

THE FILIPINO IN OBSOLESCENCE: CITIZENSHIP AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY
REFORM IN THE PHILIPPINES

BY

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THESIS

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ABSTRACT

The K to 12 program implemented by the Philippine government in June 2012 added two years in the then ten-year long basic education curriculum, universalized kindergarten by making it compulsory, and introduced a tracking system that includes academic, technical-vocational, and entrepreneurship tracks. Within this educational policy reform, this paper examines how the Philippine state expresses, constitutes, and legitimizes Filipino citizenship; makes sense of citizenship by tracing the transformation of Filipino citizenship from colonial to the post-colonial as a contextualization; characterizes the emergent Filipino citizen in the K to 12 program; and reflects on this new citizenship in light of existing socio-economic differentiation in terms of class, gender, and ethnicity.

To respond to these tasks, this paper uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1992, 2001, 2003) which merges the tradition of linguistic analysis of text and social theory. Using primarily Fairclough's models on CDA as theory and method complemented by views from Wodak (2001), Gee (2004), Jäger (2001), and Rogers (2004), this paper analyzes five documents produced by the executive and the legislative branches of Philippine government. This paper argues that citizenship when traced from the colonial to the contemporary Philippine society presents a complex transformation marked by the complications of the Spanish, American, and Japanese occupations, the Marcos dictatorship, the long-standing diaspora, and globalization. An analysis of the K to 12 documents reveals that the emergent Filipino citizen enshrined in the recent K to 12 reform presents a "holistically developed Filipino" equipped with 21st century skills marking the insufficiency of Filipino citizenship as being god-fearing, humane, nationalistic, and nature-caring which has been previously circulated. The increasing

colonization of neoliberal calculation both in educational policy-making and the construction of Filipino citizenship is also evident in the K to 12 documents. Lastly, this paper concludes that the K to 12 reform demonstrates that education policy is never value-neutral, that it becomes a field of contestation among competing views of citizenship negotiated by synthesizing them with respect to “presentist” economic needs and existing power relations which in the end, generate new inequalities or perpetuate pre-existing ones, both in their symbolic and procedural senses, whether intended or unintended.

To my mother, Violeta Yague de los Reyes

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Filipino children, just like many other kids the world over, are socialized by their parents and teachers to envision themselves, as somebody who would become significant or to the fullest extent successful individuals in the future. Young boys and girls find it commonplace to be asked questions such as “what do you want to be when you grow up?” In the same way, when asked to justify why they choose to be a lawyer, a doctor or whatever it is they dream of, they are also accustomed to respond to these questions by exclaiming phrases such as “because I want to help the poor”, or even the more romantic “I want to make our country great”. And so they go to schools carrying their big dreams that one day, they will be wearing a coat and tie arguing loudly against a competing counsel, or don a white robe with a stethoscope hanging around their necks. Unfortunately, in a nation that continues to struggle with poverty, there is an inevitable disjuncture between “dreaming” and “becoming” which forms part of a more conspicuous segment of the larger complications of Philippine education and society. Two significant and recurrent phenomena, of the many other malaises in Philippine society form this complex: the indubitable presence of poverty and the pressure to be liberated from it.

The National Statistical Coordination Board (2011) reports that poverty incidence among Filipino families was at 20.9% in 2009, a minimal reduction from the 21.1% recorded in 2006.¹ Encarnacion (2012) claims that in 2009, the Philippines was still lagging behind the Millennium Development Goal 1 (MDG) which is the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger with only 4

¹ To understand the extent of poverty in the Philippines along with the number of people living in poverty and the total population in 2006 and 2009, the NSCB reports in its summary of projected population following a five-year interval that in 2000, the population of the Philippines was 76.9 million, 85.3 in 2005, and 94 million in 2010 (National Statistical Coordination Board, 1997-2014).

of the 17 regions of the Philippines being above their targets (slide number 13) although Concepcion (2012) mentions that the chance of achieving the said MDG in 2015 is “high” (p. 2). On the contrary, the joint report of the Asian Development Bank (ADB), United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UN ESCAP), and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2013) on the progress of countries in the Asia-Pacific mentions that the Philippines has a slow progress in achieving the reduction of people living below a dollar a day (p. 8). Alongside the problem of poverty is the unemployment of many Filipinos². In the two periods of 1998 and 2011, there had been a remarkable decline of unemployed Filipinos from 9.6% to 7% (index mundi, 2011) although in July 2013, the unemployment rate went up to 7.3% (Remo & Santos, 2013) which is better than the recorded 7.5% in April 2013 (Cerdeña, 2013). One may think that these socio-economic challenges are recent, but unsurprisingly, they have been bothering the nation for the longest time. It could be traced back even as early as the Marcos regime for example when official poverty rate was at 44% in 1985; was curbed significantly to 40% in 1988 during the Corazon Aquino presidency; 36% in 1994 and 33% in 1997 when Ramos was president; 28% in June 2000 during the administration of Estrada; and 24% in 2003, 27% in 2006, and 26% in 2009 during the Arroyo government (Social Weather Stations, Self-Rated Poverty Table 1, 2011). While poverty rates have been seemingly declining, except for the increase in 2006, the Philippines is still far from the comfort of a self-sufficient economy and a situation of full-employment or perhaps, what may be called “ideal unemployment rate” of 5% which according to Chris Pissarides, a Nobel

² According to Sicat (2013), “Philippine labor statistics define “unemployment” as a situation of workers at least 15 years old and over who are without work but currently seeking work. Included with this case are workers who seek work but believe no job is available, who await the results of a job application, a rehire or job recall or who are temporarily ill.”

Prize winner in economics, can be experienced with the regular turnover of workers in the best functioning times of an economy (as cited in Censky, 2012). Therefore, with the problems of unemployment, poverty and hunger, Filipinos are urged to desperately look for opportunities using their creative talents and sometimes, even venturing in dangerous waters. It is therefore not surprising that more than 2,000 Filipinos leave the country every day to work in 182 countries (Migrante International, n.d.). As of December 2012, there are now 10, 498, 628 Filipinos who have left the Philippines and are residing overseas (Commission on Filipinos Overseas, 2012). In the United States for example, the Philippines is the 3rd leading country of birth of its foreign-born population since 1990 to 2008 (Kandel, 2011, p.6) while the National Household Survey results in Canada indicated that the Philippines is the leading country of birth among its immigrant population amounting to 13.1% of all the newcomers (Statistics Canada, 2011). Even in the Middle East like in Saudi Arabia, Filipinos form part of a significant proportion of foreign-born members of the population. Undoubtedly, there is a huge Filipino presence the world over hence the recurrent use of the term “Filipino diaspora” among academics and the media to refer to this pervasive and large movement of the Filipino people. Ironically, this same movement away from the Philippines comes along a bothersome reality of coming back home. According to Migrante International, an activist group that advocates for the protection of Filipinos overseas, there are approximately 6 to 10 cadavers of Filipino migrant workers that arrive at the Ninoy Aquino International Airport in Manila every day (Harrow, 2010). This captures the tension between earning for a living and the risks of being treated in host countries in inhumane ways or in some unimaginable fashion such as rape, torture, mutilation, incarceration, forced labor, sex slavery, and even death which have been documented well by the media and some scholars.

The “Filipino Dream” and its layers of contradictions

With all these we ask, what constitutes the Filipino dream? Ostensibly, the “Filipino dream”, if there is such a thing symbolizes the hope of a better life, and most importantly, a sense of understanding of who we are as Filipinos. A closer scrutiny however leads to an understanding that this dream is also a bubble of multifaceted contradictions. On the one hand, it demonstrates the inherent tension between the act of “dreaming” and “becoming”. It shows how willing Filipinos are to leave behind their “real” aspirations in order to fulfill more immediate needs. Parents would not mind whether “*Balong*”³ does not become an engineer as long as he can be a construction worker in Saudi Arabia; or it is acceptable for “*Inday*”⁴ not to become a doctor since she can be a caregiver in Canada. In the remote possibility of making their dreams happen, Filipinos hit at a seeming second-rate dream in order to live. Besides, what are big dreams for if tomorrow, there would not be another day for more dreaming? On the other hand, this same dream encapsulates the joy of leaving, the hope for a brighter future, and the contrasting reality that a constantly lingering nightmare of returning as vegetable, lacking a finger or two, or perhaps, in a casket or a box is just around the corner. Moreover, the Filipino dream unlike its American counterpart, does not happen in the land where it was once formed but is reified thousands of miles away from it. Indeed, the Filipino dream happens in America, Europe, East Asia, and the Middle East because the Filipino nation is yet to form a Filipino dream that does not involve these regions of the world or better yet, something that does not involve leaving at all. In sum, the “Filipino dream” is a dream made real by hitting a closer and more realistic target, by risking even more than what we can gain, and a seeming if-and-only-if conditionality of realization through departure. More than the simple act of dreaming, of being

³ It is a common household nickname for a young boy.

⁴ This is also a nickname given to a girl and sometimes commonly used to refer to women house helps.

trained to aim as high as possible with a subsequent deceleration and risk-taking, this whole act of realizing the “Filipino dream” also constitutes Filipino citizenship by implicitly responding to the question, “at the end of the day, what does it mean to be a Filipino?”

The state, school, and discipline: a regime of citizenship

How did it happen this way? What have been the roles of the state and the institutions of schooling in this regime of dreaming and citizenship formation?

From a micro perspective, Kaplan (2006), in his ethnographic work on Turkey’s educational system demonstrates the dynamics of state formation, cultural reproduction, and schooling:

The task of producing citizenship has fallen on universal education, a central feature of modern state formation. Schools are more than bureaucratic institutions serving the public. They are state projects, both totalizing and individualizing, in which various forms of knowledge are deployed, imparting a sense of purpose and coherence to a population by simultaneously producing homogenous totalizing categories (e.g. schooled or unschooled) and individualizing identities (e.g. levels of education, diplomas) (pp.8-9).

In “denormalizing” the seemingly neutral pedagogic position of schools in the rearing of citizens, Kaplan has also implicitly called for the abandonment of the idea that schools are just there to teach, no more no less. In *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), demonstrated the link between the state’s interest and pedagogic activity, often in surreptitious ways:

Insofar as it is a power of symbolic violence exerted within a relation of pedagogic communication which can produce its own, specifically symbolic effect only because the arbitrary power which makes imposition possible is never seen in its full truth...and insofar as it is the inculcation of a cultural arbitrary, carried on within a relation of pedagogic communication which can produce its own, specifically pedagogic effect only because the arbitrariness of the content inculcated is never seen in its full truth – Pedagogic Action necessarily implies, as a social condition of its exercise, pedagogic authority and the relative autonomy of the agency commissioned to exercise it (p.11).

From the exposition of the links between state formation and state interest and the educational system, the formation of citizenship in the everyday life of schoolchildren has been best studied by Michel Foucault (1995) in his account of the modes of bodily disciplining performed by schools:

[I]t might be said that discipline creates out of the bodies it controls four types of individuality, or rather an individuality that is endowed with four characteristics: it is cellular (by the play of spatial distribution), it is organic (by the coding of activities), it is genetic (by the accumulation of time), it is combinatory (by the composition of forces). And in so doing, it operates four great techniques, it draws up tables; it prescribes movements; it imposes exercises; lastly, in order to obtain the combination of forces, it arranges tactics...the art of constructing...coded activities and trained aptitudes, mechanisms in which the product of the various forces is increased by their

calculated combination are no doubt the highest form of disciplinary practice (p.167).

In the end, schooling becomes an instrumentality of the state for the formation of its citizens, an enterprise of disciplining the docile bodies by imposing masked cultural arbitraries in order to amplify totalizing categories and simultaneously individualize identities. The whole process of schooling then, not only in the specifics of pedagogic practices but also in the aggregate of educational policy-formulation, can be thought of as Kaplan would argue, a state project to perpetuate socio-economic differentiation and existing power relations.

A Glimpse of this paper: Motivations, Goals, and Interests

Kaplan, Bourdieu, and Foucault have shown that the reach of the state's power in the rearing of its citizens is widespread starting from the school system itself as a state project, and that this system echoes cultural arbitraries that the state wants to forward, to the training of docile citizens who subserviently and uncritically accept knowledge as their own. Granting that this omnipotent presence in the rearing of citizens exists, Kaplan's understanding of citizenship is significant in the explanation of the trajectory and contents of citizenship formation happening in the school system. For him, concepts of citizenship are distant from being certain or neutral because their meaning constantly changes to respond to cultural, social, and economic resources which are closely intertwined to the historical relations of power within and between societies. At any rate, notions of citizenship undoubtedly still construct a collective identity in whatever scale but it should be understood that they are reframed in conjunction to the demands of the status quo (Kaplan, 2006, p. 16).

Drawing inspiration from Kaplan's understanding of citizenship, this paper is an attempt to examine how the Philippine state, through its power to formulate educational policy and the educational system in using its pedagogic power "express, constitute, and legitimize" (Wodak, 2001, p. 4) what it deems as the ideal "Filipino citizen" made manifest in the authoritative use of language in policy to its seeming ordinary use in instruction and the media. Moreover, this paper argues that this act of expression, constitution, and legitimation of state-sponsored citizenship construction is driven by "presentist" social, economic, and political needs.

Understanding that policy reflects the political, economic, and social leanings of the state, this paper looks at the recent educational policy reform implemented in the Philippines, the K to 12 Curriculum which added two more years to the then existing ten-year basic education curriculum as well as a tracking system (which was not present in the earlier curriculum) that includes academic, technical-vocational, and entrepreneurship tracks. By looking at policy documents such as RA 10533, the "Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2013" which is a consolidated version of an earlier Senate bill and a House of Representative bill, as well as documents circulated by the Department of Education such as discussion papers, memos, interviews, press releases, and toolkits that were published in coordination with other institutions as forms of expression of state interest in the kind of citizens that it wants to create, we are also able to trace how these interests were formulated through existing state machineries such as the legislature and the cabinet, as well as identify the ways of legitimation, the forms of rationalizations as to why such constructs of Filipino citizenship are forwarded. This paper is also an attempt to roughly trace the development and transformation of "Filipino citizenship" through time from the pre-colonial period to the post-colonial by looking at some significant educational reforms implemented in these periods. In doing so, we not only shed light on the

complicated nature of Filipino citizenship but also better situate the Filipino in the present educational reform, the K to 12 Curriculum of 2012. Moreover, tracing how the “Filipino citizen” according to how educational reforms shaped and reshaped it allows us to compare how different the new Filipino citizen is that the recent curriculum change wants to shape as opposed to the earlier ones. A critical understanding of the entanglement between state interest, educational reform, and citizenship can also be better thought of when layers such as class, gender, and ethnicity are brought in because inevitably, citizenship, as a construct of national identity, a form of universalization of the Filipino, may complicate the place of the poor, women, and the indigenous peoples within the discourse of citizenship, community, and nation. This paper therefore, is an effort to offer a reflection on the implications of the new citizenship discourse in light of the existing economic, social and cultural gaps in contemporary Philippine society.

Some conceptual caveats

In the earlier months of struggling to come up with a sensible and coherent account of the questions that I raise in this paper, I have presented my initial thoughts and frameworks to a “talking and writing circle” that I have been fortunate to be part of as well as to some friends who were interested in the entanglement between schooling and citizenship. What I have noticed is that there had been a remarkable difficulty on my part, to explain how the two concepts are intertwined, and noticeably, on their end, to grasp that said relationship. I used to think of it as probably a communication or linguistic problem, or perhaps, a conceptual one, with the latter I have more convincingly espoused. At hindsight, I view it now as a loud manifestation of a more pervasive if not an overarching epistemic dominance of the distance that exists

between our views about “what we learn in schools” and “who we are as citizens of our nations”. Most often than not, I can surmise that the political and legal dimensions of citizenship are too powerful that people find it too difficult to abandon, if not set aside the preconceived legal and juridical views, and add the sociological, cultural, or active part of citizenship as a layer to their schema of citizenship. The primary interest of this paper is not entirely on the examination of legal or juridical citizenship, the citizenship that we inherit by virtue of our blood (*jus sanguinis*) or by virtue of the place of our birth (*jus soli*), but on citizenship as a virtue, a value, a way of life as members of the polity. Therefore, when I say the “ideal Filipino citizen”, or “citizen”, I do not mean solely those who have been granted Filipino citizenship, but a further sense of qualification, of privileging, among those who are considered as legal Filipinos, the possession of some specific citizenly virtue, value, and characteristics that are in conjunction to the constructs circulated by the state. This I will comprehensively discuss and nuance in the second chapter of this paper.

Why does it matter?

As mentioned in the earlier parts of this paper, more than subjecting the rhetoric of the state to scrutiny, this paper is an investigation and confrontation of the cultural politics of the state as it is expressed, constituted, and legitimized (Wodak, 2001, p.4) from the authoritative use of language in policy to its ordinary use in instruction. Moreover, this paper has also drawn interest and inspiration from Bent Flyvbjerg (2001), whose book, *Making Social Science Matter*, advocates for a brand of research he calls as “phronetic research”. He differentiates *phronesis* from *episteme* and *techne*:

Whereas *episteme* is found in the modern words “epistemology” and “epistemic,” and *techne* in “technology” and “technical,” it is indicative of the degree to which thinking in the social sciences has allowed itself to be colonized by natural and technical science that we today do not even have a word for the one intellectual virtue, *phronesis*, which Aristotle saw not only as the necessary basis for social and political inquiry, but as the most important of the intellectual virtues. *Phronesis* is most important because it is that activity by which instrumental rationality is balanced by value-rationality, and because such balancing is crucial to the sustained happiness of the citizens in any society, according to Aristotle. (pp. 3-4).

While far from being fully “phronetic” , by confronting the forms of rationalization and legitimization of Filipino citizenship in the educational policy reform, this paper attempts to offer a value-rational perspective by not only raising classical value-rational questions such as: Where is this policy going to lead Filipino citizenship? Is this redefinition desirable? (Flyvbjerg, 2001 , p. 130) but also by raising questions that pertain to power and outcomes such as who wins or who loses in this redefinition and through what kinds of power relations has this been made possible? (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 131), this paper brings forth a perspective that goes beyond the promises of benefits and outcomes as articulated in policy. Instead, this paper is an attempt to uncover the power-laden dimensions of policy by critically examining the values and interests that are foregrounded in the discourse of Filipino citizenship and reflecting on the possibilities of new forms of symbolic exclusions that capitalize on the pre-existing socio, political, and economic gaps persistent in Philippine society.

More practically, by examining and digging-out the values and interests echoed in the formulation of the K to 12 curriculum, this paper is relevant to Philippine policy-making by raising awareness and confronting the “value-neutral” conception of policy-making, and unmasking the class-based and economically-driven nature of educational policy-making. In doing this, this paper is also significant in demonstrating the nature of policy as a venue of contestation among different traditions of citizenship (i.e. liberal and civic republican) and how this form of struggle becomes counterproductive to the goals of citizenship when policy-formulation unconsciously or unknowingly becomes myopic to other traditions hence making these same goals go against themselves. On a practical note, this paper might also serve as a reminder, something that may behoove us that in policy making, especially when it involves the provision of social services, constantly asking and thinking about policies from the perspective of the marginalized is more than helpful.

Structure of this paper

Having introduced the premises, motivations, and goals of this paper, the second chapter is a review of literatures on citizenship where I trace the transformations and development of the concept from T.H. Marshall’s *Citizenship and Social Class* to more contemporary thinkers such as Sassen and Ong. In this chapter, I also articulate and explicate how the concept of “citizenship” is used or understood in this paper as well as this paper’s points of departure from the literature.

The third chapter is a discussion of the methodology used in this paper. I present the documents and materials used and provide rationales why these documents were chosen. Also,

in this chapter, I present Critical Discourse Analysis as a way of analyzing text and how it is intended to be used in this paper.

The fourth chapter is allotted for a discussion on the development of “citizenship” in Philippine education by roughly looking at the significant educational reforms implemented in the pre-colonial, colonial, and the post-colonial prior to the K to 12 reform of 2012. In this chapter, I ask the question: how has the understanding of “who the Filipino is” changed through time? By doing this, a certain sense of comparison or differentiation between the pre-K to 12 era and the K to 12 era can easily be seen.

In chapter five, I use Critical Discourse Analysis to examine K to 12 documents such as RA 10533 (consolidated version and the separate versions from the Senate and the House of Representatives), documents issued by the Department of Education, and teacher-support materials published to guide teachers in the implementation of the reform. In this section, I look into the representation of the K to 12 reform, the Filipino citizen as a social actor, and the relationship of the reform and the Filipino citizen to space and time. In Chapter VI, I decipher the reform’s construction of the “Filipino citizen” in light of the socio-historical, political, and economic transformations in Philippine society and “citizenship” as well as reflect on the implications of this discourse of “new citizenship” to the existing gaps in class, gender, and ethnicity.

CHAPTER II

THE JOURNEY OF THE UNIVERSAL CITIZEN TOWARDS FLEXIBILITY: A LITERATURE REVIEW OF CITIZENSHIP FROM MARSHALL TO ONG

Most, if not all theorists on citizenship would agree that ‘citizenship’ as a concept is in a state of flux. It is still in a process of transformation (Turner, 1990) and that it is incompletely theorized (Sassen, 2006). While this is sound and definitely compelling, the implicit assumption that it will ever be fixed or completed is of different story.

This section is a review of the transformations, debates, and development of ‘citizenship’ as a recurrent concept in the social sciences. Given that there had been a seeming changing notions of citizenship in the Philippines through time as the country has been exposed and has actively participated in globalization through the diaspora, trade, and many others, this section documents and synthesizes relevant literatures on citizenship from different theoretical traditions and hopes to identify some points of debate, unification, departures, reflections and rethinking that might provide additional lenses in understanding the dynamics and development of citizenship in the Philippines.

Theorizing about citizenship can be most simplistically construed as a confluence of three different traditions. The first which has been much about the state’s expectation from its citizens and the second which has been preoccupied with the pursuit of self-interest, have been in strong opposition against one another while the third tradition appears to have been a rethinking of the earlier two hence a dialectics of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. Heater (1999) looks at the two traditions namely the “civic republican” and the “liberal” describing the former as focused more on duties while the latter is emphasized on rights (p. 4). More specifically, the civic republican

tradition is preoccupied in trying to understand who the good citizen is and foregrounds the possession of citizenly virtues such as the involvement in the affairs of the republic for the benefit of both the individual and the community (p.44). On the other hand, the liberal tradition is highly invested in citizenship that is equally applicable to everyone, one that does not require an apparent abandonment of self-interest for communal goals hence the primacy of the individual; an expectation of the citizen's limited obligation to the state; and the value of relative freedom to pursue private affairs (pp. 6-7). The third tradition can be more roughly viewed as a corpus of critique of both the two earlier traditions particularly on their alleged "universalization" of citizenship (Young, 1989) which was also subsequently critiqued on the ground that it was too revolutionary and divisive (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994); and a syntheses, a unification of the civic republican and liberal traditions (Turner, 1990, 1993) as well as the expansion of the definition of citizenship beyond civic virtues and rights (Osler, 2010).

T.H. Marshall's (1950) work created ripples of discussions, oppositions, elevations, and expansions on the theory of citizenship. For Marshall and Bottomore⁵ (1992), citizenship is a status that signifies membership to a community as well as a sense of equality in so far as rights and duties endowed to citizens are concerned (p. 18). Moreover, Marshall and Bottomore point out that in order to fully enjoy this membership to the community, people should be accorded rights such as civil rights, political rights, and social rights (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994, p. 354) in order to reduce class inequality and conflict. With this, Marshall argues that while there exists an implicit inequality in the concept of citizenship, granting rights to citizens still undermines the inequality of the class system which for him was total inequality (Marshall and Bottomore, 1992, p. 20).

⁵ I am using the 1950 "Citizenship and Social Class" essay of T. H. Marshall as it was republished with Tom Bottomore in 1992 by Pluto Perspectives.

The initial theorizing on citizenship during Marshall's time has been highly based on legal and political membership of persons to the state or the nation and was centered on the relationship of the state, the citizens, and citizens of different classes. Marshall's interest in citizenship and social class made him vulnerable to critique from the 'New Right' and even the 'New Left' specifically on the impact of social rights to class inequality. The Right's criticism to his writing echoed the idea that social rights espouse the 'culture of passivity' and 'dependency' (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994, pp. 335-336) while the left that conceded on the principle that citizenship involves both rights and responsibilities, believed that rights to participate should come before responsibilities, which led to the idea of democratic participatory rights in the administration of welfare programs (pp. 358-359).

A renewed interest in citizenship in the 1980s and 1990s also meant rereading Marshall and inevitably bringing about barrage of criticisms arising from different interpretations of his account. Many pointed out that it is too "evolutionary" because it viewed the emergence of civil, political, and then social rights as a pattern of the British citizenship's development and invoked the idea that citizenship is never a unified nor homogeneous set of social arrangements (Giddens, 1982, cited in Turner, 1990, p. 192; Turner, 1990, p. 212). Aside from that, Mann (1987, as cited in Turner, 1990) also noticed that Marshall only focused on the development of citizenship in Britain alone which makes it comparatively inappropriate to other societies (p. 195) given historical and cultural differentials. Beyond these logical criticisms to Marshall, Barbalet (1988) posed interesting opposition against him on the effect of social rights to social class or class inequality. Barbalet asks, "has citizenship eliminated class inequality?" For Barbalet, there are two possibilities that social rights may bring about which involve either the improvement of the conditions of the disadvantaged without disrupting the underlying causes of inequality or it may

radically modify or disrupt the economic functions of wealth and capital (Turner, 1993, pp. 39-42). In sum, Barbalet (1988) argues that “it is important to remember that while citizenship rights are universal, the principle of citizenship has never been generalized to all social institutions” (p. 44). Arguably, the granting of social rights and applying it in general to secure the welfare of all members of the polity may in fact improve living conditions but may render the foundations and premises of inequality untouched. Others also called for Marshall’s expansion of the concept of social right specifically in the areas of culture and national cultural claims as another dimension of citizenship aside from the civil, political and social citizenships that he has earlier forwarded (Turner, 1990, p. 192). This was a promising call since it drew directions towards thinking about the aboriginal, the ethnic, and the minorities who, for the longest time has been silenced or held remotely.

An important expansion to Marshall’s theory of citizenship came from Mann (1987) who noted that the British strategy mentioned in Marshall’s is just one among five which he lists as liberal (U.S., U.K.), reformist (U.K. for him is a mix of liberal-reformist), authoritarian monarchist (Germany, Austria, Russia, Japan), Fascist (Nazi Germany), and authoritarian socialist (Soviet Union), at the same time putting emphasis on the strategies employed by the ruling classes in the different regimes and not limiting to just the bourgeois and the proletariats as initiators of the development of citizenship (p. 340). He further argued that there is no single best way of institutionalizing class conflict in industrial society.

Turner (1990), in his response to Mann raised significant points such as his neglect of aboriginality, ethnicity, nationalism, gender, race and even the Christian tradition in the shaping of modern citizenship (p. 197-198; 212). He also took cognizance of the top-down nature of Mann’s citizenship when it seemingly conceived of citizenship as coming from above, the

dominant, and the state to the subordinate classes (pp. 199; 201). Nevertheless, Turner (1990) recognizes that Mann's 'ruling class strategy' provided stimulus for the expansion, elaboration, and transcendence of Marshall's theory (p. 212).

With Mann's and the critics' contribution to Marshall's theory of citizenship, the concept that originally has been cognizant only of Western history has been pushed further to include other possible models of the development of citizenship. However, these discourses on citizenship which seemed incapable of transcending Marshall's tradition of universal citizenship due to their assumption that equality and generality in the application of citizenship rights to populations who are also perceived to be homogeneous, sufficiently ensures the protection of all members of the polity. This is what Taylor (1992) and Young (1989), and more recently, Kalantzis and Cope (2012) have exhaustively considered in reading the ideal of 'universal citizenship'. For Taylor (1992),

With the move from honor to dignity has come a politics of universalism, emphasizing the equal dignity of all citizens, and the content of this politics has been the equalization of rights and entitlements...People who are systematically handicapped by poverty from making the most of their citizenship rights are deemed on this view to have been relegated to second-class status, necessitating remedial action through equalization (pp. 37-38).

For Young (1989) on the other hand, the very principle of universality and generality are actually reinforcing possibilities of exclusion (p. 253). Moreover, she recognized the existing differences in culture, history, experiences, perceptions, and interpretations of different social groups even when they commonly seek to advocate just and humane goals (p. 257). Young

(1989) pointed out the possible dangers of the general and universal application of citizenship rights to heterogeneous population when she argues;

In a society where some groups are privileged while others are oppressed, insisting that as citizens persons should leave behind their particular affiliations and experiences to adopt a general point of view serves only to reinforce that privilege; for the perspectives and interests of the privileged will tend to dominate this unified public, marginalizing or silencing those of other groups (p. 257).

For Young, disregard to the different voices of the disadvantaged and the marginalized is tantamount to ‘oppression’⁶. With this, Young provided the concept of “differentiated citizenship” that assumes group differentiation and heterogeneity in a polity. For her, this meant that “differences are publicly recognized and acknowledged as irreducible, by which [I mean that] persons from one perspective or history can never completely understand and adopt the point of view of those with other group-based perspectives and histories. Yet commitment to the need and desire to decide together the society’s policies fosters communication across those differences” (1989, p. 258). Young, in fact seems to echo Spivak’s (1988) concept of “epistemic violence” which is committed because of the failure to acknowledge “the silent, silenced center of the circuit..., men and women among the illiterate peasantry, the tribals, [and] the lowest strata of the urban subproletariat” (p. 25).

⁶ For Young (1989), oppression happens when members of a population experience the following: “(1) the benefits of their work or energy go to others without those others reciprocally benefiting them (exploitation); (2) they are excluded from participation in major social activities, which in our society means primarily a workplace (marginalization); (3) they live and work under the authority of others, and have little work autonomy and authority over others themselves (powerlessness); (4) as a group they are stereotyped at the same time that their experience and situation is invisible in the society in general, and they have little opportunity and little audience for the expression of their experience and perspective on social events (cultural imperialism); [and] (5) group members suffer random violence and harassment motivated by group hatred or fear”(p.261).

On the question of representation, Young (1989) calls for the free expression of silenced or marginalized groups such that they have specific voice in decision-making and that a public must also be constituted to decipher which groups deserve specific representation (p. 263; 266).

