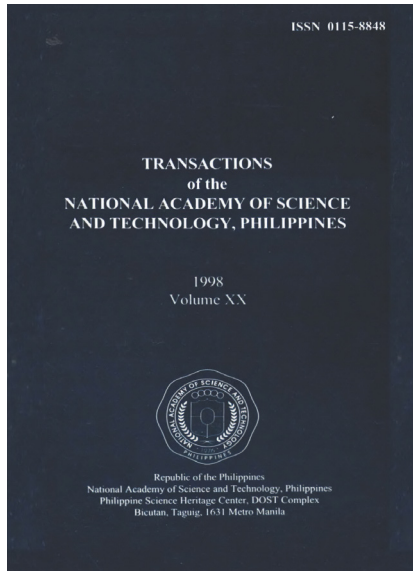


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# Democratizing Methodologies in the Social Sciences: Survey Research in the Philippines

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## **PLENARY SESSION V**

### **"GOVERNANCE, CIVIL SOCIETY, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE"**

#### **DEMOCRATIZING METHODOLOGIES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: SURVEY RESEARCH IN THE PHILIPPINES**

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#### **A. THE INVISIBLE PUBLIC IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL SCIENCE INQUIRY**

One could be uneasy as regards contemporary studies of most critical social phenomena in developing countries like the Philippines. There is little direct participation of the public in these treatises by social scientists. Society's key structures, institutions, processes, and other crucial concerns are rarely examined from the vantage point of public perceptions and sentiments. Even as scholars regularly attribute specific ideas and views to the public in reading and representing a country's history, critical times, and crucial national issues, their databases usually exclude material directly culled from the people through survey research.

Political stability, economic viability, and social cohesion (or their corresponding negations) are assiduously related to the relative strength, willfulness, and effectiveness of key political and economic actors, or influential institutions and sectoral groups dynamically interacting within and beyond the nation. The people themselves, often politically and economically marginalized, mostly lacking in social stature, are easily missed and, at times, could be willfully ignored by impatient or elitist academics.

Several reasons could account for this academic neglect. First, academic tradition has a way of perpetuating itself. Scholars who have gotten used to certain modes of analysis (e.g., legal-institutional, historical, and case studies among

others) become comfortable with them and it takes much effort to accommodate others, particularly those involving extensive quantitative analysis and, perhaps even more formidable to some academics, direct interaction with the public. Political scientists and economists in developing countries, for instance, rarely have a developed tradition of survey research or extensive fieldwork and most rely on readily available data furnished by at times manipulative government agencies and private institutions.

Second, survey research or public opinion surveys could be high-risk propositions in many developing countries. The political sensibilities of authorities, specially those without much public support, are often overly developed and academics monitoring the public pulse on sensitive sociopolitical and economic issues could easily get into trouble. In martial law Philippines, survey research was not quite the preferred method of social inquiry, neither encouraged by the vigilant authorities nor favored by prudential academics. By law, anyone doing survey interviews was supposed to register with some government agency and furnish copies of survey design and field questionnaires in advance. Academic surveys probing the political sentiments of Filipinos languished during the Marcos years. Only as the authoritarian regime weakened in the early 1980s did political surveys pick up. Within the ASEAN region, public opinion surveys of political and economic concerns still have not been regularly conducted except in the Philippines and only by a rather small number of academic researchers.

Third, public opinion surveys could also be prohibitively costly for academics without substantial institutional support. In the Philippines, for instance, national surveys involving samples of 1200 to 1500 respondents currently require well over a million pesos per round. Except for the Social Weather Stations (a small, non-governmental, academic group) no Philippine institution has been able to sustain a survey research capability demanding this level of financial outlay at least four times a year. Neither Marcos' Philippine Center for Advanced Studies (PCAS) of the 1970s and its successor in the 1980s, the President's Center for Special Studies (PCSS), nor the various government and private sector think-tanks in the later Aquino and Ramos administrations developed in-house capabilities for systematic and regular opinion surveys on the most crucial concerns of political and economic governance. Academic institutions themselves have also shied away from this capability build-up. Even the country's financially best-endowed academic institution (the University of the Philippines with a state budget of over PhP2 billion in 1994) lacks the institutional capability for regularly monitoring the public pulse.

## **B. DEMOCRATIZING THE SOCIAL SCIENCES' DATABASES**

Of course, public opinion surveys or more generally speaking, survey research probes are not altogether absent in academic and quasi-academic probes of Philippine conditions. Social science practitioners in many government agencies

(e.g., the Department of Labor, the National Economic and Development Authority, the Department of Health, the Department of Agrarian Reform, the Food and Nutrition Research Center, and the National Statistics Office, among others) have run various socioeconomic and demographic surveys across the years, as their respective agency needs dictated. Social scientists in private sector groups have been quite active in undertaking market surveys of market segmentation, consumer profiles, and product preferences. Social scientists in universities and colleges also include survey research in their repertoire of methodological capabilities. All these social science professionals have undertaken survey research in one form or another.

The issue then is not really whether survey research is being done by social scientists in this country, but on what issues it focuses on and whether it is applied to these issues with sufficient regularity. In assessing the impact or influence of social science (in particular survey research or public opinion surveys) on public policy, it makes a lot of difference whether one is taking about issues like high-end, consumer-product positioning, and real estate opportunities or, alternatively, regime legitimacy, national trends in poverty and crime incidence rates, public satisfaction with the country's political institutions, public officials, and the major administration programs, or long-term sociodemographic concerns like overall demographic trends, values formation, life cycles, human rights, gender and environmental issues, or even singularly dramatic concerns like the 1995 rice crisis or, in the same year, the tragic execution of a Filipina contract worker in Singapore.

On practically all of the important national concerns listed above, Filipino social scientists and their government and private sector counterparts have not done enough survey research. In addition to reasons explored in the initial section of this paper, the inadequate utilization of this methodology may also be traced to the lack of an institutional, long-term research agenda which systematically prioritizes and coordinates the efforts of social scientists involved in integrative or team research. The absence of this programmatic research plan is itself traceable to some academic idiosyncrasies in this country. With few exceptions, Filipino social scientists appear to be overly individualistic, not quite inclined to conceptualizing and undertaking collaborative research. In other cases, an *ad hoc* orientation to research prevails, abetted by the gross reality of market-driven research even in the most reputable academic institutions within the country. Fund availability, not the intrinsic merit of socially imperative concerns, channels the research energies of many Filipino social scientists. As a result, researchers hop, skip, and jump from one research topic to another, largely ignoring serious considerations for deepening subject expertise and the logical need for long-term research continuity.

The national social science situation is not completely hopeless. The upside is that, given current Philippine developments, a premium has been irreversibly placed on situating the people in social science inquiries. Political democratization

demands hearing from the general public, if not quite acting yet upon what is heard from them. Social liberation has contributed to the political empowerment of traditionally marginalized groups like the women and the Muslims. Economic growth also has spurred some social conscientization such that the equity claims of the historically poor can expect more than the usual rhetorical, tongue-in-cheek political responses. All of these developments augur well for social science methodologies which allow for a more democratized approach to understanding Philippine society and its underlying dynamics. Social scientists as well as the controlling elites in this country have never been as propitiously positioned as at present should they decide to really hear from, seriously listen to, and not simply tell the people. Survey research is arguably one of the most effective hearing aids available to those who would democratize not only the bases of various social science discourses but of society itself.

### C. SURVEY RESEARCH'S IMPACT ON PUBLIC POLICY

On publicly acknowledged high saliency issues, some social scientists are currently able to influence the course of public policy by directly communicating their survey findings to the highest authorities. These privileged academics regularly provide briefings for the President and his Cabinet, both chambers of Congress and other major government agencies. Post-Marcos political administrations have become quite sensitive to public opinion and popular sentiments which now readily reach, and are often magnified by, an exuberant media. By way of an illustration, in October 1995, President Ramos, no less, responded energetically to the rice crisis when survey findings indubitably showed that Filipinos were holding him directly responsible for the rice shortage. (No other president, not even Marcos at the height of the EDSA challenge, suffered so much and such direct public criticism as Ramos during this period.) In the same year, President Ramos also quickly accepted the resignation of two Cabinet members when surveys showed severely critical public sentiments in the course of a Filipina worker's criminal conviction and execution in Singapore.

Public opinion findings have also spurred some controversial policy initiatives. In 1992, the Ramos administration committed to a policy of population regulation which surveys showed was already mostly acceptable to the public but which an influential religious hierarchy considered immoral and hence vigorously opposed.

Survey data have been put to other pragmatic uses. Government officials frequently cite public opinion surveys in justifying their proposed agency budgets in Congressional hearings, defending specific agency programs and, at times, even taking media to task for the latter's alleged tendencies to misinform and sensationalize.

