critical of imperialism's various offensives - cultural, political and economic - towards developing a generation of young women and men who are active movers for social change.

We must stand our ground, speak out, and form unities revolving around our common interests. This, for us, is a matter of urgency. For sooner or later, young women will have to lead the torch of struggle, requiring as it does that the young women of today be developed not merely as tomorrow's leaders but indeed as a substantial force in the current struggle for women's empowerment and liberation.

For the world, indeed, is not merely our future, but ours today and always.

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## **Corporatizing Public Education in the Philippines: The Case of USAID and the Ayala Foundation**

**Peter Chua**

Since the early 1980s, leading global institutions took a renewed interest in reforming public schooling across the Third World to address the managerial problem of fiscal sustainability. By turning to neoliberalism for the solutions, the policies and programs typically called for increased instructional fees, expanded systems to monitor and assess teachers, classrooms, departments, and campuses, and greater involvement of the private and nongovernmental sectors (Brock-Utne 2002; Torres 2002; Hill 2003; Akoojee and McGrath 2004; Leher 2004; Tikly 2004).

This chapter examines the United States Agency for International Development's (USAID) renewed attention to Philippine public education after September 11, 2001 and its support for neoliberal education. This attention has resulted in an influx of millions of dollars and external technical consultants and the involvement of corporate-led groups such as the Ayala Foundation. A significant portion of this attention on education has been directed at the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). The chapter discusses USAID's interest to provide pro-US curriculum locally, present the US in more favorable manner to ARMM youth and students, assist in intensifying labor export through corporate-led vocational training, and weaken local support for insurgent activities.

My analysis shows how the US government promotes actively its neoliberalist policy within the Philippine education sector by supporting and expanding activities of corporate-led nongovernmental organizations such as the Ayala Foundation and thereby further weakening education innovations from the public sector.

***Returning with Kind Hearts and Self-Interested Motives:  
USAID and its New Thomasites***

In the early 1900s, about five hundred teachers from the United States—commonly referred to as the Thomasites—arrived in Manila Bay on the USS Thomas and later assigned to disparate areas such as Cagayan, Samar and Jolo. While US Army soldiers began limited instruction to Filipinos on the English language, the Thomasites forged with the new US commonwealth government a US-styled education system in the Philippines. The Thomasites helped build public schools and developed core and vocational curriculum for Filipinos. These Thomasites were early precursors of contemporary US Peace Corps volunteers.

Almost one hundred years later, a new group of “Thomasites” from the US arrived in the Philippines to educate Filipinos. This time, they are not building and operating public schools, but rather transforming the public education system into a corporate-driven, neoliberal institution. Starting in 2004, the USAID appointed Dr. Thomas Kral as its Chief for the Office of Education in the Philippines to aid this neoliberal transformation. Kral was a former Peace Corps volunteer in the early 1960s and traveled to Sulu, earned his Ph.D. from the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign in 1975, authored several English-language teaching books and worked in Turkey for the US State Department Information Agency, and was also the former US Embassy Cultural Affairs Officer in the Philippines. With his appointment as Chief Education Officer in the Philippines for USAID, Kral has been responsible in managing the range of US educational initiatives in the Philippines, some of which were conceptually developed before his 2004 appointment.

The US government became highly interested in Philippine education after the September 11, 2001 attacks on the US and the emerging US President’s plan to have the Philippines and the surrounding areas as its “second front” in its global war on terror. Prior to 2001, the US supplied limited funds for reproductive health and HIV/AIDS education only (USAID 2001-2008; also see Chua 2001). Starting 2002, USAID received a dramatic rise in US congressional funding to develop and implement educational projects in the ARMM. These projects garnered US\$2 million in 2002 and an additional million in 2003. In 2004, USAID submitted a budget to the US Congress with an explicit line item on education listed as “Increased Access to Quality Education and Livelihood Skills in Selected Areas,” requesting US\$4 million for 2004. Since then, the US directed about

US\$10 to US\$12 million annually to support so-called basic education projects in ARMM and other conflict-ridden areas.

The return of the Thomasites coincided with the large-scale return of US military forces to the Philippines in 2002 and 2003. Through the Joint US-Philippine Military Balikatan “exercises” and the US counterinsurgency trainings in the southern Philippines, US soldiers and security-intelligence teams helped the Philippine Armed Forces and police-security forces to bomb and assault several civilian-populated towns such as in North Cotabato, Lanao, Maguindanao, and Zamboanga localities. The Philippine President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo authorized these assaults under the pretext of an all-out-war against kidnappers of US citizens, the Abu Sayyaf Group, and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front.

In October 2003, USAID made public its neoliberal logic to transform education in ARMM. In the job position advertisement for the Senior Education Advisor, USAID explained its desire to have a “team leader” to manage and oversee its education projects, to serve as policy advisor, and to coordinate with others to ensure the effectiveness of US-funded projects (USAID 2003). USAID selected Dr. Kral to fill this position and later upgraded his title to be Chief Education Officer.

The 2003 advertisement—like later official statements—explicitly mentioned the concern of the US about the situation in ARMM. It stated:

The quality of education is typically poor and, according to reliable information, a certain proportion of Islamic teachers are adherents of Wahabi Islam and impart messages to their students that are consistent with the appeals of terrorist groups.

Increased access to education... can play an important role in helping Muslim Filipinos become more effective players in the country’s pluralistic and democratic state. [It] will help address alienation of the Muslim population, and help them see a better future as part of the Philippine state. [It] will help level the playing field and reduce marginalization of this population to enable them to compete for employment opportunities and participate more fully in economic growth.

USAID/Philippines new education program intends to improve access to, and the quality of, education.... [Efforts] will include helping to prepare the next generation of Muslim leaders, professionals and decision-makers, and which will require higher education training as well. The program also will address the special

problems of out-of-work youth in the conflict-affected areas. (USAID 2003)

This excerpt makes clear US interest in using education projects to counter certain Islamic and “cultural” values, to reduce dramatically recruitment to and support for so-called terrorist groups, and to promote US government’s notions of pluralist democracy, societal inclusion, and economic opportunities. In effect, this US-backed education should result in a pluralist government with US-trained Muslim leaders and societal inclusion in which marginalized youth from conflict areas gets to participate somehow in a highly uneven and globally competitive labor market.

Other portions of the job description provided a brief US assessment of Philippine education. They highlighted the sharp decline recently in access and quality of previously “one-of-the best educational system in all of Asia.” USAID and the Philippine government of GMA made this assessment based on their observation that English language competency is declining, the need to teach math and science in English again, and the need to train teachers on information technology and other subject matters to produce a more globally competent workforce.

After the selection of Dr. Kral as its education team leader in the Philippines, USAID turned to award grants and contracts to several international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to operate its many education projects. Of significance is its US\$2.4 million award to International Youth Foundation (IYF) in December 2004 to operate educational projects in ARMM that provide youth education and livelihood skills. IYF is a US-based international nongovernmental organization with a mission to prepare “young people to be healthy, productive and engaged citizens.” Since 1990, IYF operates programs—many funded by USAID—to improve the social, livelihood, political, and cultural conditions of young people in over 70 countries including the Philippines.

IYF and its USAID-funded projects serve as exemplars to the neoliberal turn in education policy. First, USAID creates—with seemingly liberal humanitarian hearts—educational projects to overcome the Philippine government’s inability to provide quality education. While USAID projects seemingly help to provide education, the projects erode the remaining government programs on education and replacing them with US-funded and US-directed programs operated by selected NGOs (see Petras 1999). As a result, USAID—without publicly stating its objective to neoliberalize and corporatize education—promote the privatization and deregulation in



public education. That is, increasingly public education in the Philippines is being replaced with a more privatized and deregulated educational system through programs operated by NGOs such as IYF.

Second, the privatization of public education occurs as the result of USAID policy that promotes partnerships between its NGOs and the private for-profit sector. IYF, for instance, has been known to be effective in garnering globally material and financial resources from transnational corporations and corporate-led foundations. In this way, IYF's network of corporate and for-profit partners designs and implements education and youth programs that often support their corporate values and provide employable skills to better transition the youth from poverty to low-wage manufacturing and service work. As such, these programs reduce government control and regulation on educational content and quality and foster stronger private sector initiatives in the so-called public education.

Third, the privatization and deregulation of Philippine public education serve as part of USAID's more comprehensive economic and societal restructuring of the Philippine state and society to make the country more conducive for US businesses to make profit from their investments, operations, and direct support of U.S.-based NGOs projects. Moreover, this US-led neoliberal restructuring occurs in coordination with other US activities involving counterinsurgency and military operations, which also seek to transform Philippine society.

### ***Playing BiNGO with Education: The Ayala Foundation***

The International Youth Foundation relies on several smaller NGOs—many Philippine-based—to implement its various educational programs as part of the Education and Livelihood Skills Alliance (ELSA). In this case, IYF awarded sub-contracts to the Ayala Foundation, Consuelo Foundation, Petron Foundation, Philippine Business for Social Progress, and the Regional Center for Innovation and Technology operated by the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization.

A deeper analysis of the Ayala Foundation (AF) activities for ELSA and other USAID-sponsored projects provides further details on the neoliberal shift in Philippine education. This neoliberal shift requires greater reliance on business- and industry-led NGOs—some have termed them BiNGOs—and their private sector counterparts to operate and implement “public” educational programs.

The Ayala Foundation is the corporate charity wing of the Ayala Group, which is one of the oldest, largest, and most powerful family-controlled business conglomerates in the Philippines. Since 1934, the Ayala Group—with its prominent Zobel family members—has been involved in real estate development (i.e. Ayala Land), banking and insurance services (i.e. Bank of the Philippines Islands), telecommunication (i.e. Globe Telecom), transport (i.e. Honda Cars Philippines and Isuzu Dealerships), electronics (i.e. Integrated Microelectronics), information technology, other business sectors, and public utilities (i.e. Manila Water Company). In 2007, the Group's combined worth is about US\$15 billion.

For ELSA, the Ayala Foundation operates the “In-School Youth Engagement Program,” which offers Filipino high school students the necessary skills and tools needed for them to “compete in the global market.” To do so, the Foundation primarily trains student leaders to “implement community projects and participate in learning sessions and interfaith dialogues” (Ayala Corporation 2005). Geographically, the students come from municipalities in the ARMM and surrounding areas such as Sarangani, Basilan, Lanao Del Sur, Maguindanao, Sulu, Tawi-Tawi, North Cotabato, and South Cotabato.

In 2006, the Ayala Foundation held its first ELSA-related training, bringing together 63 high school students. The Foundation reported that the training sought to “develop a greater sense of awareness on leadership values and principles that will hopefully guide them in leading and having a clear vision for themselves and their respective communities” (Ayala Foundation 2006a). In a follow-up session several months later, the Foundation trained 26 appointed youth leaders who participated in the earlier training to be “responsible” and to identify seemingly pressing problems of the youth and develop corresponding projects to address the problems (Ayala Foundation 2006b).

Through these training sessions, the Ayala Foundation emphasizes the need for the youth to be “active responsible citizens of their communities and their country” through volunteerism and “youth-to-youth cooperation” and to pursue “peace-building and social development initiatives and promote good governance and active, responsible citizenship in their [ARMM] localities.” These are the sort of “peace, development, and governance” values that USAID seeks to promulgate in the region, which advance US interests and challenge local and non-corporate-led initiatives striving for genuine social justice and peace in the region.

In addition to its participation in ELSA, the Ayala Foundation is involved with another school-related USAID project in the ARMM region. As part of the USAID “Computer Literacy and Internet Connection” (CLIC) program of the “Growth with Equity in Mindanao” project, the Ayala Foundation, other corporate-led NGOs, and US firms such as Microsoft, IBM, Intel, and Cisco Systems are contracted to provide internet access (with equipment and software applications) and training for teachers in selected public schools. As of February 2007, CLIC provided over 500 schools with computers and equipment for satellite and wireless internet access. However, after six months of the free internet connection, the public schools are then made to pay for internet services by charging computer use after school hours and during weekends.

Through USAID backing, the Ayala Foundation is carving a niche for itself in Philippine public schools. It is helping to transform public school students and their learning environment into corporate-led training ground for vocational education that supports neoliberal policies.

Based on my analysis of the Ayala Foundation’s activities, it contributes to neoliberal education through at least two distinct market-advantage outcomes. First, the Foundation uses youth leadership training sessions as an employee recruiting ground of its various corporate activities and operation. Potential graduates of these sessions in ARMM are targeted for selection and active involvement in the Foundation’s Young Leaders Congress, which brings together hundreds of high school youth from the various regions in the Philippines and the US since 1999. With additional training and involvement by the youth volunteer leaders, they become tracked for mid-level paid employment. Some graduates of previous Youth Leaders Congress, for instance, have served as session facilitators for the ELSA’s In-School Youth Engagement Program. In this way, the Ayala Group uses US funds for Philippine public education to create a labor recruiting pool and to train youth participants on work values and skills that Ayala expects from its workers.

Second, the Ayala Group benefits directly from its Foundation’s participation in CLIC. By training teachers on computer and information technology (IT) literacy and providing internet access to many ARMM students, the Foundation ensures that Ayala telecommunication and electronics companies (i.e. Global Telecom) get and maintain long-term contracts to provide internet access in Mindanao. This way, Ayala relies on US and Philippine government funds to expand telecommunication and related markets in the region. With government support of Ayala’s

telecommunication activities in public schools, Ayala is able to carve out a greater niche in the region and plan to get more paid consumers who have learned to use and want greater internet access. Furthermore, the US-funded CLIC program ensures that Ayala companies can draw on IT-savvy workers from the ARMM to work in its telecommunication companies and its new lucrative business services firms that provide call center and document processing support.

In short, USAID, the Ayala Foundation, and similar BiNGOs benefit from the neoliberal restructuring of Philippine education. The post-9/11 USAID educational programs aim to improve the image of the US military and government among the ARMM residents by highlighting US support for anti-poverty, humanitarian, and youth-centered programs. Nevertheless, the programs enable US NGOs and private businesses to benefit financially through direct contracts and indirectly through the creation of a consumer base to buy and use the products of US companies. Moreover, through this neoliberal arrangement, the Ayala Foundation exerts more control over the training and pre-sorting of vocational workers and low-level supervisors to be employed in companies of the Ayala Group.

***Seeking to Grab Hearts and Minds:  
GMA's Neoliberal Agenda on Public Education***

Neoliberalism is becoming more entrenched in Philippine public education under the presidency of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo (GMA). While the president claims to be interested in reducing poverty and improving social welfare through, for instance, better school programs and educational opportunities, her support for US policies on neoliberalism are resulting in greater poverty and hardship for the Bangsa Moro and other Filipinos.

Her neoliberal drive to restructure the government (i.e. Charter Change), its agencies (from public health, schooling, to courts), and its laws (i.e. anti-terrorism and national security policies) makes evident her desire for a more pro-US and pro-corporate government in the Philippines. Consequently, she seeks for a reformed government with laws and policies that ensure the erosion of the social programs for ordinary Filipinos, the end of their civil liberties and human rights guarantees, and the increased push for them to seek livelihood outside the Philippines.

In the arena of education, GMA strives to win over the hearts and minds of ordinary Filipinos, particularly those living in ARMM. With USAID-funded Ayala Foundation programs, GMA seeks to win over the

Muslim youth with computers, internet access, jobs, and peace and cooperation trainings. In this way, she hopes that Bangsa Moro youth might not join many of her political opponents who are sincerely striving for lasting peace and genuine justice in the region and for all Filipinos. Moreover, GMA hopes that Filipino youth learn to communicate better in English and to gain employable skills for informational technology-related jobs (such as by working in the call center industry and for document services firms). That is, she wants to be the “global CEO” of the world’s largest exporters of cheap, vocationally-skilled, English-speaking labor force.

The intensified labor export policy of GMA depends highly on USAID’s recent education programs that seek to revamp Philippine education, in which the Ayala Foundation is just one of the active subcontractors. This revamping also requires the involvement of many more contractors and subcontractors to provide vocational training. As a result, US corporations and many other international NGOs—not analyzed in this chapter such as Save the Children, the US Peace Corps, Asia American Initiative, Synergeia Foundation, the Brother’s Brother Foundation, the Knowledge Challenge, and Real World Productions, and Creative Associates International—benefit financially from their USAID contracts.

Additionally, it is important to remember that the expansion of neoliberal education requires its complement: the displacement of communities. With insurgent and counter-insurgent activities in ARMM and other regions of the Philippines, schools have been destroyed or made inactive. The clearing of ARMM areas through military and police campaigns often results in the creation of “peace zones” (see Chua 2006). The government then sends into these zones teachers, money, and technology and a highly politicized curriculum and elite values that benefits GMA and the US (Bakshian 2007; Gopalakrishnan 2007). Under these conditions of social displacement and “peace,” GMA selects local leaders and—through Ayala Foundation’s youth trainings—creates a long-term mechanism for further elite recruitment into her ranks.

Yet peace in the country remains elusive. GMA’s culture of terror and political killings remain in full force, making it difficult to create any semblance of peace and viable learning environment. ARMM youth living in conflict and terror are most likely seeking refuge in safe locations outside the purview of GMA and her supporters. The youth are probably striving to maintain their language and learn about histories of colonial and anti-imperialist resistance. They probably are using inexpensive and more accessible forms of new technologies to communicate with others globally.

More concretely, this means that local ordinary Bangsa Moro youth and pro-people teachers and supporters are doubtless exploring how to develop more effective anti-GMA and counter-US learning materials and provide IT and science education oriented towards greater regional and national equity. They are no doubt also searching ways to deepen values emphasizing genuine democracy and economic justice in the Philippines.

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## **Rationalizing Failures: The Philippine Government in the Education Sector**

**Ramon Guillermo**

The intense economic crisis that the Philippines is currently undergoing has certainly buried the sanguine and unreasonable hopes that the government had projected for the near future. The triumphalism of Philippines 2000 has been shaken to the core and reduced to a laughable joke for the history books. This crisis only confirms that the Philippines has yet to liberate itself from the age-old problems, which have plagued it in the economic and political spheres.

The much-trumpeted new epoch of free competition and borderless economies has not resulted in any real development but only in a more intense form of economic domination and exploitation of the poorer countries by the advanced capitalist countries. The seemingly neutral facade of Globalization has turned out to be more of the same old Imperialism that just cannot be wished away.

Nevertheless, it would be too much of a simplification to arrive at the conclusion that the present global order has not resulted in any significant changes. It would certainly be correct to say that for the educational system, as in Philippine society as a whole, that “nothing of the essence has changed.” However, even if it is true that the essential traits and defining characteristics of Philippine education have remained the same all throughout this so-called period of globalization, it is also equally unavoidably true that certain changes have occurred and are still occurring that may not have actually touched the “essence” of things as they are but still have important implications for the understanding of the current situation and the various effective political responses that can lead to genuine social transformation.

One of the main tasks is to attempt to identify what these changes are without losing sight of the meaning of these phenomena in relation to an essentially unchanged exploitative global economic and political system which must be identified as imperialism.

The changes in question can be identified by analyzing the so-called “three major areas of concern” in education which have been underlined in the Medium Term Education Development Plan (MTEDP). These are: “(1) increasing access to and improving of the quality of basic education; (2) liberalizing the regulation of private schools, and; (3) rationalizing the programs of State Universities and Colleges (SUCs).”

The question of “increasing access to” and “improving the quality of” education have been constant themes since even before the intricate and obfuscatory jargon of globalization entered the scene. It cannot even be asserted that these ideas have changed in the sense that they previously had an altruistic meaning which has currently been lost in this period of technocratic appeals to efficiency rather than morality.

When, for example, the Department of Education Culture and Sports (DECS) declares that “one of the bottlenecks to economic growth that the NICs of East and Southeast Asia are experiencing is the shortage of skilled labor” and that the educational system simply needs to become more responsive both in terms of quantity and quality, to the “manpower requirements for global competition,” it becomes manifest that there is no longer any obvious reference to the highly deplorable insufficiency of educational resources that can service the needs of all children of school-age as a moral issue and as a question of universal rights for which the state is responsible. Rather, that highly suspect discourse which used to prop up the legitimacy of the state as a benevolent provider of social goods and defender of human rights within its sphere of jurisdiction, has been replaced by the seemingly scientific and value-free discourse of supply and demand.

The fact that so many youth and children should have no access to adequate educational resources is no longer just offensive to social morality but simply offensive to the “ideal maximization of resources for greater competitiveness.” However, it is important to realize that even if the jargon of efficiency has supplanted the sermons of morality in order of importance or that even if the concept of the universal rights of humanity has likewise been edged out by the concept of “universal competition,” it is only the primary mode of “ideological legitimation” that has changed and not the interests which continue to dictate the absolute measure of just how many skilled mental and manual laborers are needed or just what things need to

be studied in school and to what degree of competence these skills must be practiced. It would be wrong to take the ideological smokescreen for reality itself, which in this case, could lead to a “harking back to the good ol’ days” where the heart rather than the market reigned supreme and which never existed anyway.

In any case, for the majority of Filipinos perennially living in neglect and poverty, all these apologetics whether clothed in the guise of the Ramos regime’s Social Reform Agenda (SRA), in its “war against poverty,” and its “movement for people empowerment,” or couched in more abstruse pseudo-scientific regurgitations simply do not amount to anything concrete that could change their lives. The third area of concern mentioned above regarding the rationalization of the SUCs means nothing other than a decrease in budget for this sector relative to the part which goes to basic education. Perhaps the reason for this juggling of funds is the double bind, which the government now finds itself trapped in.

On the one hand, it is undeniable that the educational system as a whole cannot even fulfill both the requirements regarding quantity and quality which government technocrats themselves have considered indispensable for the attainment of that ever-elusive state of NICHood.

On the other hand, the government has committed itself to the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) geared towards the reduction of social spending and privatization in order to ensure the payment of the massive foreign debt. The phrase “limited budget for education” so often bandied about by government technocrats does not mean that this is all that could conceivably be allotted for education, but instead means that this is all that could be allotted given the degree of priority, or lack thereof, which the state assigns to education. The government budget reports are consistent with one another that education “is the single biggest recipient of public funds excluding debt service.” While the government boasts that the “anti-poverty thrust” of the 1997 budget has resulted in the increase of the education budget (DECS and SUCs) from 11.7 percent to 14.0 percent, debt service payment in 1997 ate up to around forty percent of the national budget. All this in flagrant violation of the constitutional provision requiring that education be given the highest priority. This fact, of course, is extremely familiar by now. Indeed, rather too familiar in that it does not seem to excite as much as public indignation as it used to in the 70s and 80s.

The easiest way out of the above-mentioned dilemma is making the most of what little there is left after allocating debt payments. “Making

the most of something” is how rationalization is defined. This means that after the secondary priority of education after debt payments has been settled, then the matter of distributing what little there is left within that particular sector in order to maximize results must be determined. In accord with the logic of supply and demand, the government has opted to “reallocate resources from the SUCs, which have high costs and absorb 16 percent of the total GoP [government of the Phils.] expenditures” and pour a greater proportion of the limited budget for education to basic education which covers primary and secondary levels. The Asian Development Bank and the World Bank have consistently (from their moral high horse) bewailed the “misprioritization” of scarce resources by the government in the direction of tertiary education which they say should have been used for basic education in the interests of equity and poverty alleviation. It is unbelievable how banks, engaged in a cutthroat, dog-eat-dog business, can put on dour faces and shake their heads over children dying of diarrhea and starvation, even when no one believes them.

Certainly, behind all this cheap sentimentalizing is a seemingly accidental accordance with the current demands in the world market for cheap skilled labor in the Third World and for the immediate gratification of faster returns on investment. Incidentally, this emphasis on the production of skilled labor as a commodity in the world market does not mean that the more expensive mental laborers produced by higher education are not also consumed by the same gigantic transnational corporations. Although the former is in greater demand than the latter, both share the same fate as mere items of consumption by transnational corporations.

The relegation of SUCs to a marginal status within this scheme of things is definitely not surprising given the aggressive emphasis on selling Philippine skilled labor to foreign capital. There may, and in fact, has been absolute increases in amounts allocated to education overall and to SUCs in recent years. Deceptive figures however do not disprove the progressive marginalization of SUCs since any absolute increase in the budget of SUCS is meant to be accompanied by a decrease relative to that part allotted to basic education. This is outrightly admitted with a disarming frankness and lack of double-talk in the 1997 Budget of Expenditures and Sources of Financing, where it is stated that: “In the last three years, the educational system has been restructured into three main levels, namely: basic, higher and technical-vocational education and therefore allow the greater participation of the private sector in these areas.” This means that the restructuration of the education sector into three institutions: DECS for

primary and secondary education, Commission on Higher Education (CHED) for tertiary level education, and Technical Skills Development Authority (TESDA) for technical-vocational education is primarily directed towards facilitating the reduction of government intervention (read as “financial support”) in tertiary and voc-tech education so that more can be allotted to basic education.

The deliberate nature of this state abandonment of an area, which was previously considered its province, must be underscored to differentiate the situation in SUCs from an earlier analysis of mere government neglect. The political implication of this openly avowed withdrawal is that the state can no longer be called to task for not fulfilling its promises in tertiary education because it, in fact, no longer promises anything. For all that it’s worth (which isn’t much), this directly violates the Constitutional provision stating that the government shall “protect and promote the right of all citizens to quality education at all levels and shall take appropriate steps to make education accessible to all.”

The rationalization of SUCs entails that the very nature and classification of these institutions shall undergo certain significant changes, so that they shall “move away from their treatment as national agencies but as income-earning entities performing socially-oriented activities and hence entitled to government subsidy contributions.” Rationalization, therefore means that SUCs must from now on learn to earn their keep to justify their continued existence. They must “increase their self-financing capacity through income generation and cost-recovery programs.” And shall accordingly receive incentives for entrepreneurial activities. This means that those institutions, which are already making money, shall receive incentives on top of this, while poorer institutions cannot expect any additional incentive thereby proving the thesis that “money attracts money.” Rationalization translates into the “commercialization” of SUCs in three important aspects:

- 1) That the previously non-profit public institution shall now be turned into a profit-generating public agency. The “Higher Education Modernization Act of 1997” (RA 8292) permits the SUCs to “enter into joint ventures with business and industry for the profitable development and management of the college or institution, the proceeds from which are to be used for the development and strengthening of the college and the university...” This has been called the corporatization of SUCs.

No stone shall be left unturned in the search for juicy business prospects and big profits. The ways that a public educational agency engages in entrepreneurial activities can take many forms: from regular tuition fee

increases combined with the removal or reduction of automatic subsidies for the “iskolar ng bayan” to the commercialization of the so-called “idle assets.” The “idle assets” referred to simply consist of lands and other properties allocated for educational use but which have not been developed for such a use despite the crying need for facilities because of the chronic lack of funds. “Commercialization” means the leasing out of the lands and other properties of SUCs meant for educational use to private commercial interests. The most notorious case of commercialization of idle assets is occurring in the University of the Philippines at Diliman with the joint ventures being entered into by the UP Development Corporation with the private sector. The UP administration is intent upon leasing one hundred hectares of its land for as long as a hundred years (or three generations of Filipinos) in order to gain the maximum possible profits.

2) That food and dormitory and other services within the university or college, which used to receive subsidies, shall now be run by private concessionaires. This, on a narrower scale, is usually termed the privatization of services within the public institution. RA 8292 states that the governing board shall have the power to “privatize, where most advantageous to the institution, management and non-academic services such as health, food, building or grounds or property maintenance and similar such services...”

3) That the educational institution previously insulated from market forces due to relatively stronger state support in the past must from now on bow to the harsh discipline of the market. Ironically, it is the state propaganda machinery itself and its hordes of technocrats which propagate the idea that any state-run institution is bound to be inefficient and undisciplined as compared to a privately run, profit-driven enterprise, even as they assert that the state itself and its various functions must submit to the logic of the marketplace. The state takes up this chorus in order to create an ideological basis for renegeing on what the public previously perceived to be its responsibilities, and also, in order to justify selling off public assets redounding to the benefit of both the buyer and the corrupt bureaucrat-capitalist. By means of privatizing institutions of higher learning, the state must now “clamp down on the proliferation of non-viable campuses and course offerings.” Presumably, the ideal of non-viability is not connected to any other concept than that of a profitability which harmonizes with the needs of foreign monopoly capital.

All campuses and courses that do not serve the “manpower requirements for global competition,” or in other words, do not serve the needs of the gigantic transnational corporations shall be deemed an irrational

drain on precious public funds and worthy of the scrapheap. Easy targets for this kind of rationalization include the proposed reduction by the CHED of courses and subjects in the humanities, social sciences and the national language.

Needless to say, TNCs do not need employees who are well-versed in Philippine history, language and culture, rather, the reverse is true. What they need are Filipinos with only a scant knowledge of themselves and a blind admiration for everything imported. It's easy enough to see the connection between the current emphasis being given to the teaching of English and that illusory image English competency being touted by the government as a comparative advantage of the Filipino employee or laborer in the Southeast Asian region. More insidious still, is the attempt to instill in young pupils values that are doubtless meant to inculcate a respect for authority and property and an acceptance of their "place in society." This is apparently an ideological offensive on the part of the state to combat the militant unionism for which the Filipino labor is well-known.

Furthermore, the seemingly positive concept of "life-long education" being proposed by the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Education Forum within the context of the human resources development plans of APEC, belongs hand-in-hand with the labor "contractualization" and "flexibilization" policies which serve as combined attacks upon the Filipino workers' job security and the right to form unions. All life-long education means is that the worker must now accept the fact that she/he must continually adapt herself/himself to the ever variable needs of transnational corporations and that the possibility of holding on to any job for any period of time is continually imperiled.

Undoubtedly, funds from government are still going to tertiary education, but government will ensure that these measly funds must unconditionally and maximally serve the needs of the market for human resources. One of the most insidious effects of this kind of subjection to market forces is that the overall direction of education is taken away from the sphere of public deliberation and hidden away in the boardrooms and left to the hands of technocrats without the slightest public accountability. State universities such as UP is starting to form curriculum committees made up of academics and representatives from industry in order to pattern the priorities of the university after the needs of these businesses. The demands imposed by such international bodies as APEC for such things as "Universal Mobility," which means the standardization of curricula among all the member countries in order to allow the free movement of engineers,

scientists, doctors and other professionals across national boundaries, not only facilitates the phenomenon of brain drain, it also further limits the parameters allowed for a country to decide on its own what kind of knowledge are relevant to the needs of the people and the nation. What is and what is not relevant, and therefore rational, shall heretofore be directly acted upon and decided by the private sector with hardly any mediation from the state. This kind of supranational standardization reduces the freedom and initiative of teachers to determine the content of their teaching and condemns them to the interminable repetition of knowledge deemed necessary and profitable by the international capitalist system.

Rationalization in the service of commercial interests may be placed under the broad label of "Privatization." The privatization program of the government, which began during Pres. Cory Aquino's term, has arrived at the final phase of privatizing social services. This presumably placed last due to the possible negative political effects such a procedure may entail, especially in the education and health services which have always been chronically underserved. Privatization in these areas can only mean that those who used to have a little shall now have nothing. However, it is important to realize that the term privatization itself is a consistent victim of double-talk. Some technocrats would find it convenient to make an extremely narrow definition of privatization that would be restricted to the outright sale of the government assets and properties in question. Since many SUCs have not been sold, but simply rationalized in the manner discussed above, they would deny that any kind of privatization is occurring in education.

It is important to keep in mind a broader and more effective definition of privatization which states that it is any move on the part of the government to reduce its involvement in any area or activity. Privatization would therefore point to a process of reducing State participation rather than to a simple, direct sale. "Rationalization" per se is not necessarily privatization. The State can and should rationalize its functioning according to a standard and measure necessary and the unnecessary arrived at through a genuinely democratic means of public deliberation. It is only when rationalization occurs under the unmitigated pressures of private enterprise that it is possible to speak of privatization. While the government has always been subservient to imperialism, it can still be said that the process of privatization hands over the direct control of the privatized access to monopoly capitalism and eliminates the traditional mediatory role of the State, leaving monopoly capitalists with an unmediated and direct control over the national system of education.



The second area of concern regarding the liberalization of private education cited above points to the corollary process parallel and in conjunction with privatization. Government does not simply leave a vacuum in the area where it vacated, it only withdraws in order to affect the transfer from the public to the private. To ensure this, the private sector must be encouraged to invest in education by offering all sorts of attractive incentives such as the deregulation of tuition fees and the relaxation of restrictions and requirements. CHED has claimed that it has a purely regulatory role in relation to tuition increases and cannot prevent schools and universities from regularly implementing the increases. However, even while it still requires that 70 percent of any tuition increase should be used for teacher compensation, 20 percent for overhead costs and 10 percent for return on investment, CHED does not even have enough resources to make sure whether all educational institutions which have recently increased their tuition have really allotted 70 percent for the salary increases of teachers. As it is, the economic condition of the teachers in private schools at the primary and tertiary level are, in general, appreciably lower than that of the teachers in public schools.

The privatization, rationalization, commercialization and liberalization of SUCs in the name of improving basic education does not mean that basic education itself is spared from these relentless processes. The fact is that even withdrawal of government from tertiary education does not translate into enough resources for the provision of basic education. A controversial case of privatization in basic education is the phasing out of the Instructional Development Center under DECS and the privatization of the publication of public schools textbooks by this year under the Book Publishing Industry Development Act. Of course, the main objection to this is the inevitable increase in the prices of learning materials and the problem of insufficient supply.

However, apparently more significant is that the policy of devolution being implemented in the primary and secondary levels is really only another form of rationalization. "Devolution" means that part of the burden of financing education shall be shifted to the Local Government Units (LGUs) and the private sector. Concomitant to this, devolution cannot be implemented without that parallel phenomenon of decentralization. It is claimed that "centralized academic and financial management and supervision does not encourage innovation and initiative at the school level." Decentralization thus takes the form of assigning "more prerogatives and resources for school heads" and the improvement of their entrepreneurial

and managerial skills. It is hoped that decentralization shall result in greater efficiency, responsiveness and competition. Public educational institutions shall therefore be forced to vie with one another for “scarce” educational funding.

Since 1991, the Local Government Code (LGC) has institutionalized two elements, which serve as preliminary steps towards devolving the public educational sector. The first of these are the School Boards covering provinces, cities or municipalities which are headed by LGU and DECS officials and tasked with allocating local government funds to education. The second is the Special Education Fund (SEF) which is set aside by the LGUs for the maintenance and construction of educational facilities and for the granting of additional benefits to teaching and non-teaching personnel. The current review of the LGC is also geared towards devolving more educational functions excluding teachers’ salaries. The government admits that devolution may worsen already increasing inequities in education since LGUs can only give that amount of funding which they can afford. The gap between poorer and wealthier LGUs will replicate itself within the educational institutions themselves and thereby make the chasm separating poor and affluent schools even wider.

The solution, which DECS proposes, is to increase the share of wealthy LGUs in shouldering education while increasing the relative amount that the poorer LGUs shall receive. In other words, they aim to determine the amount of local subsidies necessary on a case-to-case basis. Which means that there shall be an overall shift in education expenditure from the central to the local governments. It is through this devolutionary rationalization of resources that government aims to be able to target the most needy.

This kind of maneuver may by now be quite familiar. By a sleight of hand, government succeeds in pitting the recipients of educational funding against each other and at the same time gains the moral high ground by appealing to “poverty alleviation.” By labeling the increased dependence of the educational institutions upon local community involvement and financing as decentralization and “grassroots empowerment,” it fosters the illusion that where there is minimal state power is where the people’s power lies, thereby obscuring the obvious fact that the power of the people should reside in the state or there should be no state at all.

What is hidden behind all of the above-mentioned apologetics is the fact, that government does not hesitate at all to sacrifice the interests of the vast majority of Filipino people to the interests of the IMF-WB. It distributes a pittance among the poor while redistributing the nation’s real

wealth among the ruling elites and the gigantic and greedy transnational corporations. The Ramos government thinks that it can fool the people into believing that the bitter medicine of privatization and rationalization under the aegis of liberalization is all for the good of the nation. It thinks that it can make people believe that the education budget has reached the highest possible ceiling and cannot be augmented anymore even if it shovels billions into the pockets of foreign banks. It will continue to dismantle even the barest structures of social services in the Philippines heedless of the fact that this will inevitably result in even more intense pauperization and exploitation for the great majority. However, the inconvenient reality for those in power is that even the most abstruse calculations for maximization and efficiency cannot factor out the political movements that continually gain in strength as more and more people find no other alternative but to protest against these blatant attacks on both their political and economic rights.

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## **Neoliberalism in the UP**

***Elmer A. Ordoñez***

Since its founding in 1908, the University of the Philippines (UP) has been inextricably linked with neoliberalism in essence. A relatively new term, neoliberalism is associated with free market methods and fewer state restrictions on business operations and economic development – which also goes by the name of globalization marked by liberalization, deregulation, and privatization. Its alternatives are said to be economic nationalism, fair trade, and anti-capitalism or socialism.

U. S. imperialism at the turn of the century ushered in the conditions of globalization such that the Philippines as a colony became the source of raw materials and cheap labor used in manufacturing and agri-business in the United States. At the same time, the Philippines became a dumping ground for US monopoly capitalism – flooding the country with goods and services needed in its “benevolent assimilation” or pacification campaign.

In 1907, a Philippine Assembly was elected by propertied voters (workers, peasants and women had not yet been enfranchised to vote) and one of their first bills was to establish a state university. Hence, the UP was founded at a time when the colonial government was at the height of its pacification campaign against Filipino “insurgents.” The colonial rulers needed to train the new bureaucracy made up of Filipinos many of whom would be educated in the US through pensionadoships. The Philippine Normal School was earlier established to train teachers using English as the medium of instruction in the public school system. UP was to become a key part of the ideological apparatus of the colonial government.

Murray Bartlett in his inaugural address as UP president in 1911 stated that “the surest way of bringing about Filipinization of the government is through the university where skilled and efficient public servants will be trained for the various bureaus.” Thus, the colonial policy was to co-opt and train the elite which would then serve as a surrogate for the colonial establishment. Hence, after the granting of formal independence in 1946, the national leaders who formed part of the ruling class have continued to serve American interests.

The first era of globalization is said to have occurred after the shocks of the First World War. Free trade policies imposed at the turn of the century operated more fully during this period marked by (a) the development of cash crops (sugar, abaca, and coconut) and extractive industries (metal ore) for export – the raw materials needed by American industry; and (b) the importation of consumer goods (including cultural fare) mainly from the US. When the US stock market crashed in 1929, the Philippines like the rest of the world felt the effects of the Great Depression that occurred during the 30s.

The second era of globalization occurred after the Second World War, and the UP played a key role in the development of units geared to the needs of the Cold War – the so-called struggle of the Free World against the Soviet Union.

If the UP during the colonial period produced efficient articulators of colonial ideology, the university after the war produced anti-communist and neocolonial intellectuals and professionals. US funding agencies and foundations had seen to that. Under President Vidal Tan (1952-56), the university became “an American conduit of anti-communist propaganda” (PDF 1984). With the Cold War at its height, nationalist and liberal-minded professors were victims of McCarthyite witch-hunting. The Military Intelligence Service surveilled the campus and recruited agents from the students and the faculty.

The International Cooperation Agency (ICA), the forerunner of the US Agency for International Development (USAID), provided training grants for UP personnel. The Fulbright-Smith-Mundt program under the US State Department gave fellowships for UP faculty members and brought in American professors. Cornell University assisted UP Los Banos in its programs. Michigan State University aided the Institute of Public Administration. Stanford helped the colleges of engineering and business administration. Under these programs, “agents of US imperialism in the guise of exchange professors and academic technicians swamped the campus.” (PDF 1984: 8)

Other foundations that participated in co-opting the “sympathies of the Filipino intelligentsia” included the Asia Foundation, Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, and the US Philippine Education Foundation which provided grants and scholarships. The result was a “bumper harvest of Cold Warriors” who became the deans and directors of the university, and eventually technocrats and cabinet members of the government. Some were later promoted to key positions in the World Bank.

The administration of President Vicente Sinco (1958-62), who tried to follow the liberal tradition of Rafael Palma and Bienvenido Gonzalez, was under scrutiny of the Hannah Survey Mission which set criteria for higher education within the “ideological limits of what the Americans saw as essential for enlightened citizenship and leadership in a free and democratic society” (PDF 1984).

The Hannah recommendations were implemented during the term of Carlos P. Romulo (1962-68). The Americanization of UP intensified with the proliferation of units and programs with neo-colonial and neoliberal ideas of development. Under Salvador P. Lopez’s (1969-74) notion of the university as critic of society and agent of social change, progressive students and faculty members examined the neocolonial state, using heretofore proscribed frameworks of analysis. Rallies, demonstrations and teach-ins became accepted forms of mass education.

But this radical trend was cut short when martial law was declared in September 1972, and the first target for control was the educational system. A Marcos decree transformed UP into a System and created autonomous units, such as the UP Los Banos, to apply the university’s academic and intellectual expertise and physical resources to achieve the goals of the “New Society.” The successor to S.P. Lopez, who was eventually fired after criticizing the dictatorship, provided the ideological justification for martial law by stressing the pre-eminence of collective rights over individual rights in his investiture speech.

The UP finally became the “biggest consulting firm for the national government and private business,” “a think-tank of the Marcos regime,” and “a pool of trainers, speakers and resource persons involved in ‘development’ agencies of the government.” (PDF 1984: 13) New UP units were established by decree: (1) the Philippine Center for Advanced Studies (1973), autonomous like UPLB with dubious programs like the Institute for Strategic Studies; (2) the Philippine Center for Economic Development, to provide the government with an “adequate research base for economic planning and policy formation” and working closely with

College of Business Administration described as a “a conduit of corporate, multinational ideology legitimized as academic research;” (3) the National Engineering Center, intended to ensure that the “number of engineering graduates would match the requirement of industry and economy”; and (4) the UP Visayas whose rationale for establishment depended mainly on foreign loans and grants, with the World Bank giving generously to develop its campus in Miag-ao, said to be ideal for fishery development. (PDF 1984: 13)

Long established units were revitalized or reoriented to be useful to the Marcos regime and big business: the Statistical Center, College of Public Administration, School of Labor and Industrial Relations, School of Economics, College of Education, College of Law and Law Center, College of Engineering, College of Business Administration, Institute of Mass Communication, and Institute of Small-Scale Industries.

UPLB is a classic example of how the university has been used by funding institutions for their own purposes. In 1964, the World Bank began helping the College of Agriculture develop as an instrument for the bank’s concept of rural development among others. As conceived by former WB president Robert McNamara (who became US defense secretary during the Vietnam War), the strategy of rural development called for the creation of “small, capitalist producers in the countryside to pre-empt the Vietnam-type liberation movement. This new stratum of petty kulaks can serve as a cushion to absorb and diffuse pressure from the masses, landless peasants and rural workers” (PDF 1984: 18). There were other dubious US undertakings in UPLB.

The World Bank, with its assistance of \$6 million to the College of Agriculture for improvement of its facilities, then embarked on a sustained program in education, in conjunction with other US foundations. The World Bank funded the setting up of the national polytechnic system, 10 regional manpower centers, 13 experimental agricultural high schools in 1973-78, the Instructional Materials Corporation to prepare the textbooks in science, math, social studies, English and Filipino (1976-81), agricultural programs in UPLB and the College of Veterinary Medicine in 1976-81, and the Ten-Year Program for Development of Elementary Education in 1981-1990 (Ordoñez 2003: 93).

*Making Education Work*, prepared by technocrats from the UP for the Education Commission headed by former UP President Edgardo Angara, reflects the World Bank’s neoliberal ideas of education and development.



For whom? One may ask. Renato Constantino answered the question way back in 1978:

The World Bank wants an educational system that will meet the manpower needs of the transnationals; that will facilitate the growth of agri-business production of the global market and that will insure the internationalization of the entire student population of values and outlooks, supportive of the global capitalist system. (Constantino 1978)

In this World Bank strategy, the UP played a key role during the years of the dictatorship.

UP after EDSA has not veered away from the control of the World Bank. In fact, the university under Emil Javier, a product of UPLB, adopted the Medium-Term Philippine Development Program of President Ramos, otherwise known as “Philippines 2000,” which followed the World Bank prescription for an export-oriented economy dominated by transnationals with the Philippines providing cheap, English literate and docile workers. UP Plan 2008 (anticipating the university centennial) has all the features of neoliberal development of the institution and seems to be the framework of the present UP administration

Even the Department of English tried to get into the scene by sponsoring during Javier’s term two conferences on the theme of “English and Global Competitiveness.” UP professors particularly from the School of Economics and Business Administration, several of whom became cabinet members, are particularly vocal proponents of globalization. The contagion has spread to the University Council which approved the revised general education program, which has the ideological underpinning of neoliberal thought.

With the national government scrimping on education including the UP budget, the university administration is now compelled to pursue what it has believed all along – raise funds from the commercialization of its “idle assets” and increase of tuition fees. The UP under the present leadership will not be wanting in physical and intellectual resources in making the neoliberal type of education work on campus – a model for other state colleges and universities.

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## **Pseudo-Progresibong Pragmatismo sa Usapin ng Pagpopondo sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas**

**R. C. Asa**

Makabuluhang tingnan at talakayin ang neoliberalismo sa edukasyon hindi lamang sa punto ng pagpapatupad sa mga programa at patakaran at ng mga epekto ng pagpapatupad na ito, kundi ng mga sumalubong at tumapat din ditong pagtunggali at paglaban. Mahalagang suriin kung paanong binago o hinubog ng mga pagtunggali't paglaban—ng mga estudyante, guro, kawani, at iba pang sektor sa edukasyon—ang pagpapatupad sa mga patakaran ng neoliberalismo. Kailangang idagdag, gayunman, na ang pagbago o paghubog na tinutukoy rito ay hindi sa esensya ng kontra-mamamayan at kontra-estudyanteng mga patakaran ng neoliberalismo, kundi sa porma ng pagpapatupad sa mga ito—bagay na may halaga, kundi man mahalaga, sa mga pagtunggali't paglaban sa gayong mga patakaran. Halimbawa nito ang pagbabago sa porma ng pagtataguyod at pagtatanggol ng gobyerno, mga administrasyon ng mga paaralan, at mga kaugnay nitong istruktura sa mga patakarang neoliberal sa edukasyon.

Sa papel na ito, nais kong iulat at ihapag bilang usapin ang pagtampok at pananatili, nitong huling mga taon, ng matatawag at tatawagin kong “pseudo-progresibong pragmatismo” sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas (UP) sa konteksto ng una, pagtutulak—ng gobyerno ng Pilipinas at ng administrasyon ng UP sa ilalim ng iba't ibang pangulo—ng mga patakarang ipapatupad sa UP na itinaguyod at itinataguyod ng mga patakaran ng neoliberalismo sa pambansang antas; gayundin ng ikalawa, mga paglaban dito ng mga estudyante, guro, kawani at iba pang sektor sa UP, na sama-samang tinatawag na “Komunidad ng UP.” Ang tinutukoy na mga patakarang pang-UP—na itinutulak ng gobyerno at ng administrasyon ng

UP at nilalabanan ng Komunidad ng UP—ay iyong kaugnay ng pagpopondo o pagpipinansya sa UP, na siyang piniling pokus ng sanaysay, at pangunahing batayan ng sinasabing pagtampok ng pseudo-progresibong pragmatismo.

Mahalagang bigyang pansin at pag-aralan ang pseudo-progresibo't pragmatikong pagtataguyod at pagtatanggol ng administrasyon ng UP sa itinulak nitong pagbago sa UP Charter. Sa kongkretong antas ng naging mga debate't tunggalian hinggil dito, ang pseudo-progresibong pragmatismong ito ang nakaharap at nakalaban ng mga kasapi ng Komunidad ng UP na tumutol sa panukalang batas at kumilos para ibasura ito. At naging mahalaga ang mga debate't tunggaliang iyon sa paghubog sa pagtingin ng mga kasapi ng Komunidad ng UP sa panukalang batas at, sa gayon, sa kanilang pagkilos kaugnay nito. Hindi man ang mapaminsalang esensya ng patakaran ang nag-iba, mahalaga rin ang pagtunggali at paglaban sa partikular na porma ng pagsusulong nito.

#### ***Neoliberal na mga Patakaran at Pagtataguyod ng Administrasyong Javier***

Para mailugar sa kontekstong historikal nito at mapatampok ang pag-usbong ng pseudo-progresibong pragmatismo sa usapin ng pagpopondo sa UP, makabuluhang magkaroon ng pangkalahatang paglalahad sa mga patakaran ng administrasyon ni Presidente Emil Q. Javier sa UP (1993-1999). Gayunman, upang lubos na maunawaan ang mga patakaran ng administrasyong Javier, kailangang magkaroon ng pangkalahatang paglalarawan sa mga patakaran ng rehimen ni Pangulong Fidel V. Ramos (1992-1998).

Naging tampok sa panahon ng rehimeng Ramos ang mga patakaran sa ekonomiya at iba pang larangan na nagtutulak at nagbibigay-katwiran sa ideolohiya ng neoliberalismo. Ang totoo, unang naging tampok ang ideolohiyang ito sa panahon ng nasabing rehimen. Kinatangian ito ng todo-todo at hibang na pagtugma at pag-ayon sa maka-imperyalistang globalisasyon; pangangarap na maging susunod na newly-industrializing country (NIC); pagpapatupad sa mas partikular na mga patakaran ng liberalisasyon, deregulasyon at pribatisasyon; pagkaltas sa subsidyo ng estado sa mga serbisyong panlipunan tulad ng edukasyon, kalusugan at pabahay; at pagpapakete sa lahat ng ito sa “Philippines 2000”—na ipinintang larawan ng pag-unlad ng gobyerno. Ang pagbagsak ng sosyalista-sa-salitang mga estado sa Silangang Europa at sa Rusya, at ang pagbubukas sa pandaigdigang

pamilyan ng Tsina ay sinabayan ng paglantad ng pagkakabiyak at tunggalian sa dominanteng Kaliwa sa bansa na kadikit ng Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas. Sa ganito, nabuo ang imahe na dominante ang neoliberalismo at wala itong kalaban sa paghahapag ng alternatibo sa namamayaning sistema.

Sa UP, matapat na dinala ang ideolohiyang ito ng administrasyong pinamunuan ni Javier, isang appointee ni Ramos. Malinaw na patunay nito ang *UP Plan 2008: Gearing the University for its Second Century* (1996), ang estratehikong plano ng UP para sa paghahanda sa sentenaryo ng pagkakatatag nito noong 1908. Tinalakay ang “Globalisasyon, Nasyunalismo at Pag-unlad” sa isa sa unang mga seksyon nito. Ayon dito, “Ang mas malayang pagdaloy ng mga kalakal, serbisyo, teknolohiya, kapital at sa dulo’y ng mga tao ay nagbibigay ng mga oportunidad para magpaunlad ng isang pinagsasaluhang perspektiba sa mga suliranin ng marami. Halimbawa, ang pagguho ng pambansa at pangkulturang mga bakod ay nagpapadali sa pagtanggap sa mga ideya ng demokrasya at karapatang pantao, ang papel ng mga pamilyan, at ang halaga ng natural na kalikasan” (UP Plan 1996: 3). Pagkatapos baybayin ang mga hamon at suliraning kaakibat ng globalisasyon, sinabi nitong “ang pang-ekonomiyang paggigiit ng pagkabansa sa esensya ay nangangahulugan ng kakayahang panatilihin ang mga salik ng produksyon sa bansa sa pagbibigay ng mainam na atmospera para gumana sila, dagdag pa sa paghikayat sa dayuhang mga kompanya na mamuhunan sa loob ng bansa” (UP Plan 1996: 3). Idinadagdag nito, gayunman, na kailangang balansehin ang pagpapaunlad sa mga kakayahan ng bansa ng pagpapabuti sa kalagayan ng maralitang mayorya sa lipunan.

Mas malinaw na makikita sa dokumento ang pagsang-ayon sa pambansang mga patakaran, gayundin sa ideolohiya ng neoliberalismo, sa paglalarawan nito sa pagpapaunlad sa kampus ng UP sa Diliman, ang pangunahing kampus ng UP. “Nilalayon ng UP Diliman na paunlarin ang sarili para maging world-class na pamantasang Pilipino pagdating ng 2008 bilang pagsuporta sa layunin ng bansang makamit ang katayuan ng NIC at ang global competitiveness pagdating ng ika-dalawampu’t isang siglo. Ang kagyat na layunin, samakatwid, ay ilatag ang pundasyon para sa pagpapaunlad sa isang kaguruang pandaigdig ang kalibre, ang pagpapatupad ng world-class na mga programang pang-edukasyon at para sa pananaliksik, ang paglikom ng modernong mga pasilidad at kagamitan, at ang pagpapalakas sa mga rekurso nitong pampinansya at awtonomiyang pampinansya (fiscal autonomy).” (UP Plan 1996: 39-40)

Sa usapin ng pagpopondo sa UP, malinaw na isinasapartikular at pinagyayaman ng dokumento ang pagtataguyod sa patakaran ng gobyernong

bawasan ang subsidyo para sa UP, “habang ang Unibersidad ay nagtatamasa ng awtonomiyang pampinansya sa paglalaan ng pondo ng gobyerno..., hindi nito magagawa ang lahat ng programang gusto nito at itinuturing nitong kailangan dahil sa matinding pagsandig nito sa subsidyo ng gobyerno. Hinihingi nito ang makabuluhang pagpapaunlad sa kakayahan ng Unibersidad na lumikom ng rekurso” (UP Plan 1996: 22-23). Bukod sa “magpunyaging kuhanin ang bahagi nito sa subsidyo ng gobyerno,” ito pa ang itinutulak na gawin ng dokumento: “Palakihin ang kita, nang doble ang kasalukuyang antas sa totoong halaga pagdating ng 2008, sa paggamit nang lubos sa mga rekurso nitong marketable, kasama na ang mga land grant, sonang komersyal at para sa technology park, pag-aaring intelektwal, at pagmobilisa sa mga donasyon at endowment pabor sa Unibersidad” (UP Plan 1996: 23). Ilan sa partikular na binanggit ang mga land grant sa Quezon, Laguna, at Iloilo, gayundin ang pagtatayo ng mga science and technology park sa iba’t ibang kampus ng UP sa bansa.

Bagamat hindi tinukoy bilang mahalagang bahagi ng plano sa paglikom ng pondo para sa UP, walang dudang ang mga pagbanggit ng dokumento sa Socialized Tuition and Financial Assistance Program o STFAP ay pagsang-ayon at pagpuri pa nga rito. Bagamat inilalarawang bahagi ng “pagdemokratisa sa access sa edukasyong UP” (UP Plan 1996: 20) at “pagpapahusay sa kapakanan ng mga estudyante” (UP Plan 1996: 24) — dahil pinagbabayad umano ang mayayamang estudyante para sa pag-aaral ng mahihirap na estudyante—ang STFAP ay matagal nang tinuligsa bilang paraan ng UP para lumikom ng kita. Noong unang binalangkas ito, tinantya nang makakalikom ito ng kitang aabot sa P100 hanggang P150 milyon kada taon mula sa matrikula ng mga estudyante, dahil kasama nito ang pagtaas ng matrikula mula P40 hanggang P300 kada yunit, o 750% pagtaas. Hayag ding inilahad ng administrasyon ni dating Pangulong Jose V. Abueva ng UP, na nag-apruba sa STFAP, na kailangan ng UP ng dagdag-pondo kaya kailangan ang STFAP (Escandor 2006).

Samakatwid, lalong nagkahugis ang dalawang tampok na paraan ng UP sa paglikom ng sariling pondo—ang pagkokomersyalisa sa mga lupa at pag-aari nito at ang pagtataas ng mga bayarin ng mga estudyante. Sa ganitong pagkakalahad na nakabatay sa aktwal na pangyayari sa kasaysayan, hindi hiwalay ang una sa ikalawa. Sabay silang ipinapatupad ng mga administrasyon ng UP para lumikom ng sariling pondo.

Naging matinding punto ng tunggalian sa pagitan ng administrasyong Javier at ng Komunidad ng UP ang pagtutulak ng nauna sa Commonwealth Property Development Project (CPDP). Sa esensya,

ang proyektong ito ay ang pagtatayo ng sentro ng komersyo sa mahigit 90-hektaryang lupang pag-aari ng UP sa Commonwealth Avenue sa Diliman, o sa mahigit-kumulang 30% ng kalupaan ng kampus dito. Partikular na humatak sa atensyon at umani ng tuligsa ng Komunidad ng UP ang pagtatayo ng *mall* na laman ng proyekto. Tampok dito ang modang “negosyo kung negosyo” ng administrasyong Javier, na bumangga maging sa mga pamantayang pang-akademiko ng marami sa Komunidad ng UP. Bagamat nilabanang nang matindi ng Komunidad ng UP sa iba’t ibang porma—kasama na ang mobilisasyong tinatayang umabot sa 10,000 katao sa loob ng kampus ng Diliman—ang CPDP ay inaprubahan ng administrasyong Javier (Escresa 2007). Hindi ito naipatupad, gayunman, dahil sa pagputok ng Asian Financial Crisis noong 1997. Sa kabila nito, maraming katulad, bagamat relatibong mas maliliit, na proyektong nagkokomersyalisa sa mga lupa’t pag-aari ng UP ang naipatupad sa ilalim ng administrasyong Javier.