More recently, Kalantzis and Cope (2012), in their “Four Dimensions of Relationship of State to Society and Education”, problematizing on “universal citizenship” just as Young did around the equal provision of public service and contextualizing it in the curriculum also argue:

...[i]f the state provides everyone with the same schooling (the same curriculum, the same tests, the same class sizes), everyone will have the same opportunity to succeed. This theory, however, is rather too simplistic. Because citizens start as unequals – by unequal inheritance of material and cultural capital, by being born as indigenous persons, or by being immigrants, for instance – universal and identical services do not produce equal outcomes. The curriculum of a school in a poor neighbourhood may be formally the same as the one in a more affluent neighborhood, but the limit on resources available (numbers of teachers, textbooks, computers – at home and at school) will affect the quality of outcomes such that children can never keep pace with their peers in more affluent schools (pp. 114).

These calls to shift the gaze from a perceived homogenous citizenry to a differentiated one, specifically referring to Young’s differentiated citizenship is considered by Kymlicka and Norman (1994) as a radical development in the discourse of citizenship (p. 370). For others, there is worry that Young’s proposal might encourage “citizenship to turn inward and focus on their difference” (Glazer, cited in Kymlicka, 1994, p. 371). They also worry that this development might engender a ‘politics of grievance’ where social groups might be lured to

focus more on establishing disadvantage instead of being proactive with it (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994, p. 372). While the criticisms made by Kymlicka and Norman (1994) have provided serious reflection on the soundness of ‘differentiated citizenship’, they however agree that neither the ‘common citizenship strategy’ can provide possible solutions (p. 375). The debate between Young and Kymlicka and Norman has been very productive in the development of citizenship theory through the years because it did not only call into question the effectiveness of universal citizenship but also provided critical lenses on the representation of minority groups in decision-making concerning policies and citizenship rights.

A synthesis of the ‘universal citizenship’ and ‘common citizenship strategy’ with the concept of ‘differentiated citizenship’ appears to have been theorized by Turner (1993) when he put together modern notions of citizenship with postmodern ones. For Turner (1993);

It is possible to combine the claims to citizenship status with a postmodern critique, if postmodernism can be regarded as a form of pluralism. That is, we must avoid the equation of citizenship with sameness. In citizenship, it may be possible to reconcile the claims of pluralism, the need for solidarity and the contingent vagaries of historical change. If citizenship can develop in a context with differences, differentiation and pluralism are tolerated, then citizenship need not assume a repressive character as a political instrument of the state. Thus in a world which is increasingly more global, citizenship will have to develop to embrace both the globalization of social relations and the increasing social differentiation of social systems (p. 15).

Prior to this synthesis he has made, Turner (1993) also theorized on citizenship which can be understood using two specific axes or dimensions. For him, the first dimension is to look at

citizenship depending on whether citizenship develops from above or below (passive-active contrast) while the second considers the contradiction between “the private realm of the individual and the family relationship to the public arena of political action” (p. 207). In doing this, not only did Turner address the criticisms to Marshall and Mann for failing to consider the emergence of citizenship from political struggles but also recognized that citizenship may either be articulated as a passive and private exercise or as an experience of active political agency in the public sphere.

So far, Turner provides the most wide-ranging, exhaustive, and complex conception of citizenship. Subsequently, Turner (1993) defined citizenship as “that set of practices (juridical, political, economic and cultural) which define a person as a competent member of society, and which as a consequence shape the flow of resources to persons and social groups” (p. 2). Turner was quick to raise the importance of using the word ‘practices’ in order to deviate from juridical concepts of citizenship as based on rights and obligations and forward a sociological perspective that has awareness of the debates on inequality, power and social class within the discourse of citizenship (pp. 2-3). Turner has also provided an intelligent elaboration of Barbalet’s (1988) concept of citizenship which considered the political and non-political dimensions of membership to a community. For Barbalet, citizenship is also about non-political capacities drawn from the social resources that citizens command and have access to (1988, p. 1). In the same way, Kalberg (1993) is in agreement with Turner in so far as the concept of citizenship implies more than just political and civil rights but is inclusive of “an entire spectrum of activities [...] and as appropriately involving a broad cross-section of the population rather than either a small and closed political and cultural elites or members of particular ethnic groups and distinguished families” (p. 100). Kymlicka and Norman (1994) are also on similar stance when

they differentiated citizenship as a legal status arising from the full membership in a political community as opposed to it as a desirable activity where the quality of a citizen is gauged by his participation in that community (p.353).

Having expanded the grids of citizenship to include not just juridical, political, or legal and the sociological dimensions pertinent to the concept of a “citizen”, a flourishing of more open and inclusive and dynamic notions of citizenship emerged. For one, Albrow (1996, as cited in Tan, 2005) has coined the term “performative citizenship” to refer to a kind of citizenship that transcends the limitations of the ancient and modern constructs of the state and is hinged on the activities of individuals when they work as “citizens of the world” in the larger public sphere for global good (p. 2). This view already starts to take consciousness of the emerging globalization at that time. Linked to Turner’s concept of “practices”, Dimitrov and Boyadjieva (2009, as cited in Reid, et al., 2010) refer to citizenship as “the system of values, efforts, and institutionalized practices required for creating and maintaining conditions for living together in a complex society” (p.3). While “status” and “practice/s” have been recurrent in earlier discourses on citizenship, Osler and Starkey (2005, as cited in Osler, 2010) also include “feeling” as part of their conceptualization of citizenship. For them,

...it is a feeling or a sense of belonging. The degree to which a person feels they belong is not necessarily related to formal status, although legal entitlements obtained through citizenship may be among those goods which enable a person to feel they belong (p. 217).

This can be resonated with by peoples who are considered as “stateless” yet have a strong feeling or sense of belonging to their old homes or their new place of residence.

It has been shown that there had been deviations or departures of the not so recent writings on citizenship from the juridical and legal bases to dimensions such as “practices” and “feelings” yet the debate on the “territoriality” or “deterritoriality” of citizenship is equally compelling. With this, it can be surmised that even the concept of citizenship as “national identity” and attachment to the nation is losing ground (Castles and Davidson, 2000, p. viii; Ong 2006). Furthermore, for Castles and Davidson (2000), a novel version of citizenship is emerging and is practical, contingent and of contested nature yet undeniably real (p. 156).

Adding layer and gradient to the existing literature on territoriality/deterritoriality, Sassen (2006) complicates and opens up concepts such as “postnational citizenship” and “denationalized citizenship”. While agreeing that citizenship is still primarily a relationship between the state and the subject or the individual and the polity, there is a rearticulation of these relationships into newer and different forms because of globalization or circumstances beyond the limits of the national (pp.278-283). For her, citizenship seems to be denationalized because of the growing articulation of globalization in local economies coupled with the state’s withdrawal from various spheres of citizenship such as loyalty to the state (p. 283). On the other hand, new forms of citizenship (postnational citizenship) might also emerge because of the changed conditions in the space located beyond the national instead of locally initiated frameworks of developments (p. 305). It is from this differentiation that Sassen poses her concern over the task to point-out the ways in which globalization necessitates a diversity of initiatives in national economies through national institutions that might complicate citizenship (p. 306). With Sassen’s anchoring of citizenship within the interaction of citizens and polity, states and other states, as well as states and the global political economy, the discourse of citizenship seems to have been situated

perfectly in the most timely and appropriate context that is fully aware of the emerging trends of global and local transformations.

With this interest and grounding of citizenship in the global political economy and the proliferation of the neoliberal logic, Ong (1999) formulates what she calls “flexible citizenship”. For Ong, flexible citizenship “refers to the cultural logics of capitalist accumulation, travel, and displacement that induce subjects to respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions” (p. 6). The citizen who becomes a ‘neoliberal subject’ is a self-enterprising citizen, an ‘entrepreneur of himself or herself’, and competent (Ong, 2006; pp. 14; 7). What makes Ong’s assertion about the emerging flexibility of citizenship is her seeming rearticulation of Spivak’s “epistemic violence”, Young’s “oppression” and even Turner’s idea of the ‘competent citizen’⁷ when she discusses the possibilities of “invisibilization” (using the case of Singapore⁸) of some specific groups within the polity because of the extensive use of neoliberal rationalities in the calculation of the citizen. Ong (2006) argues that the use of “exceptions to neoliberalism”⁹, may exclude noncitizens from the “benefits of capitalism” (however ironic) or may render even citizens who are deemed not to have “tradable competence” or promise to be devalued and thus make them vulnerable to practices of exclusion (pp. 4; 7).

⁷ Ong does not cite Spivak (1988), Young (1989), nor Turner (1990) but there seem to be strong similarities in their understanding of the exclusionary possibilities of citizenship starting from the application of “universal citizenship” which Young criticizes to the utilization of neoliberal logics as standards of assessing the “flexible citizen” which Ong warns us about.

⁸ Ong (2006) mentions that in Singapore, there had been a situation in which the talented expatriates are viewed as ideal citizens while the low-skill migrants brought in including some of the locals are “invisibilized” (p. 21).

⁹ For Ong (2006), this involves the exclusion, in political decisions, of populations and places from neoliberal calculations and choices. This may also mean the protections of some groups and the stripping away of political protection in other groups (p.5).

Making Sense

Looking at the transformations of citizenship through time, and the tensions and debates that polished the concept to its current configuration, while this review might not have been the most exhaustive¹⁰, it however provides many perspectives in terms of thinking about citizenship and policy. It demonstrates the importance of looking at how the transformations in the global political economy might implicate citizenship through the implementation and application of neoliberal rationalities by national governments to their populations (Sassen, 2006; Ong, 2006). Also, with the increasing sophistication and complexity of theories on citizenship, given the calls for it to be equally sociological as it is juridical, it behooves us to cast our gaze at how these changes, debates, and redefinition have significantly impacted and have brought positive developments in policy-making that directly or indirectly affect citizenship. Moreover, with the invoking of “feeling” as a significant component or element of citizenship aside from legal membership and national practices, we also see the value of inquiry with respect to how this complicates the case of peoples in the diaspora. This might involve looking at nuances on how this citizenship of feeling has become productive or counterproductive to overseas workers and how governments especially in developing nations have tapped this as a possible resource in legitimizing and glorifying overseas work or labor migration in order to secure economic gains or how they have used it in their construction of their very own citizens.

Inevitably, with the preoccupation to define the citizen, theorists and policy-makers themselves, whether consciously or unconsciously, exclude segments of the polity which has important implications to access to resources and the enjoyment of privileges. Moreover, the theorizing and policy-making related to citizenship also involves, because of the inevitability of

¹⁰ I say so because I still want to go back to Aristotle, Cicero, Weber, Durkheim, Marx and Engels, and Toennies (notwithstanding my interest even to other modern theorists on citizenship) to grasp more deeply the development of citizenship in earlier political and sociological thought.

conscious or unconscious exclusion (Young, 1989), the imposition of policies (Kalberg, 1993). It might be sound to raise therefore questions such as, “*qui bono?* whose values? whose practices?” to reckon policy initiatives that have implications to citizenship. Given this, it might be very compelling delve into the local manifestations of “epistemic violence” (Spivak, 1988) “oppression” (Young, 1989), and “invisibilization” (Ong, 2006) with respect to ethnicity, gender, and class no matter how well-meaning policies are. Equally important is to consider citizenship from below (Turner, 1990) by looking at how minority groups, subalterns, and devalued citizens are responding to and changing oppressive calculations of neoliberal logic-based citizenship they receive from the state and dominant classes.

In the end, moving beyond rights and membership to the inclusion of values, practices and feelings have undeniably added positive gradients and layers to the theory of citizenship. However, the important question is, with the increasing sophistication and complexity of citizenship as an institution, have developments in this sphere moved beyond and triumphed over the violence of theory, oppression, and invisibilization? As long as we respond to this question in the negative, or governments and policy-makers continue to ignore or dismiss its significance, then citizenship as a concept and a practice still has a long way to go. It will remain as Sassen (2006) has viewed an incompletely theorized construct.

Pinning it down

The confluence of theoretical traditions in citizenship informs that for citizenship to hold water, it should not be limited within the confines of “duty”, “rights”, or “duty+rights” alone but should continually keep on pushing its very own theoretical limits and looking beyond itself. Therefore, while a view of citizenship as rights is an inevitable premise not only because it

assumes that everyone is equal in the eyes of the law but also because it ensures, at least in spirit, that everyone who has fulfilled whatever basic requirements for citizenship mandated by the state are, is a citizen. It is definitely a necessary but not sufficient theoretical heuristic to understand citizenship. Moreover, grasping citizenship as the possession of civic virtue or citizenly characteristics alone poses serious dangers because not everyone may possess these virtues called for by the state by reasons of education, wealth, physical ability or other forms. To put rights and duties together as axes of citizenship still poses some problems because even when everyone is seen as equal citizens before the law, when the state - through its power to formulate laws and policies promulgates its expectations to its citizens such as what it envisions its citizens to be, or what virtues it desires to imbibe in them - seemingly refutes the first act since the very definition of an ideal citizen also amounts to a direct assault to the assumption of equality. Therefore, in countries such as the Philippines where the rate of foreign-born citizens is smaller than countries such as the U.S., Canada, and some countries in Europe, the determination of who is juridically a citizen while it might be a problem, is not that compelling. In short, the case of the Philippines demonstrates that “primary citizenship” or “formal citizenship”, which may be understood as legal or juridical citizenship, or the very basic realm of identifying who gets to be conferred Filipino citizenship (i.e. getting a Philippine Passport) does not require much problematization compared to “secondary” or “substantive citizenship” which may be a representation or a symbolic construct of the ideal citizen through the state’s articulation in policy and legislation of its expectations from its citizens. This is so because while everyone is a legal citizen (assuming they fulfil the *jus soli* or *jus sanguinis* criteria) in a polity where everyone has rights to services, a further reckoning is necessary especially in the domain of practice or even everyday life. Granting that they are equal in the eyes of the law, do they

remain equal in the everyday practice of the state or in the smaller and more specific activities involving social services such as in this case, education? Of course, the response is predictable but not only is this a case of a disjuncture between citizenship in theory or grand laws and citizenship articulated in specific policy activity, this is also a case when the latter is also detached from the social reality of class, gender, and ethnic differentiation. In the case of defining citizenship as based on rights and duties, or even values and virtues, the question “whose virtues, values, and duties?” become very relevant. Moreover, this dual layer of disjuncture is amplified when questions such as “who benefits? who gains? who loses? and by which mechanisms of power?” (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 145) are asked. So, if Marshall’s goal for arguing on the importance of “universal citizenship” is to achieve equality and mitigate the negative economic effects of selective citizenship, it is also relevant to look at the shortcomings of universal citizenship to the poor, women, and indigenous peoples and expand this point of inquiry further to other notions of citizenship disseminated in policy which, in a similar sense as its earlier versions of juridical or formal citizenship, may still equally exclude people from fully benefiting from the blessings of resources from the state or social services such as education both in symbolic integration and real access.

Let me end this section by putting forward this paper’s configuration in the cartography of citizenship theory or where it identifies with or departs from this multitude of perspectives. Synthesizing what has been written about citizenship in the different literatures reviewed, it can be thought of as: in a primary sense, a status that signifies membership to a community (Marshall, 1992) applied universally in an ideal situation to ensure the protection of rights (civil, political, social) for the mitigation or elimination of inequality, through different mechanisms of power (Mann, 1987). In a secondary sense, it is a status indicated by the possession of a vast

spectrum of values, civic virtues, feelings, bundles of practices including non-political capacities (Kalberg, 1993; Turner, 1993; Barbalet, 1988; Dimitrov & Boyadjieva, 2009; Osler & Starkey, 2005) determined by the practices of the state, groups, and individuals as a response to presentist needs (Kaplan, 2006) and the application of the cultural logics of capitalism (Ong, 1999, 2006) in a situation of social heterogeneity, that define a person as an ideal member of a society (Turner, 1993). It is also emerging in the context of the changed socio-economic and political conditions within the nation and the “postnational” (Sassen, 2006) which subsequently have exclusionary and oppressive implications to social differences based on class, ethnicity, and gender existent in society (Taylor, 1992; Young, 1989). In the context of this paper, while citizenship is primarily, or in the first instance a matter of determining who rightfully should be conferred the status of legal or juridical citizenship, this paper looks more at the second instance when people have been granted rights and are deemed equal as citizens by the constitution, yet are differentiated in the language of policy and pedagogic practice. Therefore, the usage of citizenship as a concept in this paper is configured as an assumption that everyone is a citizen in a legal or juridical sense yet complex differentiation and stratification exist by reason of state-driven construction of ideal citizenship. In other words, while we are all citizens in a legal viewpoint, we are not from a social or sociological perspective. This does not however mean that we should dismiss the value of universal citizenship. Instead, this paper forwards a concept of citizenship where the application of rights-based citizenship happens or is celebrated yet maintains a comprehension that citizens are not homogeneous and at the same time ensures that within this situation of heterogeneity, the acquisition of benefits and access to resources, as well as symbolic integration in the discourse of ideal citizenship do not get implicated by the state-sponsored citizenship project. While the state has the power to amplify what it deems as the

“virtuous citizen” in the tradition of civic republicanism, it is also its duty to protect, in the tradition of liberal citizenship, those who might be in danger of exclusion by providing protective mechanisms that insulate them from the harms of neoliberal calculation and “presentist–realist” responses. In this sense, even when the rights-based, universal, and common citizenship strategy has been recurrent and pervasive in the literature, thinking about civic republican notions of citizenship is still significant since given that it is a secondary strand of citizenship, it also generates secondary forms of inequality, exclusion, and oppression that are often taken for granted most often because what the state construes as ideal citizenship is or has been internalized or mirrored in the consciousness of self-interested individuals creating a complicated mirror effect of the apparent national interest and self-preservation.

CHAPTER III

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS THEORY AND METHOD

The discursive constitution of society does not emanate from a free play of ideas in people's heads but from a social practice which is firmly rooted in and oriented on real, material social structures.

(Fairclough 1992, p. 66)

Discourse and Social Change

"No text is ever the text of a single speaker or writer. All texts show traces of differing discourses, contending and struggling for dominance. Texts are therefore the sites of struggle, and in being the site of struggle, texts are the sites of linguistic and cultural change. Individuals...are the bearers and agents of that struggle."

(Kress, 1989, p.32)

Linguistic Processes in Sociocultural Practice

In Chapter II, the developments in the theory of citizenship in the social sciences have been shown which is important to have a working understanding of citizenship as a concept in this paper. In this chapter, Critical Discourse Analysis as a theory and method will be explicated as well as justified.

Norman Fairclough (2001), in his article "Critical discourse analysis as a method in social scientific research", opens with a statement of reservation about attributing the word "method" to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) because of the danger of it being construed simplistically as a "bundle of skills" or perhaps a "toolbox" where one draws some specific apparatuses as needed (p. 3). Nevertheless, he views CDA as "theory" as much as "method" because it is a theoretical perspective on language and a way of analyzing language in a dialogical relationship with other social science theories and methods available (p.3). I would like to believe that I share the same discomfort in looking at CDA as purely method, or as purely a form of theoretical perspective since being immersed in this vast literature of critical and discursive analysis of text, I have noticed that CDA is not just a way of analyzing events, or

communicative events more specifically, but also a way of understanding social phenomenon in relation to existing social science theories. This is because in order for CDA to be valid, it should not just look at what meanings are embedded in texts but should at least share as much theoretical rigor as other social science theories. I believe that this chapter's title is therefore justified. Having mentioned that, this chapter is a discussion of the theoretical assumptions of CDA, its characteristics as a way of understanding social phenomenon, and as a method of analyzing or processing textual materials. Moreover, it presents different models of analysis that employ CDA and in the end explicates how these models are intended to be used in analyzing the textual materials in this study.

Critical Discourse Analysis from a Macro-Perspective

From a general viewpoint, CDA may be described as any of the following:

1. It is a perspective on language which sees it not merely as a *reflection* of reality in an overt and superficial manner, but as a form of *construction* and organization of social reality for us. Discourse analysts therefore are interested in language and texts as sites in which social meanings emerge, either created or reproduced, and where social identities are generated (Tonkiss, 1998, p. 246).

2. More than linguistic analysis that relates form and function, CDA involves specific empirical analyses of how such form-function relationships are linked with certain social practices that figure in the constitution of the very nature of these same practices (Gee, 2003, p. 19).

3. CDA “shares interests – and sometimes methods – with disciplines that study social groups and social structures, such as anthropology, sociology, ethnography, and

ethnomethodology, and with disciplines that are concerned with human cognition and behavior, such as cognitive and social psychology” (Bloor & Bloor, 2007, pp. 1-2).

Tracing the origin of CDA from the Frankfurt School, Wodak (2001) demonstrates how it can be practically used by listing some questions that CDA inquires about such as: 1) What constitutes knowledge?; 2) How are discourses constructed in and are constructive of social institutions?; 3) How does ideology function in social institutions?; and 4) How do people obtain and maintain power? (p. 16).

Put simply, Critical Discourse Analysis is a perspective that looks at language-not solely in way a linguist would do-but with special interest in how meanings are construed by the producer or the language-user, how it is received by an audience and how this language-use shapes and is being shaped by the larger social practice where it unfolds. With this, it should be very apparent that CDA views language not just as a tool for communication, for getting the message across, but as a venue of construction of meanings in relation to different social conditions such as power, social practices and structures. Furthermore, CDA appears to be a perspective that merges linguistic analysis and social science perspectives from anthropology to sociology in understanding realities presented in texts making itself a very dynamic, reflective and reflexive activity.

Very interestingly, since CDA problematizes language as used to create meanings (with other interests aside from communication), discourse analysts use sources such as “official documents, legal statutes, political debates and speeches, media reports, policy papers, maps, pictorial and exhibition materials, expert analyses, publicity literature and press statements, historical documents, tourist guides, interviews, diaries, and oral histories” to collect their data or

information from (Tonkiss, 1998, p. 245) which means to almost any source that uses language in any form imaginable notwithstanding the social value of the text to be studied.

Aims of Critical Discourse Analysis

Corson (2000, as cited in Rogers, 2004a) wrote that the aim of CDA is to, “explore hidden power relations between a piece of discourse and wider social and cultural formations” and have an interest in “uncovering inequality, power relationships, injustices, discrimination, bias, etc.” (p.3). With this attempt to explore, CDA inquires on practices and customs in society both for purposes of discovery and description of their functioning and also to generate a critical understanding about them by deciphering whether a communicative event maintains, reproduces, or disrupts social structures pervasive in *status quo* (Bloor and Bloor, 2007, p. 3).

To be able to fulfill these aims of exploration, discovery, description and critique of power relations, CDA casts gaze on “both discursive practices which construct representations of the world, social subjects and social relations, including power relations, and the role that these discursive practices play in furthering the interests of particular social groups” (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2004, p. 63). That is why whenever one involves himself or herself in the practice of CDA, it is inevitable to touch the more sensitive issues of politics and ideologies since they are mechanisms to maintain or change the *status quo*-to put or to overthrow someone in power, to dismantle oppressive structures in society, or to call for the establishment of perceived liberating social practices. CDA from this vantage point is also characterized by the common interest of demystifying ideologies and power through the systematic investigation of semiotic data, be they written, spoken or visual. As Ruth Wodak claims, one of the aims of CDA is to demystify discourses by deciphering ideologies (2001, p. 14; 1998, p.187).

The succeeding parts of this chapter will delve more comprehensively on the nature of critical discourse analysis as a “theory” including its underlying assumptions and principles, its “critical” nature, and the plurality of modes of “analysis” available in the vast field of critical discourse analysis.

Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis

Wodak and Fairclough proposed in two instances the different principles of Critical Discourse Analysis: first, Fairclough and Wodak (1998) together and second, Ruth Wodak alone as presented in Clive Seale’s “Researching Society and Culture” (1998). Take a look at the presentation of the principles below.

Table 1. Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis

RUTH WODAK’S PRINCIPLES OF CDA (Wodak, 1998, pp. 187-188)	NORMAN FAIRCLOUGH AND RUTH WODAK’S EIGHT FOUNDATIONAL PRINCIPLES OF CDA (Rogers, 2004a, p. 2)
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The approach is interdisciplinary (integrate theories) 2. The approach is problem oriented 3. The theories as well as the methodologies are eclectic 4. The study always incorporates fieldwork and ethnography to explore the object under investigation 5. The approach is abductive (a constant movement back and forth between theory and empirical data) 6. Multiple genres and multiple public spaces are studied, and intertextual and interdiscursive relationships are studied. 7. The historical context is always analyzed and integrated into the interpretation of discourses and texts. The notion of change has become inherent in the study of text and discourse. 8. Categories and tools for analysis are defined in accordance with all these steps and procedures and also with the specific problem under investigation 9. Grand theories might serve as a foundation in the specific analysis. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. CDA addresses social problems 2. Power relations are discursive 3. Discourse constitutes society and culture 4. Discourse does ideological work 5. Discourse is historical 6. A sociocognitive approach is needed to understand how the relations between texts and society are mediated 7. Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory and uses a systematic methodology 8. CDA is a socially committed scientific paradigm

Looking at the principles of CDA presented both by Wodak, and Wodak with Fairclough, one can see much convergence and agreement between these two presentations of principles than their divergences.

Both of them are in agreement in terms of CDA as problem-oriented, eclectic in theory and method but still remains to be systematic and lastly, both of these presentations of principles still hold on to the historical context in interpreting any given text. Simplifying things out, Norman Fairclough as mentioned by Jørgensen and Phillips (2004) gives a more convenient way of characterizing the elements or the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. They are: 1) the character of social and cultural processes and structures is partly linguistic-discursive; 2) discourse is both constitutive and constituted; 3) language use should be empirically analyzed within its social context; 4) discourse functions ideologically; and 5) critical research (pp. 61-64).

The first feature of CDA revolves around the first application of the concept of discourse as a social practice. Discursive practices which involve the production and consumption of text, are an important form of social practice that form part of the *constitution* of the social world and social identities and social relations more specifically hence making social and cultural production happen (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2004, p. 61). The second feature implies the “constitutive” and “constituted” nature of discourses such that they shape reality but are also inevitably shaped by that same reality. The third and fourth forward the delineating feature of CDA from plain CA (Content Analysis) or DA (Discourse Analysis) with its contextual analysis of language-use, and with interest on how discursive practices are linked to unequal relations of power between different social groups respectively. The fourth feature then boils down to the question of ideology (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2004, p. 63). Lastly, more than just analyzing form

and function, or identifying links between different variables, the social commitment to unravel social inequalities and propose possible solutions to these problems is what sets apart CDA from other methods in understanding textual genres.

After establishing the premises of CDA or where it is, as a theory is coming from, it is also important to note why in the first place it is called a “critical” analysis of discourse, the nature of “discourse”, and the “analysis” of discourse. With this, we will first look at the word ‘critical’, then to ‘discourse’ and finally, to ‘analysis’, hence ‘Critical Discourse Analysis’¹¹.

The ‘Critical’ in Critical Discourse Analysis

What sets apart the analysis of text in CDA apart from other traditions of text or conversation analysis? The critical nature of CDA emanates from its social commitment as shown in Table 1 and its intensified level of critique to unfair social relations as opposed to the highly “positivist” and “objectivist” theorizing and analysis of early social science. Bloor and Bloor (2007) warn that “the word ‘critical’ can be sometimes misleading. In CDA, it is used more with a sense of critique, meaning that analysis may, on occasion, be directed towards a positive outcome, such as investigations of successful resistance texts (like those written during the anti-racial discrimination movements in the USA in the 1960s)” (p. 5).

Critical discourse analysis is “critical” because it does not simply describe social reality but has a commitment to disclose the function of discursive practice in the propagation of social inequality. In the words of Jorgensen and Phillips (2004):

Critical discourse analysis does not, therefore, understand itself as politically neutral (as objectivist social science does), but as a critical approach

¹¹ This structure of presentation has been drawn from Rebecca Rogers’ (2004) structure of presenting CDA in her book “An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis in Education” (pp. 3-11).

which is politically committed to social change. In the name of emancipation, critical discourse analytical approaches take the side of oppressed social groups. Critique aims to uncover the role of discursive practice in the maintenance of unequal power relations, with the overall goal of harnessing the results of critical discourse analysis to the struggle for radical social change (p. 64).

Another worthwhile point to argue for the critical nature of CDA is the “trichotomy” proposed by Rogers (2003a). First, CDA is critical because it rejects, naturalism, the view that social practices represent reality, rationality or rationalism which view truth as objective, and neutrality which advocate for “truth” as void of any interest, in similar ways that critical theory and research do it. Second, it attempts to describe, interpret and explain the relationship between form and function of language coupled with the belief that certain networks of form-function relationships are more privileged or valued than others. Lastly, it explicitly addresses problems of society and strives to arrive at some forms of resolution through the analysis and some accompanying action (pp. 3-4).

In a more convenient and rather bold manner, James Paul Gee (2004) establishes the “criticalness” of CDA by differentiating it from plain content analysis or discourse analysis. He mentions that plain CA (content analysis) looks at the association between form and function of language and has the inclination to approach social practices within the bounds of social interaction (he gives the example of pulling off a job by using desired language) while CDA on the other hand transcends social practice as mere social interaction but as interactions that have underlying implications to concepts such as, status, access to resources, and power (pp. 32-34).

Meriel Bloor and Thomas Bloor (2007) on the other hand, argue for the critical nature of CDA by comparing the objectives of the 20th Century Discourse Analysis (which they call non-

critical) to those of the present Critical Discourse Analysis. Take a look at the comparison below:

Table 2. Comparison of the Features of 20th Century DA and CDA (Bloor and Bloor, 2007, p. 12)

FEATURES OF THE NON-CRITICAL 20TH CENTURY DISCOURSE ANALYSIS	FEATURES OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Identified how people used language to communicate 2. Developed methods of analysis that helped reveal the categories or varieties of discourse and the essential features of each 3. Built theories about how communication takes place 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Analyzes discourse practices that reflect or construct social problems 2. Investigates how ideologies can become frozen in language and find ways to break the ice 3. Increases awareness of how to apply these objectives to specific cases of injustice, prejudice, and misuse of power

There is indeed a major point of differentiation that may be threshed from the comparison made by Bloor & Bloor. They have differentiated critical discourse analysis from non-critical discourse analysis by looking at the function of language, how these two modes of analysis approach “discourse”, and lastly, the practical import of these two analyses. Looking at both the first objectives, DA (Discourse Analysis) looks at the function of language as a tool for communication while CDA on the other hand looks at the ‘political’ function of language. Furthermore, looking at number 2, the approach that DA uses is a descriptive approach to discourse while CDA looks at discourse in an ideological perspective-pertaining to language as a tool to forward specific interests in the exercise of power, or put simply, a critical approach. Lastly, when one looks at number 3 which we might conveniently label as the practical import of the two analyses, DA’s goal is to build theories and explain further the nature and dynamics of communication while CDA’s import is to apply this fusion of linguistics and social science

perspectives to understand and explain social problems emanating from inequality. This way of differentiating CDA from other modes of analyses seem to coincide with Wodak's (2001b) claim that a fully critical CDA must cast its gaze on power, history, ideology, the interaction of structure and agency, (pp. 2-3) and to have a sense of distance to the data such that the analysis is within the "social" with the interpreter taking an explicit political stance and a focus on self-reflection as a researcher (p. 5).