Public opinion data now inform policy discussions and decisions in the various departments of Foreign Affairs, Justice, Transportation and Communica-

tion, Health, Education and Culture, Agrarian Reform, Agriculture, Tourism, National Defense, the National Security Council, as well as many local governments and specific public officials. On many high-visibility issues such as the traffic condition in Metro Manila, the pollution of Boracay, the Kuratong Baleleng Case, the PEA-Amari case, and a host of other concerns, the responsible authorities had the benefit of knowing what the public sentiments were as they fashioned policy responses to these concerns.

Arguably the greatest impact of survey research (or more specifically public opinion surveys) is registered in the process of electing public officials. Less than 15 years ago, it was possible to assess electoral contests and their probable results without once using the word "survey". Since 1992, "public opinion polls," and "surveys" have become part of the standard vocabulary of anyone who would presume to analyze national elections in this country. The most powerful political figures and the best-endowed campaign financiers seriously include survey findings in their choice of whom to support and whom to abandon among candidates aiming for the highest political positions. In 1998, all the major presidential campaigns reflected much sensitivity to the influence survey findings wield in the determination of electoral outcomes. It is not improbable that in the 2001 and 2004 national elections, all the serious contenders for national positions will try to avail themselves of the technical expertise professional pollsters and political scientists, among other social scientists, have.

#### **D. CAVEATS FOR THE SURVEYING SOCIAL SCIENTISTS**

At this stage, survey methodologies and their findings need to be more responsibly clarified not only to the general public or the policymakers, but also to most of the social scientists themselves. Without providing basic education on what surveys are, how legitimately and competently they could be done, what they can and cannot do, how they could be manipulated and perverted by the unprincipled and the irresponsible, this social science technology can be as hazardous to a democratizing body politic as any explosive device would be to any organic entity.

Without sufficient education regarding the nature and limitations of surveys, at best those exposed to it would treat it as an object of religious devotion, inspiring much fanaticism sustained by awe-inspiring ignorance. On the other hand, there would be based essentially on the same ground. (Many of our politicians and media people are already fanatically for or against surveys, but either way most are ill-informed about this social science tool.)

A final note must be sounded. Public opinion surveys, particularly those that relate to electoral campaigns, are a sunrise industry in the Philippines. In the last elections alone, both local and foreign polling groups started sprouting like mushrooms after a particularly generous shower. Social scientists without firm academic commitments will be grossly tempted to compromise their professional

ethics for material considerations which even those in the business sector would consider substantial enough. Times like these, those in the social sciences must exert extra effort in reminding themselves that what is needed is not a juicy contract for a compromised public opinion survey, but a rigorous evaluation of what a social scientist irrevocably loses in giving up his academic soul.\*

### **ANNEX: SUMMARY NOTES ON SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AND PUBLIC POLICY**

The interface between academic discourse and public policy traditionally has generated the most partisan as well as the most anguished discussions among academics and, at times, between academics and those who actually govern and execute public policy. Far too often, academics have hurled charges at each other, some accusing others of working far too readily and comfortably with government and its various agencies, for betraying their professional commitments and prostituting their technical skills for material or political gains. On the other hand, other academics and most policymakers have condemned those who would stay aloof in their "ivory towers," unmindful of society's critical need for highly skilled citizens to help run a government, manage a national economy and, more generally speaking, undertake collaborative work with those who actually govern.

There are also academics who try to assume a middle ground between these two groups and undertake "critical collaboration" with policy-makers. While lending their professional and technical skills to government agencies, these academics claim to remain essentially independent-minded, maintaining some distance from the policymakers and quick to leave the latter should their academic integrity be threatened in any real or imagined way.

Among academics, the question of what makes social scientists extremely useful to the political authorities has been addressed in numerous fora, including disciplinally defined professional meetings. However, their often erudite discussions generally skirt the sensitive issue of the character of the discourses employed by social scientists among themselves and, even more critically, towards the regime authorities as academics effectively serve or betray the legitimate interests of their societies. This focus does not exclude inquiries into the social scientists' substantive knowledge base and their personal contributions to that base, but it underscores the realities of how social scientists relate to each other and interact with those who are formally tasked with a society's governance.

\*An annex, "Summary Notes On Social Scientists and Public Policy," has been added to this paper precisely to help Filipino social scientists explore the nature of academic commitments, the historical and political contexts of academic orientations and alternative social science discourses, and possible frameworks within which one might try to understand, perhaps even evaluate, the roles played by Filipino social scientists in strengthening, sustaining, or weakening national political regimes in the last one hundred years.

(In a lighter vein, one might note the etymology of the term "discourse" and be reminded that it comes from the Latin "*discurrere*" or "to run about". How social scientists "run about" within their disciplines and across others, with what kind of methodologies and jargons to facilitate or obstruct mutual comprehension and active collaboration among themselves and how, beyond themselves, given certain considerations, they also "run about" with the authorities in the making of public policies – this can tell us much about how Filipino social scientists discharge their academic functions not only as they should but as they actually have and probably would continue to do so in the years to come.)

Powerful intellects have actually designed models of utopian societies where economic security, political stability, and societal development turned on the conjunction of philosophy and politics, philosophers and kings, influential academics, and political decisionmakers. In perhaps the most radical model devised by thinkers of this utopian school, philosophers indeed would be kings. (It is of course highly instructive that Plato, after a sobering tutorial experience with a local tyrant, chose to leave his model republic, "a pattern laid up in the stars," where it rightly belongs and later pragmatically concerned himself with a more earthly regime, one where the laws and other institutions govern through recognizably human political leaders.)

All over the world, many people with claims to knowledge and technical/professional expertise have consorted with those who have political power and directly exercise governance functions. As in the case of presumably indispensable natural scientists, social scientists too increasingly have been tapped to assist in the maintenance and enhancement of political regimes. Lawyers, economists, political scientists, sociologists, demographers, historians, anthropologists, psychologists, and mass communication experts, among others, have been conscripted into regime crusades which political authorities eagerly mount and jealously lead. By whatever shibboleth these campaigns are advertised (e.g., "pacification," "nationalism," "national development," "national security," "modernization," "sustainable economic development," or "serving the people"), social scientists have become veritable phalanxes of these contemporary political crusades.

The Philippines has not been an exception to the general case. In this country, the social sciences and their professionals (teachers, researchers, and other practitioners) have been often engaged in the service of political governance and public administration. Even a cursory review of the various social science disciplines in the past 100 years reveals that whatever the political regime and whoever the regime controllers might be, enough Filipino social scientists have collaborated with the political authorities with, one might add, mixed results for the public and its legitimate interests.

Without naively saddling these social scientists with the sole responsibility for the authorities' governance policies, they nevertheless have helped actively shape the country's general political culture and its effective political regime, its legal framework, economic structural base, and the overall system of Filipino

societal opportunities, rewards and penalties. Filipino social scientists, much like their counterparts in other countries, have thus contributed significantly to the historical as well as the contemporary resolutions of the basic political concern: *Who gets what, where, when and how?*

In 1998, this fundamental issue could be reformulated in various ways even as the social scientists confronting it apply their individual professional skills and academic talents. Political scientists could look into the political system's confluence of formal and dynamic properties (assessing whether the gap between the two has been narrowing or widening over time, with what specific implications for overall regime legitimacy, political stabilization, democratization and social justice); economists might inquire into the comparative efficiency of the national economy and its various sectors, the nature of its linkages with the global economic system and, perhaps most crucially, its distributive or equity concerns within the nation; anthropologists and sociologists might dissect the operational properties and the dynamic processes of Philippine cultures and the value matrices of Philippine society; psychologists could provide valuable insights into the operational underpinnings of both social and individual behavior, the presumably "normal" as well as the clearly aberrant and their implications for national collective efforts. Historians have a specially critical role to play, to assist in the deepening and retention of a national memory. Indeed, as the Filipino poet Gemino H. Abad reinventing Santayana was moved to say, a nation is only as good as its memory. The political scientist O.D. Corpuz, a historian in his own right, has presented this country with a truly excellent centennial gift. His two-volume work, *The Roots of the Filipino Nation*, is, to date, probably the most impressive Filipino nationalist treatise (and tract, for despite the Corpuz' quietly eloquent style, the work nevertheless reminds one of Machiavelli's emotional appeal to his fellow Italians as the latter concludes *The Prince*).

Taking this crucial interaction between Filipino social scientists and political actors as a historical given, an inquiry into the nature of social science discourses and how they have impacted or influenced public policy is sorely needed in a nation celebrating its centennial. This probe could be facilitated if the following questions initially guided those who would explore the wherefores of social science and social scientists in relation to policymaking and the authorities who make public policies:

1. *The nature of academic work:* What is an academic commitment and specifically, a social scientist's academic commitment? Within the specific professional disciplines of the social sciences, are there ethical practices that serve to strengthen or to weaken the academic commitment? In the political realm, are there conditions/situations which constrain the liberal pursuit of an academic commitment?