***Pagtampok ng Pseudo-Progresibong Pragmatismo sa Administrasyong Nemenzo***

Noong pumutok ang Asian Financial Crisis, gumuho ang ipinagmalaking naipundar na ilang hungkag na pagsulong sa ekonomiya ng rehimeng Ramos. Naging malinaw na maging ang pilit tinutularang mga NIC sa Asya ay umatras ang kalagayang pang-ekonomiya, at ang pinapangarap na pagiging NIC ng Pilipinas pagdating ng 2000 ay hindi magaganap. Sa panahong ito, pinalitan ang rehimeng Ramos ng rehimen ni Pang. Joseph Estrada (1998-2001) sa maituturing na “boto ng protesta” pabor kay Estrada na tinitingnang “maka-masa” ng marami. Dahil sa Asian Financial Crisis, gayunman, nawalan ng dinudugtulang pandaigdigang pantasya ang binuong mga pangarap ng pag-unlad ng gobyerno ng bansa. Ang pangkaunlarang mga islogang binalangkas noong panahon ng katanyagan ng ideolohiya ng neoliberalismo ay pinalitan ng populistang mga islogan. Ang “Onward to Philippines 2000” halimbawa ay naging “Erap para sa Mahirap” at iba pang pahayag ng pangulo—kasabay, sa paunang obserbasyon ng isang tagamasid, ng aktwal na pagpapatuloy ng pagpapatupad sa mga patakarang neoliberal ng rehimeng Ramos dahil sa sinasabing “pag-hijack” ng mga ekonomista ng UP School of Economics, na karamiha’y kilalang neoliberal, sa programang pang-ekonomiya ng rehimeng Estrada (Bello 1998).

Sa ganitong konteksto naitalagang pangulo ng UP si Francisco Nemenzo, Jr. (1999-2005), kasabay ng ilang personalidad na kilalang maka-Kaliwa o makabayan na naitalaga sa gobyernong Estrada. Nagpapakilala

bilang “hindi nagsisising Marxista” (unrepentant Marxist), si Nemenzo ay dating kasapi ng lumang Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas, at umaakong siyang nagbukas sa ugnayan ng lumang PKP sa gobyerno ng Unyong Sobyet. Kumalas siya sa PKP noong 1972 dahil, aniya, nakikipagkasundo ito noon sa diktador na si Ferdinand Marcos, at ayaw niyang maging bahagi ng pakikipagkasundong ito. Sinasabi niyang pangatlo siya sa pinakamataas na opisyal ng PKP noong umalis siya—kalihim para sa edukasyon at pinuno ng kagawaran sa ugnayang panlabas. Bago bumalik sa pagtuturo, ikinulong siya ng diktadurang Marcos (Panares 2001). Mula noong dekada 80, nakilala siyang isa sa mga pinuno ng Bukluran sa Ikauunlad ng Sosyalistang Isip at Gawa o BISIG, at noong dekada 90, ng partidong Akbayan (Mohideen 1998).

Panandang bato sa administrasyong Nemenzo ang Pebrero 14, 2000. Sa araw na iyon, nagmartsa ang tinatayang 4,000 hanggang 5,000 estudyante, guro, kawani at iba pang sektor ng Komunidad ng UP mula sa Liwasang Bonifacio hanggang Mendiola. Kilos-protesta ito laban sa ipinanukalang P155 Milyon o 18.36% kaltas ng Kongreso noon sa badyet ng UP. Dumalo at nagsalita doon si Nemenzo (Lusterio 2000). Sa binasa niyang pahayag sa ipinatawag niyang forum ilang araw bago ang kilos-protesta, tinuligsa niya ang maling mga pagtingin tungkol sa UP ni Senador John Osmeña na tinutukoy niyang siyang naggiit ng kaltas: na paaralan ng mayayaman ang UP at karamihan sa mga estudyante nito ay taga-Metro Manila. Ayon kay Nemenzo, 3.1% lamang sa mga estudyante ng UP ang kumikita ng mahigit sa P1 Milyon sa isang taon, at 26.5% lamang sa mga ito ang galing Metro Manila. “Hindi lamang tayo makakaligtas sa kaltas na ginawa sa ating badyet,” ani Nemenzo, “Magiging mahusay tayo sa kabila nito” (Nemenzo 2000a).

Gayunman, hindi kay Nemenzo nagmula ang ideya ng paglulunsad ng kilos-protesta ng Komunidad ng UP para tutulan ang panukalang kaltas sa badyet. Sa forum kung saan binasa niya ang kanyang pahayag, tumayo ang tagapangulo noon ng Student Alliance for the Advancement of Democratic Rights in UP o STAND-UP para himukin ang mga nasa forum na sumama sa nakatakda na noong pagkilos ng sektor ng edukasyon sa Pebrero 14. Sa tuluy-tuloy na paglulunsad ng mga kilos-protesta ng mga estudyante at iba pang sektor ng Komunidad ng UP, aniya sa forum, napaliit na sa P155 Milyon ang noong una’y mahigit P300 milyon o mas malaking panukalang kaltas. Agad nagpahayag ng pagsang-ayon ang ilang mga guro sa forum, kabilang sina Prop. Judy M. Taguiwalo at Dekana Consuelo J. Paz. Hinikayat nila ang Komunidad ng UP na kumilos sa nasabing araw.



Agad naitayo pagkatapos ng forum ang Kilusan Laban sa Budget Cut o KILBUC na siyang malapad na alyansang nanguna sa paglaban sa kaltas sa badyet (De Leon 2007).

Mula sa punto de vista ng Komunidad ng UP, naging mahalaga ang pagkilos noong Pebrero 14, 2000 para sa pagpapataksik kay Estrada bilang pangulo noong Enero 2001. Bukod sa mga akusasyon ng katiwalian at imoralidad na ipinukol kay Estrada noon, naging batayan ng Komunidad ng UP sa paglahok sa kilusan para sa pagpapataksik kay Estrada ang naganap sa panahon niyang pagkaltas sa badyet ng UP—na kauna-unahan sa kasaysayan ng pamantasan. Tinatayang 800 estudyante ang lumahok sa unang gabi ng Edsa 2. Rumurok ang bilang na ito sa 15,000 noong huling araw ng matagumpay na pag-aalsa (Palatino 2007). Ayon kay Martin Gregorio, Bise-Presidente sa Administrasyon ni Nemenzo, dahil sa malapit na ugnayan nina Nemenzo at Estrada, una, pinatawad ng gobyerno ang P6 milyong interes sa P2 milyong utang ng UP sa Social Security System, at ikalawa, pinagkalooban ang UP ng P200 milyon para sa promosyon ng mga guro. Sa ganito mailulugar ang pagbubukas ni Nemenzo sa pagtataas ng matrikula ng mga estudyante ilang buwan matapos patalsikin si Estrada—sa kawalan ng tulong mula sa bagong rehimen na maaasahan ng kanyang administrasyon tulad noong rehimeng Estrada (Panares 2001).

Kailangan ang paglalalatag na ito ng ilang mahalagang punto tungkol sa administrasyong Nemenzo dahil ipinapakita nito ang mga salik na humubog sa pag-usbong ng pseudo-progresibong pragmatismo. Nariyan ang malakas na paglaban ng Komunidad ng UP sa mga patakaran ng komersyalisasyon ng kanyang pinalitan sa puwesto. Nariyan ang isang antas ng pagkakalantad sa neoliberal na mga patakaran ng gobyerno na siyang walang pagpapanggap na tinutugmaan ng mga patakaran ng kanyang pinalitan. Nariyan ang progresibong katangian ni Nemenzo. At nariyan din ang malakas na paglaban sa panukalang kaltas sa badyet ng UP na nagbuklod sa Komunidad ng UP sa paglaban para sa mas mataas na subsidyo para sa pamantasan. Mainam pag-isipan kung hanggang anong antas na ang pagtampok ng pseudo-progresibong pragmatismo sa panahon ng administrasyong Nemenzo ay resulta rin ng malakas na paglaban ng Komunidad ng UP sa lantarang komersyalisasyon ng mga pag-aari at lupa ng UP at malakas na panawagan nito para sa mas mataas na subsidyo sa UP at edukasyon.

Noong Mayo 2003, pinaigting ng administrasyong Nemenzo ang pagkampanya para baguhin ang UP Charter. Noong 1908 pa pinagtibay ang umiiral na UP Charter, na pinasukan na lamang ng samu't saring amyenda

para punuan ang lipas nang mga probisyon nito. Dahil batas ng gobyerno ang UP Charter, kailangang magbuo ng bagong batas ang gobyerno para palitan ito. At noong Disyembre 2002, sa tulak ng administrasyong Nemenzo, inaprubahan ng Kongreso ang House Bill 455, “An Act to Strengthen the University of the Philippines as the National University.” Noon namang Abril 2003, sinimulan ang pagdinig ng komite sa Senado hinggil sa usapin (Fajardo 2003). Sa Senado, tumayong isponsor ng Senate Bill 2587 si Senador Francis Pangilinan, dating Rehente ng mga Mag-aaral ng UP at aktibista noong dekada 80 (Yap 2003). Mayo 16, 2003 nang maglunsad ng ikatlong public hearing hinggil dito ang Senado sa UP Diliman kung saan naihapag ang iba’t ibang pagtingin sa panukalang mga pagbabago sa UP Charter mula sa Komunidad ng UP (Fajardo 2003). Noong Pebrero 2004, matapos ang dalawang semestre, gayunman, nagsara ang Senado nang hindi inaprubahan, o pinagbotohan man lamang, ang SB 2587 (Gumban 2004).

Sa pahayag niyang “A Charter for Our Times,” ipinaliwanag ni Nemenzo kung bakit kagyat ang pangangailangang baguhin ang UP Charter. Matapos ilahad ang “posisyon ng pamumuno” ng UP sa sistema ng edukasyon sa bansa, sinabi niyang mayroong “lumalaking mga limitasyon” ang UP—na aniya’y “higit na pang-ekonomiko kaysa intelektwal”—na nagbabatang sumira sa posisyong ito: kinaltasan ang badyet na ibinibigay ng gobyerno rito at naiwan na ito sa pagtaas ng suweldo at mas mainam na mga kalagayan ng pagtatrabaho sa ibang institusyon. Ito aniya ang nilalayong tugunan at baguhin ng sumusunod na tampok na panukalang pagbabago sa UP Charter: una, pormal na pagkilala sa pagiging pambansang pamantasan o “national university” ng UP; ikalawa, pag-alis ng UP sa Salary Standardization Law (SSL) at sa gayon ay nagsasariling pagtatakda ng administrasyon ng UP ng suweldo ng mga guro at kawani rito; ikatlo, paglalagay sa Board of Regents (BOR), na siyang pinakamataas na lupong pampatakaran ng UP, ng Staff Regent o rehente ng mga “research, extension, and professional staff” o REPS; ikaapat, pagpapatatag sa awtonomiyang pampinansya (fiscal autonomy) ng UP, sa pagtatakdang anuman ang malikom na pondo ng UP sa nagsasarili nitong mga pagsisikap ay awtomatikong ilalaan sa mga proyekto nito; at ikalima, pagkilala sa mga University Council, ang konseho ng mga propesor ng UP, na mayroon at umiiral na sa bawat kampus ng UP sa bansa (Nemenzo 2003).

Sa pangunguna ng makabayang mga organisasyon at alyansa ng mga mag-aaral, kawani at guro, nilabanan ng Komunidad ng UP ang pagbago sa UP Charter sa porma ng HB 455 at SB 2587. Panawagan ng mga

lumalaban na ibasura ang panukalang mga batas na ito. Dahil naipasa na ang HB 455 sa Kongreso, nabaling ang direksyon ng laban sa Senado kung saan tatalakayin at pagtitibayin ang panukalang batas na siyang itutugma pagkatapos sa HB 455—para naman ipasa at aprubahan ng Malakanyang. Sa madaling salita, naging puntirya ng tuligsa at pagkilos ang SB 2587. Sa pangkalahatan, tiningnan ito ng makabayang mga organisasyon at alyansa ng iba't ibang sektor sa UP bilang malaking hakbang tungo sa pag-abandona ng estado sa tungkuling maglaan ng subsidyo—at papalaking subsidyo nga dapat—sa UP. Tiningnan ang SB 2587 bilang hudyat sa todo-todong komersyalisasyon ng mga lupa't iba pang pag-aari ng UP, gayundin ng mismong edukasyong iniaalok ng UP sa mga kabataan at mamamayan.

Kung tutugaygayan ang mga pahayag ng makabayang mga organisasyon at alyansa ng mga mag-aaral, guro at kawani na nagpapaliwanag ng kanilang pagtutol sa SB 2587, lalabas ang sumusunod na punto ng pagsusuri sa panukalang mga pagbabago sa UP Charter: Bagamat ang buong Komunidad ng UP ay nagkakaisang kailangan ang mas mataas na subsidyo para sa UP, hindi matapang ang mga probisyon ng SB 2587 na nagtatali sa estado sa ganitong tungkulin. Taliwas dito, ang laman ng panukala ay ang mga hakbanging sentro ng mga debate maging sa UP: ang pagkokomersyalisa ng mga lupa at iba pang pag-aari, at ng edukasyon ng UP. Ang katayuang “pambansang pamantasan,” bagamat sinasabing gagamiting tuntungan para igiit ang mas mataas na subsidyo ng estado para sa UP, ay mas magagamit na tuntungan para igiit ang pagiging bukod-tangi ng UP sa ibang kolehiyo at pamantasan ng estado. Sa kongkretong panukalang UP Charter, mas ang huli ang nananaig: tuntungan ito para bigyang katwiran ang itinutulak na pag-alis ng UP sa SSL at paghingi ng administrasyon ng UP ng kapangyarihang itakda ang suweldo ng mga guro at kawani nito. Bagamat makatarungang itaas ang suweldo ng mga guro at kawani ng UP, sa kongkretong panukalang UP Charter, sa SB 2587, ang tinatanaw na pagtaas ng suweldo ay lilikumin mula sa todo-todong komersyalisasyon ng mga pag-aari at edukasyon ng UP (UMAKSYON 2003).

Makabuluhang pansining ganito ang pahayag mismo ni Nemenzo, “Puwede tayong tumulong na gawing seguridad ang hinaharap ng UP—at ang intelektwal na pamana ng bansa—sa pagbibigay rito ng kakayahang gumana sa pinakamahusay na paraan, hindi nasasagkaan ng artipisyal at kontra-produktibong mga hadlang. Kailangan nating magkaroon ng kakayahang bigyan ang ating kaguruan at iba pang karapat-dapat na mga kawani ng mas makatotohanang suweldo na kayang makipagkumpitensya sa iba. Kailangan nating magkaroon ng kakayahan na mas mahusay at mas

lubos na magamit ang ating mga rekurso. Kailangan nating kilalanin, igalang at suportahan ng gobyerno ang ating natatanging misyon at mga tungkulin sa buhay ng bayan” (Nemenzo 2003). Aniya pa, “Hinihingi natin na ang [BOR] ay bigyan ng kapangyarihang magtakda ng pag-aantas ng suweldo (pay scales), at magpasya rin sa paggamit sa kitang (incomes) malilikha ng Unibersidad. Magiging hikayat ito sa atin na gamitin ang ating nakatiwangwang na mga pag-aari (idle assets) nang produktibo, pampuno sa bahagi natin sa pambansang badyet.”

Sa ganitong diwa, itinuring na pinakamasama ang dalawang probisyong tumutukoy sa mga kapangyarihan ng BOR, ang Seksyon 19, Letrang C at Seksyon 10, Letrang M. Sa una, nakasaad na “Ang [BOR] ay magpaplano, magdidisenyo, mag-aapruba at/o maghuhudyat ng pagpapatupad sa pampinansyang mga mekanismo katulad ng mga joint venture, matagalang lease, mga subsidiary, securitization, at disposition para bigyan ang Unibersidad ng pinakabentaheng posisyon sa paglikom ng mga pondo (revenues) at iba pang rekurso mula sa mga land grant at iba pang pag-aaring lupa na ipinagkatiwala ng mga mamamayang Pilipino sa kanilang pambansang pamantasan.” Partikular na naging puntirya ng paglaban ang pagpasok sa securitization o ang pagpasok ng UP sa stock market. Tanging konsiderasyon sa probisyong ito ang katangiang pang-akademiko ng UP at pagbibigay ng proteksyon sa kalikasan. Sa ikalawang probisyon, binibigyang-kapangyarihan ang BOR na “ipirmi (fix) ang matrikula at ibang kinakailangang mga singil sa paaralan” (Senate Bill 2587). Bagaman niyutral ang pormulasyon ng huli – “Mas gusto ba ninyong Kongreso o Malakanyang ang magtakda ng ating matrikula?” (Fajardo 2004) tanong ni Nemenzo – palagi itong idinudugtong sa pangkalahatang layuning inilahad sa pagbago ng UP Charter na bigyang-kapangyarihan ang UP na lumikom sa sariling pondo.

### ***Pseudo-Progresibong Pragmatismo***

Naging pagkakataon ang kampanya ng administrasyong Nemenzo para ipasa ang SB 2587 para tumampok ang pseudo-progresibong pragmatismo sa mga talakayan sa UP hinggil sa pagpopondo sa pamantasan. Sa esensya, sa pag-alinsunod sa neoliberal na mga patakaran, kontra-estudyante, kontra-kabataan at kontra-mamamayan ang SB 2587. Bukod-tangi, gayunman, ang dominanteng porma ng pagtataguyod at pagtatanggol rito. Matalas ang progresibong ekonomistang si Edberto Villegas sa paglalantad: aniya, ang mga patakaran ng gobyerno sa edukasyon ay kahawig ng mga “iskema ng

mga gobyernong Europeo na itaas ang matrikula sa mga pamantasan at unti-unting tanggalin ang subsidyo ng gobyerno” (Makilan 2003). Ito, aniya, ay “plano ng World Trade Organization, sa ilalim ng General Agreement on Trade in Services sa tulong ng World Bank, kung saan ang edukasyon ay nakabatay sa pamilihan (market-based)” (Makilan 2003). Si Nemenzo mismo ay nagsabing “Ang inisyal na mga konsultasyon” para sa SB 2587 “ay nagsimula malapit sa katapusan ng termino ni Presidente Abueva. Ipinagpatuloy ni Presidente Javier ang proseso. Minana ko lamang ang panukalang batas na binalangkas at ipinasa ng aking sinundan sa puwesto sa parehong kapulungan ng Kongreso. Ang SB 2587 sa nilalaman ay ang panukalang batas na binalangkas ng komite ni Presidente Javier, nang inawas ang mga probisyong nagbukas ng maraming kontrobersya sa mga konsultasyon, tulad ng panukala ko para sa isang Senado ng Pamantasan (University Senate)” (Nemenzo 2004).

Ang itinulak samakatwid ng administrasyong Nemenzo ay ang panukalang UP Charter na binuo ng sinundan nito—na, gaya ng nabanggit na, ay siya ring nagbalangkas ng masaklaw na programang UP Plan 2008 na tahasang sumusunod at tumutugma sa mga patakarang neoliberal ng rehimg Ramos noong panahong inilabas iyon. Sa ganito maipapaliwanag kung bakit tinatakan bilang prayoridad at “kagyat na panukalang batas” (urgent bill) para aprubahan ang SB 2587 ng rehimen ni Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo (Nemenzo 2004), na kilala ring kampeon ng mga patakaran at ideolohiya ng neoliberalismo sa bansa.

Makikita rin ito sa hanay na napagkaisa ng administrasyong Nemenzo pabor sa SB 2587. Ayon kay Prop. Solita “Winnie” Monsod, ekonomista at kolumnistang kilalang propagandista ng neoliberalismo, “Sa tingin ko, G. Tagapangulo, pinakamalaking kabutihan ang ibibigay ninyo sa Unibersidad kung bibigyan ninyo ito ng malaking pleksibilidad, partikular sa kung ano ang gagawin sa pera nito.” Ayon naman kay Prop. Randolph “Randy” David, kolumnista at kapanalig ni Nemenzo sa Kaliwa, sa pagsang-ayon dito, “Ito ay nakakaalarmang tantos, ang bilang ng taong nawawala sa atin o ang bilang ng taong hindi na bumabalik mula sa kanilang pag-aaral matapos makumpleto ito, dahil sa hindi istatikong katangian ng iskema ng kompensasyon ng Unibersidad” (2003).

Sumang-ayon din sa SB 2587 ang party-list na Akbayan, na kilala ring kadikit ni Nemenzo sa panig ng Kaliwa. Sa harap ng pagtutol ng makabayang mga organisasyon at alyansa ng Komunidad ng UP, naglabas ang Akbayan ng pahayag ng pagsuporta sa SB 2587 noong malapit nang magsara ang Senado. At noong nagsara ang Senado nang hindi

pinagbobotohan ang panukalang batas, ipinakilala itong “kakampi” ng SB 2587 kung matutuloy man ang pulong ng bicameral conference committee hinggil dito (Gumban 2004). Taliwas dito, agad na iniatras ng mga kinatawan ng party-list na Bayan Muna sa Kongreso ang kanilang naunang boto ng pagsang-ayon sa HB 455 na katapat na batas ng SB 2587. Nangako rin silang magbubuo ng alternatibong panukalang UP Charter. Anila, “naniniwala kaming pangunahing tungkulin ng... gobyerno na maglaan sa [UP] at iba pang unibersidad at kolehiyo ng estado ng sapat na badyet o subsidyo...” (Maza et al. 2003).

Sa ganito nagiging malinaw ang kahulugan ng pseudo-progresibong pragmatismo sa kontekstong ito ng UP at, marahil, ng sistema ng edukasyon sa bansa. Pseudo-progresibo ito dahil sa ilang mayor na punto ay tumutugma ito sa pagsusuri ng makabayang mga organisasyon at alyansa ng mga estudyante, guro, kawani at iba pang sektor ng Komunidad ng UP. Pragmatismo ito dahil naghahangad ito ng tinitingnan nitong kagyat na tugon o lunas sa mga suliranin ng UP—na sa aktwal at mas malalim na pagsusuri ay pagtatalima sa mapaminsalang mga patakarang neoliberal ng gobyerno.

Anu-ano ang mahahalagang salik ng pseudo-progresibong pragmatismo ng administrasyong Nemenzo sa kampanya para sa pag-apruba sa SB 2587 bilang UP Charter? Patungo sa pinakamahalaga ang paghahanay ng sumusunod na apat na salik:

Una, ang makatotohanang pagsisiwalat sa kalagayan ng mga guro at kawani gayundin ng mga pasilidad ng UP. Sa puntong ito, bagamat hindi sa ipinapanukalang solusyon, magkatulad ang makabayang mga organisasyon at alyansa sa Komunidad ng UP sa isang banda, at ang administrasyong Nemenzo sa kabila. Ito ang pangunahing tinutukoy ni Nemenzo na patunay ng pangangailangang kagyat na baguhin ang UP Charter, sosolusyunan ng nasabing pagbabago, at susi sa pagbawi sa “posisyon ng pamumuno” ng UP.

Madiin ang mga isinulat ni Nemenzo sa kampanya para sa SB 2587 sa pagtuligsa sa umiiral na sistema ng pagpapasuweldo sa mga guro at kawani ng UP. Aniya, “Marami sa ating pinakamahuhusay at pinakamatatalinong kasapi ng kaguruan ang kauna-unawang nagpadala na sa pang-aakit ng mas mataas na suweldo at mas mahusay na kalagayan ng paggawa sa pribadong mga pamantasan, industriya at pandaigdigang mga organisasyong may malaking pondo.” Kailangan, aniya, na bigyan ang kaguruan ng “mas reyalistiko at mas kompetitibong suweldo”—isang pagsisikap na diumano’y “ginagapi” ng SSL (Nemenzo 2003). Inilarawan niya ang kalagayan bilang “paglikas (exodus) ng marami sa ating

pinakamahusay at pinakamatalinong mga tao” at “demoralisasyon ng mga naiwan” (Nemenzo 2004). Nabanggit din niya ang “pagpapahusay sa ating kakayahang modernisahin ang pambansang pamantasan —ang ating mga laboratoryo, aklatan at silid-aralan.” Sa ganitong mga suliranin niya ibinatay ang pagsusuring “Ang ating natatanggap mula sa General Appropriations Act ay hindi halos sumapat para makatawid-buhay (survive), tamang tama lang para tumakbo sa tradisyunal na antas” (Nemenzo 2003).

Sa mga sulatin ni Nemenzo sa kampanya para sa SB 2587, gayunman, hindi kailanman naging puntirya ng tuligsa—at batayan sa paghingi ng mas malaking subsidyo sa estado o maging ng paglikom ng sariling pondo ng UP—ang pagsingil ng mataas na matrikula at iba pang bayarin sa mga estudyante ng UP na isang pamantasang pang-estado. Makaisang-panig ang matapat na pagkilala at pagsisiwalat nito sa kalagayan ng mga guro at kawani ng UP. Kaiba rito ang pagdadala ng makabayang mga organisasyon at alyansa sa Komunidad ng UP na hindi naghihiwa-hiwalay sa mga suliranin ng kaguruan at mga kawani sa suliranin ng mga estudyante—na pawang tumutumbok sa pangangailangan at panawagan ng mas mataas na subsidyo ng estado sa UP. Hindi sila kailanman nagbukas sa posibilidad na ang itataas ng suweldo ng mga guro at kawani ay magmumula sa pagtaas ng matrikula ng mga estudyante. Lagi ring idinadagdag na ang pagpapataas sa kalidad ng edukasyon ng UP ay magagawa hindi lamang sa pagpapataas sa suweldo ng mga guro, kundi sa makabayang reoryentasyon ng edukasyong UP.

Mahalaga ring pansinin ang pagkakaiba ng pagdadala ng administrasyong Nemenzo sa usapin ng suweldo ng mga guro at kawani, gayundin ng mga pasilidad, sa pagdadala ng administrasyong Javier. Sa halip na ilarawan ang kalagayan, mas pinili ng huli na ipailalim ito sa pangkalahatang mga pormulasyon ng patuloy na pagpapaunlad sa UP. Bihira nitong inilalahad nang malinaw at direkta ang kalagayan ng mga guro at kawani.

Ikalawa, ang pagiging kritikal o mapanuligsa sa mga pulitiko kaugnay ng pagpopondo sa UP. Sa puntong ito, bagamat hindi sa direksyong pinagdadalhan dito, magkatulad ang makabayang mga organisasyon at alyansa sa Komunidad ng UP sa isang banda at ang administrasyong Nemenzo sa kabila. Hindi naging tampok ang naunang administrasyong Javier sa ganitong paglalantad sa mga pulitiko. Kung nailalahad man nito ang kakapusan ng pondo ng gobyerno, ito ay para kilalanin at angkupan ng UP.

Sa mga sulatin sa kampanya para sa SB 2587, ito ang pinakamatalas na pormulasyon ng ganitong pagtingin: “[A]ng UP ay nagtutulak ng mga reporma sa pamamagitan ng SB 2587 na magbibigay rito ng higit na



institusyunal na awtonomiya, at maglalayo sa Unibersidad sa mga imposisyon at kapritso ng pambansa at lokal na pulitika” (Nemenzo 2004a).

Hindi maikakailang napalakas ang ganitong kagustuhan at panawagan sa naging ugnayan ng administrasyon ng UP at ng Kongreso at Senado sa taunang pagbabadyet para sa UP kung saan naging tampok na tunggalian ang pagkaltas sa badyet ng UP noong 2000. Sa pahayag niya tungkol rito, bukod sa tinuligsa ni Nemenzo ang aniya’y maling mga pagtingin tungkol sa UP na naihapag sa Senado, sinabi niyang may “sukdulang kawalan ng kakayahang gagapin ang esensya ng pag-iral” ng UP. Sabi pa niya, “Hindi tayo matatakot sa banta nilang sa susunod na taon at hanggang matapos ang kanilang termino ay dadaan tayo sa proseso ng pagbabadyet sa harap pa rin nilang makapangyarihang mga nilalang. Kundi, ang ating kaguruan, staff, mga estudyante at alumni ay tatandaan ang mga mambabatas na ito at tatandaan sila nang mabuti.” (Nemenzo 2000a)

Sa talumpati niya sa kanyang inagurasyon bilang pangulo ng UP, sinabi ni Nemenzo na “Ang huling kaltas sa badyet ay nagbigay-diin din sa atin ng pangangailangang paramihin ang ating mga pinagkukunan ng pondo. Ngayon, 85 porsiyento ng ating badyet ay nagmumula sa pambansang gobyerno. Ibig sabihin nito na 85 porsiyentong bulnerable tayo sa kung ano ang magustuhan ng kuripot na mga pulitiko.” (Nemenzo 2000b)

Lalong naging malakas ang pagtuligsa ni Nemenzo sa Senado noong nagsara ang sesyon nito noong Enero 2004 nang hindi inaaprubahan ang SB 2587. Bukod sa pag-akusa kay Sen. John Osmeña ng pagharang sa panukalang batas, tinuligsa rin ni Nemenzo ang pamunuan ng Senado sa hindi nito pag-alpas sa mga balakid na diumano’y ihinarang ni Osmeña sa pagpasa sa SB 2587. Ayon sa kanya, “ang nagtagumpay sa huli ay kasamaan, maling mga impormasyon, at mababaw na pamumulitika” (Nemenzo 2004c).

Sa gamit ng makabayang mga organisasyon at alyansa ng mga sektor ng Komunidad ng UP, ang pagkilala sa katangian ng mga pulitiko ay pinagsisilbi sa pagbibigay-diin sa halaga ng sama-samang pagkilos ng Komunidad ng UP. Sa gamit ni Nemenzo, nagiging batayan ito para ilantad ang mga pulitiko upang isulong ang pag-apruba sa SB 2587—na sa tanaw niya’y babawas sa halaga ng taun-taong paggigiit ng mas mataas na subsidyo ng UP sa gobyerno. Iniikutan samakatwid ng kanyang panukala ang huli. Hindi tinitingnang tungkulin na igiit sa kapritso’t imposisyon ng mga pulitiko ang tungkulin ng estadong pondohan ang UP at edukasyon.

Ikatlo, ang pagtinging kritikal at mapagbantay ang Komunidad ng UP. Sa buong kampanya ng administrasyong Nemenzo para sa SB 2587,



ilang beses nabanggit ang pagkakaroon ng mga katangiang ito ng Komunidad ng UP—kung saan malaki ang papel ng makabayang mga organisasyon at alyansang kumikilos sa UP.

Sa talumpati niya sa kanyang inagurasyon, naglahad si Nemenzo ng mga puntong mapaghahalawan ng kanyang pagtingin sa oryentasyon ng edukasyon sa UP. Aniya, nilampasan ng UP ang orihinal na tungkulin nito sa gobyernong kolonyal ng Amerika sa bansa. “UP ang lumikha sa mga lider at aktibista ng kilusan para sa pambansang pagpapalaya. Kaya, umani ito ng reputasyong kanlungan at pinagmumulan ng radikal na pagtutol. Ngunit hindi lubos na karapat-dapat ang UP sa reputasyong ito dahil sa bawat tumututol, ang UP ay lumikha rin ng isandaang haligi ng establisimyento” (Nemenzo 2000b). Ang ganitong balanse at matalas na paglalahad, gayunman, ay mapapalitan sa mga sulatin niya sa kampanya para sa SB 2587 ng makaisang-panig na pagdidiin sa sinasabing katangiang mapagbantay at kritikal na pag-iisip ng Komunidad ng UP.

Nailahad din niya ang kanyang pagtingin sa ugnayan ng UP Charter sa kritikal na pag-iisip at pagiging mapagbantay ng Komunidad ng UP. Matapos ihapag ang obserbasyong mas may awtonomiya pa ang UP sa pribadong mga unibersidad sa bansa, ipinaliwanag ito ni Nemenzo: “Ang ligal na batayan nito ay ang ating Charter, pero ang Charter mismo ay mawawalan ng silbi kung wala ang militansya at giting ng pang-akademikong komunidad sa pagsalag sa anumang banta o panghihimasok. Ipinagtanggol natin ang ating awtonomiyang pang-institusyon at kalayaang pang-akademiko kahit sa madilim na mga araw ng diktadura. Ang magkakambal na mga prinsipyong ito ay ating pinakatatangi” (Nemenzo 2000b).

Sa pagpapaliwanag pa lamang sa panukalang mga rebisyon sa UP Charter, nasabi na agad ni Nemenzo na ang UP ay naging “muog ng kritikal na pagsusuri at makabayang paninindigan” (Nemenzo 2003). Sa lumabas na tanong-sagot hinggil sa panukalang UP Charter, na isa sa unang mga dokumentong inilathala ng administrasyon ng UP sa kampanya nito, itinanong: “[H]indi ba bibigyan ng komprehensibong rebisyon ang ilang kongresista ng pagkakataong magsingit ng mga probisyong hindi angkop sa pang-akademikong oryentasyon ng UP?” (Nemenzo 2004b) Sinagot ito ng: “Ang gayong posibilidad, siyempre pa, ay hindi mapapasubalian. Pero ang kakayahan ng pang-akademikong komunidad na paatrasin ang anumang tangkang pagsagasa sa awtonomiya at pang-akademikong kalayaan nito ay hindi rin dapat tawaran.” Halimbawa: “Noong 1961... ang Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities (CAFA) ng Kamara de Representante ay nagsagawa ng witch-hunt para diumano linisin ang UP sa mga propesor na may mga

ideyang hindi kumbensyonal. Lumaban ang komunidad at mabilis na binitawan ng CAFA ang nasabing paglilitis.”

Dahil sa pagpapanukala sa mga probisyong nagpopormalisa sa kapangyarihan ng BOR na ipasok ang UP sa iba’t ibang antas at porma ng pakikipag-ugnayan sa negosyo, itinanong din sa dokumento kung ano ang garantiya laban sa noon pa ma’y nakikitang banta ng “komersyalisasyon, pribatisasyon at korporatisasyon” ng UP. Matapos ang paglalahad ng probisyong nagtatakdang hindi dapat masagasaan ang “esensyal na katangian” ng UP “bilang isang pang-akademikong institusyon,” sinabing “Ang pagiging mapagbantay... ang ating pinakamahasag na pansalag sa abuso” (Nemenzo 2004b). Sa kadikit nitong balita, dinugtungan ito ni Nemenzo ng “Hindi ko mailarawan sa isip ang mga taga-UP na pasibong tatanggap sa mga anomalya. Nasa ugat ng ating katawan, at ipinagmamalaki natin, ang pagtindig laban sa anumang porma ng maling pamamalakad (malpractice)” (Nemenzo 2003). Ibig sabihin, sa paningin ni Nemenzo, ang pagpapatupad sa mga probisyon tungkol sa iba’t ibang antas at porma ng pagpasok ng UP sa negosyo ay nangangailangan pa rin ng pagbabantay at pagkilos ng Komunidad ng UP.

Ang Alyansa at Buklod-CSSP, mga grupo ng mag-aaral, ay sumuporta sa SB 2587 (STAND-UP 2003). Bukod sa pagsang-ayon sa mga argumento ng administrasyong Nemenzo, tumulong sila sa paglilinaw at pagpapatalas sa mga puntong ito sa pagpapalaganap ng kanilang posisyon sa hanay ng mga mag-aaral. Anila, walang batayan ang paniniwalang ang SB 2587 ay “tiyak na hahantong sa komersyalisasyon ng edukasyon.” Sinabi rin nilang “Hindi tayo awtomatikong dehado” sa pakikipagkasundo sa pribadong mga korporasyon “dahil nasa kapangyarihan ng unibersidad na idikta ang mga kondisyon sa gayong mga kasunduan. Ang BOR ay inaatasang gumawa ng kinakailangang mga pag-aayos para hindi makasagabal ang mga ito sa pang-akademikong atmospera ng Unibersidad. Ang kailangan nating bantayan ay kung paano bubuo ng mga desisyon ang BOR” (Alyansa et al. 2003).

Noong nagsara ang Senado nang hindi pinagbobotohan ang SB 2587, sinabi ni Nemenzo sa ulat niya sa Komunidad ng UP na “Lalaban tayong muli, at patuloy tayong lalaban.” Aniya, dapat singilin ng UP ang “lehislatura at ang indibidwal nitong mga miyembro” sa mga hakbangin nila—kaugnay marahil ng ilulunsad na eleksyon noong taong iyon (Nemenzo 2004c). Sa depensa ng administrasyong Nemenzo sa atake ng isang senador kaugnay ng “mga aktibidad na kontra-Estabilisimyento” sa UP, sinabing “ipinagmamalaki ng UP ang tradisyon ng kritikal na pagsusuri at pampulitikang pagtutol, kung hindi dahil dito marahil ay nabubulok pa rin

tayo sa ilalim ng paghaharing militar. At ang diwa ring ito ng kritikal na pagsusuri—hindi lamang sa pulitika at ekonomiya kundi maging sa mga sining at agham—ang nagtulak sa UP na maging mahusay sa lahat ng larangan ng pagkatuto” (Nemanzo 2004a). Sa pormulasyong ito, ang kritikal na pagsusuri at sama-samang pagkilos ng Komunidad ng UP ay hindi lamang iniugnay sa partikular na kampanya para sa pagpasa ng SB 2587. Eksaheradong itinaas na ang turing dito bilang susi sa “kahusayan” ng UP sa mga larangan.

Makikitang dalawa ang gamit ng administrasyong Nemenzo sa pagtinging mapagbantay at kritikal mag-isip ang Komunidad ng UP.

Una, kaugnay ng proseso ng pagbabago ng UP Charter. Pansalag ito sa mga abusong puwedeng gawin sa pagbubukas ng UP Charter sa panukalang mga pagbabago. Batayan din ito para sa panawagan sa Komunidad ng UP na kumilos at igiit sa gobyerno ang pagpasa sa SB 2587. Makikita rito ang partikular na porma ng pagtutulak ng administrasyong Nemenzo sa panukalang batas: ang paghikayat at pag-engganyo ng paglahok at suporta ng iba’t ibang sektor ng Komunidad ng UP—maging ng mga alumni—para igiit sa gobyerno na ipasa ang panukalang UP Charter. Sa mas partikular na salita, ginamit ng administrasyong Nemenzo ang mga porma at retorika ng mga kampanya at pakikibakang masa.

Ikalawa, kung maaaprubahan ang SB 2587, ipinapalagay ng administrasyong Nemenzo na anumang abusong ibubukas ng SB 2587 ay lalabanat at papaatrasin ng Komunidad ng UP. Marahil, sa ideyal na kalagayan ng administrasyong Nemenzo, matatanggal sa SSL ang UP at lilikom ito ng sariling pondo para sa suweldo ng mga guro at kawani. Puwedeng magkaroon ng tangkang abusuhin ang mga probisyong kaugnay ng pagpasok ng UP sa iba’t ibang porma at antas ng ugnayan sa pribadong mga korporasyon, pero tinitingnang palaging mapagbantay at kritikal mag-isip ang Komunidad ng UP sa mga atake sa katangiang pang-akademiko ng UP. Hindi nito papayagan ang mga pag-abuso sa hinaharap.

Sa ganitong pagtingin, hindi natutukoy, o iniiwasang tukuyin, na ang “abuso” na dapat labanan ay hindi lamang ang grabeng mga abuso sa pagkokomersyalisa sa UP—katulad halimbawa ng CPDP—kundi ang pagkokomersyalisa mismo, ang paglikom mismo ng sariling pondo ng UP. Abuso ito dahil pagpapatakas ito sa tungkulin ng estadong pondohan ang UP at edukasyon. Sa kamay ng administrasyong Nemenzo, ang pagbanggit sa “mga abuso” sa pinakitid at sagad na pakahulugan nito ay pagtatakip para ilusot ang batayang mga abusong hindi na kinikilala bilang ganoon.

Ang UP, gayunman, dahil sa desperadong katayuan nito at sa obhetibong kagipitan ng ekonomiya ng bansa ay bulnerable sa sagad na mga abusong tinutukoy ni Nemenzo.

Importanteng idagdag sa ganitong pagtingin sa UP ni Nemenzo ang sumusunod: “Palagi nang nagkaroon ng malakas na impluwensya ang Amerikanong mga Gobernador-Heneral at lahat ng Presidente ng Pilipinas sa paghalal sa Presidente ng UP. Ngunit higit pa sa puntong ito, iniwan na ng Malakanyang ang UP sa sarili nito, nang ipinagkatiwala ng Estado sa [BOR] ang kapangyarihang sumubaybay rito” (Nemenzo 2000b). Napapaliit sa ganitong pahayag ang banta ng abuso sa UP, nang labag sa katotohanan at kasaysayan: na malaking mayorya sa BOR ang hawak ng Malakanyang at tagaboto ng kagustuhan nito.

Nabibitawan din sa ganitong pagtingin ang pagiging konserbatibo sa esensya ng UP bilang institusyon—na nangunguna sa kolonyal na sistema ng edukasyon sa bansa, katulad nga ng binanggit ni Nemenzo tungkol sa bilang ng nagtatapos ditong mga estudyante. Ganoon din ang paninindigang hindi ang UP bilang institusyon ang nagtataguyod ng kritikal na pagsusuri kundi ang makabayang mga organisasyon at alyansa sa Komunidad ng UP. Na kung mayroon mang liberal na atmospera sa UP, iyan ay napagtagumpayan sa paglaban ng Komunidad ng UP sa pangunguna ng makabayang mga organisasyon at alyansang ito.

Ibig sabihin, pagsusubo sa Komunidad ng UP sa panganib ang pagsasalaksak sa UP ng isang patakarang bukas sa maraming abuso sa pinakitid at sagad na pakahulugan dito. Makaisang-panig ang pagdidiin lamang sa pagiging mapagbantay at kritikal ng Komunidad ng UP. Nawawaglit din sa isip ang huling karanasan ng UP sa CPDP kung saan sa kabila ng malawak at malakas na pagtutol ng Komunidad ng UP ay inaprubahan pa rin ang proyekto ng BOR at ng rehimeng Ramos.

Ikaapat, ang pagsasabing wasto at nararapat dagdagan ng estado ang subsidyo sa UP, at sa gayo’y wastong ipaglaban ito sa gobyerno. Ihinahabol, gayunman, na kailangang maksimisahin ang mga lupa at pag-aari ng UP para lumikom ito ng sariling pondo – bilang kasabay na hakbang at pampuno sa hindi maibigay ng nauna. Sa pangkalahatan, nakabatay ito sa pagtinging negatibo ang posibilidad ng kagyat na pagkakamit ng mas mataas na subsidyo ng estado, bagay na kailangan ng UP.

Sa paghahanay ni Nemenzo ng pinakamahalagang mga panukalang pagbabago, sinabi niyang una ang paggiit ng pagkilala sa pagiging “pambansang pamantasan” ng UP. Lumilitaw, gayunman, na ang una ay batayan lamang para sa pangunahing dahilan, na nakatala naman bilang

ikalawa: ang pag-alis ng UP sa saklaw ng SSL para itaas ang suweldo ng mga guro at kawani ng UP. Ang pagtataas na ito ang siya naman niyang tinutukoy na pinakamahalaga sa pagpapanatili sa “posisyon ng pamumuno” ng UP sa sistemang pang-edukasyon ng bansa (Nemenzo 2003). Matalas ang tanong ng isang senador sa puntong ito: “Saan ninyo iminumungkahing kunin ang pera para magawa ninyong dagdagan ang suweldo ng inyong kaguruan at staff?... Hindi kayo makakaasang makuha iyon sa General Appropriations Act dahil makakaasa lamang kayo sa Kongreso na panatilihin ang halagang nakukuha ninyo ngayon. Sa takbo ng ekonomiya ng bansa, hindi kayo makakaasa sa signipikanteng paglaki ng inyong badyet” (Fajardo 2003a).

Alam ito ni Nemenzo. Aniya, sapat lamang ang natatanggap na badyet ng UP mula sa gobyerno para tumakbo ito “sa dati nang antas”: “Kung hindi ito madadagdagan, matitiyak ang siguradong pagkabansot (stagnation). Mapipigilan tayo sa pagsulong tungo sa pagiging isang unibersidad para sa ika-21 siglo, at patuloy tayong maiiwan ng ating mga katapat sa Asya” (Nemenzo 2003). Malinaw ang tugon niya: ang pag-alis sa SSL, aniya, ay “magiging hikayat... na gamitin ang ating nakatiwangwang na mga pag-aari (idle assets) nang produktibo, pampuno sa ating bahagi sa pambansang badyet...” Kaya malinaw na ang pangunahing layunin ng itinutulak na pagbago sa UP Charter ng kanyang administrasyon, sa pamamagitan ng SB 2587, ay ang magkaroon ng kapangyarihan ang administrasyon ng UP na lumikom ng sariling pondo para sa UP, hindi upang igiit sa estado na dagdagan ang subsidyo para sa unibersidad.

Kapansin-pansin, gayunman, ang ilang pagpapalabnaw ni Nemenzo sa pagiging pangunahin ng layuning ito sa iba niyang pahayag kaugnay ng subsidyo ng estado sa UP. Aniya, hindi nilalaman ng panukalang UP Charter ang alinmang probisyon na titigil ang UP sa paghingi ng mas mataas na subsidyo. “Ang totoo, bilang pambansang pamantasan, ipapatimo natin sa gobyerno na ang UP ay karapat-dapat sa malaking suportang pampinansya para panatilihin itong ka-lebel ng ibang nangungunang unibersidad sa pandaigdigang komunidad, o kahit sa ASEAN. Lalaban tayo para sa mas malaking subsidyo habang, kaalinsabay nito, lumilikom ng sarili nating pondo” (Fajardo 2003b). Sa pangkalahatan, habang pangunahin sa panukalang UP Charter ang pagbibigay ng kapangyarihan sa administrasyon ng UP na lumikom ng sariling pondo, dinudugtungan ito ng pagsasabing wasto at nararapat na dagdagan ng estado ang subsidyo sa UP, at patuloy itong ipaglalaban ng administrasyon ng UP. Sa ganito, naipapakita ng administrasyong Nemenzo ang pagsalubong at pakikiisa sa panawagang

pangunahing dinadala ng makabayang mga organisasyon at aliyansa sa Komunidad ng UP kasabay ng pagtutulak sa mga pagbabagong sa esensya’y neoliberal.

Mainam na balik-aralan ang mga pahayag ni Walden Bello—kasama ni Nemenzo sa panig ng Kaliwa at kilalang aktibistang “kontra-globalisasyon”—noong talakayan sa UP hinggil sa CPDP bilang isang maagang pahayag ng pseudo-progresibong pragmatismo. Iniulat niya ang “mga bunga ng komersyalisasyon” na nagaganap na noon sa Chulalongkorn University sa Thailand, na katulad ng nilalaman ng CPDP. Aniya, “anuman ang mga depekto sa kasalukuyang plano sa komersyalisasyon, ang ideya ay hindi problematiko. Nasa implementasyon talaga iyon” (STRAW 1996). Dagdag pa niya, limitado ang pondong magagamit ng UP. “Magandang sabihing ang pamantasan ng estado ay dapat bigyan ng subsidyo ng gobyerno. Pero hindi niyan malulutas ang problema kung pananatilihin mong mataas ang iyong pamantayan,... para sa minimum ay dapat tiyaking hindi pupunta sa pribadong mga institusyon ang mga guro mo—kailangan mong humanap ng alternatibong mapagkukunan ng pinansya at sa tingin ko ang ideya na ikomersyalisa ang ilang bahagi ng Unibersidad, sa prinsipyo, ay mabuti.”

Kaugnay ng subsidyo ng estado, ito ang pahayag niya: “Laging may mga puwersa sa gobyerno na magsasabing ‘okey, ginagawa ito ng UP, kung kaya dapat nating tanggalin ang subsidyo nito.’ Pero muli, iyan ang dahilan kung bakit ang plano sa komersyalisasyon ay dapat na maging kasunduan sa loob (within) ng komunidad ng Unibersidad at ng gobyerno.” Aniya, “Habang ang charter ng Unibersidad ay malinaw, ang ugnayan sa estado ay malinaw”—na kitang-kitang taliwas maging sa mas daynamikong pagtingin ni Nemenzo, bagaman sa ibang konteksto, sa ugnayan ng UP Charter at pagkilos ng Komunidad ng UP. Malinaw rito ang pagsandig sa nakasulat na dokumento sa harap ng malinaw na taliwas na direksyon ng mga patakaran ng estado.

Sa isa niyang paglalagom sa globalisasyon mahigit isang dekada matapos itong maging laman ng bokabularyong Ingles bilang bahagi ng ideolohiya ng neoliberalismo, tinuligsa ni Bello ang mga pagsisikap na gawing makatao (humanize) at dalhin sa “sosyal-demokratikong’ direksyon” ang globalisasyon. Aniya, “talunang puwersa” na ito, na nagdulot ng “higit na kahirapan, hindi pagkakapantay-pantay at pagkabansot” sa mundo (Bello 2007). Masasabi, gayunman, na ganito ang ginawa niya sa maagang pagtutulak niya sa komersyalisasyon ng mga lupa ng UP. Ayos lang ang komersyalisasyon ng mga lupa ng UP, aniya kung may komprehensibong plano para tiyaking pangunahin ang pang-akademikong pagpapalawak, may plano sa tubig at

trapiko, ang “pagtubo ay sosyalisado” at mapupunta ang kita sa “pagsubsidy” sa pag-aaral ng maralitang mga estudyante at mas marami pang mga scholarship. Dagdag pa niya tungkol naman sa pagpapatupad sa gayong mga plano ng komersyalisasyon, “Hayaang sumaklaw ng isa o dalawang taon ang proseso ng konsultasyon dahil kung mas masaklaw ang demokrasya, mas maraming tao ang makakaunawa sa mga pangangailangan para rito.” (STRAW 1996)

Kaugnay ng subsidyo ng estado, magkakaiba ang pagtingin ng iba’t ibang grupong sumasang-ayon sa SB 2587 o sa komersyalisasyon ng mga lupa at pag-aari ng UP. Sinasabi ni Nemenzo na magkasabay na gagawin ang paglaban para sa mas mataas na subsidyo ng estado para sa UP at ang pagkokomersyalisa ng mga pag-aari ng unibersidad. Para kay Bello, kapos man o hindi ang pondo ng gobyerno ay mainam pa ring lumikom ang UP ng dagdag na pondo para mapanatili ang mataas na kalidad ng edukasyong ibinibigay nito. Para sa ilang grupo ng mag-aaral na pabor sa SB 2587 naman, “Kailangan nating harapin ang mga datos—hindi lamang UP ang pang-akademikong entidad na kailangang suportahan ng gobyerno; hindi lamang UP ang pampublikong paaralang nabubulok dahil sa mga suliranin sa pera. UP ang lagi nang priyoridad ng gobyerno, sa badyet sa edukasyon, gaano man kalimitado palagi ang pondo.” (“UP Not for Sale” 2004)

Tinutulan ng makabayang mga organisasyon at alyansa sa Komunidad ng UP ang ganitong mga posisyon. Bukod sa naninindigan silang mas mataas na subsidyo ng estado para sa UP—at sa iba pang kolehiyo, unibersidad at paaralang pampubliko—ang tunay na lunas sa mga suliranin ng UP, naniniwala silang ang paglikom ng sariling pondo ng UP sa pamamagitan ng komersyalisasyon ay pagsang-ayon sa mapaminsalang neoliberal na mga patakaran ng gobyerno. Naninindigan silang anumang dahilan ang gamitin para bigyan-katwiran ito, pagpapatianod ito sa kagustuhan ng gobyerno na tumakas sa tungkuling paglaanan ng nararapat na subsidyo ang UP at sa kagustuhan nitong lumikom ang UP ng sariling pondo. Bukod pa rito, tinitiyak ng pagkokomersyalisa ng mga lupa at pag-aari ng UP ang pagpapatupad sa kaakibat nitong hakbangin: ang pagtaas ng mga bayarin ng mga estudyante—na atake sa karapatan sa edukasyon ng mga estudyante at ng karaniwang kabataan at mamamayang dapat ay nakakapag-aral sa UP.

Ipinaglaban ang ganitong posisyon sang-ayon sa dalawang batayang prinsipyo. Una, ang edukasyon ay karapatan ng mga iskolar ng bayan at ng mga kabataan at mamamayang Pilipino. Ibig sabihin, dapat itong ibigay ng estado nang libre o sa murang halaga, dahil kung hindi—kung bibilhin ito



katulad ng ibang kalakal, kung mako-komersyalisa ito—magiging pribilehiyo ito ng iilan sa lipunan na may kakayahang bumili nito. Sa ganito, nagiging pribilehiyo ito ng iilan at hindi karapatan ng lahat. Bukod sa nilalaman ang prinsipyong ito ng Konstitusyong 1987 ng Pilipinas, makabuluhan ding makinig sa progresibong ekonomistang si Samir Amin hinggil sa kalagayan ng edukasyon sa panahon ng maka-imperyalistang globalisasyon na sinusuportahan at pinagtibay ng neoliberalismo: “Ang komodipikasyon at pribatisasyon ng edukasyon” – at ang SB 2587 ay naipakitang bahagi hindi lamang ng una kundi maging ng huli partikular sa UP— “ay isang maharlikang landas patungo sa mas matinding kawalan ng pagkakapantay-pantay sa lipunan at isang lipunan ng pangkalahatang apartheid... [A]ng landas ng pribatisasyon ay hindi magdudulot ng anumang lunas sa mga suliranin” (2004: 155).

Ang ikalawang prinsipyo ay kaugnay ng UP: na ito ay pamantasan ng estado o state university. Ibig sabihin, dapat itong pondohan ng estado hindi lamang para tiyakin ang pag-aaral ng bilang ng mga estudyanteng pinag-aaral nito ngayon, kundi pasaklawin pa nga ang bilang na ito para maihatid ang edukasyon bilang karapatan sa mga kabataan at mamamayan. Ayon kay Villegas, sa paghango ng mga aral sa mga pamantasan sa ibang bansa na nagbibigay ng libreng edukasyong pangkolehiyo sa mga estudyante, ang “solusyon sa kalunus-lunos na badyet ng UP ay ang gawing prayoridad ng Kongreso ang pangkolehiyong edukasyon ng kabataan ng bansa kaysa ang pagbayad sa mga utang panlabas at gastusin ng militar, o ang magbigay ng mga kapangyarihang pang-korporasyon (corporate powers) sa BOR” (Makilan 2003). Taun-taon, banggit niya, kumakain ang pagbayad sa utang panlabas at pagpondo sa militar, idagdag pa ang katiwalian sa gobyerno, ng malaking bahagi sa pambansang badyet.

### ***Muling Paggigiit ng Neoliberal na Pagtatanggol sa Administrasyong Roman***

Noong Disyembre 15, 2006, pinagtibay ng BOR ang pagtataas sa matrikula at iba pang bayarin ng mga mag-aaral ng UP. Sa kanilang desisyon, simula Hunyo 2007, magbabayad ng matrikulang P1,000 kada yunit ang bawat estudyanteng papasok sa unang taon sa mga kampus ng UP sa Diliman, Manila at Los Baños; habang P600 bawat yunit naman ang bawat estudyanteng papasok sa unang taon sa mga kampus ng UP sa Baguio, Mindanao, Visayas at Pampanga. Pagtaas ang mga ito sa naunang P300 kada yunit na matrikula sa balangkas ng “pag-aayos sa istruktura” ng STFAP.



Ang hakbanging ito—na sinasabing lilikom ng P75 milyon hanggang P85 milyong dagdag-pondo para sa UP—ay pinagtibay sa harap ng malakas na panawagan ng mga mag-aaral at mamamayan para patalsikin si Pangulong Arroyo at ng panunupil sa mga mag-aaral, kung saan tampok ang pagsagka sa paglalathala ng *Philippine Collegian* na siyang opisyal na lingguhang pahayagan ng mga estudyante ng kampus ng UP sa Diliman. Ang pito sa 12 rehenteng dumalo sa pulong ay sumang-ayon sa pagtataas, habang inirereklamo ng tumututol na rehente ng mga mag-aaral at ng kaguruan ang maniobra ng administrasyon para hindi sila makaupo sa mahalagang pulong na ito (Limon 2007).

Hindi na ang administrasyong Nemenzo, gayunman, ang nasa pamunuan ng UP sa panahong ito, kundi ang administrasyon ni Pangulong Emerlinda Roman (2005 hanggang kasalukuyang petsa). Propesor sa College of Business Administration at matagal na naglingkod na Chancellor ng UP Diliman, kaisa at nakasama si Roman sa paglaban sa CPDP noong 1997, sa pagkilos noong Pebrero 14, 2000, gayundin sa ilan pang pagkilos ng Komunidad ng UP sa mga isyung pambansa. Malinaw, gayunman, ang punto ng tunggalian niya at ng makabayang mga organisasyon at alyansa ng Komunidad ng UP: komersyalisasyon ng edukasyon at mga pag-aari ng UP (Alfonso 2007). Sa harap ng garapal na pakikialam ng Malakanyang sa proseso ng pagpili ng pangulo ng UP, sinuportahan siya ni Nemenzo sa pagtakbo niya bilang pangulo ng unibersidad.

Bilang paghahanda sa pagtataas ng matrikula at iba pang bayarin ng mga mag-aaral, binuo ng administrasyong Roman ang komiteng ad hoc na pinamunuan ni Prop. Emmanuel de Dios ng UP School of Economics para maghapat ng pag-aaral at mga panukala hinggil sa mga bayarin. Sa pinal na ulat ng Komiteng De Dios, sinabi nitong tanggap na ng iba't ibang panig ng Unibersidad ang STFAP, sa kabila ng mga pagtutol dito noong una. Ganito ang inilarawan nitong kalagayan at pagbibigay-katwiran sa panukalang pagtataas ng matrikula at iba pang bayarin sang-ayon sa implasyon (inflation): “Ang dating malaganap na pagtinging ang mga institusyong pag-aari ng estado ay kailangang magtakda ng mababang matrikula (o kahit wala) ay unti-unting nagbigay-daan sa pagtanggap sa prinsipyong ang mga mag-aaral mismo – sa halip na ang mga taong nagbabayad ng buwis sa pangkalahatan – ang dapat magbayad ng halaga ng edukasyong pangkolehiyo” (UP ad hoc Committee to Review Tuition and Other Fees 2006a).