Critical discourse analysis is indeed 'critical' because it departs from naturalism, rationalism, neutrality and looks at the political function of language, exposes the ideological undertones of discourse, and most of all, is socially committed.

'Discourse' in Critical Discourse Analysis

Let me state that I do not attempt to essentialize what "discourse" is in this section of Chapter III nor attempt to fully grasp it. Discourse theorists themselves admit that it is a difficult concept due to the multiple conflicting and overlapping definitions emanating from diverse theoretical traditions and disciplines (Fairclough, 1992, p.3). The significance of Foucault in understanding "discourse" in CDA cannot be discounted. Two significant disciplines or fields are recurrent in the enterprise of discourse namely, the field of linguistics and social theory. Fairclough (1992) mentions that in linguistics, it is sometimes used to refer to spoken dialogue, in contrast with written texts although more commonly, to extended samples of spoken or written language with emphasis not only on the higher-level organizational features but also on the interaction between the producer and the consumer (p.3). This seems to be in line with what Tonkiss (1998) explicates that "discourses may take the form of a single or specific utterance or specific speech act and also to more systematic ordering of language" (p. 247). In the same line

of thought, beyond written and spoken forms, Bloor & Bloor (2007) look at discourse as “symbolic human interaction in its many forms, whether directly through spoken or written language or via gestures, pictures, diagrams, films or music” (pp. 1-2). More colloquially, discourse is also used to refer to language used in specific social situations or contexts such as the media, classroom, or medical practice (Fairclough, 1992, p.3).

Clearly, from these descriptions, discourse from a linguistic point of view may be a simple interjection of hate or love to an academic essay against globalization that follows the strict rules of grammar and scholarly work.

In the field of social theory on the other hand, the work of Michel Foucault becomes very relevant in understanding discourse. Within this field, discourse is seen as Fairclough (1992) puts it:

[D]ifferent ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice (....) [that] do not just represent social entities and relations, they construct or ‘constitute’ them; different discourses constitute key entities (be they ‘mental illness’, ‘citizenship’ or ‘literacy’) in different ways, and position people in different ways as social subjects (e.g. as doctors or patients) (pp. 3-4).

In Sarantakos’ (2005) view which is similar to Fairclough’s, discourses are “socially constructed frameworks of meanings that act upon people like rules, norms, or conventions expressed in statements which contain information about what is appropriate or inappropriate, allowed or not allowed, acceptable or not acceptable, valued or not valued and are known to people, applied by them unconsciously in their everyday life and are taken for granted by them” (p. 309).¹² From this we can infer that the following would be the elements or characteristics of

¹² This is best demonstrated in Michel Foucault’s (1995) enumeration of the characteristics of individuality in “Discipline and Punish” such as the employment of spatial distribution (cellular individuality); coding of activities

discourse: it is socially constructed; they depend on social structures, the speakers and the audience; are connected with and the result of power; and lastly, they reflect social context and at the same time are part of this context.

In a very interesting, convenient and logical way, James Paul Gee (as cited in Rogers, 2004a) differentiates ‘discourse’ from ‘Discourse’. For him:

‘discourse’ refers to language bits or the grammar of what is said while ‘Discourse’ on the other hand refers to the ways of representing, believing, valuing, and participating with the language bits. Big discourse includes language bits, but it also includes the identities and meanings that go along with such ways of speaking. This distinction helps us see that the form of language cannot exist independent of the function of language and the intention of speakers (p. 5).

This therefore implies that “discourse” is language *per se* or “language as is” or literal usage of language while “Discourse” would be the production of meanings and identities whenever one uses language and more importantly, the form taken by language has an implication to the meaning and the interest underlying its use or the other way around-the meaning and intention of language might have an implication to its form. From this point of differentiation enters the view of discourse as a social practice. Wodak (2001) for example claims that discourse is both a social practice as well as a way of representing social practice (p. 12). Concerning discourse as a social practice, Fairclough and Wodak (1997) state:

[Language in use] should be viewed as a form of social practice.

Describing discourse as a social practice implies a *dialectical* [or] a two-way

(organic); accumulation of time (genetic); and by the composition of forces (combinatory) which are made possible by the employment of tactics such as tables, prescription of movements and exercises, and the combination of other possible tactics to effect greater discipline (p. 167).

relationship: the discursive event is shaped by situations, institutions and social structures, but it also shapes them. (p.55)

Discourse both reflects and constructs social world, hence constitutes and is constituted, dialectical, and dialogic and “is never just a product, but a set of consumptive, productive, distributive, and reproductive processes” (Rogers, 2004a, p.5) that take place as social structures and human action interact. Jäger (2001) in fact views discourse as a social practice because it is a “flow of knowledge” through time that has significant function in the individual and collective actions that shape society (p.5).

That is why the constitutive and constituted nature of “discourse” or “Discourse” is well argued by Fairclough (1992) although this definitely echoes Foucault’s view which involves seeing discourse as constructing society (which may involve the production, transformation and reproduction) in various ways such as the constitution of the objects of knowledge, social subjects, the self, social relationships and conceptual frameworks (p. 39). At the core of Fairclough’s understanding of discourse as a social practice therefore is the argument that it reproduces knowledge, identities, and relations including those that involve power yet at the same time recognizes that it is also shaped by other social practices and structures (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2004, p. 65) in other fields or contexts. In sum, when one looks at a text or a communicative event with a particular interest in discourse, the constitutive and constituted aspects of discourse should be seen in terms of the interaction between preconstituted social reality and discursive practice (Fairclough, 1992, p. 60), of structure and human action. Critical Discourse Analysis therefore appears to adopt elements of Materialist and Idealist perspectives on social structure where language use is determined by society by providing resources, and subsequently proceeds to (re)produce it (Richardson, 2007, p. 28).

A dialectical relationship exists then between discourse and those which are represented or constructed in the discourse. It is important that in understanding the nature of discourse as a social practice, the dialectical relationship between ‘discourse’ and those ‘discoursed’ should always be noted. Discourse as a social practice therefore is the complexity of how discursive language-use shapes social realities and on the other hand how this same language-use is being shaped by that same social reality.

It seems that it does not matter anymore whether we view discourse from the perspective of linguistics or from social theory. What is clear is that the linguistic view of discourse as an entity, as a system of linguistic acts, can be a starting point of understanding discourse and this is significantly nuanced by social theory by emphasizing its constitutive and constituted dimensions in social practice.

Nicola Woods (2006) gives a remarkable synthesis of all the articulations made above as she states:

Discourse is, at the very least, language plus context – by which I mean the context that we bring with us when we use language; the context that includes our experience, assumptions and expectations; the context we change (and which is itself changed) in our relationship with others, as we both construct and negotiate our way through the social practices of the world we live in (p. x).

Let me close this section in arguing for the value of looking at discourse as a social practice by citing Fairclough (2001):

The motivation for focusing on social practices is that it allows one to combine the perspective of structure and the perspective of action – a practice is on the one hand a relatively permanent way of acting socially which is defined by

its position within a structured network of practices, and a domain of social action and interaction which both reproduces structures and has the potential to transform them. All practices are practices of production – they are the arenas within which social life is produced, be it economic, political, cultural, or everyday life (p. 4).

The ‘Analysis’ in Critical Discourse Analysis

Having argued for the critical nature of CDA and having clarified what “discourse” from “Discourse” is, the more practical approach to doing CDA specifically how to analyze a given text will be demonstrated in this section to establish the applicability and usability of CDA both as a theory and a method.

Fairclough (2003) opens in his book, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*, by stating that his “approach to discourse analysis has been to try to transcend the division between work inspired by social theory which tends to analyse texts, and work which focuses upon the language of texts but tends not to engage with social theoretical issues” (p.2). Furthermore he argues and calls for a “transdisciplinary dialogue” with perspectives from linguistics, social theory and research in order to approach text analysis as part of social processes. A ‘transdisciplinary’ approach to theory for Fairclough is “a matter of working with the categories and ‘logic’ of for instance sociological theories in developing a theory of discourse and methods of analyzing texts” (pp. 2-7).

Based from Fairclough’s recommendations on how to analyze texts using CDA, one may infer that the way we do analysis in CDA is by starting from the text itself and then going

through the meanings implied by the text by employing perspectives in linguistics or grammar and social science theories respectively.

In searching and culling for possible ways of doing CDA, there had been an abundance of work of Norman Fairclough hence this section will present more of his suggestions and will be followed and complemented by some from Gee (2004), Wodak (2001), and Jäger (2001).

Norman Fairclough's Models for Critical Discourse Analysis

Fairclough's (2001) Five-Point Analytical Framework

This framework appears to be Fairclough's (2001) general recommendation in approaching CDA which according to him, was based from Bhaskar's concept of "explanatory critique" (p. 7). The five points that he enumerated are: 1) Focus upon a problem which has a semiotic effect¹³; 2) Identify obstacles to it being tackled¹⁴; 3) respond to the question "does the social order or network of practices in a sense need the problem?"¹⁵; 4) Identify possible ways past the obstacles¹⁶; and 5) reflect critically on the analysis¹⁷.

Fairclough's "Two Dimensions of Discourse" (as cited in Jørgensen and Phillips, 2004)

This model of analysis starts with an assumption that discourse has two dimensions namely: (1) the "communicative event" and (2) the "order of discourse".

¹³ This first step captures the commitment of CDA as a critical understanding of society, its problems, hence its emancipatory objectives (Fairclough, 2001, p. 8).

¹⁴ This is done by (a) analyzing the network of practices it is part of; (b) relationship of discourse (semiosis) to other elements within the particular practice(s) concerned; and (c) the discourse (semiosis) itself (Fairclough, 2001, p.7).

¹⁵ In this part of analysis, the primacy of investigating on the necessity of perpetuating the problem, the ways in which representations contribute to the reproduction of unequal power relations to the benefit of those in power, hence a question of ideology is important (Fairclough, 2001, p. 18). In short, doing so links the "is" to "ought" (p. 10).

¹⁶ This involves identification of inconsistencies, gaps, and contradictions within the situation of domination as well as a recognition of human action in the form of resistance or difference (Fairclough, 2001, p.10) which might also require the presentation of other texts (p.19).

¹⁷ A reflexive understanding of the critique and an evaluation of its emancipatory goal are important in order for it to be effective (Fairclough, 2001, p. 10). In this part, a rethinking is done about how we do research, how we write, how we communicate with the audience of our writing, and even the accessibility of our writing (p.19).

The “communicative event” refers to a situation of language-use which might include a campaign speech, a eulogy, or we might even add a tweet or a Facebook status while the “order of discourse” refers to the “configuration of all the discourse types (consisting of discourses and genres¹⁸) which are used within a social institution or a social field” (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2004, p. 67). The communicative event also has three dimensions namely: 1) text; 2) discursive practice; and 3) social practice.

In general, in analyzing the text, one looks at the linguistic form while analysis of discursive practice would involve looking at the production and consumption of texts specifically the processes involved in them, and the analysis of social practice involves the characterization of the dynamics of the larger network of practices that the event belongs to (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2004, pp. 68-69). Beyond looking at form or genre, analysis of meaning-making includes the analysis of the production of the text, the text itself, and the consumption or reception of the text (Fairclough, 2003, p.10). The analysis of social practice may also include a scrutiny on whether the discursive practice reproduces or restructures the existing order of discourse as well as its implications to the wider social practice (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2004, p. 69).

The analysis of the ‘order’ or ‘orders of discourse’ stems from an understanding that it is both a structure that determines the resources available in a communicative event as well as a practice that allows for the reshaping, reappropriation, or reproduction of existing social order.¹⁹

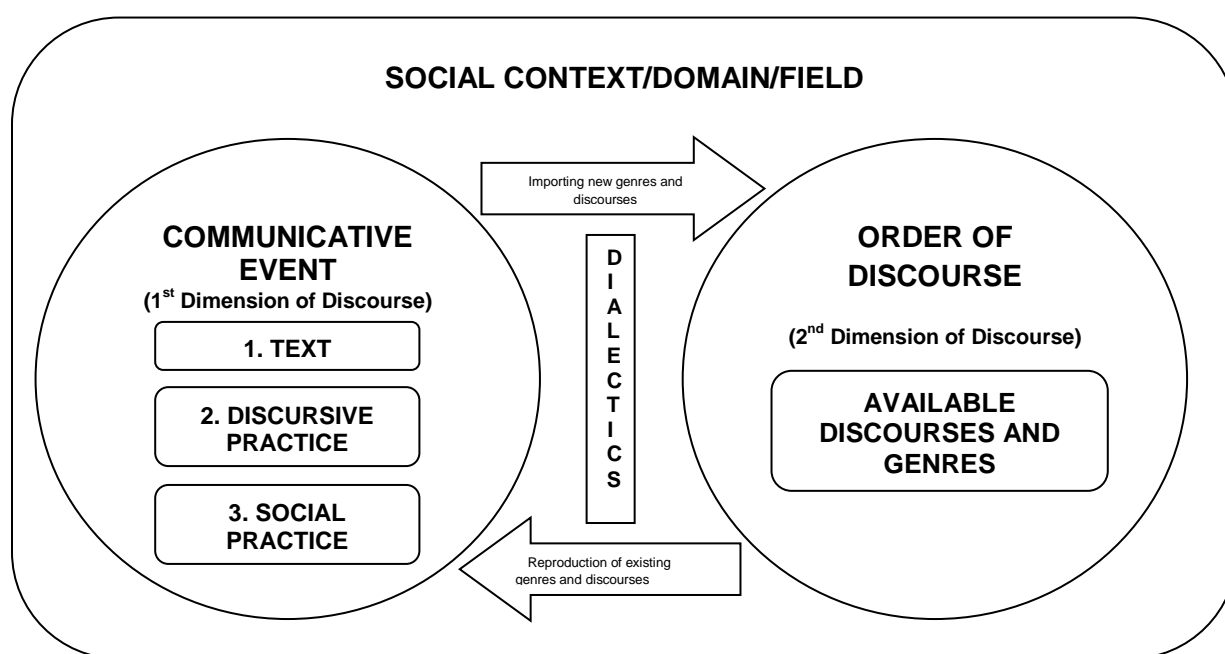
¹⁸ For Fairclough (2003), “genre is a way of acting in its discourse aspect – for instance, there are various genres of interview such as job interview” (p. 216). It may also refer to a particular or specific usage of language which participates in, and is integrated to be a part of a particular social practice, for example an interview genre (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2004, p. 67). In short, a genre is the form particularly the literal, physical or say organic form taken by a discourse. (i.e. the discourse of homosexual liberation in the form of street demonstration-the genre in this example would be street demonstration which could be classified further into smaller sub-genres)

¹⁹ An analysis of order of discourse involves the identification of the available discourses and genres for communication and how these configuration of genres and discourses is used and changed by language users by

It is important to note here that social actors can change the “orders of discourse” in ways as exemplified in the preceding paragraph and at the same time the “orders of discourse” could also influence the “communicative event” since it determines what available discourses and genres will there be. This demonstrates the dialectical relationship between the two dimensions of discourse-the communicative event and the order of discourse.

To set this suggested mode of analysis in more abstract terms, please refer to the heuristic generated below:

Figure 1. Fairclough’s “Two Dimensions of Discourse”²⁰



Fairclough’s (1992) Three-Dimensional Model

Parts of this model have been alluded to earlier in the discussion of the “Two-Dimensional Model” particularly with reference to the three sub-dimensions of a

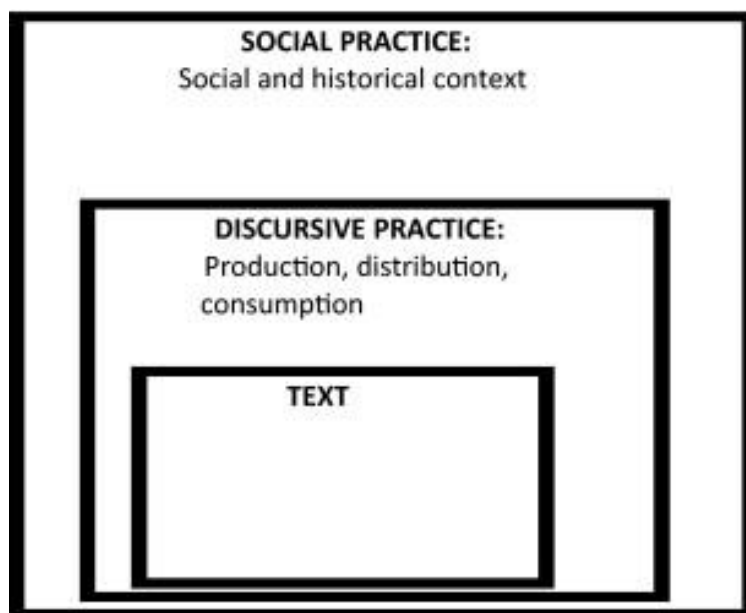
their acts of importing new genres and new discourses which might be referred to as genre mix and interdiscursivity or intertextuality respectively (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2004, p. 72).

²⁰ This is a personal framework formulated by the researcher to facilitate an understanding of ‘Fairclough’s Two Dimensions of Discourse’.

“communicative event”: text, discursive practice, and social practice. Given this, Fairclough (1992) proposes an analysis of text by bringing together three analytical traditions:

[T]hese are the tradition of close textual and linguistic analysis within linguistics [text], the macrosociological tradition of analyzing social practice in relation to social structures [discursive practice], and the interpretivist or microsociological tradition of seeing social practice as something which people actively produce and make sense of on the basis of shared commonsense procedures [social practice] (p.72).

Figure 2. Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional conception of discourse:



In the analysis of discourse as text, one needs to look at the organization of the text and textual properties such as vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 75-78). The discursive practice dimension can be analyzed by casting gaze at the production with a conscious effort to deconstruct the producer into a set of positions; the consumption –

whether collective or individual – and the forms by which it is consumed and transformed; and distribution with reference to anticipated audience (pp. 78-79). In this particular section of analysis, Fairclough advises that there should be an investigation at the sociocognitive dimension of text production by deciphering the extent to which discourse participants have internalized and brought dominant discourses and how production and interpretation are socially constrained by member's resources such as norms, conventions, the orders of discourse, etc., and the very nature of social practice which they are part of (p.80). Analysis of force (performative aspect of language-use such as whether it gives an order, asks a question, or threatens), coherence, and intertextuality as textual properties in relation to discourse are also done in this section (p. 82-85). With emphasis on intertextuality as snatches of other texts (Fairclough using Bakhtin's view), in production, distribution, and consumption, one may look at other texts that are overtly drawn upon (*manifest intertextuality*), or the traces of conventions or the primacy of the order of discourse in the text being analyzed (*interdiscursivity* or *constitutive intertextuality*) (p. 85). In the analysis of discourse as a social practice, there is an emphasis on ideology and hegemony. By ideology, Fairclough (1992) means:

[S]ignifications/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities), which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination (p. 87).

It can be surmised that the interest in ideology in analyzing discourse as a social practice has particular investment in the disclosure and “denormalization” of forms of representations of social reality that have function to power or domination. Moreover, the concept of struggle is also considered as important because it captures the ways in which the dialectics between order

of discourse or structures and human action hence the value of looking at how structure constitutes outcomes of events or actions and how these events or actions transform or reproduce their constraining structures (Fairclough, 1992, p. 89). Therefore, while interdiscursivity is given prime importance in the analysis of discursive practice or how the conditioning social structure shape human action or events, the inclusion of discourse as a social practice in the analysis contributes to a richer understanding of the more complex interaction, the dialectics between structure and human agency.

Also part of the analysis and disclosure of the operation of ideology in the reproduction of unequal power relations is an understanding of the way in which power is wielded, how it has evolved, and is in constant disequilibrium from competing interests and classes. It is from this import that Fairclough draws in the concepts of hegemony and hegemonic struggle. For him;

Hegemony is leadership as much as domination across the economic, political, cultural, and ideological domains of a society. Hegemony is the power over society as a whole of one of the fundamental economically-defined classes in alliance with other social forces, but it is never achieved more than partially and temporarily, as an 'unstable equilibrium'. Hegemony is about constructing alliances, and integrating rather than simply dominating subordinate classes, through concessions or through ideological means, to win their consent. Hegemony is a focus of constant struggle around points of greatest instability between classes and blocs, to construct or sustain or fracture alliances and relations of domination/subordination, which takes economic, political and ideological forms. *Hegemonic struggle* takes place on a broad front, which includes the institutions of civil society (education, trade unions, family), with

possible unevenness between different levels and domains (Fairclough, 1992, p.92) (emphasis added).

In the context of this paper, the concepts of hegemony and hegemonic struggle are important analytical tools in order to understand more comprehensively educational policy reform as a site where dominant discourses about Filipino citizenship are rearticulated but at the same time becomes a site of contradiction, of struggle, and disequilibrium which, at the end of the day, goes to show that domination is not a purely smooth-sailing exercise of power over subordinate groups, but one that involves constant desire to strike a provisional balance of competing interests.

Fairclough's "Three Tiered Model"

The three tiered model starts with a dichotomy of the "context" where the text occurs and the existing "orders of discourse" which seems to be an expansion of the "two dimensional model" and the "three-dimensional model" by further explicating on communicative event and order of discourse on the one hand, and nuancing the ideas of discourse as text, discursive practice, and social practice on the other (see Figure 3 in the next page).

In the analysis of the 'context', one will look at the local context²¹, the institutional context²², and lastly, the societal context²³. It is also important to note that looking at each domain levels is not as simplistic as describing their dynamics. This is because in each level, a description or a deciphering of the three elements of discourse as a social practice is very

²¹ The local domain or context may include a particular text like a newspaper, a political speech, or a board meeting which implies that the analysis of the local domain involves the analysis of the text itself, echoing Fairclough's concept of "discourse as text".

²² The institutional domain includes the social institutions that enable and constrain the local domain or in other words the social and political institutions that frame the local context. Examples given to this level of analysis will be the political affiliations of the company producing the text, or the schools.

²³ In analyzing the societal domain as the last level of analysis, it may be conceived as composing of the larger governing bodies, including policies, and political climates as well as meta-narratives that influence the local and institutional contexts (Gee as cited in Rogers, 2004a, p. 7; Rogers, 2004b, p. 244). This seems to be Fairclough's initial concept of discourse as "discursive practice".

necessary. This involves looking at “genre”, “discourse” and “style” in each of the three domain levels.²⁴

When one deciphers the “genres”, “discourse”, or “styles” present in the local, institutional, and societal domains, one is at the same time looking at the three types of meaning which are “action”, “representation”, and “identification” respectively. All of the three elements of discourse as a social practice are linked to the three types of meaning: action in relation to genre, representation to discourses, and identification to styles. Doing so brings a social perspective that complements a linguistically-oriented form of analysis (Fairclough, 2003, pp. 26-28).

In analyzing the context where the text occurs, the task being done here according to Rogers is just at the level of description which means that we need to transcend to the level of explanation. To be able to do the explanation, we need to look at the “orders of discourse”, a system of existing norms, conventions, rules, or ways of doing things or put simply, a structure which is not stable but open and at risk by what happens in its relations to human action (Rogers, 2004b, p. 240). In sum, it may be considered, in Rogers’ view, “as the linguistic analogy of social structure including genres, discourses and styles that are represented in each and every utterance” (p. 240).

If in the description of the context we looked at the “genre”, “discourse” and “style” at each level or domain, in the explanation of the “orders of discourse” we will just do the reverse such that, we will look at each of the three aspects of meaning in the local, institutional, and

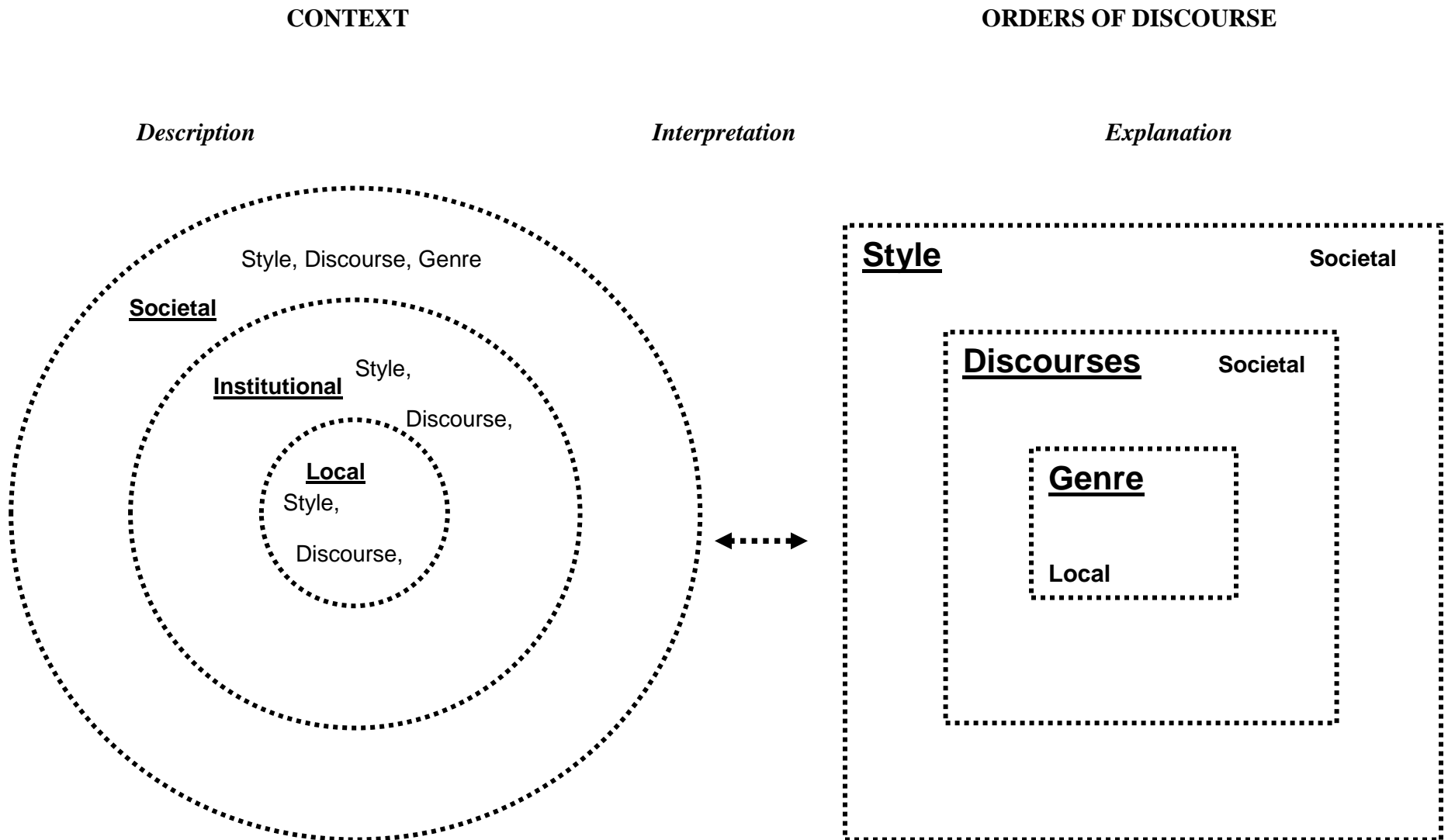
²⁴ “Genres” are different ways of acting discursively like interviewing is a genre. “Discourse” as Fairclough (2003) describes are “the different representations of the material world, of the other social practices, reflexive self-representations of the practice in question (p. 26). A “style” would mean a discursal aspect of ways of being or they are identities associated to ways of identification or being identified by others like a particular style of a manager or perhaps a particular teaching style (pp. 26 & 160).

societal domains. (i.e. the genre in the local, institutional, and societal domains) with emphasis on what forms of action, representation, and identification are pervasive and dominant.

According to Rogers (2003b), the description of the “context” where the text or the discursive event occurs and the explanation of the “orders of discourse” are still insufficient as a form of analysis in CDA since an interpretation is necessary. This happens when the context is linked to the orders of discourse or the other way around since the context and the orders of discourse are in constant dialogue with each other manifesting a dialectical relationship between them.

A framework or a heuristic was formulated by Rogers (2003b) to represent in an abstract sense Norman Fairclough’s “Three-Tiered Model” and Gee’s views found at the next page:

Figure 3. Fairclough's and Gee's Critical Discourse Analysis models as synthesized by Rogers (2003b, p. 243).



“Non-Faircloughian” analyses of discourse

Aside from mainly Fairclough’s models, the analysis of texts in this paper will also be complemented by using other models from Gee (2004), Wodak (2001), and Jäger (2001).

Gee (2004) uses four analytic tools in using CDA. He looks at (1) social languages (language-use in relation to social identities), (2) situated meanings (specific and contextual meanings), (3) cultural models, and (4) discourse (Gee, 2004, p. 41-48).²⁵

On the other hand, Ruth Wodak’s (2001) approach she calls as “discourse-analytical” is composed of three levels of analysis which starts with establishing specific contents or topics of a particular discourse, followed by an investigation of discursive or argumentation strategies employed, and lastly an examination of linguistic means and context-dependent linguistic realizations (p. 14).

Using Wodak’s research on discriminatory discourse in Austria, she demonstrates how her discourse-analytical approach is employed. In establishing content, Wodak suggests that a sufficient sample of information about the context of the text as well as the need to check some

²⁵ “Social languages” would pertain to modes of language-use to effect a socially situated identity such as the obvious differences in the way lawyers and guidance counselors speak. “Situated meanings” would refer to the specific and contextual meanings within social languages such as the jargons people use that provide cues in the active meaning-making process happening in context such as the difference between how a politician uses the word “peace” as opposed to how an international relations thinker grasps it. “Cultural models” are generated or triggered by situated meanings in terms of which speakers (writers) and listeners (readers) give meaning to texts like the variation between a college professor’s widespread academic cultural model as opposed to a high school teacher’s more down-to-earth explanations of a phenomenon. Finally, discourse, with a capital “D” is a distinctive way of using language integrated with “other stuff” or with other discourses so as to enact a particular type of socially situated identity (Gee, 2004, pp. 41-46) as exemplified in the ways people may put value on “integrity” in assessing a politician yet put less value in it in gauging entrepreneurial success. Based from my understanding of how Gee presented his “Four Analytic Tools”, if one applies this to analyze for example the discourses on poverty of the different advertisements of the presidential aspirants of the 2010 Philippine elections, one needs to look at the form taken by these discourse which of course is advertisement and in their capacity as politicians convincing voters to support them (social language), what poverty as a concept for example means to each of the candidate by reason of their backgrounds, occupations or perhaps their socio-economic class (situated meanings), what model of poverty do they take (cultural model) like is it the fault of the rich or the fault of the poor? Lastly, one needs to look at the relationship of the earlier three analytic tools to power and ideologies by identifying the inclinations of the presidential aspirant’s view to existing neoliberal or welfare ideas in solving poverty (discourse).

ethnographic information and texts on similar topics (p. 28) should be initiated. In terms of discursive strategies, questions pertaining to nominalization or naming or labelling and forms of characterization should also be raised (p. 14).²⁶ Moreover, she introduces the importance of looking at the lines of argument or “topoi”²⁷ to identify the logical development of the arguments or how they arrive at their suggested conclusions (p. 16).