2. *The historical contexts of academic orientations:* In the case of Philippine social science, what historical conditions could have influenced the development of specific social science disciplines such that particular discourses (para-

digms, theories, and modes of analysis) became naturally favored or were ostracized within the disciplines? Did Filipino academics who pursued graduate work in largely Western institutions uncritically develop the same saliency orientations of their foreign trainers? As regards foreign institutions which supported institution-building and human resource (faculty) development programs, were their institutional agenda largely consonant with what objective Philippine conditions indicated really needed to be done? Did Philippine institutions pursuing human development programs have a strategic sense of how their returning trained social scientists need re-integrating into underdeveloped institutional environments, with mostly meager physical and financial resources, even as they would be assiduously sought (or, in corporate language, "pirated") by other, materially much better-endowed and better-endowing institutions in society?

3. *The politics of academic discourse*: Regarding specific political realities, to what extent did foreign or imperialist political control condition the development of specific discourses in the social sciences? Is the preference for legalistic analyses of political institutions and social situations traceable to the understandable animosity of imperial authorities for far more revealing and possibly inciting political and sociological analyses?

4. *Martial law and Filipino social scientists*: What effects did Marcos' martial law administration have on the independence and integrity of social science discourses and specific social science discourses and specific social scientists? Did Marcos' authoritarian regime succeed in conscripting reputable Filipino social scientists and turning them into handmaidens and apologists of the Marcos administration? Whatever happened to Marcos-funded, fairly extensive policy studies done by Filipino social scientists during this period?

5. *Post-Marcos political regimes and Filipino social scientists*: As a matter of fact, have social scientists had much more success in pursuing critical collaboration with the authorities in the post-Marcos period? How influential indeed have academic policy studies been in the Aquino and Ramos administrations? How much influence do social scientists now exercise in the Estrada administration and what is the overall quality of that influence? What indicators might be designed and actively used to reliably gauge the influence social scientists have in relation to policymaking?

6. *Alternative social science discourses in traditional and non-traditional venues*: Are there significant alternative social science discourses, conducted within or beyond the academic institutions, say in non-governmental organizations, and what have been their track records in informing, sustaining, assailing, and improving public policies?

7. *Towards a truly more independent and a more capable social science in the Philippines*: What needs to be done to promote further competence and greater independence within the social sciences as they continue to perform their academic functions in collaboration with governmental agencies? What specific recommendations might be considered to increase the probability that social scien-

tists remain fairly independent in the way they assess sociopolitical and economic realities? What can be done such that, even as social scientists labor with political actors in addressing society's concerns, they do not confuse their academic commitment and public duty with serving to please influential political patrons? How many eminent social scientists given a cabinet post failed to make this crucial distinction and allowed themselves to be partners in the deliberate misrepresentation of political and economic conditions to their people?

There are many more concerns which could be added to the ones listed above. In the course of numerous academic discussions, these other considerations will definitely eventually surface and in due time will probably be satisfactorily addressed. However, one must hope that it will not take another hundred years before a national consensus develops regarding the necessity of collaboration between academics in the social sciences and the nation's political governors. That consensus must be anchored on the realization that this collaboration benefits Philippine society only if Filipino social scientists clearly understood, and at all times firmly insisted on, their being truly independent-minded, academic workers.

## **GOVERNANCE, CIVIL SOCIETY, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE**

TERESITA ANG SEE

*Executive Director, KAISA para sa Kaunlaran*

- A working definition of "governance" was provided: The process which any society, through its authorities and institutions, resolves the fundamental question of who gets what, where, and how.
- The role of local communities in the process of governance was underscored.
- Given the Philippine context, among the major issues and concerns surrounding the general concern of governance are the following: promotion of accountabilities, prevention of graft and corruption, preservation of public order and safety, etc. They also include basic concerns such as the provision of basic needs, management of traffic, and garbage disposal.
- Professor Miranda cited continuities in the study of governance. Referring to Huntington, he said that the challenges are basically the same as they were 25 years ago: Will we be governed well, or will we be governed at all? He also said that within the context of Philippine history, continuities are quite observable. The same issues and concerns are raised and studied repeatedly, yet some of the fundamental concerns of good governance remain unaddressed and problems remain.

- Professor Miranda shared some data pertaining to governance. The theme was how the Filipino people would like to resolve the question of governance and how they would like to be governed. Among the questions asked were those relating to the whether democracy is the best political system and in what circumstances; whether authoritarianism was acceptable in some cases; or whether it makes a difference at all. He related the response to these questions to the social class and status of the respondents. Other questions asked were the following:
  - Are you satisfied with the way democracy works in this country?
  - What is the meaning of people empowerment?
  - A comparative status of Freedom of Speech under the Marcos, Aquino, and Ramos governments.
- Another issue raised pertained to the various concerns of governance of the people. These ranged from threats to national security (poverty, graft and corruption, public safety, lack of discipline in the society, economic issues).
- How people rate themselves in terms of poverty had a geographic correlation: Those from the Visayas and Mindanao themselves are worse off relative to those from Luzon and Metro Manila.
- Ms. Teresita Ang See discussed the role of anti-crime NGOs to promote good governance and social justice. As far as she and the groups she represented were concerned, there can be no social justice in an environment of fear, hence the urgency of peace and order, law and order in good governance. She also decried the fact the "crime does pay in this country, and it pays lucratively."
- Ms. Ang See pointed out that anti-crime NGOs have advocated reforms in the various pillars of the criminal justice system: law enforcement, prosecution, courts, and correction pillars.
- During the open forum, questions were raised pertaining to reporting of crime and the status of development. Professor Miranda said that there is a direct correlation between the status of development of a country and the percentage of crime reported: the richer a country is, the higher the tendency to report crimes. Professor Miranda decried the discrepancy in the figures of the National Police Commission and the SWS which "suggest a horrible amount of underreporting."
- Another question raised was about a correlation, if any, between the "level of happiness" of the Filipino people and poverty, considering that the Filipino people were once reported to be among the happiest people in the world. Professor Miranda attributed this to the generally positive outlook of the Filipino who feels that "provided that what I have now will not further deteriorate, I will applaud." The Filipino has so much self-confidence, and also confidence in his leaders.



## PLENARY SESSION VI

# "THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND EDUCATION, LANGUAGE, AND COMMUNICATION DEVELOPMENT"

## LANGUAGE COMMUNICATION DEVELOPMENT IN EDUCATION

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### 1. GENESIS AND PURPOSE OF THE PAPER

The purpose of this paper, delivered at the 4<sup>th</sup> National Social Science Congress in cooperation with the National Academy of Science and Technology

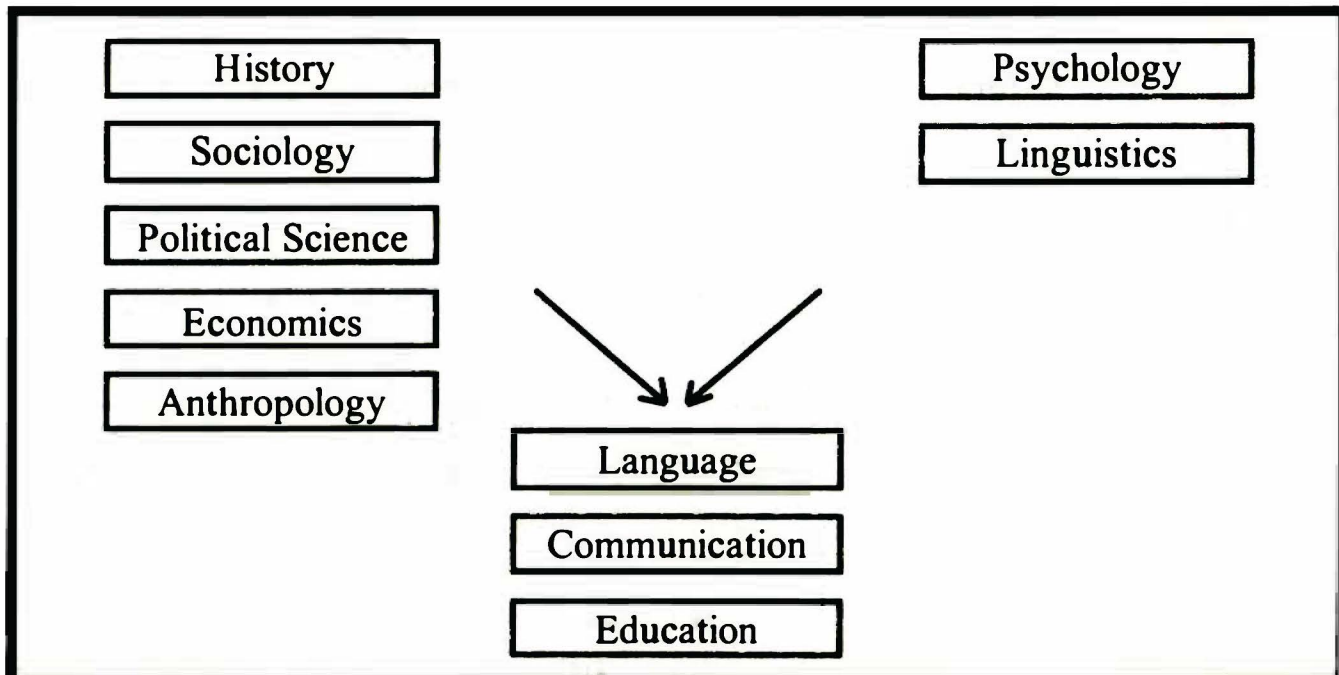


Figure 1

Visually, I think of the presentation as verbalizing the diagram above. The topic focuses on what findings in the Philippines are available from the social sciences (History, Sociology, Political Science, Economics, and Anthropology in the one hand and Psychology and Linguistics on the other hand). On the basis of the interaction of these disciplines, the language situation in the country has evolved and the language policies of the citizenry described from the same intellectual infrastructure policies governing communication in the society and policies having to do with the schools (especially the media of instruction) have followed.