Sang-ayon dito, ang tanging susog lamang ay ang probisyong nagtataguyod ng pagkakapatas (equity): “na ang mahihirap na estudyanteng

karapat-dapat ay dapat tumanggap ng pampinansyang ginhawa (relief) at tulong.”

Ang “lumalaganap na pagkamalay” na ito, ayon sa dokumento, ay “inudyukan ng pagkabansot ng suporta ng estado sa harap ng permanenteng kagipitan sa badyet ng gobyerno; ang paglaganap... ng edukasyong undergraduate na ipinagkakaloob nang pribado...; at ang kagustuhan ng Unibersidad na patatagin ang kalayaan nitong pang-intelektwal sa pamamagitan ng pag-asa sa sarili sa pinansya.” Sa talababa (footnote) sa pahayag na ito, gayunman, sinabing ang paglaganap ng ideya na ang mga estudyante sa papaunlad na mga bansang hindi nahaharap sa kagipitan sa pondo na katulad ng Pilipinas ay “nagpapakitang... hindi lamang ito tugon sa partikular na sitwasyon ng kagipitan sa badyet, kundi pangkalahatang prinsipyong dapat pagtibayin.”

Hinabol din nito, sa talababa, na “ang pampublikong subsidyo sa isang aktibidad ay nararapat batay sa positibong mga externality na idinudulot nito” o ang “panlipunang mga pakinabang na hindi malinaw sa indibidwal mismo. Maikakatwirang halos lahat ng pakinabang ng edukasyong undergraduate sa katotohanan ay matatamasa ng pribadong indibidwal mismo, na kung gayon ay dapat maging handang bayaran ang gastos.”

Sa mga pahayag na ito, makikita ang hakbang-hakbang na pagtapang ng pormulasyon mula sa dahan-dahang pagtalikod sa prinsipyong pang-edukasyon na ipinaglalaman ng makabayang mga organisasyon at alyansa sa Komunidad ng UP patungo sa lantad na pagsang-ayon sa mga prinsipyong neoliberal sa edukasyong pangkolehiyo. Ang ikinukuwento nitong “unti-unting pagtanggap” sa prinsipyong mga mag-aaral mismo ang dapat na magbayad ng edukasyon ay walang iba kundi ang pagtining ng neoliberal na kaisahan ng pandaigdigang burgesya, ng malalaking institusyong pampinansya’t pangkalakalan, ng lokal na naghaharing mga uri, at ng bayaran nilang mga ekonomista’t intelektwal. Sa kabila ng sinasabing “pagtanggap,” hindi demokratiko ang kaisahang ito, dahil binuo ng ilan lamang sa lipunan at dahil kumakatawan sa atake sa mga karapatan ng nakararaming mga mamamayan sa daigdig at sa bansa. Ang sinasabing pagtanggap ay ipinagpapalagay at pagkatapos ay hinihingi, dahil sa neoliberal na mga patakarang naipatupad na katulad ng tambalang pagbawas ng subsidyo ng estado at paghikayat naman sa pribadong pamumuhunan sa edukasyon.

Sa isang banda, gayunman, makukuwestiyon ang ipinagpapalagay na pagtanggap ng Komunidad ng UP sa ilang patakarang neoliberal. Sa huling kasaysayan ng UP, makikita ang malawak at malakas na paglaban ng Komunidad ng UP kontra sa komersyalisasyon ng lupa at mga pag-aari ng

UP—at sa isang banda, ng edukasyon sa UP—at para sa mas mataas na subsidyo ng estado rito. Hindi man naturol ang puntirya ng mga paglabang ito patungo sa STFAP, tiyak namang ang mga panawagang nagpakilos sa malawak na hanay ng Komunidad ng UP sa nagdaang mga taon ay ang pagtutol sa partikular na mga patakarang neoliberal kaugnay ng STFAP.

Para mas kongkretong masipat ang usapin ng “panlipunang mga pakinabang” na sinasabing siyang batayan kung marapat ang pagbibigay ng subsidyo sa edukasyong pangkolehiyo, maaaring suriin ang kaso ng mga nars. Nitong nagdaang mga taon, naging tampok na kurso ng maraming nag-aaral sa kolehiyo ang pagnanars dahil na rin sa paghikayat ng gobyerno, sapagkat mayroong tiyak na mga trabaho sa ibang bansa para sa mga nakapagtapos nito. Totoo, nakikinabang ang indibidwal at kanyang pamilya sa pagtatrabaho ng nars sa ibang bansa. Pero nakikinabang din ang gobyerno sa porma ng mga remittance—na nitong huling mga taon ay naging mahalagang tagapagsalba ng ekonomiya ng bansa. Kailangang idagdag, gayunman, na hindi nasasapul at napaglilingkuran ang tunay na interes ng indibidwal at ng gobyerno sa kasong ito. Dobleng pahirap ang ipinapataw ng gobyerno sa mga estudyante sa pagpapabayad sa kanilang pag-aaral. Sa isang banda, ang gobyernong magbibigay ng sapat na subsidyo sa edukasyong pangkolehiyo ay iyun din namang nakasasapul sa tunay na interes ng bansa na tatanawin nitong paglilingkuran ng gayong edukasyon.

Sa praymer ng Komiteng De Dios, idinaing nitong una, hindi lamang hindi ibinibigay ng gobyerno ang hinihinging mas mataas na badyet ng UP, kundi ikalawa, mas mababa ang ibinibigay nitong badyet sa UP kumpara sa nagdaang mga taon, at ikatlo, matatagalan ang “makabuluhan at permanenteng” paglaki ng badyet dahil prayoridad ng gobyerno na palitin ang depisito (deficit). Kung mayroon mang pondo ang gobyerno, gayunman, sinabi nitong dapat pa ring resolbahin ang “mga debate” tungkol sa kung saan dapat mapunta ang subsidyo: Sa UP ba o sa edukasyong elementarya at sekondarya? Sa UP ba o sa mga kolehiyo at unibersidad na pang-estado? Sa halip daw na matali sa nasabing mga debate, kailangang lumikom ang UP ng sapat na pondo.

Sa tugon ng Komiteng De Dios sa mga kritisismo ng makabayang mga organisasyon at alyansa sa Komunidad ng UP, sinabi nitong bagamat lehitimo para sa UP na sikaping mapalaki ang badyet na nakukuha nito kumpara sa ibang ahensya ng gobyerno, tungkulin pa rin ng UP na “(a) palawakin ang kakayahan nitong lumikom ng sariling rekurso” at “(b) tiyaking anumang pampublikong suportang nakukuha nito ay ilalaan sang-ayon sa efficiency at katarungang panlipunan.” Lumabas ding ito mismo ay nasa

isang panig sa inilalahad nitong mga debate. Ayon dito, “Maitatanong kung ang katarungang panlipunan at ang obligasyon ng gobyerno na magbigay ng unibersal na edukasyon sa mga mamamayan nito ay pinakamainam na nagagawa sa paglalaan ng mas maraming rekurso sa institusyong pangkolehiyo—na ang iba katulad ng UP ay may pagkakataong magtaas ng mga bayarin, unang una na—sa halip na paghusayin ang batayang edukasyon na mas kagyat na kailangan ng mga maralita.” Ibinukas pa nito ang posibilidad na mas mahusay subsidyuhan ng estado ang pag-aaral na pang-gradwado at abanteng research and development kaysa sa edukasyong pang-undergraduate.

Ibinabalik nito sa gunita ang pahayag ni Bello kaugnay ng makatwirang paglalaan ng subsidyo ng estado. Aniya, “Buong-buo ang pagsang-ayon ko na ang perang napupunta sa utang [panlabas] ay ibalik sa bansa, pero sa pangkalahatang lagay ng mga bagay, maging iyon ay napakaliit kumpara sa mga pangangailangan ng bansa sa puntong ito. At bakit ito dapat mapunta sa edukasyon at hindi sa pagsuporta sa reporma sa lupa, halimbawa?... [K]ung ang mga pangangailangan ay mapupunuan ng mga institusyon mismo sa pamamagitan ng malikhaing mga paraan, mas mainam” (STRAW 1996).

Nagsasanib sa mga pahayag na ito ang hindi kritikal na pagtanggap sa mga pahayag ng gobyerno—na wala itong pondo, halimbawa—sa mga dogmang neoliberal. Hinahati pa ng ganitong pagdadahilan ang sektor ng edukasyon at serbisyong panlipunan, sa halip na tingnan ang pangkalahatang interes nito kung ihahambing sa pambayad sa utang panlabas o gastos sa militar o katiwalian—na pawang kumakain ng napakalaking bahagi ng pambansang badyet, mas malaki pa madalas sa badyet para sa edukasyon. Tinatanggap nitong totoo ang mga limitasyong inilalahad ng gobyerno sa puntong tatapakan ang batayang karapatan sa edukasyon—at kasama nito, sa kalusugan, pabahay at agrikultura—ng mga mamamayan para maibigay ang pakinabang ng dayuhang mga institusyong pampinansya, matataas na opisyal sa militar, gayundin ng mga pulitiko sa gobyerno.

Pinapahupa ng ganitong mga pahayag ang paglaban ng Komunidad ng UP, gayung hindi naman sa batayang edukasyon o reporma sa lupa, halimbawa, inilalaan ng gobyerno ang pondo nito. At sa pagtalikod ng Komunidad ng UP sa labang ito—ng buong sektor ng edukasyon at serbisyong panlipunan—lalong magiging maluwa sa gobyernong takasan ang tungkulin nito. Hindi rin makakamit ng batayang edukasyon o ng reporma sa lupa, halimbawa, ang karampatang subsidyo kung hindi lalaban ang apektadong mga sektor dito. At sa paglaban na iyan, mas mahalaga ang

pagkakaisa ng lahat ng apektadong sektor, kasama ang UP, hindi ang pagkakahati. Kung sasagarin, sumasang-ayon sa palagiang lohika ng gobyerno ang ganito: na kailangang magtiis ang mamamayan dahil paparating na ang pag-trickle down ng pag-unlad. Kakatwang ilarawan sa isip: mga magsasakang pinagsasabihan ng gobyerno na hindi muna makakakuha ng mas mataas na subsidyo ang reporma sa lupa dahil uunahin ang subsidyo para sa batayang edukasyon ng mga anak nila. Hinahati ang paglaban ng mga mamamayan para madala ang pondo sa may hawak ng yaman at kapangyarihan.

Sa kanyang pahayag sa Komunidad ng UP, sinabi ni Roman na “inaasahan” niya ang pagtutol ng “ilang estudyante.” Dagdag niya, “Kung walang kahit anong pagtutol, magugulat tayo, o panghihinaan ng loob (disappointed) marahil. Ano kaya ang UP kung walang mga debate?” (Roman 2006b). Katulad noong kampanya ng administrasyong Nemenzo para sa pag-apruba sa SB 2587, nasa panig ng administrasyong Roman ang dalawang kolumnistang mga propesor din sa UP, at sinipi ni Roman ang mga pahayag ng mga ito. Kay Monsod, kinuha ni Roman ang pagsusuring ang karaniwang estudyante ng UP ay tumatanggap ng mahigit-kumulang 80% ng subsidyo sa gastos sa pagtuturo. Kay David naman, kinuha ni Roman ang pagtinging tanging edukasyon sa elementarya at hayskul, at hindi ang edukasyong pangkolehiyo, ang itinuturing ng Konstitusyon na karapatan ng mga mamamayan.

Ani Roman, “Hindi namin iminumungkahi na ang mga subsidyo ng estado para sa edukasyon ay dapat alisin. Ang ginawa lamang namin ay kilalaning lumiliit ito, hindi lamang sa bansa kundi sa buong mundo” at sinabing maraming estudyante pa rin ang tatanggap ng subsidyo sa matrikula sa ipinapanukalang sistema. Dagdag pa niya, “Wala rin kaming intensyong kalimutan ang pangangailangang kumuha ng mas malaking badyet mula sa gobyerno. Ang posisyon lamang namin ay habang hinihintay nating mangyari ang milagrong ito, hindi tayo puwedeng tumayo lang at walang gawin.” Pagkatapos, inisa-isa niya ang mga pamamaraan ng kanyang administrasyon para lumikom ng pondo. Hiniling niya sa mga tumututol sa pagtaas ng matrikula at iba pang bayarin na huwag labanan ang pinaplanong pagkomersyalisa sa mga pag-aari ng UP. Sa ganitong pagtingin, magiging milagro na talaga kung sasang-ayon ang gobyerno na dagdagan pa ang badyet para sa UP.

Sa mga pahayag na ito at sa iba pang mga pahayag ng administrasyong Roman, lalong lumilinaw ang kaibahan ng pseudo-progresibong pragmatismo ng administrasyong Nemenzo sa usapin ng

pagpopondo sa UP. Sa kabila ito ng sa esensya'y parehong mga patakarang itinaguyod ng dalawa—kaya nga kapansin-pansin din ang pananahimik ni Nemenzo sa pagtataas ng matrikula ng pumalit sa kanya sa puwesto (Alfonso 2007). Bagamat nananatili ang matapat na pagkilala sa kalagayan ng mga guro, kawani, at pasilidad ng UP, ang pagiging kritikal sa gobyerno ay humantong sa pagtanggap sa mga dahilang sinasabi nito. Ang pagiging kritikal, mapagbantay at militante ng Komunidad ng UP ay laging binabanggit at iginigiit, ngunit hindi na pinapakilos sa isyung ito. Nananatili ang pagtinging wasto at nararapat na dagdagan ng estado ang subsidyo sa UP, gayundin ang pangakong lalaban para makamit ito, ngunit ibayong lumalakas at lumalantad na ang paglalalad at pagtatanggol sa mga prinsipyong neoliberal kaugnay ng edukasyong pangkolehiyo at ng edukasyon sa UP.

Sa isang banda, makikitang nagamit ng administrasyong Roman ang pseudo-progresibong pragmatismong naging tampok noong administrasyong Nemenzo. Sa kabilang banda naman, hindi maiiwasang mahubog ang pagpapatupad sa mga patakaran ng administrasyong Roman ng paglaban ng Komunidad ng UP sa pangunguna ng makabayang mga organisasyon at alyansa sa Komunidad ng UP para sa mas mataas na subsidyo para sa UP at edukasyon—na siya rin namang mayor na humubog sa pagpapatampok ng pseudo-progresibong pragmatismo sa panahon ng administrasyong Nemenzo. Sa proseso, gayunman, tumitining ang kaibahan ng pagdadala ng dalawang administrasyon sa magkaparehong mga patakaran ng komersyalisasyon at neoliberalismo.

### ***“Hindi Natin Isinusuko ang Radikal na Solusyon”***

Pangkalahatang pagpapaunlad sa UP ang pinagsisimulang punto ni Nemenzo, at maging nina Bello at David na mga kapanalig niya sa Kaliwa—sa pagnanais na mapanatili, kung hindi man mapataas pa, ang kalidad ng edukasyong ibinibigay ng UP sa pamamagitan ng pagtataas ng suweldo ng mga guro at kawani. Ang konsiderasyong ito, gayunman, ay dapat itambal sa, kung hindi man masapawan bilang pangunahin ng pagtataguyod sa interes ng mga sektor ng Komunidad ng UP at pag-unawa sa pangkalahatang kalagayan ng sektor ng edukasyon lalo na sa harap ng mga patakarang neoliberal ng gobyerno. Dahil kung hindi, katulad na nga ng nangyari, makakasama nila sa iisang hanay ang mga tulad nina Roman, Monsod at De Dios na pinatunayan na ng mga pangyayari na pawang malinaw na nagsusulong ng ideolohiya at mga patakaran ng neoliberalismo sa

edukasyon—at sa gayo’y pag-atake sa interes ng mga sektor sa Komunidad ng UP at pagtalikod sa pangkalahatang interes ng sektor ng edukasyon.

Sa ganito, hindi sila nagiging bahagi, at bagkus ay nagiging katunggali, ng mga kampanya at pakikibakang masang lumalaban sa mapaminsalang mga patakaran ng gobyerno sa UP at edukasyon. Sa pagtuturo sa malawak na hanay ng mga sektor ng Komunidad ng UP, ang gayong mga kampanya at pakikibakang masa ay napakahalaga – sa paglaban sa iba pang mapaminsalang mga patakaran ng gobyerno; sa pagpapatuloy ng kritikal na pag-iisip at pagiging mapagbantay ng Komunidad ng UP; sa pagsusulong ng makabayang edukasyon sa sinapupunan ng edukasyong kolonyal na dominante ngayon sa UP; at sa pangkalahatang pagmumulat, pag-oorganisa, at pagpapakilos sa mga sektor ng Komunidad ng UP para sa pagbabagong panlipunan. Ang tulong ni Nemenzo at iba pa sa mga kampanya at pakikibakang masang ito—partikular sa mga patakaran ng gobyerno sa UP at edukasyon—ay hindi bilang kakampi, kundi bilang katunggaling nag-uudyok ng paglaban, mga tagapagtanggol ng kalabang nagtutulak ng pagtalas ng linyang makabayan.

Sa isang banda, mainam unawain ang kritisismong ito sa sariling pag-unawa ni Bello. Sa kanyang paglalagom sa globalisasyon, kinilala niyang mahalagang salik sa “pagkakahadlang” sa globalisasyon ang “popular na paglaban” dito. Inisa-isa niya ang “kritikal na mga hugpungan (junctures) sa isang dekadang pandaigdigang pakikibaka na nagpaatras sa proyektong neoliberal” (Bello 2007). Idinagdag niya, gayunman, na “ang tawag-pansing mga pangyayaring ito ay kalingkingan pa lamang, ang pagsusuma ng libu-libong kontra-neoliberal, kontra-globalisasyong pakikibaka sa libu-libong komunidad sa buong mundo na nagsangkot sa milyun-milyong magsasaka, manggagawa, estudyante, mga mamamayang katutubo, at maraming sektor ng panggitnang uri.”

Noong itinatag ang party-list na Akbayan noong 1998, kasagsagan ng Asian Financial Crisis, idineklara ni Nemenzo ang kanyang tindig sa neoliberalismo. “Hindi natin isinusuko ang radikal na solusyon kung ang problema ay radikal na masama (radically bad)... Ang tanganan ang isang radikal na tindig sa harap ng matinding krisis ay mas responsable kaysa sa tindig ni (Presidente Fidel) Ramos at ng kanyang mga teknokrata... Ang isang radikal na paglihis sa neoliberalismo ay mas makatwiran kaysa sa panukala nilang pabilisin ang liberalisasyon, deregulasyon at pribatisasyon” (Mohideen 1998).

Wasto ang sinasabi rito ni Nemenzo. Ang radikal na tugon sa neoliberalismo, gayunman, ay makikita, hindi lamang sa pagtutol sa neoliberal

mga patakaran ng gobyerno sa pambansang antas, kundi maging sa antas na lokal, sa pagtanggap tanggapin ang pagkaltas sa subsidyong ibinibigay ng estado sa UP, sa sistemang pang-edukasyon at serbisyong panlipunan sa pangkalahatan. At lalong hindi radikal na tugon ang lapatan ang pagtakas ng estado sa tungkuling pondohan ang UP—para lamang ilagak ang pondo sa militar at pagbabayad ng utang panlabas ng bansa, sang-ayon sa mga diktang neoliberal—gayundin, ang mga patakaran ng komersyalisasyon na kakambal at itinutulak nito, ng pseudo-progresibo’t pragmatikong mga dahilan at pagtatanggol.

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**Ang Revitalized General Education  
Program (RGEP)  
ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas:  
Edukasyong Nakamodelo  
sa Pamilihan**

**Ramon Guillermo**

Unang ipinatupad ang Revitalized General Education Program (RGEP) sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas (UP) noong unang semestre, taong pang-akademikong 2002-2003, bilang pamalit sa dating kumprehensibong General Education Program (GEP). Marami itong pagkakaiba sa dating GEP. Samantalang ang dating GEP ay may 42 yunit o 14 na subjek na kinakailangang kunin ng mga mag-aaral, ang RGEP naman ay binubuo ng 45 yunit o 15 subjek na malayang pagpipilian ng mga mag-aaral. Makikita sa Talahanayan 1 ang pinakabuod ng pagkakaiba ng dating GEP at ng RGEP batay sa tatlong domeyn pangkaalamang “Arts and Humanities,” “Social Sciences and Philosophy” at “Natural Science and Math.” Nakalista naman sa Talahanayan 2 ang mga subjek na maaaring pagpilian ng mga mag-aaral sa ilalim ng balangkas ng RGEP para sa taong pang-akademikong 2006-2007 sa UP Diliman. Maaari pang madagdagan o mabawasan ang listahang ito batay sa kapasyahan at pag-apruba ng University Council ng Diliman.

Hindi nakapagtataka na lumikha ng malaking debate ang ganitong napakalaking pagbabago sa kurikulum ng GE sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas. Matinding pinuna ng mga tumututol dito ang ipinapalagay nilang hindi sapat na mekanismo ng RGEP upang matiyak na makakakuha ang bawat mag-aaral ng mga subjek na kakailanganin niya sa kanyang panahon ng pag-aaral sa Unibersidad at, higit sa lahat, ng mga subjek na makakatulong sa kanyang pagpapaunlad bilang mamamayan. Pinuna rin na maaaring hindi makamit sa ilalim ng RGEP ang pangunahing layunin ng bawat programang General

**Talahanayan 1: Pagkakaiba ng GEP at RGEP**

GEP		RGEP	
(1) Arts and Humanities	Communication/ Komunikasyon I, II, III Humanities/ Humanidades I, II	(1) Arts and Humanities (AH)	Pumili ng 5 subjek sa ilalim ng kolum na AH sa Table 2
(2) Social Sciences and Philosophy	History I, II; Social Science I, II; Philosophy I	(2) Social Sciences and Philosophy (SSP)	Pumili ng 5 subjek sa ilalim ng kolum na SSP sa Table 2
(3) Natural Sciences and Math	Natural Science I, II; Mathematics I; Science Technology and Society	(3) Math, Science and Technology (MST)	Pumili ng 5 subjek sa ilalim ng kolum na MST sa Table 2
Binubuo ang GEP ng 42 yunit.		Binubuo ang RGEP ng 45 yunit. Anim na yunit dito ay kailangang nakapailalim sa Philippine Studies (ito ang mga subjek na may asterisko sa Table 2).	

Education na magkaroon ng malawak na kaalaman hinggil sa iba't ibang disiplina ang bawat mag-aaral ng Unibersidad sa pangyayaring maaaring piliin na lamang ng mga mag-aaral ang mga subjek na dati na nilang kinahihiligan.

Sa pilosopikal na antas, nakabatay ang RGEP sa prinsipyo ng “kalayaan sa pagpili.” Gayumpaman, masasabing ang mga desisyon na binubuo ng bawat indibidwal o mag-aaral sa kanyang “kalayaan sa pagpili” ay hindi maiiwasang nakabatay sa kanyang pinagmulan, kinagisnan at mga prehuwisyong. Isang ilusyon ang ideya ng indibidwal na kumikilos at nagpapasya lamang batay sa kanyang nagsasarili at nakabukod na katwiran upang gawin ang pinakamakabubuti para sa kanya. Nasa likod ng buong diskursong ito ng “kalayaan sa pagpili” ang pagtingin at pagturing sa mga mag-aaral bilang “malayang mamimili” sa loob ng isang malayang pamilihan. Sa katunaya’y hindi pangunahing pampulitika at pang-akademikong kalayaan ang tinutukoy rito kundi ang “kalayaan” ng mamimili o kustomer na pumili ng kung ano ang gusto o makakayanan niya. Sa ganitong paraan ay naililipat ang konsepto ng mag-aaral mula sa diskurso ng pagkamamamayan tungo sa pagka-mamimili at nadodomina ang diskurso ng pambansa at pampublikong kapakanan ng pampamilihang diskurso ng indibidwal na kalayaan sa pagsasarili.

Sa kabila nito, noong pinag-uusapan pa ang RGEP ay nakilala nang hindi pangunahing usapin ang “kalayaan sa pagpili” versus “kawalan ng

kalayaan sa pagpipili.” Ang lumitaw na pangunahing tanong ay kung nararapat bang magpanatili ng ilang “core course” sa curriculum o hindi? Ibig sabihin, maaaring gumawa ng paraan upang higit na mabalanse ang “kalayaan sa pagpili” sa “kalayaan at tungkulin” din ng pagtakda ng Unibersidad ng ilang “core course” na ipinapalagay nitong kailangang pagdaanan ng bawat mag-aaral para maging mas matagumpay sa gawaing pang-akademiko at upang magkaroon ng mas malalim na pagkaunawa hinggil sa kanyang pagkamamamayan. Makikitang maingat na iniwasan ng RGEP ang pagtatakda ng alinmang “core course” sa loob ng balangkas nito. Upang matiyak na hindi labis na kaunti at espesyalisado ang mga disiplinang kukunin ng bawat mag-aaral ay nagtakda ito ng tatlong domeyn na kailangang punuin ng bawat mag-aaral. Para naman matugunan ang kritisismo rito na hindi nito sapat na pinapahalagahan ang nasyonalismo, pambansang wika at kasaysayan ay nagtalaga ito ng siyam na yunit para sa mga kursong nakapailalim sa Philippine Studies.

Pagkatapos ng limang taon ng implementasyon ay masasabing maaari nang magsagawa ng panimulang pagtatasa sa pagka-epektibo nito bilang isang programang pang-GE.

Makakatulong sa pagtatasa ng RGEP ang pagtingin sa mga opinyon ng mga mag-aaral hinggil dito. Kaya maaaring unang sulyapan ang isang forum hinggil sa RGEP sa website ng Peyups: Where Bright Minds Meet (<http://www.peyups.com/>). Ayon nga sa isang entri sa naturang forum:

Don't see why people are protesting against it. Ok so I may be some uncaring bastard blah blah blah, but the only disadvantage that I hear about is that RGEP somewhat removes the nationalistic flavor of the flow of courses. So I decided to take a look at the RGEP-ed version of my course and the pre-RGEP version. Heck it's almost the same thing. The only difference is that if I see Nat Sci I in the old, I can substitute NatSciII/EnviSci/etc. for it. And there's still that 6 units of Philippine studies which is almost similar to the number of units the pre-RGEP had. So what's the big fuss about RGEP being the product of some kind of government secret underground colonization plot. So if anyone would kindly detail the actual disadvantages of RGEP? (Zke\_Namkcor (2003-01-28))

Binubuo ang forum ng mga tugon sa tanong na “Is RGEP doing you any good?” Ang pinakaunang entri nito ay may petsang ika-6 ng Agosto 2002

**Talahanayan 2: Mga Sabjek na maaaring mapagpalian para sa  
RGEF sa taong pang-akademikong 2006-2007**

MST	SSP	AH
<p>BIOLOGY 1: Contemporary Topics in Biology</p> <p>CHEMISTRY 1: Chemistry: Science that Matters</p> <p>EEE 10: Everyday EEE: Kuryente, Radyo atbp</p> <p>ENV SCI 1: Environment and Society</p> <p>ES 10: Forces at Work</p> <p>GE 1: Earth Trek</p> <p>GEOLOGY 1: Our Dynamic Earth</p> <p>MATHEMATICS 1: Mathematics for General Education</p> <p>MATHEMATICS 2: Practical Mathematics</p> <p>MBB 1: Biotechnology and You</p> <p>MS 1: Oceans &amp; Us</p> <p>NATURAL SCIENCE 1: Fundamental concepts, principles and theories of Physics and Chemistry</p> <p>NATURAL SCIENCE 2: Fundamental Concepts, Principles and Theories of Earth and Life Sciences</p> <p>PHYSICS 10: Physics and Astronomy for Pedestrians</p> <p>STS: Science, Technology and Society</p>	<p>ANTHROPOLOGY 10: Bodies, Senses &amp; Humanity</p> <p>ARKIYOLOJI 1*: Ang Pilipinas: Arkiyoloji at Kasaysayan</p> <p>ARCHEOLOGY 2: Archaeological heritage: the past is not a foreign land</p> <p>ECONOMICS 11: Markets and the State</p> <p>ECONOMICS 31: A Journey Through Time: Economic Ideas and Civilization</p> <p>GEOGRAPHY 1: Places and Landscapes in a Changing World</p> <p>KASAYSAYAN 1*: Ang Kasaysayan at Institusyong Pilipino</p> <p>KASAYSAYAN 2: Ang Asya at Ang Daigdig</p> <p>LINGG 1: Ikaw at Wika Mo</p> <p>PHILOSOPHY 1: Philosophical Analysis</p> <p>PHILOSOPHY 10: Approaches to Philosophy</p> <p>PHILOSOPHY 11: Logic</p> <p>SEA 30: Asian Emporiums: Networks of Culture and Trade in Southeast Asia</p> <p>SOCIAL SCIENCE 1: Foundations of Behavioral Science 1</p> <p>SOCIAL SCIENCE 2: Social, Economic and Political Thought</p> <p>SOCIAL SCIENCE 3: Exploring Gender &amp; Sexuality</p> <p>SOCIOLOGY 10*: Being Filipino: A Sociological Exploration</p>	<p>1. ARALING PILIPINO 12*: Suroy-suroy sa Wika, Panitikan at Kultura sa mga Isla ng Luzon, Visayas at Mindanao</p> <p>2. ART STUD 1: Art &amp; Society</p> <p>3. ART STUD 2: Art Around Us: Exploring Everyday Life</p> <p>4. BC 10: Radio and Television: On- Air/Off-Air</p> <p>5. COMMUNICATION 3: Speech Communication</p> <p>6. CW 10: Creative Writing For Beginners</p> <p>7. EL 50: European Cultures and Civilizations</p> <p>8. ENGLISH 1: Basic College English</p> <p>9. ENGLISH 10: College English</p> <p>10. ENGLISH 11: Literature and Society</p> <p>11. ENGLISH 12: World Literatures</p> <p>12. ENGLISH 30: English for the Professions</p> <p>13. FA 28*: Arts in the Philippines</p> <p>14. FA 30: Art Pleasures</p> <p>15. FILIPINO 25: Mga Ideya at Estilo</p> <p>16. FILIPINO 40*: Wika, Kultura at Lipunan</p> <p>17. FILM 10: Sining Sine</p> <p>18. FILM 12*: Sine Pinoy</p> <p>19. HUMANIDADES 1: Tao, Panitikan, at Lipunan</p> <p>20. J 18: News in the New Century</p> <p>21. KOMUNIKASYON 1: Kasanayan sa Komunikasyon 1</p>



		<p>22. KOMUNIKASYON 2: Kasanayan sa Komunikasyon 2</p> <p>23. MALIKHAING PAGSULAT 10*: Ang Hiwaga at Hikayat ng Panulat</p> <p>24. MuD 1: Reading Dance</p> <p>25. MuL 9*: Musics of the Philippines</p> <p>26. MuL 13: World Music Cultures</p> <p>27. PANITIKAN NG PILIPINAS 12*: Text Mo/Text Ko: Panimulang Pag-aaral ng Panitikang Pilipino</p> <p>28. PANITIKAN NG PILIPINAS 17*: Panitikan at Kulturang Popular</p> <p>29. PANITIKAN NG PILIPINAS 19*: Sexwalidad, Kasarian at Panitikan</p> <p>30. PANITIKAN NG PILIPINAS 40*: Panitikan at Lipunang Pilipino mula 1946 hanggang sa kasalukuyan</p> <p>31. PANITIKAN NG PILIPINAS 50*: Panitikang Makabayan</p> <p>32. SEA 30: Asian Emporiums: Networks of Culture and Trade in Southeast Asia</p> <p>33. THEATRE 10: Onstage, Offstage</p> <p>34. THEATRE 11*: Dula at Palabas</p> <p>35. THEATRE 12: Acting Workshop</p>
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at ang pinakahuli naman (batay sa huling pagsangguni sa website) ay ika-11 ng Disyembre, 2005. May 131 entri at 104 na kalahok. Mga 53 sa entri ay may positibong pagtingin sa RGEP. Mga 40 naman ay may negatibong pagtingin. Pero meron ding ilang pumapagitna o hindi tiyak ang posisyon.

Karamihan ng mga positibong entri ay bumabanggit sa kagandahan ng pagpili ng estudyante ng mga subjek na “gusto nila” at sa pangyayaring hindi sila “napipilitan” (o “forced”) na pumasok sa mga klase na hindi interesante para sa kanila at/o walang kinalaman sa kanilang hinahangad na propesyon (alinsunod kina precious<sup>318</sup>, nathanengg, yeyo atbp.). Ayon nga kay Sephiroth (2004-06-03), “i dont feel choked in such a way that im forced to take up subjects which i dont really have any interest in.” Tinanggihan din ni Sephiroth (2005-11-02) ang ideya na may mga subjek na maituturing na esensyal o dapat makuha ng mga mag-aaral ng Unibersidad. Ayon pa sa kanya, “with regards to the opinion regarding yung mas okay daw yung dating program, i beg to disagree sa part na sabi mas essential yung mga subjects or something like that and why is that? kasi, perspective lang yun. we should decide what we think is essential for us. (< i think eto yung essence ng rgep) - to allow the students to decide for themselves what they think would be better for them.”. Sinusugan ang palagay na ito ni Zke\_Namkcor (2003-05-30). Inihapag niya ang malalim na tanong na, “were the previous subjects really necessary? Or did people just accept them as necessary?” Makikita kina Sephiroth at Zke\_Namkcor ang palagay na ang pagtatakda ng core curriculum ay bunga lamang ng arbitraryong perspektibang pansarili ng iilang tao lamang na hindi makatarungang ipinapataw sa mga mag-aaral.

Ayon naman kay neverOK (2003-08-12), dahil sa RGEP, “maiiwasan ko na yung mga subjects na mahirap at boring..” Pinasalaman pa ni figursk8r (2004-06-05) ang RGEP dahil hindi na niya kinailangang kumuha ng Communication 3. Sa tingin naman ni little\_conqueror (2005-10-17) ay mas okay ang unang programang GE mula sa puntodebista ng lawak ng kaalamang maaaring maibahagi nito. Gayumpaman anya, “but personally i still prefer rgep.. kasi meron kang choice, mapapataas mo pa grade mo..”

Sa kabilang banda naman, binabanggit ng ibang mga entri ang posibilidad ng pagbaba ng kalidad ng mga subjek dahil sa kumpetisyon ng mga departamento at kolehiyo para sa mga mag-aaral. Retorikal na tinanong ni rhyan (2003-05-20) si Sephiroth, “do you think that this ‘new sense of freedom’ that you are talking about will give us a better education [?].” Umaasa naman si oyster (2003-05-19) na, “sana lang walang kolehiyo na magturo ng mga walang kwentang courses para lang makahatak ng mga estudyante=mas maraming pera...at mga estudyante ay huwag rin sanang magpauto sa mga ganito...” Dinagdagan pa ito cool\_zeus (2004-06-01), “there is also the fear that a teacher will modify the syllabus, which might sacrifice quality of education. I mean, for the teacher to get more enrollees

in his or her subject, he or she might revise the syllabus so that the subject will be easier. In the end, learning and critical thinking will have to be sacrificed over higher grades and easier requirements.” Lumilitaw tuloy ang agam-agam na makapagpapababa ng mga istandard ang kumpetisyong dulot ng RGEP sa halip na makatulong sa pagpapabuti ng mga kurso.

Nagpahayag naman ng iskeptisismo sina *harry\_puker* at *OPPRESSEDepressed* sa mga motibo ng mag-aaral na kumuha ng mga subjek na makapagpapataas lamang ng kanilang greyd. Ayon nga kay *harry\_puker* (2005-09-23), “yung RGEP, ginagamit lang ng ibang students para makakuha ng mataas na grade, at hindi talaga para matuto.” Dagdag pa ni *OPPRESSEDepressed* (2005-10-17), “tataas ang grade mo talaga... pero me thinks, kahit mataas ang grade mo, hindi mo naman natututunan ang dapat mong matutunan to be a well-rounded professional di ba? ang tendency ng student ay kunin lang ang mga subjects kung saan sila comfortable...”

Pinoproblema naman ng ilang nagpahayag laban sa RGEP ang panganib na mapakitid ang edukasyon ng mag-aaral dahil sa pagpili lamang nila ng mga subjek na interesante para sa kanila. Inobserba ni *vani* (2003-05-20), “hindi na ganoong kaganda yung program kasi kukunin lang ng mga students yung gusto nila, hindi katulad na required yung GE na yun. it’s not that beneficial kung pagtutuunan ng pansin yung pag-develop ng well-roundedness ng isang tao.” Tinukoy naman ni *macabaian* (2005-10-29) ang positibo at negatibong aspekto ng RGEP sa kanyang palagay, “one good thing about RGEP is that you can choose the domain that you will be specialized on... kaso nga lang.. that causes us to be less well-rounded kasi dun ka na lang sa subjects na alam mong magaling ka, hindi mo pangangahasan yung mga subjects na hindi gamay.” Problema nga lang sa palagay ni *macabaian* hinggil sa bentahe ng RGEP na magagamit ito sa espesyalisyon ay talaga ngang dapat maiwasan sa RGEP ang pagpili lamang ng mga mag-aaral ng mga subjek na nakatuon sa kanyang espesyalisasyon. Sa kabila ng pagdidiin ng mga nagbalangkas ng RGEP na hindi ito hahantong sa maaga o labis na espesyalisyon ay ganito pa rin ang naging bentahe nito para sa mga mag-aaral tulad nina *macabaian*, *precious318*, *nathanengg*, *yeyo atbp*. May himig naman ng pagsisisi sa sinulat ni *johannes\_lee* (2005-09-24), “okay na sa akin ang ganito. pero kung siguro yung dating GE, baka mas well rounded ako ngayon.”

Idiniin ni pedro123 (2004-06-08) ang kahalagahan ng pagiging “well-rounded” na ipinapalagay niyang hindi sapat na natutugunan ng RGEP,

ang inabot ko is un GEP, d next year implemented na ang RGEP. now here’s my point, mas maganda ang old curriculum (GEP), why? dahil as a UP student, dapat di ka lang magaling sa course mo. dapat may alam ka rin sa liberal arts, science, math, etc... well-rounded ika nga nila. may mga nakausap na ako na mga students from the RGEP curriculum and i was dissatisfied with their reasons kung bakit ganito mga kinuha nilang subjects, parang hindi pang-UP (just ask me on a separate forum kng ano un cnbi nila)... and regarding dun sa mga natatakot kumuha ng GE subjects like Comm3, Sosc2 etc... ang masasabi ko lang, walang subject na madali. kung hindi ka mag-aaral di ka papasa. example, kung mahina ka sa speech, the more na dapat kumuha ka nang Comm3. Di naman kc un pagalingan. Sosc 2 is a very educational subject, you will learn about philosophers and their teachings/books etc.. hindi perfect ang GEP pero it serves the purpose.

Pinansin naman ni jody\_ko (2004-06-16) ang iba’t ibang dahilan sa likod ng pagpili ng mga mag-aaral ng mga subjek sa RGEP na kanilang kinukuha. Ayon sa kanya:

ngayon kasi, may tendency na kunin ang GE subject na madali o mataas magbigay ang prof ng grade o yung GE subject na mas maikli ang pila, feeling ko mas maraming nawawala sa mga students under RGEP, actually LUGI sila... deprived sila ng mga infos na dapat sana meron sila narinig ko rin yung reason na: at least makukuha nila yung GE subjects na related sa major nila at interesado sila... hindi ko alam kung paano sasagutin yung aspeto na ‘interesting’ na subject, pero alam ko may electives naman halos lahat ng kurso so, makukuha at makukuha naman ng estudyante ang mga subjects na interesado siya at yung pagpili ng GE subjects na related sa course nila... i think ginagawa naman iyon ng nagdedevelop ng curriculum ng bawat kurso/ department.

Dagdag pa, binuksan ni jody\_ko sa parehong entri ang usapin ng pagkuha ng Communication 2. Ani niya:

sa totoo lang isa sa hate kong GE ang comm2 kasi matrabaho... term paper writing e, pero na-appreciate ko ang course na ito nung nagsusulat na ako ng undergrad thesis at ngayon na tinatapos ko ang MA thesis ko... well, opinyon lang naman ito.

Sinusugan ang obserbasyong ito ni yajeeg (2005-12-09), isang instruktur na nagbahagi ng kanyang opinyon, ayon sa kanya:

I do agree with the goodness of a studentry who are responsible enough to reflect on the GE subjects that would benefit them the most. However, this seems not to be the case. At least, that is how I see it as a teacher for 3 years now in UP. I think, say for instance that one of the more important GE Courses that have become unpopular now because of its tediousness is Comm 2 which tackles that of writing major and minor academic papers. I always cringe at the occurrence of innocent plagiarism and grammatical incompetence given that I'm handling the best students supposedly of the country. For the Social Science domain, students (at least in UPLB) have shunned SOSOC2: Social Economic & Political Thought. Its so unfortunate that SOSOC2 seems to be the only subject not taught elsewhere in the Philippines. Aside from its uniqueness, it aims to broaden the students' perspective regarding society, politics and economics. I am not calling for the repeal of RGEP. But I think its already time to review whether its objectives are really met and at what cost.

Makikitang hati ang mga pananaw ng mga mag-aaral hinggil sa mga pakinabang at benepisyo ng RGEP. Tulad ng lumitaw na sa mga debate sa panahon ng implementasyon ng RGEP ay napapatampok sa mga usapin ng mga mag-aaral ang tema ng pagiging "well-rounded." Pinagdebatehan kung makakadulot ba ng pagpapataas o pagpapababa ng istandard ang kumpetisyon ng mga subjek para sa mga mag-aaral sa GE. Pinag-usapan ang mga motibo ng mga mag-aaral sa pagkuha ng mga subjek, gayundin ang mga motibo ng mga naghahangad magkaroon ng mga "core course" na kakailanganing kunin ng mga mag-aaral. Sa pangkalahatan ay masasabing magandang batis ang naturang website na mapagkukunan ng mga opinyon ng mga mag-aaral hinggil sa kanilang mga karanasan sa RGEP.

Ngayon naman ay maaaring tingnan ang ilang datos na makakatulong sa pagpapatibay at pag-unawa ng mga puna at karanasan ng mga mag-aaral.

**Talahanayan 3: Mga kurikulum sa RGEF na binuo sa pamamaraang random**

ROBOT 1: R2D2		
MST	SSP	AH
PHYSICS 10: Physics and Astronomy for Pedestrians	GEOGRAPHY 1: Places and Landscapes in a Changing World	MuL 13: World Music Cultures
ES 10: Forces at Work	SOCIAL SCIENCE 3: Exploring Gender & Sexuality	<u>ENGLISH 1: Basic College English</u>
NATURAL SCIENCE 2: Fundamental Concepts, Principles and Theories of Earth and Life Sciences	PHILOSOPHY 11: Logic	ART STUD 2: Art Around Us: Exploring Everyday Life
NATURAL SCIENCE 1: Fundamental concepts, principles and theories of Physics and Chemistry	ANTHROPOLOGY 10: Bodies, Senses & Humanity	THEATRE 10: Onstage, Offstage
MBB 1: Biotechnology and You	ARKIYOLOJI 1: Ang Pilipinas: Arkiyoloji at Kasaysayan	PANITIKAN NG PILIPINAS 40: Panitikan at Lipunang Pilipino mula 1946 hanggang sa kasalukuyan
ROBOT 2: C3PO		
MST	SSP	AH
GE 1: Earth Trek	ARKIYOLOJI 1: Ang Pilipinas: Arkiyoloji at Kasaysayan	PANITIKAN NG PILIPINAS 17: Panitikan at Kulturang Popular
GEOLOGY 1: Our Dynamic Earth	PHILOSOPHY 10: Approaches to Philosophy	MuD 1: Reading Dance
BIOLOGY 1: Contemporary Topics in Biology	ANTHROPOLOGY 10: Bodies, Senses & Humanity	KOMUNIKASYON 1: Kasanayan sa Komunikasyon 1
NATURAL SCIENCE 1: Fundamental concepts, principles and theories of Physics and Chemistry	SOCIOLOGY 10: Being Filipino: A Sociological Exploration	ARALING PILIPINO 12: Suroy-suroy sa Wika, Panitikan at Kultura sa mga Isla ng Luzon, Visayas at Mindanao
<u>MATHEMATICS 2: Practical Mathematics</u>	SEA 30: Asian Emporiums: Networks of Culture and Trade in Southeast Asia	MALIKHAING PAGSULAT 10: Ang Hiwaga at Hikayat ng Panulat

Pagkaraan ng limang taon ng implementasyon ng RGEF ay mayroon nang 15 kursong iniaalok sa ilalim ng domeyn na MST, 17 sa domeyn ng SSP at 35 sa domeyn ng AH (tingnan ang Talahanayan 2). Sa mga ito'y may 15 nakahanay sa Philippine Studies. Para matingnan ang iba't ibang uri ng kurikulum na maaring mabuo sa RGEF, bumuo ng apat na kurikulum sa pamamaraang random ngunit umaalinsunod sa mga patakarang ng pagpili ng RGEF. Nakatala ang tatlong random na kurikulum nina R2D2, C3PO at Voltes V sa Talahanayan 3 sa ilalim.

ROBOT 3: Voltes V		
MST	SSP	AH
ES 10: Forces at Work	ARCHEOLOGY 2: Archaeological heritage: the past is not a foreign land	FILM 12: Sine Pinoy
NATURAL SCIENCE 1: Fundamental concepts, principles and theories of Physics and Chemistry	GEOGRAPHY 1: Places and Landscapes in a Changing World	EL 50: European Cultures and Civilizations
GE 1: Earth Trek	ECONOMICS 31: A Journey Through Time: Economic Ideas and Civilization	ART STUD 1: Art & Society
NATURAL SCIENCE 2: Fundamental Concepts, Principles and Theories of Earth and Life Sciences	PHILOSOPHY 11: Logic	ARALING PILIPINO 12: Suroy-suroy sa Wika, Panitikan at Kultura sa mga Isla ng Luzon, Visayas at Mindanao
BIOLOGY 1: Contemporary Topics in Biology	<u>SOCIAL SCIENCE 2:</u> <u>Social, Economic and</u> <u>Political Thought</u>	FILIPINO 40: Wika, Kultura at Lipunan

Makikita sa tatlong kurikulum na si C3PO lamang ang kumuha ng kaisa-isang subjek sa math (MATHEMATICS 2). Si R2D2 naman ang kumuha ng kaisa-isang subjek (ENGLISH 1) hinggil sa wastong komunikasyong pangkolehiyo (sa wikang Ingles). Si Voltes V naman ay kumuha ng SOCIAL SCIENCE 2 na hinggil sa kasaysayan ng pang-ekonomiya, panlipunan at pampulitikang kaisipan. Hindi nakakuha sina Voltes V at C3PO ng subjek na makakatulong sa kanila sa pagsusulat ng mga term paper at pananaliksik na kakailanganin nila sa buong panahon sa kolehiyo at maging sa pagtatapos nila (ENGLISH 1 o KOMUNIKASYON 2). Kung nasa humanidades ang espesyalisasyon ni R2D2 ay makapagtatapos siya ng kolehiyo na wala man lang ni isang subjek na nakuha hinggil sa matematika. Kung nais naman maging inhinyero ni Voltes V ay maaaring makapagtatapos siya ng kolehiyo na hindi man lang naririnig ang mga pangalang Marx, Weber o Durkheim. Kapansin-pansin din na hindi lumitaw sa kurikulum ng tatlo ang mga pangkalahatang subjek hinggil sa sining at kasaysayan ng Pilipinas. Pero sa kabila nito, itinuturing na nakamit na nina C3PO, R2D2 at Voltes V ang lahat ng mga kahilingan ng RGEP.

Umaayon man ang mga kurikulum na nabuo sa pamamaraang random sa mga alituntunin ng RGEP, hindi masasabing sa ganitong paraan namimili ang mga mag-aaral. Tulad ng nabanggit na, may malaking kinalaman ang kapaligiran, kinagisnan at pinagmulan ng bawat mag-aaral sa kanyang pinipiling mga subjek. Upang makita ang dimensyong ito ng RGEP, pangunahing gagamitin ang karanasan ng Departamento ng Filipino at



**Talahanayan 4: Mga Deskripsiyon ng PP 17, PP 19 at KOM 2**

PANITIKAN NG PILIPINAS 17 Panitikan at Kulturang Popular (3 units)	PANITIKAN NG PILIPINAS 19 Sexwalidad, Kasarian at Panitikan (3 units)	KOMUNIKASYON 2 Kasanayan sa Komunikasyon 2
<p>Paglalarawan ng Kurso Ang relasyon ng panitikan at popular na kultura sa kasalukuyan. Sino ang coño at sino naman ang jologs? Sino ang in na in at sino naman ang baduy? Sino ang burges at sino naman ang bakya? Sino ang may taste at sino naman ang wa taste? Nick Joaquin ba kamo ang binabasa mo o Helen Meriz at Nerissa Cabral? Si Bjork ba ang pinakikinggan mo o ang "S2pid Luv" ng Salbakuta? Sinusundan mo ba ang artikulo ni Teddy Locsin o ang kuwento ni Xerex? Pag-uuspan natin ang pinagmulan ng ganitong mga bansag. Hindi para tukuyin kung sino/ano ang low class o kung sino/ano naman ang elitista, kundi alamin ang relasyon ng panitikan at kulturang popular.</p> <p>Sa mga talakayan, tutuklasin ang mga aralin ng panlasa, kultura, at popular na kultura: fashion, street foods, print ads, billboard, pelikula, texting, eyeball, malling, romance novel, atbp.</p>	<p>Paglalarawan ng Kurso Pag-aaral ng interaksyon ng panitikan at mga usapin sa sexwalidad at kasarian. Sex: Everyday (talaga?) Gender: Male (sure ka na ba?) Homosexual, heterosexual, bisexual, multisexual? Curious ka lang ba? May identity crisis ka ba? <i>Walang biro, sa kursong ito pag-aaralan ang pinagkaiba ng sexwalidad at kasarian.</i> Aalamin kung totoo bang may first sex, second sex, o third sex. Bubusisiin kung paano nagiging instrumento ang ating panitikan sa paglikha ng ating pagkalalaki, pagkababae, pagkalesbiana, o pagkabakla. Magtatangka tayong magbasa ng mga akda na may pag-iingat sa pagturing sa ibang kasarian. Susuri tayo ng mga tula, kuwento, at dula kung ito'y naglalayong mapalaya ang kasarian sa gapos ng diskriminasyon at pagkakahon. Gender sensitivity. Ito ang ating Pangkalahatang layunin matapos ang kurso Para hindi na tayo tutukoy at mambabansag kung ang isa man sa atin ay girl, boy, bakla, tomboy, butiki, baboy.</p>	<p>Paglalarawan ng Kurso Ang Komunikasyon II ay isang kurso sa Filipino na magsasanay sa mga mag-aaral sa sistematiko at mapanuring pag-iisip. Isang sulating pananaliksik ukol sa lipunan at kulturang Pilipino ang magiging pangunahing proyekto ng kurso. Sa paghahanda sa pagsulat ng term paper o sulating pananaliksik, sasanayin ang mga pag-aaral sa pagsulat ng mga ulat, lohikal na pagsusuri at argumentasyon, paggawa ng sulat teknikal, paggawa ng konseptong papel, pangangalap ng datos at talâ, paggawa ng sistematikong balangkas at pagsulat ng aktwal na ulat-pananaliksik.</p>

Panitikan ng Pilipinas (DFPP). Sa lahat ng departamento at kolehiyo sa buong UP Diliman, makikitang pinakaraming subjek sa RGEP ang inaalok ng Departamento ng Filipino at Panitikan ng Pilipinas (DFPP) na umaabot sa ngayon sa 12. Ito ang bilang sa ibang mga kolehiyo at departamento:



Dept. of English and Comparative Literature (6), Dept. of Speech Communication and Theater Arts (4), Dept. of European Languages (1), Dept. of Art Studies (2), Coll. of Fine Arts (2), Coll. of Mass Communication (4), Coll. of Music (3), Coll. of Social Sciences and Philosophy (1). May pagka-ironiko na ang isa sa mga departamentong hayag na nanindigan laban sa RGEP ay siya pa ngayong may pinakamaraming subjek na inaalok sa ilalim ng programang ito. Marahil ay sanhi ito ng ipinapalagay nitong banta na inihaharap ng RGEP sa kalagayan at katayuan ng wikang Filipino sa buong Unibersidad. Napakalaking bahagi rin ng enrolment para sa RGEP sa buong Kolehiyo ng Arte at Literatura na kinapapalooban ng apat pang departamento ang napupunta sa DFPP. Tinatayang umaabot ito ng 41 porsyento para sa nakaraang taon. (Ang mga datos na ginagamit dito ay galing sa Abad (2006)).

Tumingin sa Talahanayan 4 para makita ang paglalarawan o deskripsyon ng tatlo sa mga kursong inaalok ng DFPP sa loob ng balangkas ng RGEP.

Makikita naman sa Guhit 1 ang bilang ng mga mag-aaral na kumuha ng 12 subjek na inaalok ng DFPP para sa RGEP mula unang semestre ng taong pang-akademikong 2002-2003 hanggang sa ikalawang semestre ng taong pang-akademikong 2005-2006 (kasama ang PP 12, PP 19 at KOM 2). Makikita sa Guhit 1 na sa 12 subjek ay may tatlo o apat na bukod-tanging tinatangkilik ng mga mag-aaral. Humihigit sa doble ang enrolment para sa mga subjek na ito kung ihahambing sa ibang mga subjek na hindi gaanong napipili ng mga mag-aaral. Kasama sa mga dinudumog na mga subjek sa DFPP at maging sa domeyn ng AH ang PANITIKAN NG PILIPINAS 17: Panitikan at Kulturang Popular at PANITIKAN NG PILIPINAS 19: Sexwalidad, Kasarian at Panitikan. Kapansin-pansin na kabilang ang KOMUNIKASYON 2, kung saan pinapag-aralan ang mga pamamaraan ng pagsusulat at pananaliksik para sa antas na kolehiyo, sa mga subjek na hindi pangunahing tinatangkilik ng mga mag-aaral. Makikita sa gayon ang isang aspekto ng sistema ng preperensya ng mga mag-aaral sa munting halimbawang ito. Mahalaga at tiyak na masaya ang mga subjek hinggil sa sexwalidad at kulturang popular ngunit masasabing mali na ibinabangga sa pamilihan ang mga ito sa ipinapalagay na “mas mahirap” at hindi dapat ipagkumpetensya ang Kom 2 sa dalawang naturang subjek, bagkus ay dapat kilanlin ang kahalagahan nito bilang subjek na dapat kunin ng bawat

mag-aaral. Sa tindi ng kumpetisyon sa pagitan ng mga departamento at kolehiyo para sa mga mag-ecenrol sa domeyn ng AH ay mukhang napag-iwanan ang batayang pangangailangan ng bawat mag-aaral na magkaroon ng kasanayan sa pagsusulat ng mga pananaliksik sa antas pangkolehiyo.

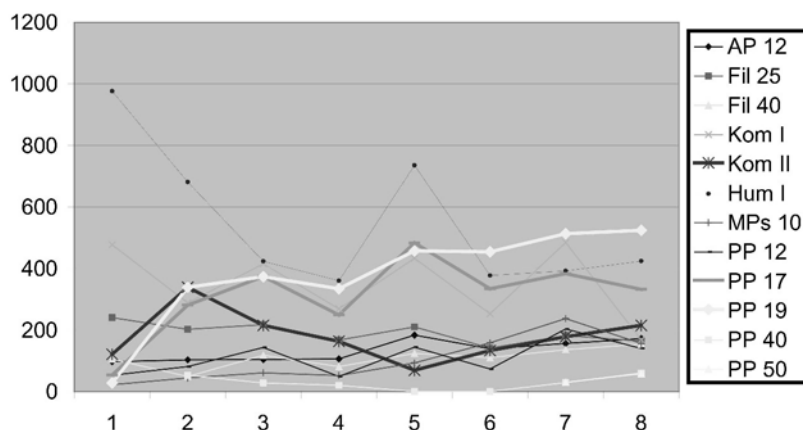
### **Konklusyon**

Hindi pa nakakakalap ng sapat na datos upang gumawa ng kumprehensibong pagtatasa ng RGEP pagkaraan ng limang taon ng implementasyon. Mahalagang matingnan halimbawa kung ano ang hitsura ng distribusyon ng mga kursong kinikilingan ng mga mag-aaral at kung tunay ngang may lumilitaw na pagkitid sa saklaw ng mga pinapag-aralang disiplina at larangan. Gayunpaman, masasabing napapatunayan sa karanasan ng RGEP na hindi sapat ang mekanismo nito ng “malayang pagpili” na nakamodelo sa “malayang pamilihan” upang matiyak na makukuha ng mga mag-aaral ang ilang subjek na masasabing “esensyal” sa kanilang pamamalagi sa UP. Dapat igiit na ang binabanggit ditong “esensyal” ay hindi lamang isang suhetibong pagpapalagay kundi isang bagay na mabubuo sa pamamagitan ng demokratikong konsensus sa hanay ng mga guro at mag-aaral. “Esensyal” ito sa pakahulugan halimbawa na “esensyal” ang pagkuha ng Math 53 o 54 ng isang mag-aaral ng Engineering. Maaaring mabuo, halimbawa, ang konsensus na kailangan ng bawat mag-aaral na kumuha ng mga batayang kurso sa pagsusulat at pananaliksik sa antas pangkolehiyo sa wikang Filipino at Ingles. Gayundin, maaaring magkaroon ng konsensus na mahalaga ang pag-aaral ng kasaysayan ng Pilipinas para sa pagbubuo ng nasyonalismo at diwa ng pagkamamamayan ng mga mag-aaral ng Unibersidad. Ang mga subjek na mapapag-usapan sa pagbubuo ng konsensus na ito ay maaaring maitatag bilang bahagi ng bagong “core curriculum” na naglalaan pa rin ng malaking bilang ng yunit na maaaring pagpilian ng mga mag-aaral.