Another helpful heuristic in analyzing discourse is from Jäger (2001). The processing of the material seems to be the most crucial in Jäger’s toolbox.²⁸ For him, the processing starts with the identification of themes and sub-themes and then an analysis of the institutional context in the form of justification why the text was chosen in the first place, the authorship and even the text surface follows (p. 32).²⁹ An identification of the rhetorical means employed in the text follows by looking specifically into argumentation, logic, implications and insinuations, symbolisms, idioms, vocabulary, and references to sources of knowledge (p.33).³⁰ Moreover, he suggests that one needs to proceed further into the level of ideology by identifying notions, or forms of understanding about human nature, society and many more that are articulated in the text (p. 33).³¹ He warns that in the end, “connections between the various planes on which material has been processed, additions to interpretative approaches, [and] rejection of too weakly

²⁶ Wodak (2001) also suggests looking at argumentation strategies such as “nomination” (who is part and not part of a category?), “predication” (who is good or bad?), “argumentation” (justifications), “perspectivation” or “framing” (positionality), and forms of “mitigation” or “intensification” of epistemic status of a given argument (force) (p.15).

²⁷ Wodak (2001) defines “topoi” as “parts of argumentation which belong to the obligatory, either explicit or inferable premises. They are the content-related warrants or ‘conclusion rules’ which connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion, the claim” (p. 16). Examples of these topoi are the topoi of danger, responsibility, advantage, usefulness, burden, culture, numbers, humanitarianism, justice, history, reality, and law (pp. 16-20).

²⁸ Before the processing however, Jäger (2001) proposes that in choosing a topic or a subject, one must be precise such that in a given discourse plane of interest, the partial sector or discourse strand should be identified as the source of the material to be studied (p. 28).

²⁹ This seems to me to be similar to Fairclough’s analysis of genre.

³⁰ It appears that this part of analysis straddles Fairclough’s “discourse as text” and “discursive practice” levels in his Three-Dimensional Model.

³¹ This seemingly resembles Norman Fairclough recommendations on the analysis of text as “social practice”.

justified interpretative approaches” will make possible a processed material with minimal gaps (p.34).

The different models exhausted above are not mutually exclusive from each other. In fact, one might see a complementary and reinforcing relationship among them. For purposes of convenience and direction, ‘Fairclough’s Three Dimensional Model and the Three Tiered Model’ will be used primarily as a guiding framework of analysis along with the suggestions from Gee, Wodak, and Jäger. They will be used to complement and strengthen the analysis using Fairclough’s model. Gee’s emphasis on context particularly the “social” dimension of language-use such as social languages, situated meanings, and cultural models help enrich the analysis by grounding it and more exhaustively characterizing where the discourse takes place. In the same way as Gee’s stress on “situatedness”, Wodak renders importance on the historical context of the communicative event, its effects on the different fields of action or control, and most importantly, her suggestion on using “topoi” in deciphering argumentation or discursive strategies in a given text will help in analyzing the levels of “discursive practice”, “social practice”, and the text itself respectively. Jäger’s suggestion in weeding out weak parts of the analyses to reduce analytical and logical gaps is helpful as well as his proposal to look into the ideological dimension of representation complements Fairclough’s analysis of discourse as discursive and as a social practice.

In the end, I would like to believe, as much as I can, that instead of looking at these models as instruments of restrictions to understanding, they should be held as exploratory lenses that aid whenever I grapple with the contradictions and confusions in meanings that emerge in the texts I am dealing with. I do not expect to achieve a perfect analysis if there be any in my attempt to use CDA since even Rogers (2004a) contends that there are no formulas for

conducting CDA since deciding which analytic procedures to use depends on the practical research situation you are in, the texts you are studying, and your research questions (pp. 7-8).

In closing, CDA has been deemed appropriate to be used in analyzing the K to 12 documents chosen because in the first place, the goal of this paper is to examine how the state uses its authority to shape its citizens within the context of educational policy reform and in doing so, this paper attempts to investigate and confront the state's modes of expression, constitution, and legitimation (Wodak, 2001) of its construct of "ideal citizenship". Moreover, since the primary sources of information in understanding this "new" citizenship are "documents" with an intention of critically examining them, then a framework that merges linguistic analysis and social theory will definitely be more beneficial.

CHAPTER IV

FROM INDIO TO FILIPINO: EDUCATIONAL REFORMS AND TRANSFORMATIONS OF CITIZENSHIP FROM 1901 TO 1994

...discourse is structured by dominance; that every discourse is historically produced and interpreted, that is, it is situated in time and space; and that dominance structures are legitimated by ideologies of powerful groups...
Wodak, 2001, p. 5

The Context

Citizenship, the very concept that I am interested about, does not exist in a vacuum in the same way as human action does not exist as fully independent from the ecology where it flourishes. Hence, as much as the review of the transformation of the concept of citizenship in social science literature in Chapter II is important, a more specific or narrowed view of the same transformation within educational reforms in the Philippines is of utmost significance in order to understand more intelligently and arrive at nuances on the citizenship enshrined in the recent K to 12 reform implemented by the Aquino government. As what has also been stipulated in the discussion of Critical Discourse Analysis as a method, there is a need to exhaustively paint a picture of the context where the reform happens with particular emphasis on the historical and social context. This chapter is part of an understanding that Filipino citizenship is historically created and recreated with the transformations of time and space (Wodak, 2001, p. 5) If we believe that it is important to ask today the question, “who *is* the Filipino?” (with particular interest in it within the K to 12 curriculum), I think that the question, “who *was* the Filipino?” is just as vital. And since I am interested about Filipino citizenship as it unfolds in the K to 12 Curriculum of 2012, two tasks are necessary to lay the foundation of this seemingly arduous

analysis. They are to trace the: (1) development of the use of the word “Filipino”, and (2) transformations of Filipino citizenship in educational reforms in the Philippines prior to the implementation of the K to 12 reform of 2012. While the first task seems possible, the second one can only be done by looking at some significant educational policies starting from the pre-colonial period to the not so recent post-colonial or post dictatorship.

What’s in a name? Struggling to become a Filipino

The well esteemed and critical Filipino historian, Renato Constantino (1976), argues that along with the growth of the concept of “nationhood” was the emergence of the concept of the “Filipino” (p. 147) which when traced is of interesting, ironic, and not to mention, exclusionary facets. During the Spanish occupation of the Philippines which lasted for more than three hundred years, there were five principal social classes in society. At the apex of the social structure were the *peninsulares* who were Spaniards born in Spain and came to the Philippines. Below them were the Spanish mestizos or the *insulares*, Spaniards born in the Philippines. The next social class was the Chinese mestizos who were above the natives. At the bottom of the social hierarchy were the pure Chinese (p. 120). Unfortunately, among the five social classes, Constantino mentions that the first to be referred to as “Filipino” were the Spanish-Filipinos or the *creoles*, the Spaniards who were born in the Philippines (p.149) while the natives of the Philippines were referred to as *indios*, or the Christianized natives (p. 26; p. 144). The same claim is confirmed in Francia (2010) adding that the term *indio* was used to refer to anyone outside the categories of *creoles (insulares)* and *peninsulares* (p. 112). Undeniably, the term Filipino started out as a nominalization for social hierarchy and an instrument of elitist and racist social differentiation. Along with their economic and social ascendancy marked by the increase

in their land ownership and profit in various businesses that took place in the 18th and 19th century (Constantino, 1976, p. 120; Francia, 2010, p. 112), the Chinese mestizos together with the urbanized natives who dominated the new *principalia* (the town's aristocracy) became considered as "Filipinos" because of their highly Hispanized ways of living and proclivities (Constantino, 1976, p.147; Francia, 2010, p. 112). This is the first push to the boundaries of the word "Filipino". Constantino (1976) illustrates:

The term Filipino was growing in scope, although its application was still limited by property, education, and Spanish culture. Those who called themselves Filipinos were still Spanish-oriented, but at the same time they had already developed a loyalty to the Philippines as a distinct entity. The concept and the feeling of being a Filipino was becoming established. The term Filipino which before was used to refer only to creoles and also to Spanish mestizos who could pass for pure Spaniards, was being appropriated by the Chinese mestizos and the native elites who had Hispanized themselves (p. 147).

The irony here is the fact that in order to be appropriated the term "Filipino", one has to Hispanize himself or herself which when understood in the contemporary period seems to be an anachronism since it implies that to be a "Filipino" then is to act "unFilipino".

Later on, there was a growing consciousness among the creoles (or the *insulares*), the Chinese mestizos, and natives, of a sense of nationhood, of an identity separate from Spain (p.143) whose primary dynamo were the grievances of the masses and the self-interest of the local elites (p.148). It is from the first wave of inclusion that a group of intellectuals would break away from the enterprise of "acting Spanish" to be Filipino by waging a counter-discourse of identity that is independent from Spain. This group was the "propagandists", a group of

foreign-educated and liberal Filipinos fighting for reforms (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2014). Constantino (1976) captures the effect of the work the propaganda movement in the Filipino imaginary:

Through their propaganda work, the *ilustrados*³² first shared, then wrest[le]d [*sic*] the term Filipino from the creoles and infused it with national meaning which later included the entire people. Thus, the term Filipino which had begun as a concept with narrow racial application and later developed to delineate an elite group characterized by wealth, education, and Spanish culture, finally embraced the entire nation and became a means of national identification. From then on, the term Filipino would refer to the inhabitants of the Philippine archipelago regardless of racial strain or economic status (p. 148)

On the same vein, Francia (2010) comments that the *ilustrados* were the vanguards for the expansion of the term Filipino to include all the local inhabitants of the islands regardless of ethnic boundaries or social class although with the exception of the Muslims or Moros who had not identified with the Christian mainstream (p. 112).

What has been described above is what I believe the “second-push” to Filipino citizenship. Unlike Constantino’s belief however that the term Filipino that emerged from the Propaganda movement has been inclusive of all the Filipinos residing in the Philippines, there remained thereafter some clandestine yet pervasive elitism, “racism”, and exclusion which may not necessarily be in “*de jure*” forms but in “*de facto*” interactions such as symbolic misrepresentation of the indigenous peoples as highly different (de los Reyes, 2011) along with the privileging of the Christianized and Americanized mainstream (Tiongson, 1995),

³² This term can be loosely understood as referring to the educated class.

notwithstanding the *Bangsa-Moro*³³ struggle for a separate entity from the colonial and post-colonial state. Thus, while it is subtle and less revolutionary compared to the push made by the *ilustrados* of the 19th century, the third push in understanding the contemporary Filipino implies a rethinking, looking beyond the general application of the term into scales and gradients of its differential application, recontextualization and reappropriation. Moreover, this means that beyond the universal application of Filipino citizenship which forms part of primary citizenship, the third push means “denormalizing” or “denaturalizing” the often taken-for-granted symbolic and concrete differentiations that have been glossed over by the panoply and lure of universal citizenship.

The Filipino in the pre-colonial education and colonial educational reforms

Having traced the shifts in the application of the term Filipino, in more contextual fashion we locate and understand the Filipino in educational policy reforms from the pre-colonial to the Spanish, American, and Japanese colonization, and move further to the not so recent post-dictatorship period.

Pre-Colonial Education

To emphasize on educational policy reforms during the pre-colonial period (before 1521) is not only historically, and politically improper, insensitive, and unfair because it presupposes the imposition of modern-day expectations to such an early and young social organization although this is definitely not to discount the fact that the early “Filipinos” had a flourishing civilization of their own. Due to the absence of accounts on educational reforms implemented during the pre-colonial years, the emphasis in this section will be the structure and practices of

³³ The word “Moro” connotes the history and struggles of the Muslims in the Philippines while “Bangsa” means a nation (De Guzman, 2013).

early education in relation to “Filipino citizenship”. Alzona (1932) who claims to have written the first comprehensive history of Philippine education (p. vi) argues that the pre-colonial Filipinos had a formal system of education. She describes:

They had schools in which children were taught reading, writing, reckoning, religion, and incantation, and fencing for self-defense. In the southern part of the Islands, (in Panay for instance), there were schools which taught the Sanskrit which was then the official language of the neighboring island of Borneo; arithmetic, including the decimal system; the art of acquiring personal invulnerability; and the effective use of weapons for self-defense (p. 10).

Moreover, Alzona claims by citing Fr. Pedro Chirino, a Jesuit priest who wrote *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas* (1604), that writing was common among the Filipinos both men and women using palm leaves and bamboo with a sharpened piece of iron (pp. 1-2). Benitez (1926) also uses Fr. Chirino’s description which states, “all these islanders are much given to reading and writing, and there is hardly a man, and much less a woman, who does not read and write in the letters used in the island of Manila” (p.147) and furthermore using Fr. Collin’s description of the status of reading and writing at that time where he described the Filipinos “to cling fondly to their own method of writing and reading. There is scarcely a man, and still less a woman, who does not know and practice that method, even those who are already Christians in matters of devotion” (p. 150). The commonality of writing, or the mere existence of a written language and an alphabet consisting of seventeen letters, three vowels, and fourteen consonants (Alzona, 1932) are enough evidences that Filipinos were educated although maybe not as comprehensive as our education today.

Contrary to what Alzona claims, the Department of Education of the Philippines in its website describes the pre-colonial education in a rather interesting way. It states that “as early as in pre-Magellanic³⁴ times, education was informal, unstructured, and devoid of methods. Children were provided more vocational training and less academics (3 Rs) by their parents and in the houses of tribal tutors”³⁵. Looking at the two perspectives, it appears that the Department of Education failed to take into account the findings of Alzona on the existence of schools, the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic including the decimal system, prior to the arrival of the Spaniards. Moreover, to hastily overgeneralize the informality, the absence of structure and methods seems to be a fallacy because whether the education received by pre-colonial children was either at home or in schools (as claimed by Alzona), there definitely were some forms of structure and methods such as probably “imitation” or “show and tell”.

From the descriptions above, the pre-colonial Filipino, contrary to the popularized imaginary of the *conquistadores* as “savage”, can be surmised as people who may not be necessarily considered as “men of letters” in the eyes of the west but were people who had the ability to communicate both in written and spoken language; to enter into economic transactions because of their ability to count; were equipped to engage in the life of the community because they received instruction on religion and incantation; able to defend themselves when threatened because they were taught on the effective use of weapons; and can interact with neighbouring countries because of their knowledge of some foreign language. In sum, these are enough to say that the “Filipino”, by looking at the educational structures and practices that were present prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, were civilized group of people.

³⁴ This is used in reference to the “discovery” of the Philippine Islands by Ferdinand Magellan in 1521.

³⁵ See <http://www.deped.gov.ph/index.php/about-deped/history>

The Filipino in Mother Spain's Occupation

The education that was implemented during the Spanish colonial years can be generally described as religious instruction for the dissemination of Christian ideas, and initiation to Spanish ways of life in basic education; and in higher education, education on moral theology, humanism and law (Alzona, 1932, pp. 19, 23, 30, & 31). Unlike the pre-colonial years where there was difficulty looking for some forms of educational policy reforms, the Spanish occupation of the Philippines for more than three centuries has involved some significant policy initiatives that concerned schooling. While there were some mentioned, Francia (2010) claims that “for most of Spanish colonial rule, very little legislation existed that dealt with schooling; it was left to the religious orders to introduce a systematic method of primary education” (p. 102). Moreover, Alzona (1932) also mentions that for most of the time, educational decrees that originated from the Council of Indies, and then subsequently from the Ministry of the Colonies, were generally orders on missionaries for Spanish and Christian education and to compel children to attend school (p. 20). Nevertheless, in Alzona’s comprehensive work on the history of Philippine education, some significant educational policy reforms can be enumerated and discussed in order to shed light on the imaginary of the colonial masters as well as the colonized as to what Filipino citizenship was then. The policies among others that can be of interest in this discussion are the Decree of June 20, 1686, the Plan of Public Instruction of June 24, 1821, the founding of vocational schools through the Economic Society of Friends of the Country in 1861, the widely discussed Educational Decree of 1863, the Royal Decree of May 20, 1865, and the controversial Moret Decrees of 1870.

The lengthy Decree of June 20, 1686 ordered for the conscientious enforcement of all laws on education and emphasized that in order to secure the welfare of the Filipinos,

knowledge of reading and writing, Christian teachings, and Spanish language were necessary. Interestingly, it used as a rationale for the teaching of Christian doctrines, the casting away of idolatries and superstition and for the teaching of the Castilian language. This same decree ironically reasoned-out the convenience it would provide to Filipinos against being oppressed and to enable them to air appeals and grievance to authorities (Almazan, 1932, pp. 20-21). The Plan of Public Instruction of June 24, 1821 mandated the establishment of massive and extensive public educational system starting from primary education to university. In secondary schools, subjects to be taught included Spanish and Latin grammar, geography and chronology, literature and history, mathematics, botany and agriculture, zoology, logic, political economy and statistics, moral and natural law, and public law (pp. 46-48). While it appears to be impressive and promising on paper, it was unfortunate that it was not implemented because of the defeat of the Liberals in 1823 in Spain and with the ascent of Ferdinand VII to power, all the efforts were defeated by the reactionaries (p. 48). The founding of vocational schools through the initiative of Fr. Juan Zita and Felino Gil together with the support of the Economic Society of Friends of the Country advocated for studies in drawing, dying, mechanics and agriculture (pp. 45-46). The Educational Decree of 1863 required that schools be established and that primary instruction for children ages seven to twelve should be available for free (Francia, 2010, p. 103). Moreover, it also mandated the creation of normal school for men in Manila (Alzona, 1932, p. 63). Concerning primary education, the decree ordered that a separate school for boys, and another for girls should be established for every five thousand inhabitants in towns and barrios with a minimum population of five hundred. Among the subjects intended to be taught in primary schools were Christian doctrines, morality, sacred history, reading, writing, practical Spanish, Spanish grammar and orthography, arithmetic, geography and Spanish history, practical

agriculture, rules and courtesy, music, and needlework for girls (p. 67). Alzona argues that one of the important implications of the 1863 Educational Decree was the recognition that it is the duty of the state to provide modern education (p.70). Progressive as it may seem, the Educational Decree of 1863 was never fully-implemented because on the one hand, local dialects were continued to be used as media for instruction despite the fact that the decree mandated the use of Spanish. This was because of the fear of the local friars, who were in control of local schools since the start of Spanish occupation (Francia, 2010, p. 102), that enlightenment ideals might seep into the consciousness of the Filipinos (Alzona, 1932, p. 95).³⁶ Moreover, part of the failure for the full implementation of the Educational Decree of 1863 was the lack of human resources particularly teachers, and lack of necessary materials such as books or readers (p. 97).

The Royal Decree of May 20, 1865 was significant not only because it gave power to the University of Santo Tomas³⁷ for the supervision of all secondary schools in the country but also because it had some intentions of preparing the Filipinos for higher studies, for some form of professional courses with the introduction of subjects such as Latin literature, elementary Greek, universal history, rhetoric and poetics, Latin and Spanish composition, Trigonometry, logic, and French or English (Alzona, 1932, pp. 34-36). It can be surmised that this reform had undeniably a distinctly cultural objective (p. 129).

Lastly, the Moret Decrees of 1870 made a radical proclamation on the freedom of education for all, the secularization of secondary education, the study of Tagalog and Bisaya

³⁶ An interesting nuance to this fear was also the prevailing discourse about educating the Filipinos as exemplified in a pamphlet written in Tagalog (one of the local dialects in the Philippines) entitled *Si Tandang Basio Macunat* written by Fray Miguel Lucio Bustamante. In this piece, Bustamante poked fun at the efforts of the Filipinos to be educated as the Spaniards and argued that it is enough for Filipinos to learn how to pray, attend to their crops and field, and obey their parish priests to go to heaven. He concludes that to teach the *indio* the Spanish language and provide him education was fruitless because the destiny of the Filipino is never to be like the Spaniards but to tend carabaos (water buffalo) (Alzona, 1932, pp. 96-98).

³⁷ At that time, UST, which is a private Catholic university at present, was considered as a public institution during the Spanish occupation. Today, it is the oldest university in the Philippines and in Asia (Alzona, 1932, pp. 34-36).

(widely-spoken languages in Central and Southern Philippines respectively), and declared that education should be complete and should become part of a “cultured” man’s faculty (pp. 131-132). As the case of the failure of Educational Decree of 1863 being attributed to the defeat of the liberals, the reforms that the Moret Decrees intended to implement never happened because religious orders lobbied in Madrid where the government heeded and the decrees were subsequently deferred, once again marking the triumph of the conservatives (p.133).

Locating the imaginary of Filipino citizenship from the abovementioned educational reforms and policies can be complicated by looking at two possible perspectives, one from the perspective of the “colonizer” which takes the form of “control” or “structuring”, and on the other hand, the perspective of the “colonized” which assumes “human agency and action”. It is undeniably convenient that the Spaniards wanted to create a specific Filipino although arguably, also shows some internal tensions among different competing actors during that time hence competing imaginaries. Nevertheless, a simple look at what policies really came into existence as opposed to those that never materialized gives us a glimpse of what kind of Filipino the Spanish conquistadores really want to produce out of the education they have established. The death of the Educational Decree of 1863 that campaigned for the widespread primary education and the teaching of the Spanish language and the shelving of the Moret Decrees which were supposed to secularize education in the Philippines, both of which have been opposed by the conservative friars, as well as the overt intents of the local priests that the Filipinos should be docile, God-fearing, and obedient followers to them (Alzona, 1932, p. 102). What in fact materialized are those that the local friars had wilfully desired and orchestrated since they were not only in control of the local schools, they were also influential back home in Spain. Alzona further laments that:

Reading was included in the curriculum, to enable the Filipinos to read devotional books. Writing was taught in order to train clerks for the parish priest. The most able penmen were chosen to become clerks at the convent. As regards arithmetic, only the barest rudiments of this study were considered necessary for the Filipinos (p. 102)...The public schools served to perpetuate Christian ideals and taught the Filipino[s]...to pray by committing to memory the ready-made prayers which the schools offered (p. 107).

Out of the struggles between the liberals and the conservatives in Spain where the latter has won most often, and the implementation of educational policies that benefitted mostly the whims and caprices of the *conquistadores*, emerged some intended as well as unintended consequences from some sectors of pre-colonial Philippine society particularly among the Chinese mestizos and the urbanized natives who, because of the development of standards in primary education have taken advantage of opportunities for higher education which subsequently made them the pollinators of Spanish ways of thinking and acting (Constantino, 1976, p. 139). On the other hand, the unexpected consequences were the emergence of secular priests who were educated from local seminaries and educated intellectuals from these classes that formed a new breed of local opposition to the conservative friars (Francia, 2010, p. 104). Constantino (1976) illustrates the impact of the emergence of the secular priests:

Like other sectors of the local elite, the native priests were finding out that their own advancement was being impeded by the Spaniards. Those who held no parishes had been chafing under their friar superiors who employed them as coadjutors and assigned to them all the burdensome aspects of parish work. They too, reacted with the resentment at the injustice and discrimination they

were subjected to. This sharpened their awareness of their separate national identity, a consciousness which was transmitted to their native parishioners (p. 142).

The campaign for Filipinization of local parishes formed part of one of the backbones of anti-Spanish sentiments that questioned the monopoly of power of the Spanish friars over the management of parishes. On the other hand, the emergence of a native intelligentsia also galvanized another segment of a new unanticipated opposition. Constantino (1976) further describes:

Coming from families that benefitted from the economic development of the country, these young men were able to take advantage of the educational opportunities that a liberalized Spanish colonial policy offered at the time. Sons of the provincial elite went to Manila to study and came into contact with one another and with the sons of Manila elite. The more affluent families sent their young men to Spain. In less than a generation, the products of the new educational policies became the early spokesmen for the people's grievances and aspirations (pp. 146-147).

Given all these, the educational policies implemented by the Spanish authorities had contrasting effects on Filipino citizenship. On the one hand, it has generated a docile, subservient, and uncritical citizenry by creating unfortunate social divisions in educational structures. On the other hand, it has unforeseen an ally that initially functioned as an agent of *Hispanization* yet would later on break-away from it. In short, the educational policies of the Spanish colonial years both created a sense of legitimacy for colonization as well as a counter-discourse such that Filipino citizenship was both a prominent docility and uncritical obedience,

and a renewed antagonism against the instituted oppressive colonial structure. The Filipino therefore during the implementation of Spanish educational reforms was not only religious, was able to read and write, pray and follow orders from his parish priests, but someone who had an independent mind capable of generating sound and rigorous critique. Unfortunately, the Filipino in the second instance has been highly dominated by men as education for women was thought to be solely in preparation for marriage and child-bearing, and for religious life with them being taught reading, writing, catechism, sewing, and household work. This however was no different to the condition of women in Europe such as France and England at that time (Alzona, 1932, pp. 32-34).

The Revolutionary Filipino

The revolutionary period in the Philippines began in August 1896 by the *Katipunan*³⁸ under the leadership of Andres Bonifacio and Emilio Jacinto which culminated in the provisional Constitution of Biac-na-bato in November 1897 (Alzona, 1932, p. 177). In Article XXII of that constitution, several freedoms and rights were enumerated such as religious liberty, right of association, freedom of education, freedom of the press, and freedom to exercise profession, arts, trades and industries (Corpus Juris, 2013; Alzona, 1932, p. 177). Under the revolutionary government, secondary education was under state control and the curriculum included among others, subjects such as Latin grammar, general geography with emphasis on Philippine geography, general history with emphasis on Philippine history, Spanish literature, arithmetic and algebra, geometry and trigonometry, French, English, natural history, general chemistry, and

³⁸ As opposed to the Propaganda movement composed of middle-class educated men and which campaigned for reforms through peaceful means, the Katipunan on the other hand which became popular among the masses, thought that peaceful means were insufficient because Spain was not willing to listen to the Filipino plight (Benitez, 1926, p. 361).

philosophy. Religion was no longer included and instead, Philippine history and geography were emphasized (Alzona, 1932, pp. 181-182). In the primary schools, the teaching of Philippine history was also emphasized in the same way as physical education. More importantly, there was a mandate that the history textbooks should be prepared by Filipino authors (p. 184).

The educational reforms undertaken during the revolutionary period (1896-1899) appeared to be antitheses of the educational policies during the Spanish colonial years. For one, while it made elementary education free and compulsory as the defeated liberal policies during Spain's occupation intended to implement, these policies freed public schools from the control of the clergy and ensured that they are in line with the prevailing views of the Filipino intellectuals at that time and with the principles of democracy (p. 185). They marked a shift from an education for *Hispanization* to education for *Filipinization*. Thus, Filipino citizenship, as enshrined not only in the Biac-na-Bato Constitution, but also in the reforms and the curriculum, was indexed as having a separate identity from Spain, of having awareness about one's own origin and home, and most of all, a celebration of man's capability to decide for himself, and to venture in endeavours he or she wishes to do as a rational and free man.

Education under America

The second Philippine Commission composed of William H. Taft, Dean C. Worcester, Luke E. Wright, Henry C. Ide, and Bernard Moses, has laid the foundation of the Philippine school system that we see today (Alzona, 1932, p. 189). The educational policies implemented during the American occupation of the Philippines seemed to have been in line with the principles of American democracy by putting importance on the value of equality. With this, education was geared towards the elimination of illiteracy by giving every child an opportunity

to attend schools and therefore prepare them to meet the demands of life and democratic society (pp. 199 & 209). Alzona describes primary education in relation to these aims:

Primary instruction has become systematized since 1900 with the definitive objectives in view, in harmony with the requirements of modern democracy. Intended to prepare the great mass of the population for effective citizenship, primary instruction has been extended throughout the Islands in barrios and towns, from the Batanes Islands in the north to the Sulu Archipelago in the south (p. 198).

The second Philippine Commission enacted the Organic School Law otherwise known as Act No. 74 of 1901 which set the direction of subsequent educational reforms by first creating the Department of Public Instruction and the prohibition of religious instruction in public schools unless the children's parents express their desire in writing and provided that it should not arouse disloyalty to the United States (pp. 189-190). This same law also required that free primary education in English be provided as well as the training of Filipino teachers to replace the "Thomasites"- civilian American teachers who were brought to the Philippines on board the USS Thomas in August 1901 (Francia, 2010, p. 165) - through the establishment of a normal school in Manila (Constantino, 1976, p. 309). On the question of the use of English as a medium of instruction, Constantino argues that it was not what was originally planned to be used as opposed to the Educational Act of 1863 under Spain which required the use of Spanish in teaching. He mentions:

The single, most far-reaching aspect of the educational program was the imposition of the English language. Although President McKinley's instruction had been to employ the vernacular of the region in the primary schools, he also

asked the Taft Commission to establish English as “a common medium of communication.” Taft went ahead and made English the medium of instruction on all levels of the public school system (p. 310).

While initially, only primary education was declared free, the enactment of more laws made public elementary education also free (p. 190).

Another interesting policy was the “Pensionado Program” instituted in 1903 where one hundred young Filipinos were sent to the United States to obtain degrees in universities. In 1912, more than two hundred Filipino men and women have received an American university degree (Constantino, 1976, p. 310; Francia, 2010, p. 165). This was for the purpose of training people who would return to the Philippines and take over the duties of civil administration (Francia, 2010, p. 165).

In 1907, two significant acts were enacted by the Philippine Assembly together with the Philippine Commission, which according to Alzona (1932) were indicative of their interest in realizing popular education. The first was the Gabaldon Act which appropriated 1,000,000 pesos for the establishment of barrio schools and the second was Act No. 1870 which created the University of the Philippines, the country’s leading university today (pp. 190-191).