Both policy and implementation (or lack of it) are described from the empirical data possible with no attempt to propose new policy, but to describe accurately the current situation. The presentation is, therefore, descriptive, not prescriptive. It is not a paper on advocacy but a paper describing policy and practice, with a view of coming up with some theoretical considerations by way of conclusion.

In preparation for the National Social Science Congress, groups of interested specialists began to meet and discuss these matters initially by discipline (linguistics, communication, education, singly) in what were called Pre-Congress sessions and then to discuss prepared papers in clusters (linguistics, education, communication) and subsequently at the Congress itself to present an integrated paper. The integrated paper is the current one.

The contributions of the Social Sciences are dealt with in the following orders:

- a. Language in nation-building, the development of a national language as a sign of national unity, and as a symbol of linguistic identity.
- b. Communication in a society, the language of administration and government, mass media and multimedia, the language of information technology in a knowledge society, religious worship, foreign relations.
- c. Education including media of instruction, social mission, professions, research.

An attempt to draw out some generalizations from the data summarized follows by way of theoretical consideration.

## **2. THE SOCIAL SCIENCES**

### **2.1 Language Policy**

#### *2.1.1 Symbolic and effective functions of language*

Although the notion of a national language was bruited about in the first two decades of the American colonial regime, it was really not till the 1935 Constitutional Assembly when the issue of a national language officially became the subject of legislation; so divisive was the issue at that time that it demonstrated that Philippine society had not 'crystallized' sufficiently to have a consensus on national language. The 1935 Constitutional provision mandated the establishment

of an agency to oversee the selection and development of a national language. The enabling law for establishing the National Language Institute was the Norberto Romualdez Law of 1936; the next year, 1937, saw the establishment of the National Language Institute (renamed by an amendment in 1938 as the Institute of National Language), the choice of Tagalog as the basis of the national language, its official adoption in 1939 with the availability of a grammar in Tagalog (Lope K. Santos' *Balarila*), and a bilingual Tagalog-English word list (which was considered a dictionary). With this approval, summer courses were held in 1940 to enable Tagalog (named *Wikang Pambansa*) or National Language to be taught in fourth year high school and as a subject in teacher training colleges beginning in 1941.

The national language (*Wikang Pambansa*) was slowly standardized by the Institute of National Language propagated especially during the short regime of the Laurel Government during the Japanese Period, and taught in all grades (primary and secondary) and as a subject in college in the Independence Period. The main task of language at present, within the mission of the *Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino* (Commission on the Filipino Language), established by RA 7104 in 1991, is the cultivation of Filipino (its current name after being renamed *Pilipino* in 1959, renamed in 1974, and confirmed as existing in 1987) as a language of academic discourse.

Basic to the movement to strengthen the use of Filipino is the need to have a symbol of unity and a badge of linguistic identity as part of the nationalistic thrust of the Government and its citizenry.

Studies in the Philippines indicate that Filipinos favor Filipino (except some Cebuanos) as a symbol of unity and linguistic identity but do not necessarily favor it as the exclusive medium of instruction in schools. Thus a bilingual scheme has been accepted. Neither is adherence to language necessarily an effective agent for national cohesion and anchorage to the country for there are many ethnic rivalries up to now between tribes that commonly use Filipino as a *lingua franca* and there are many Tagalog/Filipino-speaking citizens who work abroad, some of whom have migrated to other countries permanently. The correlation between language and nationalism does not always hold.

In attempting to grapple with the complex reality that the Philippine linguistic situation represents, one has to rely on the science of politics to see the symbolic function of language (effective or ineffective) in nation building.

The social science disciplines, especially economics and sociology, likewise specify the success of language planning in our society (the selection of the basis of the national language, its standardization, propagation, and cultivation) including its domains of the school system, rituals and ceremonies in the domains of religion, business, government, and international relations. Of these realities in these areas presently under study by Filipino social scientists, one can find ways of explaining Philippine social behavior at present in the field of the symbolic function of language in nation-building.

## 2.2 Communications Policy

Communications policy within and without a society are likewise governed by factors describable in the literature of sociolinguistics, mass media and multi-media theory, and culture.

Within the society, cohesion has been partially attained by the widespread use for dissemination propagation of Filipino, the national language, now spoken by 90% of the population. A policy of using Filipino and English for broadcasts, including recorded music, now exists with favor granted to Filipino in songs played and even more so (85%) in broadcasting on radio and TV, plus the Filipino cinema which is, however, competing with videos and tapes.

English has traditionally been the dominant language in the media. Since the onset of American rule, when a mass media system patterned after that of the American colonial rulers was established. English was the primary language used in the mass media. Since 1986, however, Filipino has steadily gained ground as a major language in the media especially on radio and TV. An examination of the language/s used in the various media will show this. For example, in the print media, the 12 broadsheets which include *The Manila Bulletin*, *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, *the Philippine Star*, *The Philippine Standard*, *Manila Times*, *Manila Chronicle*, *Philippine Journal*, and *Today*, use English.

The tabloids use English and Filipino. The serious tabloids like *People's Journal*, *Tonight*, and *Tempo* or those which feature serious columns, news stories, entertainment news, and feature serious articles, use both Filipino and English with the columns being written in English and the entertainment news and feature articles in Filipino. *Bandera* is written entirely in Filipino. Other tabloids, like *Abante*, *Balita*, *People's Bagong Balita*, and *Remate* are entirely in Filipino.

Community newspapers, which number over 300, are bilingual or trilingual. Some use English and Filipino or English and the local vernacular, or English, Filipino, and the local vernacular. Community papers in the Visayas which resist the use of Filipino use English and the local vernacular.

On Philippine radio, Filipino, English, or code switching in these two languages are used. There are a total of 402 radio stations, of which 246 are AM and 156 FM. AM radio stations, which cater predominantly to mass media audiences in both urban and rural areas, use mainly Filipino while FM radio stations, which usually specialize in music and are directed toward the upper class, use English.

On television, these two languages, Filipino and English again co-exist. Cable television, including newscasts and canned programs like game shows, MTV, and movies use English. Free television, which consist primarily of commercial television shows, use Filipino and English. The newscasts are either in English or Filipino, whereas public affairs programs are predominantly in English except for a few.

Indicative of the growing preference for Filipino by the TV watching audience is the fact that newscasts which are in Filipino have been getting higher rates

compared to their counterparts in English, as shown by the popularity of Channel 2's "TV Patrol" and Channel 7's "Saksi." Presumably, one of the factors for the high ratings of these shows is that the viewers understand the language and, therefore, switch on to Filipino rather than to English newscasts.

In the domain of government, the factors that most affect language choice in oral government communications are formality of the situation and educational level of the participants. The more formal the situation and the more highly educated the participants, the greater the tendency to use English. Thus, sessions of Congress and meetings of the city or municipal government are conducted in English while informal barangay assemblies and transactions in government offices are in the local language with some switching to English. In regions without a distaste for Filipino, there may be a conscious effort to give pride of place to the national language. Thus, speakers at general assemblies and big meetings may make a deliberate attempt to use Filipino. In fact, oaths of office are now administered in Filipino. It goes without saying, however, that in international negotiations, government officials have to use English.

In written government communications, the prevailing language is English. Income tax forms, voters' registration forms, official receipts, invitations to bid are all in the English medium. For some of these forms, translations into Filipino are available. It should also be noted that the Constitution was initially drafted in English and then translated into Filipino and the other major languages.

In the matter of communicating with their constituencies, government agencies have to choose between English, Filipino, and the local language. In a survey conducted by the Institute of National Language in 1982 (see Pineda, Bangalan, et al. 1982), the respondents from 13 regions indicated that they wanted information on such livelihood concerns as agriculture, fishing, livestock, and forestry in Filipino first, followed by English, then by the local language. For business and education, however, the preference was for English first, followed by Filipino, then by the local language.