Hindi nagagarantiya ng RGEP ang pangunahing layunin ng GE na magkaroon ng malawak na kaalaman hinggil sa mga disiplina ang bawat mag-aaral ng Unibersidad.

Sa ilalim nito ay maaaring makapagtapos ang mag-aaral na wala ni isang subjek na kinuha sa matematika. Maaaring makapagtapos ang mag-aaral na walang subjek na kinukuha hinggil sa kasaysayan at kultura ng Pilipinas. Maaaring makapagtapos na wala ni isang subjek sa pilosopiya o sa kasaysayan ng agham panlipunan. Bahagi ng gawain ng Unibersidad hindi lamang ang pagbabahagi ng mga kaalaman at kakayahan, kundi ang makatwirang pagbibigay-gabay sa mga mag-aaral. Laluna sa konteksto ng

**Guhit 1: Paghahambing sa bilang ng mga nag-enrol sa 12 RGEF subjek ng DFPP mula unang semestre 2002-2003 hanggang sa ikalawang semestre 2005-2006**



isang bansa tulad ng Pilipinas na may pinagdaanang napakahabang kolonyal na karanasan at patuloy na dumaranas ng laganap na kahirapan at kawalan ng pag-unlad. Ang Unibersidad ay hindi maaaring umurong sa responsibilidad nitong lumikha ng pagbabago sa lipunan sa pamamagitan ng pagtataguyod ng makabuluhang papel nito sa paggabay at pagmumulat ng mga mag-aaral.

Kuwestiyonable ang nosyon na ang “malayang kumpetisyon” ng mga subjek sa RGEF ay magbubunsod ng higit na pagpapahusay ng mga ito kung ihahambing sa nakaraang programang GE. Maaari pa ngang sabihin na posible rin, at napapansin na nga ang tendensya, ng pagbaba ng mga istandard at intelektwal na hamon ng mga subjek na ito sa pagkandarapa ng bawat departamento at kolehiyo na makipagkumpitensya sa isa’t isa at makapagparami ng enrollee.

Hindi perpekto ang dating GEP ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas pero may sarili ring matitinding kahinaan ang RGEF. Napapanahon nang pag-aralan at tasahing maigi ang higit na malawakang epekto nito sa mga mag-aaral ng UP, ngunit ngayon pa lang ay masasabing hindi dapat tularan ng ibang mga unibersidad at kolehiyo ang sagadsaring modelong pampamilihan sa larangang pang-edukasyon na kinakatawan ng RGEF. Isang halimbawa ang RGEF ng tuwirang panghihimasok ng paradigmang pampamilihan sa mismong nilalaman at sustansya ng edukasyon na makapagpapahina sa kritikal, makabayan at makamasang mga hangarin ng lahat ng mga progresibong edukador sa Pilipinas.

**Mga Sanggunian**

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## **Ang Pribatisasyon sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas at ang Landas na Tinatahak nito**

**Clodualdo “Buboy” Cabrera**

Ang reorganisasyon, streamlining, clustering, multi-tasking at cross-posting ay ang mga anyo ng pagpapasara ng mga service units sa UP. Ang kasalukuyang landas na tinatahak nito ay ang pagbabawas ng empleyado, korapsyon, lalong pagdausdos ng serbisyong pangkalusugan sa Philippine General Hospital (PGH), unti-unting pagpatay sa kilusang unyonismo at higit pa, pagkitil sa diwang makabayan.

Noong taong 2000, ang bilang ng mga manggagawang administratibo sa UP ay 9,366 at nitong taong 2003, bumagsak ito sa bilang na 9,213. Maaaring tingnan ang mga partikular na tala sa ibaba.

Noong 1995, ipinasara ang University Book Center kung saan labimpitong empleyado ang naapektuhan. Ang opisinaang ito ang siyang pinagmumulan ng mga aklat at iba't ibang supplies para sa mga estudyante at opisina. Taong 1996 naman nang ipasara ang University Food Service (UFC) sa UP Los Banos, 22 kawani ang apektado. Gayundin, ipinasara ang Printery ng parehong taon na naglilimbag naman ng mga libro at official forms at stationaries ng unibersidad. Labing-apat na kawani ang apektado ng pagsasara nito.

Sanhi nito, apektado ang mga kawani sa mga pagsasara at pribatisasyon ng mga opisina ng UP. Dahil sa dislokasyon, bumaba ang kanilang moral. Halimbawa, may mga kawani sa food service na sa loob ng 20 taon ang gawain ay magtadtad ng sibuyas at karne, ay biglang ililipat sa library na ang gawain naman ay pagsasalansan ng mga libro at iba pang gawaing pang-opisina. May mga kawani naman sa Printery na halos mahigit din sa 20 taon na nagpapatakbo ng makina upang makalikha ng isang libro,

na sa isang iglap ay magpa-file ng mga record ng estudyante sa registrar o kaya ay magiging tagapagmantine ng kalinisan sa College of Mass Communication (CMC). Ang iba naman na dati-rati'y ang gawain ay magbind ng mga libro, sa isang iglap ay nagiging mensahero. Mayroon ding mga kawani sa printery na sa halip na mailipat sa ibang opisina ay pinili na lamang magbitiw.

Ang dating gawain na mga regular na empleyado ang gumagampan, ngayo'y ipinasa na sa mga pribadong ahensya at ang iba nama'y ginawang kontraktwal na empleyado na lamang. Sa serbisyong panseguridad halimbawa, ang dating bilang ng UP Diliman Police ay 150. Ito ay napalitan ng 276 na guwardya at 60 Special Security Brigade (SSB). Sa kasalukuyan, 67 na lamang ang bilang ng mga pulis. Ang mga utility worker na dating mga regular na empleyado ay naging kontraktwal dahil sa pagpasok ng mga pribadong ahensya. Halos umabot na sa 300 personnel ang hawak ng mga pribadong ahensyang ito. At dahil pribadong ahensya ang humahawak, higit na mas mababa ang sahod at kulang ang mga benepisyong ibinibigay na taliwas sa nakasaad na batas.

Sa lahat ng ito, may mga kadahilanang ibinibigay ang UP Administration sa pagpapasara ng mga opisina. Nariyan ang mga binabanggit na dahilan tulad ng pagtitipid, streamlining at reorganization. Subalit dahil dito, ang patuloy na pagsasapribado ng mga serbisyo lalo na sa UP PGH ay tiyak na magdudulot ng pagdausdos ng mga serbisyong pangkalusugan kung saan apektado ang ating mga mahihirap na mamamayan. Kung ang isang pasyente ay naghihingalo at walang kakayanang magrenta ng respirator na nagkakahalaga ng P2,500 sa unang tatlong araw at P500 kada araw sa mga susunod na araw, magtitiis ito sa tinatawag naambu bag. Dahil sa manwal ito, maaaring mamatay ang pasyente kapag itinigil ang pagpasil dito.

**Talahanayan 1: Kumparatibong bilang ng mga Empleyado sa bawat Yunit**

Campus Unit	Faculty	%	Reps	%	Admin	%
UP Diliman	1,460	41.9%	478	40.9%	2,251	42.0
UP Los Banos	860	24.7	524	44.9%	2,033	38.0
UP Manila	639	18.4	80	6.8	392	7.3
UP Visayas	367	10.5	61	5.2	566	10.6
UP Open University	32	0.9	13	1.1	18	0.3
UP Mindanao	26	0.7	6	0.5	16	0.3
UP College of Baguio	98	2.8	6	0.5	79	1.5
Sub Total	3,482	100.0	1168	100.0	5,355	100.0
PGH	0		5		3,670	
UPSA	19		23		311	

Ang pagpapasara ng mga yunit na nagbibigay ng serbisyo sa mga estudyante na siyang pangunahing papel sa unibersidad tulad ng University Food Service ay magdudulot ng pagtaas ng mga bilihan. Bagamat sinasabi ng administrasyon na ire-regulate nito ang presyo ng pagkain para manatili itong mababa, wala itong katiyakan sa kadahilanang ang pangunahing layunin ng mga pribadong konsesyuner ay kumita.

Ang patuloy na pribatisasyon at pagpapasara ng mga opisina ay delubyong raragasa sa karapatan ng mga manggagawa sa kanilang seguridad sa trabaho. Winawasak nito ang dignidad ng manggagawa, higit lalo ang kilusang unyonismo. Habang ang mga manggagawa ay ginagawang kontraktwal, sila ay nawawalan ng seguridad sa trabaho. Dahilan sa hindi pagiging regular na empleyado, hindi sila nagiging kasapi ng unyon. Marami ring mga pagkakataon na sila ay tinatakot na hindi ma-renew. Mas malaking panganib ang hinaharap ng mga manggagawang dumaraan sa pribadong ahensya dahil mas wala silang seguridad sa trabaho. Ang kanilang kontrata ay umaabot lamang ng anim na buwan hanggang isang taon.

Ang kontraktwalisasyon na iniluluwal ng pribatisasyon ay isa sa makabagong tipo ng pang-aalipin sa uring manggagawa. Bilang kontraktwal na empleyado, lalo na ang mga manggagawang nasa ilalim ng pribadong ahensya, higit silang nakararanas ng mga pang-aabuso. Nariyan ang mababang pasahod, hindi pagbibigay ng sapat na benepisyo at pagiging biktima ng harassment. Marapat daw na maging palaging masunurin sapagkat kung hindi, maaaring sa susunod na buwan ay tatanggalin sila sa trabaho, lalo na't di sila miyembro ng unyon.

Ang mga pasimuno at utak ng pribatisasyon/kontraktwalisasyon sa UP ay maituturing na mga makabagong makapili at traydor sa kilusang paggawa. Sa matagal na pakikipaglaban sa mga manggagawa, maraming pawis at dugo na ang dumanak upang makamit ang karapatan sa permanenteng trabaho at minimum na sahod. Subalit sa kabila nito ay tinatangkilik pa ng mga administrador ng UP ang sistemang kontraktwalisasyon at agency hiring na itinataguyod ng mga gahamang kapitalista at mga burukrata-kapitalista na nakapuwesto sa gobyerno.





## **The Pedagogical Role of English in the Reproduction of Labor**

**Gonzalo Campoamor II**

A Japanese newspaper article in late 2006 refers to the Philippines as the *Eigo no Kuni* or the “English Country.” (*Asahi Shimbun* 2006: 14) For a nation where junior high school students get about the same English lessons as Filipino second-graders, countries like the Philippines will indeed be considered an English one. Whether this bit of information pleases the reader or not is a matter of her/his idea of language and the role it plays in the political arena. As excessively argued by most language nationalists, Japan became one of the wealthiest nations in the world without the aid of English. On the other hand, there are those who believe that in a globalizing world, learning the “international language” at a national level may pave the way to poverty alleviation.

### ***A is for Apple***

Early on, the language of the then young imperial nation was set to acquire the ideological marker for dominance and prestige, in a manner somewhat reminiscent of the mission civilisatrice. Soon after taking Manila in May 1898, the American military initiated an educational program designed to “fit the people for the duties of citizenship and for the ordinary avocations of a civilized community” (Butler 1934: 260) and that would set “lower peoples on the road to rapid progress.” (Bresnahan 1979: 64) Three years later, the first School Act provided for free, public and secular education with English as the sole medium of instruction. (Smith 1945: 140) American civilians, later to be known as Thomasites, would replace soldiers who were taking on the role of educators. Teaching the language was next to

disastrous as basic pedagogical principles were admittedly violated (Marquardt 1945: 135). Page one of the main text used, the *Baldwin's Primer*, focuses on an apple, a fruit that most Filipino children had never tasted, much less seen. The problem was allegedly resolved just before the Pacific War broke out. The banana took the place of the apple, so to speak, when most English textbooks were written by Filipinos and hence made more culturally appropriate for learning (Marquardt 1945: 135).

English was chosen to be the language to unite the islands that were divided by more than a hundred mutually incomprehensible languages. (All relevant branches of the American administration shared this view including the Secretary of Public Instruction, headed by Bernard Moses, and the Philippine Commission.) This monolingual unifying principle legitimized at the beginning of the American occupation would almost always be at the helm of various congressional debates on the national language, from the Quezon-Vinzons in the Commonwealth era to the Gullas-Progressive Party-lists debate in the second half of 2004. More significant though was how the masses, through ideological agencies, came to believe that certain languages could pave the way to upward social mobility. The 1901-1903 report of the Philippine Commission realized the frustrations brought about by the educational system which led the Filipino child to think that there was a clerkship open for him as soon as the school has given him a little knowledge. In addition, the Civil Service Board in 1901 remarked that those who had no knowledge of English would be of little service (Gonzales 1980: 28). Civil service examinations were conducted either in English or in Spanish. But those who took the exam in Spanish dwindled from 80% in 1905 to less than 0.002% in 1935, practically completing the Anglicization of the civil service (Gonzales 1980: 29). This Anglicization also had implications on the social relations of the time, strengthening the position of the English-speaking middle class in comparison with the older Spanish-speaking elite (Asuncion-Landé 1971: 682). Aside from being the medium of instruction and facilitating civil service employment, English also served as the official language of court and the legal system.

Having opened the path toward achieving the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law, the first Philippine Assembly on November 1936 provided for a population census to give a rough measure of the influence of almost forty years of "American tutelage." According to the census eventually taken in 1939, 27 percent of the 16 million total population could speak English ("The Philippines" 1942: 8). The report

suggested that English even surpassed the most prevalent native language, Tagalog, which rated 25 percent. This relatively quick language spread—considering its less than two generations of existence in the archipelago—could be attributed to a highly effective instructional mechanism coupled with a highly motivating income-generating factor.

The nationalist clamor during the Commonwealth era contributed greatly to the strengthening of vernacular languages particularly Tagalog, owing much to the Tayabas-born President Quezon. The 1935 Constitution provided that Congress take steps toward the development and adoption of a common national language based on one of the existing vernacular languages. The Institute of National Language (INL) was created and the body agreed that Tagalog best suited the need. When independence was proclaimed in 1946, Tagalog (changed to Pilipino in 1955) came alongside English and Spanish as official languages. The 1935 provision would be considered, therefore, as the first state-led linguistic nationalist effort that most historians attribute to either the weakening of English or the strengthening of the various vernaculars particularly Tagalog.

What most language historians fail to look at was that the 1939 census, while highlighting the prevalence of particular languages, also showed that English failed as the language of the people. The census accounts that although 27 percent of the population spoke English, the proportion was 4.0 for those under 10 and over 54 years of age, and 0.4 for those under five, suggesting the declining future of the language. In addition, findings of the INL a number of years later indicated that 55 percent of the pupils starting at grade one left school by grade four which meant the dropping or neglect of English (Asuncion-Landé 1971: 683). Economic factors and ineffective educational policies were the main reasons for the high number of school drop-outs which further aggravated the crisis in linguistic and social relations.

### ***Resistances to English***

Resistances to the propagation of English as the sole or dominant medium of instruction can roughly be classified into two main trends. The first is related to the language's pedagogical limitations as a second language. One of the earliest studies to have assessed the medium of instruction's pedagogical significance was made by the Monroe Commission in 1925. The Monroe Survey found that Filipino children's learning ability through English lagged behind most of their American counterparts by as much as

two and a half years. In 1960, the United States Operations Mission in the Philippines conducted a similar survey of public schools. The Swanson survey, cross-referencing the Monroe Survey, found that the figures for 1960 pupils were even a year behind those reckoned for 1925 (Asuncion-Landé 1971: 686-687). Whether these 1960 findings can be directly attributed to the language policy, demands further research considering that the policy was partly Filipinized three years prior to the survey. The Department of Education in 1957 issued a directive that the vernacular language (depending on the region) be used as medium of instruction in grades I and II with English (and Tagalog for the non-Tagalog regions) taught as separate subjects. English would become the medium of instruction in all schools throughout the country beginning in grade III.

Followers of the first trend more or less utilized the above-mentioned surveys to support a stand that was pro-vernacular. This position, which stressed the importance of using the students' mother tongue in the classroom, a by-product of the Community School concept in the late 30s (Anderson 1958), was nationalized at the end of the 50s by the Bureau of Public Schools. The same bureau conducted a literacy survey which revealed that instruction in the vernacular facilitated learning. This survey remains the prototype of similar ones conducted in the following decades. Others echo UNESCO's proclamation in 1999 encouraging education in the mother tongue.

The second trend which appears to be more clearly enunciated is the reactionary-backed linguistic nationalist inclinations manifested first in 1935 and then by the Constitutions of 1973 and 1987. These constitutions took on a gradual and escalating linguistic stance which culminated in the realization of the Filipino national language in 1987 as clearly stated in the Constitution's Article XIV Section 6.

### ***Renewed Efforts for English***

By the time a national language was in place, the structural mechanism of the latest new world order of neoliberalism was already in practice in the US and the UK. Neoliberalism's entry into the Philippines was to go unhampered especially since the EDSA "revolution" in 1986 did not necessarily bring about internal changes in the local power structure. In the meantime, the national language that was finally distinctly established would go almost untouched for several years as most schools and universities instituted language policies that took after the constitution. The media saw

transformations thought impossible before 1986 and almost unimaginable in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Primetime newscasters finally spoke the language only heard before in AM radio broadcasts. Japanese animation and Mexican telenovelas were translated into what the showbiz industry interpreted as Filipino. Big television networks established educational programs utilizing the national language and disregarding what Joshua Fishman had called the econotechnical medium.

Public and private schools and universities had differing opinions on the *Patakaran* (Policy) and *Palisi* of language. Skeptics unwittingly drawing on the traditions of the *Académie Française* interpreted the variety as confusion in the yet to be standardized national language. This was further compounded by angry groups that blamed the national language policy for the younger generation's crude English. Several surveys on the English proficiency of the Filipino youth that have since been done showed public concern on the country's language policy. But when these same youth, who were products of a restructured language policy graduated and started to look for work, efforts to bring back an English-only policy re-emerged and enjoyed strong state support. In January 2006, a newspaper article reported that fewer than three percent of the new college graduates were hired in call centers and other business process outsourcing (BPO) companies every year (*Manila Standard* 6 January 2006). The article indicated that this was due to their failure to pass qualifying exams where English proficiency was vital. The John F. Kennedy Center Foundation-Philippines CEO attributes this to the applicants' failure to understand the requirements of global job interviews and their lack of conversational fluency, intonation and accent.

Pres. Arroyo, who like her predecessors has been very responsive to neoliberal imperatives, boasts of her administration's economic reforms ever since taking office in 2001. Phase one included the passing of the much criticized Value-Added Tax Bill. Phase two includes the promotion of the country as the "global center for outsourcing" (Arroyo 2005). The state has also launched the Philippine CyberServices Corridor, an Information and Communications Technology (ICT) belt stretching 600 miles from Baguio to Zamboanga (SONA 2005), which fundamentally puts the country further in the global restructuring of inter- and intra-national economic relations, with the power concentrated on global finance and local financial and political chieftains.

Not to mention the foreign exchange earnings, the CyberServices Corridor practically serves as the administration's superficial answer to two of its most serious administrative problems. First, it offers temporary

breathing space from the demands made by imperialist countries regulated by the formalized global system of World Trade Organization (WTO). Second, thousands of jobs are opened, which eases the ever growing rate of unemployment despite the “new” definition propagated by the state in 2005. The “new” definition excludes those that are not “actively seeking work” (Olivares 2006). Export Processing Zones (EPZs) and the BPOs, where the call center is considered as the biggest industry, are two of the vital components of this so-called CyberServices Corridor. While the EPZs demanded low-value added (manual) labor, the BPOs, particularly the call center industry, demanded services never before as extensively sought for. In a manner reminiscent of the attractions of civil service in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, language became a crucial job requisite for the petit-bourgeoisie and an ideological stimulant to social mobility.

In August 2006, Arroyo issued the Executive Order (EO) 210, which established the policy of strengthening the use of the English language as medium of instruction. In what many perceived as a violation of the constitution, the order provided that English be used extensively in classrooms. It ordered the use of English as medium of instruction for classes in English, Mathematics, and Science and Health starting Grade III. It also provided for the use of the language as the primary medium of instruction in all public and private schools in the secondary level including laboratory, experimental, and vocational/technical schools. The order demanded “not less than 70%” of English use in the total time allotment for all learning areas in all high school levels, while the national language would only be allowed in the Filipino, Araling Panlipunan (Social Studies) and Edukasyon sa Pagpapahalaga (Values Education) subjects.

Setting aside for a while the actual capacity of schools, particularly public ones, to implement it, the fact remains that the order does not have the absolute rule of law on its side. Realistically, schools may or may not follow it, at least for the time being or until the Senate approves a bill of similar nature that was passed by Congress in September 2006.

### ***Old Disputes, New Objectives***

Two years before EO 210 was released, debates similar to but less intense than those held during the Commonwealth era took place in Congress. House Bills which were pro-English and pro-Filipino were simultaneously filed. Representatives from Lanao del Norte, Cebu, and Camarines Sur—areas identified with Cebuano and Bicolano languages—filed four bills all

pushing for English as the medium of instruction in all schools (House Bills 676, 2846, 2894, and 3203). Progressive Party-list representatives, on the other hand filed a bill to strengthen Filipino as the medium of instruction (House Bill 1563). The bills ended up being shelved until public clamor ignited by pressures from business and media sectors resuscitated particularly, those that supported English as the medium of instruction. The 2004 house bills eventually became known as the Gullas Bill (HB 4701). In what many interpreted as a fast-tracked process, the bill was approved, 132-7, in September 2006.

It may be recalled that during the eve of the Commonwealth, a faction led by Wenceslao Vinzons of Camarines Norte argued for the possibility of a national language made up of a composite of the many languages of the Philippines. On the other side was the Quezon faction which argued for the selection of just one of the languages. On 30 November 1937, Quezon proclaimed Tagalog as the basis for the national language. The Quezon-Vinzons debate would be carried on to the 1971 Constitutional Convention which approved what was later to be recognized—and realized in the 1987 constitution—as the multi-based language school of thought often associated with Vinzons.

Congressional rhetoric aside, English never became a popular option, until recently with the Arroyo Administration's EO 210 and HB 4701. The evident pro-English language policy of the Arroyo administration is perhaps the first to give in to the linguistic demands of the latest, totalizing global configuration of neoliberalism.

### ***What Your Problem Is?***

“What your problem is?” is a line from a stand-up comedy act of American Daniel Nainan whose spiels are mostly associated with his Indian and Japanese descent. In one particular bit he said, “Everyone in India has to learn English. Indians tend to reverse the subject and the verb. So they ask you questions like ‘*What you are doing?*’” Alluding to the call center industry, Nainan adds, “Have you ever called technical support in America Online? They have this team of Indians that are trained to pretend they’re from America. “Thank you for calling technical support. My name is Brad Pitt. What your problem IS?” Along with India, the Philippines ranks highest among countries that offer trade services for the call center industry, owing much to the population's competitiveness in English language skills.

A call center is a centralized office used for the purpose of receiving and transmitting a large volume of requests done by telephone classified into inbound and outbound calls. Inbound call services cover inquiries, technical help, transcription, complaints, customer service, support, sales, marketing, and billing. Outbound services include telemarketing, advisories, sales verification, credit and collection, and others. In terms of the number of manpower involved, it is the biggest industry within the BPO which also includes the industries of medical transcription, software and application development, development of finance, logistics and accounting, and animation.

In the 1980s, outsourcing referred to the expansion of firms by purchasing parts of their products from outside the firm rather than making them inside. Since 2004 however, the term has come to refer to a specific segment of a growing international trade in services. The WTO, under its General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), categorizes trade in services into four Modes. The current use of the term “outsourcing,” where the supplier and buyer remain in their respective locations, fits into what GATS classifies as Mode 1 (Bhagwati, Panagariya and Srinivasan 2004: 95). WTO’s definition however is not clear on the participation of Direct Foreign Investment (DFI) or Transnational Corporations (TNCs). Technological improvements and the deregulation of the telecommunications industry in the mid-1990s opened-up the country to the call center industry (Danlog 2005). Since the country’s economy is patterned after an Export-Oriented model financed primarily by foreign investment, industries—including that of trade services—become highly reliant on DFIs and TNCs. Most call centers in the country are either partly- or fully-owned by foreign private investors. One thing clear though is that WTO’s mediation into formalizing the definition conforms to the business logic of maximizing profit through the acquisition of cheap labor through the “long-distance” purchase of services abroad.

Of the BPOs in the country, the call center industry employs the most Filipinos and procures the most money. It has been in the country before the turn of the millennium but growth rates were most felt around 2005 when estimated employment reached more than a hundred thousand with revenue of around \$1.79 billion (BPAP Website). Employment is expected to triple to 331,000 and revenue to \$5.3 billion by 2010 which makes it one of the state’s highest priorities. The country’s chief executive not only boasts of the CyberServices Corridor but also acts as personal guide to foreign investment VIPs.



Extensive developments of the call center industry in urban areas have created a subculture of sorts. Several areas in Metro Manila, where call centers are of the highest density, have been transformed to conform to the new lifestyle of call center employees. New-graduates who get around P13,000 starting pay have been described as enjoying a yuppie-lifestyle. People living in the area noticed remarkable transformations in landscape when places like Quezon City's Eastwood Cyber City and Araneta Center, Manila's Malate District and Makati's Rockwell were invaded by nocturnal employees. Araneta Center's must be the most distinguishable as it hardly ever underwent serious renovation since its "Thrilla in Manila" claim to fame in 1976. Jorge Araneta describes call center employees as "[people who] mostly live at home with their parents, and what they earn is their own dispensable income [which is why] they are a big part of our market" (Hookway 2004).

### ***Market-led Mainstreaming of Education***

The call center industry's highly communicative nature, reliance on the ICT and the state's emphasis on its significance to national employment, links it with the country's policy on language and education. "Services globalization" consulting firms emphasize the role of the government in developing outsourcing competitiveness in the country. Some of their recommendations—like improvement of the environment for foreign investments and upgrading of internal technological capabilities—have already been set up since the mid-90s while the various leaders, from Marcos to Arroyo, have been responsive to neoliberal imperatives. The state however appears to fall short on one of the demands: "Enhance availability and quality of resources" (neoIt 2005: 16). This is concerned with the improvement of human capital's relevance to industry through educational sector curricula and other reforms.

In addition to EO 210 and HB 4701, the government which considers the call center industry as the "new economic driver" allotted P500 million in May 2006 for what Arroyo dubbed as "call center finishing schools" under a program called "Training for Work Scholarships" (*The Sunday Times* 18 June 2006). This move is clearly a response to revelations made by the Technical Education Skills Development Authority (TESDA) and several call-centers and call-center-training agencies that only five out of a hundred applicants qualify and only two or three of the five get

employed. The finishing school therefore is expected to take care of the remaining “near hires.”

The policy measures taken thus far only make it clear that the government has been trying to mainstream the education system to suit students to the requirements of global finance. Some universities have even established courses designed for the job. The University of the East in Manila, for example, offers the subject “Advanced Communication for International Business” or Communications 400 where marketing, finance, public speaking, English proficiency and American geography are tackled (Danlog 2005). It is highly probable that the University of the Philippines with its Revitalized General Education Program (RGEP) will soon follow.

Higher education in the country not only experienced in the past decade a heightened mode of privatization and deregulation, but also of marketization of facilities and curricula. Teachers and their traditional protections at the same time were targeted in compliance with a 1999 World Bank Report on higher education (Johnstone 1998). In the meantime, students are left with a tertiary education not enough to benefit the country. The call center industry, the BPO and the learning agencies developed to support it encourage only semi-skilled labor.

A foreign-investment-reliant industry also opens up the labor force to a number of vulnerabilities. Similar to harassments suffered by workers employed in its sister industry, the EPZs, the BPOs are subjected to anti-labor practices in an effort to attract as many private investors as possible. In doing so, developed countries continue to exploit the nation’s cheap labor that would eventually lead to lower wages. Especially since the market will soon be saturated, as analysts reveal will happen due to stiff competition from other countries (Danlog 2005). Most call center employees already suffer lack of job security as well as being denied the right to unionize. Others suffer from health costs particularly those working under the neoliberal mode of flexible labor which includes maximization of graveyard shifts.

### ***Conclusion: The Perks of English***

Clearly, English proficiency in the country has faded. But solving it by focusing on strengthening English as the medium of instruction may most likely miss the broader failure in the education system. Bureaucrat-capitalists worry about the possibility that the large English-speaking population of countries like India or China may in the future attract more foreign investors if Philippine education does not improve its English programs. But studies

suggest that the sharp growth in Philippine outsourcing industries can be explained by the stagnant skill levels of the Filipino population, while countries like India and China are set to attain 300 million high-skilled workers in the near future (Bhagwati, Panagariya and Srinivasan 2004).

While language has become an instrument for social mobility especially for the petty bourgeoisie, it has also gotten mired in various political and ideological issues. Symptomatic of the blatant neglect to industrialize the country by suiting its economy to the needs of developed nations, political and economic chieftains have found it more rewarding to foster a market-specific kind of English rather than propagate a national language that has already been a product of decades of struggle. Maybe that is why they call us the English Country.

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## **Neoliberalistang Pagpapaplanong Pangwika: Tungo sa Komodipikado at Episyenteng Pagpapahayag**

**Melania L. Abad**

Binabanggit na nagsimula ang pagpapalaganap ng neoliberalismo sa panahon ng dekada 1980 sa katauhan nina Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher ng United Kingdom at Pangulong Romald Reagan ng Estados Unidos. Kalakip ang monetarismo (at revival ng malayang kalakarang laissez faire) ay isinantabi ang tinatawag na Keynesianismo at iba pang lantarang interbensyunistang patakarang pang-ekonomiya ng estado.

Sinasabing ang neoliberalismo ang pilosopiya sa likod ng Globalisasyon. Sa mga nakaraang dekada ay ginagamit ang kontrak na Globalisasyon para isulong diumano ang layong pandaigdigang “malayang pamilihan.” Ang globalisasyon sa kagyat ay tinitingnan bilang puspasang pag-uugnayan ng mga bansa. Ang ugnayang ito para sa iba ay paglalarawan sa mundo bilang walang hangganang entidad kung saan walang patid ang pag-ikot ng mga produkto at serbisyo.

Sa gayon, naglalagay rin ito sa malaking pagdududa sa kooperatibong papel ng mga gobyerno sa pagtatrapik ng kalakalang pandaigdig. Ang Globalisasyon diumano ay pangunahing nakasandig sa kakayanan ng merkado o palengke sa pagsasaayos ng produksyon at pangongonsumo. Sa mga bansang mahihirap, masasalamin ito sa mga patakarang liberalisasyon, pribatisasyon, deregulasyon at pleksibilisasyon ng paggawa.

Kakabit ng Globalisasyon ang Hegemonya o Kapangyarihan sa Pulitika at Kultura. Sa neoliberalismo, ang pag-iral at operasyon ng isang palengke ay naghuhugis bilang gabay o giya sa lahat ng aksyon ng tao at batayan ng lahat ng paniniwalang etikal. Tampok sa pilosopiyang ito ang

**Talahanayan 1. Distribusyon ng Populasyon at Gross Domestic Product**

Ekonomiya	Populasyon		GDP	
	Sa milyon	% ng Mundo	Bilyon (US\$)	% sa Mundo
Developing Countries	4,610	78.6	5,827	19.2
LDCs	609	10.4	169	0.6
Arab States	241	4.1	531	1.8
East Asia & Pacific	1,840	31.4	2,122	7.0
Latin America & Caribbean	495	8.4	1,990	6.6
South Asia	1,378	23.5	684	2.3
Sub-saharan Africa	591	10.1	310	1.0
Eastern Europe & the CIS	398	6.8	909	3.0
OECD	1,122	19.1	24,863	81.9
Hi-income OECD	848	14.5	23,510	77.5
World	5,863	100.0	30,351	100.0

Halaw sa UNDP Human Development Report 2001.

konseptong “autonomous chooser” sa balatkayong entrepreneurial na pamimili tungo sa ganap na pagbubuo/kaganapan.

Sa maraming mamamayan ng mundo at sa ilang iskolar, ang neoliberalismo ay nangangahulugan ng Imperyalismo - monopolyo kapitalismo na nagtutulak ng mga patakarang mapagsamantala at mapang-api. Ang mga ganansya ay umiikit lamang sa bakuran ng mga imperyalistang bansa habang mumo, kahirapan at likha/teatrical na gera naman sa mga bansang kolonya at neokolonya.

### ***Globalisasyon: Nagpapahayag ng Pandaigdigang Kagutuman at Kahirapan***

Sa pananatiling tagatustos ng mga hilaw na materyales, asembliyang bagsakan ng mga yaring produkto, ang mga bansang agrikultural ay daang taon nang natatali sa di patas na kalakalang pandaigdig. Ang kakulangan sa reserbang dolyar (na makailang ulit ang kapangyarihan sa lokal na salapi) mula sa

pagkakabaon sa kalakalan at kawalan ng pag-asa sa tunay na industriyalisasyon ang nagtutulak sa mahihirap na bansa na mahigop sa kumunoy o tuluyang mabitag sa dayong pangungutang. Ang trilyong pagkakautang ay muli't muling mag-aanak ng mga Structural Adjustment Program at direktang panghihimasok sa pamamahalang piskal, ekonomiko at pulitikal.

Ipinakikita sa Talahanayan 1 ang malaking agwat ng kabuhayan sa pagitan ng mga bansang mahihirap at mayayaman. Para sa taong 1999, ang mayayamang bansa na kumakatawan lamang sa 15% ng mga mamamayan ng mundo ay nagmamay-ari ng halos 80% ng kabuuang kita ng sangkatauhan.

Makikita sa Talahanayan sa ibaba ang masakit na katotohanan sa pagitan ng malalaking bansa at mahihirap na kolonya at neokolonyang bansa. Ang mga batayang pangangailangan sa disentang pamumuhay ay mailap para sa mga mamamayan ng mahihirap na bansa habang higit na sagana ang mga alagang hayop o pet sa mga monopolyo kapitalistang bansa. Sa Talahanayan 3 ay ipinakikita ang istatistika at mukha ng pandaigdigang suliranin sa kalusugan at kakulangan ng pagkain.

Inaanak ng tinatawag na “debt crisis” ang pagsasantabi sa pambansang badyet ng maliliit na bansa ng mga pangunahing pangangailangan ng mga mamamayan. Ipinakikita sa ibaba na umaabot hanggang sa halos 42% ng kita sa kalakalang panlabas at mahigit 8% ng gross domestic product ang inilalaan sa pambayad utang. (Ang ganitong katotohanan ay di lingid sa karanasan ng mga Pilipino simula pa ng panahon ng Batas Militar ni Pangulong Marcos).

**Talahanayan 2: Paghahambing sa Gastos ng Mayayaman at Mahihirap na Bansa**

\$6 bilyon	kailangan/taon para sa edukasyon ng out of school youth sa buong mundo
\$8 bilyon	gastos sa Estados Unidos para sa cosmetics
\$9 bilyon	kailangan/taon para sa tubig at sanitasyon ng mamamayan ng mundo na walang running water
\$11 bilyon	taunang gastos ng Europa para sa ice cream
\$11 bilyon	kailangan/taon para sa kalusugan at nutrisyon ng mamamayan ng mundo na nangangailangan ng tulong
\$17 bilyon	taunang gastos para sa pagkain ng mga alagang pets sa Europa at Estados Unidos

Halaw sa UNDP mula sa *Pinoy Weekly*, Setyembre 4-10, 2002, p. 14 (salin ko)

**Talahayanan 3: Kalagayang Pangkalusugan ng mga Bansa at Kontinente**

Mga Bansa	Undernourished % Kabuuang Pop	Mga Kaso ng TB kada 100 libo
Developing Countries	18	71
LDCs	38	97
Arab States		47
East Asia & Pacific	12	47
Latin America & Caribbean	12	45
South Asia	22	98
Sub-saharan Africa	34	121
Eastern Europe & the CIS	8	70

Halaw sa UNDP Human Development Report 2001.

***Ang Marketisasyon ng Edukasyon***

Ang marketisasyon ng edukasyon ay bahagi ng pagsasalansan ng mga sistema o istrukturang kultural tungo sa paglikha ng kulturang negosyo at / o enterprise. Dalawang mahalagang tampok na gawain ang isinasagawa sa pagbubuo ng kulturang negosyo / enterprise: pagsasapamilyan o pagtatransporma tungo sa isang institusyon o istrukturang pangnegosyo ng mga aparatong kultural gaya ng paaralan at masmidya. Ikalawang tampok sa paghahanda sa pagbubuo ng kulturang negosyo ay ang pagnuniyutralisa at pagpapatahimik o pagsasademonyo sa lahat ng grupo, entidad, proyekto at kilusan na tutol sa ganap na komodipikasyon ng produkto, serbisyo, at kaalaman at kasanayan.

Ang edukasyon bilang sistema ay lantarang nag-aangkin (at di lamang nagpupustura) ng mga katangiang negosyo at ang mga gawain nito mula sa pananaliksik at pagtuturo ay nagsisilbing mga kursong nakapakete at/o mga produktong inilalako.

Bahagi ng tinatawag ding akademikong kapitalismo, ang mga usaping-akademiko tulad ng efficiency, accountability at quality ay nasa pamantayang pangmerkado. Sa layuning cost-efficiency ay dahan-dahang hinihigop ang pambansang alokasyon sa may subsidyong edukasyon, inaalis ang papel ng fakulti sa pamamagitan ng mga paketeng modyul sa ICT at patuloy na istandardisasyon ng mga eksaminasyon. Ang ugnayang guro at



**Talahanayan 4. Third World Debt Service (%)**

Kontinente/Bansa	Kabuuang Debt Service			
	% sa GDP		% sa Kabuuang Eksport at Import	
	1990	1999	1990	1999
Developing Countries	4.0	5.8	18.7	22.3
LDCs	2.7	2.8	15.5	13.0
Arab States	5.5	3.6	14.7	11.4
East Asia & Pacific	3.8	5.2	15.7	15.8
Latin America & Carribean	4.0	8.1	23.6	41.6
South Asia	2.6	2.8	20.0	16.6
Sub-saharan Africa	3.9	4.6	19.7	14.3
Eastern Europe & the CIS	1.8	5.1		16.5

Mula sa UNDP Human Development Report 2001.

mag-aaral ay pinamamagitanan ng pagkonsumo at paglikha ng tiyak na programa o istandard na programa/kurikulum. Ang kaalaman ay nagsisilbing produktong dapat ikonsumo ng mag-aaral.

Sa huli, ang mga paaralan at unibersidad ay nagsisilbing gatekeeper ng lakas-paggawa, merkado o palengke ng mga nakapaketeng kaalaman at kurikulum at nagrereprodyus ng mga mamamayang hypnotized/mulat na tagapamandila ng kapitalismo at intelektwalisadong konsyumerista.

Sa pandaigdigang karanasan, ang mga sumusunod ay mga naidokumentong istrategiya sa marketisasyon ng edukasyon sa tersaryong antas: mga repormang programa ng World Bank tungo sa self-financing ng mga kolehiyo/unibersidad, mga unibersidad bilang global vendors ng mga instruksyunal na komoditi, pakikipag-tie-up o pag-aampon ng mga pangkorporasyong entidad/agenda sa prenteng progresong teknolohikal at hindi bahagi ng pakanang pleksibilisasyon ng paggawa, pagiging palaasa sa ayudang pinansyal tungo sa akademikong pangongontrol, pangangalandakan ng Information and Communication Technology.

Masikhay na ipinopopropaganda ng kilusang kabataan ang katangiang kolonyal, komersyalisado at represibo ng sistema ng edukasyon. Ang ganitong uri ng edukasyon ay kakabit ang kulturang kolonyal, pyudal,

burgis at konsumerista. Sa pagitan ng mga katangiang ito ay maihahanay ang mga istratohiyang marketisasyon ng edukasyon sa Pilipinas:

- ang mga proyekto ng World Bank sa sistema ng edukasyon;
- patuloy na pagbagsak ng subsidyo ng pambansang pamahalaan sa tersaryong edukasyon at pag-alis ng ceiling sa tuition increase;
- pagpapatatag at pagsusulputan ng mga kursong pang-Information, Communication Technology;
- pag-aangkat ng kurikulum at oryentasyong panluwas ng mga kursong nursing at caregiving;
- kolaboratibong proyekto at/o negosyo/training centers sa mga/loob ng mga SUCs gaya ng call centers, training laboratory/apprenticeship, at science and technology parks;
- wikang Ingles bilang *means at end*;
- pagmamaliit sa mga kaalaman at intelektwalisasyong Pilipino;
- pagpapalaganap ng mga pilosopiya, lapit at teorya ng postmodernismo;
- pagpapababa ng badyet sa serbisyong panlipunan kasama ang edukasyon sa balangkas ng Structural Adjustment Programs ng IMF-WB;
- pagbabago ng mga kurikulum at General Education Program (GEP) ng mga State Colleges and Universities (SUCs);
- pagtataguyod ng Higher Education Modernization Act (HEMA).
- reorganisasyon at konsolidasyon ng SCUs at paglikha ng Centers of Excellence;
- pagsasantabi ng liberal arts, social science at kasaysayan bilang mga akademikong larangan;
- pagpapatingkad ng limitado o makitid na nasyunalismo sa mga diskurso;
- istandardisasyon ng mga libro at materyales na pang-edukasyon;
- pagbabago ng mga charter ng mga SUCs at pagpapanatili ng pamamahalang elitista na nakasentro lamang sa iilang tao;
- pagkakaroon ng mga bagong anyo ng miscellaneous fees at patuloy na pagtaas ng tuition;
- kumbersyon ng mga serbisyong pan mag-aaral tungo sa negosyong gawain/aktibidad;
- paghahabol ng antas ng tuition sa pagitan ng pribado at pampublikong paaralan;
- pilosopiyang pang-edukasyon: perenyalismo, aksyolohiya, at ideyalismo;

- programang pagsuporta sa pribadong mga paaralan; at
- panggigipit at paninira sa mga gawaing panggrupo/pangkolektibo/pang-oganisasyon/pangkilusang kritikal sa mga patakaran at naninindigan sa edukasyon bilang karapatan.

### ***Mga Istratehiyang Pangwika***

Ang malawak na pagtanaw sa pagsusuri at pag-aaral sa wika ay binibigyang-pansin sa balangkas ng pagpaplanong pangwika. Sa aspektong ito ay sinusuri ang gamit at/o pagpapalawak ng gamit o function ng wika (istatus), ang mga pagbabago sa wika (korpus) at pagtuturo at pagpapalakas sa pamamagitan ng pagtuturo at pagpaparami ng gumagamit (akwisasyon) ng partikular na wika (Cooper 1989). Sa napakaraming pagpapakahulugan sa pagpaplanong pangwika ay madalas na ito'y ikinakabit sa patakarang pangwika at tungo sa pagkakamit ng mga layuning labas sa usaping pangwika at mahigpit na kakabit ng mga konseptong kapangyarihan at dominasyon.

Malinaw sa balangkas ng globalisasyon at marketisasyon ng edukasyon ay hindi maaaring itanggi na hindi lamang simpleng benepisyaryo ang wikang Ingles. Ang Ingles ay nagsisilbing means at isa na ring end o produkto/komoditing ipinangangalandakan.

Sa kontemporaryong panahon, masasalamang ang marketisasyon sa wika at pagsisilbi sa gatekeeping ng kultura at lakas-paggawang gawain ng unibersidad/at o paaralan sa pamamagitan ng 2001 Revised Basic Education Curriculum (RBEC) na nagbabawas ng time on task sa asignaturang Filipino. Kakabit ang pagpapatuloy ng baylinggwala na palisi sa wika at paggamit sa Ingles sa agham at matematika, wika at paketeng electronic information ng mga kursong ICT at distance education, pakikipag-tie-up ng mga unibersidad sa call centers. Masusuri rin ang pagpapalawig ng mga kursong Ingles kumpara sa Filipino para sa General Education Program sa antas-kolehiyo, pagtataguyod ng Executive Order 210 at serye ng bulabog ng Gullas Bills. Nariyan din ang pagpapahina sa mga kursong pangkasaysayan tungo sa kritikal na pagsusuri at paglinang ng lokal na yaman at lakas na kadalasang gumagamit ng pambansang wika.

### ***Paglabag sa Konstitusyong 1987 at Di Patas na Batas/Patakaran***

Bunga ng hipnotismo ng EDSA 1 ay isinilang ang Konstitusyong 1987, makalipas ang madugong balitaktakan sa Kumbensyong Konstitusyonal

mula 1986 hanggang 1987, ay naitulak ang ilang probisyong kumikiling sa wikang Filipino at malinaw na naitakda bilang wikang pambansa:

Ang pambansang wika ng Pilipinas ay Filipino. Habang ito’y nabubuo, patuloy itong pauunlarin at payayamanin batay sa mga umiiral na wika sa Pilipinas at iba pang wika... Alinsunod sa mga probisyon ng batas at kung mamarapatin ng Kongreso, gagawa ng hakbang ang Gobyerno upang simulan at itaguyod ang paggamit ng Filipino bilang wika ng opisyal na komunikasyon at bilang wika ng pagtuturo sa sistema ng edukasyon... Para sa komunikasyon at pagtuturo, ang mga opisyal na wika ng Pilipinas ay Filipino, at hangga’t walang ibang itinatakda ang batas, Ingles. (Artikulo XIV, Seksyon 6-7).

Dalawang dekada na ang nakakaraan, batay sa probisyon sa itaas, mula nang bigyan ng tungkulin ang Kongreso na magbuo ng batas na siyang magbibigay ng ganap na pangil sa wikang Filipino bilang wika ng opisyal na transaksyon at wika ng pagkatuto. Subalit sa mga karanasan, lalo na sa panahon ni Gng. Macapagal-Arroyo, ay kitang-kita ang garapalang pagtatangka na lusawin ang isinasaad ng nasabing probisyon sa pamamagitan ng Executive Order 210 at pagpapatuloy ng serye ng Gullas Bills mula pa sa panahon ng napatalsik na Pangulong Estrada.

### ***Ang Executive Order Bilang 210***

Sa unang masid ay waring walang dapat ipangamba sa Executive Order No. 210 na nilagdaan ni Gng. Arroyo noong Mayo 17, 2003 na may titulong “Establishing the Policy to Strengthen the Use of English in the Educational System.” Pansinin ang mga sumusunod na probisyon:

Section 1. *Declaration of Policy.* The policy is hereby established that English shall be taught as a second language at all levels of the educational system, starting with the First Grade. As provided for in the Revised Basic Education Curriculum, English should be used as the medium of instruction for English, Math and Science from at least the Third Grade. The English language shall be used as a primary medium of instruction in all public institutions of learning at the secondary level. As a primary medium of instruction, the percentage of time allotment for learning areas conducted in the

English language in high school is expected to be not less than seventy percent (70%) of the total allotment for all learning areas. This policy has the objective of developing the aptitude, competence and proficiency of all students in the use of English to make them better prepared for the job opportunities emerging in the new, technology-driven sectors of the economy...

Section 6. Use of the Filipino Language. Pursuant to the Constitutionally-mandated policy of the Government to ensure and promote the evolution, development and further enrichment of Filipino... the Filipino language shall continue to be the medium of instruction in the learning areas of Filipino and Araling Panlipunan...

Section 8. Repealing Clause. All executive issuances, rules and regulations or part thereof, which are inconsistent with this Executive Order, are hereby repealed, amended or modified accordingly...

Sa pamamagitan ng patakarang ito ay higit na sinusuhayan ang wikang Ingles lalo na sa antas ng sekundaryong edukasyon. Ginawang 70% ang kabuuang bahagi ng Ingles sa pag-aaral mula sa dating 45% lamang. Maisasagawa ito sa pagbabawas ng oras sa paggamit sa Filipino o pagtuturo ng Ingles sa ilang komponent ng araling Makabayan (na binubuo ng araling panlipunan, teknolohiya, musika, sining, edukasyong pangkalusugan, edukasyon sa pagpapahalaga).

Lalong mapagtibay ng order na ito na ang Ingles ang daluyan ng purong kaalaman mula sa matematika at agham habang isinasakripisyo nito ang epektibidad ng paglilinang ng kasanayan at pagkatuto ng mag-aaral dahil sa paglayo sa araw-araw na kinamulatang wika. Titingkad din ang dayong kultura na bitbit ng dayong wika at lulusaw sa ilang aspekto ng pagkakakilanlan ng mga mag-aaral sa kanilang komunidad at bansa.

***Ang CHED Memo Bilang 59 (Serye ng 1996)  
at Memo Bilang 4 (Serye ng 1997)***

Halos isang dekada na mula nang ilabas ang CHED Memo Bilang 59 o CHED GEP Curriculum A na sa unang sipat ay makikita ang patas na bilang ng tig-siyam na yunit bilang rekisito sa mga asignaturang Filipino at Ingles para sa tersaryong edukasyon. Subalit kung muling sisipating mabuti

at batay sa mayamang karanasan, ay aabot sa 18 yunit ang mga asignaturang Ingles habang siyam na yunit lamang para sa asignaturang Filipino. May karagdagang English Plus ang mga hindi papasa sa eksameng ibibigay para sa asignaturang Ingles at karagdagang dalawang asignatura o anim na yunit rin ang pagtuturo ng Panitikan sa Pilipinas at Panitikang Pandaigdig.

Para sa CHED Memo Bilang 4 (Serye ng 1997) o GEP Curriculum B naman, ay ibinaba mula sa siyam na yunit tungo sa anim na yunit ang minimum na itinakda para kapwa sa mga asignaturang Filipino at Ingles. Muli, bukod sa posibleng English Plus at anim na yunit para sa mga asignatura sa panitikan ay patuloy na mangingibabaw ang wikang Ingles. Kaya itinatakda ang anim na yunit sa Filipino at anim hanggang 15 yunit naman para sa wikang Ingles. Hindi pa pinag-uusapan kung anong klase ng panitikan o akda ang maaaring matututuhan ng mga mag-aaral bilang mga seleksyon sa kanilang teksbuk. Ipinapakita rin sa pagkiling sa paggamit ng wikang Ingles sa panitikan ng Pilipinas at sa pandaigdigang larangan na hindi pa naiaangat ang pagkilala sa mga lokal na manunulat at mga iskolar.

### ***Ang Gullas Bills***

Noong 2000 ay mayroong Gullas Bill o House Bill 8460 na nagtatakda na ang Ingles ang tanging wikang gagamitin sa mga eksaminasyon ng pamahalaan. Samantala, ang House Bill 5814 naman na may titulong “An Act Providing for the Use of English as a Medium of Instruction in Philippine Schools” ay nagbigay ng legal na batayan para sa Executive Order 210. Mapapansin din sa ibaba na wari’y isang bagahe na gamitin ang wikang pambansa dahil sabay itong pinag-aaralan ng wikang Ingles. Sinisisi ang paggamit ng Filipino sa kahinaan sa wikang Ingles tungo sa kawalan ng kakayanan sa larangan ng matematika at agham:

Explanatory Note... As a result of this policy (The Bilingual Policy), learning of the English language suffered a setback. One of the reasons for this setback according to linguists is language interference. Targeting the learning of two languages (English and Filipino) is too much for Filipino learners, especially those in the lower grades. If a child happens to be a non-Tagalog speaker, he/she must learn two “foreign” languages at the same time--truly a difficult, even impossible task... Another reason is that the use of Filipino... as a medium of instruction... limits the exposure of the learner to English... Books in almost all disciplines especially in

mathematics and science are in English. Without adequate mastery of the English language, our young people will lag behind in mathematics and science which are fundamental disciplines to develop our global competitiveness...

Dagdag pa ng panukalang batas, ang pakunsuwelong paglalagay ng 10% sa Filipino ng mga tanong para sa mga eksaminasyon:

Section 4: Examinations for purposes of admission to, accreditation and promotion in Philippine schools shall use English as the language of assessment, provided that questions in Filipino may be included but the credit given such questions shall not exceed ten percent (10%) of the total points in the examination...

Sa dalawang nakaraang Kongreso ay makailang-ulit ang pagtatangkang ipasa ang mga nasabing panukala. Patuloy ang pagtatangkang labagin ang isinasaad ng Konstitusyon sa mga nasabing panukalang batas. Ang lubha pang nakaririmarim ay ang naunang ipinatupad na Executive Order 210 na walang legal na batayan at lantarang nagpapakita ng isang impeachable case laban kay Gng. Macapagal-Arroyo.

### ***Intelektwalisadong Wika at ang Baylinggwal Edukasyon***

Ayon na rin sa aking naipahayag:

Kung babalikan ang kasaysayan ng patakarang bilinggwal sa sistema ng edukasyon, mapapansing nahahati ito sa dalawang yugto: ang pagtuturo ng magkahiwalay na wika sa bawat asignatura at ang paggamit ng wikang Ingles at Filipino bilang kabuuang midyum ng pagtuturo sa lahat ng antas. Nagsimula ang hiwalay na pagtuturo ng mga tiyak na asignatura sa pamamagitan ng patakarang bilinggwal noong 1974. Hinati ang patakaran sa apat na yugto mula 1974 hanggang 1982. Napagtibay ang paggamit ng Filipino at Ingles sa larangan ng edukasyon sa pamamagitan ng Artikulo 14 at Seksyon 7 ng Saligang Batas noong 1987 (Abad 2001: 26-27)

Dagdag ni Galileo S. Zafra, kasalukuyang direktor ng Sentro ng Wikang Filipino ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas-Diliman, sa kanyang artikulo sa *Philippine Journal for Language Teaching* :

Simula 1974, sa pamamagitan ng ipinalabas na Kautusang Pangkagawaran Blg. 25, 1974 na may pamagat na “Implementing Guidelines for the Policy on Bilingual Education,” ipinatupad ang patakarang bilingguwal sa mga paaralan... Filipino ang wikang panturo sa araling panlipunan, character education, at work education, mga araling kaugnay ng kulturang Filipino. Ingles naman ang ginamit sa pagtuturo ng matematika, agham at teknolohiya. Layunin ng patakarang bilingguwal na hubugin ang mga mag-aaral na maging competent kapwa sa Ingles at Filipino (Pilipino noon). Ngunit dahil sa Ingles itinuro ang mahahalagang aralin gaya ng agham at matematika, natanim sa isip ng marami na Ingles ang pangunahing midyum ng pagtuturo... sa maraming taon ng implementasyon ng patakarang bilingguwal, pinatutunayan ng mga pag-aaral na sa halip na humusay, ay humina ang mga estudyante sa parehong Ingles at Filipino. Ayon sa mga dalubhasa sa pagtuturo ng wika, nagkaroon ng subtractive bilingualism sa halip na additive bilingualism. Sa halip na matamo ang kahusayan sa dalawang wika, naging malasado ang pagkatuto ng mga mag-aaral sa alinmang wika. (2001: 25)

Ang mga nasabing pahayag ay di rin miminsang nabanggit sa mga pag-aaral sa loob at labas ng bansa. Ang pagkatuto ay mabilis at epektibo kung direktang gumigising ito sa maraming pandama at sensibilidad ng mag-aaral at wala nang iba pang wikang kakatawan dito kung hindi ang wika niya sa araw-araw at wikang magbibigay sa kanya ng higit na tiwala at pagkakakilanlan bilang kolektibong mamamayan sa pamamagitan ng wikang pambansa.

### ***Ang Paglikha ng mga Pananaliksik at Tesis***

Nanatiling dominado ng mga dayuhang iskolar at / o foreign serials ang mga koleksiyong pang-aklatan sa mga paaralan at unibersidad. Sa katunayan, may pagmamalaking binanggit pa ito sa Explanatory Note ng House Bill 5814 ni Kongresman Jose R. Gullas.

Nito lamang dekada 1980, higit naging mabunga ang pagpupursigang lumikha ng kaalaman ng mga iskolar na Pilipino lalo na sa balangkas ng Pilipinolohiya. Bagamat kinikilala ang pag-usbong ng ganitong hanay ng mga iskolar mula sa pagdiskubre ng Pagkataong Pilipino hanggang Perspektibang Pangkasaysayan na pangkatutubo, dapat na mailinaw ang



patutunguhan ng mga sariwang perspektiba. Imbes na pagmulan ng lakas ang pagkakakilanlan ay nagiging balakid pa sa progresibong kamalayan dahil na rin sa pagkiling sa mga metapisikal na interpretasyon sa mga kontemporaryong kaganapan at / o higit na pagkagapos sa romansa ng kahirapan at pagkaapi. Pinalalakas ang pagkilala sa mga indibidwalistang pagpapahalaga kaysa sa sama-samang pagkilos at paggigiit.

Ang mga larangang Filipino, Araling Pilipino at Kasaysayan ang mga maasahang daluyan ng wikang pambansa sa mga usapin ng pananaliksik at mga tesis/disertasyon. Sa kabilang banda, sa balangkas ng Long-Term Higher Education Plan at sa karanasan ng State Universities and Colleges ay lantarang ipinapahayag ang pakikipag-tie-up sa mga pribadong pangkorporasyong interes, pagpapakete ng kunwa'y Science and Technology Parks bilang pinabangong komersyalisasyon ng mga ari-ariang nararapat lamang sa pang-akademikong gawain at serbisyo. Isinasaad din ang pagbubukas ng ugnayan sa balangkas ng Intellectual Property Rights sa pagitan ng mga unibersidad at kakontratang mga negosyo sa mga popondohang pananaliksik.