American educational policies also advocated vocational education with the passage of the Vocational Education Act of 1928 enacted by the Philippine Legislature which created different departments under the Division of Vocational Education namely: Department of Agricultural Instruction; Trade and Industries; Home Economics; and Placement Department (pp. 246-247). Moreover, there was also an interest in the education of the non-Christian Filipinos at that time - in line with the American government’s policy for equal educational opportunities - which consisted mostly of industrial training, vocational instruction, and health

education (pp. 263-267). Concerning the case of the private schools which had been in existence since the Spanish occupation as either exclusive schools for boys, or for girls, they were required to be in synchrony with the courses taught in the public schools and later on, were influenced to become “coeducational” (pp. 337-340).

At the onset, primary instruction included the teaching of reading, writing, arithmetic, English which was given priority, geography, history, physiology, nature study, drawing, physical exercises which made the schoolchildren happier as opposed to the Spanish approach, and industrial work which included gardening for boys and housekeeping for girls (pp. 198-199). In 1907 however, the contents of primary instruction were revised with the addition of civics, physiology, and hygiene, and the prescription of more industrial work education (p. 200). In 1912, more revisions happened such as the introduction of phonic, a course in good manners and right conduct, and sanitation was substituted for physiology in the fourth grade (p. 200-201).

Concerning the intermediate school curriculum, in 1907, intermediate course was three years which started from the fifth grade until the seventh grade. Courses offered include an instruction in government and parliamentary procedure in the sixth grade. Two years after, different courses were offered such as the general course for those who wished to pursue higher studies; a course in teaching to cope with the lack of schoolteachers at that time; and courses such as trade, housekeeping and household industries, and business for those who already had a certain calling or vocation in mind (p. 202). In 1918, courses in teaching and business were abolished and instead, there was an emphasis made on industrial subjects, English, good manners and right conduct, and civics for the fifth and sixth grades (p. 205).

Instruction in secondary school in 1902 offered courses in commerce, teaching, agriculture, arts and crafts, history, and science which aimed for both a liberal-academic

instruction and useful vocational training (p. 228-229). In 1910, an interesting change was the inclusion of the study of “colonial government and administration in the fourth year. In 1911, agriculture, trigonometry, and geology were eliminated and commercial geography and civil government were introduced for the purpose of lightening the curriculum and to make it more practical (pp. 229-230). In 1912 and 1914, courses were again changed with the inclusion of military drill as a required course for boys and the introduction of the study of current events, Philippine history, and economic conditions of the Philippines (p. 230). In 1929, US history was taught in the first year and in the fourth year, economic conditions of the Philippines, Philippine history and government, and current events were also taught among many others (p. 230).

Of particular importance was the method of teaching employed during the American occupation which was diametrically opposed to rote learning practiced under Spain. During this time, memorizing was abolished. Alzona describes the new method:

It [rote learning] has been replaced by the latest pedagogical methods of instruction. Teachers are required to prepare lesson plans and to ask pupils thought-provoking questions. The project method has also found its way into the secondary school and has helped to vitalize the subject of study (p. 234).

Vocational education has always been emphasized in Philippine schools and was required in all elementary and intermediate schools in 1908. Nursery work was stressed in intermediate grades as well as gardening and hand-weaving. For boys, woodworking was offered while household industries which included courses on sewing, embroidery, lace-making, Irish crochet, cooking, and housekeeping were taught to girls (pp. 247-248). Trade schools that taught courses in cabinet-making, building construction, iron working, and mechanical drawing were established. In the same way, agricultural schools also came to exist where students are taught

gardening and farming, and were trained to be self-supporting and self-sufficient since in these schools, they were encouraged to operate their own modes of income generation such as moving picture shows and sawmills (p. 250). The Philippine School of Commerce which offered courses on bookkeeping and stenography was opened from 1904 to 1908 while the School of Navigation opened in 1908 until 1913 (p. 257). More importantly, the School for the Deaf and Blind was opened in 1907 which was a vocational school for children who have special needs. Girls were taught housekeeping, plain sewing and needlework while boys were taught carpentry, printing, shoemaking, poultry-raising, and gardening aside from the regular academic classes they would undergo (p. 261).

In line with the principle of equal access and popular education, the instruction given to non-Christian Filipinos included vocational education which composed of farming and industrial work, and health education which were geared towards making them economically independent and productive citizens (pp. 263-267).

While the reforms mentioned were already significant improvements from the educational experiences the Filipinos had during the Spanish colonization, the Monroe Survey, which completed its results in 1925 has made significant observations and recommendations on the educational policies and practices implemented. It noted that there was too much emphasis on uniformity and was not adapted to the needs of the learners' community; there was lack of opportunity for children to initiate participation in activities which are educative; and there was no significant relationship between the curriculum and the real-life situations to which the students are exposed to (pp. 210-212). Concerning instruction in the social sciences, the same survey mentioned that the Philippine history textbooks were defective and recommended that for the first year in secondary schools, a course on Filipino community life and institutions should be

taught; for the second year, oriental civilization; for third year, history of Western culture with emphasis on American civilization; and in the final year, Philippine social problems and history (p. 243)³⁹. Lastly, on the education of the non-Christian Filipinos, the survey noted that industrial work should be in line with community life; that methods and content of agricultural instruction should not be foreign to them; and that there should be a sense of co-ownership among those who receive instruction (pp. 271-272).

From all these numerous educational reforms instituted during the American occupation of the country starting 1900, we take at face-value the place of the Filipino within them. It could be surmised that the introduction of education on colonial administration, governance, and parliamentary procedure were intended to prepare the Filipinos for independence. Moreover, the inclusion of Philippine history, current events, and economic conditions of the Philippines were demonstrative of the value placed on developing a sense of nationhood. The abandonment of rote learning and the introduction of more interactive and democratic pedagogy meant the rearing of critical and independent thinking. The emphasis on vocational education while it might have been gendered, taught the Filipinos to meet the demands of everyday life by acquiring skills necessary for self-sufficiency. Most importantly, the practice of striving for popular and inclusive education for the non-Christian Filipinos on the one hand, and the children with special needs on the other, was one of the most defining moments in understanding the Filipino within American educational reforms. In short, the Filipino in these reforms can be looked at as someone who is conscious of his past and his present, capable of generating critical and independent thoughts, skilled for self-sufficiency, and comes from all walks of life

³⁹ These social studies courses still resemble the current first to fourth year social studies curriculum where Philippine history is taught in the first year, Asian history in the second year, World History in the third year, and Economics in the fourth year.

regardless of gender, class, and ethnicity, or even physical ability. This already marks a significant leap from the Filipino during the Spanish colonial years.

While the previous paragraph might sound celebratory about Filipino citizenship during the American occupation, historians take it with a grain of salt. Francia (2010) for example understands American educational policy reforms within the larger American colonial interests. He argues:

President William McKinley's policy of Benevolent Assimilation was built on the premise that Filipinos would gradually be incorporated into the Pax and Via Americana through peaceful indoctrination in the principles of self-government and a cultural frame of mind distinctly Westernized and attuned to the same cultural models as the United States. The idea was to encourage the "little brown brothers," as Filipinos were blithely and patronizingly referred to, to emulate and identify with their bigger white brothers, thus transforming hostility into acceptance and, it was hoped, admiration (p. 164).

On the same vein, Constantino (1976) also emphatically states:

The re-creation of Philippine society in the image of its conqueror, the conversion of the elite into adjuncts of colonial rule, and the cultural Americanization of the population became integral parts of the process of colonization (p. 308)

Both Constantino (1976) and Francia (2010) are in agreement that the educational system instituted by the Americans was an instrument of Americanization particularly with the use of English as the medium of instruction. Constantino strongly comments on the use of the English language and the use of American educational resources. For him, "the use of English [...] made

possible the speedy introduction of the American public school curriculum. With American textbooks, Filipinos began learning not only new language but a new culture” (p. 312). Francia (2010) on the other hand argues that the use of English made identification more achievable especially with the introduction of American cultural concepts such as “snow”, “apples”, and “Hollywood” (p. 165). More importantly, English was seen as the curtain that separated the Filipinos from their Spanish colonial past and a wall that divided those who were educated from the masses (Constantino, 1976, p. 313) just as the Spanish language separated the *indio* from the Chinese mestizos and the *ilustrados*. Constantino (1976) sums up the public education received during American rule as:

Education became miseducation because it began to de-Filipinize the youth, taught them to look up to American heroes, to regard American culture as superior to theirs and American society as the model par excellence for Philippine society. These textbooks gave them a good dose of American history while distorting, or at least ignoring, their own (p. 312).

Within the opposition between what has been claimed as education for democracy and citizenship on the one hand, and education for pacification and Americanization on the other, how should we make sense of Filipino citizenship? While we cannot dismiss one and embrace the other, Filipino citizenship within these educational reforms can be thought of as an identity within a larger identity that exerts power over it. While these reforms taught that to be Filipino was to be able to think critically and freely, to be able to provide for and govern oneself, and to recognize those who are different, these constructs were also American ideas brought to the Philippines and were intended, as the critical historians have claimed, to pacify dissent and further colonial interest. Nevertheless, just like education during the Spanish occupation that

made possible the emergence of new citizenship waged by the educated middle class that pushed the boundaries of what it is to be a Filipino, these policies during the American rule also made possible carrying out critiques against colonial rule, contestation among Filipinos about how they should govern themselves, and by giving a taste of conditional freedom to them, made the yearning for complete national independence more concrete and legitimate. To be a Filipino therefore at that time is to persistently strive for individual and national independence. Time and again, the ambit of Filipino citizenship is pushed as an unintended consequence of covert colonial education.

Education under “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere”

The outbreak of the Second World War marked the Japanese occupation of the Philippines (1941-1944) and subsequently, the implementation of educational reforms, had significant consequences to the Philippine educational system and to Filipino citizenship. Using “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” which according to Duka (2006) is just the Japanese counterpart of the “Monroe Doctrine” (p. 111), and the discourse of “Asia for Asians”, the short-lived rule of the Japanese drastically changed the educational practices and institutions that were in place during the American occupation. Francia (2010) describes how Japan’s promise of self-rule was broken from the very beginning due to their full control of all institutions of public life, education, government offices, and churches (p. 181). Looking at some educational policies in place, Francia (2010) comments on language instruction during the Japanese colonial rule:

Just as the United States had done with English, the puppet government ordered the teaching of Japanese, or Nippongo. The Americans were portrayed as purveyors of decadence who had placed an undue emphasis on individual rights.

According to General Hayashi Yoshide, director of the Japanese Military Administration (JMA), the United States had led the country down the path of “deceit and misguidance.” The lesson was clear: Filipinos needed to rehabilitate themselves (p. 182).

Undeniably, historians perceive the educational system established during the Japanese rule as an instrument for indoctrination in a similar way as the American public school system was used for Americanization, and the Spanish education for pacification through religious instruction. It was used as a tool in order for the Filipinos to embrace Japanese ideologies (Duka, 2006, p. 111). Moreover, Duka (2006) describes the aims of the Japanese colonial education as:

The goals of the educational system under the Japanese military government were articulated in the Executive Order No, 2, issued on February 17, 1942, by the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Imperial Army. They aimed to make the people understand the position of the Philippines as a member of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere...; eradicate the old idea of reliance upon western nation...; and foster a new Filipino culture based on self-consciousness of the people as orientals; elevate the morals of the people; strive for the diffusion of the Japanese language in the Philippines and terminate the use of English; promote vocational education; and inspire the people with the spirit of labor (p. 111).

It seems that the primary goal of the Japanese educational system established was to undo the effects of the American public school system and reify the Japanese belief that Asia is for Asians. On the other hand, while Francia (2010) and Duka (2006) mention that there had been

initiative and emphasis on the teaching of the Japanese language, the Department of Education website mentions otherwise. It states that “under the Japanese regime, the teaching of Tagalog, Philippine History, and Character Education was reserved for Filipinos. Love for work and dignity of labor was emphasized.”⁴⁰ There seems to be an agreement between the emphasis on character education and the dignity of manual labor but in so far as language instruction is concerned, there needs to be some further verification.

With the massive control over public life, the co-optation of the elites and political figures, the imposition of Japanese culture, and the intentional undoing of American influence in the Filipino consciousness, Filipino citizenship is undoubtedly fragmented during this period. Can we say therefore that Filipino citizenship is merely an antithesis of the previously held citizenship under American sponsored educational system, or on the other hand a citizenship that is not different at all? On the one hand, it can be surmised that Filipino citizenship was at the forefront of the struggle between the Japanese and American ideologies of orientalism and democracy respectively and on the other hand, the opposition between rights, freedoms, and dissent - however unreal and ephemeral during the American occupation - and blind obedience to Japanese ideals and interests for individual and national survival. The latter has been argued well by Francia (2010) in his mention of the establishment of a puppet government; the alliance of the elite with Japan to retain economic and political power in the senate and the House of Representatives; and collaboration of some Filipino businessmen with Japanese authorities. These efforts were rationalized by some politicians using ideas such as “benevolent intentions of Japan”, “Filipinos are Asians, not Europeans or Anglo-Saxons”, and “obedience for the well-being of the people” (p. 181). These contradictions and resolutions made by the Filipinos can be conceived as the Filipinos’ political and economic machination to cope with continued colonial

⁴⁰ See <http://www.deped.gov.ph/index.php/about-deped/history> .

experience. Moreover, it can be regarded as another test of citizenship as part of the continued struggle for independence because while there was seemingly blind obedience, there was a segment of Philippine society, which might not have been as educated as those in the Philippine Executive Commission and the Legislature, but had certainly strong hearts for national liberation. These people were the members of the HUKBALAHAP (*Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon*) or the Anti-Japanese People's Army who opposed both Japanese and U.S. rule (pp. 183-184). This is not to dismiss however, the fact that even the guerilla leaders, their followers, and some who supported them founded their resistance on the return of the Americans (Constantino, 1969, p. 111).

In the end, while the Japanese occupation was short-lived and with considerably lesser educational reforms implemented as opposed to the American rule, it however provided a sense of further reckoning for Filipino citizenship.

Colonial Education and Filipino Citizenship

The emergence of the *ilustrados*, as a class during the Spanish colonial years brought about by the economic benefits they have gained from colonial policies and the subsequent educational advancement both within the country and abroad, their continued advantage in the American colonial administration as evidenced in the *Pensionado* program that allowed them to obtain "stateside" education (Constantino, 1976, p. 310); and in contradistinction to this, the limited religious education of the masses under Spain, and the rudimentary academic preparation along with vocational skills that were emphasized during the American rule, has complicated Filipino citizenship. The differential benefits gained from educational policies also brought

about divergent identifications and subsequently, divergent loyalties. Constantino (1969), a nationalist historian describes this disjuncture:

The compromising attitude of the *ilustrados* during the Spanish regime, their collaboration with the Americans during the height of the struggle in defense of independence, and their subsequent abandonment of the ideals of immediate independence led logically to their collaboration with the Japanese fascist invaders...The consistent behavior of this class from one historical period to the next proves the validity of the conclusion that in defense of its property and social position it will inevitably ally itself with the source of power and order. The same root cause is responsible for its inherent weaknesses, its vacillation, its opportunism and its non-identification with the masses...On the other hand, the guerilla leaders [who fought against the Japanese] and their followers and the people who supported them premised their resistance on the return of the Americans. In effect, resistance was also a form of collaboration (p. 111).

From this, is it plausible that the Filipino citizenship that has sprung from the years of colonial education is a polarized one? It seems that the polarization of Filipino citizenship is hinged on the absence of a common identification between the educated elites and the masses despite the fact that nationhood was concrete in the Filipino consciousness (Constantino, 1969, p. 114) that has earlier emerged from the first push in Filipino citizenship waged against Spain. This polarization, on the part of the educated middle class was manifest in the dichotomy of attachment where on the one end, they had genuine sympathy to the masses yet at the opposite end was their selfish attachment to personal fortune. In the end, given this tension of attachment, the objective distance that set them apart from the masses both in terms of property and cultural

consciousness, prevented them from fully appreciating the struggle (p.114). More than this sense of polarization, the common platform, no matter how ugly it was, was collaboration. This is where the polarization seems to fade away because regardless of class, property and education, both the *ilustrado* and the *masa*, in their struggle for liberation, had to make compromises both with their previous and current colonizers, which in the end as Constantino (1969) beautifully writes it, “not all those who collaborated were traitors and not all those who resisted were heroes (p. 115).” In sum, it was a citizenship of collaboration and self-interest.

But what does the colonial education, as a result of colonial educational policy-making have to do with this polarized citizenship of collaboration and self-interest? Constantino calls colonial education as “miseducation” because to him, it was only a way of further Americanization where the Philippines, in the consciousness of the Filipino, is inseparable from America and that America’s war against Japan, was also inseparable from our war for national emancipation (p. 118). One of the great nationalist, Claro M. Recto (as cited in Constantino, 1969) who, despite being initially affiliated with the Japanese forces looks at the impact of colonial education to the Filipino:

Their education and training have been such as to cultivate in them an inordinate liking and admiration for the things imported from the West. As a result, they have neglected the cultural heritage and made of themselves an Oriental people with a pronounced affectation of Occidental ways (p. 122).

The religious education received from Spain, the education for life, citizenship and democracy received from America, and the seemingly Oriental education that emphasized character and dignity of labor from the Japanese, undeniably created in the Filipino, a citizenship that was, to some extent, un-Filipino. However sad it is, the truth remains that the educational

policies implemented during the colonial years of almost four centuries had inevitably forged a Filipino citizenship whose foundation of being Filipino was wanting. Hence, the colonial Filipino citizenship is a “deFilipinized” one.

In closing this section of colonial educational policy reforms, it is important to set at what direction should Philippine education go in relation to the development of a renewed Filipino citizenship? Recto (in Constantino, 1969) had this to say:

...our educational system, whether public or private, must be directed toward one end; it must mould [*sic*] a truly Filipino mind, a truly Filipino heart, a truly Filipino soul...If we are to establish here a truly Filipino system of education as one of the enduring bases of a Philippine Republic, then that system of education must inculcate a truly Filipino view of life... (p. 121)

Now a Filipino, Directions of Filipino Citizenship in Post War Educational Policy-Reforms

The ratification of the 1973 Constitution in the Fourth Republic led by President Ferdinand Marcos enshrined the commitment of the country to provide education to its citizens. The constitution stated that a complete, adequate, and integrated system of education for national development should be provided where academic freedom is respected, the constitution is studied, and where love of country, duties of citizenship, moral character, personal discipline, and scientific, technological, and vocational efficiency are inculcated and developed. Moreover, it also stated that free public education until the secondary level should be developed and there should be vocational training for adults as well as scholarships available to the poor and deserving students (Sec. 8, Article XV).

Almost a decade after the ratification of the 1973 Constitution was the passage of the Education Act of 1982 otherwise known as Batas Pambansa (Republic Act) 232. It reiterated the right of every individual to quality education regardless of socio-economic status, gender, and ethnicity among others hence the maintenance of equal access to education and enjoyment of the benefits of education by all its citizens (R.A. 232, 1973, Sec 3, Chapter 2, I). The general aims were the provision of comprehensive and general education to help individuals in their particular contexts in society; attain their potentials; enhance their participation to the functioning of society; acquire foundations of productive and versatile citizenship; receive training in the middle—level skills⁴¹ for national development; develop professions for leadership for the nation and to improve the quality of life. One of the aims of elementary education was the promotion and intensification of children’s knowledge of, identification with, and love for the nation and the people while a remarkable goal of secondary education was to equip students with skills for productive work and to prepare for tertiary education aside from continuing the goals set for elementary schooling. One of the significant aims of tertiary education was the promotion of national identity, cultural consciousness, moral integrity and spiritual vigor (R.A. 232, 1973, Sections 21, 22, and 23, Chapter I, III).

With the victory of President Corazon Aquino and the ratification of the 1987 Constitution sometimes called the “Freedom Constitution”, previously enshrined educational provisions were reiterated such as the provision of complete, adequate, integrated, relevant, and free basic public education, non-formal, informal, and indigenous education (Section 2, Article XIV). Concerning the content of instruction, aside from guaranteeing academic freedom which was already stated in the previous constitution of 1973 (Section 5, Article XIV), the constitution stated the inclusion of the study of the constitution as part of the curricula and that educational

⁴¹ For a definition of middle-levels skills, see the next footnote on “middle-level manpower”

institutions “ shall inculcate patriotism and nationalism, foster love of humanity, respect for human rights, appreciation of the role of national heroes in the historical development of the country, teach the rights and duties of citizenship, strengthen ethical and spiritual values, develop moral character and personal discipline, encourage critical and creative thinking, broaden scientific and technological knowledge, and promote vocational efficiency (Section 3, Article XIV).” Lastly, in Section 5 of the same article, the right to select a profession or course subject to fair and equitable admission and academic requirement is guaranteed. Also under the presidency of President Corazon Aquino, while it has always been stipulated in the constitutions of 1973 and 1987 that public elementary and secondary education are free, some tuition were still asked from students. With the passage of Republic Act 6655 otherwise known as “Free Public Secondary Education Act of 1988” however, it stated that no tuition and other fees shall be charged from students except for those that are necessary for membership in the school community (i.e. identification cards, membership fees for student organizations, and school paper publication fees) (Section 4, R.A. 6655).

One of the remarkable educational policy reforms in the succeeding presidencies after the Aquino presidency was that of Ramos which was dubbed as the “Trifocalization of Education Management” with the passage of the Higher Education Act of 1994 (Republic Act 7722), and the Technical Educational and Skills Development Act of 1994 (Republic Act 7796). The former created the Commission on Higher Education, an entity separate from the existing Department of Education, and tasked to administer higher education institutions as well as post-secondary degree granting programs of institutions both public and private (R.A. 7722, 1994, Section 3) while the latter created the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority tasked to implement the goals of RA 7796 which were to “to provide relevant, accessible, high

quality and efficient technical education and skills development in support of the development of high quality Filipino middle-level manpower responsive to and in accordance with Philippine development goals and priorities” (R.A., 7796, 1994, Section 2). More specifically, the goals were: “a) the promotion and strengthening of the quality of technical education and skills development programs to attain international competitiveness; meeting the changing demands for quality middle-level manpower⁴²; encouragement of critical and creative thinking by the diffusion of scientific and technical knowledge base of middle-level manpower; [...] and inculcating desirable values by the development of moral character that emphasizes work ethic, self-discipline, self-reliance and nationalism” (R.A. 7796, 1994, Section 3). The reform was called “trifocalization” because there seemed to have been three foci of educational administration: the Department of Education for basic education which included elementary and secondary schooling; the Commission on Higher Education for institutions of higher learning such as colleges and universities; and the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority for technical⁴³ and vocational education programs.

In 2001, under the new Presidency of Gloria Macapagal Arroyo, Republic Act 9155 or the “Governance of Basic Education Act of 2001” was passed into law in order to:

- (a) provide the framework for the governance of basic education which shall set the general directions for educational policies and standards and establish authority, accountability and responsibility for achieving higher learning outcomes; (b) ...define the roles and responsibilities of, and provide resources to,

⁴² Middle-level manpower as defined by RA 7796 refers to those “1) who have acquired practical skills and knowledge through formal or non-formal education and training equivalent to at least a secondary education but preferably a post-secondary education with a corresponding degree or diploma; or 2) skilled workers who have become highly competent in their trade or craft as attested by industry” (Section 4).

⁴³ Republic Act 7796 defines technical Education as “the education process designed at post-secondary and lower tertiary levels, officially recognized as non-degree programs aimed at preparing technicians, para-professionals and other categories of middle-level workers by providing them with a broad range of general education, theoretical, scientific and technological studies, and related job skills training” (Section 4).

the field offices which shall implement educational programs, projects and services in communities they serve; (c) ...make schools and learning centers the most important vehicle for the teaching and learning of national values and for developing [...]love of country and pride in its rich heritage; (d) ...ensure that schools and learning centers receive the kind of focused attention they deserve and that educational programs, projects and services take into account the interests of all members of the community; (e) ...enable the schools and learning centers to reflect the values of the community by allowing teachers/learning facilitators and other staff to have the flexibility to serve the needs of all learners; (f) encourage local initiatives for the improvement of schools and learning centers...(R.A. 9155, 2001, Section 3).

The same law also introduced the concept of shared governance where each level of the bureaucracy (from the national government to schools) has a specific role and responsibility and is accountable for the outcomes. The principles of transparency and democratic decision-making at every level were also stipulated to be observed (2001, Section 5).

Decades have passed since the colonial years and the Filipinos are now on their own notwithstanding the constantly lingering threats of neocolonialism that has to some extent, as most critical historians would argue, impinged on the nation's right to self-determination. The years of struggling for national independence from Spain, and then America, and Japan respectively have become part of the nation's history and new challenges to nationhood emerge. With the implementation of the different reforms on education since the Fourth Republic down to the Arroyo administration, we look back and ponder upon their implications to Filipino citizenship. Four significant and recurrent concepts emerge from these policies. The first is the

provision of equal access to educational opportunities regardless of status such as income, ethnicity and gender as mentioned in the 1973 and 1987 Constitutions as well as in Republic Act 6655 which enabled the constitutional provision of free secondary education in the country. Secondly, the idea of complete, adequate, and relevant system of education was also recurrent. The third is the emphasis on citizenship and democratic education by putting on the educational system the task of rearing national consciousness, patriotism and moral character in the Filipino learner. Lastly, there is this highly emphasized value of technical and skills development starting from the 1973 Constitution down to the implementation of R.A. 7796 which created the Technical and Skills Development Authority. This seems to be a continuation of a pattern that was earlier started during the Spanish colonial years, was intensified in the American public schools system, and was rationalized and legitimated as a dignified vocation during Japanese rule.

No longer hinged on a drive for national liberation or national survival within the context of colonization, Filipino citizenship seems to be found along the ambits of national development where Filipinos are expected to be skilled with utmost quality, educated in an adequate and complete system of education, takes pride in the nation's history and has a deep love for the country. Moreover, Filipino citizenship, more than problematizing self-improvement to develop the nation and improve the quality of life of people, an emerging horizon seems to become more prominent now, that of the rest of the world with the explicit pronouncement of "international competitiveness" in middle-level manpower as stated in R.A. 7796 which marks the state's awareness and recognition of the then increasing value and contribution of overseas work in the economic development of the nation. All these reforms therefore add layers and gradients of meanings to Filipino citizenship which started from a state of tensions and struggles marked by

definitional challenges and conceptual thrusting by the early educated middle-class against Spanish-oriented constructs of the Filipino; to the veiled experience of popular and democratic education that somehow gave the Filipinos a taste of waging critique in legitimate fora no matter how futile it might lead to in the name of independence; and then to the problematic collaboration with, and resistance by, the Filipino elites and the masses respectively during Japanese occupation couched in the drive for national survival; and finally, a citizenship founded on education that is, however debatable, truly Filipino, takes cognizance of national struggles with the goal of molding high skills and moral character, and above all, fully aware of opportunities that lie beyond the waters that envelope the verdant archipelago, all in the name, not of national independence nor survival, but for national development. In sum, contemporary Filipino citizenship seems to problematize self-improvement within the context of the nation and the world, a citizenship that now straddles the nation and the post-national yet manifests considerable resignification and rearticulation of historical snatches as would be demonstrated in the use of CDA in Chapters V and VI which attempt to understand the emerging Filipino citizenship in the recent K to 12 educational reform implemented in June 2012. What lesson could be drawn from this chapter is the fact that citizenship as a concept has its historical angle, that it does not simply spring as a need to secure a sense of belonging and to stir national sentiments. Somehow, it is both intended colonial and state machinations and unintended consequences emerging from social practice.

CHAPTER V

THE FILIPINO IN OBSOLESCENCE: DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES ON CITIZENSHIP IN THE K TO 12 REFORM OF 2012

In the previous chapter, the transformations in educational policy reforms from the Spanish colonization to the implementation of the “Trifocalization of Education Management” in 2001, along with the corresponding discursive repercussions to Filipino citizenship have been traced. In this chapter, which forms part primarily of the most significant chunk of this thesis, a closer look at the recent K to 12 reform that has taken effect since June 2012 will be taken with particular interest in how the reform which is primarily a structural change, also discursively reconfigures Filipino citizenship. It is apt therefore that we start with a little background of how the reform came to be instituted, what it in fact aims to implement, how far it has gone, and then proceed to a critical analysis of the policy documents involved in the said reform.

A Brief Background

When Benigno Simeon Aquino III assumed the Presidency in 2010, he has always been very vocal about his intentions on reforming Philippine basic education. In his first state of the nation address in July 26, 2010, he mentioned that once the public-private partnership initiatives are implemented, the reform in basic education with the addition of two more years to the existing ten-year program will also be realized such that the basic education structure of the country will be in line with the twelve-year global standard (Aquino, 2010, Official Gazette). Two years after, in April 24, 2012, the K to 12 Basic Education Program was launched at the

Malacañang Palace⁴⁴ with the President of the Republic of the Philippines giving the address. He provided such a strong statement when he said, “From this day on, we can provide the youth with better opportunities to acquire information, to learn. We have gathered to launch a program that will change the education system of our country: the K to 12 Basic Education Program” (Aquino, 2012, Official Gazette). A glimpse from the previous chapter would indeed tell us that the K to 12 reform can be considered the most comprehensive educational reform since the implementation of the Organic School Law of 1901, which established a comprehensive public school system for the country, but the claim on better opportunities for the youth is yet to be proven.

Prior to the launching of the K to 12 reform, as early as October 2010, the Department of Education - which is part of the executive branch headed by the President – had already started laying its foundations. In a press conference held on October 5 of that year, the Department of Education disseminated a “Discussion Paper” that enumerated nine rationales for what it dubbed at that time as the “K+12” project (Cruz, 2010, Philippine Star). When classes opened in June 2012, the K to 12 program took effect on those who entered the first grade in elementary and the seventh grade for high school⁴⁵. On the same year, the “K to 12 Toolkit” was released by SEAMEO INNOTECH (Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Regional Center for Educational Innovation and Technology) to inform and guide the different stakeholders such as teachers and administrators in better implementing the program (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries).

⁴⁴ The Malacañang Palace is the official residence of the President of the Philippines and where he also does important governmental affairs.

⁴⁵ In June 2011, part of the roadmap to the implementation of the K to 12 reform was the implementation of compulsory universal kindergarten.

Soon after these initiatives were undertaken by the executive branch through the leadership of the President and the Secretary of the Department of Education, Bro. Armin Luistro, the bicameral legislative body which is composed of the House of Senate and the House of Representatives started to work on the passage of separate bills concerning the K to 12 reform. In October 10, 2012, the House of Representatives passed House Bill 6643, the “Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2012” with a vote of 198 in favor and 8 against mainly coming from party-list representatives⁴⁶ (Boncocan, 2012a; 2012b). On the other hand, on January 22, 2013, the House of Senate also passed Senate Bill 3286, its version of the Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2012 with a vote of fourteen in favor and none against (Sy, 2013.).⁴⁷ On January 30, 2013, both the houses of congress ratified the bicameral version of the two bills without opposition (Calonzo and Tan, 2013) and subsequently, amidst reports that Malacañang returned the reconciled version to Congress due to some errors in the wording (Pazzibugan, 2013, Inquirer.net) which might have caused the delay, RA 10533, the “Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2013” was signed into law by President Aquino on May 15, 2013 (Cerdeña, 2013). The R.A. 10533 is the long-awaited enabling law for the K to 12 project which has been implemented by the executive branch in June 2012 without such a law from congress (Boncocan, 2013; 2012a; 2012b).