A recent survey conducted in the different regions in connection with identifying materials for use in functional literacy work showed the following: DECS-Bureau of Non-Formal Education materials in the regions were mostly in Filipino, except in Region VII where the materials were in Cebuano; the materials gathered from the line agencies were generally in English, except those from the Department of Environment and National Resources (DENR), Department of Agriculture (DA), and Department of Health (DOH), which were mostly in Filipino and/or the local languages (UP-Education Research Program 1996:207).

There is still some resistance to the widespread use of Filipino in government communications. This was evident when Executive Order 335 was issued on August 25, 1988 reminding all citizens that the Constitution mandated the use of Filipino for official functions of government. The Order was misinterpreted by some newspaper columnists and government officials to mean the exclusive use of Filipino for government communications. In pique, the provincial and city gov-

ernment of Cebu started to sing the national anthem in Cebuano and to transact official business in Cebuano.

Communications in different professions within the society call for different languages. Although the national language (Wikang Pambansa) was declared an official language (hence, a language of the law) by year 1946 as a result of a 1941 law, English continued to be the dominant language of the courts. Before World War II, the language of law and the courts was split between Spanish and English. During the Japanese Period, when Tagalog was the official and national language, one judge formulated a decision in the local language. Subsequently, there have been occasions during National Language Week (in August of each year) when judges rendered their decisions to Tagalog/Pilipino/Filipino. It was more symbolic, however, than real, since deliberations in courts of law take place and decisions are formulated in English although translator services for Filipino and the local vernaculars are provided if necessary in depositions and testimonies. All instruction in Law Schools is in English, and although the Komisyon sa Wikang Pilipino at present translates all laws into Filipino, the language of deliberation, proceedings and the decision are still in English. English, Filipino, and Filipino/Pilipino are considered official languages under the 1987 Constitution.

The language of law in the Philippines therefore, is predominantly English. Law students study law in English and take the bar examinations in English. One interpretation of the high failure rate in bar examinations (around 80%) is that a number of future lawyers cannot handle English at an advanced level.

Actual hearings in courts at all levels – local or regional trial courts, Court of Appeals, Supreme Court – are primarily conducted in English. In the lower courts, testimony and affidavits can be given in Filipino or in the local language (with translation provided) or may be in a code-switching variety, but the promulgations are still in English. There is a disparity in the language preference of lawyers, judges, and court officials, on the one hand, and litigants, on the other, as shown in the study of Suba (1978) of respondents in Nueva Ecija. The professional legal practitioners prefer English as the language of the court, while plaintiffs, defendants, and witnesses prefer the local language.

One person stands out in his initiatives to develop a local language for use in the domain of law. Cesar Paralejo has translated the Civil Code (1974), the Revised Penal Code (1993a), the Revised Family Code (1993b), and the Local Government Code of 1991 (1994) into Filipino. He has likewise translated Court Criminal Rules and Procedures (undated) and Rules of Court Evidence (undated), but these have not been published. Some judges make a gesture during Linggo ng Wika to pen decisions in Filipino.

The fundamental law of the land, the Constitution, was drafted initially in English and subsequently translated into Filipino and other major languages. Deliberations on the provisions of the Constitution by the 50-member Constitutional Commission were for the most part conducted in English. The Constitution is silent on whether the English text or the Filipino text should prevail in case of doubt.

The disparity between the language of law, English, and the language of the citizenry, the local vernacular or Filipino, points to the need to bridge the gaps between them. The proposal given for the short-term is to provide translators in the courts to ensure that ordinary citizens enjoy their Constitutional right to protection under the law. For the long-term, the proposal is to develop the register of law in Filipino so that eventually all the laws can be translated into Filipino, students can learn the law in Filipino, and legal professionals can practice the profession in Filipino. This will be a massive undertaking because it will mean a lot of effort and, on top of that, a change of heart. The difficulty in effecting a change of heart among practitioners is indicated in the study of De la Pena (1984), who found that verbal formulae in English for structuring court procedures have been translated into Filipino but are not widely used at present.

In medicine, although doctor-patient consultation can be in Filipino or in English (depending on the social class of the interlocutors, their levels of education, the type of hospital whether public or private, middle or high socio-economic status), prescriptions and dialogue are in English when dealing with scientific and medical matters. Medical books are in English and the language of medical education and examinations continues to be English. In terms of development of special varieties of language, the least developed would be medicine insofar as Filipino is concerned.

In the domain of religion, there is intellectualization by means of sermons and homilies and devotional writing, but the most frequently used language is still English, now with a mixture of the local vernacular. The picture is mixed with regard to the language of worship and the liturgy insofar as Filipino is concerned; in non-Tagalog areas, the more common language is the local vernacular although in some parts of the North, Filipino rather than the vernacular is more widely used.

A sociological investigation into the language(s) of the professions would need in-depth and extensive investigation by disciplines such as sociology and economics before policy can be determined or inferred.

Outside of the national community, the policy is to use a foreign or second language that facilitates communications regarding trade and diplomatic relations. In multinational companies and other big corporations such as the Philippine Long Distance Telephone Company, Manila Electric Company, San Miguel, Citibank, Bank of the Philippine Islands, oil companies, English is predominantly used at the management level although code-switching in English and Filipino is used among peers in informal situations and topics. Among the rank and file, Filipino or the local vernacular is used. When a superior gives instructions/orders to the rank and file, Filipino or a form of code-switching is used. For most written communications, English is used. When settling labor disputes such as strikes, etc., Filipino or the local vernacular is used during the negotiation process.

### 2.3 Education Policy

The relationship between society and education, and, therefore also between social and educational change, has long been accepted as axiomatic, since the education system is the principal institution through which are carried out the fundamental processes of reproducing or recreating the generations in a certain image and for certain social purposes.

On the one hand, at the micro levels of education analysis, educational transformation entails the study of the ways by which a given education system operationalizes its answers to four educational questions: (1) Who will be educated? (2) What will make the decisions regarding the above three questions?

Answers to these questions may be narrowly considered as educational problems of admission requirements, curriculum, instruction-evaluation, and decision-making structures.

The formulation directs us to consider the underlying social structure and historical process from which spring the answers to these questions transforming them to a sociology of education, thus (a) In what ways does educational distribution (or access to education) reflect the underlying social distribution? (b) What kinds of consciousness or world views are developed through the curricula, the knowledge content of education, the instructional and evaluation procedures? In what ways do these forms of consciousness maintain or change the underlying social distribution? (c) In what ways does the structure of decision-making in education reflect the underlying social distribution and power structure?

From this perspective, one may argue the emergent reforms in education arising from various social demands within a historical process are changing not only the answers to the above questions but also the ways by which education policy will be formulated and carried out, as well as the directions of research in Philippine education. During this historic juncture in our education history and indeed in our country's history, it is time for social scientists to position themselves not only as critics and analysts of education policy, but also as active participants in education policy formulation.

The close connection between individual and society is usually expressed in a philosophy of education which delineates both a vision of society and a conception of the man/woman in that society.

Beyond the rhetoric, an analysis of a philosophy of education for any given society usually includes an analysis of the socio-political-economic directions of that society and the institutional provisions in education (i.e., related to selection, consciousness formation, and power distribution) that are expected to help develop the kinds of individuals who would function best and help to realize the directions of that society. This particular conceptualization of a philosophy of education begins from Enrile Durkheim (1969). Whether or not there is such a match of social direction and institutionalized educational provisions is of course a matter of empirical investigation.

Five major groups of stakeholders in Philippine education policy formulation have been identified: (a) the Congressional Commission on Education (EDCOM) which completed and reported its work in 1991; (b) the Department of Education, Culture, and Sports which oversees the basic and non-formal education system; (c) the Commission on Higher Education established by law in 1994 which oversees the tertiary education sector; (d) the University of the Philippines, groups, associations, and NGOs conducting work of various types and modalities.

This system contributes to the resolution of various problems that have to be resolved in all societies; (a) the inculcation of ways of perceiving and thinking about the world which are to a certain extent crystallized into sets of values, goals, and norms, and (b) the process of equipping people with the skills necessary for the adequate performance of the adult roles to which they are allocated, roles which are associated with characteristic networks of social relations, carry distinctive privileges and penalties, and locate the occupants in various relationships of power and subordination. Insofar as educational certification is the chief mechanism of allocation to the occupational structure, these networks may also determine the distribution of opportunities for access to positions of power and privilege.

As a social institution, education has three principal aspects:

- a. Selection mechanisms support are directly affected by prevailing social relations in a society. These mechanisms (such as the system of admissions, the geographic distribution of schools, the grading system and licensure examination, the percentage of drop-outs among those going up the educational ladder, the distribution of enrollees in vocational, technical, or professional courses) select and classify schoolgoers into different types and levels of ability, define the appropriate type of instruction for these categories, and help allocate them to occupational roles. In general, these mechanisms help distribute the life chances of individuals.
- b. Consciousness formation focuses on the ways by which knowledge is selected, structured, transmitted distributed, and evaluated among the students in order to produce both general and differential ways of looking at the world and at one's place in it. The nature and direction of consciousness formation through education is best revealed in the academic program, the curriculum, and the instructional processes and materials, which may be analyzed as to: (1) what knowledge is emphasized or omitted, (2) how it is organized and distributed, (3) by what means and methods it is transmitted, and (4) how it is evaluated.
- c. Power distribution refers to the allocation of control in education decision-making in such areas as educational financing, educational benefits and opportunities, production of textbooks and other curricular materials, curricular programs at all levels, regulation of private and public education, admission and certification requirements.