***Ang ICT at Distance Education:***

***Tungo sa Indibidwalismo at Kontraktwalisasyon ng Eksperto***

Binabanggit na higit na pinalalakas ng mga kurso at programang Information, Communication and Technology o ICT ang indibidwalista at pleksibleng pagkakatuto. Nakatuon ang pagkatuto sa mga nabuong modyul at ito na lamang sa proseso ang mag-uugnay sa guro at mag-aaral. Kapag ganap na istandardisado na at napiga na ang kaalaman ng mga eksperto sa mga nakapaketeng modyul ay maaari na itong maging part-time, checker, kontraktwal, maging tutor o tuluyan nang paalisin at ang iilang administratibong personel na lamang ang mag-aadminister ng mga nasabing pakete ng programa.

Sa pagpapatingkad din ng mga nakapaketeng kurso ay pinapatingkad din ang istandardisasyon. Ang kaganapan ng pagkatuto at kahusayan ay batay sa pagmememorya ng ihinandang modyul. Magiging higit na mahusay ang mga mag-aaral sa pag-unawa ng mga elektronikong impormasyon kaysa lumikha ng mga simpleng pahayag o maiikling diskurso. Sa pagpapalakas ng mga ICT courses ay naisasantabi ang mga kursong na magtuturo ng kritikal na pag-iisip na itinataguyod ng sosyal sayans at epektibo at siyentipikong pagpapahayag at pagsusuri ng humanidades.

Sa pamamagitan ng Distance Education, higit ang ganansya ng mga pang-akademikong institusyon, bukod sa tunguhin ng kontraktwalisasyon ng fakulti, higit na malaki ang ratio ng mga mag-aaral sa mga fakulti. Kumpara sa residensyal na pagkatuto, di hamak na mas malalaki at patuloy sa paglaki ang bilang ng mga mag-aaral tungo sa papataas na tantos ng paglaki ng kita.

Bahagi rin ang pag-import ng mga nakapaketeng kurso sa larangan ng ICT. Nangangahulugan ito ng paglalapat ng ibang sikolohiya, antas ng teknolohiya at kabawasan ng dolyar sa pagbabayad ng patents o karapatang itinatakda ng intellectual property rights law.

### ***Mga Kagyat na Konsern sa Adbokasing Pangwika***

Sa gitna ng mga pagpupunyagi ng mga pang-akademikong institusyon ay lubhang nakapanggigising ng dugo ang mga pahayag at mga legal na hakbang ng kasalukuyang Administrasyong Macapagal-Arroyo kaugnay ng wikang Filipino. Nariyan ang serye ng Gullas Bill at Executive Order 210.

Binabawi ang tagumpay ng wikang Filipino bilang midyum ng pagtuturo, bilang mahalagang wika sa pagbibigay gabay sa mga eksamen at pagbaba sa porsyento ng nilalaman ng mga eksamen sa pamahalaan, at pagpapahina sa wikang Filipino sa pamamagitan ng pagbabawas ng mga oportunidad sa trabaho.

Ang mga nasabing hakbangin ay pangunahing taliwas sa itinatakda ng Konstitusyon, Artikulo IV Seksiyon 6 kung saan: (1) Itinatakdang malinaw ang papel na gagampanan ng Kongreso hinggil sa pagpapalakas ng paggamit ng wikang pambansa sa mga pang-akademikong institusyon na kabaligtaran sa aksyon ni Gng. Arroyo; (2) Batay sa interpretasyong pinalalakas ng Konstitusyon ang wikang pambansa, ito ay nangangahulugan ng pagkakaroon ng higit na demokrasya sa loob ng mga paaralan. Ang CHED Memo 59 at bilinggwal na patakaran ay dapat maglalayong palakasin ang demokrasya sa loob ng mga paaralan.

Ang Filipino bilang midyum ng pagtuturo ay dapat na sumasalamin sa pagkatao at pagpapalakas ng pagkakakilanlan ng mga mag-aaral sa kanilang mga sarili bilang mga responsable, matalino at makabayang mamamayan at maaari ring sukatan sa balangkas ng siyentipikong edukasyon.

Ayon sa prinsipyong ito, ang pagkatuto at pagpapatingkad ng respeto sa sarili ay mas mabilis at matingkad dahil nagiging tunay na lunan ng pagpapahayag at pag-aaral ng lipunan ang mga klasrum. Ito ay napatunayan sa eksperimento sa Iloilo noong dekada 1960 at ipinahayag

din ng EDCOM Report (1988). Ang dalawang unang paninindigang nabanggit ay magsisilang ng pagbabago ng direksyon ng intelektwalisasyon tungo sa maka-mamamayang balangkas ng kaalaman at teknolohiya na angkop sa kakayanang pangkapaligiran sa bansa na hindi na nakasandig sa dayuhang pakete at mapagsamantalang *development paradigms*.

***Mga Sanggunian***

- Abad, Melania L. 1999. *Antas ng Pagpapatupad ng Patakaran sa Wika ng Pamantasan ng Pilipinas: Pagsusuri sa Karanasan ng Diliman*. M.A. Tesis, Unibersidad ng Pilipinas, Diliman, Lungsod Quezon.
- Agcaoili, Aurelio, M. Abad at P. Tiamson. 2001. *Salaysay: Pananaliksik sa Wika at Panitikan*. Lungsod Quezon: Kolehiyo ng Miriam.
- Constantino, Pamela. 1990. *Pagpaplanong Pangwika Tungo sa Modernisasyon: Karanasan ng Malaysia, Indonesia at Pilipinas*. Ph.D. Disertasyon, Unibersidad ng Pilipinas, Diliman, Lungsod Quezon.
- Cooper, Robert L. 1989. *Language Planning and Social Change*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press.
- Zafra, Galileo S. 2004. "Ang Executive Order 210 at House Bill 5814: Implikasyon sa Pagtuturo at Gamit ng Wikang Filipino sa Edukasyon." *PALT Journal* 43 (24).



## **History, Colonialism and Textbooks**

**Francis A. Gealogo**

The American occupation of the Philippines from 1898 to 1946 created an opportunity for the creation of an official historical knowledge on the colonial experience to be written and propagated. The various representations of the Philippine occupation by the Americans in American history textbooks as compared to the corresponding representations of the colonial experiences in the creation of the Philippine nation in Philippine history textbooks clearly provides a study in contrasts.

Most of the Philippine history textbooks regard the centrality of the colonial occupation (starting with the Spanish, continued by the Americans and the Japanese) as a common thematic thread that created the conditions for nationhood. In a sense, the Philippine nation, whether as a revolutionary reaction to the colonial occupation or as a natural product of the progress of the meeting of the colonial power and the colonized, assumes its formative historical basis in colonialism. Whether critical of colonialism or serving as apologists of it, writers of history textbooks regard and represent the colonial experience as an important historical category which is necessary and essential in explaining the formation of the nation.

On the other hand, the colonial history of the U.S. is usually represented in American history textbooks along two major strands. First, the U.S. was represented as a product of a peoples' desire to free themselves from colonialism and create a new nation. Secondly, when the U.S. became a strong national power, the expansionist ventures of American became a subject of the discourse on colonialism. Similar to the debate between the expansionists and the anti-imperialists at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century,

American history textbooks represented the American colonial venture in the Philippines as part of the realization of the Westward expansion, the manifest destiny of America to realize its responsibilities embedded in the ideas of the white man's burden and of social Darwinism.

These two trajectories found their way into authorized knowledge-creation based on the official historical narratives indicated in the textbooks. However, modes of contestation and challenges to the official line sought to create alternative representations of the experience. To say the least, beneath the official line in popular textbooks lies the undercurrent in which new modes of representations of the colonial experience are propagated and discussed.

The major assertions of the essay were culled by conducting an evaluation of some major history textbooks used in secondary schools in the U.S. and the Philippines, with particular emphasis on national histories (Philippine history for the Philippines, and American history for the U.S.), regional histories (Asian history for the Philippines and western history for the U.S.) and world history.

The major history textbooks were analyzed according to the type of schools and the targeted reading audience for the books, e.g., private or public schools; sectarian or non-sectarian; religious or secular schools. Moreover, an analysis of the organization of the textbooks in terms of themes, content, organization treatment of the colonial encounters and perspective were also given due regard in the assessment of the orientations of the textbooks.

### ***Specific Topics Covered in the Textbooks to be Compared and Discussed***

The following are the major topics covered in the history textbooks that served as the foci of the discussion and comparison:

- The Philippine-American War/Philippine Insurrection against the U.S.
- American Colonial Projects in Politics, Military and Bureaucracy
- American Colonial Projects in Education
- American Colonial Projects in Health and Sanitation
- American Colonial Projects in Culture, Language and Society

**Basic Themes**

Textbooks often convey particular perspectives on the role of colonial occupation in social transformation and change. Although most are in agreement that colonialism did create a significant avenue for change, the orientation on these changes are dependent on the various themes and perspectives used by the textbooks, both on the Philippine and American sides. The following are some of the identifiable themes adopted by some textbooks as an overview guide to their presentation of the topics covered:

- Theme 1: American colonialism as liberation  
In this regard, the occupation of the Philippines by the U.S. was viewed as a means of liberating the Philippines from colonial domination of the Spanish empire.
- Theme 2: American colonialism as modernization  
In this particular theme, the occupation of the Philippines by the U.S. was viewed as a means for the Philippines to attain modernity in its political, social, economic and cultural structures. This particular theme is also found in the treatment of Theme 1.
- Theme 3: American colonialism as the enemy of Philippine Independence  
In this particular regard, the American occupation of the Philippines was regarded as a tragic historical development of a stunted nation, perpetual dependence to the U.S., and the aborted birth of a nationalist consciousness amongst Filipinos.

***Brief Overview of the American Occupation of the Philippines***

Before the advent of American occupation, most of the territories that now constitute the Philippines were colonized by Spain from 1565. The introduction of Roman Catholicism and the establishment of a unified government covering most of the colonial territories of the islands were undertaken by the Spanish colonial authorities. A number of revolts and rebellions also characterized the Spanish occupation, culminating in the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution in 1896 and the proclamation of independence in June 1898.

The arrival of the American troops in the Philippines was justified by the U.S. colonizer as part of the American involvement in the Spanish-American War which saw the consolidation of American control and

domination in Puerto Rico, Cuba and other territories. By August 1898, the American colonial military government was established to enforce the occupation, and was legitimized with the Treaty of Paris signed between the governments of the U.S. and Spain in December 1898. The treaty handed over colonial control of the archipelago from Spain to the U.S. at the cost of US\$20 million.

Initially allies in the fight against Spain, Philippine and American troops fought each other in combat starting February 1899. While the American colonial officials officially declared the end of the war with the surrender of the revolutionary leader Emilio Aguinaldo on March 1901, and the Proclamation of Peace in July of the same year, various battles and conflicts still took place in parts of the archipelago until 1913.

The American occupation of the Philippines saw the integration of the archipelago into the American way of life. The political administration was established in the colony with significant participation from the local elite. The colonial economy was transformed by the integration of the local agrarian cash crop production into the American market in the form of free trade relations. Most important of all was the implementation of programs and projects with far-reaching consequences in the Philippine cultural realm: a system of universal public education system; the introduction of English as the language of business and government, and as the medium of instruction in schools; and the introduction of American-oriented value system. These were the major topics that were usually divergently discussed in the textbooks analyzed.

### ***Some General Discussions, Notes on the Textbooks***

For the purpose of the discussion of this essay, several textbooks were used to generate the explanations and analysis provided in the study. For the American history, the following textbooks were examined:

- Thomas Bailey and David Kennedy. *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic*. Lexington: D.C. Heath and Company, 1987;
- Alan Brinkley. *The Unfinished Nation: A Concise History of the American People*. Boston: McGraw Hill, 2000;
- Winthrop Jordan, Miriam Greenblatt, and John Bowes. *The Americans: A History*. Evanston: McDougal, Littell and Company, 1992;



- Richard Hofstadter, William Miller and Daniel Aaron. *The United States: The History of a Republic*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1957 (1<sup>st</sup> edition); and
- Ernest May. *A Proud Nation*. Evanston: McDougal, Littell and Company, 1989.

For Philippine history textbooks, the following were used:

- Ramon Guillermo, Sofia Guillermo Almirante. *Ang Kasaysayan at Pamahalaan ng Pilipinas* (History and Government of the Philippines). Manila: Ibon 1997;
- Monina Olavides-Correa, Olivia Habana, Ma. Angelica Verzosa and Virgilio Galvez. *Lupang Hinirang: Kasaysayan at Pamahalaan* (Land of Choice: History and Government). Pasig: Anvil, 2001;
- Reynaldo Oliveros, Ma. Concepcion Galvez and Yolanda Estrella. *Ang Kasaysayan at Pamahalaan ng Pilipinas* (Philippine History and Government). Manila: Ibon, 2004 and its English translation, Reynaldo Oliveros, Ma. Concepcion Galvez and Yolanda Estrella. *Philippine History and Government*. Manila: Ibon, 2002; and
- Gregorio Zaide and Sonia Zaide. *Kasaysayan at Pamahalaan ng Pilipinas* (Philippine History and Government). Quezon City: All Nations, 2002.

Secondary textbooks on regional and world history subjects were also utilized. For Philippine schools, Asian history and civilizations are required subjects after the course on Philippine history. The following works were analyzed in this study:

- Ma. Estela Banasihan, Monina Olavides Correa, Joselito Fornier, Virgilio Galvez, Olivia Habana, Joseph Jay Hernando and Ma. Angelica Verzosa. *Asya, Lupang Biyaya: Kasaysayan, Kabibasanan at Kalinangan* (Asia, Blessed Land: History, Civilization and Culture). Pasig: Anvil, 2001;
- Ma. Cristina Tabing, Ma. Concepcion Galvez and Yolanda Estrella. *Kasaysayan at Kabibasanan ng Asya* (Asian History and Civilization). Manila: Ibon, 2004; and
- Gregorio Zaide and Sonia Zaide. *Kasaysayan ng mga Bansang Asyano* (History of Asian Countries). Quezon City: All Nations, 2005

A course on world history, which succeeds the subject on Philippine and Asian history, is also required for Philippine high school students. The two textbooks that were analyzed for this paper are:

- Ramon Guillermo, Sofia Guillermo Almirante, Ma. Concepcion Galvez, and Yolanda Estrella. *World History*. Manila: Ibon, 2004; as well as
- Gregorio Zaide and Sonia Zaide. *Kasaysayan ng Daigdig (History of the World)*. Quezon City: All Nations, 2002.

Asian, western and world history textbooks used in the U.S. were also given due consideration. In this regard, the following texts were analyzed:

- Rhoads Murphy. *A History of Asia*. New York: Addison Wesley, 2000;
- Marvin Perry. *A History of the World*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988; and
- Joseph Strayer and Hans Gatzke. *The Mainstream of Civilization*. San Diego: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1984.

One must note, however, that despite the assessments made on the textbooks on Asian, Western and world history textbooks utilized by both American and Philippine high schools, the emphasis of this essay relies heavily on the evaluation of Philippine history textbooks in the Philippines and American history textbooks in the U.S. The obvious reason is that the topics of Philippine-American relations, American occupation of the Philippines, and the social, political and economic impact of the American occupation on Philippine society are more extensively covered in the said textbooks. While still remaining informative, Asian, Western and world history textbooks in both countries were not quite extensive in their treatment of the main focus of the study.

The liberalization of textbook use in both countries greatly affected the orientation of the type of textbooks that specific kinds of schools use. In the Philippines, for example, the Zaide textbooks were traditionally regarded as the most used history textbooks in public schools for generations. These oftentimes enjoyed official endorsement, hence the exclusive purchase of the Department of Education for use in all public high schools nationwide. On the other hand, the other textbooks by Guillermo, Correa, and Galvez were often used in private schools, either of the religious

(Catholic and Protestant) or secular type. More often than not, the decision to use a particular type of textbook hinges primarily on the school administration. For example, a number of Catholic schools used the books produced by Anvil, not because of the printer, but because of the academic affiliation of the writers of the series who come from the Catholic Ateneo de Manila University. Secular private schools, protestant schools and a number of small Catholic schools endorsed the use Ibon-published books because of the publisher's perceived non-mainstream and non-traditional orientation, which the schools would like to promote.

What this means is that, for the most part, those who were attending a type of school in the Philippines would most likely be using a textbook that was written with a specific orientation, perspective and focus. It also means that the types of official historical interpretation of history, in general and the period of the American occupation of the Philippines in particular, remain a function of the decisions of the school administration and educational institutions.

#### ***Comparative Evaluation of the General Treatment of Textbooks on the Theme***

A marked difference can be observed for both the Philippine and American history textbooks used by Philippine and American students on the treatment of the American occupation of the Philippines. Both American and Philippine history textbooks would emphasize the American occupation of the Philippines as part of the respective nations' realization of their historical experience in their national formation. The similarity stops in that regard. All of the American history textbooks that mentioned the American occupation of the Philippines viewed the period as part of the period of overseas expansion that resulted in the formation of the 'imperial' experience of America. The occupation is always presented as part of the American experience with its new overseas territories. Thus, the Philippine occupation was regarded as just one of the many ventures entered into by the U.S. at the close of the nineteenth century. Together with Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Guam and the other Pacific and Caribbean territories, the Philippine foray was viewed not with a special concern but with the general assessment that this is just one of the new territories that were annexed. The Philippine occupation was just one of the many other examples that were cited as part of the multitude historical experiences in the occupation of U.S. territories overseas.

**Table 1. American and Philippine History Textbooks, Comparative Coverage of the American Occupation of the Philippines**

	Inclusive Pages	Pages Devoted to Topic	Total Pages	Percentage Devoted to Topic
American History				
Bailey and Kennedy	603-617	14	948	1.48
May	559-562	3	748	0.40
Hofstadter	629-634	5	909	0.55
Jordan	516-524	8	969	0.83
Brinkley	621-23	2	1048	0.19
Philippine History				
Zaide and Zaide	137-176	39	290	13.45
Correa, et al	169-221	52	420	12.38
Guillermo and Guillermo	79-113	34	171	19.88
Oliveros et al	133-184	51	299	17.06

In contrast, Philippine history textbooks regarded the American occupation as one of the major defining moments in its national history. The period is oftentimes referred to in official history textbooks, as well as in popular consciousness, as the “American period” in Philippine history. The period was significantly regarded as one of the five major eras that defined the periodization of Philippine historical evolution. This period determined the direction that Philippine society and history took to define itself, its nature and its character.

The major difference in treatment, between being just one of the many examples of a historical trend to one that is regarded as being a defining moment of a larger history, can also be noted in the coverage of the textbooks. A comparative evaluation of the number of pages used, and the percentage of these to the general length of the textbook is seen in Table 1. On the one hand, American history textbooks considered the American occupation of the Philippines as a tangential concern in the general contour of American history. The coverage ranged from a low of two pages to a high of 14 pages, with percentages devoted to the topic, less than one fifth of one percent to one and a half percent of the total pages in the textbook. On the other hand, Philippine history textbooks coverage

of the topic ranged from a low of 34 pages to a high of 52 pages, covering a percentage of more than twelve to almost twenty percent of the entire textbook pages.

The Philippine textbook cases are even more significant if one considers that, for the most part, the total historical period being discussed sums up almost 500 years of written historical documentation, but the American occupation covers only a sum of 37 years of encounter and occupation. This means that despite the topic dealing with only around eight percent of the total period being covered, the textbooks allotted around 20 percent of the total pages for its discussion.

Aside from the difference in the coverage of the subject matter of the American occupation of the Philippines, Philippine and American history textbooks were also markedly different in terms of their manner of arrival at and explanations of historical causation and generalization. Philippine history textbooks focused on the origin of the occupation by beginning the discussions with the Philippine revolution. The American occupation was regarded as an outcome of the second phase of the anti-colonial nationalist revolution, which began initially as a revolutionary movement against Spain but continued as an anti-colonial war against the U.S. The cause of the occupation, therefore, was due either to the machinations of the U.S. to subvert the movement for Philippine national independence or to the result of the U.S.'s replacement of the Spaniards in quelling the revolutionary spirit of the Filipinos. American history textbooks regarded the Philippine occupation as the logical extension of the Spanish-American war. The American involvement in the Philippines was a historical accident that the U.S. reluctantly undertook as a consequence of its war with Spain. American policy towards the Philippines, therefore, was oftentimes placed side by side with American policy towards Hawaii, Cuba, Puerto Rico and Guam. The Philippine revolution was only tangentially discussed, not as a revolutionary, anti-colonial war but as an insurrection against a legitimate historical heir to occupation.

Given the differences in the treatment on the beginnings of the occupation, it is but logical that the textbooks in these two countries would also differ significantly in the treatment of the results of such occupation. In almost all Philippine textbooks, substantial and extensive discussions were made to cover the impact of the U.S. occupation of the Philippines in the political, economic, cultural and social spheres. U.S. colonial policies in these areas were broadly covered, and their effects, extensively scrutinized. Not all American history textbooks though discussed or even mentioned the

application of American colonial policies in the Philippines. In some textbooks that mention the events in the Philippines, the impact of the colonial policies either on American or Filipino lives were tangentially stated and only partially covered.

### ***Comparative Specific Topical Treatments***

For both the Philippine and American cases, there are also other noticeable differences in the manner that textbooks treated the subject of American occupation of the Philippines. The liberalization of textbook use as a prerogative of choice of the different educational administrations meant that clear differences in perspective, orientation and emphasis will be conspicuous in the textbooks used. The heterogeneity of perspectives, orientations and emphasis in the various textbooks being examined meant that beyond the above general statements, the need to look into the specific treatments of textbooks need to be made to concretize some of the assessments being forwarded.

### ***The American Textbooks***

For American history textbooks, the treatment of the U.S. occupation of the Philippines can be subdivided into the discussions of four major related topics: the Spanish-American War, the ensuing debate between Expansionists and Anti-Imperialists in the decision to annex the Philippines, the Philippine insurrection, and the results of the U.S. occupation.

### ***The Spanish-American War***

Most of the discussions on the American occupation of the Philippines began with what Hofstadter (1957: 629) would refer to as the “splendid little war,” which was how most popular texts and newspaper accounts of the period called the conflict. The Spanish-American War was an easy victory for the U.S., with little casualties and damage to American lives and property. The swift victory of the Americans over Spanish troops, and the resulting Treaty of Paris were discussed more extensively. The events in the Philippines were almost always discussed in all the textbooks as part of the American campaign that included mobilizations in Cuba and Puerto Rico.

As the U.S.’s success was being represented as easy victory in these territories, the ensuing discussion on the swift campaigns in the Philippines

carry forward the prevailing theme of the “splendid little wars.” For example, Bailey and Kennedy would discuss the American involvement in the Philippines to have begun in this manner:

...On February 25, 1898, while Long was away for a weekend, Roosevelt had cabled Commodore George Dewey, commanding the American Asiatic Squadron at Hong Kong, to descend upon Spain’s Philippines in the event of war. McKinley subsequently confirmed these instructions, even though an attack in the distant Far East seemed like a strange way to free nearby Cuba.

Dewey carried out his orders magnificently on May 1, 1898. Sailing boldly with his six warships at night into the fortified harbor of Manila, he trained his guns the next morning on the ten-ship Spanish fleet, one of whose craft was only a moored hulk without functioning engines. The entire collection of antiquated and overmatched vessels was quickly destroyed, with a loss of nearly four hundred Spaniards killed and wounded, and without the loss of a single life in Dewey’s fleet. An American consul who was there wrote that all the American sailors needed was cough drops for throats made raw by cheers of victory... (Bailey & Kennedy 1987: 604)

Jordan described the events as follows:

...As one historian wrote, it ‘was more a practice shoot than a battle.’ Dewey brought his ships within three miles of the Spanish fleet and then remarked to an officer, ‘You may fire when ready, Gridley.’ Then back and forth went the American squadron, firing gunpowder for several hours, until the entire enemy fleet was destroyed. Spanish casualties numbered three hundred eighty one. American casualties numbered one: an overweight engineer who died of heat prostration... (Jordan et al. 1992: 516-517)

Despite the above commentaries, it must be noted that a number of textbooks highlighted the difficulties faced by the American government in deciding on what to do with the Philippines, for example, noted that:

Knottiest of all was the problem of the Philippines, a veritable apple of discord. These lush islands not only embraced an area larger than the British Isles but also contained a completely alien population of some 7 million souls. McKinley was confronted with a devil's dilemma. He did not feel that America should honorably give the islands back to Spanish misrule, especially after it had fought a war to free Cuba. And America would be turning its back upon its responsibilities in a cowardly fashion, he believed, if it simply pulled up anchor and sailed away.

Other alternatives open to McKinley were trouble fraught. The ill-prepared native Filipinos, if left to govern themselves, might fall into anarchy. One of the major powers might then try to seize them, possibly aggressive Germany, and the result might be a world war into which the United States would be sucked. Seemingly the least of the evils consistent with national honor and safety was to acquire all the Philippines and then perhaps give the "little brown brothers" their freedom later.

President McKinley, ever sensitive to public opinion, kept a carefully attuned ear to the ground. The rumble that he heard seemed to call for the entire group of islands. Zealous Protestant missionaries were eager for new converts from Spanish Catholicism (nb, The Philippines were substantially Christianized by Catholics before the founding of Jamestown in 1607);...Wall Street had generally opposed the war; but awakened by the booming of Dewey's guns, it was clamoring for profits in the Philippines. "If this be commercialism," cried Mark Hanna, then "for God's sake let us have commercialism."

A tormented McKinley, so he was later reported as saying, finally went down on his knees seeking divine guidance. An inner voice seemed to tell him to take all the Philippines and Christianize and civilize them. This solution apparently coincided with the demands of the American people as well as with the McKinley-Hanna outlook. The mixture of things spiritual and material in McKinley's reasoning was later slyly summarized by a historian: "God directs us—perhaps it will pay." Profits thus joined hands with piety. (Bailey & Kennedy 1987: 601)



Jordan pointed out that:

...When the war broke out, the idea of annexing a group of islands six thousand miles west of California was probably the last thing in most Americans' minds. President McKinley admitted that he did not even know where these islands were. Mahan, Roosevelt, and their followers, though, believed that the islands had strategic and commercial importance...As the war progressed, more Americans began to feel that annexation was a good idea after all... (1992:518)

The two textbooks were quick to point out that the economic motivation was one of the major factors that led to the decision to annex the Philippines. While the authors highlighted the dilemma faced by the McKinley administration on what to do with the Philippines, the ultimate commercial and strategic interests were presented as the deciding factors in arriving at the final decision to conquer the Philippines. Other interests were also noted. Protestant missionaries, military and naval strategists, and investors in the capital market supported the idea of the annexation.

### ***Expansionists and Anti-Imperialists***

Though presented as part of the “splendid little war” from the American point of view, the Philippine annexation was not without its own critics in the U.S. homeland. The ensuing debate focused on the historical legacy of anti-colonial revolution as a theme in defining American values on freedom and democracy, and the desire to set the American future to be at par with the greatest powers of the world. Most of the textbooks presented this interesting phase in American history as the the moment of choice between becoming a republic or an empire. Eventually, the republic chose to become an empire. Bailey and Kennedy (1987: 610) and Ernest May (May 1989: 561) presented an extensive discussion on the debate between the two camps. The debate that ensued was not limited to politicians and policy makers. Business leaders, labor leaders, investors, agriculturists, racists, literary figures like Mark Twain, and politicians became embroiled in the debate as to the possible impact on the U.S.'s annexation of the Philippines. The future political life of politicians like William Jennings Bryan, would soon be defined by their position on the Philippine occupation. As Ernest May placed it:

...When the Filipinos found they had traded Spanish rule for American rule, they fought the Americans. The American forces used brutality against the Filipinos, just as the Spaniards had used brutality against the Cubans. It took three years, from 1899 to 1902, before the rebellion was crushed. Opposition to annexing the islands continued.

In 1900, William Jennings Bryan made yet another try for the presidency. He campaigned for freeing the islands. His margin of loss to McKinley was narrower than the margin in 1896. In 1916 Congress would come close to granting the Philippines independence, but it was 1934 before it voted to do so. In 1946 the Philippines finally received their independence... (1989: 562)

### ***The Philippine Insurrection***

What was at first regarded as a “splendid little war” soon became a bloody encounter for the Americans. The textbooks represented the Philippine-American war in various manners. Some called it an “insurrection,” while others called it the “Philippine War.” Most of these, however, were in agreement that American involvement in the Philippines, though initially light in combat and casualties, exacted a heavy toll on both sides. As Bailey and Kennedy would put it:

...As the ill-equipped Filipino armies were defeated, they melted into the jungle to wage a vicious guerrilla warfare. Many outgunned Filipinos used barbarous methods, and inevitably infuriated American troops responded in kind.

...Atrocity tales shocked and rocked the United States, for such method did not reflect the America’s better self. Uncle Sam’s soldiers were goaded to such extremes as the painful “water cure”—that is, forcing water down victim’s throats until they yielded information or died. Reconcentration camps were even established which strongly suggested those of ‘Butcher Weyler’ in Cuba. America, having begun the Spanish war with noble ideals, now dirtied its hands... (1987: 615)

Hofstadter described the conflict and its contradictory moves as follows:

...The movement that had started as an effort to liberate the Cubans quickly became a war to subjugate the Filipinos. The islanders, led by Aguinaldo, held off the Americans for three years in a conflict that cost more than the war with Spain itself and found the United States forced to employ the same concentration camp methods that the Spanish had used to combat the Cuban guerrillas... (1957: 633)

Both the official historical recognition of the conduct of the war and the collective memory of it, were not as thoroughly discussed as compared to the other military conflicts that the Americans were involved in. This condition, of forgetting the conflict in the Philippines, is best summarized by Brinkley:

...The conflict in the Philippines is the least remembered of all American wars. It was also one of the longest (it lasted from 1898 to 1902) and one of the most vicious. It involved 200,000 American troops and resulted in 4,300 American deaths, nearly ten times the number who had died in combat in the Spanish-American war. The number of Filipinos killed in the conflict is still in dispute, but it seems likely that at least 50,000 natives (and perhaps many more) had died.

...The Filipinos had been rebelling against Spanish rule even before 1898. And soon as they realized the American had come to stay, they rebelled against them as well...Gradually, the American military effort became more systematically vicious and brutal. Captured Filipino guerrillas were treated not as prisoners of war but as murderers. Most were summarily executed. On some islands, entire communities were evacuated—the residents forced into concentration camps while American troops destroyed their villages, farms, crops and livestock. A spirit of savagery grew among American soldiers, who came to view the Filipinos as almost subhuman and at times seemed to take pleasure in killing almost arbitrarily...(2000: 621)

***Results of the American Occupation***

The dilemma faced by American policy-makers in deciding the fate of the Philippines, and the horrors associated with the war experience constituted the bulk of the discussions in American history textbooks on the period of American colonization of the Philippines. Very few textbooks considered the results of American occupation as meritorious enough to be worthy of discussion. For the textbooks that covered the impact of the occupation, there was visible disparity in the orientation and perspective that defined the characterization of Filipino receptivity to American rule.

One textbook that provided an explanation to the subject is Bailey and Kennedy. For these historians, the occupation of the Philippines was clearly a liability, with no resultant positive effect both on the Philippine and American sides. They said that:

...By taking on the Philippine liability, the United States became a full-fledged Far Eastern power. Hereafter these distant islands were to be a “heel of Achilles” – a kind of indefensible hostage given to Japan, as the event proved in 1941. With singular shortsightedness, the Americans assumed dangerous commitments that they were later unwilling to defend by proper naval and military outlays... (1987: 611)

They even added that:

...McKinley’s ‘benevolent assimilation’ of the Philippines proceeded with painful slowness. Millions of American dollars were poured into the islands to improve roads, sanitation and public health. Important economic ties, including trade in sugar, developed between the two peoples. American teachers— “pioneers of the blackboard”—set up an unusually good school system and helped make English a second language. But all this vast expenditure, which profited America little, was ill received. The Filipinos, who hated compulsory Americanization, preferred less sanitation and more liberty. Like caged hawks, they beat against their gilded bars until they finally got their freedom, on the Fourth of July, 1946... (1987: 615-616)

Hofstadter however, was more fact-based in his presentation, when he said:

...These early imperial distinctions, however, were soon swept aside. Americans were not comfortable in the role of colonizers and empire builders, and even the Philippines were quickly put on the road toward self-government. The foundations were laid by the Philippine Commission appointed in 1900 with William Howard Taft as chief. By 1907, the Filipinos had gained the right to elect the lower house of the legislature, and in 1916 the Jones Act gave them virtual autonomy over their domestic affairs. Some of this ground was lost during the 1920s, but in 1934 the Tydings-McDuffie Act provided for independence after ten years. The Filipinos agreed to the ten-year provision in 1936. When the islands were recovered from Japan during World War II, the Filipinos finally achieved their independence, as originally planned, on July 4, 1946... (1957: 634)

Jordan was quick to point out the impact of American occupation on Philippine life, focusing his discussion on education, infrastructure, political and economic change:

...From 1901 until 1904, William Howard Taft served as civilian governor of the Philippines. Legislative functions were placed in the hands of an appointed commission and an elected assembly. In 1916 the Jones Act replaced the appointed commission with an elected senate. In 1934 the Tydings-McDuffie Act offered the Philippines complete independence after a ten-year trial period as a commonwealth. The Filipinos accepted the offer in 1936. Ten years later, on July 4, 1946, the islands became an independent republic.

During the years between annexation and independence, Americans brought about several changes in the Philippines. Perhaps the most significant was in public education. Within six weeks after President Taft's administration began, the USS Thomas docked in Manila harbor. Aboard were 540 American college graduates who soon became known as the Thomasites. Settling in various communities throughout the islands, they taught day and evening classes for children and adults, and they trained Filipino teachers.

During the first year and a half, twenty seven of the Thomasites died of cholera or were killed by bandits. Yet the work continued.

It continued so well that the literacy rate more than doubled between 1902 and 1935. In 1898 only five thousand Filipino students were attending elementary school. By 1920 there were over a million and by 1946 over two million... (1992: 524)

Such a triumphalist tone was evident even in the textbooks that initially were critical of the conduct of the war. Brinkley, for example, highlighted that even with the delay in the granting of Philippine independence, positive measures were applied to effect social and political change in the country. He explained that:

...Taft announced that the American mission in the Philippines was to prepare the islands for independence, and he gave the Filipinos broad local autonomy. The Americans also built roads, schools, bridges, and sewers; instituted major administrative and financial reforms; and established a public health system. Filipino self-rule slowly increased. But not until July 4, 1946, did the islands finally gain their independence... (Brinkley 2000:623)

Despite the limited coverage of the subject on American history textbooks, the construction of the images of American occupation of the Philippines remains discernable. More tangential and marginal in their discussion were the textbooks on Asian and world history. These textbooks only provided for a miniscule treatment of the American foray in the Philippines. Murphy, Perry and Strayer, for example, commented:

In 1898 the United States won its war against Spain and acquired the Philippines as its first overseas colony. In the 43 years of American control, more impact was made on the culture and economy of the islands than in 400 years of Spanish rule. The new imperialists built roads, railroads, hospitals, and an education system up to the university level. Literacy and health levels became the highest in Asia after Japan. But the U.S.' economic impact was exploitative. In partnership with rich Filipinos, it concentrated on growing commercial crops for export, especially sugar, and often neglected the basic needs of the people as a whole. Manila became a rapidly growing commercial center and colonial capital, and the

chief base of the rising Filipino middle class and educated elite. The American colonists were more idealistic than the French or Dutch and saw their goal as conferring their own type of democracy on their new subjects.

To a degree this was successful, but Philippine politics were dominated by a small elite drawing support from those who profited from the American connection and paying little attention to the still predominantly rural and peasant population. The country had been subjugated only by a brutal war against Filipino nationalist resistance from 1899 to 1902 in which the American pursued policies that foreshadowed their later misadventures in Vietnam. In any case, free public education and free expression were not something most peasants were able to pursue. Nevertheless the U.S. promised speedy independence and kept its promise in 1946, although on terms that diluted sovereignty economically and left huge American military bases in the Philippines. (2000: 300)

...The Spanish American war lasted only four months. After important American victories in Cuba, Puerto Rico and faraway Manila in the Philippines, Spain surrendered.

Many people in the United States opposed the acquisition of these new overseas territories. They argued that Americans themselves had fought for independence and should not rule other peoples. They pointed to an uprising against American troops in the Philippines as a sign that the people of those islands did not want American rule. (Perry 1988: 512)

...The Spanish American war was the first war between the United States and a European power since 1814. The United States had little difficulty winning the 'splendid little war' against Spain. In the peace treaty signed at Paris in December 1898, the United States obtained Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam. Cuba received its independence, though the Platt Amendment, adopted by congress in 1901, made it a virtual American protectorate... (Strayer & Gatzke 1984: 686)

***The Philippine Textbooks***

As earlier noted, Philippine textbooks had a greater coverage on the subject of the American occupation as compared to American textbooks. One significant analytical potential that may be derived from this is that textbooks tend to highlight the individual perspectives of the authors and their differences, compared to the commonalities that can be found in them. In this regard, it may be more practical to analyze the textbooks and their unique representations.

Zaide and Zaide (2002: 137-176) discussed the beginnings of the American occupation of the Philippines with a remarkable similarity as their American counterparts. The reasons for the arrival of the Americans were cited in the local textbook, including a discussion on the Spanish-American War, the expansion of the U.S. in new lands, the value of manifest destiny; as well as the “invitation of the Filipinos [to the Americans] to go to the Philippines.” While the Philippine revolution was mentioned as the context for the understanding of the Filipino-American War, it was not given lengthy discussion as compared to the other Philippine textbooks.

Zaide and Zaide also discussed the political changes with the advent of the American military government, and the civil government that replaced it, the 1902 Philippine Bill, and the American sponsored Philippine Assembly of 1907. They also listed down the contributions of the Americans in the political realm as follows:

- the cooperation of the Filipinos to the Americans because of their good treatment to the Filipinos compared to the other colonized societies.
- the Filipinos are a model for other colonial subjects because we became part of the power bloc of the Americans in the colonial government. We served in government, made our own laws, and had democracy.
- the Americans and the Filipinos started working together as allies in peace and war. The Americans revered the Filipino people and their leaders. (translation mine) (2002: 155)

Zaide and Zaide also discussed the economic impact of American occupation, summarized in the following:

- economic policy



- new prosperity
- new land policy
- increase in harvest
- free trade
- development of business
- new industries
- development of transportation and communication
- good budget
- involvement in global presentations and meetings (translation mine)

According to the historians, the theme of the Philippine economy under the Americans was that:

the Filipinos had a good life under America compared to being a colony of Spain. The Americans taught us how to be industrious and practical and not indolent and proud like the Spaniards. During the American period, the Filipinos earned a lot of money, worked in better occupations, and lived in nice houses. Many industries were developed. Roads, bridges, schools and other public works developed. (translation mine) (2002: 156)

For the American cultural legacy, Zaide and Zaide mentioned the following:

- Training in democracy
- Extensive use of the Bible and the freedom of religion led to Christian revival in the Philippines. It contributed to the betterment of the nation.
- Free education
- Knowledge of the English language
- Free press, equal rights for women, health and sanitation
- American way of life as manifested in food, living, leisure, arts, sciences and popular culture that enriched our lives
- There were many Filipinos with American ancestors, and there were many Americans with Filipino blood
- Deficiency in patriotism and the development of colonial mentality. We were oriented to consume imported goods. Sometimes, we tend to think that anything that is imported or made in the United States is better than the products made in the Philippines. (translation mine) (2002: 169)

It is quite obvious that Zaide and Zaide represented the American occupation as a cause for celebration and the triumph of good (represented by the U.S.) over evil (represented by Spain). The representation that the Americans came to the Philippines upon the invitation of the Filipinos clearly does not recognize the legitimacy of the Philippine War against the U.S. This is also evident in the adoption of the idea that the origin of the American occupation can be traced back to the Spanish-American War, resonating the viewpoint in American history textbooks.

One must also note that the impact of the American occupation was regarded as being generally positive, according to Zaide. On the political, economic and cultural legacy of the U.S., all of the items except one highlighted the positive contribution of the U.S. in the reshaping Philippine society. Even racial admixture, Christian fundamentalism, and Western-style democracy were seen as positive legacies of the U.S. to the Philippines. To a large extent, Zaide and Zaide are even more appreciative, triumphant and celebratory of the American occupation of the Philippines than American historians.

Even for the textbooks on Asian history, Zaide and Zaide are more explicit in their desire to praise the American contributions to Philippine society. Their discussion on the American occupation reads as follows:

...As an American colony, there was a remarkable improvement in the economic and social conditions of the Philippines. The Americans started popular education and free schooling in the universities. Democracy became a popular word. Women were given equal rights as men. The Protestant Christian missionaries brought the Bible and renewed the influence on religion. There was an improvement in public health and sanitation, and Manila became the most modern city in Asia. The Filipinos became the most Westernized people in Asia; they spoke, dress up and unfortunately thought like Americans... (translation mine) (2002: 274)

Correa and Habana (2001: 169-221) provided a different perspective on the American occupation from Zaide. While the two textbooks adopted the same format of initially looking at the historical circumstances that led to the American occupation prior to the evaluation of the impact of American colonial rule, the two textbooks differ remarkably in their perspective and orientation. Correa and Habana discussed the

development of the U.S. as a global power in the nineteenth century that led to the increase in need for the search of new markets for its goods, investments for its capital, and sources of raw materials. These circumstances explained the American expansion that led to the Treaty of Paris and the Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation, as well as the formation of the Anti-Imperialist League that was critical of the occupation.

In the discussion of the Philippine-American War, Correa and Habana emphasized the abuses committed by the Americans, the massacres done by American troops against the Philippine population, and the misrepresentation in the capture of Emilio Aguinaldo. Moreover, a special section was devoted to the biographies of revolutionary leaders who fought the American occupation. They summed up the conflict as follows, “In the Filipino-American War, many abuses were committed by the Spanish soldiers against the Filipinos. The struggle continued even after the capture of the leader General Emilio Aguinaldo on 1901...” (2001: 184)

The impact of American occupation was presented as part of imperial consolidation of the U.S. of its Philippine holdings. The political policy of the Americans in the Philippines was discussed in this section. Also included in the discussions were the anti-Philippine nationalist laws, the colonial commissions established by the Americans, and the collaboration of the Philippine elite with American colonial rulers. The economic transformation of the Philippines was also given critical evaluation, with the negative impact of the colonial policy on land distribution, production, and the lack of industrialization in the economy. In the realm of culture, the evaluation of the impact of American occupation to Philippine education, language, health and sanitation, and the arts were discussed.

Oliveros, et al. (2004) were similarly situated in terms of historical perspective compared to Correa and Habana. Their context for the Philippine encounter was the Philippine revolution. The discussion on the Battle of Manila Bay emphasized the staged-managed, mocked character of the skirmish. The Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation was discussed in conjunction with the Proclamation of Philippine Independence, and the establishment of the revolutionary republic that led to the outbreak of the war and the capture of Emilio Aguinaldo.

Oliveros, et al. also emphasized the pursuit of commercial and military interests of the U.S. Critical of what they termed as “import-dependent and export-led economy,” as well as the machinations played by the elite, Oliveros, et al. discussed the political, economic and cultural transformation of the Philippines as products of colonial design. In

discussing the origins of American educational policies in the Philippines, Oliveros, et al. pointed out that the first teachers were U.S. soldiers, indicating that education and military pacification were two interrelated colonial programs.

The role of the elite in colonial society was discussed extensively, with the analysis of the local ruling classes in maintaining colonial institutions even prior to the granting of independence. This period culminated in the establishment of anti-American radical social movements during the American period, leading to the formation of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party of the Philippines. In summary, Oliveros, et al. pointed out:

This clarifies the real intentions of the United States in the Philippines. In a short span of time, the US had already wielded its control on the country's economy, culture and politics. They made use of the educational system to colonize the Filipinos more effectively.

In essence, it retained the economic order established by the Spaniards while introducing new ways of living and modern technologies in production. Nonetheless, just like any other colonizer, all these changes were meant to benefit and promote the interests of the Americans... (translation provided in the English version) (2004: 165)

Guillermo and Guillermo (1997: 79-113) have a similar orientation as Oliveros, et al. The Philippine-American War was considered as part of the second stage of the Philippine revolution and the establishment of the First Philippine Republic. The American occupation had for the textbook's foci, the colonial civil government, the anti-nationalist laws, and the educational system.

### ***Some Concluding Remarks: Comparing American and Philippine History Textbooks***

The aforementioned discussion clearly highlighted the basic themes and common trajectories of Philippine and American history textbooks currently in use. It is noticeable that, for the most part, major differences lie in the perspective, orientation, emphasis, and focus of these textbooks.

For most of the Philippine history textbooks, the American occupation was a defining moment in the historical formation of the

Philippine nation. Almost all textbooks were in agreement that the resulting occupation paved the way for the eventual end of the nascent first Philippine Republic, and the integration of Philippine society into the political, economic and social designs of the American colonial establishment.

On the other hand, in almost all of the American history textbooks, the occupation was cited as just one of the many episodes of American overseas involvement that saw its expansion from a collection of former British colonies to a dominant global power. The Philippine affairs, though a significant aspect of American colonial venture, was regarded more as a by-product of the historical accident of the Spanish-American War, and less of a defining moment that directed American history to its present course.

These generalizations, however, do not hide the fact that even within Philippine and American scholarships, the textbooks were not unanimous in their interpretation of the events of American occupation. In the Philippine case, one striking point is the difference in perspective, orientation and projection of American influence as posited in the textbooks of Zaide and other historians. Zaide has been part of the more influential rank of Philippine historians, and his textbooks have trained and provided the orientation to many generations of historians and students. Even after his death, his daughter Sonia continued the production and reproduction of the tradition set by Zaide. It may even be said that his textbooks have provided the dominant interpretation to Philippine history for a very long time. It is therefore extremely important to note that the pro-American stance of Zaide has created a tremendous impact in the formation of Philippine historical consciousness, from official history-writing up to the formation of collective memories. The Zaide tradition conditioned the historical consciousness of both the students and the official historical memory on the legacies of the Americans to the Filipinos.

Equally important are the alternative views that have provided a challenge to the Zaide school. Correa, Oliveros, and Guillermo, et al. provided a critical evaluation of the American colonial period in the Philippines. This critical and analytical trend can be traced to the growth and development of the nationalist movement before and after martial law in the Philippines, as well as to the publication of the seminal college textbooks of Renato Constantino and Teodoro Agoncillo, two of the most prominent nationalist historians of the Philippines.

These alternative perspectives in history textbook writing have permeated even the conservative educational institutions of the Catholic

church, as well as the non-denominational and non-sectarian private schools in the country. The liberalization of textbook use also created an avenue for the mainstreaming of these alternative textbooks.

The emerging trend now on textbook use is being determined by the “market forces” of textbook production and distribution. This means not only the commercial orientation of the educational institutions’ decisions to use a particular textbook (which includes, among others, the costing of copies, supply and distribution systems, etc.), but also the competition in the marketplace of ideas that are markedly common amongst textbook printers and producers in the Philippines. Publishers are clearly on the lookout as to the possible sourcing either of fresh and innovative perspectives used by new authors to convince school authorities and education officials to patronize their textbooks, or play the safe side by reproducing the traditional textbooks that has been in use for generations.

These conditions now have a profound effect on the way the American colonial period are presented in the textbooks. On the one hand, non-mainstream and alternative textbooks presented the period as causing the downfall of the nationalist movement and the first Philippine republic, and the American colonial establishment as implementing policies and programs that were contrary to the interests of the Filipino people. The idea being presented in the textbooks is that the American colonial occupation challenged and usurped the emerging formation of the Philippine nation, and that social, political and economic changes resulted in the distorted sense of nationhood. However, there still remains the conventional interpretation that believed in the discourse of benevolent assimilation and manifest destiny. This interpretation highlights the significance of the American influence in the modernization and Westernization of the Filipino nation, that the positive contributions of American colonization were critical enough in proclaiming the triumph of American-style democratic political institutions, Western-oriented free trade, and Americanized culture.

The lack of unanimity of interpretation in the many textbooks analyzed mirror the ambivalence and ambiguity both of common historical perception and memory, and of the official historical discourse on the period. Up to now, there seems to be a disjointed realization by historians and educators, further foregrounding the mood by the people on whether to love or hate the Americanized orientation of contemporary Philippine society. In both common popular memory and official historical discourse, there is an absence of agreement as to how to address the controversies that confronted this interphase of Philippine-American colonial experience

in history. The absence of a common interpretation on the Philippine-American War, the role of the U.S. in the development of Philippine institutions, and the impact of Americanization in Philippine society remain topics of historical discourse that elude collective interpretation and assessment.

The lack of unanimity in the textbook interpretations of the American occupation in Philippine textbooks is also evident, to a lesser degree, in American history textbooks. There is an emerging trend to deconstruct the American involvement in the Spanish-American War and the Philippine occupation either as a product of emerging racial discourse, or as the triumph of American capitalist and military adventures overseas. While it is still a truism that for the most part, that the “splendid little war” that brought American involvement in the Philippines is generally considered a historical accident, an increasing number of textbooks are now presenting the options and choices that were available to American policy-makers regarding the Philippines. This alternative orientation challenges the conventional mode that America had no choice but to conquer the Philippines; that the historical imperative of annexation was the only choice for the U.S. to take; and that the destiny of the American nation to greatness was conditioned by its pro-active stance on the annexation of the Philippines. Alternative themes to the conventional historical interpretations are slowly permeating the American textbooks that may provide a divergent orientation on the popular perception and official historical discourse on the American war in the Philippines. The emergence of the people’s history discourse propounded by Zinn (1990) has had a significant impact on the realization for the need to reevaluate America’s role in global affairs, including the Philippine annexation, particularly the ordinary people’s contemporaneous perception of the tragedies of the wars of annexation.

However, what one needs to further evaluate is the state of popular historical consciousness and official institutional historical discourse of the U.S. on the American occupation of the Philippines. The scarcity and lack, even total absence of attention, in history textbooks to this phase of American history prove that the impact of the alternative perspectives on these historical events still remains elusive. While it may be said that history textbooks reveal the state of historical consciousness prevalent in society, the low attention given to the Philippine-American War clearly means that the development of both popular consciousness and official historical recognition in the progressive mode remains an unrealized goal.

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## **Science and Technology Education for Whom?**

**Giovanni Tapang**

The Philippine educational system produces one of the biggest numbers of college graduates, compared to other countries worldwide, but generates one of the smallest numbers of graduates with science and engineering skills (Cororaton 2002). Prospective graduates seem to be less attracted to science and engineering courses.

Higher education in science and engineering during the American regime was driven mainly by the colonial government's need for competent public servants and engineers to fill the gaps in the colonial bureaucracy and administration rather than a benevolent desire to create a local pool of scientific talent for national development (Caoili). The American government encouraged training, provided public education and scholarships to the United States to generate more teachers, engineers and skilled personnel. It established the Bureau of Science in 1905, as well as a host of other public research institutions, to provide training to local scientists, testing services, and to conduct research on indigenous materials and local diseases.

Under the Commonwealth government, government offices were set up to provide technical services to encourage private Filipino businessmen to establish local manufacturing enterprises. However, the colonial preference to export raw agricultural materials stunted industrialization and retarded the growth of local science and technology. World War II and the Japanese occupation nearly put educational and scientific activities in the country to a standstill.

In the early 1950s, science and technology professionals were trained to identify flora and fauna native to the Philippines for American

pharmaceutical companies. Engineers were trained to analyze minerals, map geologic sites, and come up with chemical analyses of Philippine natural products which were useful to colonial business interests (Halos 1999). The characteristics of the state of science and technology half a century ago continue to be true today: the lack of basic information for industrial development and of government support, the low number of trained scientists and the lack of public awareness of science. This explains the very slow growth of science and technology in the country as a whole.

From 1994 to 2001, enrollment in engineering averaged 312,023 students yearly, or about 14% of the total enrollees, while the mathematics and information technology courses attracted about 7% of enrollees. The natural sciences attracted only 1%. The most popular discipline for incoming students in tertiary education were in the business administration and related courses and agriculture related courses, both having 30% and 32% of enrollment, respectively.

In 2003, total student enrollment in the tertiary level nationwide was around 2,431,378; 405,716 of which eventually graduated. According to the Science and Technology Education Network (STEdNet), those who were enrolled in science and engineering courses numbered over half a million (646,706) and less than a hundred thousand (97,014) graduated in the same period. Ninety three percent of these graduates were from Engineering (57%) and IT (36%) courses. Out of these graduates, only around 20% pass the government's licensure exams.

Recently, the field of information technology (IT) has attracted a lot of students. There is an average 20% annual increase of graduation in computer engineering and other IT-related programs. AMA Educational System alone in 2003 had about 150,000 students in 200 campuses in the country and abroad. These IT professionals eventually end up employed in the service sector and not as research scientists and engineers.

A domestic IT industry that includes the manufacturing of computer hardware, telecommunication equipment, semiconductors, computer software and services is still in its nascent stage. What is in place is an export-oriented semiconductor industry that is dominated by multinationals that do most of their basic Research and Development (R&D) activities outside the country. In 2005, the semiconductor sector comprised almost 70% of the exports of the country worth USD 27.3 billion and employs around 230,000 engineers and technicians.

Making the IT situation worse, outsourcing and call center services are being pushed and marketed by the government. IT services consisting

of call center and business process outsourcing (BPO), software development, medical transcription, animation, and engineering design account for USD 2.4 billion and employ around 162,250. The semiconductor and IT sectors are expected to grow by 40% by the end of 2006.

Basic science and science education remain weak. This is reflected in the Trends in Mathematics and Science Study 1999 Assessment Results (TIMMS 1999). The Philippines is ranked 36th out of the 38 participating countries in the survey. The TIMMS measures trends in high school students' science and math achievements. This hardly improved in the TIMMS 2003 where the country ranked 41st in Mathematics and 42nd in Science out of the 45 countries surveyed.

Continuing the same policies of the Americans, the government has instituted several incentives for students entering science and mathematics courses such as various grants and scholarships in science high schools. Enrollment in some basic science and engineering courses in some universities (like the UP) have increased, but corresponding support structures such as laboratories, teachers and classrooms have not been augmented. Furthermore, upon graduation, new graduates discover that there are not enough available research positions in the universities or in industry, prompting many to go abroad or to be employed differently from their educational training either as managers, line inspectors or sales personnel.

### ***Research and Development Expenditure in the Philippines***

The budget allotted to research and development efforts in the country has been nearly at the same level since the latter part of the 1970's, far below the minimum, 1%, of the GNP set by UNESCO for developing countries. Industrialized countries allocate 3-5% of their GNP to scientific research and development.

Four major sectors are involved in R&D activities in the Philippines: higher education (both private and state universities and colleges), government agencies, non-government organizations, and private industry. Private industry expenditures account only about 26% of the total R&D spending from 1989 to 1992 (Cororaton 2002) and hardly changed from 1993 to 1996. In the 1980s, the contribution to R&D expenditures of private industries was even estimated to be just 10 to 20%. Government agencies' expenditures account for almost 52% of the total R&D expenditures in 1989-1992, decreasing by two percent in 1993-1996. The

majority of higher educational institutions are private (1,538 out of the total 1,713) and these shy away from funding research and development.

In industrialized countries, the private sector tops governments in expenditures in R&D. In 1995, private sector spending in the USA and Singapore were about 59.4% and 62.5% respectively. While in the previous year, South Korea's private sector had an 84% share in R&D expenditures.

Patent application is a good indicator of the technological innovation capacity and performance of a country. Foreign patent applications usually surpass local patent applications in most countries. According to the Department of Science and Technology (DOST), patent application by Filipinos in 2003 numbered only 125 while foreigners had 3,440 patent applications. This discrepancy is much bigger than in South Korea and Thailand.

There is little or no technology transfer to the Philippines from its international trade partners. Most technologies being used in the existing manufacturing and industrial sectors in the country today are owned by foreign companies. Most of the patents granted in the country are of foreign origin. Intellectual Property Rights laws embraced by the Philippines by and large do not protect local scientific endeavors but rather hinder the country from accessing foreign technologies needed for its development.

Multinational corporations set up OEM operations in the Philippines and Thailand because of the absence of or slow absorption capacity of local domestic industries to copy and manufacture similar products locally.

### ***Science and Technology Manpower Development***

DOST data indicate that for 1987 to 1997, the average number of scientists and engineers involved in RD was only 152 per million, less than half of the UN recommended 380 per million of the population. The estimated gap in R&D manpower is about 197 scientists and engineers per million population (Cororaton 2002). There are only 22 technicians per million people. During the 1990-1997 period, Japan had 5,561 scientists and engineers and 864 technicians per million population, while in almost the same period, South Korea had 2,274 scientists and engineers and 223 technicians per million of the population.

In a recent survey of researches in state universities and government agencies, it was observed that less than 10% of R&D personnel that have PhD degrees are in engineering and technology (Cororaton 1999, 2002). Advanced technologies are usually available only in graduate education. The

social sciences have 40% of the total PhD holders, while about 35% are in the agriculture-related sectors. From 1989 to 1992, there was a greater number of researchers in the social sciences than in engineering and the natural sciences.

Government agencies employ 37% of the total R&D personnel. DOST researchers are about 7% of the total RD personnel, while the private sector employs 11%. These employment statistics have hardly changed since 1989. In a recent survey, the number of part-time researchers is also increasing by 11.5% annually, from 1993 to 1996. On the other hand, full-time researchers with MS and PhD degrees are decreasing. Rather than engaging in productive R&D, some MS and PhD holders are in consulting work, which have a much higher pay.

In the 1990s, the WB and OECF (Japan) funded the Engineering and Science Education Project (ESEP). The project aimed to strengthen engineering and science capabilities in several institutions by providing faculty development support, upgrading laboratory facilities, and providing for the acquisition of new equipment. Curriculum changes were also implemented. A networked library and information system was set up and links with industry, research institutes, and professional associations were strengthened, while science and math teaching in secondary schools were also improved. Consequently, science and technology enrollment especially in the MS/PhD programs increased. In the late 1990s, the Commission on Higher Education (CHED) supplemented this effort with the Centers of Excellence and Centers of Development Program.