As soon as the enabling law for the K to 12 project was signed by the president and took effect on May 15, 2013, the Department of Education (DepEd) which has been tasked to administer basic education for both public and private elementary and high schools; the Commission on Higher Education (CHED) whose primary function is the management of

⁴⁶ Article VI, Legislative Department, Sec 5 (2) of the 1987 Constitution requires that representatives from sectors such as labor, peasant, urban poor, indigenous cultural communities, women, youth, and many other marginalized sectors shall be allocated with seats in the House of Representatives commensurate to 20 percent of all available seats. These representatives are elected by popular vote and upon garnering 2% of national votes, a party list group is allocated one seat in the House of Representatives.

⁴⁷ The Philippine Senate is composed of 24 Senators elected by popular vote.

colleges and universities; and the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA) mandated to oversee the provision and management of technical and vocational education, started drafting the Implementing Rules and Regulations (IRR) for the implementation of RA 10533 on June 19, 2013 (Flores, 2013). Finally, on September 3, 2013, the DepEd Secretary Armin Luistro, CHED chairman Patricia Licuanan and TESDA director general Joel Villanueva signed the IRR at the Don Alejandro Roces National High School in Quezon City. This marked the institutionalization of a 12-year track of basic education in the Philippines (Alcober, 2013).

What Reform?

For the past decades, the Philippine educational system has been subscribing to the K10 format where from the nomenclature, implies a ten-year long education. Having been constantly prodded by the fact that the Philippines is the only remaining Asian state that follows the K10 program, the Philippines has finally decided to shift to a K to 12 Curriculum and implemented it last June 2012⁴⁸(Department of Education, 2010). The K12 format has replaced the latest K10 curricula - the 2002 Basic Education Curriculum and its enriched version, the 2008 Revised Basic Education⁴⁹.

As publicized in the media and through the pronouncement of the President Benigno Aquino III and the Education Minister Armin Luistro, the goals and the objectives of the shift are undoubtedly well-meaning. The rationales provided by the government (Department of

⁴⁸ As opposed to other countries that open classes in August and end in May, the Philippines used to open its classes in June and end in March.

⁴⁹ In this K10 curricula, elementary education is completed in six years (Grade 1 to 6), and secondary education in four years (Year 1 to 4). Comparatively, with the K+12 curriculum, a mandatory pre-elementary education (Kindergarten) opens the curriculum, followed by Grade School (Grade 1 to 6), Junior High School (Grade 7 to 10) and Senior High School (Grade 11 to 12). This is similar to the basic education model (Junior-Senior High School) in the U.S.

Education, 2010) had been the need to deal with the problems of poor quality of the curriculum (because it is too congested⁵⁰) and the students (because they perform lower than neighboring countries and are less productive and employable), and the limiting view of basic education as a preparation for higher education (pp. 1-4).

This problematization of the quality of education and learners provided and produced by educational institutions in the country respectively has been lingering for several administrations since the beginning of the Post-War period hence the K to 12 reform today is perceived by the state as a legitimate and responsive mode of coping with the problem.

But more than all these, the new curriculum is also characterized by the introduction and institutionalization of three tracks dubbed as “Career Pathways” such as (1) academic, (2) technical-vocational, and (3) entrepreneurship for Grades 11 and 12 which will lead to eligibility for Certificate of Competency (COC) issued by the government to individuals who satisfactorily demonstrate competence on particular cluster of units (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p. 27).⁵¹ It should be noted that prior to the implementation of the K to 12 curriculum, technical vocational schools already existed yet were distinct from typical secondary schools such that when one wishes to obtain certification, one should enroll in these technical schools as an alternative. What the K to 12 reform has changed is that it has incorporated technical-vocational education to the basic education curriculum.

⁵⁰ The Department of Education (2010) argues that the curriculum is congested on the basis that it is designed to teach content of a 12-year curriculum in a span of ten-years only (p. 1) and because of this there had been more emphasis in accomplishing content superficially with mastery being sacrificed as the ultimate goal of instruction.

⁵¹ The Academic track follows the practice of advanced science high schools, the Technical-Vocational and Entrepreneurship tracks follow that of the trade schools, and applied academics schools. Under the technical-vocational track, the Toolkit mentions that among the possible courses, based from the existing offerings of the technical schools surveyed include care giving, commercial cooking, household services, automotive, carpentry, plumbing, masonry, welding, refrigeration and air condition servicing, and computer hardware servicing while the entrepreneurship track includes aside from business, novelty and crafts (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p. 28).

Aside from ‘Career Pathways’, the K to 12 curriculum also targets the acquisition 21st Century Skills which includes (1) Learning and Innovation (creativity, curiosity, problem-solving, adaptability; (2) Information, Media, and Technology (visual, media, scientific, economic, and technological literacies); (3) Effective Communication (teaming, collaborating, interpersonal, personal, interactive skills); (4) Life and Career (flexibility, initiative, self-direction, productivity, and accountability and; (5) Leadership and Responsibility (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, pp. 9-10)⁵². Noticeably, these skills are in stark contrast to previous skills that traditional students were exposed to. They seem to resemble what in Urciuoli’s (2008) view, are considered as ‘soft skills’ which are “a post- Fordist development that came to trump hard skills. From the Industrial Revolution through the Fordist era, work associated skills were hard, that is, manual or mechanical operations” (Urciuoli, 2008)⁵³.

Based from what has been laid so far, in order to critically examine and respond to the questions raised in this paper, and as already mentioned when the directions of this paper were laid out in the beginning, the documents that have played significant roles in the formulation and implementation of the K to 12 reform shall be analyzed using Critical Discourse Analysis that integrates perspectives and analytical tools and frames from Fairclough (1992, 2001, 2003),

⁵² Seemingly, this menu of different skills intended for learners to acquire echoes what I have seen in the website of SEAMEO or the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education which is an intergovernmental organization of Southeast Asian countries for purposes of establishing cooperation in education, science and culture. The 21st Century Skills which also includes character education, entrepreneurship education, information and communication technology, language and literacy and scientific and technological literacy, is one of SEAMEO’s priority areas in education (SEAMEO, 2013). See http://www.seameo.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=90&Itemid=518

⁵³ According to Menochelli (2006, as cited in Urciuoli, 2008), “a soft skill refers to the cluster of personality traits, social graces, facility with language, personal habits, friendliness, and optimism that mark each of us to varying degrees. Persons who rank high in this cluster, with good soft skills, are generally the people that most employers want to hire. Soft skills complement hard skills, which are the technical requirements of a job. The ideal, of course, is someone strong in both job and personal skills, but as one employer put it in a recent report, *Hard Work and Soft Skills*, “Don’t worry so much about the technical skills. We need you to teach them how to show up on time, how to work in teams, and how to take supervision (p. 215).”

Wodak (2001), Jäger (2001), and Gee (2004) as has also been mentioned in Chapter II of this paper. Having stated this, the following documents will be analyzed:

1. Discussion Paper on the Enhanced K+12 Basic Education Program⁵⁴
2. K to 12 Toolkit⁵⁵
3. House Bill 6643, Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2012⁵⁶
4. Senate Bill 3286, Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2012⁵⁷
5. RA 10533, Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2013⁵⁸

Structure of Analysis

By drawing on the lenses, frameworks, and different analytical tools from critical discourse theorists mentioned in Chapter III which include among others Fairclough (1992, 2001, 2003), Wodak (2001), Gee (2004), Jäger (2001), and Rogers (2003), the structure of analysis will proceed from a description of “context” on the one hand and an explanation of the “order of discourse” on the other. Subsequently, an interpretation of how the context and the order of discourse are interacting will be undertaken. This then corresponds to how Rogers (2003) perceives Fairclough’s Three-Tiered Model as constituting a “description” by looking exhaustively into the context; an “explanation” by looking at how the order of discourse figures into the construction happening in the context; and an “interpretation” by taking particular notice of the interaction between the order of discourse which represents conventions and social structure, and the context or the event which manifests human action or agency (Rogers 2003b,

⁵⁴ See http://ceap.org.ph/upload/download/201210/17115829500_1.pdf for an electronic copy.

⁵⁵ See <http://www.gov.ph/downloads/2012/201209-K-to-12-Toolkit.pdf> for an electronic copy.

⁵⁶ For a copy of the House Bill, see http://www.congress.gov.ph/download/billtext_15/hbt6643.pdf

⁵⁷ For a copy of the Senate Bill, see <http://www.senate.gov.ph/lisdata/1417511918!.pdf>

⁵⁸ An electronic copy of the consolidated version of the two bills can be found at http://www.senate.gov.ph/republic_acts/ra%2010533.pdf

p.243, see Figure 3 in Chapter III). In the analysis of context, we look into the text itself specifically the documents mentioned in the preceding paragraphs with primary interest on how Filipino citizenship is constructed, followed by an analysis of text as “discursive practice” which looks into the production, distribution, and consumption of the texts, and then analysis of discourse as a social practice which looks into how ideology and hegemony play into the construction of Filipino citizenship (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 78-79).⁵⁹ This constitutes Fairclough’s (1992) “Three-Dimensional Model”. In the analysis of the “order of discourse”, a particular interest is cast on “genre”, “discourses”, and “style” as its primary elements which define, limit, or select sets of possibilities as articulated in language (Fairclough, 2003, p. 24). In the end, what links the two different fields together (context and order of discourse) is when an interpretation of how the order of discourse shapes the context and correspondingly, how the context reshapes the structuring order of discourse, is pursued exemplifying the nature of discourse as a social practice such that it is both “constitutive” and “constituted” in relation to the social world (Fairclough, 1992, p.60; Jørgensen and Phillips, 2004, p.65; Rogers, 2004a, p.5).

Context: Texts and the Discourse Plane

There are two significant fields of policy-making or perhaps, fields where political power is exercised that are involved in relation to the texts analyzed in this paper. On the one hand is the executive branch of government which is headed by President Aquino together with the Department of Education led by Bro. Armin Luistro that forms part of the Aquino cabinet. This branch of government has been highly involved in the production and release of documents such as the “Discussion Paper on the Enhanced K+12 Basic Education Program” and the “K to 12 Toolkit” which generally laid the rationales of the reform, and the specific means to implement it

⁵⁹ The analysis of discursive and social practice will be presented in Chapter VI.

in more specific educational settings respectively. On the other hand, the bicameral legislative branch composed of the House of Senate which at present is composed of 24 senators, and the House of Representatives of 289 members including more than 50 coming from the party list sectors (House of Representatives of the Philippines, 2014) has been highly responsible for the formulation of an enabling law. Below are some general descriptions of the different documents with reference to authorship, audience, circulation, purpose, general architecture of the text, and some justifications why the texts⁶⁰ were chosen:

1. *Discussion Paper on the Enhanced K+12 Basic Education Program (DepEd discussion paper)*

Released on October 5, 2010 by the Department of Education in a press conference held concerning the K to 12 program to be implemented by the government, it lays-out the rationales behind the shift from a K10 curriculum to K12; presents the historical background; enumerates the vision and the goals; and explains the basic education model, its benefits, and some guiding principles in the implementation of the program. This document seems to have been produced for public consumption and has been available and easily accessible in the internet in pages such as the Catholic Educational Association of the Philippines website.

2. *K to 12 Toolkit*

Intended as a guide for teacher educators⁶¹, administrators, and teachers, this document authored by a combined team from the SEAMEO INNOTECH and the Department of Education, this toolkit provides a general information about the K to 12 reform that involves changes in Kindergarten, elementary, and secondary education, assessment system and the corresponding

⁶⁰ To access electronic copies of the documents, follow the links provided when the documents intended to be analyzed in this paper were listed earlier in this chapter.

⁶¹ The term sounds redundant but it can be surmised that it refers to teachers who are trained by the Department of Education to train or educate other teachers about the K to 12 reform.

alternative delivery modes and learning systems that will be implemented. Since it is in the form of a toolkit, interesting tables, figures, pictures, and diagrams are included that convey, in more comprehensible terms what the K to 12 reforms is all about. This document has been made available in the official government website and the SEAMEO website.

3. House Bill No. 6643

This bill was the House of Representatives' version of the "Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2012" and was authored by 58 members of the house. It was passed on its third and final reading on November 19, 2012 with 198 votes and 8 against (Boncocan, 2012a). This bill is readily available at the website of the House of Representatives.

4. Senate Bill No. 3286

The Senate's version of the "Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2012" was prepared by the Senate Committees on Education, Arts and Culture; Ways and Means; and Finance and its authors were Senators Ralph Recto, Loren Legarda, Edgardo Angara, and Franklin Drilon. The bill was approved by the senate on January 22, 2013 with no senator voting against it (Sy, 2013). This piece of legislation is also available at official website of the House of Senate of the Philippines.

5. Republic Act No. 10533

Otherwise known as the "Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2013", R.A. No. 10533 is the reconciled version of the House of Representatives' and Senate's versions made by the bicameral conference committee. It was ratified by both houses on January 30, 2013. This bill has been published at the Official Gazette which is the official journal of the Republic of the Philippines edited by the Office of the President (Official Gazette).

The Discussion Paper was chosen because it might provide insights about the executive branch's imaginary of the Filipino citizen in its articulation of the rationales, vision, goals, and principles behind the reform. The K to 12 Toolkit on the other hand, since it is a toolkit, provides more specific views and insights on Filipino citizenship by voicing out in more comprehensive fashion the meanings, vision, goals, and changes in the educational system that may directly or indirectly allude to the seeming emergence of new citizenship.

House Bill No. 6643, Senate Bill No. 3286, and R.A. 10533 were all chosen for analysis in this paper not only because they voice out constructs of Filipino citizenship but also because they, at a larger view, represent the legislative branch's existing notions of Filipino citizenship. More importantly, while R.A. 10533 could have been solely chosen for analysis, disregarding the earlier versions from the two houses, I believe that tracing what has been written in the reconciled version of the enabling law back to the initial versions also provides insights on the more interesting legislative meaning-making that impinge on Filipino citizenship.

In sum, looking into these documents both from the legislative and the executive branches is highly important since the larger intention of this paper is to inquire into how the state, which monopolizes the management of the educational system, uses this same system for the rearing of its citizens, according to what it perceives as the "ideal Filipino citizen".

Representations of Reform, Filipino Citizenship, and Space in K to 12 Policy Documents and Legislation

In what follows, an analysis of the documents mentioned earlier particularly at the textual level is demonstrated. It consists of identifying discourses, which takes the form of representations of the world from a particular perspective (Fairclough, 2003, p. 129). Within the

context of this paper, of particular interest are the representations about the “K to 12 reform” as a “representation of a social event” (p. 139); representations of “the Filipino citizen” as “representation of a social actor”(p. 145); and relate the reform and the citizen to simultaneous “representations of space and time” (p.151). I am using Norman Fairclough’s (2003) approach in analyzing discourse or representational meanings at the textual level.

Representations of the K to 12 Reform

In referring to the K to 12 reform initiated by the Aquino government, it is telling how the documents from the executive represent it as an effort to “improve” the educational system (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p. 1) or to “enhance” it (Department of Education, 2010, p. 3). In the K to 12 Toolkit for example, Luistro in his message found at the preliminary section, uses the verb “reform” in reference to the basic education system but the adverb “fundamentally” precedes it and this is linked, as it appears to the first sentence in his message: “We are embarking on what is arguably the most comprehensive basic education reform initiative ever done in the country since the establishment of the public education system more than a century ago” (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012). Seemingly, the verb “reform” was not enough for Luistro because earlier in his message, he construed the reform (noun) as the most comprehensive ever done hence to make it more cohesive, and to provide emphasis, he added the word “fundamental”. In the latter part of Luistro’s message, he also uses the word “rebuild” referring to what the reform intends to do with the basic education system. By implication, it can be surmised that Luistro is trying to paint a “broken” picture of Philippine education. In a similar way, the documents from congress use the verb “enhancing” to refer to the different versions of the bill and subsequently, to the Republic Act (H. No. 6643; S. No. 3286; R.A. 10533).

Moreover, the word is specified and nuanced by succeeding words as “strengthening” the curriculum, “increasing” the number of years of schooling, and “appropriating” funds. The word “enhancing” and “strengthening” that were used in the description of the senate bill, house bill, and the bicameral version, also presuppose that the legislature perceives Philippine education as deficient that is why it needs enhancement, and weak so much so that it should be strengthened.

Moving on to the features of the curriculum that the executive and the legislative have initiated and enabled respectively, it seems that there is considerably minimal divergence between and among the policy documents from the executive and the bills and law from the legislature. The K to 12 Toolkit mentions that the new curriculum is (1) “decongested” which emphasizes mastery over volume; (2) “seamless” implying smooth transition and continuity of competencies from one level to another; (3) “relevant” to the Filipino learner and “responsive” by equipping them with 21st century skills; (4) “enriched” because it is integrative, inquiry – based, and constructive; and (5) it is “learner-centered” because it targets the optimum development of the Filipino child (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, pp. 3-4). R.A. 10533 also describes the curriculum as (1) learner-centered, inclusive and developmentally appropriate; (2) relevant, responsive, and research-based; (3) culture-sensitive; (4) contextualized and global; (5) uses pedagogical approaches that are constructivist, inquiry-based, reflective, collaborative and integrative; (6) adheres to Mother Tongue-Based Multi-Lingual Education (MTB-MLE); (7) uses spiral progression approach for mastery; and (8) flexible to allow schools to localize, indigenize and enhance the curriculum (Sec. 5(a-h)). Interestingly, the two sets of descriptions in fact complement each other such that for example, the “seamless” characteristic mentioned in the K to 12 Toolkit is linked to the use of spiral progression approach in the law. Moreover, the “enriched” attribute is complemented by the fifth characteristic mentioned in the law. The

“relevant and responsive” characteristic is matched in spirit by numbers 2, 3, 6, 4, and 8 in R.A. 10533. Finally, both of the two sets characterize the curriculum as learner-centered. This therefore somehow foreshadows the parallelism in terms of vision between the two branches of government. Another important aspect is how the documents represent the extent of difference of the new curriculum from the previous ones. Comparing the K to 12 curriculum to the 2002 Basic Education Curriculum (BEC) and the 2010 Secondary Education Curriculum (SEC), the Toolkit differentiates the former from the two previous curricula by stating that “both the BEC and the SEC aim for functional literacy. The K to 12 curriculum aims for holistic development and acquisition of 21st century skills” (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p.10).

According to Fairclough (2003), in trying to analyze representations of social event, we should look at explanations and legitimations specifically the reasons, causes and purposes behind the event (p. 139). Doing this involves looking into the argumentation strategies and rhetorical means that authors or doers of the event employ in making justifications. Wodak (2001) suggests looking into what she calls “topoi” or “loci” which are “parts of argumentation which belong to the obligatory, either explicit or inferable premises. They are the content-related warrants or ‘conclusion rules’ which connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion, the claim” (p. 16). She enumerates and explains different topoi such as the topoi of danger, responsibility, advantage, usefulness, burden, culture, numbers, humanitarianism, justice, history, reality, and law (pp. 16-20). Jäger (2001) also suggests that it is important to look into the rhetorical means by becoming more observant of the logic and composition, implications and insinuations that are prominent in texts that construct a social event (p. 33). With these, I plan to proceed by identifying, in a rather precarious way, some modes of argumentation that might be akin to what Wodak calls topoi or loci that are prominent in the documents.

Both the Discussion Paper and the Toolkit use the “topos of danger” when the former mentions that “enhancing the quality of basic education in the Philippines is urgent and critical” (Department of Education, 2010, p. 3) and the repetition of these terms in the line “cognizant of this urgent and critical concern” in another part of the document (p. 5). The same phrase, “critical and urgent” is used in the Toolkit when it states that “the Department of Education (DepEd) and allied stakeholders are responding to the urgent and critical need to improve the quality of basic education in the Philippines through a major education reform known as the K to 12 (...)” (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p. 1). While the paragraphs and sentences, where these words were used to seemingly give warning or to indicate a sense of seriousness of the reform do not contain further substantiation on why the authors perceive the reform as “critical and urgent”, moving further in the documents lead to other forms of topoi that add more depth to the topos of danger posed earlier. Another topos, the “topos of burden” seems to provide a deeper understanding of the urgency and criticalness of the K to 12 reform. This type of topos involves the principle that if a person, an institution, or country is burdened by some problems, one should act to diminish the burden (Wodak, 2001, p. 18). The Discussion Paper argues that the benefits of the reform outweigh the costs that will be incurred by the government and families (Department of Education, p. 7) and proceeds that among the problems of the current system are the “inadequate preparation of high school graduates for the world of work or entrepreneurship or higher education”, “most graduates are too young to enter the labor force”, and “graduates are not automatically recognized abroad” because the 10-year basic education program is not in line with the Washington Accord and the Bologna Accord (pp. 3-4). Similar burdens are articulated in H. No. 6643 such as the deprivation of adequate instructional time because of curriculum congestion; inadequacy of preparation for work and higher education (Sec. 2(a-c)).

The documents, particularly those from the executive department also use another type of topos, the “topos of reality” which operates on the idea that because reality is as it is, actions or decisions should be made to deal with it (Wodak, 2001, p. 19). The Discussion Paper points out that there is a mismatch between the labor market and the education market because most of those who are unemployed are at least high school graduates and adds that graduates are not automatically recognized abroad (Department of Education, 2010, pp. 3-4). What have been stated in the Discussion Paper are subtle ways of painting a grim picture of Philippine education but the messages of the DepEd Secretary, Armin Luistro, and the SEAMEO Center Director, Ramon Bacani in the preliminaries of the K to 12 Toolkit are more than telling of the “realities” that the executive branch consider as “real”. Luistro states: “*Ang Bagong Pilipino – higit sa pagiging maka-Tao, maka-Diyos, maka-bayan, at maka-kalikasan – ay kailangan magtaglay ng kasanayan at pananaw na angkop sa 21st century*”⁶² (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries). On the other hand, Bacani while referring to a review of curricula among Southeast Asian countries that SEAMEO has conducted writes: “the study affirmed that basic education in the country must undergo reforms to meet the demands of the twenty-first century” (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries). These statements construe a reality that is different from the realities of the past. Moreover, they argue that the realities of the 21st century require on the one hand a different Filipino and that the values possessed by the Filipino before are already insufficient (in Luistro’s message) and subsequently (in Bacani’s message) the educational system, which used to inculcate these values must also be reformed on the other hand in order to meet this changed 21st century reality. I believe this alludes to a seeming obsolescence of Filipino citizenship within the reform initiated by the Aquino government.

⁶² When translated in English, this means: The New Filipino – more than being pro-human, pro-God, pro-nation, and pro-nature – should possess skills and perspectives that are appropriate or relevant to the 21st century.

Another topos that gives insight to the argumentation strategies of the documents is the “topos of advantage” or “usefulness”. This follows the principle that “if an action under a specific relevant point of view will be useful, then one should perform it” (Wodak, 2001, p. 16). All the documents, regardless of their departmental origin employ this particular topos understandably because of their nature either as a policy document or a piece of legislation which both aim to institute reforms and inevitably, should argue about why the reform is beneficial. The Toolkit forwards a three-pronged topos of advantage by looking at the benefits of the K to 12 reform to (1) individuals and families because students will gain mastery, competency, adequate preparation, and affordable education; (2) society and the economy because of the increase in the probability of employment, increase in wage earnings, and GDP growth; and (3) region and the international community because of a wider recognition of Filipino graduates and increase in quality assurance of education (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, pp. 5-6). The first prong (individuals and families) and the second (society and the economy) are also seen in the Discussion Paper’s section on “Benefits of Enhanced Basic Education Program” which articulates similar benefits as what are mentioned in the Toolkit. H. No. 6643, by stating that basic education should “secure the future of the youth and to achieve the development of our nation” (Sec. 2), is also in the same line of thought as the Toolkit and the Discussion Paper that it will benefit individuals by securing the future of the youth and in so doing, achieve benefits to society such as the development of the nation. The second and the third benefits are also in line with S. No. 3286’s Declaration of Policy where the benefits of broadening high school education in terms of increasing opportunities for career and entrepreneurship on the one hand, and the curriculum being at par with international standards on the other are mentioned (Sec. 2(a-c)).

In relation to the topoi of danger, reality, burden, and advantage or usefulness is the “topos of number” which essentially uses numbers to prove specific topos (such as the aforementioned) to argue that a specific action should be performed or that a decision should be made (Wodak, 2001, p. 19). This topos therefore is another way to substantiate a claim or further strengthen an earlier argumentation strategy employed. The use of numbers or even statistics undeniably sketch a concrete picture of a given situation, reify and empirically prove a claim, and in the end persuade the audience or readers to buy it. Since legislation is usually operating on principles and general statements as rationales why they are important to be passed, policy documents from the executive have more freedom to incorporate the topos of number to strengthen their claim without so much genre restrictions. This is the reason why the Discussion Paper and the Toolkit have more likely used the topos of number. In Rationale Number 2, to paint a dismal state of the quality of Philippine education, the Discussion Paper gives statistics to validate the claim that students of basic education do not have mastery of basic competencies due to curriculum congestion. It states,

The National Achievement Test (NAT) for grade 6 in SY 2009-2010 passing rate is only 69.21%. Although this is already a 24% improvement over the SY 2005-2006 passing rate, further reforms are needed to achieve substantial movement. The NAT for high school is 46.38% in SY 2009-2010, a slight decrease from 47.40% in SY 2008-2009 (Department of Education, 2010, p. 3).

Moreover, in Rationale Number 3, the same paper mentions that in the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) in 2003, the Philippines ranks 34th out of 38 countries in high school II math and 43rd out of 46 in high school science; 23rd out of 25 in

both fourth grade math and science; and in 2008, the lowest in Advanced Mathematics even when only science high schools in the country were the participants (p.3). The use of number have seemingly attempted to convince the public that firstly, when compared among themselves or to themselves, the students of the previous curriculum either improved insufficiently or they have regressed slightly. And to argue that there is an existing and problematic mismatch between courses or programs in basic education and the labor market, the Discussion Paper flashes some unemployment statistics and mentions that approximately 70.9% of the unemployed have finished high school, and that 80% of those who do not have jobs are 15-34 years old, the age bracket where high school graduates belong to (p.3). Another interesting use of number that the Discussion Paper has utilized to argue for the urgency of the reform is when it mentioned that “the Philippines is the only country in Asia and among the three remaining countries in the world that has a 10-year basic education program” (Department of Education, 2010, p.4).

The Toolkit on the other hand uses numbers to rationalize why there was a need to establish academic, entrepreneurship and technical-vocational tracks; why we should shift to K12 instead of K10; and why the benefits are more than convincing. First, the Toolkit uses the results of the National Career Assessment Examination and states that 58.03%, more than half of the students have inclination for entrepreneurship and technical-vocational fields while 3.76% have the aptitude for higher education (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p. 29). Secondly, it also echoes the claim found in the Discussion Paper about the Philippines being the only country in Asia, and among the three that still practice ten years of basic education (p. 2). Lastly, to concretize its claim for social and economic benefits, it states that an additional year to basic education adds 10% increase in wages, increases probability of employment, and increases 40-

year GDP growth rate by .37 percentage points (p. 6) citing a 2004 article written by Psacharopoulos and Patrinos, a 2007 study by the OECD, and a 2008 piece written by Hanushek, et al., respectively (p. 71). All these numbers give weight, a sense of concreteness, and a perception that the problems of inadequacy, poor quality of education, backwardness, non-responsiveness teeming in the education system in contemporary Philippines can be mitigated by urgent implementation of the reform that promises concrete and quantifiable benefits in monetary terms.

More than the realities and circumstances that are exogenous from the state, the executive and the legislative branches, as reflected in the K to 12 documents they have produced, also look inwards and reflect on their role in the reform by employing the topoi of responsibility, and humanitarianism and justice. The topos of responsibility is framed in light of the state's accountability for and responsibility to the emergence of social problems and its mitigation (Wodak, 2001, p. 18). In using this topos, the state does not explicitly say that it is accountable for the problems and responsible for its resolution. Instead, it seemingly distances itself from these while simultaneously accepting a stake in the problem-resolution process. In the H. No. 6643, it states that:

The state recognizes the primacy of basic education to secure the future of the youth and to achieve the development of our nation. Article XIV, Section 2 (1) of the 1987 Constitution provides that the state shall establish, maintain and support a complete, adequate and integrated system of education relevant to the needs of the people and society (Sec. 2).

In a similar sense, the Department of Education (2010) in the Discussion Paper mentions that it is “cognizant of this [referring to the K to 12 reform] urgent and critical concern and in line with the priorities of the Aquino administration, [...] is taking bold steps to enhance the basic education curriculum” (p. 5). At the onset the state first uses words such as “recognizes” and “cognizant” of the importance of education and the urgency of the problem instead of stating its direct accountability and then subsequently turns it into a tenor of responsibility by stating that it shall “establish, maintain, and support” and is “taking bold steps to enhance” Philippine education. Seemingly, the state distances itself to accountability yet makes itself proximal to responsibility for reform and resolution.

Related to the topos of responsibility are the “topos of humanitarianism” that purports that actions should cohere to human rights or humanitarian values, and the “topos of justice” which operates on the principle of equality for all (Wodak, 2001, pp. 17-18). The Discussion Paper uses these topoi when it argued that the reform is important because each Filipino is entitled to a quality 12-year basic education program (Department of Education, 2010, p 5) and in arguing for the necessity of universal kindergarten which is an integral part of the K to 12 reform, the DepEd mentions that it should be provided by the government for free in public schools (p. 9). Luistro’s message in the Toolkit also use these topoi when he states that the goal of the K to 12 program is to give adequate and equal chance for every Filipino towards a decent and dignified life (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries). Moreover, both the Toolkit and the Discussion Paper also use a common quote from one of President Aquino’s speeches where he says, “I want at least 12 years for our public school children to give them an even chance at succeeding” (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p. 7; Department of Education, 2010, p. 3). Undeniably, the use of humanitarian and justice tropes intends to stir public support and

acceptance that is not unanticipated and uncommon in policy documents and legislation that institute not only simple reforms but more importantly, bold and radical ones. In a sense, the topoi of justice and humanitarianism are used by the government, particularly the executive to convey a strong message that the K to 12 program is not a reform for the privileged or for the few but it is in fact a reform that knows everyone regardless of status. In the end, in so doing rhetorically, the state expects to amass popular support which was blatantly mentioned in the same message that Luistro has written as well as that of Bacani's (See the messages in the preliminary pages of the K to 12 Toolkit).