Today the Philippine school system can be credited as one of the most expanded school systems in the world. Participation rate of the relevant school age groups in all the three levels (elementary, secondary, and tertiary) are among the highest in all countries. The participation rate among the elementary school age population as of 1991 was 97.78% indicating that the country is close to attaining universal elementary education. Enrolment at all levels was 15.4 million in 1990, approximately 25% of the country's total population in the same year. In other words, one out of 4 Filipinos was in school. The literacy rate among the population 10 years old and above was reported to have reached 89% in 1989, although functional literacy is claimed to be only about 73%. Still, this literacy is relatively higher than in most developing countries.

The EDCOM's review and assessment of Philippine education, however, revealed very perplexing and disturbing results. Specifically, these are:

- a. The Philippines is not spending enough for education compared to the countries in the ASEAN – 1.3% of GNP in the Philippines vs. 3.7%, 3.6%, and 6% in Indonesia, Thailand, and Malaysia, respectively (1988).
- b. Disparities in access to education, formal and non-formal, prevail at all levels (elementary, secondary, tertiary) biased in favor of rich, urban, high-income students and communities. The percentage of incomplete primary/elementary schools are highest in depressed regions.
- c. Achievement levels are low. Students from rich, urban, and developed communities have higher achievement records. Pupils on average learn only 55% or even less of what must be learned.
- d. Dropout rates in both elementary and secondary schools are highest in rural and less developed communities and among poor students.
- e. Muslim and cultural communities as well as special learners suffer from benign neglect.
- f. Early childhood care and development are limited to the rich and affluent.
- g. Non-formal education services are inadequate and are found mainly in developed communities.
- h. Class interruptions and the length of the school year reduce learning and its quality.
- i. Science and technology education is inadequate.
- j. Innovations in education and technology hardly find their adoption in schools.
- k. Values education in schools is lacking and ineffective.
- l. Mismatches occur between the supply and demand for educated and trained manpower.
- m. Irrelevance of education to individual and social needs.
- n. Teachers are inadequately trained.
- o. Graduate education is mediocre, limited, and underdeveloped.

- p. The organizational structure of the educational system is inefficient and ineffective.
- q. The bilingual education policy, i.e., use of English and Filipino as languages of instruction, affects the quality of learning.

### 2.3.1 *Language of Education*

From the time Aguinaldo declared Philippine independence 100 years ago until this very day, the question about which language to use in education has been explicitly addressed by policy provisions. The presence of very explicit policy provisions notwithstanding, the medium of instruction issue persists to be a contentious matter for debate. The tension seems to be among three competing demands of ethnicity, nationalism, and modernization, each demand calling for the use of the vernacular, the national language, or English, respectively.

The policy that is currently in place is the Bilingual Education Policy of 1987 which has as its goal enhanced learning through two languages to achieve quality education; the 1987 policy keeps most of the important provisions of the Bilingual Education Policy of 1974. The Bilingual Education Policy specifies the use of the vernacular as medium for initial schooling and literacy, and the separate use of Filipino and English as media of instruction in basic education for definite subject areas.

The reality of the medium of instruction issue does not quite converge with policy in most basic education classrooms. Filipino or English language materials are used for specific subjects, as mandated by policy. However, when presenting and discussing the material, teachers very liberally switch to the vernacular, particularly when they sense that the students are having difficulty understanding the material (this observation is true even at the tertiary level). Likewise, although students are required to speak and submit written requirements in either Filipino or English, again depending on the subject, in classroom discourse they often switch to the vernacular.

It is evident that the demand of ethnicity, nationalism, and modernization are mediated by the more pragmatic demands of classroom learning and instruction. Therefore linguists, sociologists (particularly, sociolinguists), psychologists (particularly, cognitive and educational psychologists), and educational scientists have been drawn to the debate, as their understanding of the sociological, psychological, and pedagogical dimensions of language use in classroom discourse and learning are critical to make policy formulations work in the classroom, in line with the larger goals of the educational process.

Research in education and learning is very conclusive as regards the medium of instruction. Students learn better if the medium of instruction is a language in which they have good levels of proficiency, in other words, learning in one's vernacular is most efficient and effective. It does not make a difference whether the subject is reading, mathematics, sciences, social studies, music, religion, arts, health, or physical education.

Particularly among multiethnic countries like the Philippines, a concern is the effect of using languages other than the vernacular for instruction. Research and theory seem to suggest that at an early age, children's language acquisition mechanisms are still in place and are flexible enough to allow children to develop proficiency in languages other than their vernacular. The assumption is that as long as the language model for the second language is adequate and comprehensible, students who are taught using a second language will be able to both learn the subject matter and the second language. The acquisition of the second language skills is also largely dependent on the student's fluency in the vernacular, and the similarities between the vernacular and the second language. Such research findings provide the motivation for bilingual education programs that provided dging between the vernacular and the second language.

There are some who argue that the present state of the different vernacular languages in the Philippines is such that the languages are not adequate to express all the material across different subjects. Others argue that there is no basis for such claims given that all languages are adequate to express any idea; moreover, languages develop as the requirements of the language users grow.

The matter can be addressed by proper language planning initiatives, particularly those directed toward intellectualizing the vernacular or the Filipino language to suit the requirements of formal instruction. In this regard, sociolinguists and linguists have specified the important factors that will allow for the faster development of languages towards this direction. These factors include the development of printed and other instructional materials, the preparation of teachers for teaching in the medium, among others.

Social science research then clearly points to the importance of using the vernacular in instruction, as the medium and as a bridge for instruction using a second or auxiliary medium. However, for many different reasons, people in the Philippines see a need to develop competency in a third language, English. This need is shared by some members of policy makers, academe, business, and the population at large. Arguments given for this perceived need are:

- English is the international language, our link to the rest of the world.
- English is the language of business (global competitiveness).
- English is a prestige language.
- Not teaching English will create a new elite which will have access to opportunities because only they can speak English.
- English is the language of science and technology.
- Proficiency in English is an indicator of intellectual ability.

Most likely, given American domination of media and other forms of discourse, what we know at present as human beings is documented in English. Hence, a good knowledge of the English language will continue to be useful for Filipinos in the century ahead.

However, the knowledge is available not only in English. Strictly speaking everything can be translated anyway, but the translations are largely not available. Therefore, being proficient in English makes access to specific types of information faster.

English is likewise the language of science and technology because of the present domination of Americans in most areas of science. Hence, most important findings and ideas are published in English language journals and publications. That was not the case a century ago, but now, English is the *de facto* language of science and technology, although a significant segment of the scientific community does not disseminate its findings using English.

However, English is only the language of discourse in science, but the ideas of science are not bound to one language. Chinese, Japanese, Russian, German, and French speakers still do very good science without speaking the slightest form of English (they even win Nobel Prizes). Besides, science is not just about knowing terms and concepts, science is a way of thinking and knowing and goes beyond language.

Moreover, proficiency in any language has never been an indicator of intelligence. However, in the Philippines English proficiency may be considered an indication that an individual has mastered a particular intellectual skill. Because English is not our native language, English is linguistically very different from our native language, and the use of English is not largely supported in the social environment; mastery of English is indeed an intellectual feat. Hence, good students may end up learning and mastering English better than weaker students. So there is a possible link between English proficiency and intellectual ability. But these arguments would obviously not apply to those whose first language is English. Likewise, some highly intelligent thinking happens among those who have very little knowledge of English. Still, if we want to maintain some level of proficiency in English, other questions can be raised, questions to which social science research should also have answers.

For people who are not native speakers of English, the best way is to teach English as a second language. Teach it well, and maybe teach it for specific purposes. Using it as medium of instruction might work because that means much time will be devoted to the use of the language; however, success depends on the proficiency of the teachers, or on the adequacy of the language models provided by the teachers. But attaining proficiency in any language can be fully achieved not only through formal schooling; it needs to be supported by adequate models of the language in the person's social environment.

The use of Filipino or the vernacular as medium of instruction will not necessarily lead to deterioration of English proficiency. If this means less time for English language instruction, then the answer is yes. But if English language skills can be supported in other ways (quality of instruction, reading, etc.), then that need not be the case. It is not a purely zero-sum proposition. Moreover, the deterioration of English skills is not simply due to changes in language of instruc-

tion; English skills are deteriorating because people are not using it as their primary means of communication outside the formal educational system.