### ***National Industrialization: The Key to Meaningful Science and Technology Education***

The era of monopoly capitalist globalization has been characterized by advanced high technology on the one hand, and widespread suffering and dislocation on the other.

The US has been continuously renovating its equipment, overproducing high-tech goods for production and consumption with its lead in research and development and property rights over high-technology processes and techniques. On the other hand, scientific and technological development for the rest of the world itself has suffered since monopoly capitalist globalization does not spread industrial development— Third World science and technology is generally stunted, backward and underdeveloped due to neocolonial trade relations resulting in societies that are largely agrarian and pre-industrial.

The basic economic function of these countries is to provide raw materials for the US, Japan and other industrialized countries in Europe and not to develop their own industry. These neocolonies retain large feudal land-holdings that are effectively inimical to the development of science. They are dependent upon foreign imports for manufactured items and capital goods.

Their industrial sector is limited mainly to assembly, packaging or labor-intensive reprocessing for re-export which under multinational/transnational (MNC/TNC) corporate control has not resulted in any real transfer of technology. These industries involve mainly the use of cheap labor for the reassembly of parts to make such consumer goods as electronic gadgets, clothes, toys, shoes and the like for the industrial capitalist countries as well as for less than 10 percent of the local population.

Agreements that further globalization such as the WTO Agreement on Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights or (TRIPS) further ensure TNC control over science and technology through regressive patent regimes. Patent systems already perpetuate their control and ownership over new technologies even as they also control research and development.

The exodus of scientists and technologists from the Third World and the former Soviet bloc to the US, Europe and Japan has grown with globalization. These scientists and technologists bring with them their skills and the results of research and development financed by their home countries. Due to the lack of industries, there is a relative surplus of university-educated men and women, including scientists and technologists, in many Third World countries. Since they cannot be accommodated in the local economy, they are compelled to seek employment abroad.

Using transfer-pricing and other mechanisms, foreign monopoly firms take out their superprofits while the technology and productive equipment made available to Third World countries yield low net value. Mass media and intense advertising condition the consumption tastes of the public. In this way, export earnings, foreign borrowing and OFW remittances are wasted on the overconsumption of high-grade consumer items from the industrial countries.

Until now, the country does not have an industry for capital goods. Heavy and basic industries are non-existent, except for copper processing. Machine-tool industry, basic metal and chemical industries, and engineering industries are yet to be established. Existing industries merely reprocess components from abroad and are wholly dependent on technologies from advanced countries. Vital industries such as power, oil and mining have



been liberalized and deregulated.

The domination of our economy primarily by the US and its main local partners, the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlords, impedes the building and development of our national industries. It is of course not in their interest to change the largely backward agrarian production system and develop local industries, technologies and products.

It is therefore not surprising that the past and present administrations in the Philippines are also not interested in pursuing a genuine industrialization program, much less allocate an adequate budget for science and technology (S&T) development beyond the usual token amounts.

Government support through sufficient funding for S&T institutions remains inadequate. The private sector and private industries have very little participation in S&T activities. Technologies used in industries are focused only on assembly and testing, product innovation of other countries' existing products and improving management strategies. Technologies are mostly imported.

The minimal R&D expenditures of private firms in the country reflect the fact that foreign capital in the country does not improve nor use the full capabilities of science and technology personnel they employ. The attraction for these large firms is in the cheap labor and raw materials available in the country. In general, technology transfer does not happen.

The meager R&D activities result in the lack of opportunities for our S&T professionals. Government S&T institutions cannot employ all of them, while the lack of industrialization creates no demand for research engineers and physical scientists. They therefore seek employment abroad, contributing to the brain drain phenomena. In 1998, about 25% of deployed OFWs abroad were professionals and technical workers (POEA Report, 1998). Many Filipino scientists who have opted to stay in the country meanwhile face low budget allocations for their researches, inadequate compensation, lack of resources and a host of other problems. Still, a lot of them produce research publications that are at par with those in other countries.

While these commendable efforts create a sense of self-reliance, in the light of minimal government support, these are more often than not the specialized rather than the general type of research activities done in most research institutions. Worse, the government has not used these results nor has it directed their research for the country's needs.

The ESEP experience shows that providing capital outlay and material support for improving science and technology human resources

and educational base can work. In fact, it only reflects the real need for increasing the budget for science and technology research and development. However, most of the graduate beneficiaries of the ESEP are not automatically absorbed by the sponsoring institutions due to lack of positions. Most of them find work outside the academe in industries which are invariably foreign-owned. Despite the support for secondary schools, it had little impact on the overall science and technology preparedness of their graduates.

In the University of the Philippines, during the term of UP President Francisco Nemenzo, the International Publications Award (IPA) was instituted to augment diminishing faculty salaries and to spur publication in ISI-indexed journals. Without a clear path to technology development through a vibrant domestic industry that can transform basic and applied researches, these measures would remain mere indicators of research output.

Currently, there is a move to increase the quality and number of graduate studies in engineering through the Engineering R&D for Technology Proposal, where nearly P6.5 B is targeted to be earmarked for 10 years to give scholarships, build infrastructure, conduct R&D, and upgrade the faculty. The targets of the project are the attainment of a critical mass of MS and PhD graduates who engage in research, the upgrading of the qualifications of practicing engineers and engineering colleges, and the development of a culture of research and development in these institutions. The objective is to implement a research agenda aligned with the National Science and Technology Plan and the MTPDP.

However, the government's strategic plans in S&T are not geared towards developing a truly self-reliant economy. These plans have been tailored to the export-oriented and import-dependent economic model. Thus, the government's strategic plan does not include efforts to build and strengthen industries for domestic production. Instead, it further weakens domestic production through its policy and program of opening national industries to foreign corporations and further deregulating critical base industries.

Efforts to build and improve packaging technologies also fit the government thrust of agricultural production for export. Meanwhile, the training of data-savvy, English-speaking "IT" experts fulfills the requirements of off-shore call centers but does nothing to upgrade actual skilled production for our local IT needs. Information and communications technology, as seen in the spread of mobile phones and use of the Internet, is largely confined to urban centers.

To further exacerbate the situation, the government has never been serious in realizing its policy pronouncements in science and technology as reflected in the steady decrease in budgetary allocations for the DOST and other R&D institutions.

International trade policies supported and adopted by the Philippine government also do not support the development of local industries. After years of implementing “Free Trade Globalization” under the WTO, the country continues to be driven to export more raw and semi-processed materials because of the undeveloped manufacturing systems and the continued dumping of finished goods by industrial countries – to the detriment, of course, of local production.

A case in point is the current plan (2007) of the Roman administration in UP to lease the Commonwealth property and the South area (Katipunan) to Ayala Corporation, which would then sub-lease it to interested companies. This would purportedly bring in 4 billion pesos into the University. Obviously, for a government that abandons its role in education, this means P4 billion less in subsidy. What the UP Administration could have done is to require the state to match this P4 billion for the same period. However, it has not done so because the UP administration has already surrendered the soul of UP as a state university. The use of idle land towards reduction of government subsidy is plain and simple commercialization.

At the onset, it is true that there are no big local corporations that will lease space in the S&T parks. However, UP could have also required Ayala to provide cheaper space for small upstart domestic companies in areas that are needed for national industrialization. UP could have provided these companies with R&D support, slowly matching the big multinationals through inputs of the university’s talents. As these companies grow, UP could have planned for a steady reduction of foreign lessors, and an increase of space for domestic companies, so that towards the end of the lease, the lessors would be composed of all-Filipino companies that were slowly built with the help of UP talent. Sadly, both in terms of the lack of plans of the national government for industrialization and the UP administration’s lack of foresight and initiative, this is not how S&T parks should be conceived.

The debate on the land use plan typified by the S&T parks is at the heart of the issue of who should shoulder the cost of developing the capacity for industrialization, as well as who should benefit from the intellectual products of a state university. The improvement and operations

of a state university like UP is a state responsibility, and as such, UP's graduates should serve our people and not just any multinational.

### **Conclusion**

The pre-industrial and mainly backward-agrarian character of the forces of production in the country – chained to this condition by the continued domination of foreign interests, mainly the US and the comprador bourgeoisie – prevents genuine industrialization and thus provides little room for the growth and development of Philippine science and technology.

All indicators discussed in previous sections are like jigsaw puzzle pieces that form a distressing picture of the backward, underdeveloped and stunted state of S&T in the Philippines. More than just lagging behind industrialized countries, the backwardness of S&T in the country has deprived the people of its possible benefits particularly those addressing their basic needs and improving the quality of their lives and those that have the potential to impact tremendously on the economy and everyday life of the ordinary Filipino. S&T and the potential of the S&T community in the country are not being tapped and developed as propelling forces to push the country's economic development. Instead, these are being peddled to foreign multinationals in order to finance the state abandonment of education and science and technology development.

Science and technology can be used and fully developed for the benefit of the people only if the more fundamental obstacles, that are mainly economic and political in nature, currently confronting the country are completely addressed.

The largely backward agrarian economy and the lack of basic industries stand out as hurdles we must confront in order to address the daily needs of our people. But our ability and potential to create, provide, manufacture and distribute the basic needs of our citizenry are mainly impeded by the existing social relations in the country, mainly the US and comprador-bourgeois dominance of the national economy and land monopoly of the countryside elite.

To overcome these obstacles, genuine and comprehensive agrarian reform must be undertaken to break the land monopoly and age-old feudal relations between landlords and peasants. Land and development reform coupled with the promotion of agricultural cooperation, agricultural modernization and rural industrialization would create the production surplus that can be used to support the development of local industries and pave

the way for industrialization. Moreover, this type of land reform would also lead to the development of a strong agricultural base that can provide the basic food staples of the country, as well as the raw materials for industries.

Improving the state of science and technology (S&T) in the Philippines is not just a matter of increasing the number of scientists, building the necessary infrastructure and generating successful technologies. Improving science and technology should mean addressing both sides of the problem: why Philippine science and technology remains backward and stunted and why it fails to benefit the people.

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## **Kulturang Popular at Pakiwaring Gitnang Uri**

**Rolando B. Tolentino**

Ibang uri ang edukasyon mula sa kulturang popular. Ito ay informal na kaalaman dulot ng media (telebisyon, radyo, sine, DVD, cell phone, internet, videoke, cable at iba pa) o kasangkapang pangmedia (mall, coffee shops, shawarma, sago drinks, gin pomelo, gimik na lugar, droga, prom nights, at iba pa). Sa katunayan, may shelf life ang anumang artifact ng kulturang popular, sikat lamang ito sa kasalukuyang pagdanas ng fad kahit pa may paratihang media at genre na nagsisiwalat nito. Pero hindi mauubusan ng bagong uso, at sa pagtangkilik ng bago, minamarkahan na rin ang pagkaluma at obsolete ng mga komoditi ng kulturang popular. Si Martin Nievera at Ariel Rivera ng malayong noon, si Sam Milby ngayon—mga Filipino-Norte Amerikanong naging phenomenal ang pagkatanyag pero minarkahan din ng fans ng taning ang career. Hanggang dito na lamang at maraming salamat. Hindi nauubusan ng hot pandesal ang 24/7 na Pugon de Manila o ang ating friendly neighborhood panaderya.

Magkagayunman, ang kulturang popular ay nilalahukan na may kaakibat na paninindigan sa katotohanang sinisiwalat nito. Hindi man natin mapagpag ang ating nakaraan, lalo na ang mga ginawa sa ngalan ng pagtangkilik ng mga komoditi ng kulturang popular—mula shoplifting hanggang pagmamaktol sa di pagtangkilik sa Jollibee, mula adiksyon sa droga hanggang sa otentikong pagkapukaw sa nostalgia ng mga McDonalds na komersyal—ay ginagawa pa nating konstituytib o bumubuo ang mga ito ng ating pagkatao. Maaaring makilanlan ang ating pagkatao hindi na lamang sa pamamagitan ng ating mga piniling kaibigan, kundi pati na rin ang mga tinangkilik na komoditi ng kulturang popular. Henerasyonal ang

pagtangkilik na ito na lumilikha ng malay at di-malay na balon ng kolektibisasyon. Ito ang text generation na generation Y na kaiba sa low-waist gang ng kabataang nagrerebelde ng 1960s, o ang henerasyon ng biyakan at nagwasto ng dekada 80 at 90. Kung buburahin ang mga komoditi at ekonomiya ng kulturang popular na pinapalaganap rin naman ng mismong estado, ano pa ang matitira sa ating pagkatao? Ano pa ang katotohanang nabuhay tayo sa isang partikular na lipunan at kasaysayan?

Ang afinidad ng kulturang popular at formal na edukasyon ay pareho tayong nagbabayad para sa inaakalang mabibiling katotohanan tungkol sa pagkatao, rekisito ng pagiging gitnang uring mamamayan. Nag-aaral ka at malamang, nagdurusa at binibili mo ang ethos na ito para sa pangako ng posibilidad—hindi na mangyayari ang inaasam-asam na mangyari kundi, tulad ng finansya ng investment at pagsusugal, binabawasan mo ang risk factor para sa posibilidad na mangyari nga ang inaasahang mangyari. Sa adbentura ng pambansang kaunlaran sa global na ICT (Information and Communication Technology) na naglulugar sa bansa at sa kanyang lakas-paggawa sa mababang antas ng bagong global at sexual na dibisyon ng paggawa, partikular sa gawaing call center, ang tertiaryong edukasyon ay hindi na nangangako ng katubusan. Bagkus, ispesipiko ang vocational na kahilingan—ang kanluraning gamit ng wikang Ingles—na maaaring matutunan dahil sa uring pinagmulan (mga tahanan na nakapagturo ng wika sa pagpapalaki ng mga bata), debating team at speech clubs, o panonood ng Ingles na cartoons sa Cartoon Channel sa cable—para umangat sa gitnang uring status. Samakatuwid, hindi na lamang formal na edukasyon ang pasaporte sa panlipunang mobilidad, maging ang pagkababad sa kulturang popular ay bahagi na rin ng pagtatakda ng pangako ng posibilidad. Ito ang bagong uri ng intelektwal na kapital sa kagyat na kasalukuyang pambansang panahon.

Ang pagbibigay-pribilehiyo sa bagong kapital ay matutunghayan kung gaano nakadiin ang kulturang popular bilang hulmahan ng inaasam na gitnang uring buhay. Mayroong sinisiwalat na katotohanan ang akto ng pagtangkilik at pag-asam na makatangkilik (na kasing bigat itong pag-aantay sa mismong akto ng pagtangkilik) ng kulturang popular. Itong katotohanan ay nakapoder sa pagdanas ng gitnang uring estadong pang-indibidwal sa pang-araw-araw. Walang gustong umalaalang naghihirap siya. Na sa predikamento ng gitnang uri, hindi lamang dahil nakakasapat ang kanyang panggastos sa pang-araw-araw na pangangailangan, kundi walang paghahanda sa inebitableng maaaring mangyari—pagkakasakit nang malala, aksidente, pagkasunog, pagkanakaw ng ari-arian—na makakapilay sa



finansyal na lagay. Walang konsepto ng insurance o certainty ng uncertainty kaya hindi ito inilalahok bilang inkrementong pangangailangan na paglaanan ng tustos-gastos. Ano pa kaya sa nakararaming naghihikahos na uri na said sa batayang pangangailangan? Samakatuwid, ang pang-uring posisyon ng mababa at gitnang uri ang nagiging kasalukuyang aparato ng estado at industriyang pangkultura na magpatangkilik nang labis sa pangkasalukuyang antas. Walang motibasyong mag-invest sa panghinaharap dahil una, hindi kaya itong sakupin ng predikamento at finansyal na lagay ng kasalukuyan; ikalawa, huthutan ng koraptibong praktis din naman ang pribado at publikong negosyo ng panghinaharap (mula anomalya sa GSIS hanggang sa naglipanang pyramid schemes ng mga AFP cooperative at pati na rin ng daan-daang magulang na nagbayad ng prepaid educational plan sa CAP Assurance); at ikatlo, ang pakiwari ng malawakang pagtangkilik sa kulturang popular (isipin na lamang ang sampu-sampung produktong ginamit pagkagising, paliligo at paggagayak bago makarating sa patutunguhan) ay nakaangkla sa pangkasalukuyan lamang. Hindi ka gumagamit ng deodorant ngayon para tanggalin ang masangsang na amoy o pawis ng kilikili bukas o sa isang buwan. Hindi ka nanonood ng sine para iimbak ang kaalaman at epiphanies sa panahong magagamit mo ito sa akmang sitwasyon sa hinaharap. Hindi rin naman ito *carpe diem* (seize the day) mode dahil ano naman ang mapapasaiyo sa paggamit ng deodorant o panonood ng sine, pagsagot ng tama sa klase, kundi ang kasiyahang dulot ng sandali. Hindi lamang mailap itong sandali, panandalian pa ang sandali. Kung pangmatagalan ito, hindi na ito sandali. Ito na ang soundtrack ng buhay mo.

Pakiwari ang pangunahing afekto ng kulturang popular dahil nag-aastang lampas sa historikal na posisyong pang-uri—pati na rin malamang, lahi at etnisidad, kasarian at sexualidad—ang afinidad. May disjuncture sa uring pinagmulan sa uring may afinidad mapabilang. Gitnang uri ka at gusto mong stabilisadong antas ito kahit isang pagkakasakit na malala lamang sa pamilya, nakadapa na ang panlipunang yunit na ito—may mapapahinto sa pag-aaral, magugutom ang pamilya, paaalisin ang katiwala at driver—at kung magtuloy-tuloy pa ito, ang trauma ng pagiging *nouveau poor*. Ang afekto ay ang di pa mapapaliwanag na kolektibo at kognitibong pakiwari sa pagtangkilik sa komoditi ng kulturang popular. Kolektibo dahil may kolektibidad ang naaapektuhan ng komoditi. Ang dinadanas ng indibidwal ay kolektibong dinadanas ng iba pang tumatangkilik. Walang hindi naduduwal-duwal kapag biglang bumabagsak ang trak sa roller coaster. Walang sasakay ng roller coaster na umaasang parang tsubibo lamang ang mararanasan. Kognitibo dahil itinuturo ang angkop na paraan di lamang ng

pagsakay at pagtunghay sa ride, kundi pati na rin sa kaangkupan ng proseso ng pagdanas. Na sa kalaunan ay hindi sa hindi na ito makakamaluktot ng bituka, kundi may itinakda nang kalakarang makakapagturo sa limang senses kung paano tumunghay—ipikit ang mga mata, huminga nang malalim, kilabutan, at iba pa—kung paano hihinuhain ang karanasan, pati na ang mundo.

Komoditi dahil nawala na sa resepsyon ang pinakasangkap sa produksyon—ang lakas-paggawa—nagiging mahika na lamang kung paano natransforma ang hilaw na materyales para maging produktong ibebenta nang lampas sa aktwal nitong halaga. Walang sumasakay ng roller coaster na nakakaisip na baka may nahulog nang pasahero rito, o nang itayo ang ride ay may namatay na welder o construction worker sa paggawa nito. Hindi na ito masaya. Hindi lamang ito dating dahil hindi naman ito interaksyon ng dumating sa nakaantay, at ang resulta nito sa nagbagong antas na presensya ng nag-aantay. Ang dating ay ang pagkalula sa pagsakay at panood ng umaarangkadang roller coaster. Nabibigkas pa ang karanasan sa dating pero sa afekto ay hindi ito lubos na mailalarawan sa bagong pagdanas. Ang afekto ay sublime, pero nagiging normalisadong karanasan kapag nakolonisa na ito ng kognisyon, o ang kognisyon ay nakolonisa na ng aparatong ideolohikal (media, mall, relihiyon, at iba pa) na ikaw na hindi na naliligaw sa mall ay hindi lamang dahil nakolonisa na ng iyong senses ang espasyo kundi nakolonisa na ng espasyo ang iyong senses. Kung magpakaganito, hindi na ito afekto, nagiging dating na ito. Ang dating ay predikamento ng pag-asta: astang stateside, astang cool, astang showbiz, astang inaapi, astang Bella Flores... May referensiya ang asta, na siyang nagbibigay-blarawan sa dating, at may referensiya ang dating sa dati o naunang panahon, nabigyang-ngalan at napag-iba na ang karanasan sa kabuuan. Alam na ng kognisyon ang astang mayaman dahil walang umaastang mahirap. Kung maipapaliwanag, dating ito. Kung hindi pa maipapaliwanag, ito ay afekto, na tulad ng panuntunan ni Gramsci, ito ang liminal na yugto ng interregnum, “ang luma ay hindi pa namamatay at ang bago ay hindi pa isinisilang.”

Tanging ang humuhulma ng kasalukuyang pagkatao ay ang pag-aantay. Pero ito ay waiting for Godot lamang, nag-aantay tayo hindi dahil may darating kundi dahil umaasa tayo sa posibilidad na darating nga ang gusto nating dumating kahit mas malaki ang tsansa na hindi naman talaga darating ang inaasahan. Tayo ay inaalang magiging masaya kapag natamo natin ang mga nakakahon at nakamarkang kasiyahan. Instantaneous ang kasiyahan, tulad sa kulturang popular. Tumatawa tayo sa akto na binibitiwan

ang punchline, hindi sa dead-air matapos mabigkas ang kabuuan ng joke, pwera na lang kung tunay talaga tayong dense at slow na hindi ideal na audience ng joke. Tulad ng nagjo-joke, lahat ay kalkulado para sa punchline, na tulad rin ng aklimatisasyon sa sine, lahat ay naka-built up para sa climax na susuma sa ending ng pelikula. Tulad ng nag-aantay sa joke, alam naman ang inaantay at performatibo na lamang ang pag-aantay at ang resepsyon sa pagdating ng pinakaasam-asam. Pero ang inaantay ay ang patlang ng kawalan, ang di-pantay na trajektori ng inaasahan at ng aktwal na bibitiwang punchline. At kapag nasanay tayo sa pag-aantay sa patlang ng kawalan, walang papantay sa sinumang darating dahil hindi na mahalaga ito. Ang mas mahalaga ay ang pag-aantay, lalo na kung kawalan ang inaantay.

Napangiti tayo sa text na padala ng crush o karelasyon, ito ang ligaya ng sandaling kasalukuyan. Ise-save pa ito. Babalik-balikan ang pag-retrieve at pagbasa ng text para tangkaing i-reproduce ang ligaya ng nakaraang sandali. Lumipas na ang kasalukuyan, at ang pagbalik sa nakaraan ay isang moda ng nostalgia, kung saan ang pagtunguhay sa bagong kasalukuyan ay hindi na makakasapat sa lumang kasalukuyan—ang nakaraan na nilikha na ng psyche bilang idealisasyon ng kasalukuyang sandali—pero muli't muling binabalikan. Tulad ng ilang beses nang napanood na ending sa pelikula, baka sakaling magbago, na maaring mabuhay ang karakter ni Leonardo di Caprio, kahit hindi na ang inibig na karakter ni Kate Winslet sa pelikulang *Titanic*. Binubuhay ng kasalukuyang pagtunguhay sa lumang kasalukuyan ang namatay nang kasalukuyan. Ano pa kaya kung muling ibinabalik ang texts nang pagsinta't pag-irog sa panahong tinapos na ito sa pinakamasahol na paraan?

Ang resulta ay pakikipagsapalaran, ang tila paghahanap ng aventura sa paghahanap ng bagay na hindi naman talaga matatagpuan, kahit pa ito mabibili, ipapanganak, natunguhayan bilang magulang, kinilala bilang kaibigan, at iba pang panlipunang relasyon. Kabalintunaan sa pakikipagsapalaran ang salitang ugat nito—kapalaran, na mayroon ng destinasyon ang inaalang hinahanap at ang enerhiyang sambit sa paghahanap nito. Kung ito ay kapalaran, predestined at predisposed na ang hinaharap. Hindi ito lubos na makikita at matutunguhayan kahit nakuha na ang objek na pinakaasam-asam—pera sa OCW (overseas contract worker), balikbayan box, regalong cell phone at mamahaling damit, pinakaasam-asam na regalo. Tulad ng regalo, kung hindi ito lapat na lapat sa inaasahan, walang reli (relevance) ito. Madidismaya ka lang kung hindi tunay na Voltes V ang robot na ibinigay sa iyo noong bata ka pa o ang modelo ng pinakabagong cell phone ngayong kabataan mo. Madidismaya rin ang magulang na nagbigay nito sa iyo, pati

na ang lolo at lola, katiwala at mga kapatid na tumunghay nitong pagkadismaya mo. Nakipagsapalaran ang magulang mo na regaluhan ka ng maaabot-kaya nila, at nakipagsapalaran kang maabot-tanaw mo na ang pinakaasam mo sa nakabalot na regalo. Ang ginagawa ng kulturang popular ay pinaaasa tayo na maaasam natin ang gitnang uring pagkatao kahit matumal naman kaysa regular na mangyayari ito. Pinapaantay tayo sa bagay na inaakalang darating kahit na hindi naman lubos ang pagtatagpo, hindi naman lubos na panatag na gitnang uri ang resultang karanasan. Parating may sablay dahil nakaangkla ang pag-asam sa fantasya ng pakikipagsapalaran sa bagay na alam naman na ang ending. Para itong mga taong paulit-ulit na ikinukuwento ang kanilang naunyang pag-ibig na may mataas na antas ng emosyonal na dating. Papayuhan ito, at malamang pare-pareho ang payo ng iba't ibang nakikinig sa kanya. Sa huli, wala siyang tatanggapin kundi ang kasiyahanang manlumo sa sariling sandali. Pagmo-moment kumbaga. Tanging siya na lamang ang hindi nakakaunawa ng dapat niyang gawin dahil hindi na rasyonalidad ang ipinapairal, ito na marahas na panghihimok sa kanya ng estado at pangkulturang industriya na mabalaho sa kasalukuyang kasadlakang nakabatay sa nakaraang idealisasyon at ang trauma ng paghihiwalay ng ideal at aktwal, ng realisasyong hindi pala ito ideal. Ayaw niyang makinig dahil hindi pa napapanahong makaunawa siya sa labas ng sarili niyang tinig at interpretasyon sa mundo. Alam niya ang dapat gawin para bumalik sa daan ng rasyonal pero hindi niya ito gagawin dahil nakapakat ang kanyang pagkatao sa pagkahulma ng emosyon at ang emotibong nagsasabi sa kanyang kumapit pa sa patalim ng fantasya ng nakaraang kasalukuyan. Kundi man, lumipat na sa aktwal na kasalukuyang nakahulma naman sa pag-asam sa abot-kamay abot-tanaw na pag-angat sa hinaharap. Ang pakikipagsapalaran ay pagpapaubaya sa kapalaran, ang kapalarang makipagsapalaran sa mas mataas na uri, kung saan hindi naman nilalabanan ang uri kundi nakikipagsapalarang mapabilang rito. Ginagawa ang joiner mode dahil ang pang-araw-araw na pagdanas, hindi man umaabot sa aktwal na realisasyon, ay tinatagurian bilang hindi nakakasapat, kulang o walang kapasidad na maging gitnang uri. Ang pangkasalukuyang referensiya ng pakikipagsapalaran ay ang salat o kawalang dinadanas na lalong matutunghayan kapag hindi nagpursigi (kung gayon, nakipagsapalaran). Ang panghinaharap na referensiya ay ang fantasya ng pagpapabilang bilang rehistrado, lisensyado at lehitimong gitnang uri, na sa historikal na antas ng pagiging gitnang uri sa pambansang karanasan ay nakasadlak sa walang katapusang pagiging, at kung ganito, ang walang katubusang aktwal na maging.

Sapagkat ang kulturang popular ay kultura ng gitnang uri. Ito ang handang tanggapin ng nakakataas na uri bilang lehitimong kultura o ang kanilang pwedeng ibaba at nang magkaroon ng malawakang kolektibong karanasan kumpara sa pwesto sa tuktok ng tatsulok. Hindi ito ang “Boomtarat-tarat” at “Itaktak mo” bilang regular na pinapanood at isinasayaw pero nagiging bahagi kapag ginamit sa elektoral na kampanya (tulad sa kandidatura sa pagka-senado ni Miguel Zubiri), sa mga alta-sosyedad na party bilang novelty, o kapag kinanta ng UP Madrigal Singers. Ang kulturang popular rin ang kaabot-abot o nagmistulang abot-kamay at abot-tanaw na di hamak na mas maraming bilang ng naghihikahos na mamamayan, ang karot sa dulo ng patpat na nagbibigay-motibasyon para mangarap, magpursigi at manatiling nagsisikap. Ito ang impetus para maging bahagi ng inaakalang mas angkop na uring kolektibo. Hindi ito diamond jewelry at lifestyles of the rich-and-famous, kundi ito ang normalisasyon ng mga di-pangkaraniwang bagay sa pang-araw-araw na realidad ng paghihikahos, tulad ng texting, usong pananamit, Jollibee at McDonald’s, malling sa loob at labas ng mall, sa mga tematikong konsumeristang lunan (Baywalk, Starbucks, Quiapo para sa piratang media, at maging Luneta).

Kung gayon, ang kulturang popular ay sosyalisasyon sa gawi, praxis, kaisipan, pagpapahalaga at ang mismong idea ng gitnang uri sa kakatwang paraan. Sa politikal na pagkamamamayan—tampok rito ang eleksyon at ang responsibilidad ng pagtatanggol ng sagradong boto—binibigyang pagpapahalaga ng naghaharing uri ang masa dahil sa kanila manggagaling ang bulto ng botong magpapahalal, hindi sa representatibong opisyal ng nakararaming uri, kundi sa representatibong opisyal ng mismong naghaharing uri. Sino ang hindi magbebenta ng boto sa kalakarang halaga ng P500 kung ayon nga sa survey ng Social Weather Station ay 19 porsyento ng mamamayan o 3.3 milyong tahanan ay nakaramdam ng pagkagutom sa huling tatlong buwan, 52 porsyento ng mamamayan ay tumitingin sa kanilang sarili bilang naghihirap kumpara sa opisyal na statistika na mga 25 porsyento lamang? Sa pang-ekonomiyang pagkamamamayan, tanging ang papel ng masa ay ipatangkilik ang maigting na konsumerismo sa pamamagitan ng “sachet marketing” o pagtingi-tingi ng lahat ng produkto, mula butil ng bawang hanggang shampoo, toothpaste, prepaid load sa cellphone, at ang mas matinding informal na recyclable consumption, tulad ng ukay-ukay, pangongolekta ng nabubulok na basura, pangangalaykay sa mga bundok ng basura, pagpag (pagkuha ng tirang pagkain sa basurahan ng fastfood outlets, papagpagin, kakainin kundi man kokolektahin para linisin, muling timplahin at ulamin, kundi man ibenta sa mga kapitbahay), pagnanakaw ng cellphones, at iba pa.

Ito ang batayan kung bakit malawakan ang cellphone density ng bansa—40 porsyento na mataas kahit na napapabilang tayo sa mahirap na bansa, at kung gayon 25 porsyento ang tantyang pangkaraniwan—at umaabot ng kalahating milyon ang mallers ng Megamall kapag Sabado’t Linggo ay dahil sa kapasidad ng industriyang pangkultura na mahimok ang partisipasyong konsumerismo pati ng nakararaming naghihikahos. Na ngayon ay naiiwan na lamang ang akses ng nakararami sa kultural na pagkamamamayan, na tulad ng konsepto ng politika at ekonomiya ay nakalugmok sa definisyon at substansya ng naghaharing uri. Pinakaramdam ang pagkamamamayan—ang afekto ng pang-uring mobilidad dahil sa kadalasan ay di naman ito sa aktwal na dinadanas—sa kulturang popular na daluyan ng mas malaki—kung mayroon mang makikitang mas malaki pa sa labas nito—na kultura.

Kakatwa ang pagbibigay-akses ng kulturang popular dahil una, parating lampasan ito sa aktwal na materyal na kalagayan ng pinapatangkilik nito. Wala tayong aspirasyong mas mababa sa ating abang kalagayan, ang aspirasyon ay tinitingala at hindi nakatungo sa lupa. Ikalawa, kung gayon, ang afekto o dating ng pagpapakabuluhan sa bagong karanasan ay paratihang pinapamulat sa akto ng pangkasalukuyan. Araw-araw ay nagiging reiterasyon, kung gayon, ng reafirmasyon ng kakulangan ng kasalukuyan, ng pagdanas sa prospek ng panghinaharap—nakakapasok ang isa man lamang pwersa sa pagsuntok sa buwan, at matapos ginagawang representatibo ng nakararami, kwentong Cinderella, at kung magpakagayon, ng proseso ng pagpili ng representatibo ng naghaharing uri (tignan na lamang ang pilantropiyang pilosopiya ng pagpapanalo sa game shows na Deal or No Deal, Game ka na ba, Wowowee, Eat Bulaga)—pero hindi ng aktwal na pang-uring status. Ito ang absent organizer para magmukhang namumuhay tayo sa kasalukuyan: nandito tayo, talaga namang mahirap o naghahirap, pero hindi ito ang ating iisipin, lalo na sa mga publikong spero ng konsumerismo at kultura. Walang nakasimangot kapag Pasko, walang bugnutin kapag walang dangal na nakikipagsiksikan sa jeep o FX, walang iritable kapag namamalimos ng grado sa guro.

Ang ating iniisip ay ang kondisyon ng wagas at dalisay kahit sa matinding ansiedad ng pag-aantay at pagbabakasakali. Nag-aantay tayo ng ulan sa tag-araw, na makatagpo ng kasing ganda at guwapo ng ating mga iniidolo, magkaroon ng kasing interesentang kabarkada, kasing warm at touching na pamilya, kahit pa alam naman natin na hindi lamang hindi perfekto ang aktwal na realidad kundi kulang at salat pa nga. Dahil sa huling pagtutuos, lahat naman tayo ay nagbabakasakali lamang. Baka lang naman

makalusot. Baka lang naman umubra. At kung gayon, ginagawang mas matimbang ang baka kaysa sa aktwal. Namumuhay tayong nakalutang at lutang sa materyal na realidad, taliwas sa historikal na posisyon, o sa katagumpayan ng naghaharing uri na ipatanggap ang kanilang pagpuwesto sa ating posisyon—sa usaping kultural, yaong mas makabuluhan dahil pinagsisikapan, di regular na binibili, tinutumbasan na lampas sa aktwal na halaga. Kung naaalala pa ang panahong libre ang texting sa pagpapakilala pa lang ng cellphone sa merkado, natuklasan ng astang-gitnang uri na maaaring magkaroon ng pakiwari dahil ang mas matimbang na halaga ng cellphone ay pangtext at hindi pantawag. Libre lang ang airwaves, kailangan lang ng lisensya mula sa gobyerno. Gayunpaman, nakumbinsi ng negosyo ang pamahalaan na magpabayad para sa text, at nakumbinsi tayo na magbayad nang lampas sa aktwal na halaga ng text—mula libre hanggang piso at P25 kapag sa labas ng bansa—para maibsan ang anxiety ng pagkahuli sa tagpuan, pagtantrum ng naipit sa trafiko o stranded sa baha, na alam natin—kahit wala namang magagawa—na mayroon tayong kakilalang naaksidente, pinatay, pinarangalan, ililibing, ng kung sino, ano, paano, bakit, kailan, at saan. Bumibili tayo ng impormasyon hatid ng teknolohiya ng digital na cellphone para magkaroon ng pakiwaring mayroong kausap, komunidad at kolektibo, at kung gayon, mayroong pagsasandalan ng kumpiyansa ng sarili. Ang kakatwa rito, tulad ng pagsilip-silip sa cellphone para tanawin kung may bagong text kahit wala namang ring tone na narinig, ay para sa pangako rin ng posibilidad ng interaksyon mula kahit kanino, kasama na ang 2977 announcements, ng teknolohiya at gadget bilang reafirmasyong buhay pa ang nilalang, na mayroong receptacle ng lahat ng pagpupursigi, kasama na ang pagpupursiging maging gitnang uring nilalang sa pamamagitan ng gitnang uring interpelasyon.

Sa pagkakataong ito na nagiging kalakaran sa pang-araw-araw na buhay at kabuhayan, ang aspirasyong pang-uri ay mas mataas at mas matimbang kaysa sa aktwal na posisyong pang-uri. Umaasta at ang lampas sa aktwal—ang hangin sa ampaw—ang siyang pinaniniwalaang mas substansyal na karanasan. Iniinterpelado siya bilang gitnang uri ng kanyang text, mga produktong ginagamit, sineng pinapanood, lekturang pinapakinggan, ID na isinusuot at iba pa. Mayroong repulsiyon sa interpelasyong mababang uri—tulad ng pagbuntot ng salesperson sa mall outlet, pagsakay ng jeep sa rush hour, paglalakad at pamamawis sa tindi ng init ng araw, pagsuot ng damit na may butas—dahil ito ang nagpaparealisa sa aktwal na kinapapabilangang uri: kaya sa maraming pagkakataon, may pagtatwa (denial) sa tunay na uring kinabibilangan dahil masisira ang gitnang

uring pretensyon. Kaya hindi tumututol sa 300 porsyentong pagtaas ng matrikula sa UP, o walang pakialam sa mga nasisanteng janitor sa kumbinyenteng pagpapalit ng ahensya ng UP, o nakakakain pa ng quarter-pounder kahit na nakatanghod lamang sa labas ng salamin ang patpating batang namamalimos. Ginagawang malawakan na ang pagkakataon ng pagdanas ng mababang uri—tulad ng kahirapan at paghihikahos, korapsyon at pandarambong, politikal na pagpaslang at represyon—nang sa gayon, sa pagkakataong makakaastang gitnang uri ay buong giting na kumakapit sa pinaninindigan ang aninong ito.

Ang pakiwaring gitnang uri—ang ideal ng lehitimong gitnang uri—ay ang sinusundan at sinasandalang panuntunan ng mga aktwal na gitna at mababang uri. Ang pakiwaring ito ay nag-anthropomorphize—nililikha bilang modernong nilalang na mayroong ideal ng gitnang uring pagkatao—sa sustenidong aninong aaninag sa pang-araw-araw na buhay bilang katotohanan kaysa aktwal na realidad. Ibig sabihin, maglalakad ako sa mall at magkukunwaring kayang maging lehitimong mamamayan sa publikong spero. Walang nakayuko at nakatungong naglalakad sa mall, lahat ay nakachin-up sa realidad na tinutunghayan. Awtomatiko ang interpelasyon ng struktura ng kulturang popular—kaya at kakayanin ng powers na magnasang mapabilang sa gitnang uring status. Pinagmumukhang tao—personal, close at intimate, familiar kundi man kapamilya at kapuso—ang mga bagay at karanasang hindi naman talaga: kaya pakiramdam natin ay kulang at pilay tayo kapag nakalimutan natin ang cell phone, na nilabag tayo bilang gitnang uring mamamayang nagpursigi sa ating lakas-paggawa para makabili kapag nanakaw ito, na kakaiba lang ang cell phone na nasa atin ngayon dahil nilikha para umalinsunod sa sarili nating pagkatao sa piniling ring tone, screen saver, nilalamang address book at appointment reminder, kulay ng casing at iba pa. Nagiging markadong gitnang uring tao ang anumang salatin ng kulturang popular, ang anumang pinili nating maging bahagi ng pagkatao sa karanasan ng kulturang popular.

Nag-aastang gitnang uri dahil hindi ka naman talaga gitnang uri. Ang karanasan sa kulturang popular ay lehitimasyon ng ideal ng gitnang uri. Sa pagtangkilik sa kulturang popular—na ikaw pa mismo ang nagbabayad para takutin ang sarili mo sa rides sa Star City at Enchanted Kingdom o horror movie, halimbawa—ay nagiging pagbotong pumapabor sa asignasyong gitnang uri. Ikaw ay mayroong gitnang uring temang binubuhay para sa sarili at kolektibo mo—mayroong sariling soundtrack, mundong iniinugan na parang pinaghalong nobela, telenobela, anime at pelikula, na pinamumulaklakan ng magaganda at mabubuting tao. Ikaw na inilulugar ng



neoliberalismo at fasismo na maging bahagi ng theme park ng pagkamamamayan nito ay lumilikha ng internal na paglulugar ng sarili at mundo. Ikaw na nakolonisa ng malawakang kahirapan at pagkayurak ng karapatang pantao ay kumokolonisa sa iyong psychic geoscape na parang wala ito kahit ito naman ang absent signifiers ng buhay mo. Ikaw naman ang kokolonisa sa iyong sariling pag-iisip na makakapag-astang gitnang uri bilang fantasyang magpapamuhay sa iyo sa tunay na mundo. Ikaw na nasa mundo ng mababang uring pagdanas sa kahirapan at karahasan ay makakapamuhay lamang—ayon sa neoliberalismo at fasismo—sa pamamagitan ng pag-astang gitnang uri, naka-chin up sa aktwal na realidad dahil ang direksyon ng pananaw ay tungo sa mundong may mas mataas na kalidad ng buhay. Parang ang asta sa loob ng mall at iba pang kulturang popular ay nagiging quasi-permanenteng asta habang naglalakad sa kalsadang puro basura, o nakakapag-internet at gaming sa malilit na computer shops sa dulo ng lugar ng mga squatter, o nakakakain nang libre sa opisyal na resepsyon. Lumilikha tayo ng kanya-kanyang sanktwaryong mag-iibsan sa aktwal na realidad.

Ito ang dulot ng neoliberalismo sa pribadong indibidwal. Para siyang may powers kahit sa aktwal naman ay dinudusta ito, at kung gayon, wala naman talaga o walang makakasapat para isipin niyang lumaban at matalo ang mas malaking kaayusan sa labas niya. Sa paglikha niya ng magandang uniberso ng pagiging gitnang uri, naiigpawan niya ang pang-araw-araw na buhay. Sa isang banda, ito ang moda ng kulturang popular—ang pagdanas ng panandaliang ligaya sa pagdanas sa kasalukuyan—na parang isang kahig, isang tuka na panuntunan. Sa kabilang banda, itong pakiwari ay nagkakaroon na nga ng semi-permanenteng pag-aanino sa kanyang buhay. Pantakas na fantasya sa aktwal na realidad na hindi matatakas. Hindi niya maiisip lumaban dahil ang sinasambulat ng kulturang popular, sa pangunahin at sa huling pagsusuri, ay kultura ng naghaharing uri; kung gayon, depolitisado ang kulturang popular at ang pagsasalin nito sa indibidwal at panlipunang kamalayan.

Sa isang banda, ang aparato ng kulturang popular ay nililikha para magsambulat lamang ng “true, good and beautiful” ng naghaharing uri. At ito ang nagkokondisyon para wala tayong isipin at danasin na lampas sa pangkasalukuyang kasiyahan ng fantasyang bumabalot sa kondisyon ng tunay. Party pooper naman na malamang nakaw ang binili ninyong cell phone. O maliligwak kada limang buwan ang mga nagsisilbi sa inyong paboritong fastfood o mall. O wala nang trabaho ang mabait na manong at manang na nagbabantay at naglilinis ng banyo, nagtitinda ng taho at monay. Na

mayroong matinding pagsasamantalang nagaganap sa mga nagtrabaho sa SM malls. Na kahit magwelga ang mga manggagawa nito sa kanilang unyon, pipiliin pa rin nating tumawid ng piket at ipagpatuloy ang karanasan sa malling. Ano pa ang matitirang sanktwaryo sa idea ng SM, McDonald's, Globe at Smart, kung sa aktwal na labas ng mga poder na ito ay malawakan ang pagtunghay sa kahirapan na nagsisiwalat ng relatibong kadaliang paigtingin ang neoliberalismo at fasismo ng estado? Paano ka pa magiging masaya kapag namulat ka na sa politikal na katotohanang hindi masaya ang pambansang buhay? Kaya sa kadalasan, wala nang ginagawa kahit may rekursong sa mismong politikal para matransforma ang panlipunang buhay. Sa kabilang banda, inaako ng sarili bilang historikal na katotohanan ang sinasambulat ng aparato ng kulturang popular. Pakyawan ang pagtanggap ng sarili sa sistema ng pagpapahalaga ng aparato, na hindi na nagpapalahok sa indibidwal sa larangan ng rasyonalismo (mga matwid at nararapat na gawin batay sa lohika ng argumento) kundi sa larangan na ng politikal na kapangyarihan (sino ba ang aktwal na humahawak nito?). Ang bagong rasyonalismo ay ang irasyonalismo ng pakiwaring gitnang uri—hindi ng angkop at tamang dapat gawin, kundi ng inaakalang pang-indibidwal na ikakapamuhay nang matiwasa. Paano ba mamuhay na parang walang isang libong politikal na pinapaslang sa administrasyon ni Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo at pinapaigting ang neoliberalismo sa edukasyon? Eh di parang wala ang mga ito, tulad ng pagtingin sa malawakang kahirapan, na nandiyan pero wala riyan. Para rin itong paano nakakapanungkulan si Arroyo nang hindi sinasagot ang akusasyon ng malawakang pandaraya sa eleksyon ng 2004? Parang walang nangyari, ipagpatuloy lamang ang panunungkulan.

Ang pribatisasyon ay ang internalisasyon ng kapangyarihang pang-estado, kabilang ang paglulugar sa atin sa akmang espasyo at kondisyong magpapatanggap sa pinakamalupit na hagupit ng neoliberalismo at fasismo na may ngiti at halakhak, kahit nervous laughter pa ito. Ang pribatisasyon ay sabayang pagkakahon sa indibidwal sa pribadong larangan bilang publikong spero (pinagkakapitan ng iba pang mga indibidwal bilang kani-kanilang mundo ng pagrerekurso) sa malawakan sa isang banda, at ang pribadong larangan na ito bilang publikong domain (mapapakialaman, tulad ng sinasaad sa Anti-Terrorism Law ng gobyerno bilang pang-estadong interes) sa kabilang banda. Ito ang tinatawag ni Michel Foucault na biopolitics o ang pagpapaubaya ng indibidwal sa estado ng mga pribadong aspekto ng kanyang buhay, kundi man ng kanyang mismong buhay.

Ang isinasaad ng biopolitics ay ang pagmapa ng pribatisasyon ng larangan ng buhay ng indibidwal at panlipunang pamumuhay at kung gayon,

ng kapangyarihang pang-estadong mahalagang kinabibilangan ng kulturang popular. Kung ang estado ay gumagamit ng pagbabalanse ng karahasan at panghihikayat—ng dispersal ng nagprotesta sa pagtaas ng presyo ng gasolina at ang pagbaba ng ilang sentimo nito—ang kulturang popular ay arena ng purong kasiyahan. Ito ang nagpapalasang matamis at makakain ang inihahapag ng estado na kapaitang ubod ng malawakang kahirapan at pandarambong sa karapatan. Kung paano, tulad ng mga tauhan sa palabas pantelebisyon na *Big Brother*, ay natututong magsamba at gumawa ng kastilyong buhangin sa bawat akmang tugtog na marinig, kundi ay may kaakibat na parusang diskresyonaryo at subhetibo lang naman. Pero marami sa atin ay sasabihing manonood lang naman tayo. Hindi naman tayo ang aktwal na inuuto at pinaparusahan, na di tulad sa *Big Brother* na boluntaryong piniling mapailalim sa marahas pero magandang estetikang telebiswal naman na realidad. Pero ito ang kakaiba sa mga komoditi ng kulturang popular—na ang pagiging mamamayan sa bansang ito ay paglulugar na sa mga kondisyong bumubuo ng tatsulok na realidad ng bansa. Walang ibang pagpipilian kundi ang maging mamamayan ng bansa, at walang madlang nanonood sa indibidwal na buhay natin.



## **Ang Post-istrukturalismo bilang Bagong Pormalismo at Kanlungan ng Neoliberalism**

**Gary C. Devilles**

Tatlong taon ang nakakaraan, nagkaroon ng kontrobersya hinggil sa “Nakatikim ka na ba ng Kinse Anyos?” billboard ad ng Napoleon Brandy. Sa isang banda, malinaw ang posisyon ng kababaihan sa kontekstong sekswal ng patalastas lalo na kung ididiin pa ang kalagayan ng prostitusyon at pang-aabuso sa babae sa Pilipinas. Sa pahayag ng Gabriela, isang nangungunang party-list na nagsusulong sa karapatan ng mga kababaihan, naniniwala sila na ang nasabing patalastas ay sintomas ng lumalalang krimen laban sa kababaihan:

We believe that the advertisement’s catchphrase promotes and perpetuates a culture that glorifies men that are able to sample, taste or hitch younger women or worse, girls. By doing so, it increases the vulnerability of women and children to violence. To put it bluntly, the advertisement’s message encourages pedophilia.

Subalit sa isang banda, nariyan ang ilang manunulat at mga abogado ng Distilleria Limtuaco, ang gumagawa ng Napoleon Brandy sa Pilipinas, na nagsasabing walang malisya sa kanilang patalastas at tanging ang mambabasa ang nagbibigay ng masamang kahulugan. Sa isang blog na pinamagatang “The Fair and Fearless Freeman,” sinabi ang ganito:

Malicious minds jumped on the advertisement as suggestive of a sexual desire for a fifteen-year-old when the billboard itself shows nothing that even remotely resembles a young girl. At the risk of being branded naïve, it would be extremely difficult to prove a

meaning other than the one conveyed in the absence of any other visual signs suggesting otherwise. It would be unfair to castigate the owners of the billboard for an alleged malice that is not physically verifiable other than in the imagination of the beholder.

Ang ganitong pagtatalo hinggil sa kahulugan ng nababasa, mapa-billboard man o panitikan, ay tinatawag na mga aporias o deadlock ng mga kahulugan, kung saan sa isang panig nariyan ang pagdidiin sa konteksto ng binabasa at sa kabila naman ang pagtiwalag sa anumang konteksto. Tinatawag na aporia dahil walang resolusyon o closure ang pagbabasa. Magsimbigat ang lohika ng bawat isa bagaman magkatunggali ang pangangatwiran. Ang nasaksihan nating bangayan na ito ay nagbubunsod sa atin ng pagtatanong hinggil sa lawak at sakop ng pagbabasa at pagbibigay-kahulugan. Bakit hinuhugutan ng magkaibang pagbasa ang isang billboard? Saan nga ba nagmumula ang argumento ng bawat isa? Ano ang kahahantungan ng umpugan ng pagbabasa?

Sa papel na ito nais kong talakayin ang lawak at sakop ng pagbasang post-istrukturalista at bigyang-linaw ang mismong konteksto nito sa Pransya at kung paano ito ginagamit dito sa ating akademya, partikular sa pag-aaral ng Kasaysayan, Panitikan at Kulturang Popular. Tatlong akda ang susuriin na bagaman walang direktang pag-amin sa post-istrukturalismo bilang balangkas teoretikal ng kanilang akda ay maaaring tingnan sa ganitong lente ayon sa kanilang metodo ng pagsusuri at sa mismong kinahantungan ng kanilang pagsisiyasat. Nangunguna na rito ang bantog na pag-aaral ni Reynaldo Ileto hinggil sa mga kulto at mga confraternidad at ang kanilang papel sa rebolusyong 1896 sa *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910* (1979). Kasama rito at susuriin ang pag-aaral ni Vicente Rafael hinggil sa panitikan at kasaysayan at kung paano higit na makikita ang ahensya ng katutubo na aktibong lumalaban sa pananakop sa pamamagitan ng kanilang appropriation o pag-aangkop. Sa isang lente, maaaring tingnan ang akdang *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under early Spanish rule* (1988) ni Rafael bilang mga pagpupunyagi, gaya ni Ileto, na hamunin ang metanaratibo ng kasaysayan ng Pilipinas at ihalip ang isang bersyon na tila nawaglit sa ating kamalayan ngayon.

Bukod sa dalawang akda na ito, nais ding isalang sa pag-aaral na ito ang *Philippine Gay Culture: The Last 30 Years, Binabae to Bakla, Silabis to MSM* (1996) ni Neil Garcia bilang ehemplo ng pagbanat ng post-istrukturalismo sa panitikan. Bagaman hindi sinasabing depoliticized at decontextualized ang pagbasa ni Garcia, nais sipatin sa papel na ito ang hangganan ng politika ng post-istrukturalismo, kung paano halimbawa mailalako ang naratibo ng bansa

at sa paglalako na ito paano ang mga tinig ng mga bakla ay may malinaw na pusta.

Sa pagsusuri ng tatlong akda, ninanais ng papel na ito na itanghal ang teoryang post-istrukturalismo bilang isang anyo ng pormalismo, na may mahigpit na pagkapit sa wika o imahe bilang lagusan ng pagbibigay-kahulugan at ang disavowal nito sa metanaratibo ay nagiging kanlungan ng isang edukasyong batbat ng neoliberalismo at globalisadong pananaw. Ang pagtatanghal sa post-istrukturalismo bilang makabagong pormalismo ay bubuhay sa malaon nang hidwaan ng pormalismo o makabagong kritisismo laban sa Marxismo na may pinagmumulan pa noong dekada singkwenta ayon kay E. San Juan, Jr. (1991: 24-25) at kung paanong ang konserbatismo ng pormalismo ay naisasalin lamang sa pagtangi ng post-istrukturalismo sa anumang metanaratibo, paghahain ng aporia, pagtatanghal ng depoliticized na subject, at pagsusulong ng isang dekonstruktibong pagbasa.

### ***Pagtalunton sa Post-istrukturalismo at Pagbasang Dekonstruktiba***

Ayon kay Terry Eagleton (1996), nagmumula ang post-istrukturalismo sa pagsusuring kritikal sa teoryang istrukturalismo na pinalaganap ni Ferdinand de Saussure kung saan itinanghal niya na ang bisa ng pangangahulugan sa wika ay bunga ng kumbensyong dulot ng tumbasan ng pagkakaiba. Lumilikha ang wika ng mga tumbasan gaya ng araw at gabi, langit at ilog, lalake at babae, atbp. Mula sa mga tumbasan ng mga pagkakaiba, nabubuo ang pagpapakahulugan sa mga salita kaya walang natatanging kahulugan ang salita liban sa nalilikha batay sa kumbensyon. Samakatwid, ang lalake ay lalake dahil hindi babae, ang araw ay araw dahil hindi gabi, atbp. Walang esensyang katangian ang salitang araw liban sa kumbensyon ng araw-gabi.

Masusumpungan na hindi natatangi sa isang lipunan ang paglikha ng kumbensyon at sinumang ibig mag-aral ng antropolohiya, ay mauunawaan na maging sa pinakapayak na pamumuhay ng primitibong lipunan may nalilikha nang mga kumbensyon sa kanilang alamat, kuwentong bayan, at epiko. Ganito ang pinatuyan ni Claude Levi-Strauss sa kanyang pag-aaral ng mga primitibong kultura sa akdang *The Raw and The Cooked* kung saan itinanghal niya ang pagkakaiba ng sibilisadong lipunan laban sa primitibo bilang bisa lamang ng umiiral na pagkakaiba sa Kanluran at Silangan, ng isang overvaluation sa Kanluran sa kanilang sopistikasyon at ang devaluation sa Silangan sa kanilang pagiging iba.

May pagtatangka ang mga araling istrukturalista na maghain ng isang siyentipikong pananaw hinggil sa wika at pagbabasa o pagbibigay-kahulugan

bilang bisa mismo ng kumbensyon sa unang nibel ng materyal na sagisag (signifier) nito sa isinasagisag (ang signified) at sa ikalawang nibel bilang kumbensyon ng artipisyal na dikotomiya sa wika, kultura, at lipunan. Kung ibig nating manood ng basketbol, mapa-covered courts man o sa telebisyon, kailangan lamang alamin ang mga kumbensyon ng larong ito, gaya ng ano nga ba ang dapat at bawal, upang malubos ang aliw sa panunood. Kung hindi malay sa ganitong mga kumbensyon, magiging kabagut-bagot at kalunus-lunos ang mismong panunood. Hindi na rin dapat pang pagtalunan kung ano ang rasyonal ng mga palatuntunan ng laro dahil higit na mahalaga na sa ganitong kumbensyon lamang nga ng dapat at bawal, nagiging posible ang laro. Kung lahat maaaring gawin sa basketbol, hindi posible ang pag-iral ng larong ito.

Pumapasok ang post-istrukturalismo sa paghamon sa ganitong pagtanaw ng istrukturalista. Bagamat hindi tinututulan ang pagiging arbitrario ng pangangahulugan, pinagdududahan ang mahigpit na tumbasan ng mga pagkakaiba at ng nalilikhang kumbensyon. Kung pagtutuunan ng pansin ang bisa ng pagbabago ng larong basketbol mula noon hanggang ngayon, lumalabas na maging ang mga dapat at bawal sa larong ito ay produkto ng maraming eksperimentasyon at nababanat din upang iangkop sa nagbabagong panahon at lipunan. Samakatwid, hindi rin naman pala unibersal ang mga kategorya tulad ng inaasahan ng mga istrukturalista. Pansinin din kung sakaling pagtutuunan ng pansin ang kumbensyon ng sagisag sa isinasagisag, maghahain ito ng mga kawil na mga isinasagisag at walang katapusan ang paghahanap ng kahulugan. Para kang naghanap ng kahulugan ng isang salita sa diksyunaryo na sa kababasa, napabubuklat lamang sa ibang pahina upang tukuyin ang kahulugan ng iba pang salita. Samakatwid, para sa post-istrukturalista, ang anumang pangangahulugan ay konstruksyon at maaaring maghain ng iba pang pagbasa at buwagin ang argumento ng nauna at maghalip ng panibagong pagbasa. Nasa paghahain ng bagong pagbasa ang susi ng post-istrukturalismo na higit na tinatawag bilang dekonstruktibo.