Invoking the responsibility of the state in the provision of free public basic education to the Filipino as enshrined in the 1987 Constitution as demonstrated in the topos of responsibility earlier is also linked to another discursive strategy, the "topos of law" which posits that if a pre-existing law forbids a certain political action, then that action must be omitted (Wodak, 2001, p. 19). On the flipside, it could be inferred that if a prior law mandates or supports an action, it should undoubtedly be performed. All of the documents analyzed in this paper employ the topos of law expectedly because their very nature as policy documents, and having emanated from the state have to invoke a sense of *de jure* legitimacy to the reform they wish to institute. Both the House Bill No. 6643 and the Senate Bill No. 3266 and subsequently, the reconciled version Republic Act No. 10533, use Section 2 (1) of Article XIV in the 1987 Constitution in their "Declaration of Policy" section (Section 2 in both bills and the R.A.), although only the House version has explicitly stated and attributed it while the latter two laws just used the exact constitutional provision without acknowledging that it was from the article on "Education, Science and Technology, Arts, Culture and Sports" in the Constitution. More than the domestic laws such as the constitutional provisions, it is also observed that the documents invoke

international commitments of the Philippines such as the Discussion Paper's use of World Declaration on Education for All to argue on the K to 12 reform's consistency with both local and international law (Department of Education, 2010, p. 6). On the same vein, Bacani's message in the preliminary section of the Toolkit opens by invoking the widespread international commitment to realize Education for All (EFA) and mentioning further that the Philippines has aligned itself to this initiative by committing to fulfill EFA Plan of Action 2015 Critical Task No. 5 which requires the Philippines to add two more years to its ten-year basic education program (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries). While the topos of responsibility, humanitarianism, and justice communicate a seeming intrinsic motivation for the state to pursue the reform because it is inherently good to do so, the topos of number, burden, advantage and usefulness take the form of a cue about an extrinsic motivation that urge the state to institute the reform because of concrete realities and consequences. The topos of law seem to be within the latter's group because not only does it say that it is good or that it has promising consequences, it manifests existing legal commitments not only domestically but even internationally and for people to argue against it is unproductive because as it could be understood, these commitments take the form of a "truism", an argument that is taken to be true by a majority of people (notice the use of "widespread international commitment" in Bacani's message) and that it cannot be disputed (Hanson and Borden, n.d.). For one, it is a truism not only because the widespread commitment to EFA and the very fact that the concept "education for all" cannot be argued against because it is inherently and undeniably good; and secondly, adding the constitutional provision on the responsibility of the state to establish, maintain, and support a system of education is a statement of fact, which also is non-rebuttable especially within the democratic, humanitarian perspective. More than this, the use of law and international commitment also

signal the possible presence of sanctions, of real sticks that can backlash against the nation, which the public may easily hold as valid justification.

Culture and history are also not far from being used as discursive strategies in representing a social event. The “topos of culture” operates on the conditional that “because the culture of a specific group of people is as it is, specific problems arise in specific situations” (Wodak, 2001, p. 19). By implication, this topos argues that there are aspects of a certain culture that may cause problems in some situations and this interestingly is also complemented or extended by the topos of burden which works on the assumption that if institutions are burdened by specific problems, it should work to mitigate it (Wodak, 2001, p. 18). In this sense, the Discussion Paper’s and House No. 6643’s argument on its desire to stop the misperception that basic education is just a preparation for higher education (Department of Education, 2010, p. 4; H. No. 6643, par 2, Sec. 2) and that instead, it should allow students to tap opportunities for good career or employment or entrepreneurship in a globalized environment (p. 7), is an indirect way of saying that there is a cultural factor behind the broken system of education. This cultural factor seems to take the form of the public perception that to be successful, one should finish a university degree in order to land on a decent and rewarding job and that high school education cannot stand on its own in seeking gainful employment. This kind of argumentation strategy indirectly implicates the pervasive cultural reverence and glorification of higher education in the Philippines⁶³ and forwards a new perspective on education which is education for gainful employment without respect to the level of attainment. This same cultural topos is reinforced by the topoi of burden and number mentioned earlier particularly on the mismatch between

⁶³ In fact, one the concrete and symbolic manifestations of cultural reverence to a university degree is the practice of households in the Philippines to post signage in their houses usually fronting the streets to make the public know of the educational attainment of the household occupants. Interesting is that the flaunting of educational attainment is not exclusive to the aggrandized professions such as being a physician, lawyer, accountant, and engineer but even to professions that are not usually financially rewarding such as teaching and social work.

education market and the job market that has led to high unemployment rate among graduates (Department of Education, 2010, p. 3) which can be attributed to the frenzy to finish a university degree without considering its marketability. While this topos contradicts the existing higher education glorification model, it seems to be a useful and convincing discursive and argumentation strategy because it does not only invoke the need for cultural perspectives on education to deal with changing socio-economic realities of contemporary Philippines, but also to provide legitimacy to basic education as independent and equally rewarding as a university degree. The effectiveness of this rhetorical mean is that it appeals to the majority of Filipino individuals, families, and communities who oftentimes have to settle with a high school diploma because of the inaccessibility of higher education.

Lastly, the “topos of history” is also employed particularly by the Discussion Paper when it traced how educational surveys and researches starting from the 1925 Monroe Survey to the recent 2008 Presidential Task Force on Education study that have observed and indicated the insufficiency of basic education in the country (Department of Education, 2010, p. 5). Wodak (2001) describes this topos to be following the principle that “because history teaches that specific actions have specific consequences, one should perform or omit a specific action in a specific situation (allegedly) comparable with the historical example referred to” (p. 19). In the context of the historical background provided by the Discussion Paper, what the executive tries to push forth is the idea that adding more years to basic education has been a persistent issue in educational policy in the Philippines and that it attempts to put a sense of resolution and finality into it. Moreover, a subliminal message that this topos of history conveys is that, what the reform in fact institutes is what was supposed to make basic education adequate and responsive since 1925 but was never instituted. And thinking about how this relates to the topos of burden, it

can be surmised that previous administrations' seeming dodging of the reform has resulted to the present educational problems that the Aquino government has to deal with. Put simply, the historical lesson that the state seems to espouse is that since adding sufficient years to education has never been done seriously before, doing it the soonest time possible might produce results. On the contrary, since the burdens of today can be attributed as consequences of the inadequacy of basic education, omitting this inadequacy as proven by history might be the right thing to do.

Aside from looking at topoi as argumentation and discursive strategies used by both the congress and the executive in legitimizing the reform as articulated in law and policy respectively, Wodak (2001) also suggests the value of looking into intensification or mitigation with respect to the epistemic status of a given proposition (p. 15). Personally, I understand this as discursive strategies to arrive at a desired consequence or result realized by the recipient of a given speech act. In the context of this paper, the speech acts are policy texts and laws and the illocutionary force is to convince the public that the reform is legitimate. Intensification has been done by the Discussion Paper when it invoked the consistency of the reform to constitutional provisions and international initiatives such as EFA (Department of Education, 2010, p. 6) and its use of opinions from psychologists and educators that children who graduate from basic education below 18 are emotionally unprepared for work, entrepreneurship, and higher learning (p.4). Moreover, the Toolkits reference to Psacharopoulos' and Patrinos' 2004 article to argue for a 10% increase in wage earnings for every additional year in education; the use of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) publication on education and economic growth to support the claim that longer years spent in school increases the probability of employment; and using Hanushek to prove that there are returns of increased number of years in school in GDP growth rate (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, pp 6 & 71), are all

motivated to increase the force of the argument and its persuasive capacity by incorporating authoritative sources probably akin to the metaphor of a dwarf standing on the shoulder of a giant.

All these discursive strategies, modes of argumentation and rhetorical means seem to form a discursive ratchet that constructs the K to 12 reform as: urgent and critical; provides real and concrete benefits to individuals and society and also mitigates burdens; a state responsibility and an act of humanitarianism and justice; responsive to changing socio-economic realities of the 21st century; and culturally and historically valid. Just like a ratchet, these argumentation strategies form the sloped teeth around this discursive gear which moves in a direction towards instituting what the state perceives as a legitimate and reasonable educational policy reform. Unfortunately, in this instance, public opinion seems to be the pawl (the springloaded finger pivoting) which, because of this system's rhetorical strategies surrounding the discursive legitimization of the reform, moves in a docile and gentle way over these sloped edges, allowing the gear of reform to move towards realization. More interestingly, it might even come to a point when even at a situation where the gear itself decelerates and moves in the opposite direction, this docile and gentle pawl catches the teeth and locks the gear from moving any further hence the only way to go is to move forward.

The Filipino Citizen: Representations of a Social Actor

The curriculum changes as brought about by the shift from K10 to K to 12 speak not only about the kind of education that the young Filipinos will be receiving but also about the kind of Filipinos the nation will have in the next few years. Endowed with the wand of monopolistic

pedagogical authority as well as the power to discipline the learners' bodies, the state can produce as perfectly as it desires, the ideal citizen for the nation.

If the educational system, as managed and controlled by the state is not only responsible for making its citizens educated, but also to make or remake citizens to serve national interests, it is telling what kind of new Filipino citizens or subjects the new curriculum aspires to produce? What then is the task of the Philippine state than to produce the ideal Filipino citizen?

Within the representation of a social event are representations of social actors. In this paper, the initial textual analysis of the K to 12 program has been to look at how it was represented and the corresponding modes of expression, explanation, and legitimation that both the legislative and executive branches have resorted into. Moving further, this section will look into the representations of the Filipino citizen within the larger representation of the K to 12 reform. Therefore, as Fairclough (2003) argues, "just as there are choices in the representation of processes, so also there are choices in the representation of social actors" (p. 145). Since what this paper had been designed for at the onset was to inquire and characterize the emerging Filipino citizenship in light of the reform that has been instituted, looking into the discursive strategies in constructing the Filipino is definitely worthwhile.

In understanding who the Filipino is in the K to 12 program, Fairclough (1992) suggests that modes of "wording", "lexicalization", or perhaps "vocabulary" (pp. 76-77) should be observed. The documents use words such as "every graduate" (S. No. 3286; R.A. 10533; Department of Education, 2010), "every student" (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012; R.A. 10533; Department of Education, 2010), "educated Filipino" (Department of Education, 2010) and some more general terms used were "learner"(SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012), "individual" (S.No. 3286; SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012), "Filipino" (Department of Education, 2010; SEAMEO

INNOTECH, 2012) and most importantly, “citizen” (S. No. 3286; R.A. 10533; Department of Education, 2010). Understandably, while these policy documents generally construct explicitly the educated Filipino or the Filipino graduate of the K to 12 program as their aspiration, vision, or goal, they also in the ultimate analysis, whether blatantly or clandestinely, construct not only the ideal Filipino within the K to 12 educational system but also inevitably generate representations of the Filipino in general. This is so because in some parts of these documents, the word “Filipino” sometimes stands alone and is not attached with words such as “learner”, “graduate” and even more explicitly, generic words such as “citizen”, or “individual” also appear in the laws and policy documents. In sum, in constructing the “educated Filipino” or the “Filipino graduate” of the K to 12 curriculum, the policies also represent Filipino citizenship even beyond the limits of the curriculum. More importantly, by arguing for the universality of basic education and committing itself to Education For All and to convictions such as the inherent value of education for individual and national development (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries), implicitly, the state also conveys a strong message that part of being a Filipino citizen is the expectation to be at least educated in the most basic sense (K to 12). The state in doing so has just articulated the centrality of education in Filipino citizenship.

An overarching theme about the Filipino as a social actor within the K to 12 reform as a social event is that it is, just like how the K to 12 curriculum is pitched, a new form of citizenship. Just as the K to 12 curriculum is a new system of basic education, so is the Filipino learner, and the Filipino citizen in general. This is exemplified in the Secretary of Education’s message in the Toolkit. He mentions:

[t]he realities of our modern world require a different kind of Filipino. The Filipino must be a lifelong learner. The Filipino must be holistically developed. The Filipino must be globally-oriented and locally-grounded. Ang Bagong Pilipino – higit sa pagiging maka-tao, maka-Diyos, maka-bayan, at maka-kalikasan—ay kailangan magtaglay ng kasanayan at pananaw na angkop sa 21st Century. Ito po ang layunin ng K to 12 Program, na mabigyan ng sapat at pantay na pagkakataon tungo sa isang disente at marangal na buhay ang bawat Pilipino⁶⁴ (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries).

This quote from Luistro encapsulates what has been mentioned as the overarching configuration of Filipino citizenship in the K to 12 reform such that in response to the changing times and tides, the state has to reconfigure the Filipino beyond what he or she used to be.

The characterization of the Filipino graduate below appears in identical manner, in all the documents chosen for analysis in this paper except for the K to 12 Toolkit. The bills and the law from Congress and the Discussion Paper from the Department of Education had this to refer to the graduate of the Enhanced Basic Education Program:

[a]n empowered individual who has learned, through a program that is rooted on sound educational principles and geared towards excellence, the foundations for learning throughout life, the competence to engage in work and be productive, the ability to coexist in fruitful harmony with local and global communities, the capability to engage in autonomous critical thinking, and the

⁶⁴ The translation for this sentence is: The New Filipino – more than being pro-human, pro-God, pro-nation, and pro-nature – should possess skills and perspectives that are appropriate or relevant to the 21st century. This is the goal of the K to 12 Program, to give sufficient and equal opportunities to every Filipino towards a decent and dignified life.

capacity to transform others and one's self (Department of Education, 2010, p. 6; H. No. 6643, Sec 2; S. No. 3286, Sec 2; R.A. 10533, Sec 2).

From this common definition of the Filipino graduate we will look into each mentioned characteristic and then add some more characteristics from the documents that were not blatantly mentioned in the quote above. The word “empowered” has not been explained in the bills and the law from the legislature nor had there been any explanation in the Toolkit. The Discussion Paper which also used the quote above, however made reference to the word in the section “A Vision Grounded on Human Development” where it predicates what truly makes a Filipino graduate empowered. It states:

Every graduate is inculcated with the respect for human rights and values, notably, *Maka-Diyos, Maka-tao, Makabansa, and Maka-Kalikasan*. This makes every graduate empowered to effect positive changes in his/her life and that of others.

From this, it can be surmised that the source of empowerment of the graduate is the K to 12's vision of inculcating a sense of humanitarianism and justice made manifest in being God-fearing (*maka-Diyos*), humane (*maka-tao*), nationalistic (*maka-bansa*), and naturalistic (*maka-kalikasan*) (Department of Education, 2010, p. 6). Ironically, this discourse of empowerment emerging from the values mentioned is self-contradicting especially so that in the Toolkit, Bro. Armin Luistro has talked about the insufficiency of these values to the Filipino of the 21st century and the need to go beyond them (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries). Another characteristic of the Filipino in the K to 12 reform is “excellence”. Just like the word “empowered”, we can only infer what it means from the document by looking into how it appears in the other texts. The Discussion Paper uses the word “excellence” in relation to the

“decongestion” of the curriculum and mentions that one of the goals of the reform is to “[d]evelop a curriculum that is rational and focused on excellence (decongested, uses research-based practices, uses quality materials and textbooks, etc.)” (Department of Education, 2010, p. 7). This can be further understood when the purpose of “decongestion” is added as articulated in the Toolkit. It mentions that the purpose of decongesting the curriculum is to focus on “understanding for mastery” and not the repetition of competencies (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p. 3). It appears that the words “excellence” and “mastery” seem to have been used in similar spirit or essence. Another characteristic of the Filipino graduate that is recurrent in the documents is being a “lifelong-learner” but again, just like “empowered” and “excellent”, it is not explicitly substantiated or explained. Interestingly, what can be used to make implications as to its meaning is to look at how it is used to describe the K to 12 teacher in the Toolkit. In the section “The Attributes of a K to 12 Teacher”, lifelong learning was used to mean that learning is unending and that learners must constantly update themselves to the most recent information related to their fields and most importantly, they should be making these knowledge available to others (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p. 62). “Competence” and “Productivity” are also significant attributes of the Filipino learner in the K to 12 curriculum. The word “competence” appears in all the documents and it is interesting that just like how it has been used in the common quote above to describe the Filipino graduate, as being linked to the possession of certain skills necessary to engage in work. In the Discussion Paper for example, the word “competencies” appears 12 times, and for 8 times, it comes either after or before the word “skills” (Department of Education, 2010). Moreover, the Toolkit enumerates examples of basic competencies such as literacy, numeracy, and problem-solving (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p. 8) and was also used in relation to the issuance of a certificate indicating a level of mastery in the

three career pathways: academic, technical-vocational, and entrepreneurship (p. 27). It can be deduced that competence in the K to 12 reform means the possession of competencies (literacy, numeracy, problem-solving) and a demonstration of mastery of some skills in the different career pathways. Concerning the word “productive”, it is used by the Discussion Paper in different ways. First, it is used in the simplest sense of being engaged in work and in the same way as competence, is related to the possession of relevant skills (Department of Education, 2010, p. 6). Moreover, in relation to work, the word “unproductive” which is a negation of “productive”, was used to refer to high school graduates who do not pursue higher education or do not have jobs (p. 4). This appears to be the state’s reinforcement of the strong link between productivity and employment. Second, the word “productive” was meant to refer to individuals who engage in every opportunity to work, to enter into higher educational institutions, or to venture into entrepreneurship (pp. 10, 7, 31). The use of productivity in the second sense is related to the three tracks available in the K to 12 program namely: academic in preparation for the university, technical-vocational in preparation for middle-skills jobs, and entrepreneurship for business. Lastly, the word “productive” has been qualified by the Toolkit in the presentation of the context for the K to 12 Framework (See Figure No. 4), as being able to “contribute to the building of a progressive, just, and humane society” (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p. 12).

The graduate’s harmony with local and global communities is best exemplified in Luistro’s message to the users of the Toolkit when he uses the phrase “the Filipino must be globally-oriented and locally-grounded” (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries). This is a statement of conjunction by using the word “and” implying the simultaneous occurrence of the two or the condition that in order for the statement to be true, both of the conjuncts should also be true (An Introduction to Philosophy, Stanford University). The K to 12 program, by imbibing

a culture of looking beyond and ensuring that Filipinos do not forget their roots, seemingly attempts to convey a sense of balance between global and local interests⁶⁵.

Concerning the “autonomous critical-thinker” attribute, the Discussion Paper describes it in the section “A Vision Grounded on Human Development” as the ability to think for oneself and generate sound choices on the best alternative in varying contexts of life. This attribute according to the Discussion Paper emanates from the ability to comprehend, critically think, and the possession of a unique personality (Department of Education, 2010, p. 6). The “transformative” character of the K to 12 graduate seems to be in line with the curriculum’s vision of making the Filipino capable of meeting the fast-changing demands of society (p.7) in the 21st century by venturing in the world of work, higher education, or entrepreneurship. Moreover, it also implies the graduate’s dynamism to easily adapt one’s skills according to the demands of local and global communities.

All these earlier attributes of the Filipino graduate of the K to 12 program are best captured in the executive’s foregrounding of a “holistically developed” Filipino equipped with 21st century skills (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries) prepared for higher education, middles-skills employment, and entrepreneurship (p. 8). The figure on the next page shows the holistically developed Filipino⁶⁶ with 21st Century Skills.

⁶⁵ A more nuanced discussion of this will come in the succeeding section on the representation of time and place within the K to 12 reform.

⁶⁶ The original heading of this figure is “The K to 12 Graduate” but notice that in the label used at the core of the illustration, the word “Filipino” is used (without any attached predication like learner or graduate).

Figure 4. The K to 12 Graduate (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p. 9)



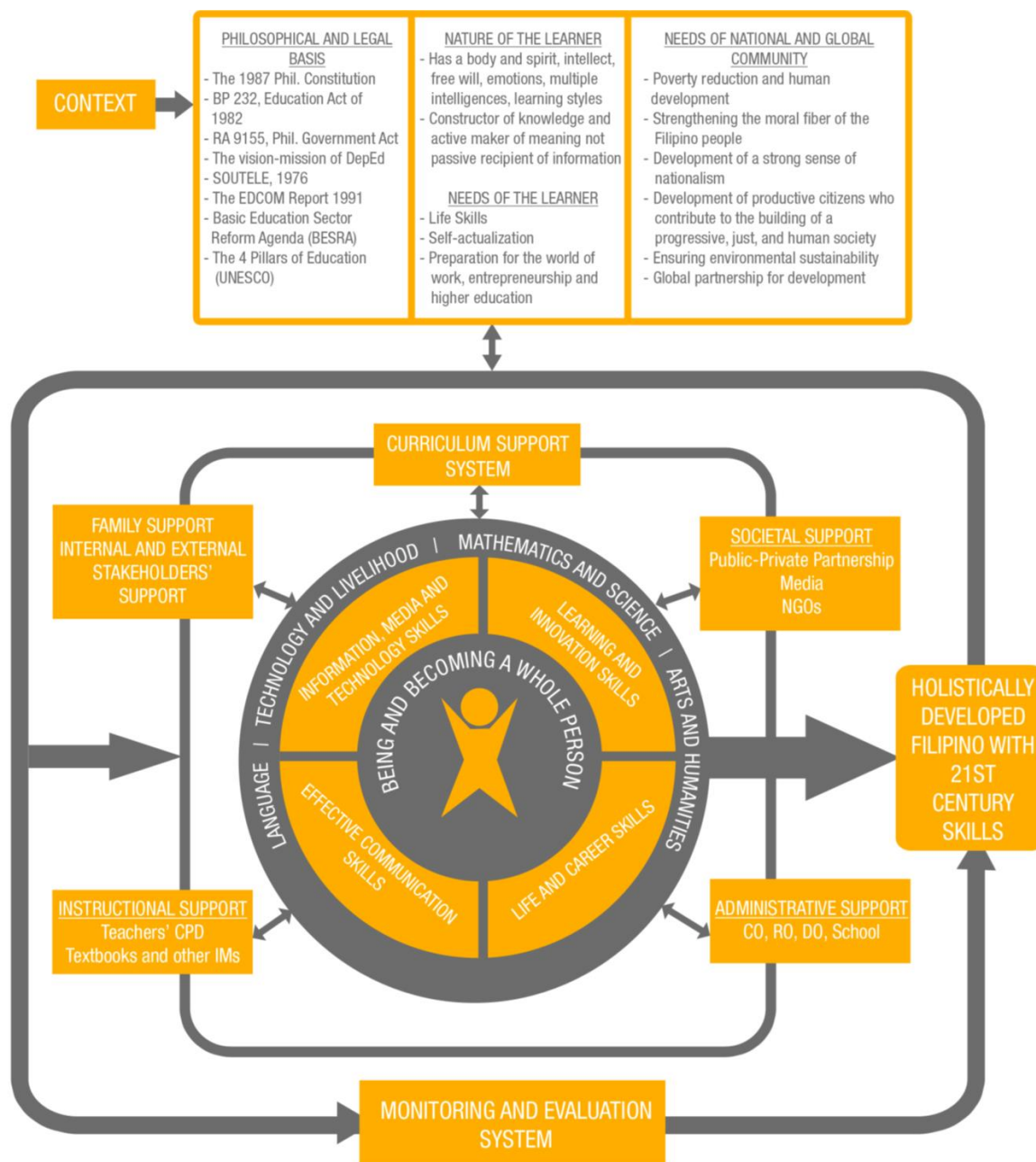
The 21st century skills that the figure refers to include (1) learning and innovation skills, (2) information, media, and technology skills, (3) effective communication skills, and (4) life and career skill. The table below shows the different sub-skills components of each of the four general categories:

Table 3. 21st Century Skills and Components (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, pp. 9-10)

21ST CENTURY SKILLS			
Learning and Innovation Skills	Information, Media, and Technology Skills	Effective Communication Skills	Life and Career Skills
1.1. Creativity and Curiosity 1.2. Critical thinking, problem-solving, and risk-taking 1.3. Adaptability, managing complexity, and self-direction 1.4. Higher-order thinking and sound reasoning	2.1 Visual and information literacies 2.2 Media literacy 2.3 Basic, scientific, economic, and technological literacies 2.4 Multicultural literacy and global awareness	3.1 Teaming, collaboration and interpersonal skills 3.2 Personal, social, and civic responsibility 3.3 Interactive communication	4.1 Flexibility and adaptability 4.2 Initiative and self-direction 4.3 Social and cross-cultural skills 4.4 Productivity and accountability 4.5 Leadership and responsibility

Moreover, the emphasis on holistic development and acquisition of 21st century skills is further enforced by the idea that the Filipino becoming a whole person is the ultimate objective of the curriculum. The figure below shows how the different components and elements of the K to 12 program figure into the development of a “whole Filipino”.

Figure 5. K to 12 Curriculum Framework (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p. 12).



In order to fulfill this objective, the curriculum expects the students to engage in co-curricular activities (p. 36), to make ethically and morally sound decisions and actions (p. 40), to strive for lifelong wellness (p. 45), and also to be socially-aware (p. 8) in relation to personal, civic, and social responsibility in the third category of 21st Century skills. To ensure the coherence of assessment and educational goals, students are also evaluated using 21st century skills indicators that include among others research, analytical or critical, practical, and creative aspects as well as taking into consideration both the cognitive and non-cognitive skills such as values, motivation, attitude, behavior traits, and interpersonal skills (p. 57).

The documents produced by the legislative branch on the other hand together with the Discussion Paper, also used the word “citizen” and attributed the following in the state’s responsibility to create a functional basic education system:

[t]he state shall create a functional basic education system that will develop productive and responsible citizens equipped with the essential competencies, skills, and values for both life-long learning and employment (H. No. 6643, Sec. 2; S. No. 3286, Sec. 2; R.A. 10533; Department of Education, 2010, p. 7).

When the label “Filipino” was used, without predications such as “graduate” or “learner”, they usually were used in the documents from the executive branch along with the statement that Filipinos are entitled to a 12-year quality education (Department of Education, 2012, pp. 5 & 9) regardless of the ways of living they are from (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries).

Another important dimension in the representation of social actors that a textual analysis should invest into is to ask the question “is the social actor the Actor in processes (loosely, the one who does things and makes things happen), or the Affected or Beneficiary (loosely, the one

affected by processes) (Fairclough, 2003, p. 145)?” It is expected that the social actor, the Filipino citizen is both activated and passivated in several instances in the representation of the social event. Phrases such as “able to think for himself”, “make sound decisions” and labelling him or her as “autonomous” (Department of Education, 2010, p. 6), “self-directed”, “independent”, “responsible”, and “accountable” learner (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, pp. 10, 16, 33). Furthermore, in the Toolkit’s characterization of the “nature of the learner” in the K to 12 Framework (See figure in the previous page), the learner is described as “constructor of knowledge and active maker of meaning not passive recipient of information” (p. 12). On the other hand, the Filipino is passivated when words such as the following are used: “benefit from”; “inculcated with” (p. 8; Department of Education, 2010, p. 6); “produce[d] by the curriculum; “receive[s] quality education while the State is the one giving the opportunity (p.7; H. No. 6643, Sec 2 (1); S. No. 3286, Sec 2 (a); R.A. 10533, Sec 2 (a)); “develop[ed] by a functional basic education system (S. No. 3286, Sec 2; R.A. 10533, Sec 2); and is “generate[d] by the same system (H. No. 6643, Sec 2). There are also instances where both the passivated and activated status of the Filipino citizen are simultaneously present such as in the description of the Music and Art curricula where the learner is represented as “both the recipient and constructor of knowledge, skills, and values necessary for artistic expression and cultural literacy” (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p. 43) which, by failing to qualify the learner’s nature as a recipient of knowledge (whether active or passive), may also run against the general logic of the K to 12 framework that the learner is “not a passive recipient of information (p.12). What these contradictions reflect is the state of Filipino citizenship as a site of continuing contestation and struggle between “conditioning structures” and “human action” where, as may have been observed in the listing of passive and active cues, the construct that the learner and the Filipino in

general remains to be the “object” of the state’s subjective pedagogical maneuvering appears to remain a dominant view.

The Filipino and the Curriculum in Space and Time

It is important to locate the Filipino and the new curriculum within the state’s wider representation of educational reform by casting gaze into how they are configured within space and time. This is so because as demonstrated earlier in the discussion of the representation of social event, the K to 12 reform is construed as “urgent and critical”, as a “new” curriculum that generates a “new Filipino”. The discourse of urgency and criticalness, and the new Filipino in the new curriculum unfold undeniably within the state’s comprehension of changing times and shifting scales of social life. For Fairclough (2003), “space, time, and ‘space-times’ are routinely constructed in texts” (p. 151). He suggests that to do analysis of representation of space and time is to look into how different “scales” of social life such as the local, national, regional, and global are all linked together in the continuing construction and interconnection of space and time (p. 151).

The curriculum on the one hand has been framed to be one that is internationally recognized, comparable and competitive as widely as possible (Department of Education, 2010, p.8; H. No., 6643, Sec 2 (1); S. No, 3286, Sec 2 (a); R.A. 10533, Sec 2(a); SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p.6). The Toolkit even describes the curriculum as significant because it does not only take into account the nature of the learners but more importantly, responds to local and global needs (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p. 10). Moreover, the two bills and the subsequent reconciled version, R.A. 10533, situate the curriculum in a global perspective. They mention: “it [secondary education] should allow one to take advantage of opportunities for

gainful career or employment and/or self-employment in a rapidly changing and increasingly globalized environment” (H. No., 6643; S. No. 328; R.A. 10533, Sec 2(a)). At the same time, this global view coexists with some prodding to look within the local such as the Toolkit’s description of the curriculum as responsive to “local” needs (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p. 66) as well as H. No. 6643’s inclusion in the list of principles to be followed in developing the curriculum, the requirement that it should “be flexible enough to allow schools to localize, indigenize, and enhance” it through the encouragement of production and development of locally produced teaching materials (Sec 5(m)). The graduate or the learner on the other hand is constructed as someone who is “in fruitful harmony with the local and the global communities (H. No., 6643; S. No, 328; R.A. 10533, Sec 2) and in being so, should be “globally-oriented and locally-grounded” (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries). More specifically oriented towards a globalized environment, the learner is someone who is “globally competitive [...] whose credentials are recognized internationally [and therefore also...] be recognized abroad (Department of Education, 2010, pp. 7 and 8). In the Toolkit’s vision of a Filipino graduate, not only does it state that it should be globally competitive but should also be able to appreciate the world and environment (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p. 8). On the flipside, the students are also inculcated with a sense of awareness of their local environment. In the list of curricular themes for kindergarten, elementary, and secondary schools include themes such as “myself”, “my family”, “my school”, “my community”, and “more things around me” with the “my community” theme intended to teach “concepts, ideas, practices, situations, and responsibilities that the learner should acquire and understand so that he/she will become a functional and responsive member of the community” (pp.16-17).