Finally, in seeking to be a knowledge society of the twenty-first century, the Philippines has accepted English as the language of Informatics and Information Technology. The universal language of information technology is English (House, 1997). It is the dominant language for using the IT infrastructure such as the Internet and according to a survey of attendees at the 1997 conference of the Association of Computing Machinery on "The Next 50 Years of Computing," it will be the lingua franca of the Internet 50 years from now (87% yes). In general, English is the language of the operating system (such as Windows 95), the interface between the user and the machine English is also the basis for most programming languages. English is the language for the analysis and specification of systems and the language for technical communication and documentation.

There are special keyboards for such languages as Chinese, Japanese, German, and French. Programming languages and operating systems have versions in many other languages, particularly some European languages like French and Spanish. French and Spanish, among other languages, have glossaries of words for Information Technology. There are specialized internet-based newsgroups who converse in their respective languages; it should be noted, though, that the Filipino newsgroup still uses English predominantly. Languages can be learned through the Internet, for example, Swahili and Esperanto, but the learners are few.

For reasons of practicality and proficiency, English is the language of IT in the Philippines. However, nationalism dictates that Filipino should gradually be adopted for some use in IT. UPLB's Institute of Computer Science has a five-year plan for the use of Filipino in IT. It has begun work on machine translation from English to Filipino and has started preparing technical manuals in Filipino. For its part, at De la Salle University, students of the College of Computer Studies and the Filipino Department have worked together to produce a spell checker and thesaurus for Filipino.

In Computer Science classes, the medium of instruction is English but teachers and students sometimes code-switch. Theses are written in English, but the defense is occasionally conducted in the code-switched variety.

The use of Filipino in IT in the Philippines is very minimal and it can be said, objectively, that computer literacy for the Filipino means, literacy in English.

### 3. SOME GENERALIZATIONS

Conscious policy formulations are made by the Philippine government for the national language, the language of education, the language of the mass media and multimedia, but it is actual practice and use which dictates the reality, which may be considered 'tacit' or 'unspoken' policy (arising from customs and usage (*de facto* rather than *de jure*). The effectiveness of all policy will be constrained by the social, psychological, economic, and linguistic realities that bear on each situation.

The *de facto* reality is that as a result of the development of Filipino from 1937 to the present, it has been accepted as the basis and elaboration of the national language except in Cebu where political maneuvering has caused the language to be deemphasized (Cebuanos sing the national anthem in Cebuano and do not use Filipino as a medium of instruction for social studies and the social science but continue to use English, although they continue to teach Filipino as a subject). *De facto*, radio programming nationwide is almost 85% in Filipino, with 5% in the local vernacular and only about 10% in English; on TV, there is now a proportion of 60:40 Filipino-English programming, the former mostly through live shows. The print medium is still predominantly in English, although there is a growing body of popular reading materials in Filipino. Although the Department of Education, Culture, and Sports has chosen a bilingual education scheme (1974 and 1987), code-switching especially in the lower grades is quite common, with the local vernacular used as an 'auxiliary' medium of instruction in transition to Filipino and with Filipino becoming more and more widespread in the classroom, to the point that in some places, even classes in English and the English class itself uses Filipino as a metalanguage.

Less subject to formulation and legislation and following the 'tacit' policy from custom is manifested by choice of the language of the mass media and multimedia. The language of government, depending on the context, is either Filipino or English the latter for formal meetings and international negotiations. In education, at the tertiary level, it is still mostly English with a few subjects (mostly in the social sciences) taught in Filipino. In the realm of foreign relations, international trade, and at the highest echelons of business, English continues to dominate. Thus tacit policy must be looked at empirically and room for multi-factorial dimensions made depending on the domain, the formality or informality of the situation, the competence of the interlocutors, the subject of discourse, the social relations between the interlocutors.

In fields such as Informatics and Information Technology, much of the software is for practical purposes entirely in English. Hence, the code used is assumed to be English in programming operating systems using machine language and in writing software for specific purposes.

Thus, in viewing the impact of the social sciences on making policy, specifically in the domain of language, one must look at the reality explicitly and expect many variables beyond simplistic formulations, on items such as national language choice, the languages of education, the professions, the mass media, government, trade and foreign relations, and informatics. To obtain the highly nuanced description and prescriptions for change that one might want to select in order to ameliorate prevailing conditions, one must rely on the social disciplines of psychology (especially in language education), sociology (in language use), politics (for social cohesion), and economics (for motivation and attitudes).

Over a larger horizon, the social sciences dictate that research in schools, and policy formulations must be done within the context of a learning society.

Thus far, in the history of research in the sociology of education, (cf. Karabel and Halsey, 1977) the research paradigms have evolved from structural functionalism to the human capital theory and to the various conflict theories of education in the Marxist or Weberian mode.

Since the early 70s, however, a new set of formulations has emerged using phenomenological and interactionist approaches. Proponents of both approaches have called for a shift from the normative and structural aspects of education to a new interpretative mode. No doubt such a shift has been occasioned by the realization that the study of structural aspects of education (e.g., participation rates, school performance indicators, educational spending literacy rates) cannot tell the whole story of education.

In fact, the proverbial "block box" in these structural studies contains the aspects of the education process itself; questions on admission, the knowledge content of education as determined by the curriculum, the instructional evaluation process, and the decision-making structures in classrooms and schools. These are the areas where the phenomenological and interactional approaches have focused their research attention.

The later studies of Basil Bernstein (in Karabel and Halsey 1977) have brilliantly demonstrated both the feasibility and necessity of combining the structural and interactionist research approaches in laying bare the relation between what goes on in schools and their underlying bases in the social structure. Thus we go back to the seminal formulation of Emile Durkheim. This research approach offers the best possibilities for the scientific study of schools for the people in the context of a learning society.

But additional aspects need to be studied, and these could very well be organized around the three perspectives which animate the education projects earlier described, namely: (a) the view on development; (b) the participative research process self-consciously woven into the programs requiring the participants of the project (e.g., farmer-scientists) to reflect upon their ongoing work in a systematic way, and (c) the integrative frameworks of the projects which expand both their scope and substance and involve different sectors and age groups.

These perspectives, viewed separately, point to different sets of educational outcomes in the short and medium terms. In the long term, changes in the social structure and social distribution could be related to the operational definitions of empowerment and to the eventual blurring of the present boundaries between formal, non-formal, and informal education, among others. Here again we will have to return to Durkheim (1969 in Karabel and Halsey 1977) who reminds us that educational change is both an important reflection of underlying changes in society and an active agent in the whole process of educational change.

The education process, while designed in many ways to maintain existing social arrangements, contains within itself the possibility of its own transformation, as well as the transformation of the society of which it is an important part.

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Before giving my comments on the paper let me congratulate and wish Brother Andrew Gonzalez good use of the results of this conference to help him in his policy formulations in DECS.

The objective of the paper just presented is to describe the contributions of the social sciences to language, communication and education development in the country and is basically a description of the current situation with a historical perspective. It does not attempt to prescribe new policies or possible actions to be taken. I feel that the paper did not go far enough. It comes out as another study of the situation which to me is very well studied. In fact I call it an "over-studied, under-implemented system." The paper of Dr. Doronila during the Pre-Congress stated that the findings date back to the Monroe study of 1925. I must say that I am partly to blame for the under-implementation, being a Commissioner of CHED.

The paper pointed out the possible areas for social science research to assist policy makers "obtain the highly nuanced description and prescription for change." I like to think that while more research may be undertaken by the social scientists some actions can be taken already on some of the issues. EDCOM and other studies have proposed certain actions to be taken. Let us make a quick study on which recommendations have not been implemented, why, and what steps to take so that these may be implemented. Some recommendations are easy to implement and these should be identified and implemented as soon as possible. Others such as the rationalization of the distribution HEIs and the clarification of the typology of schools are more difficult because of political intervention. Some help is needed from social scientists on how these difficulties might be overcome. The cultural bias against vocational-technical education is another example of an impediment to reform which may be studied by sociologists. Every start of the school year the students demonstrate against tuition fee increases. Financing education in the face of increasing costs and the demand for better quality needs further study and concrete recommendations from economists and sociologists. Politicians and government planners keep talking about globalization and the importance of S&T. However, the budget for S&T remains niggardly. S&T is very expensive and requires long-term commitment of resources. Words are not enough to make us a scientific and technologically oriented country. When the top planning agency of the country asks for the ROI for S&T manpower development projects, one must ask how we can ever move beyond tourism and handicrafts. These are some of the more difficult issues raised by the EDCOM which have not been responded to adequately and which need the assistance of social scientists for their satisfactory resolution.

Relative to the language issue, I would like to make certain practical and definitely not radical recommendations taking into account the present situation and our resources and based on the following premise:

English will remain as one of our official languages. As our window to the world, it must be preserved. As the lingua franca in the global village, our facility with it must be strengthened. Filipino as our national language will be continuously developed. After having achieved a critical threshold of intellectualization, it will be the medium of instruction at all levels up to undergraduate education. Filipino must eventually be the official language in all controlling domains of the country. This must be done in the shortest possible time and resources must be provided for the purpose.