Ang pagbasang dekonstruktibo ang pinanindigan ng mga kritikong Pranses gaya nina Jacques Derrida at Michel Foucault. Sa pagbanat ni Derrida sa post-istrukturalismo upang hamunin ang mismong pilosopiya ng Kanluranin, humantong siya sa isang ideology critique kung saan ang batayan ng mahigpit na pangangahulugan, maging ang bersyon ng kasaysayan, ay nagmumula sa isinusulong na ideolohiya o kamalayan ng naghaharing uri. Para kay Derrida, ang kanluraning pilosopiya ay may hulog ng logos o pangangatwiran, at nakaangkla sa presensya, habang isinasantabi ang mga palaisipang kumakawing sa anarkiya at maging sa kahungkagan. Sa pag-



unlad ng pilosopiyang Kanluranin, naisantabi rin ang pilosopiya ng Silangan, ng kababaihan, ng iba, datapwat ang layunin ng pagbabasa para kay Derrida ay ang pagpapalitaw ng mga naisasantabi o yaong mardyinal at ilantad ang kontradiksyon (o aporia) ng logosentrismo. Bagaman maraming eksplikasyon si Derrida sa pilosopiya, si Michel Foucault ang labis na kumasangkapan sa teoryang ito upang taluntunin at buwagin ang mga katotohanang tila ipinagpalagay na likas at di matitinag. Isang halimbawa ng pag-aaral ni Foucault ang *Madness and Civilization* kung saan itinatanghal niya na ang kasaysayan ng pagiging sibilisado ng Europa ay kaalinsunod ng pagtatatag ng mga Hospital para sa may karamdaman sa pag-iisip, isang mawawaring kontradiksyon na ang pagtatanghal ng sibilisado ay nakaangkla sa pagkukulong sa mga tinatawag na baliw at di kanais-nais sa lipunan. Marami pang proyekto si Foucault subalit sapat nang sabihin dito na malaki ang naging impluwensya nila sa mga susunod na henerasyon ng mga kritiko at sa mismong pag-unlad ng teorya. Sa Pilipinas, dalawang akda sa kasaysayan ang magpapatunay na ang nakagisnang pagtanaw sa kasaysayan ng pananakop ay isa lamang bersyon at metanaratibo na isinulong sa panahong may pangangailangan dito.

### ***Ang Pasyon ni Ileta***

Malinaw para kay Ileta na ang layunin niya sa akdang ito ay unawain ang mundo ng mga nakilahok sa rebolusyon na may kakaibang pagtanaw tiwalag sa modernong kaisipan. Nagsimula siya sa pagkukuwento tungkol sa pagpaslang ng militar sa Lapiang Malaya sa Maynila noong 1967 at mula rito hinugot niya ang mga katanungang magiging pundamental na teorya ng kanyang saliksik. Paano nga ba unawain ang mundo ng mga gaya ng Lapiang Malaya na bagamat may malinaw na pakikisangkot sa kasaysayan ng pakikibaka ay kakaiba sa atin ayon sa modernong pananaw, paniniwala, at adhikain? Saan din huhugpong ang materya sa kasaysayan kung nanatiling bulag, pipi, at bingi ang mga materya mismo para sa kanila na tila sinentensyahan ng kasaysayan? Paano iiwasan ang nakagawiang pagturing sa kanila bilang kulto, milenaryo, sintu-sinto? Paano rin iiwasan ang pagturing sa kanilang pakikibaka bilang bunga lamang ng suliraning pangkabuhayan na salat sa ideolohiyang pambansa kung saan si Bonifacio at ang Katipunan ang tila nagtataglay lamang nito?

Tumutulak ang mga tanong na ito ni Ileta sa proyekto na tinatawag niyang kasaysayan mula sa ibaba, isang pagtanaw sa kasaysayan na nawaglit sa malawakang naratibo ng kasaysayan ng Pakikibaka ng Masang Pilipino na kinakatawan ng akda ni Teodoro Agoncillo na *Revolt of the Masses*. Sa pahapyaw

na pagtingin, tila ibig palawakin ni Ileta ang naratibo ng bansa batay sa problematisasyon ng nasyonalismo tungo sa paglalaan ng puwang sa mga naisantabi, una sa nibel ng kakayahan ng masa na makapagsalita at makapag-ambag sa diskurso at ikalawa sa nibel ng paggamit ng panitik gaya ng pasyon bilang bukal ng kanilang kasaysayan. Kailangang aminin na malaki ang ambag na ito ni Ileta sa problematisasyon ng nasyonalismo at sa metodong pangkasaysayan na tila nakaangkla lamang sa logos o trajectory ng Enlightenment.

Nanguna na si Ileta sa paghahain ng tanong ukol sa mga subaltern bago pa ihayag ni Gayatri Chakravarty Spivak ang hamon-tanong na may kakayahan nga bang mangusap ang mga subaltern. Matagumpay mang naisalba ni Ileta ang masa sa ganap na pagkalimot at sentensya ng pananahimik batay sa masinsing pagbasa ng kanilang pasyon at pananaw sa mundo, iniwan ding nakabinbin ni Ileta ang tanong ukol sa diyalektikal na ugnayan ng masa sa malawakang naratibo ng pakikibaka. Bagamat naitawid ni Ileta ang masa sa problematisasyon ng nasyonalismo, nawaglit din sa kanyang saliksik kung paano nagbabago o umuunlad ang masa sa kanyang pakikihamok o kung sakali mang nabansot, hindi rin itinanong ni Ileta kung anu-ano ang mga naging sagwil sa kanilang pag-unlad, ang mga salik sa patuloy nilang pagkabulid sa relihiyon at mito. Samakatwid, para kay Ileta naghain na ang pasyon ng simbolikong resolusyon sa mga suliraning pangkabuhayan at kawalang hustisya na may malinaw at materyal na batayan sa kasaysayan ng panunupil sa bansa. Sa pormal na pagbasa ni Ileta sa pasyon, naipahayag niya ang kubling malay ng masa na tagapagtangkilik nito, subalit hindi niya ipinaliliwanag kung paanong ang pasyon mismo ay nagiging arena, hilahan ng nasa poder ng kapangyarihan at yaong isinasantabi. Tila eksklusibong domain ng masa ang pasyon at hindi isinasaalang-alang ang pagiging ideolohikal na aparato nito ng estado. Dapat ding itanong marahil sa kabila ng potensya ng pasyon bilang artikulasyon ng kubling malay ng masa, paano rin napapanatili ng pasyon ang mga umiiral na instrumento ng panunupil, pagbansot sa lohika ng masa, at pagpigil sa pagtubo ng mga katutubo.

Isang bahagi lamang ng tumbasan ang tiningnan ni Ileta sa masalimuot at mayamang teksto ng pasyon, at pinalutang lamang niya ang kamalayang supil subalit kung paanong ang kamalayang ito ay tumutulak sa isang pulitikal at kolektibong kamalayan ay tila bulag din naman si Ileta rito. Paano kung sakaling iugnay ang pasyon sa *Florante at Laura* ni Balagtas na popular din noon sa masa? May makikita rin kayang trajectory ang kamalayang lubog ng masa sa pulitikal na kamalayang nakapaloob sa awit ni Balagtas? Hindi kaya ang ginamit din ni Balagtas ay ang mga kumbensyon

ng pasyon, at makikita ang sakripisyo ni Hesus sa pananaghoy ni Florante sa punong Higerá? At kung lalangkapan pa ang pagbasa ni Ileta sa pasyon tungo sa *Kabápon, Ngayon at Bukas* ni Aurelio Tolentino, may makikita bang artikulasyon ng dialektikang ugnayan ng kamalayang lubog ng masa sa pulitikal at kolektibong malay na nakapaloob sa dula?

Ito marahil ang hangganan ng proyekto ni Ileta na sintomas ng mismong hangganan ng teoryang post-istrukturalismo at pagbasang dekonstruktibo. Sa paghahain ng panibagong pagbasa sa kasaysayan, nakikita rin kaya ang mga ugnayan ng pagbasa at kung paano ang isang bersyon ay tumutulay sa isa pang bersyon? Subalit para sa post-istrukturalismo, hindi kinakailangan ang pagtatanong dito dahil ang dialektikal na pag-iisip ay bahagi mismo ng isang malawakang naratibo na mismong tanong para sa kanila. Hindi masasagot ng post-istrukturalistang pananaw kung bakit kinakailangang kumapit sa isang metanaratibo dahil nga likas na humuhulagpos at mapaglaro ang pagbasa nito. Wala ring maiaalay ang post-istrukturalistang pananaw kung bakit may pangangailangan sa isang estratehikal na pagbasa sa pulitika ng mga nag-uumpugang pagbasa. Maaaring makapaghain nga ng alternatibong pagbasa, subalit kung may maghahain ng bago at mapanghamong basa ng kasaysayan, kailangan lang aminin ang posisyonalidad, ang pagiging bahagi ng marami pang posibleng pagbasa, ang walang puknat na paglalaro ng kahulugan. Kung may pulitika na inihahain ang post-istrukturalismo, nakakanal ito sa isang pluralismo na parang isang imahen ng “united colors of Benneton,” lahat sama-sama, walang pulitika, lahat magkakaibigan. Kaya nga nang maghain ng pagbasa si Glenn May (1997) hinggil sa pagiging mito ni Bonifacio, hindi ba dapat tanggapin ito bilang isang pagbasa o bahagi ng dekonstruktibong pagbasa? At kung isa itong pagbasa, hindi ba dapat tanggapin lamang ito ng mambabasa? Kaya nga kalituhan ang tanging hatid ng dekonstruktibong pagbasa. Totoo ba o hindi si Bonifacio? Likha lamang ba si Bonifacio o hindi? Kung iiwan natin ang lahat ng tanong na ito sa post-istrukturalismo, walang talim ang pagbasang ito upang magpasya at magtakda dahil ang lahat ng aporia ay bahagi ng ehersisyong post-istruktural kung saan ang tanging garantiya lamang ay ang pagdami ng iba pang pagbasa at ang transformasyon nito. Sa usapin ng kabayanihan ni Bonifacio, tanging ang Nasyonalistang pagbasa sa Kasaysayan ang may angkla upang makipagbuno sa inihahain ni May. Tanging ang pagbasa na nakaangkla lamang sa materyal na kalagayan ng mambabasa ang may pangil upang hamunin ang mga mananalaysay gaya ni May. Sa post-istruktural na pagbasa, depoliticized ang mambabasa at ang etikal na gawain niya ay nakakanal sa pagpili gaya ng pamimili sa palengke na angkop na angkop sa

mismong umiiral na ideolohiya sa kalakalan ng kaisipan ngayon. Ang suliranin na ito ng depolitisasyon ng post-istrukturalismo ay higit na makikita sa pag-aaral ni Vicente Rafael sa *Contracting Colonialism*.

### ***Pangongontrata ni Rafael***

Kung sininsin ni Ileta ang pasyon upang palitawin ang lubog na malay ng masang nakilahok sa rebolusyon noong 1896, sinuri naman ni Rafael ang papel ng wika sa pagiging Kristiyano ng mga Pilipino batay sa masinsing pagbasa ng mga diksyunaryo at katesismong naisulat sa Tagalog at ilang tala ng mga Espanyol hinggil sa kanilang pagdating sa Pilipinas. Mababasa ika niya sa teksto ang panunungkulan o direktiba ng Espanyol at tugon ng masa rito. Subalit ang tugon ng masa ay higit na madulas di-tulad ng inaasahan at dito inaangkla ni Rafael ang kanyang batayang teoryang post-istruktural. Sa mismong paggamit pa lang ng salitang *Contracting Colonialism* na madulas din ang kahulugan dahil sa isang banda, maaaring ipakahulugan ang lawak at sakop ng pananakop, subalit sa isang banda rin naman, maaaring ipahiwatig ang posibilidad ng pagpapaikli sa kolonyalismo gaya ng ginagawa sa pagpapaikli ng mga salita o word contraction.

Sa isang eksena sa *Noli Me Tangere* ay nagsesermon si Padre Damaso at karamihan ng nakikinig ay hindi nakakaunawa ng wikang Kastila, ipinakita ni Rafael kung paanong ang diseminasyon ng bersyon ng tagapakinig hinggil sa sermon ay ang higit na kumakalat, datapwat higit na malakas kaysa sa orihinal na sermon. Maituturing na isang anyo ng contracting colonialism ang eksena sa Noli, kung paano pinaiikli ng masang tagapakinig ang kapangyarihan ng awtoridad batay sa paghahain ng sariling bersyon at sa proseso ng reiterasyon ay naisasakatuparan ang sariling bersyon sa halip na ang orihinal. Kung tutuusin, napakalakas ng ganitong pagtanaw ni Rafael hinggil sa kasaysayan batay sa posibleng pagbanat ng kanyang teorya upang maipaliwanag ang kulturang Pilipino sa harap ng puwersang global. Sa halip na sabihing naging Kristiyano ang mga Pilipino, hindi kaya, naisa-Pilipino ang Kristiyanismo? O kaya sa halip na amining nasakop tayo, masasabi na rin kaya na nasakop ng Pilipino ang mundo batay sa dami ng OFW gaya ng natanto ni Jessica Zafra sa kanyang tudling?

Ang *Contracting Colonialism* ay pagtatanghal ng kakaibang (hindi man kakatwang) tugon sa pananakop at di-makatarungang ugnayang pulitikal. Subalit sa halip na suungin ang suliranin, may mga alternatibo at malikhaing pamamaraan ang inaapi upang maiwasan ang madugong umpugan samantalang ipinaglalaman ang hinaing. Sa *Contracting Colonialism*, may ahensya

ang sinakop at batay sa kapangyarihang ito, nagagawa niyang ikalakal maging ang kanyang katubusan. Ang malikhaing pagtubos na ito ng sinakop ay kadalasang tinatawag na resistance na hango sa pananaw ni Michel Foucault hinggil sa mga power relation na sa halip na nakasentro lamang ang kapangyarihan sa sentro, ay may mga pagpupunyagi ang mga nasa gilid na maituturing na pakikipagsapalaran sa kapangyarihan at natutubos ang kaapihan sa gitna ng di-tuwirang pamamaraan. Sa tuwing may malinaw na ehersisyo ng absolutong kapangyarihan, may tugon na pagbalikwas dito. Sa bawat macropolitics, may micropolitics at nasa micropolitics ang mga capillary of power struggle na iminumungkahi ni Foucault na manmanan at siyasatin upang hindi mahirati sa madudugong salpukan. Sa pagbasa ni Rafael, nakikita niya ang katutubo at ang tugon nila sa kolonyalismo bilang isang anyo ng micropolitics, isang uri ng negosasyon, konstruksyong may kakayahang baliktarin ang status quo.

Sa ganitong pagbasa ng kasaysayan at kultura, lumilitaw ang hangganan ng post-istrukturalismo. Kung may resistance o paghamon nang nagaganap sa mismong apropiyasyon ng Pilipino sa anumang dayuhang artifact, maparelihiyon man o kultural, bakit pa kailangang lumaban ang Pilipino? Ito rin ang tanong na ibinabato kay Michel Foucault sa kanyang pagdiin sa micropolitics sa halip na ang macropolitics of power. Kung may malikhaing negosasyon nang nagaganap sa nibel ng micropolitics, “why fight?” o ano pa ang esensya ng rebolusyon? Kung sa arena ng kulturang popular halimbawa, naitawid na ang gutom at kahirapan sa panonood ng telenobela, may pangangailangan pa bang ihain ang suliranin ng kawalang hustisya sa lipunan? Kung sa mga joke, naipakita ang galing ng Pilipino laban sa Amerikano at Hapon at natawa tayo rito, nabigyan na ba ng resolusyon ang di-pantay na ugnayang pantao sa mundo? Ipagpalagay na isang anyo ng contracting colonialism ang mga joke ng Pilipino kung saan itinatanghal ang kanyang kagalingan sa harap ng kakumpitensyang Amerikano at Hapon, hindi ba pagkatapos matawa, katulong pa rin ang mga Pilipino, bahagi ng surplus at dispensible, sa mga nasabing bansa na ito? Hindi rin naman nagbago ang kanilang kondisyon at anumang contracting colonialism o resistance ay nananatili sa simbolikong dimensyon lamang. Samakatwid, ang pangongontrata ni Rafael sa akdang ito ay bahagi rin ng kanyang konsesyon na maging bulag sa usapin ng uri at kung sino nga ba talaga ang may pribilehiyo ng pangongontrata ng pananakop. Ipagpalagay na magflaneur-flaneur ka sa mga kalye at lansangan ala Walter Benjamin sa *Arcades Project* at tingnan ang gawaing ito bilang isang uri ng negosasyon sa kapangyarihan. Hindi kaya hablutin ang iyong bag, dukutin ang iyong wallet, at mabugbog

ka? Hindi ba mga posibilidad ito sa ating lansangan? O marahil posible lamang ang pagiging flaneur sa mga lansangan ng Paris at Estados Unidos, mga bansang higit na mataas ang antas ng pamumuhay kaysa sa atin? Paanong nakikipagnegosasyon ang masa sa kabila ng pagiging abala sa kabuhayan? Dapat ding aminin ang pantasyang middle class na nakakawing sa contracting colonialism, pantasyang ang hangganan ay nasa materyal na kondisyon ng pang-aalipin at pambubusabos sa Pilipino mula noon hanggang ngayon. Sa huling pagtutuos, hindi nalalayo sa pormalistikong pagsusuri ang ginawa ni Rafael na nakakanal sa pantasyang resolusyon ng suliranin ng pananakop batay sa masinsing pagbasa ng mga tekstong may potensyal sa artikulasyon ng pakikibaka. Subalit tulad ni Ileta na nakanal din sa ganitong pantasya ng panitikan, dapat ding ihain ang hangganan ng dekonstruktibong pagbasa lalo na kung hindi mapabubulaanan ang materyal na kondisyon ng pang-aalipin. Maaari pa ring isalba ang mga proyekto nina Ileta at Rafael kung sakaling iaangkla nila ang siyasat sa diyalektikal na ugnayan nito sa malawakang naratibo ng pakikibaka at kung paano ang diskurso ng mga Tagalog hinggil sa pangongontrata ng kolonyalismo ay isang ambag sa kolektibong malay ng pagpapalaya.

### ***Pantasya ni Garcia***

Sa akda naman ni Neil Garcia, tinangka niyang maghain ng diskurso ng kabaklaan sa Pilipinas, mula sa masinsing pagbasa ng mga teksto tungkol sa katutubo hanggang sa mga dula, beauty pageants, at kritisismo hinggil sa sekswalidad. Proyekto ni Garcia na turulin ang humuhulagpos na katagorya ng bakla na hindi umaangkla sa Kanluraning konsepto ng gay, homosexual, lesbian, atbp., bagamat may pangangailangang tumagos sa diskursong feminismo batay sa paniniil ng patriyarkiya. Sa dakong huli, nais din ni Garcia na langkapan ng pagsusuri ng uri ang usapin ng kabaklaan. Makikita ang pagiging post-istrukturalista ng proyekto sa mismong pag-amin ng may-akda na bagamat naghahain siya ng diskurso na isang posisyong pulitikal tungkol sa kabaklaan, hindi ito ang natatanging diskurso at maaari pang maiangkop sa namamayaning ideolohiya. Samakatwid, bagamat isang anyo ng pag-aklas, may posibilidad ng containment o cooptation. Kung tatanungin mismo si Garcia ng “ano nga ba talaga, lola?” ang isasagot niya bilang isang post-istrukturalista o isang post-kolonyal na manunuring gumagamit ng dekonstruktibong pagbasa, ay talagang humuhulagpos ang sagot, hindi mapapako sa isang pagbasang laban sa panunupil o sa pagbasang mapanupil sa dakong huli. Makatutulong at hindi makatutulong. Makapagpapaunlad at makababansot. Oo at hindi.

Bagamat si Foucault ay nakisama sa mga pag-aalsa ng mga mag-aaral noon sa Pranses noong 1968 habang naghahain ng mga diskurso hinggil sa micropolitics, si Garcia naman ay salat na salat, isang armchair revolutionary ng kabaklaan batay sa pagsusuri ng panitikan ng kabaklaan at ng kanyang kuwentong buhay upang pangunahan ang mga araling kabaklaan. Subalit muli't muling ipapaalala ni Garcia na ang kanyang proyekto ay bukas na parang karinderya sa sinumang power broker, masa o kapitalista, uring manggagawa o uring burgis, babae o lalake, atbp. Bagamat may simpatya ang proyekto sa paglangkap ng pagsusuri ng uri, sa dakong huli ng introduksyon, naging padaskul ang hatol ng may-akda na homophobic ang kilusan, bagay na hindi niya patutunayan ng anumang teksto o pakikipanayam sa sinumang kasapi ng kilusan. Samakatwid, isa lamang pagpapanggap ang tinatangkang pagbasa na mapagpalaya sa kabaklaan o kung mayroon mang pagpapalaya, ito iyung pagpapalaya na madudukal sa isang burges na pamumuhay, sa isang “coming out” stage ng isang bakla, sa isang sikolohikal na kalagayan ng indibidwal na bakla. Kaya maging ang tanong na kung bakit walang gay liberation movement na tinuturo si Garcia ay dapat ding unawain sa ganitong konteksto. Wala siyang makitang gay liberation movement dahil hindi posible ang ganitong tanong sa isang post-istrukturalista.

Walang liberation movement dahil nga micropolitics ang lahat, at kung posible ang resistance at cooptation, ang tanong na ibinabato kay Foucault na “why fight?” ay isang imposibleng tanong din para kay Garcia. Ang nakapagtataka lang kay Garcia ay kung bakit may pagtatanong pa sa kanyang saliksik kung bakit walang gay liberation movement. Hindi mawari kung nagmamaangmaangan lamang si Garcia sa ganitong pagtatanong o sadyang mapaglaro lang ang kanyang mga tanong bunga na rin ng kanyang diskursong pinanghahawakan. Hindi kaya dapat ding ipasok sa pagsusuri ni Garcia kung bakit posible ang paghahain niya mismo ng diskurso ng kabaklaan bilang isang middle class na propesor na naglalako ng kanyang aralin sa isang middle class na milieu din naman? Hindi kaya ang tanong ng gay liberation ay nakaangkla sa mismong liberation ng working class, kung saan marami rin ang bakla at lesbiana? Hindi kaya ang tanong ng gay liberation ay mediated din ng capital at ang paghahain ng hiwalay na diskurso ng kabaklaan ay bahagi rin ng containment ng geopolitics upang hindi pagkaisahin ang mga bakla, lesbiana, subalterns, pangkat etniko, working class, at kababaihan? Kataka-taka na kailangang iangkla ni Garcia ang kanyang diskurso ng kabaklaan sa diskurso ng feminismo sa Kanluranin, subalit kailangan niyang ilampaso ang pag-aaral ni Fannella Canel sa mga Bikolanong bakla bilang orientalist. Kung tunay siyang post-istrukturalista, hindi ba dapat kaanib niya



ang anumang diskurso sa kabaklaan? Bakit hindi niya pinoproblema ang paggigiit niya ng kanyang pag-aaral bilang sentro at ang pag-aaral ng dayuhan bilang mapaniil? Kung function ito ng pagiging awtoridad ni Garcia, kumakanlong sa isang nativist ideology si Garcia na balintuna para nga sa isang dekonstruktioang pagbasa. Kung gayon, hindi lang humuhulagpos ang mismong pagbasang dekonstruktibo kundi maging ang awtor na si Garcia ay humuhulagpos din, sumususo sa mga naunang post-istrukturalista gaya ni Ileta at Rafael, subalit ayaw niyang may sumususo sa kanya. Isang pantasya ngayon ni Garcia ang paghahain ng tanong hinggil sa gay liberation movement sa Pilipinas, pantasya dahil walang inihahain na tunay na metodolohiya ng pagsusuri at nakakakanal sa pagsusuring tekstwal. Wala namang suliranin dito kung tutuusin, subalit dahil may pantasya ng pulitikal at pagbasang mapagpalaya ang kanyang akda, ito ngayon ang ating tinatawaran nang husto. Walang pulitika sa akda ni Garcia, dahil walang pangil sa simula't simula ang pagbasang post-istrukturalismo, ergo walang makikitang liberation movement.

### ***Ang Post-istrukturalismo bilang Sintomas ng Neoliberalismo***

Papaano nga ba natin bibigyan ng saysay ang paglaganap ng kaisipang post-istrukturalismo sa akademya ng Pilipinas? Muli, sinasabi rito ni Terry Eagleton na matutunghayan ang sagot sa mismong nagpalaganap ng kaisipang iyon noong dekada 60, na walang iba kundi mga migrante, revolutionary working class, propesor, na walang kinikilalang bansa at pinag-uugatan dulot na rin ng kanilang pagkadismaya sa mga bansang dapat ay nagkanlong sa kanila, o sa kilusan o uri na dapat sanang nagsulong sa kanila, "Huddled together in some polyglot metropolis, they set up home in art rather than in nation-states. In that way, they could compensate among other things for the loss of a genuine homeland and a national tradition. Modernism was a hybrid affair, mixing together fragments of various national cultures." (Eagleton 2003) Sa kanilang wari, lost cause na ang pagsulong sa mga usaping sumasaklaw sa lipunan at ang tanging arena na lamang na nalalabi ay ang sarili o subjectivity, ang wika, micropolitics, strategy of resistance, atbp. Mangyaring may halaga naman ang mga pag-aaral na ito subalit nagiging suliranin ang mga pag-aaral na ito kapag nagtatangkang maging pulitikal at ihalip na ang micropolitics sa macropolitics. Ito ang ating tinatawaran sa mga pagbasang post-istrukturalismo na ginawa nina Ileta, Rafael, at Garcia. May pagtatangka ang mga pag-aaral na ito na maghain ng isang pulitikal na pagbasa ng kasaysayan gamit ang panitikan gaya ng pasyon, wika, at nobela.



Sa kanilang mga estratehiya tulad ng pamamasyon, pangongontrata, at pamamantasya, naibulgar din natin ang hangganan ng kanilang pulitika. Kung bakit may currency o sikat na sikat ang mga ganitong pagbasa, kailangang maunawaan din natin na sa bandang huli, ang isang pulitikal na pagbasang walang pangil, ay isang pagbasang angkop na angkop bilang strategy of containment ng geopolitics ng Estados Unidos. Pansinin na Estados Unidos din naman ang nagkalat ng mga ganitong kaisipan gaya sa akademya ng Pilipinas, upang pangimiin ang mga akademiko at maghain ng isang senaryo kung saan ok lang na tingnan ang resistance sa mga jokes at kuwentong barbero, o ang mga pelikula ni Erap at FPJ, at mga commercials, subalit kung tuwirang lalaban sa namamamayaning estado, ibang usapin na ito. Sa madaling sabi, nanunumbalik tayong muli sa panahon kung saan ang ating pagbasa ng panitikan ay ikinakanal sa pamamagitan ng pagtatanong ng mga organikong kaisahan, intentional fallacy ng akda, sa paniniwalang hindi na mahalaga ang kontekstong pangkasaysayan ng akda, o ng may-akda. Sa ngayon nga lang, itinatanong na natin kung anu-ano na nga ba ang posibleng pagbasa sa akda, at dahil lahat ay posible, lahat ay happy, walang tunggalian at walang kontradiksyon. Kung babalikan natin ang patalastas ng Napoleon Brandy muli, sa isang milieu ng post-istrukturalismo, may katwiran ang mga abogado ng Distilleria Limtuaco. Subalit batid natin na hindi pa rin ito ang panahon ng post-istrukturalismo, ang panahon ng postmodernismo, ang panahon ng postkolonyalismo, dahil marami pa ring nakabinbin ang proyektong modernismo na dapat singilin ang bayang ito. Sa pagtatanggal ng advertisement ng Napoleon Brandy, natunghayan ng taong bayan na etikal na proyekto pa rin ang pagbabasa.

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## On Teaching Literature

Nonilon V. Queano

This paper will explore basic issues on practices and approaches used in the teaching of literature/literary studies in a typical English Department such as, for instance, the Department of English and Comparative Literature (DECL) at the University of the Philippines (UP). It will demonstrate, as well, how the globalized project of neoliberal education serviced by English literature and language teaching can be subverted or superseded using pedagogic strategies and practices geared towards advancing the goal of freedom and liberation for the disadvantaged Third World. The period covered extends from the sixties up to the present.

Apart from the introduction of new courses in Asian and Third World literatures and updating, mostly to keep up with trends in the West – in literary theory and criticism, for example – our English Department has remained practically the same, albeit a bit more fragmented and specialized in its allocation of courses and faculty assignments.

In his book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Paulo Freire wrote that, consistent with the ideology of capitalism, the “banking concept” of education has been the pedagogical approach implemented globally. Freire proposes the adoption of what he terms as “problem-posing” method of or approach to education.

However, we can look at how the scenario appears in actual practice. The processing and distribution of knowledge, so to speak, have been doubly complicated by material realities – not to speak of the politics of interventions and maneuverings by global capitalist forces and institutions as a whole – specifically obtaining in Third World countries such as the

Philippines. Freire's view may be expanded to include mediations and determinations by actual socio-economic conditions occurring in the oppressed, disadvantaged societies of the Third World.

As it is, especially in our case, there are specific conditions that should be recognized, including the following:

1. Most, if not all, of our textbooks and teaching materials are imported or foreign;
2. Consciously or unconsciously, most English and literature teachers have stuck to the habit of simply reproducing – or doing an inventory of – western narrative texts and perspectives even in courses that purportedly deal with local writing;
3. Most teachers who handle English and literature courses either have not had any chance or have had their minds so addled by capitalist propaganda to admit of ideological re-education, re-orientation, and refashioning, if only to enable them to adapt their teaching styles and make course content relevant to the needs of Filipino students; and
4. Our language problem, particularly, the use of English as medium of instruction is inherently and inevitably alienating for all – students from teachers, the texts taught from our “actual life processes” and practices, the academe from the masses, etc. – that without self-knowledge and consciousness, the educational system, as a whole, will only perpetuate our neo-colonial, neoliberal attitudes of submission and surrender to neoliberal practices that dovetail with the projects of global capitalism and imperialism.

Obviously, and given the above conditions, the pedagogical practice of a typical Department of English and Comparative Literature, reproduces or mimics even in Third World situations, those of the hegemonic First World. A typical syllabus in English or Comparative Literature consists of a listing or inventory of works studied using the formalist perspective, i.e., a textual explication and analysis which consists mainly of descriptions or reports on the elements of form and content (plot, theme, characters, setting, time – for narratives; lyric narrative content, imagery, rhythm, tone, language, figurative significations, metaphors – for poetry; and formal/ aesthetic devices for both). The background history of the authors or the works and social milieu might be mentioned every now and then, but only as added note or information. The formalist, of course, deliberately eschews discussions of

historical or social content even when they are clearly apparent. The New Critics (Cleanth Brooks, Austin Warren, I.A. Richards, Rene Wellek, etc.) dictated that the sole and proper object of literary study was the work itself and references to extra-literary mediation or intervention misled or, at the least, detracted from aesthetic enjoyment. The effect that was sought in the reading of literature was some inexplicable or ineffable moment of aesthetic pleasure.

The latter part of the sixties saw the introduction of new critical approaches starting with structuralism through feminism and gender, post-structuralism, Marxism, and deconstruction which rendered inadequate and strange the ideas and theories of New Criticism.

The advent of new critical theories and approaches has certainly opened up a whole new arena of possibilities for literary reading and interpretation. Most of the theoreticians and proponents of these new critical approaches were coming from the West, but no matter, literary pedagogy could have attained a new ideological dimension for us and the Third World, as a whole, if social and political conditions had been ideal. As it is, the struggle against semi-feudal, neoliberal education has only succeeded in moving to a new stage of mystification. The academe has taken to the fad of the new critical discourse not so much because it recognizes the need to be relevant and true but because it is what the capitalist world does and so it must submit. In any case, nothing has changed in Philippine society; we have not moved away from the semi-feudal, semi-colonial society that we are, except that this time the engagement with imperialist propaganda is met with such new or re-conceptualized political forces as “virtual reality,” “terrorism,” “GATT,” “globalization,” neoliberalism, and so on..

Be that as it may, let us turn to specific instances of how literature is taught inside the classroom. The syllabi, as earlier pointed out, mainly consist of a reading lists probably based on or modeled after the contents of a textbook, if available. Needless to say, textbooks in English and Comparative Literature are invariably imported, i.e., authored by foreign authors and published in the United States or Europe. Subsequently, the wholesale importation of foreign made textbooks, especially in Literature and the Humanities has resulted in ideological obfuscation, the displacement and blurring of the native consciousness, and precisely, neocolonial, neoliberal education. There is a built-in error in the whole pedagogy of the literary text from the beginning that can only be forestalled by conscious effort on the part of the teacher or professor. In other words and especially in the teaching of Literature and the Humanities, the professor has to be politicized

and committed to reorienting the text towards the discourse of struggle and liberation.

Instead of mere inventory, a teacher of literature should learn to recognize signs and signifiers that reveal the literary text for what it is, viz. a carrier of the ideology either of capitalist domination and control or, seen from the other side, of its antithesis of proletarian struggle. It should be pointed out that every literary text in whatever genre reproduces the consciousness of its creator and it will be the task of the literature teacher to show what sort of consciousness apparently flows from it. As it is, most syllabi in English and Comparative Literature courses either shows a mere rundown of authors and titles – e.g., the period courses recognize chronology but does not “historicize” or locate the work within its specific societal order and consciousness, but instead refers to a metaphysical or abstract one labeled as humanity or the universal order (similar to the current term, global). Perhaps more than any of the other areas of knowledge, the issue of relevance is strongest in the study and teaching of literature, especially considering the tendency to mystify or conceal at the pretext of artistic license. Obviously this issue or criterion is further problematized by other misplaced conceptions of art and the aesthetic experience as irrational or something lodged in some undefined interior space.

This problematic thus leads us to the need for a framework that recognizes not just the general goals of literary study or the study of form and content that most syllabi lay down as course objectives but also the societal situations, realities, and practices that determine reading and interpretation of texts. In short, some ideological framing may be set or drawn up, preferably at the very outset, which would thus lead the student towards a true and fruitful engagement with the literary text. To illustrate, I would like to draw from my own experience of teaching a course entitled, CL 133 which carries the description, “masterpieces or major works of medieval and renaissance Europe.”

CL 133 includes *Beowulf*, *The Song of Roland*, Marie de France’s *lais* (*Yonec* and *Bisclavret*), Dante’s *La Vita Nuova* and *Divine Comedy* (*Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and *Paradiso*), Petrarch’s *Sonnets*, Cervantes’s *Don Quixote* (Parts 1 and 2), and Goethe’s *Faust*. At first sight, the content and narratives told in these great works of European tradition seem quite remote to bear any relevance to our native lives and experiences. Apart from being read and taught in English translation, the setting and time in each seem unimaginably foreign so that, as with most, if not all, of the period courses taught, the course could easily go the usual formalist route – i.e., where the works are

discussed in themselves as formally constituted by the basic elements of plot, theme, conflict, time, setting, character, formal devices, etc.. The greatness or importance of each of the works would then be traced to the manner by which each one treats of the timeless, human themes of love, constant striving, exhaustion or impoverishment of the human spirit, longing and desire, moral crisis, struggle in the abstract sense, and death. Aesthetic design would be appreciated in terms of language, imagery, and the poetry that inhere in the work appreciated not in terms of their practical usefulness to “actual life processes” but in terms of how they elevate the mind, lift up the human spirit, fulfill desire, as if these processes happen in the abstract, outside of material life. Often, the literary work is valued more for its undecidability, shiftiness, and even its lack of closure.

The paradox, of course, is that most often mere explication and exploration of the literary texts produce enough excitement (we recall that at one point, Marx compares it to child’s play) that, in the end, indeed, the study of literature produces the same effect as play.

If it were a different world that we inhabit, such as some utopia where no class contradictions abide, then perhaps aesthetic pleasure per se would suffice to serve the end of literary study and interpretation. The fact, however, is that, again, aesthetic inebriation and non-commitment are bourgeois and inconsistent with the whole order of impoverished, exploited societies like the Philippines and the Third World.

We shall propose, then, at this point, a way of reading which does not spin away or detach itself from the literary text (the originary point of study) but anchors itself on it even as it explores the parallel or similar contradictions obtaining in the lives and habitats of its readers. As with every human endeavor, the end point of exploration and imagining is the realization of material value. Although we recognize that the starting point of interpretation is still the literary text, the need to make the work significant and relevant especially, to the “actual life processes,” of the masses is an imperative of pedagogical practice.

In the case of CL 133, there are points that quite apparently represent a reigning consciousness throughout which goes beyond the traditionally identified norms of conduct of the Middle Ages, particularly, chivalry. For one, the dominant tradition of Catholicism and Christianity is a recurrent theme which underscores, of course, the power attributed to the Pope, especially during the Middle Ages.

The theme of conversion and devotion to the Christian God occurs in every work from *Beowulf* to *Faust* and it does not require deep

sensitivity to recognize it. Coupled with this assertion of the power of the Church and of the function that Christianity performs in colonization and conquest is the hate campaign waged against Saracens or Moslems who are the imperialist's greatest enemy. The full scale attack on Islam is the most central, overpowering theme of *The Song of Roland*, rendered redundantly in lines such as, "He (the Saracen, Marsillion) would have been a great man, had he been a Christian," apart from the fact that the strongest warrior besides Roland is a leader of the church, Archbishop Turpin. The three Christian soldiers of Charlemagne's are seen battling and scaring away a huge Saracen army of 20,000 men. The whole spectacle grows even more awesome with the intervention of the Angels who at some point descend to help Charlemagne's rear guard drive away King Marsillion and his big army who scramble away in fear or defeat despite their huge number. The narrative, of course, ends with the conversion and baptism of the Queen of Zaragoza, King Marsillion's wife, who is brought to France, after the death of the Moslem king and the fall of the Saracens. While the *Song of Roland* narrates the wholesale destruction of the Saracens and the clear project of colonization and imperial domination by Europe and the West, the other medieval texts (Dante, Cervantes, Goethe) propagate the same ideology using the religion of Catholicism as its most potent weapon of conquest.

The point that we wish to stress here is that if the teacher recognizes this ubiquitous presence of the church in the beginning, he or she could tie up the various works with this motif as fulcrum and point out its significance, especially in light of current events, for instance, the US invasion of Iraq which does not appear different from Charlemagne's decimation of the Saracens in the *Song of Roland*. The theme of Christian conversion that dovetails colonization – and in the modern era, imperialism – is pursued in every narrative or poetic text of the Middle Ages, so that following this line, the course almost naturally leads to a full, integrated discourse on the narrative of western hegemony and power—and subsequently, modern day imperialism and global capitalism—to which is traced the root cause of the crises of the disadvantaged, impoverished societies of the Third World.

It is not a far-fetched idea to see that contemporary realities of revolutions and struggles against imperialist oppression are a narrative that may have originated from the beginning of time or, at least, from the Age of Feudalism.

Needless to say, the same perspective and approach may be applied to the study of various literary texts in the various period courses, for instance, in



English Literature. The basic trick is simply to recognize that the so-called human and universal themes and narrative are not abstractions of a stable universe but specific instances of ideological contradiction and metaphors of historicized consciousness occurring in the continuing dialectical confrontation between the ruling class and wielders of power, on the one hand, and the oppressed, dominated classes and societies, on the other. The moral and the romantic sensibilities are not isolated poles that govern man's conduct but are part of a unified narrative that should be recognized as integral to the grand narrative of classes in conflict.

In sum, the perspective that a teacher of literature should adopt is one that covers real, material human problems, especially those close to home, and as in any narrative of human endeavor and conflict, no story or poem is strange and foreign enough to escape the dialectics of history or skirt the framework of class contradiction. The modern world is especially vulnerable and sensitive to the theme of wholeness and interrelations not only because of new devices and gadgets that facilitate negotiation and transmittal of what Moretti would call, "signs taken for wonders," but because the unstable consciousness is constantly longing for freedom, and the oppressed and saddened multitude who are subjects of literary narratives and poetic creations will not fade until fulfillment, stability and full meaning are realized at the farthest end.

It is clear that, unless there is conscious effort on the part of teachers to use the alternative perspective of the downtrodden in literary studies, English literature teaching – not to speak of the English Department as a whole – will always be made to service the neoliberal project of global domination and imperialism.

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## **Ang Neoliberal na Edukasyon sa Media**

**Maricristh Magaling at  
Soliman A. Santos**

“Education is everybody’s business,” ayon sa Knowledge Channel Foundation, Inc. (KCFI) sa website nito. Sa unang tingin, parang walang masama sa islogang ito. Totoo nga naman, dapat lahat ay may malasakit sa edukasyon – lalo na ng mga kabataan. Pero kung sisipatin sa konteksto ng kasalukuyang patakaran ng gobyerno sa edukasyon, makikitang may mali. Tugmang-tugma kasi ito sa neoliberal na polisiya ng gobyerno, ang pagpapasa nito ng mga batayang serbisyo sa pribadong sektor. Halos katulad na rin ito ng islogang “If you think education is expensive, try ignorance” na makikita sa mga pampublikong eskwelahan. Isang aroganteng islogan ng gobyernong tumatalikod sa kanyang tungkulin. Ang isa pang hindi maganda, dinadala ng mga pamunuan ng pampublikong eskwelahan ang islogang ito. Unti-unti, kinokondisyon nito ang isip ng mga kabataan-sa pamamagitan ng mga guro mismo – na ang edukasyon ay isang bagay na kailangang bilhin at hindi isang responsibilidad ng gobyerno.

### ***Ang K Channel bilang Edukador***

Nag-eere ang K Channel ng tinatawag na mga subjek mula sa batayang edukasyon tulad ng Science, Math, English at MAKABAYAN (Philippine Civics, Kasaysayan at Geography). Nagsimula itong mag-ere noong Nobyembre 6, 1999. Ayon sa website nito, 65% ng mga programa nito ay tumatalakay sa mga nabanggit na subjek sa itaas. Labingwalong oras ang inilalaan nito sa curriculum at non-curriculum-based learning bilang suplemento sa curriculum ng Department of Education (DepEd).

Malugod naman itong tinanggap ng gobyerno. Sa 10-taong memorandum of agreement na pinasok ng K Channel at DepEd, iprinoklama ng DepEd na mandatory viewing ang K Channel sa lahat ng pampublikong eskwelahan. Ayon sa website nito, aabot sa 2.67 milyong estudyante mula sa 1,528 sa elementarya at high school ang nakakapanood ng K Channel sa 40 probinsya sa lahat ng rehiyon ng bansa. Pero sa 42,000 pampublikong eskwelahan, mayroon lamang 3.6% ang may akses dito. Sa talumpati ni Rina Lopez-Bautista, Executive Director ng KCFI Foundation sa “Science and Technology for Education” roundtable session sa 59th Annual United Nations (UN) Department of Public Information (DPI) at sa Non-Government Organization Conference sa New York noong Setyembre 7, 2006, isinasalaysay niya ang mga “adventure” ng kanyang grupo sa pagdadala ng K Channel kahit sa mga liblib na lugar sa Pilipinas. Aniya, bahagi ang kanilang proyekto ng millennium development goal sa pagbibigay ng universal access sa primaryang edukasyon. Salungat naman ito sa madilim na hinaharap ng edukasyon. Sa kasalukuyan, gumagastos lamang ang bansa ng 3.3% ng Gross Domestic Product (GDP) sa mga pampublikong institusyon para sa edukasyon sa lahat ng lebel, ayon kay Dr. Romulo Virola, Secretary-General ng National Statistical Coordinating Board (NSCB). Mahigit labimpitong porsyento lamang mula sa total public spending ang itinutustos sa edukasyon.

Sa artikulong “TV is my Teacher,” sinabi na simula pa noong 1999, nakaabot na ang cable TV sa 987 pampublikong paaralan. Ang mga programa ay pinili pa mismo ni Lopez-Bautista mula sa ibang bansa para makasapat sa curriculum sa elementarya at high school ng bansa. Ayon pa sa artikulo, 30% lamang ng mga programa ng naturang cable network ay dito ginawa.

Nagsisimula ang regular programming ng K Channel ng 6:00 am at natatapos ng 11:30 pm. Bukod sa mga batayang programa na para sa primary, intermediate, elementary at high school, hindi rin mawawala ang subjek na Good Manners and Right Conduct, Values at Filipino. Kasama rin ang mga programang pamilyar sa Channel 2 tulad ng *Epol Apol*, *Mathinik*, *Bayani*, *Sineskwela*, *Hiraya Manawari* at *Pahina*. Ilan pa sa mga programa ng K Channel ang *Karen’s World* at *Solved*. Ang nauna ay programa para sa Intermediate English. Tampok dito sina Karen at Inngo. Si Karen ay isang kalabaw na mahusay magsalita ng wastong Ingles na siyang nagtuturo kay Inngo nito. Si Inngo ay isang batang magsasaka sa Barangay Mapagkumbaba.

Hindi na ito bago sa kolonyal na edukasyon ng bansa. Noong unang dekada ng ika-20 siglo, dinala sa atin ng mga Amerikano ang mga

katulad ng Baldwin Readers sa pamamagitan ng bersyon nitong Insular Readers bilang pantulong sa pagtuturo ng wikang Ingles. Sumunod dito ang katulad na kuwento nina Pepe at Pilar, ang yaya nilang si Nena kasama ang mga alaga nilang sina Bantay at Muning.

Sa programang *Solved*, itinuturo ang mga konsepto sa Math sa pamamagitan ng mga pang-araw araw na suliraning kinakaharap ng mga karakter na sina Tinay, Loloy at Bubut na nakatira sa Barangay Pulang Bato.

May apat na sangkap ang programa ng KCFI. Una, ang pagkuha ng mga programa mula sa lokal at internasyunal na mga source at pagtutugma nito sa curriculum sa elementary at high school sa mga pampublikong institusyon. Ang ikalawa ay ang program production, na kasama ang mga audio-visual program kaugnay ng sistema ng edukasyon tulad ng Philippine history, geography at art. Ang ikatlo at ikaapat ay ang pagbibigay ng access sa Knowledge Channel at pagbibigay ng mga suportang programa.

### ***Kanino ang K Channel?***

Kasama sa Board of Trustees ng KCFI ang mga senior officer ng Lopez Group tulad nina Mr. Oscar Lopez at Eugenio Lopez III, dating Kalihim ng Department of Education na si Dr. Armand Fabella, at si AIM Prof. Dr. Felipe Alfonso. Si Rina Lopez-Bautista ang siyang founder ng KFCI na kasalukuyan ding Presidente at Executive Director nito.

Tinatayang PhP200 milyon ang ipinuhunan ng Lopez Group sa proyektong ito. Saklaw nito ang kapital na gastusin at produksyon ng mga programa. Patuloy itong sinusuportahan sa pamamagitan ng ABS-CBN. Ang iba pang pondo na umabot sa P80 milyon ay nagmula sa iba pang isponsor tulad ng Citigroup, United Way Philippines, Caltex Philippines, Procter & Gamble, Wyeth, Coca-Cola Export Corp., Nestle Philippines at iba pa. Bukod sa mga ito patuloy pang naghahanap ng isponsor ang KCFI.

### ***Papel ng Gobyerno***

Noong Mayo 26, 2001, sa mensahe ni Pangulong Arroyo sa ikalawang anibersaryo ng Sky Foundation, Inc., kinilala ng gobyerno ang papel ng K Channel. Aniya, “Public schools cabled with the Knowledge Channel have become model institutions of learning and object of admiration by other less fortunate schools... I commend Sky Foundation for its truly laudable efforts and fully support this project and other private sector initiatives towards the improvement of Philippine Education.”

Inulit ng pangulo ang papuri noong 2003 sa harap ng mga Pilipinong nangunguna sa “corporate social responsibility.” Inengganyo niya ang mga corporate foundation na magbigay ng suporta sa patuloy na pag-access sa educational TV. Ang pahayag na ito ni Arroyo ay nakaangkla sa Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan:

The government needs to harness the participation of all strategic partners in service delivery – the private sector, NGOs, civil society groups, LGUs and other concerned sectors to meet the needs of Early Childhood Care and Development and basic education. At the same time, the education sector has to capitalize on the opportunities offered by information and communications technology (ICT). Learning resources located within and outside the country can be accessed through ICT and made available through formal and nonformal learning centers.

Dito makikita ang unti-unti ngunit tiyak na pagsasapribado ng batayang serbisyo tulad ng edukasyon. Hindi rin naman tiyak ang pakinabang ng sektor ng edukasyon sa oportunidad ng ICT. Sa kabilang banda, maaaring palalain nito ang paglaki ng agwat sa akses sa kaalaman dahil sa reyalidad ng lipunang Pilipino, ilan lamang ang may akses sa ICT. Tiyak din tayo na hindi simpleng nagmamagandang-loob lamang ang mga korporasyong ito. Hindi sila naglalagak ng pera dahil sila’y nagmamalasakit kundi dahil may hinihintay silang pagbalik ng puhunan. Sa halip na itaas ng gobyerno ang badyet ng sektor ng edukasyon, ibinibigay nito sa pribadong sektor ang responsibilidad sa edukasyon na hindi naman nagtitiyak sa pagtaas ng kalidad nito.

### ***Konklusyon***

Malinaw sa kasong ito ng K Channel ang pagpapaubaya ng gobyerno sa edukasyon sa pribadong sektor. Isang pagtalima sa neoliberal na kalakaran. Sa ilalim nito, binabawasan ng estado ang paggastos nito sa edukasyon habang ipinapasa sa pribadong sektor. Ito’y sa paniniwalang ang walang limitasyong “malayang merkado” ay magbubunsod sa pantay na distribusyon ng yaman at demokrasya.

Subalit agad namang makikita ang limitasyon ng paniniwalang ito kung isasaalang-alang ang kongkretong kalagayan ng Pilipinas. Una, ang pisikal na pagkakaroon ng akses sa mga cable channel sa buong bansa ay

malayo pa sa katotohanan. Bangga na agad ito sa ipinangangalandakang pantay na distribusyong layon ng neoliberalismo.

Lumalabas din ang ugnayan ng pag-aari sa media at ang “tiyak” na kultural na nilalaman ng produksyon nito. Dahil pag-aari ng mga korporasyon, hindi rin maiiwasan ang pag-manifest ng pribadong interes sa mga programa. Sa halip, nagbibigay ito ng ilusyon na nagpapalabo sa relasyon ng pagpili halimbawa ng mga programa sa K Channel. Dahil korporasyon, mas interesado ito sa tubo kaysa kabutihan ng publiko. Sinasala ng mga kompanya at katuwang nitong mga advertiser ang mga impormasyong gustong iparating sa “piling” manonood.

Sa usapin ng malayang pamimili ng mapapanood, inihahain na nila ang dapat pagpilian ng mga manonood. Idinidikta nila kung ano ang maganda o ano ang tama. Sa isang episode ng *Pabina*, isinadula ang kuwentong “Utos ng Hari” ni Jun Cruz Reyes. Naging paboritong kwento ng mga estudyante sa high school ang “Utos ng Hari” dahil kinakatawan nito ang angas nila sa kanilang mga guro, sa sistema ng edukasyon at sa lipunan. Narito ang isang kabataan (Jojo) na nagrerebelde sa inaakala niyang hindi maayos na lipunan subalit sa bersyon ng *Pabina*, humingi ng sorry ang pangunahing tauhan sa kanyang mga “pagkakamali.” Taliwas ito sa gustong iparating ng kuwento. Sa huli, may kompromiso. Kailangang “iwasto” ang ugali ng nagrerebeldeng estudyante sa pamantayan ng namamayaning kaayusan.





**The Struggle for Cultural  
and Ethnic Justice  
in the Age of Neoliberal Capitalism:  
The Case of Indigenous Education  
Among the Aetas of Botolan, Zambales**

**Gerry Lanuza**

I had fewer expectations on my recent second visit to the Aetas Resettlement Centers in Botolan, Zambales as compared to my first trip. I knew very well that with the continuing neglect of the local and national government towards the plight of Aetas in the resettlement areas, their situation would more or less have remained the same. While Heraclitus believed that things are in constant flux, the situation in the resettlement areas tends to remain fixed like an eternal snapshot.

A very memorable experience during my fieldwork was an encounter with an old woman. We saw her walking along the arid and uninhabited area of the site we had visited. It was past twelve and the sun's heat was scorching. Out of respect and compassion, we took the old woman for a ride at the back of our pick-up. She was suffering from rheumatism. She said she was going to her grandchildren to ask for some mefenamic acid to relieve her pain. We were very anxious to help the poor old lady but we did not have the medicine with us. So we just dropped her off near the house of her grandchildren. As we drove away I kept thinking to my self, "My God, this is really one hell of an experience! Is poverty really this bad?" Or, to be more poetic and theological about it, following Ivan's tirade against the existence of God in Dostoevsky's novel, *Brothers Karamazov*, I asked: "Is this the price I have to pay to believe in a benevolent God?" God seems to be "structurally unemployed," not only in the face of the social misery wrought by neoliberal capitalism, but also in the face of this insufferable situation.

Social psychologists point out that prolonged exposure to insufferable situations gradually de-sensitizes people (Aronson 1979: 67). Constant exposure to violence, poverty, and hopelessness destroys our capacity for human compassion and solidarity. Among social scientists, the banalization of evil is a common result of massive human suffering. Hillel Levine describes this attitude thus:

...many social scientists in their investigations of human suffering, while not necessarily trying to side with the victimizer nor discredit the agony of the victim, end up using sociological euphemisms which exclude from the attention of the social scientist the intense feeling of pain and suffering that are the experience of some people caught up in given patterns of life. (Levine 1986: 3)

Fortunately, my two encounters with extreme suffering in Zambales did not desensitize me. As an educator and sociologist, my engagement in fieldwork even more heightened my resolve to challenge all forms of social suffering brought about by the neoliberal capitalist assault on indigenous communities. I therefore dedicate this essay to that old woman.

In the following discussion, I will highlight the observations that are related to my encounter with the insufferable.

### ***“Fear of Liberation” in the Age of “Audit Culture”***

Based on my interviews with the administrator and teachers, the immediate problem confronting the indigenous schools in Barangay Villar was the withdrawal of some students. There was hearsay going around that the DepEd schools will no longer recognize the credentials of students transferring from indigenous schools. This rumor was triggered by the appointment of a new principal in the nearby DepEd elementary school. The former principal was an Aeta and during his term, there was some kind of an informal understanding between the DepEd school and the indigenous schools that when indigenous children transfer to DepEd schools their credentials will be honored. However, with the new principal, this informal agreement was apparently being undermined. Now the education of the Aeta children was uncertain. Obviously, local schools should not merely rely on the goodwill of the powers that be in the DepEd schools. Administratively, such semi-feudal organizational values are not sufficient guarantees for a stable and rational educational institution. The parents,

teachers and administrators have to realize that sooner or later their administrative and cultural autonomy will be undermined not only in relation to the issues of credentials and curriculum, but more importantly, by the standardization of indigenous education in relation to the state's neoliberal capitalist-driven educational reforms. In the face of the tides of the marketization of education, there is no easy escape for indigenous education, vulnerable as it is to the forces of the market and commercialization (Codd 2005; Olssena and Peters 2005: 313-345; Thornton 2001; Apple 1996).

In my interviews, the administrators of the indigenous schools admitted weaknesses in their system, especially in not having applied for accreditation earlier. This problem is compounded by the exaggeratedly bureaucratic procedures that accompany the accreditation process. The administrators of indigenous schools, the local government, and the DepEd each has its own share of blame and responsibilities in this situation. But these state and non-state apparatuses are also interpellated by the rationalizing logic of capitalist-driven credentialization through accreditation. (Olssen and Peters 2005: 313-345) The penetration of neoliberal capitalism into the educational system will eventually result in the McDonalidization of local and national educational institutions. Following George Ritzer, McDonalidization refers to the process whereby the values inherent in fast-food restaurants —efficiency, rationality, and mass production— are now engulfing other social institutions. (Ritzer 1996; Smart 1999) McDonalidization standardizes the curriculum, service delivery, and other aspects of public schools while simultaneously disempowering the state and leaving the outcome to the market. Here is Michael Apples' brilliant description of this worldwide phenomenon:

The odd combination of marketisation on the one hand and centralization of control on the other is not only occurring in education... This is a worldwide phenomenon. And while there are very real, and often successful, efforts to counter it, this has not meant that the basic assumptions that lie behind neo-liberal, neoconservative, and new managerial forms have not had a major impact on our institutions throughout society and even on our common sense. In many nations there have been attempts, often more than a little successful, to restructure state institutions. Among the major aims of such restructuring were: to ensure that the state served business interests; to have the state's internal operations model those used in business; and to "take politics out of public

institutions,” that is to reduce the possibility that government institutions would be subject to political pressure from the electorate and from progressive social movements. (1996)

Michael Apple further suggests that the neoliberal restructuring of education creates an “audit culture.” This culture “requires the constant production of evidence that you are doing things ‘efficiently’ and in the ‘correct’ way.” There is a constant pressure to perform and out-perform one’s performance so as to justify one’s existence in the market. (Leys 2003: 3) In the near future, it is not farfetched to predict that the indigenous schools would also have to justify their existence vis-à-vis the regular DepEd schools, while conceding to the state and other auditing institutions the power to audit their outputs so as to ensure strict and world-class (read: capitalist standards) quality control!

Sadly, the local administrators, caught in the horizon of this ominous McDonaldization and unable to see beyond its dark clouds believe – despite their good intentions - that they are the only ones capable of facilitating the bureaucratic processes pertinent to the schools. I strongly suspect that this is a remnant of petty-bourgeois elitism among the poor: only certain leaders are expected to act on behalf of the community. Unfortunately, this attitude of elitism divides the community. Paolo Freire traces this elitism and distrust of the people to the “fear of liberation”:

Many declare they are revolutionaries, but they don’t trust the oppressed whom they pretend to liberate... they fear liberation. And in fearing liberation, they dare not risk constructing it in a brotherhood with those who are deprived of freedom. (1985: 119)

This “fear of liberation” among leaders and the people must be overcome if the community is serious in emancipating itself culturally and economically from the clutches of neoliberal capitalist education. But this is difficult to accomplish because these elite leaders are the only ones who are literate and trained as leaders. Honestly, I do not doubt the impeccable dedication of these local leaders. However, leaders must be truly representatives of the people. They should act in consultation with the people, empowering them to take charge of the affairs of the community. There should be no privileged leaders who are such simply because they are closer to the mayors and power-brokers. In my impression, the local

leaders —trapped in semi-feudal patronage politics—have appropriated for themselves the sole privilege of negotiating with the power-brokers. While this may be advantageous for short-term purposes, it is also debilitating and disadvantageous in the long run. It merely reproduces the patron-client relations in local politics. The local leaders act as patrons or petit-bourgeois compradors who mediate between the local people and the elites. In the end, the people are reduced to passive clients, the recipients and beneficiaries of doleouts, who cannot make sense of what is going on in the community. Moreover, the fear of liberation is conducive to the new culture of “knowledge capitalism” that promotes individualistic and institutional competitiveness. In “knowledge capitalism,” the need for rapid institutional responses allows managers to make quick decisions and strategic responses often at the expense of internal deliberation and debate. Thus, it is important for those involved in teaching to find new ways of working collaboratively which challenge the individualism promoted by marketization, and to recognize the need to connect with local and global communities. (Harris 2005: 421-433)

### ***Tourists or Forced Pilgrims? Devoted Teachers in Neoliberal Capitalism***

Zygmunt Bauman (1995) suggests that in liquid modernity, living life as a pilgrim is a risky option. People, rather than pursuing an uncertain destination, look at short-term commitments and short trips and thereby avoid the fear of being stuck in the wrong path. It is better to be a nomad, stroller, or tourist, than to be a pilgrim. Loyalty to one’s companions, one’s company, or one’s partner is emotionally dangerous within the logic of postmodernity. Less engaged than the pilgrim, the tourist and the stroller are more disconnected from people and places, and less oriented to a destination and less concerned with the path. Unlike the pilgrim’s dogged determination and seriousness with regard to the journey, the stroller or tourist is more playful, more mocking of life and its travels (Harper 2000). In short, in neoliberal capitalism, we are becoming more like tourists than pilgrims.

After I interviewed the teachers, I asked myself. “Are they tourists or pilgrims?” During my second visit, I was fortunate enough to visit another indigenous school. This school was an offshoot of the first indigenous school. There were only two teachers there. Ms. X has been teaching for four years now. She handles *Kultura at Tradisyon* and Math subjects. Ms. Y, the younger teacher, teaches Math and English. The school offers pre-

elementary education to indigenous children. It used to have Grade 1 but this was abolished this year because no one enrolled because of the rumor circulating within the community that the DepEd schools will no longer accommodate children who take elementary education from indigenous schools.

Regrettably, some parents, rather than help solve the problem, panicked and transferred their children to DepEd schools. Faced with the threat of the indigenous schools being rationalized, these parents followed the market forces and sent their children to the DepEd school. Despite these debacles—the uncertainty of the school's survival, bureaucratization and low wages—several young teachers continue to flock to the school. Some of them had already passed the Licensure Examination for Teachers (LET). Before, the schools recruited experienced and trained persons to teach even though they did not have teacher education. Now the schools only accept LET passers. However, most of them simply want to get some teaching experience before moving on to mainstream schools. It is very unfortunate that the young and dedicated teacher I encountered two years ago had already quit from her teaching job. The administrator told us that the decision of the young teacher was due to economic considerations. This is not at all surprising. The depressing economic conditions in the community would eventually compel these young teachers to seek better employment.

A strong sense of dedication to the welfare of the children is not enough. Based on my observations, it is nourished and sustained by the unfaltering hope and optimism of the teachers that their pupils will not fall victim to the same miserable lot which had befallen their parents and grandparents. These dedicated teachers ardently believe that education can break the cycle of ignorance and poverty among indigenous families. As one young teacher candidly said:

...’pag di sila nag-aaral [the children] sinasabi ko, matutulad sila sa ibang mga katutubo na di marunong magbasa at sumulat... Lolokohin lang sila ng mga unat sa bayan. Gusto n’yo ba ‘yon? (.if the children do not study I tell them that they will end up like the some of them who cannot read and write...They will end up being conned by the people in the town. Do you like that?)

Because the teachers share with the children the same experiences of oppression, the former have a strong sense of imparting knowledge to

the students. They do not mind the meager compensation or the inability of some children to continue their schooling. What is important to them is that these children will grow up aware of their rights.

In this sense, the teachers I interviewed were not tourists, contrary to Zygmunt Bauman and Helen Harper's suggestion. Neither are they pure pilgrims. While some of them are dedicated to educating the indigenous children, there is also the constant temptation to get out of the pilgrimage's itinerary. Unlike the "postmodern tourists" or "nomads," there is a strong sense of powerlessness among some teachers for not being able to choose a better career path or option. So I will call these teachers "proletarianized pilgrims." But whereas the classic proletariat in the age of industrialism at least were able to bargain and establish their unions - thanks to socialist movements - today, in the neoliberal order, the proletarianized teachers are very much like subcontractual workers of fast-food chains and garment industries with no benefits, no security of tenure, etc. Proletarianized pilgrims are educator-workers who are trapped in the margins of neoliberal capitalist periphery. Confronted with the scarcity of work opportunities and stiff competition with other professionals, they are forced to linger at the margins, subjecting themselves to subhuman working conditions and alienation, hoping for better economic opportunities to come. (Moyle 2005: 11)

### ***From Proletarianized Pilgrims to Transformative Intellectuals***

However heroic the dedication of some of these proletarianized pilgrim-teachers may be, I am convinced that such dedication is not sufficient to thwart the pervasive cynicism and hopelessness among the children and community. For it takes more than massive educational reforms to break the cycle of poverty, violence, and ignorance. Education is not the final solution to this systemic violence. Such a utopian vision simply mirrors the dominant middle-class educational ideology: "Education is the key to success. It is up to the individual to seize the opportunities. If she fails, that is her own fault!" What is missed here is the interpellation of the Aetas into the ideological discourse of the middle class. The Aetas misrecognize this interpellation as their own voice. Hence the teachers, situated strategically within the power complex of the community, must realize that their "efforts to create rigorous and socially just learning communities extend beyond the classroom walls and beyond the schoolyard." (Oakes and Lipton 1999: 353) They should also facilitate the consciousness-raising process in the community. For as Peter McLaren argues rightly, "The teacher performs a

social function that is never innocent. There is no neutral, nonpartisan sphere into which the teacher can retreat to engage experience.” Beyond being critics of society, the teachers must “fashion a language that points to new forms of social and material relations attentive to the principles of freedom and justice.” (McLaren 2003: 259) Indigenous teachers are not simply workers. They, too, are critical and transformative intellectuals.

Of course, I am against political pessimism. I am not completely dismissing any hope on the ability of the Aetas to contest the dominant discourse of violence. Through education, the children and parents can exercise their limited sense of social and cultural agency. This is preferable than falling into the abyss of absolute pessimism and passivity. What the community should recognize is that any attempt to break free from this cycle of violence should address the structural and systemic dimensions — mostly traceable to class and cultural discriminations— that perpetuate this cycle of violence. Failure to address this issue will only lead to the perpetuation of the “hidden curriculum” in the indigenous schools. Ivan Illich aptly describes this “hidden curriculum”:

The hidden curriculum teaches all children that economically valuable knowledge is the result of professional teaching and that social entitlements depend on the rank achieved in a bureaucratic process. The hidden curriculum transforms the explicit curriculum into a commodity and makes its acquisition the securest form of wealth...(1973: 99)

In the context of the Aetas, the hidden curriculum means the elevation of schooling as the panacea to social and political oppressions. Misrecognition of the hidden curriculum can only lead to the escalation and perpetuation of the dominant discourse. Misrecognition is the potent weapon of the system that keeps the oppressed in their subject-position within the hegemonic discourse of educational success.

### ***The Reproduction of Ignorance***

Good education starts at home and with good family support. The social capital of the learners plays a pivotal role in their success later. Lee and Bowen recently highlighted the importance of social capital for educational success:



Because parent involvement has been shown to be positively related to children's educational performance (Barnard, 2004; Fan & Chen, 2001; Feuerstein, 2000; Jeynes, 2003; McWayne, Hampton, Fantuzzo, Cohen, & Sekino, 2004) and may mediate the effects of poverty, parents' educational attainment, and race/ethnicity on achievement (De Civita et al., 2004; Eamon, 2002; Schreiber, 2002), increasing parent involvement has been identified as a possible strategy for reducing the achievement gap. Parent involvement at school may include attending parent-teacher conferences, attending programs featuring students, and engaging in volunteer activities. Parent educational involvement at home may include providing help with homework, discussing the child's schoolwork and experiences at school, and structuring home activities.

Unfortunately, the effectiveness of efforts designed to eliminate the achievement gap through increasing parent involvement may be attenuated by two factors. First, some parents of children with low achievement may encounter barriers to their involvement (Heymann & Earle, 2000; Hill & Taylor, 2004; Pena, 2000), and, second, the positive influence of parent involvement on children's educational performance may be weaker in some families (Desimone, 1999; McNeal, 1999). Therefore, a major tool identified to reduce inequalities in achievement may have limited ability to do so because of inequalities in the opportunities for and benefits of parent involvement across demographic groups. (Lee and Bowen 2006)

This is once again confirmed by the case of the Aetas of Botolan, Zambales. Coming from parents who are either illiterate or with low educational attainment, children often have difficulties improving the skills they learn in school. Nevertheless, the families and community compensate for this mismatch by volunteering to repair the school buildings, cleaning the school premises, cultivating gardens in the schoolyard, building fences, and administering the feeding of the children. But these are not real substitutes for direct parental support for the formal education of their children. With low social capital to back up what they had learned in school, the pace of learning of the children cannot be optimized.

The problem is compounded by the debilitating poverty that afflicts the families and the community. Aside from being unable to help their children with their school assignments, parents also have to focus their

energies on working for the daily sustenance of the family. In the process, the older children are also asked to help in farm activities and other household chores. For some concerned parents, the children, especially younger ones, are exempted from these chores so they can concentrate on their studies. Yet this does not suffice to maximize the family-school partnership in creating a culture of learning, a culture of educational excellence. Having parents with low educational exposure is indeed a real obstacle in breaking the cycle of poverty.

So while the education of the children is aimed at breaking the cycle of reproduction of illiteracy, it can only go so far in giving the children minimal competencies. The hopes run very high among the parents sending their children to college. However, the material condition sets limits to these grand aspirations and the parents know this only too well.

### ***Education as Transmission of Collective Suffering***

The education of Aeta children is purchased at the cost of the pains of discriminations of the past. Discrimination does not only burrow itself deeply in the memories of the victims and survivors, it is also mnemonically etched in their bodies—in their skin color, hair, and physique. Discrimination is alive among the present generation of native children, and it remains in the memories of the older generation. The power of memory fortifies some members of this older generation to fight in behalf of the new generation. And there is no doubt that the new generation will do the same for the succeeding generations. Erik Yamamoto aptly describes this process of mourning and pain resulting from collective violence:

For a group in mourning, individual feelings of loss and anger are magnified. “Mythologized as well as realistic memories of hurts and physiological wounds of one generation are conveyed to the next generation...” “[as the next generation] tries to recreate a version of the event in which the self esteem of...their group is damaged.” In this fashion, collective memories shape racial group grievances and, in turn, determines the prospects for intergroup healing through contrition and forgiveness. (1999)

What is interesting in the case of the Aetas is that their process of collective mourning and recollection enables them move forward and take control of the present. But this is an asymmetrical way of healing. Healing

does not only involve the victims. It also involves redressing the damages done in the past. Liberation means mutual liberation of both parties from the pains and sufferings of the past. Thus, education is one way, a very effective way, of healing the hurts of the past. It is a transmission of collective mourning — in the form of the emancipatory hidden curriculum — to the next generation. Nevertheless, mourning should not end in the pathological form of fetishism. By fetishizing suffering in an educational setting, the victims remain tied to the past. They cannot come to terms with the loss of their “innocent” original identity that fascinated the perpetrators of discrimination. The victims must also learn to forgive. Forgiveness is remembering with a strong sense of justice: never to allow such violence to be repeated —in whatever form it might take. But for as long as the dominant ethnic group, which monopolizes access to resources, narrative-construction, and cultural capital, do not acknowledge the present unjust situation and rectify the past, then, liberation is far from the horizon. Reconciliation is only possible, as Mao Tse-Tung points out, if the oppressed effectively disable the oppressors from using their privileges and power to their own advantage. (Whitehead 1977) This is the highest act of love, of reconciliation: remembrance of past suffering serves as an impetus to resist further the aggravation of suffering in the present caused by the all-engulfing logic of capitalist-driven ethnic discrimination.

### ***Resistance or Conservatism?: Affirming Indigenous Culture***

Ron Barnett utilizes Lyotard’s concept of “performativity” to argue that marketization has become a new universal theme manifested in the trend towards the commodification of teaching and research and the various ways in which universities meet the new performative criteria, both locally and globally in the emphasis on measurable outputs. (Olssena and Peters 2005: 313-345) Amidst the homogenization taking place on a worldwide scale, the indigenous community at Villar desperately attempts to assert its own collective identity. Faced with the growing obsolescence of traditional culture among the young generation, the teachers and the community intentionally use the resources of the school to preserve their rich cultural heritage. Education becomes the site where the community transmits its cultural tradition. So teachers and administrators design the indigenous curriculum in consultation with the elders of the community. They are able to consolidate and preserve their tradition embedded in dances, stories, folklores, and mores.

From one parallax view, this “cosmopolitan culturalism” (Chan-Tibergien 2006: 89-105) functions as a resource of the indigenous community to regain their “subjugated knowledge” against neoliberal capitalist-sponsored cultural diversity. The Aetas as a community are one in asserting and recovering their own indigenous tradition. However, what is missing in this culturalist reading is the other parallax view that would show how this diversity is ultimately configured by the neoliberal capitalist culture industry. The drive for indigenization and asserting cultural autonomy is itself tolerated by neoliberal capitalist-driven multiculturalism: preserve cultural differences, yes! Celebrate exotic ways of life, yes! But do not touch economic inequalities! The struggle for cultural and ethnic justice, to be effective, must be linked with the class struggle. To separate the two is to succumb to the neoliberal capitalist logic of separating the sphere of culture from the economic structure.

Moreover, this attempt at preserving the cultural integrity of the community appears as a quasi-conservative response to the growing homogenization of cultures around the world. It eschews the problem of stark poverty and isolation of the community. It fails miserably to look at the ways in which the identity of the members of the community is continually violated by the inter-penetration of exploitative class and ethnic relations both inside and outside the community. Ethnic identity is constituted differently according to its differential location within the global capitalist order. As Avtar Brah points out, “class position signals certain commonalities of location within the social structure but class articulates with other axes of differentiation such as racism, heterosexism or caste” (1992).

### ***Learning from Indigenizing the Curriculum***

The indigenous schools have their own subjects different from the mainstream DepEd curriculum. They have the following subjects:

Mathematics  
 Agham at Kalikasan  
 Wika (a) Katutubo  
       (b) Filipino  
       (c) English  
 Kultura at Tradisyon  
 Kaalamang Pangkabuhayan  
 Kabuuang Pag-unlad

Teachers teach these subjects - except English - in the local language, Zambal. Unlike mainstream schools that emphasize the English language, the indigenous schools extensively use the local language in teaching Math and Science. Judging from the results of our interviews, the children learn the subject matter better. This supports the linguistic interdependence model which says that learning through the native language supports the skills in learning other languages (Cummins 1996).

Moreover, they teach Math and Science in a practical manner. They give examples that are taken from the everyday lives of the children. Isn't this what progressive education is all about? But it goes beyond the progressive pedagogical ideology because it draws heavily from the indigenous knowledge of the community.

Much can be learned from the programs of the indigenous school. The first lesson is in their method of teaching. Teaching and instruction should not be separated from society and the community. The second is in their use of the native language. The third lesson is in the way they organize their curricula and subject matter. The curriculum is consciously designed, thanks to the trainings provided by NGOs, to reflect the rich resources of the local culture. It veers away from the "tourist curriculum" that "is both patronizing because it emphasizes the 'exotic' differences between cultures, and trivializing since it does not deal with the real life daily problems and experiences of different peoples, but with surface aspects of their celebrations and modes of entertainment" (Derman-Sparks 1989: 7). Ladislaus Semali asks this pertinent question, which I think is very important in organizing the curriculum of indigenous education:

From this point of view, it is therefore imperative that planners direct their curriculum design efforts towards a new way of knowledge-production, not to abstract stocks of knowledge to be memorized but to practical applications of what is learned. The guiding question ought to be: Does the curriculum planner contribute to further subjugation or actually work as a catalyst for redressing the power imbalance that already exists between knowledges? (1999: 305-319)

***The Future of Indigenous Education  
in the Age of Neoliberalism***

Two years have elapsed since I last visited the indigenous schools in Villar. In that short span of time, nothing has changed much. The poverty and neglect of the Aetas by the local and national government continues to plague the community. Yet education remains for them the only long-term hope to overcome this dismal situation. Afflicted by poverty and illiteracy, their views of their problems and their solutions do not go beyond individualistic ideologies. Although the ideology of the indigenous schools is phrased in terms of collectivist resistance against the hegemonic mainstream culture, individualistic solutions continue to prevail. This discontinuity between the collectivist ideology of the indigenous school and the individualistic solutions adopted outside schooling is rooted in the misrecognition by the community of the real problem which is rooted in recent economic reorganizations worldwide.

For the school to become part of the vanguard of social reconstruction, it should become the point of entry for implementing a “pedagogy of liberation.” It should raise the consciousness of the children and parents that their problem is not just getting schooling, but beyond that, of challenging the prevailing capitalist system that oppresses and dehumanizes them. They have to break free from the “careerist ideology” embedded in the “hidden curriculum” of the school. They should begin to realize that schools can only do so much and effect only very limited changes. The indigenous teachers as transformative intellectuals will play an essential role in this process of conscientization.

Let us take the case of preserving the tradition and rich cultural heritage of the community. This is one of the lofty goals of the indigenous schools. But with the inexorable capitalist-driven modernization and the continuing in- and out-migration within the community, in the light of the growing porosity of the community boundaries, the Aetas will find it more and more difficult to preserve their own distinctive way of life. The next generation will be forced to choose between tradition and hybridity. Or, maybe choice in choice-saturated capitalism is an illusion: they will inevitably hybridize. Ironically, it is even difficult at this point to pinpoint what is “pure” native from what is “hybridized.”

Now let us follow the logic of liberal multiculturalism: The primary goal of the indigenous schools is to preserve the indigenous identity while teaching children how to survive beyond the narrow confines of native

culture and community. Lisa Delphit calls this “tricking the dominant culture” (1988). It involves learning the skills necessary to survive in mainstream society, while being rooted in one’s native identity. Delphit claims that it will be a great loss to the children if they will only learn the traditional way. Other like-minded liberal multiculturalists also argue that the choice of remaining faithful to tradition or moving out to hybridize cannot be imposed on the next generation. It must be negotiated by the individuals themselves. In the process, the pain of living for those who will leave and those who will be left behind will be a perennial problem. But as a community, the people can collectively will to preserve their own culture and tradition. How long this can be maintained is a moot point. The government must help this indigenous community preserve its own culture and tradition by granting relative autonomy with regard to educational administration and curricular formation. The state has the duty to protect the collective rights of the community as long as they do not impinge on the rights of other communities. But the state must also see to it that its members are given ample space for choosing their identities - without also endangering solidarity in the community. This is the summary of the liberal multiculturalist program for indigenous education. (Kymlicka 1995; Joppke and Lukes 1999; Taylor 1994)

The self-contradictory logic of this ideology is revealed once we realize that by giving members the freedom to choose their identity, this freedom also simultaneously gives them the freedom to live outside their culture and community. Paradoxically, this freedom is circumvented by the oppressive character of the mainstream culture. In the desire to live decently, some members might take chances and get out of the community. In the end, they also end up being discriminated in the mainstream society. Here the liberal multiculturalists will triumphantly argue that the skills and capacities imparted by indigenous education will enable the natives to survive in the mainstream culture. How far such cultural capital can enable the natives to compete in mainstream society defined by the logic of capitalist accumulation is an open question. Of course, other than intelligence, some liberal multiculturalists also believe in luck. But luck plays a negligible role in a market saturated with people eager to outsmart each other. Therefore Michael Apple is right when he claims that what we need are “nonreformist reforms”:

Let us not act as if our main task is getting a few more students to do well on the cultural capital of elite groups or simply making

curricula more “practical.” Let us not act in isolation from the larger social questions that give any serious concern for social justice its critical edge. (1996: 112)

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## **“A para sa Armalayt”: Ilang Tala Hinggil sa Rebolusyonaryong Edukasyon**

**Kenneth Roland A. Guda**

Lumang kuwento na sa atin, sigurado ako, ang eksenang bumungad sa akin sa baryong tinuluyan namin: tatlong kabataang mula sa pamilya ng mga magsasaka, gumigising ng alas-tres nang umaga at maglalakad ng milya-milya para lamang makarating sa eskwela. Pero ang kaiba sa eksenang ito, lahat sila ay hindi regular na estudyante sa elementarya o kahit hayskul. Maaga silang gumising dahil ito ang itinatakda ng disiplina ng kanilang samahan. At mag-aaral sila dahil mahalagang armas ang edukasyon para sa kanilang ipinaglalaman. Mga Gerilya Sila ng New People’s Army o NPA.

Tatlong oras lamang na biyahe mula sa lungsod, nasa paanan na ng aakyating burol ako at ang kasamahan kong kontak sa kilusan. (Pangunahing layunin ng pagtungo ko sa sonang gerilya sa Sorsogon ang pagsasaliksik hinggil sa patakarang “Permit-to-Campaign” ng NPA para sa magasing *Pinoy Weekly*. Gayunman, sinubaybayan ko rin ang ilang gawaing pang-edukasyon na nadatnan ko sa lugar. Ang sanaysay na ito ay kalipunan lamang ng panimulang impresyon/obserbasyon ko sa kanilang gawaing pang-edukasyon.) Kalahating oras lang, nasa tuktok na kami. Nakakubli sa makapal na gubat sa tuktok nitong burol ang isang kubo na siyang tinuluyan namin pansamantala. Dito kami sinalubong ni Ben at tatlong iba pang gerilya. Nasa gitna sila ng sesyon. Hawak ni Ben ang manipis na polyeto na pamilyar sa aking pagkabata: ang balarila ng wikang Pilipino.

Ang mga kasamahan ni Ben ay hindi pa nakatuntong ng elementarya. Hindi natutong magbasa at magsulat. Kuwento ni Ben, mataas naman ang literasi sa probinsya ng Sorsogon, kumpara halimbawa sa mga

karatig na probinsya ng Masbate o Catanduanes. (94.23% ang literacy rate ng probinsya ng Sorsogon, mas mataas sa tantos ng rehiyong Bikol na 92.69% at mas mataas rin sa 92.28% ng buong Pilipinas (NSO).) Sa baryo mismong tinuluyan namin, isang oras lang ang layo patungong lokal na paaralan. Gayunman, may iilan pa ring di nakapag-aral.

“Ito ang pangunahing halaga ng mga tulad ko dito sa sonang gerilya sa kanayunan,” kuwento sa akin ni Ben. Ang totoo, nandoon lamang siya bilang “exposurist” o “integree” mula sa isang pamantasan sa Maynila. Tatlong buwan ang programa niya, pero nag-iisip na siyang manatili. Sa mga dokumento ng CPP (Communist Party of the Philippines), partikular sa “Reaffirm Our Basic Principles and Rectify Our Errors” (1991) na siyang batayang dokumento ng tinatawag nilang “Kilusang Pagwawasto” noong dekada ‘90, binigyang-diin ang halaga ng mga tinaguriang “petiburgesya” sa rebolusyong gawain sa kanayunan. May mga katangi-tanging kakayahang teknikal at intelektwal umano ang petiburgesya na kailangang kailangan sa rebolusyon.

Bilang pagpapaliwanag sa kanyang pananatili, binasahan ako ni Ben ng isang linya mula sa tula ni Emmanuel Lacaba na pamilyar na sa akin: “Here among workers and peasants our lost/Generation has found its true, its only, home.” Aniya, nakita niya ang halaga niya sa mga kapwagerilya – bilang guro ng balarila. Sa hanay ng mga regular na kasapi ng NPA, maging sa mga batang sakop ng rebolusyong kilusan, matagal nang ipinanawagan ang “kampanyang literasi-numerasi.” Layunin ng kampanyang ito na iangat sa 100% ang literacy at numeracy rate. Nang tanungin hinggil sa istatus ng naturang kampanya sa probinsya, hindi makasagot si Ben. Gayunman, sabi niya, sa isang buwang itinagal niya sa sonang gerilya, itong tatlong kabataang tinuturuan niya ngayon ang tanging nakilala niyang hindi pa marunong magbasa at magsulat.

Sabi naman ng isa sa mga kasamahan nila, guro nila si Ben sa balarila, pero mas madalas na silang mga “tagalokal” ang nagsisilbing guro kay Ben. Bagamat bata pa’y mayaman na sila sa karanasan sa pakikidigma at pakikipamuhay sa masa. Araw-araw, unti-unti umanong tinuturuan nila si Ben na baklasin ang mga nakagawiang ugaling “petiburges”: ang kakulangan ng disiplina sa paggising, ang paminsan-minsang katamaran, ang pagiging mahiyain sa pakikitungo sa mga magsasaka. Minsan na ring naging estudyante si Ben sa isang kursong “pulitiko-militar”: natuto siyang mag-“tiger jump,” humawak, magpapatok, at magmantine ng ripleng M-16, at iba pang mga batayang taktikang militar. Sa pagkukuwento niyang ito, naalala ko tuloy ang mga sinulat ni Paolo Freire, laluna ang tungkol sa edukasyon bilang

diyologo sa pagitan ng mga tao, taliwas sa nakagawian sa mga “burgis” na paaralan na konsepto ng edukasyon bilang “pagbabangko” ng mas “nakakaalam” na guro sa isang “mangmang” na estudyante (Freire 1972).

Bagamat di hamak na mas malawak ang karanasan sa pormal na edukasyon ni Ben, mistulang “elementarya” pa lamang siya sa larangan ng pakikidigma. Sa aking bisita sa sonang gerilya, samu’t sari ang napupulot na kuwento. Tulad na lamang ng kuwento ni Mang Dante, magsasaka at “susing masa” (aktibo at mapagkakatiwalaang tao sa lugar pero hindi gerilya) sa lugar, na may tatlong anak na nabiyayaan ng “kampanyang literasi-numerasi” ng NPA. May edad na walo, siyam at sampu, nangunguna sila ngayon sa klase sa malapit na pampublikong eskwelang pang-elementarya. Marunong na silang magbasa bago pa man pumasok sa unang baytang.

“Yun nga lang, medyo natatakot ako kapag tinatanong sila ng guro,” kuwento ni Mang Dante. Sa isang pagkakataon kasi, nagsumbong ang guro ng bunso niyang anak sa kanya: “Pagsabihan mo naman ang mga anak mo, mag-ingat sa mga binabanggit sa klase.”

Sukat kasi, nang tanungin ng guro kung ano ang alam nilang mga salita na nagsisimula sa mga letra sa Abakada, ito ang isinagot ng bunso ni Mang Dante:

- A - Armalayt
- B - Bagong Hukbong Bayan
- K - Kasama
- D - Dagundong kan Bikol!

Napatawa na lang umano si Mang Dante, at nangakong pagsasabihan ang mga anak. Matalas ang isip ng mga anak niya dahil maagang naturuan ng balarila, sang-ayon sa mga salitang madalas na ginagamit ng mga gerilya. Pero tulad ng mga ordinaryong bata, wala pa sa kamalayan ang maglihim. Normal na bahagi ng kanilang buhay ang rebolusyon, kung kaya nahuhulma ang kanilang mga isipan batay sa pang-araw-araw na nakagigisnang rebolusyonaryong gawain.

Sa pang-apat na araw ko sa sonang gerilya, nakarating kami sa isang malaking kampo. Naghahanda ang mga gerilya sa isang malaking pag-aaral. Kuwento ni Sergio, nakatatandang (at, suspetsa ko, nakatataas ding) gerilyang nakasama ko sa paglalakbay noong mga nakaraang araw, may tatlong antas daw ang kursong pampartido: batayan, intermedya at abante. Lahat ng mga bagong rekluta sa CPP ay kailangang dumaan sa batayang kurso, at di malaon, sa intermedyang kurso.

Hindi simpleng edukasyon, kundi pampulitikang edukasyon, ang itinuturo sa mga batayang kursong ito. Nang silipin ko ang *outline*, nagulat ako, at naikomento kay Sergio na “parang buong kursong Political Science” ‘ata ang itinuturo nila nang tatlong linggo lamang.

Marxismo-Leninismo-Maoismo (MLM) na “nailapat sa kongkretong karanasan ng lipunan at rebolusyong Pilipino” ang batayang kurso. Sa pagkakaalala ko, sa Pamantasan ng Pilipinas, isang buong semestrenang itinuturo sa Sosyolohiya o Political Science ang Marxismo. Sa aking kursong Malikhaing Pagsusulat, isang semestrenang itinuturo ang Wika, Panitikan at Lipunan, at isang semestre naman itinuturo ang mga pampanitikang teorya kung saan isa lamang ang Marxismo.

Ikinagulat ito ni Sergio, nang ikuwento ko sa kanya. Para kasi sa mga gerilya, hindi lamang “isa sa maraming teorya” ang Marxismo. Napatunayan at napatutunayan, naisabuhay at gumagabay ito sa pang-araw-araw na pagrerebolusyon nila. Mula sa pakikitungo sa “masa” (manggagawa at magsasaka) hanggang sa paglulunsad ng mga atakeng militar. Mula sa mga reglamentong pandisiplina (“Bawal magnakaw ni isang karayom sa masa”), hanggang sa kabuuang estratehiya ng digmaan (“Kubkubin ang kalunsuran mula sa kanayunan”), hanggang sa perspektibang hinaharap ng rebolusyon (“sosyalista”) sa pagtatagumpay nito.

Sa kampong napuntahan ko, karamihan pa rin sa mga “guro” ay nagmula sa petiburgesya. Mga kabataang nakapag-aral sa mga pamantasan pero lumahok sa armadong kilusan. Pero, kuwento ni Sergio, unti-unting dumarami ang mga guro mula sa mga batayang uri (manggagawa at magsasaka).

Para kay Jose Maria Sison, pinaghihinalang tagapangulong tagapagtatag ng CPP at ngayo’y punong konsultant pampulitika ng National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP), pangunahing tungkulin ng kabataan sa pagtataguyod ng pambansa-demokratikong rebolusyon ang pampulitikang edukasyon. Sa kanyang mensahe sa Youth Study Conference sa Philippine Christian University noong 27 Agosto 2004, sinabi niya sa kabataan na:

To get your bearings, know what to do and find your way from one victory to another in this crisis-ridden world and country, you must first of all undertake political education along the general line of completing the Filipino people’s struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. (Sison 2004)

Sang-ayon din ito sa pananaw ng historyador na si Renato Constantino na nagsabing:

Education is a vital weapon of a people striving for economic emancipation, political independence, and cultural renaissance. We are such a people. Philippine education, therefore, must produce Filipinos who are aware of their country's problems, who understand the basic solution to these problems, and who care enough and have enough to work and sacrifice for their country's salvation. (Constantino 1991)

Para sa CPP, minimum na kaalaman lamang sa pagbabasa at pagbibilang ang kailangan para mapasimulan ang pampulitikang edukasyon. Ayon kay Sergio, walang diploma sa elementarya o hayskul ang kailangan para makakuha ng pampulitikang kaalaman. “Ang mahalaga,” aniya, “ay ang pagkakaroon ng mga batayang kaalaman sa lipunan at rebolusyong Pilipino. Pero mas mahalaga, ang karanasan – ang praktika – niya sa pagrerebolusyon.”

Halos 12 taon matapos ilunsad ng CPP ang Ikalawang Dakilang Kilusang Pagwawasto, patuloy pa rin nilang nilalayong palawakin ang kasapian ng partido sa hanay ng mga mandirigma ng NPA. Mahalagang maging pokus ng kilusang pag-aaral ang NPA dahil sila umano ang nasa pangunahing larangan ng rebolusyon.

At dahil karamihan ng mga NPA ay mula sa uring magsasaka, pokus ng pampulitikang pag-aaral ang uring ito. Sa puntong ito pa lamang, masasabing napakalaki na ang nagiging ambag ng rebolusyonaryong kilusan sa pagbibigay ng edukasyon – mula literasi-numerasi hanggang sa pampulitikang kamulatan – sa mga magsasaka na di nakapag-aral sa “burges” na mga paaralan. At sa paglawak ng saklaw ng impluwensya ng NPA, lumalawak din ang naaabot ng kanilang programang pang-edukasyon.

Paliwanag ni Sergio, mahalaga rin ang kaalamang siyentipiko sa konteksto ng pagsusulong ng armadong rebolusyon at pagtataguyod ng siyentipikong lapit sa pang-araw-araw na gawain. Sa huling araw ko sa hanay nila, isinama ako ni Sergio sa isang “kampuhan” kung saan naghahanda ang isang grupo ng mga gerilya para sa gaganaping malaking pag-aaral ng batayang kurso. Karamihan sa instruktur ay mga nagmula sa “petiburgesya.”

Sa batayang kurso ng CPP, paliwanag ni Sergio, tinatalakay ang pagkakaiba ng “metapisikal at ideyalistang” pananaw sa mundo sa “diyalektikal at materyalistang” pananaw. Isa sa mga layunin ng bahaging ito

ng kurso ang pagwaksi sa daantaong mga kagawian at paniniwala ng mga magsasaka at manggagawa hinggil sa kasaysayan, gayundin sa lugar nila sa kasalukuyang lipunang Pilipino. Mapamahiin pa rin ang marami sa mga masa sa kanayunan sa Bikol, ayon kay Sergio. Mula sa pagtatanim (“ipasa-Diyos na lang ang magandang ani...”), hanggang sa pagpapamilya (kakulangan ng kaalaman sa family planning), hanggang sa pakikitungo sa mga panginoong maylupa (“Wala namang magbabago...”), unti-unting binabaka ng NPA ang mga pananaw na ito ng mga magsasaka para sa kanilang ganap na kalayaan.

Sa maikling panahon sa lugar, naging saksi ako sa ilang mga hakbang ng rebolusyonaryong kilusan sa Bikol para sa pag-aangat ng antas ng edukasyon ng mga mamamayang Pilipino. At bagamat hindi malaliman ang aking imbestigasyon sa kanilang komprehensibong programang pang-edukasyon, kung katulad din sa ibang mga lugar sa Pilipinas ang nasaksihan kong mga hakbang ng rebolusyonaryong kilusan, masasabi kong malaki ang naiaambag nito para iangat ang antas ng edukasyon sa hanay ng mga mamamayang di inaabot ng serbisyong pang-edukasyon ng namamayaning gobyerno.

Ngunit higit pa rito, di matatawaran ang halaga ng pampulitikang edukasyon ng rebolusyonaryong kilusan sa pagmumulat sa kabataan sa kanilang historikal na tungkulin ng paglahok sa panlipunang pagbabago. Di rin matatawaran ang ambag ng pampulitikang edukasyong ito sa pagwawaksi sa napakaraming kaisipan at kagawiang humahadlang sa kalayaan at kaunlaran ng masang Pilipino.

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## **TEACHER'S GUIDE**

**Arnold Alamon**

The brief teacher's guide in this volume is for educators who wish to use this book as a resource for their classes and advocacies. The guide aids the educator in a number of ways - identifying the pertinent article that addresses relevant concerns, suggesting class activities to enliven and make meaningful the learning process, and providing guide questions that the teacher and student can use as a tool in reading the book. This guide follows an alternative arrangement in order to draw out aspects of the essays that are useful in the handling of alternative classes. The set of essays that are included in each section

The first part of the guide discusses a number of important concepts that provide the theoretical basis for many of the articles' arguments included in this volume. Here, central concepts such as "neoliberalism" are defined and discussed in relation to other relevant ideas such as globalization. The second part traces the roots of neoliberal education in the Philippines from the colonial period up to the present. The contemporary features of neoliberalism and education are tackled in the third part. A special section includes a set of articles that tackle the experience of the University of the Philippines which demonstrate the impact of the neoliberal education agenda in the country's premier state university. The final section of the guide will discuss some alternative models to neoliberal education.

### ***I. What is Neoliberalism?***

The first set of essays to be discussed in this guide provides the educator and their students with the appropriate introduction to neoliberalism and

the neoliberal agenda in the education sector. Any talk of neoliberalism's consequence to education necessitates a discussion of the socio-historical origins of liberalism as an intellectual and social movement and its continuing resonance in the academe and beyond.

Villegas' article is useful in providing an extensive theoretical background on the history and principles that define liberalism from the classical Lockean liberalism to contemporary persuasions in economic theory. By tracing the roots of liberalism and its various manifestations in the academe to the bourgeois class and its drive to preserve its hegemony, contemporary attempts to justify the commercialization of education through the implementation of neoliberal policies are exposed of their hidden ideological agenda. Devilles' essay brings the terms of this debate to academic discourse by critiquing postmodern currents within the academe as the ideological logic of neoliberalism. He offers a critique of texts that adhere to the tenets of postmodernism, observes that postmodernism is the new formalism, while decrying these texts' and their authors' failure to historicize.

Bringing the analysis to contemporary realities in the Philippine education sector, Asis pursues the task of exposing the "irrationality" of supposed neoliberal rationality in her essay. She draws attention to four myths that make up the neoliberal education agenda and proceeds to unravel these using empirical examples. She presents counter-arguments to the case made by neoliberal proponents in the education sector that promote the commercialization of education. Guillermo, in his first essay, essentially takes on the same task of exposing the anti-people logic behind supposed education reforms sponsored by the IMF-WB.

What tie these essays together is that they challenge the taken-for-granted assumptions and supposed academic rationality of neoliberal strategies adopted by the State and US-sponsored multilateral institutions.

#### *Activity 1 – Pinoy Henyo*

*As a class activity that can complement the required reading of these essays, "Pinoy Henyo" a game that will introduce the terms, concepts and principles behind the issue is suggested. The class will be divided into two groups and each will be assigned a list of terms. Each group will take a representative to guess these terms. A representative from each group will wear a hat in which will be placed the term that he or she needs to guess. The representative can ask his or her team mates with clarificatory questions answerable only by a "yes" or "no" until he or she arrives at the correct answer. If the representative is able to answer the question within three minutes, then a point is gained by the group.*

*For the game to be effective, all the students should have read the set of articles in this section. At the end of the class activity, students should be able to satisfactorily answer these questions.*

1. *What are the historical conditions that gave rise to liberalism as a social and economic doctrine?*
2. *What are the social and historical continuities that account for neoliberalism's dominance in contemporary academic and social life?*
3. *What is the relationship between postmodernism and neoliberalism?*
4. *What are the arguments and counter-arguments between neoliberal proponents and their critics in the academe?*

Suggested essays for part 1:

"Neoliberal Economics," Ed Villegas

"Ang Post-Istrukturalismo bilang Bagong Pormalismo at Kanlungan ng Neoliberalismo," Gary Devilles

"Ang Irasyunalidad sa Rasyunalisasyon: Isang Pagsusuri sa Public Higher Education Rationalization Program," Jonnabelle Vidal Asis

"Rationalizing Failures: The Philippine Government in the Education Sector," Ramon Guillermo

## ***II. Neoliberal Education in the Nation's History***

Not a few of the articles traces the neoliberal character of education in the Philippines to the nation's colonial history and its status as a neocolony. Lumbera's article draws attention to the American colonial objectives of exploitation through education at the turn of the century. The vestiges of such a relationship are still manifest not only in the continued underdevelopment of the nation but especially in the perpetuation of such colonial hold through the return of English as a language policy that threatens to be implemented under the impending Gullas Bill and EO 210. This observation is shared by Campoamor in his essay. He draws attention to the role of the shifting language policy and the country's problematic position as a neocolony. He interprets the Gullas Bill as a manifestation of the state's political and economic complicity to a market-specific kind of education. Remollino, on the other hand, pursues the same angle in his analysis of the various administration policies on education since the post-war era. He draws attention to Marcos' education policies, Aquino's Education Commission, Ramos' Education 2000, and Estrada's establishment of the

Philippine Commission on Educational Reform (PCER); and he observes their shared submission to neocolonial interests. He expounds on the 1998 Philippine Education Sector Study (PESS), funded by the Asian Development Bank and the WorldBank - two US-led multilateral institutions - which prescribed a detailed masterplan that is behind the current re-orientation of state universities and colleges towards specialization and self-reliance; and the emphasis on math and science courses at the expense of the humanities and social sciences in the curriculum. Guillermo's first essay also identifies the hand of IMF-World Bank Policies in the Philippine government's resort to privatization schemes as educational reforms.

The problematic relationship that exists between the Philippine education system and its former colonial master is further manifested in history textbooks according to Gealogo. In his essay, he observes this ambiguity in the absence of a single interpretation of American colonial period in the various textbooks that were published over the decades.

This set of essays discloses the colonial roots of education in the country. They also highlight the Philippine educational system's "continuing past" by bringing to light its market-driven and IMF-WB-prescribed orientation.

*Activity 2 – Excerpt from Rizal's El Filibusterismo*

*To deepen the understanding of the unchanging nature of the Philippine education system, a chapter from Rizal's El Filibusterismo can be used as supplementary reading. The specific chapter that can be used from Rizal's novel is Chapter 12 on "Placido Penitente." In this chapter, Rizal draws attention to the ills that plague the colonial education system and which continue up to present times. At the end of the activity, the students should be able to answer the following questions:*

1. *What are the indications of the colonial character of the Philippine education system?*
2. *Through what colonial mechanisms is this system perpetuated and maintained in current times?*
3. *What are the arguments for and against Filipino as official language policy?*
4. *Why is it important for us to adhere to the constitutional designation of Filipino as an official language in our schools?*

Suggested essays for part 2:

"Edukasyong Kolonyal: Sanhi at Bunga ng Mahabang Pagkaalipin,"  
Bienvenido Lumera

- "Philippine Education in the Neocolonial Period," Alex Remollino  
"Pedagogical Role of English in the Reproduction of Labor," Siao Campoamor II  
"History, Colonialism and the Textbooks," Francis Gealogo

### ***III. Features of Neoliberal Education in the Philippines***

Apart from essays which historicize our analysis of the Philippine education system, this volume also includes a number of articles that describe the various contemporary features of neoliberal education in the country. Broken down to specifics, the neoliberal agenda manifests itself through the policies of privatization and deregulation that both private and public institutions of learning are subjected to. Olea's and Arao's essays tackle these issues using current empirical studies. They both make a case for the continuing crisis of the Philippine education system where students and their families suffer the rising cost of tuition and other fees and their teachers endure lower wages and contractualization.

For Del Rosario-Malonzo, Salvador, and Chua, these policies are not incidental to the education sector alone. In fact, they share the view that the neoliberal orientation of the Philippine education system complements the labor requirements of the global economic order. According to Del Rosario-Malonzo, the Revised Basic Education Curriculum (RBEC), implementation of which is funded by the World Bank, equips students with skills that are needed by labor in a globalized economy. Salvador, on the other hand, scores this system for relegating young women to "cheap, semi-skilled, and docile" labor. Chua discloses the intricate web of shared interests between USAID, the American funding agency that promotes US interests, and big business like the Ayala Foundation, in defining the orientation of the Philippine education system. On the one hand, USAID achieves its objective of restructuring Philippine state and society and "make the country more conducive for US businesses." On the other hand, Ayala Foundation creates a labor pool from youth leaders through the trainings they fund.

Knowledge of these contemporary features of neoliberal education will arm both educator and student with critical information that would allow them to understand the specific milieu and the wider socio-historical condition of their existence.

*Activity 3 – Class Debate*

*For this section, staging a class debate among students is suggested. The objective of the debate is to gauge the level of awareness of students and based on this, their capacity to form convictions. The class will be divided into two groups and each will take either a positive or negative stance on the suggested debate topic. A suggested debate topic would be “Be it resolved that: Tuition free increases are necessary to maintain the quality of education in schools.” The instructor can choose other debate topics, of course, and it is encouraged that issues that are closer to the students’ experience are chosen. The following guide questions should be posed to the students at the end of the exercise:*

1. *Why do we say that the Philippine educational system is in crisis?*
2. *How is the Philippine education system oriented towards global labor market demands?*
3. *Whose interests do these neoliberal reforms promote?*

Suggested essays for part 3:

"Pribadong Tubo sa Tersaryong Edukasyon," Ronalyn Olea

"Deregulation at the Expense of Quality Education," Danny Arao

"Economics of Philippine Education: In Service of the Global Market,"  
Jennifer del Rosario-Malonzo

"Docile Minds, Commodified Bodies: Young Women in the Context of  
Globalization and Neoliberal Education," Joan M. E. Salvador

"Corporatizing Public Education in the Philippines: The Case of USAID  
and the Ayala Foundation," Peter Chua

**IV. UP Case Studies**

A number of articles focus on the University of the Philippines. Ordoñez’s essay traces the colonial character of the institution from its establishment up to the present. From responding to the need to train skilled and efficient public servants for the American colonial bureaucracy, to producing the technocrats that would serve Marcos during the dictatorship; the University has always played a major role in preserving the status quo despite its reputation as a hotbed of nationalism. Over the years, the implementation of the neoliberal agenda in education has slowly transformed the State University into a self-reliant “globally-competitive” academic institution especially with the recent 300% tuition fee increase.

The progressive block of faculty, students, and workers had to deal with the neoliberal assault from all fronts. Guillermo provides a

preliminary assessment of the Revitalized General Education Program (RGEP) - a measure that transformed the general education program of the University into a “marketplace of ideas.” Under this program, students have the choice to determine their GE courses and he observes the weakening of the critical and nationalist components in the GE curriculum. Cabrera, on the other hand, relays the experience of UP employees as they deal with “reorganization, streamlining, clustering, multi-tasking and cross-posting” given the decreasing state subsidy. The commercialization of UP education is concretely manifested by the establishment of science and technology parks sponsored by big business in the University campus as discussed by Tapang’s paper. Asa chronicles the struggle of organized students as they fight these neoliberal encroachments and struggle for an increase in state subsidy under a pseudo-progressive University administration.

These essays make UP a case study and provide useful resources that can be made a basis for comparison with the conditions in other state colleges and universities which are faced with the onslaught of such neoliberal educational “reforms.”

*Activity 4 – Case Studies*

*Educators may assign students to undertake case studies that probe the conditions of students, faculty and staff in their respective schools. The class may be divided into groups and these groups will conduct interviews, focus group discussions, and other research activities with the assigned sector of their school. They will then be asked to report the stories they collected in a plenary session in which all the groups will be asked to piece together the collective situation of students, faculty and staff. The end-product is an instant situationer of their own school. The objective of this activity is to identify the shared situation of UP with other institutions of learning including their own. At the end of this exercise, the students should be able to address the following questions:*

- 1. What role did UP play in promoting American colonial interests in its establishment?*
- 2. In what ways has the neoliberal agenda altered the university experience for the students, faculty and staff of UP?*
- 3. Are there similarities between the situation of the students, faculty, and staff of your school with UP?*

Suggested essays for part 4:

"Neoliberalism in the U.P.," Elmer Ordoñez

"Ang Revitalized Education Program (RGEP) ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas-Diliman: Edukasyong Nakamodelo sa Pamilihan," Ramon

Guillermo

“Sitwasyong Empleyado sa Edukasyon,” Clodualdo Cabrera

"Contextualizing Science and Technology Development: Critiquing the UP Science and Technology Parks," Agham

"Pseudo-Progresibong Pragmatismo sa Usaping Pagpopondo sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas," RC Asa

### ***V. Alternative Models of Education***

A set of articles also offers a discussion of the prospects and limitations of alternative models of education. Lanuza presents the struggle of an indigenous people's school in Zambales as it deals with the official bureaucracy for education of the state. He also laments the limitations of these efforts for cultural integration in the face of the continued domination of the elite. Magaling and Santos draw our attention to the dangers of the encroachment of big business in education with the establishment and marketing of an educational channel on local cable TV. These essays present a few of the limitations of those that present themselves as alternatives to mainstream education efforts.

There are also a few essays included in this volume that offer prospects for change towards a transformative kind of education. Raymundo finds it necessary for every educator to recognize the “marketisation” of the current education system. From such an awareness, it is possible for educators to realize a “transformative education,” that is reflexive of their critical role as knowledge-producers. Queaño pursues the same objective by sharing his own experience in teaching classes in literature. Instead of following the established canons and methods in teaching literature, he exhorts educators to expose the ideological content of texts. Abad, on the other hand, calls for the need to pursue the struggle for a Filipino language policy in the face of current attempts to modify this in favor of globalization's labor requirements.

Finally, Tolentino's essay introduces us to the prevailing hegemonic culture that envelops not just the educational system but also informs the ideological imperatives that drive middle-class dreams and aspirations that provide much of neoliberalism's subjective logic. His essay prompts us to consider the fact that what we are dealing with is not limited to the institutional failure of the state bureaucracy; neither is it just a question of resolving economic backwardness. Instead, what his essay and all the others



essays propose is the need for comprehensive social transformation - the kind of transformation that the subject of Guda's essay intimate.

This final set of essays provides the educator with an idea of the limitations and possibilities of alternative models of education. The struggle against neoliberal education for a transformative kind of education can only be won by a critical and vigilant education sector.

*Activity 5 – Biography/Essay-Writing*

*For the final student activity, students may be asked to write their own short biographies, taking into consideration their current location in the social order as students in a neoliberal regime. C. Wright Mill's 'The Sociological Imagination' is a useful resource. In writing their essay-biographies, the students will essentially answer the question: how is my life related to my society's history and current condition; and what can be done to change the situation? The essay will then be exchanged with their assigned partner who will be asked to react in the form of a letter. In effect, apart from their essay-biographies, students will also exchange letters to each other containing their reaction to and critique of each other's work. Some guide questions follow:*

- 1. As students, how do you relate your biography to the kind of society you are part of?*
- 2. What are the limitations in some of the current efforts to reform the education sector?*
- 3. What are some of the advocacies that the education sector can assume to combat the neoliberal agenda?*
- 4. What kind of societal change is necessary to effect a nationalist, scientific, and mass-oriented education?*

Suggested essays for part 5:

"The Struggle for Cultural and Ethnic Justice in the Age of Neoliberal Capitalism: The Case of Indigenous Education of Aetas of Botolan, Zambales," Gerry Lanuza

"Ang Neoliberal na Edukasyon sa Media," Maricristh Magaling at Soliman A. Santos

"The Symptom Called Marketization," Sarah Jane Raymundo

"On Teaching Literature," Nonilon Queano

"Neoliberalistang Pagpaplanong Pangwika: Tungo sa Komodipikado at Episyenteng Pagpapahayag," Melania Lagahit Abad

"Kulturang Popular at Pakiwaring Gitnang Uri," Rolando B. Tolentino  
" 'A para sa Armalayt': Ilang Tala Hinggil sa Rebolusyonaryong  
Edukasyon mula sa Panandaliang Bisita sa isang Sonang Gerilya sa Bicol,"  
Kenneth Roland A. Guda

### **Ilang Tala Hinggil sa mga Manunulat at Editor**

Tagapangulo ng All U.P. Academics Union-Diliman, si *Melania L. Abad* ay nagtuturo sa Departamento ng Filipino at Panitikan ng Pilipinas sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas (UP).

Si *Arnold Alamon* ay mananaliksik at kasapi ng Congress of Teachers and Educators for Nationalism and Democracy (CONTEND).

Si *Danilo Araña Arao* ay isang katuwang na propesor ng pamamahayag sa Kolehiyo ng Pangmadlang Komunikasyon, UP kung saan siya ay kasalukuyang direktor ng Opisina ng Pananaliksik at Publikasyon ng nasabing kolehiyo. Siya ay miyembro ng Lupon ng mga Patnugot ng *Bulatlat Online Magazine*, tagapamahalang patnugot ng *Philippine Journalism Review* at regular na kolumnista ng *Pinoy Weekly*. Ang ilang organisasyong kinabibilangan niya ay ang Alliance of Concerned Teachers (ACT), Congress of Teachers and Educators for Nationalism and Democracy (CONTEND), Kontra Kartel, National Union of Journalists of the Philippines (NUJP), Kodao Productions, at All-UP Academic Employees Union.

Si *R.C. Asa* ay naging secretary-general ng Center for Nationalist Studies noong nag-aaral pa siya sa UP. Nalalathala noon ang mga sanaysay niya sa *Sinag* at *Philippine Collegian*. Ngayon, pana-panahong lumalabas ang mga sanaysay niya sa *Pinoy Weekly*.

Instruktor sa Sociology Department ng UP, si *Jonnabelle Vidal Asis* ay dating staffwriter ng *Philippine Collegian*, publikasyong mag-aaral ng UP, at kasalukuyang aktibo sa CONTEND.

Si *Clodualdo "Buboy" Cabrera* ang Tagapangulo ng All U.P. Workers Union.

Assistant Professor sa Kolehiyo ng Arte at Literatura sa U.P. si *Gonzalo "Siao" Campoamor II*. Siya ay Campaigns Officer ng CONTEND bago tumulak sa bansang Japan noong 2002, kung saan kasalukuyang tinatapos ang PhD degree sa Kasaysayan sa Hitotsubashi University sa Tokyo. Kumikilos din para sa mga organisasyon ng mga migranteng Pilipino sa Tokyo at Nagano.

Si *Peter Chua* ay Assistant Professor ng Sociology sa San José State University, USA. Malawak ang kanyang sulatin ukol sa global inequalities, gender justice, at Third World sociology. Sa nakaraang dalawampung taon, siya ay nakikilahok sa grassroots organizing sa mga isyu ng racist violence, sexuality, at migrant rights. Isa siya sa mga convener ng US - based Critical Filipina and Filipino Studies Collective at tumulong sa paggawa ng ulat hinggil sa nakaraang U.S. deportations.

Mananaliksik ng IBON, makabayang research at databank, si *Jennifer del Rosario-Malongo*.

Si *Gary C. Devilles* ay nagtuturo sa Kagawaran ng Filipino sa Ateneo de Manila University.

Associate Professor sa Kagawaran ng Kasaysayan, Ateneo de Manila University, si *Francis Gealogo* ay awtor ng maraming artikulo ukol sa kasaysayang-bayan.

Manunulat si *Kenneth Roland A. Guda* ng *Pinoy Weekly*, isang alternatibong pahayagan/magasin. Miyembro rin siya ng National Union of Journalists of the Philippines, at dating features editor ng *Philippine Collegian*.

Assistant Professor ng Departamento ng Filipino at Panitikan ng Pilipinas, si *Ramon "Bomen" Guillermo* ay dalubhasa sa Araling Filipino. Kasapi rin siya ng CONTEND.

Nagtuturo sa Sociology Department ng UP si *Gerry Lanuza*

Chair Emeritus ng CONTEND, si *Bienvenido Lumbea* ay Professor Emeritus rin sa Kolehiyo ng Arte at Literatura, U.P. Pambansang Alagad ng Sining sa Literatura, siya ay kasapi ng Concerned Artists of the Philippines, ACT, at Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (BAYAN).

Tagapagsaliksik ng Ecumenical Institute for Labor Education and Research Inc. (Eiler Inc.) si *Maricristh Magaling*. Gradweyt siya ng malikhaing pagsulat sa UP.

Dating Tagapangulo ng College Editors Guild of the Philippines, si *Ronalyn Olea* ay aktibo sa Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (BAYAN).

Profesor sa Department of English and Comparative Literature, UP, si *Nonilon V. Queano* ay makata, mandudula at tumutugtog ng tradisyunal na musikang instrumento. Siya ay Bise-Pangulo ng CONTEND.

Ko-editor ng *Kontra-Gabum: Academics Against Political Killings*, si *Sarah Raymundo* ay ang Secretary-General ng CONTEND. Kasalukuyan siyang Assistant Professor sa Sociology Department ng U.P.

Isang makata, at staffwriter ng *Bulatlat.com* si *Alexander Martin Remollino*.

Si *Soliman Santos* ang kasalukuyang editor sa Kultura ng makabayang pahayagang *Pinoy Weekly*. Nasa unang taon siya ngayon ng kanyang MA sa malikhaing pagsulat sa U.P.

Si *Joan M.E. Salvador* ay aktibo sa Gabriela, ang alyansa ng makayabayang kababaihan.

Si *Giovanni Tapang* ay Tagapangulo ng Samahan ng Nagtataguyod ng Agham at Teknolohiya para sa Sambayanan (AGHAM) na naitatag noong 1999. Siya ay isa ring Assistant Professor at tagasaliksik sa National Institute of Physics sa U.P.

Tagapangulo ng CONTEND, si *Rolando B. Tolentino* ay awtor ng mga libro at artikulo hinggil sa panitikan, kulturang popular at media.

Dating Tagapangulo ng Department of Social Sciences ng U.P. Manila, si *Edberto M. Villegas* ay mayaman ang kasaysayan ng pakikilahok sa kilusang guro. Kasalukuyang Bise Presidente ng All U.P. Academic Union, siya ay awtor ng mga libro ukol sa batas paggawa, politikal na ekonomiya, at iba pa.