At present, our facility with English is deteriorating. I must point out that the studies of Gonzalez have shown that this is not due to increasing use of Filipino. It is due to the general deterioration of the educational system, especially of the public schools. We should not allow this deterioration to continue. We must arrest it now by a more determined effort to improve the teaching of English especially at the elementary and high school levels. Since the time allotted for the learning of English will be reduced, we have to put in place courses/methodologies for teaching and learning English more efficiently and effectively.

This program has to start with the teachers of English in the elementary and high schools. So far, most of the programs in government are directed towards the improvement of Science and Mathematics education. I suggest that we start putting some effort and resources to the teaching of English. Teachers in the elementary and high school levels must be given special training in teaching English as a second language. Special incentives in the form of scholarships must be given to teacher education students who wish to major in English just as at present those majoring in Science and Mathematics are given special scholarships. Colleges of Education and Colleges of Arts and Sciences with strong programs in Language Teaching must be given support by government in terms of faculty development funds, library and instructional material support fund, and research grants. The government, in fact, has recognized the need and is now putting more resources into the teaching of English.

A grant of the Australian government to the Philippines includes in-service training for teachers of English at all levels of the educational system and the provision of instructional materials and facilities for English departments. CHED has several approved and proposed projects related to language teaching. It is giving priority to students who will major in language teaching (Filipino or English) in its scholarship grants. The centers of excellence in Teaching Education were also provided funds to develop programs in English language teaching. Furthermore, the Mindanao Graduate Education program also includes language teaching as a priority. Some non-government organizations are also providing resources for the improvement of the teaching of English. The Foundation for the Upgrading of Standards of Education is funding summer teacher training programs and telecourses in English.

How about Filipino? The policy recommended a gradual shift to Filipino as a medium of instruction such that by 1984 "all graduates of tertiary curricula shall

be able to pass examinations in English and/or Filipino (Pilipino) for the practice of their professions," Even U.P. which, under President Abueva, had a five-year program to shift completely to Filipino as a medium of instruction was not able to do it. We are obviously not prepared to make a complete shift. I personally believe that it can and should be done in the shortest time possible. However, we have to do certain tasks before we can make this shift.

First and foremost, we must muster the political will to make the shift. For as long as government, business, and industry continue using English for their formal communication, the shift will be very difficult. During the term of President Aquino an executive order was issued to have all government communications in both English and Filipino. This was followed for about a year by a few government agencies but now it is completely ignored. With President Estrada the situation might change. Bar examinations and professional licensing examinations continue to be given exclusively in English in spite of the deadline of 1984 to have the examinations in both languages.

We have to undertake the massive task of translating textbooks into Filipino. We have to publish glossaries and dictionaries in Filipino. Together with the standardization and propagation of Filipino is the enrichment process by adoption of cultural and technical terms from other Philippine dialects and languages and even foreign languages.

Sibayan, in a paper written in 1988 on the intellectualization of Filipino, proposed a very practical approach. He suggested that we work on the controlling domains of languages. We have to convince the leaders in these domains that the intellectualization of Filipino in these domains is needed for the further advancement of the nation.

In the universities and colleges the most convenient way for intellectualizing Filipino in the professions and the different disciplines is to convince those who are experts in the field to use Filipino in their lectures, and more importantly, in their publications. These experts should compile dictionaries and glossaries in their fields of expertise, publish their researchers not only in English but also in Filipino, and translate textbooks into Filipino. Some efforts have already been started in this regard. Dictionaries are being prepared in the different disciplines by the discipline experts with the assistance of linguists.

Inasmuch as the non-academic domains, i.e., the government, business, and industry, etc., may not have the expertise to pursue the intellectualization of Filipino, particularly in having their official records and correspondence/communications in Filipino, assistance may be provided by those in the academe who have the expertise. Colleges and universities can provide the needed training for people in these domains responsible for activities and outputs contributory to the intellectualization of Filipino.

It is clear that the language policy in education is affected by what is happening in the rest of the country. As long as the controlling domains use English, the implementation of the bilingual policy in education faces rough sailing. Gov-

ernment has to decide once and for all to develop and intellectualize Filipino and put all the necessary resources to make this possible. When this happens, the resistance to the use of Filipino as the medium of instruction in colleges and universities will be minimized.

CHED, though its Technical panel for Humanities, Social Science and Communication will support all efforts in the intellectualization of Filipino for educational purposes. Meantime, it will implement the existing bilingual policy but will support innovative programs of universities and colleges in the promotion of both languages. The EDCOM, respecting the academic freedom of colleges and universities, recommends giving freedom to the schools to choose the medium of instruction. While for the better quality schools this might be in order, allowing the schools to choose will further delay the shift to Filipino. There has to be a deliberate effort, preferably with a timetable, for the intellectualization of Filipino and the subsequent shift to Filipino as the medium of instruction in all levels up to undergraduate education.

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Thank you. One advantage of being the last speaker is that there is so much in one's reaction that will not be repeated. So, as I was listening to Dr. Garcia, I was very busy deleting some of my remarks, unless of course we follow the principle of repetition – that which is repeated most is best remembered. But I don't want to go into that.

First, I wish to congratulate the authors of this composite paper, specially Bro. Andrew who I'm most certain served as their real guiding spirit. I am even tempted to predict in the simplest if not simplistic terms that if this is the way Bro. Andrew will orchestrate the best minds in DECS, then DECS might yet come up with a composite and comprehensive paper. I never heard Bro. Andrew say the word "lugubrious" in any of his policy speeches or reaction papers in the past but in this speech of his he repeated it twice or thrice and I was wondering whether there was any connection between that phenomenon and his taking over the DECS. So at any rate with him now at the helm of an agency whose resources will be measured among other things by the amount and quality of learning that pupils have acquired and how much these have prepared them for higher learning for the world of work; he would perhaps welcome further elaborations and plan formulations derived from his own generalizations which he elaborated on.

As head of DECS he may no longer be content solely with the descriptive approach which he used in his paper in dealing with learning efficiency for this could only mean preserving the status quo. Nor will he be content perhaps with

in language communication and education and who would like to make a difference in the development of our citizenry could go into such questions like "How do Filipino children learn?" I have always been intrigued by this question. Do our Filipino children learn differently from American children, Japanese children, and others? Do Filipino children from economic levels, geographic areas, occupation groups, learn differently? Would their discoveries or their findings have any policy implications in the use of language as a language of learning? Is language a function in the quality of their lives? In our concern about food productivity, we have come up with agricultural technologies, yet are they being practiced by farmers? Is it because there is a gap in so far as language and communication are concerned between the extension workers who learn the technology in universities and the farmers? When I was still with the UP in the Visayas, our technicians would talk to the extension workers, using words like "salinity". I asked them, "Do the fisherfolk understand what you are talking about, like "salinity", like "water temperature" and so on? *Kailangan yan eh sabihin natin sa Ilonggo*. And they would say "*Wala namang Ilonggo para sa salinity*". "*O eh di mag-imbento kayo nang salita na maiintindihan nila*." So here you have the reality as against what has been learned in school insofar as the medium of communication is concerned and the learning or non-learning that takes place afterwards. Our performance in international tests which our educational learners describe as dismal has usually been attributed to a number of factors. One of them is the language of learning. Have our social scientists become interested in this kind of attribution? Why are we doing badly? Is it that important that we should score amongst the highest in international tests? I have heard from our educators that those who have topped the tests learn in their own language. But we learn in a second language. Is that our own language? Is Filipino our own language? Are we ready to answer these questions?

This congress comes at a most auspicious time in our history. It comes at a time when, having a one-hundred-year-span to look back on, we ask "What has language as used in communication and education during the last one hundred years done for us as a people and as a nation?" Did it unite us in our aspirations for freedom and independence? This congress also comes at the beginning of a political era which was inaugurated very recently. All of us were one in understanding the literal and nuances of any meaning in the speech of the new president delivered in Filipino. My own thought at that time while I was listening to President Estrada was, what a magnificent moment it is that as I sit listening to him and understanding him, that perhaps a farmer from Sultan Kudarat, a fisherman from Palawan, a market vendor in Tondo, the squatters in Paliparan, the schoolchildren all over, and all the rest of us listeners understood what he was saying as much as you and I did. At that moment, we were all at the same level. It came to me then that here was an instance when the national language is also an equalizer. All Filipinos, are given equal access to the mind and the heart of our President. Of course, those who were watching television and if there is no equal access that

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would be an economic reason. Given his expressed bias for the masa and what the masa use as language. There is therefore much hope for the social scientist who can now explore problems, in communication and education and work hand in hand with education especially since education is the instrument that reaches all of us in order to sort all those problems that they wish to explore for the good of our children and our society.

Thank you.