Concerning the representation of time, the documents refer to the contemporary era as “21st century” and “modern”. “21st century” appears 11 times in the K to 12 Toolkit and of these, 6 times it appears to be taken solely to refer to time and 5 times together with the word “skills”. What is interesting is how the documents represent 21st century as time. What has been very prominent in the representation is that it is considered as a period where learning is expanding because of the emergence of different forms of media of knowledge-acquisition, a time that demands something different, and therefore, our skills, attitudes, values, and perspectives must also change and be aligned with it (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries, p.61). This reorientation of ways of being is associated with the acquisition of what has been dubbed as 21st century skills. The word modern has been used most of the time with the word “world” hence “modern world” and is portrayed as full of challenges (Department of Education, 2010, p. 6), and just like the 21st century, requires a different Filipino (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries). The curriculum and the Filipino are linked to the interconnectedness of time and space, the local-global, and the “local-global-modern-21st century” matrix on the one hand as a mode of preparation for a new time and new scale (in reference to the curriculum that prepares 21st century learners), and as people who have been prepared to embark and meet the challenges of the complexities of time and space on the other.

Locating the social actor within the event, time, and space: The Filipino Citizen in the K to 12 Program of the 21st Century

In synthesis, Filipino citizenship as a concept, as reflected in the internal and external contradictions of the state’s articulation, legitimation, and rationalization of it as an ideal, the fact remains that - in attempting to forward a “new” Filipino as a goal or a vision that takes the form

of a product “produced”, “developed”, or “generated” by the new K to 12 curriculum – not only does the state possess the capacity to envision its self-referential constructs of ideal citizenship but also, in concrete and material terms, capable of reifying them through the institution of education. In this line of analysis, the K to 12 program also signals the state’s universalization of the Filipino learner and inevitably, the Filipino citizen who, within the K to 12 program’s construction is empowered by virtue of being on the side of man, god, nation, and nature; excellent, competent, and productive because he demonstrates mastery in skills; in harmony with the local and global communities by ensuring an equilibrium of global-orientation and local-groundedness; autonomous, critical, and a lifelong learner; able to transform himself or herself and others; and most importantly, a whole person because of his or her acquisition and possession of skills that are relevant to the 21st century.

To close this section, another dimension of analyzing discourse at the textual level is to take notice of elements that are made prominent or backgrounded (presence) (Fairclough, 2003, 139) either by suppression or having to be inferred to (p.145) and evaluation which includes not only explicit evaluative statements but also value assumptions which is more often the case since values are often implied and not blatantly expressed in text (p. 215).

With the characterization and universalization of the educated Filipino, clandestinely tagging it as the ideal citizen and therefore drawing demarcation lines between those who are educated from those who are not, those who possess the qualities mentioned in the preceding paragraph from those who do not. By negating these characteristics, it can be surmised that an evaluation of the Filipino who is far from the ideal educated citizen is someone who lacks respect for human rights, humanistic values and convictions, does not fear god, does not put value to the nation, does not care for nature; mediocre, incompetent, and idle; disoriented from

both the local and the global environments; dependent and uncritical; uninterested to learn; stagnates himself and others; and is incapable of adapting to the demands of the modern and globalizing 21st century.

Inevitably, this act of foregrounding the attributes of empowerment, productivity, excellence, competence, and being skilled as mentioned earlier, creates a category of people in multi-relational ways such as the simple “educated-uneducated”, “highly educated-educated” dynamics and also has underlying implications to citizenship. While Filipinos are considered as such by virtue of their blood relations to Filipino ancestors, this foregrounding creates layers and gradients of social differentiation and exclusion because it gives prominence to attributes that are already possessed or acquired by segments of society who, by virtue of historical circumstances have easily accessed resources that allowed them to acquire these characteristics more conveniently. While I am not implying that governments should stop writing about ideal citizenship in policy documents because it excludes some segments of the polity, the point of looking into this redefinition of Filipino citizenship is not to criticize it on the basis of faulty and inaccurate representation of the educated Filipino and the Filipino citizen in general. More importantly, to look into this foregrounding and prominence of the attributes articulated in the documents is to ask “what standards were used to construct the Filipino? Whose standards are these and where did they come from? In sum, the purpose of putting into scrutiny the redefinition of the Filipino by putting forth the attributes of excellence, competence, productivity, empowerment, and the possession of 21st century skills is not to offer a new definition of Filipino citizenship but to expose, denormalize, or denaturalize the often taken-for-granted power dimension of Filipino citizenship that puts some segment of contemporary Philippines at an advantageous position while excluding or sacrificing others. In so doing, other

important questions to raise are: who benefits? Who is hidden? Who needs to exert more effort to fit in?

Trying to fit in: the place of the indigenous, women, and the poor

Within the redefinition of the Filipino and its corresponding foregrounding of new attributes, it is important to look into how, the prominence of these characteristics implicitly evaluate Filipino students and Filipinos in general - both in real academic assessment and in the ideational sense - particularly the indigenous peoples, women, and the poor. An initial survey of the list of these characteristics that are made prominent - such as productivity by being a global worker but being locally grounded, venturing into entrepreneurship, or being a professional trained in higher education institutions - is already telling of the place of the marginalized within the educational reform, and the new construct of Filipino citizenship. Indigenous peoples are never devoid of reason, capabilities, or skills but when the standards of excellence and mastery for example, or even productivity which are often, as implicitly construed in the documents mean the possession of necessary skills to be able to engage in work, higher learning, and entrepreneurship, they are certainly at a disadvantage. Moreover, given the underlying construction of work as middle skills, how should we expect them to fare? Also, while the place of women in this evaluation of citizenship, with the foregrounding of 21st century skills and middle-skills, may seem to be not as grim as the case of the indigenous peoples, a deeper analysis of it may reveal that while they can easily fit in to the “skilled, competent, and productive” indices of citizenship, they might be limited within the realm of domestic migrant work. Nevertheless, regardless of the exploitative and dangerous undertones of female domestic migrant work are, women still seem to be evaluated positively within this new citizenship hence

a considerably positive attribution and location. Understanding that the educational system of the Philippines has been determined by class, what is the place of the poor in this new citizenship? How should a poor Filipino child be evaluated when he cannot go to higher learning by reason of financial constraints, or even attend secondary schooling and acquire technical-vocational skills to be “productive” and engage in gainful employment? Moreover, how should the poor be expected to venture into entrepreneurship without sufficient capital investment when ironically, food on the table for the family, or a simple school lunch are already as demoralizing as the stock market crashing? All these are important considerations in thinking about the representation of Filipino citizenship within the K to 12 reform because they reveal those who easily fit into specific cells in the matrix of Filipino citizenship and those who have to move mountains and syphon rivers in order to find a cell for them.

What has transpired in this chapter is the analysis of the K to 12 documents within the textual level. That is, this chapter has invested into uncovering the representations of the K to 12 program as a “reform”, the Filipino as a “social actor”, and related these two to “space and time”. Moreover, this chapter has also alluded to the problematique of emergent exclusionary possibilities especially to the subaltern groups in Philippine society. The mechanisms of domination, exclusion both in procedural and symbolic terms will be presented in Chapter VI as it is allotted for a discussion of the reform as discursive and social practice with particular focus to “intertextuality”, the interaction of social structure and human action within the K to 12 reform, and its “ideological” and “hegemonic” dimensions that inevitably confront questions relating to power.

CHAPTER VI

THE K TO 12 REFORM AS A DISCURSIVE AND SOCIAL PRACTICE

Magnified and Silenced Voices: The K to 12 Reform as a Discursive Practice

In the previous chapter, the task of understanding Filipino citizenship within the K to 12 reform by looking into the modes of expression, rationalization, and legitimation that the Philippine Congress and the Aquino government have employed, was undertaken. It was found that there had been a foregrounding of the “empowered, productive, excellent, competent, and skilled Filipino” which inevitably generates complex layers and gradients of differentiation within the already diverse contemporary Philippine society. With this, an allusion to this chapter has been previously laid by raising points of reflections about how this construction of the ideal educated Filipino came to be. By inquiring earlier on the standards used in the characterization of the ideal educated Filipino, and whose standards were they, we intimated a specific dimension of educational policy reform that involves the dynamics of power that has seeped into the production, distribution, and consumption of the texts concerning the K to 12 program. What is therefore being alluded into is an analysis of “discourse” as “discursive practice”. Fairclough (1992) explains that:

Analysis of a particular discourse as a piece of discursive practice focuses upon processes of text production, distribution and consumption. All of these processes are social and require reference to the particular economic, political, and institutional settings within which discourse is generated. Production and consumption have a partially socio-cognitive nature, in that they involve cognitive processes of text production and interpretation which are based upon internalized

social structures and conventions (hence the ‘socio-‘ prefix). In the account of these sociocognitive process, one concern is to specify which (elements of) orders of discourse (as well as other social resources, called ‘members’ resources’) are drawn upon and how, in the production and interpretation of meanings (pp. 71-72).

Understanding that the “new Filipino” is a discourse forwarded by the government, to look at it as a form of “discursive practice” involves the threshing out as comprehensively as possible of the economic, political, and institutional dimensions of the production of this discourse within government institutions by inquiring into how internalized social structures, - norms, conventions, and the nature of educational policy-making in the Philippines figure in to the generation of the “new Filipino discourse” (p. 79-80). Since analysis of discursive practice involves an investigation into how the order of discourse is utilized in the production of the new Filipino, a project to uncover the texts that are overtly drawn upon (intertextuality) and the different voices and positions of power that are echoed in covert forms (interdiscursivity) (pp. 85; 107; 110) is significant.

In this chapter, more than looking into discourse as a discursive practice, as a way of tracing how power manifests itself in the representation of social events, actors, and time and space through inquiries on “intertextuality” and “interdiscursivity”, this chapter also looks into whether, and how, the new discourse reproduces, restructures, or challenges dominant views hence giving emphasis on the hegemonic and ideological dimensions of discourse (p. 95). In this sense, we give meaning to the “constitutive” and “constituted” nature of the “new Filipino” as a discourse which both reflects the pervasive and dominant relations of power within Philippine society as well as its being in constant interaction and conversation with these dominant views

such that at any rate, it may either accommodate or challenge them. Doing so constitutes the analysis of discourse as a social practice.

Positioning the Executive and the Legislative

There are two government institutions that are involved in the K to 12 reform of 2012. On the one hand is the executive from which the reform was initiated, and the legislature which created the enabling law for the reform on the other. The executive branch is represented by the President, and the Department of Education and the DepEd Secretary Bro. Armin Luistro.

One of the important tasks in analyzing this “new Filipino” as discourse is to understand the “text producer” in a way that we comprehend where it is coming from, and to locate the positionality of the producer from a given set of possible stances (Fairclough, 1992, p. 78). One of the most important texts that shed more nuance to the position of the presidency, the Department of Education, and the executive at large is the document called “A Social Contract with the Filipino People”⁶⁷, the President’s pledge for a renewed leadership and commitment to the people. It consists of 16 points of leadership commitments and one of them is on education. In the section called “A Commitment to Transformational Leadership”, it is written that “From relegating education to just one of many concerns to making education the central strategy for investing in our people, reducing poverty and building national competitiveness” (Official Gazette, 2010). With this, the Aquino government hints on its seriousness of making education’s pivotal role in national development real. Moreover, in his first State of the Nation Address (SONA) in July 2010, he also mentioned about the plan of the government to lengthen the basic education cycle from 10 years to 12 years (Official Gazette, 2010); in 2012, he mentions of the

⁶⁷ To view the complete version, see <http://www.gov.ph/about/gov/exec/bsaiii/platform-of-government/>

success of the Department of Education in reducing the classroom, chairs, and textbook backlogs (2012); and in 2013, he boasts of the government's success in realizing its goal of raising the standards and quality of Philippine education in relation to the K to 12 reform (2013). These are manifestations of the kind of attitude the Aquino government has in relation to education and educational reform. The Department of Education headed by Bro. Armin Luistro, which initiated and spearheaded the K to 12 reform since 2012, has always been very vocal about its position and where it is coming from as an attached institution to the executive. In the K to 12 Toolkit for example which has been produced by a joint team from the Department of Education and SEAMEO INNOTECH, it blatantly states that the K to 12 reform which has been geared towards providing quality education as a sustainable solution to development problems is "in line with the agenda of the Aquino administration" (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p. 8). Also, in the Discussion Paper from the Department of Education, it was stated that it is cognizant of the nature of educational reform as an urgent and critical concern and more importantly, that it is "in line with the priorities of the Aquino administration" (Department of Education, 2010, p. 5) to make education a long term solution to poverty (p. 7). It is probable to assume therefore that the executive branch, since the assumption of Aquino of the presidency and the appointment of Luistro to the cabinet chair, that there has been a strong commitment to make Philippine education of better quality by implementing the K to 12 reform.⁶⁸

The bicameral legislature, the Congress of the Philippines composed of the House of Senate and the House of Representatives on the other hand can be understood in terms of its positionality in so far as its participation in the K to 12 reform is concerned. The primary role of congress in the K to 12 program that emanated from the executive branch is to create an enabling

⁶⁸ This attachment of the administration to the reform also alludes to the "style" of leadership that the executive has as well as its "identification" to the K to 12 reform and the citizenship that comes along with it.

law that ensures the constitutionality of the K to 12 program and delegates powers to specific agencies in implementing it.⁶⁹ When taken in its aggregate, what has been done is clearly the legislature's role within the context of the liberal democratic model of governance which considers the three branches of government as independent and co-equal. But when legislators on the other hand are taken as "individuals", their political ties gloss over the democratic principle of co-equality and independence because in the first place, by reason of practice such as party-system⁷⁰ and electoral system, patronage, loyalty, and reciprocity get in the way notwithstanding the well-meaning nature of lawmaking which no matter how debatable it is, undeniably still exists in the halls of congress. However, the positionality of the Philippine Congress within the K to 12 reform is clear, it is on the same page with the vision of the executive, to reform basic education such that it becomes attuned to global standards. It should also be noted that even when there is no party alliance or loyalty concerned, the executive or specific agencies such as in the case of the K to 12 program, both in theory and practice can still propose or suggest to any legislator specific laws in mind (Official Gazette, 2012).

The passage of the H.B. No. 6643 in the House of Representatives is telling. For one, the bill has been authored by 58 legislators. Of the 58 authors, 26 belong to the Liberal Party, the party to which the President belongs at present and during the time he ran for presidency. Moreover, of the remaining 32 authors who are not affiliated with the Liberal Party, 12 are from other parties which were part of the alliance called Team PNOY that was formed during the Senatorial and Congressional elections in 2013. The parties to which the other 12 authors belong

⁶⁹ For an explanation on how a bill becomes a law in Philippine Congress, see <http://www.gov.ph/about/gov/the-legislative-branch/>

⁷⁰ The Philippines follows a multi-party system. Unlike the U.S. which follows a dominant two-party system with the Democratic and Republican parties often competing against each other, the Philippines allows the emergence of as many parties as possible. As a result, party-shifting and party creation is not uncommon in Philippine politics although alliance among parties has been one of the effective strategies in order to ensure the formation of majority blocks in both the Senate and the House of Representatives.

to are Nationalist Peoples' Coalition (NPC) with 7 authors; Nacionalista Party (NP) with 4 authors; and the Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino (Laban) with 1 author (RAPPLER, 2013; Gutierrez, 2013).⁷¹ Moreover, not only is the authorship dominated by the Team PNOY or the Liberal Party but also the rest of the House of Representatives. In fact, there are 109 seats of the 289 seats in the lower house held by the ruling Liberal Party and when the members of the other parties who have forged alliance with the Aquino-led Liberal Party, the seats are more than what has been stated (Gutierrez, 2013; House of Representatives, House Members) . Therefore, with the obvious party affiliation and alliances forged, the seeming unity and parallelism of vision between the executive and the legislative is not mere speculation, it is real. In more detail, during the 3rd reading of H. No. 6643 for example, on the first roll call for voting, there was only one who voted on the negative and it was Representative Thelma Z. Almario but during the second roll call, there were already eight who voted against. They were representatives Almario, Casiño, Colmenares, De Jesus, Ilagan, Mariano, Palatino, and Tinio (House of Representatives, Journal No. 31, Nov. 19, 2012) who mostly are from the party list sector. In the end, there were 198 affirmative votes for the “Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2012” in the House of Representatives.

The Senate's case is not very different from that of the House of Representatives. S.B. 3286 was authored by Senators Ralph Recto, Loren Legarda, Edgardo Angara, and Franklin Drilon together with the Committees on Education, Arts and Culture; Ways and Means; and Finance. Senators Recto and Drilon belong to the Liberal Party while Legarda belongs to the Nationalist Peoples' Coalition and Angara to the Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino (RAPPLER,

⁷¹ Identifying the party-affiliation of the authors has been done by looking into the political party they belonged to when they ran for Congress during the 2013 Congressional elections. Identifying their parties has been very challenging because there is no master-list or single data that shows their party affiliation. I had to look at news articles about each of the candidates in order to corroborate and verify their political parties.

2013; Evangelista, 2012). One senator, Antonio Trillanes IV had been very vocal in his being unconvinced by the K to 12 reform (Evangelista, 2012) and in the third and final reading of the said bill, Trillanes also voted against⁷² it while 13 other senators voted in favor of it (Senate of the Philippines, 2013, Legislative History of S. No. 3286). In so far as party alignments are concerned, during the 15th Congress where the third and final voting on the senate bill took place, there were four Senators from the Liberal Party out of the 24 total number of senate members, but also by reason of authorship, Angara who is from the Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino, and Legarda from the Nationalist Peoples' Coalition were in clear support of the bill. Other administration allies regardless of their party affiliation are the Cayetano siblings, Escudero (independent), and Pimentel (Mendoza, 2012; Senate of the Philippines, 16th Congress Senators, Legislative History of S. No. 3286). However, with respect to the voting results that took place on January 21, 2013, the seeming party alliance and the affiliation to the majority block did not seem to be very prominent because among the 13 who voted in favor, only 6 are clearly administration party members⁷³ or allies⁷⁴ which might presuppose the rather weak influence of party affiliation in voting behavior. Given this, while the party affiliation and loyalty may not have had that strong influence as opposed to the House of Representatives which had been obviously dominated by the Liberal Party and allies, it still cannot be dismissed since there are also individual alliances that each senator belongs to, that even when it is not

⁷² The legislative history as shown in the records of the Senate reveals that Trillanes actually voted against the bill on the third and final reading although a news report from Marvin Sy of The Philippine Star mentions that 14 actually voted in favor of the bill and none voted against it. See the Philippine Star report: <http://www.philstar.com/headlines/2013/01/23/900038/senate-approves-k12-program> and compare it to the Senate's legislative history http://www.senate.gov.ph/lis/bill_res.aspx?congress=15&q=SBN-3286 for more details.

⁷³ The Liberal Party members who voted in favor are Drilon, Guingona, and Recto.

⁷⁴ The blatant administration allies who voted in favor are Escudero and Pimentel.

tantamount to party affiliation still takes the form of loyalty.⁷⁵ In the end, both the House of Representatives and the House of Senate ratified the reconciled bicameral conference committee version and made it into a law without any opposition (Calonzo & Tan, 2013).

Intertextuality

In explaining intertextuality, Fairclough (1992) cites Bakhtin when he describes it as “the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth” (p. 84). He moves on to say that intertextuality happens in the production, distribution, and consumption of texts. Moreover, he differentiates two different types of “intertextuality”. He calls the first as “manifest intertextuality” where other texts are explicitly or blatantly drawn while “interdiscursivity” or “constitutive intertextuality” is the property of texts when the order of discourse such as conventions, beliefs, and assumptions are drawn upon (p. 85). In the end, to look into intertextuality, both at its manifest and constituted forms is to put particular attention on how the text represents voices and positions in overt fashion, and how it puts forth the voices of the powerful in clandestine ways (p.110).

One of the most overused positions or viewpoints in the documents are legal bases most prominent of which is the 1987 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines particularly Article XIV Section 2(1) using it as an authority to which the K to 12 reform is consistent with (Department of Education, 2010, p. 5), while the K to 12 Toolkit used it as one of the legal bases in presenting the K to 12 Framework (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p. 12). The two bills and the law from Congress on the other hand use that constitutional provision as a rationale in their

⁷⁵ An example of this is Revilla who voted in favor of the bill even when he is neither from the Liberal Party nor a member of the Team PNOY. What is interesting here is that Revilla is affiliated with the Angara block headed by former Senator Edgardo Angara who also authored the bill (Mendoza, 2012).

“Declaration of Policy” section.⁷⁶ Aside from the 1987 Constitution, the 1973 Constitution is also seemingly echoed although it was not explicitly mentioned in H. No. 6643. This can be surmised because the 1987 Constitution uses the phrase “integrated system of education relevant to the needs of the people and society” while the 1973 Constitution uses the phrase “integrated system of education relevant to goals of national development”. By simultaneously mentioning the relevance of education for national development and the provision of an integrated system of education relevant to the needs of the people and society, H. No. 6643 has an intertextual link with the 1973 Constitutional provision on education. The Discussion Paper also cites the constitution to which it is consistent with in its definition of an educated Filipino (Department of Education, 2010, p.6).⁷⁷ Moreover, the Discussion Paper cites surveys starting from 1925 to 2008 to establish that the reform has been recommended since then (Department of Education, 2010, p. 5).

Aside from the Constitution, the documents particularly the Toolkit and the Discussion Paper overtly use the World Declaration on Education For All first as an international initiative to which the Philippines is committed to and further mentioning the country’s concrete commitment through the formulation of EFA Plan of Action 2015 (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries) and second, as an authority to which the K to 12 reform’s vision of an educated Filipino is consistent to (Department of Education, 2010, p. 6). The Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization Regional Center for Educational Innovation and Technology’s study on the different curricula of Southeast Asian countries was also mentioned

⁷⁶ While all of the congressional documents use Article XIV as a legal basis in the declaration of policy, only H.No. 6643 has explicitly cited it as the source of the rationale but S. No. 3286, while it uses the same in verbatim does not acknowledge it as coming from the Constitution. Subsequently, R.A. 10533, which is the reconciled version of the two bills, does not also cite the Constitution as the source.

⁷⁷ This statement from the Discussion Paper is very vague because the constitution does not define explicitly the educated Filipino and reading Article XIV of the Constitution, the only descriptions that allude to the attributes of a Filipino are the values ought to be inculcated by all educational institutions as mentioned in Sec 3 (2) of Article XIV.

by Bacani in his message to the Toolkit users, to argue for the need for reforms to meet the demands of the 21st century (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries). Intertextual are also studies on the economic benefits of adding more years to the basic educational system such as those of Psacharopoulos & Patrinos (2004), OECD (2007), Hanushek, E. et al., (2008), and Hanushek, E. (2005). These studies were used to argue that each additional year contributes to a 10% increase in wage; increases the probability of employment; increases average GDP growth rate; and a 25-30 percent rate of return and an increase in society's investment, people's productivity, and technological innovation respectively (p. 6). In a similar way, the Discussion Paper also cites the World Bank Philippines Skills Report in 2009 to argue on the deficit of graduates in terms of "problem-solving, initiative and creativity, and technical skills" (Department of Education, 2010, pp. 3-4). Furthermore, in the same way as the Toolkit argued for the economic benefits of the added years in schooling, the Discussion Paper also mentions, without giving the exact source, that "studies in the UK, India, and the US show that additional years of schooling also have overall positive impact on society (p. 8).

Among the overtly used intertextual sources, the one that has been very interesting is the Toolkit's and the Discussion Paper's use of a quote from President Aquino where he mentions that:

We need to add two years to our basic education. Those who can afford pay up to fourteen years of schooling before university. Thus their children are getting into the best universities and best jobs after graduation. I want at least 12 years for our public school children to give them an even chance at succeeding (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p. 7; Department of Education, 2010, p.3).

While the President's statement is a bit ambiguous because he uses the phrase "fourteen years before university", I understand it to refer to the system of education prior to June 2012 where students spend 6 years in elementary, 4 years in high school, and 4 years in the university which is an accumulation of 14 years of schooling. He refers to this system as only possible for those who can afford to pay and hence, these people who finish 14 years of schooling have better chances in landing on a job or good universities for further studies. As can be surmised, this quote was used by the documents to argue that the K to 12 provides not only equal educational opportunities but also equal chances in employment and further studies.

The abovementioned voices were explicitly drawn by the different texts surrounding the K to 12 reform but more than these manifest forms of intertextualities, there are also assumptions and ideas that are drawn upon without necessarily pointing where they were from. When four of the documents defined and characterized the Filipino graduate as "an empowered individual who has learned, through a program that is rooted on sound educational principles and geared towards excellence, the foundations for learning throughout life, the competence to engage in work and be productive, the ability to co-exist in fruitful harmony with local and global communities, the capability to engage in autonomous critical thinking, and the capacity to transform others and one's self" (H. No, 6643, Sec 2; S. No. 3286, Sec 2; R.A. 10533, Sec 2; Department of Education, 2010, p.6), by using concepts such as lifelong-learning, global and local awareness, and critical thinking, they were in fact alluding to a citizen, a graduate, a Filipino that possesses what is now dubbed as "21st century skills". As could be observed, the Discussion Paper, S. No, 3286, and R.A. 10533 never mentioned 21st century skills but as articulated in the Toolkit and H. No. 6643, the attributes of the Filipino graduate and the 21st century skills listed are undeniably analogous. The concept of 21st century skills has become a buzzword among educational policy-

makers, administrators, teachers, and evaluators. Most commonly, it can be thought of as those essential skills that students need in order to become successful citizens and workers of the 21st century which may include among others civic literacy, global awareness, critical thinking, technology literacy, team-building, and others (FrameWorks Institute, 2010, p. 1). And because 21st century skills have become the magic word not only in educational policy formulation but also in assessment, there had been a number of organizations and countries who formulated various frameworks around the concept. In fact, Binkley et al. (2012) mentions that in order to formulate a synthesis of existing national and international frameworks on 21st century skills as part of their research work, they searched into different national curricula and found numerous documents from different organizations that had independently developed their own frameworks of these said skills (p. 34). Among these organizations and countries include the European Union, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Partnership for 21st Century Skills (USA), Center for Research on Educational Testing (Japan), Ministerial Council for Education, Early Childhood Development and Youth Affairs (MCEECDYA, Australia), Qualifications and Curriculum Development Agency (England) and many others.⁷⁸ Within the K to 12 reform, the Toolkit and the H. No. 6643 mentioned “21st century skills” as a bundle of skills that include 1) learning and innovation skills, 2) information, media, and technology skills, 3) effective communication skills, and 4) life and career skills (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, pp. 9-10; H. No. 6643, Sec 5 (f)). An investigation of the 21st century framework that the joint

⁷⁸ The article written by Binkley et al. only provides some of the exact names of the organizations but using the title of the documents listed in the table that appears on p. 35 of the article, I was able to trace the organizations that formulated them and attribute the corresponding frameworks to them. The following are the links to the specific sites where the frameworks can be found: for EU, http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/education_training_youth/lifelong_learning/c11090_en.htm; OECD, <http://www.oecd.org/edu/cei/38358359.pdf>; USA, http://www.p21.org/storage/documents/P21_Framework_Definitions.pdf; Japan, <http://www.cret.or.jp/>; Australia, http://www.mceecdya.edu.au/mceecdya/melbourne_declaration.25979.html; and England, <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110223175304/http://qcda.gov.uk/49.aspx>.

Department of Education and SEAMEO team used reveals that it is the Partnership for 21st Century Skills' framework, which is a coalition of the US government, private corporations⁷⁹, and individuals committed to make 21st century readiness at the forefront of US K-12 educational system and to start a national awareness and conversation about the importance of these skills for all students (Partnership for 21st Century Skills, Our History). As Binkley et al. (2012) found out, there is still relatively small number of countries that lay-out their curriculum in detail, although a similar small number are developing their first national curriculum and in doing so, 21st century learning needs are frequently listed within educational reform documents (p. 34). The Philippines is undeniably, within the bandwagon of 21st century skills curricular inclusion, a part of it and also one of the countries that are appropriating this concept within national socio-economic goals tangent to education as the country is cognizant of the role of education in national development (1987 Constitution, Art, XIV).

Also, the definition of “basic curriculum” that the house and senate bills, and subsequently R.A. 10533 used is not sufficiently exhaustive and is very much telling. They define basic education as, “the education intended to meet basic learning needs which lays the foundation on which subsequent learning can be based. It encompasses kindergarten, elementary and secondary education as well as alternative learning systems for out-of-school learners and adult learners and includes education for those with special needs” (H. No. 6643, Sec 3(a); S. No. 3286, Sec 3; R.A. 10533, Sec 3). Within this definition of basic education, it seems to include the mainstream basic education system, the ALS or alternative learning systems, and special education. Unfortunately, it does not seem to include other existing systems of education such as indigenous educational practices that may exist in indigenous peoples' communities.

⁷⁹ Among the founding organizations of the coalition include AOL Time Warner Foundation, Apple Computer, Cable in the Classroom, Cisco Systems, Dell Computer Corporation, Microsoft Corporation, etc. (See: <http://www.p21.org/about-us/our-history>).

Intertextuality in Consumption

While these texts are intertextual of other texts outside them, they themselves in fact consume each other. For example, in the description of the K to 12 Curriculum, H. No. 6643 uses the characteristics of the K to 12 Curriculum articulated in the Toolkit when it mentions that the curriculum should be “decongested”, “seamless”, “relevant and responsive”, and “learner-centered” (H. No. 6643, Sec 5 (a-m); SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, pp. 3-4). In the description of the Filipino graduate, 4 of the 5 documents have the same description as empowered, excellent, competent, in harmony with local and global communities, autonomous, critical-thinker, and transformative”⁸⁰. This shows that the Discussion Paper, which was the first to be published among all the documents, have been used by the authors of the Senate and House of Representatives’ version of the Enhanced Basic Education Act. The rationales mentioned in the House Bill also correspond to the rationales laid out in the Discussion Paper. This is so because rationale a on congestion corresponds to number 4 in the Discussion Paper; ill-preparedness of graduates for work in rationale b is the same with number 5; c which is about inadequate preparation for higher education corresponds to number 7; and the recognition of Filipino graduates abroad in rationale d is the same with number 8 (H. No. 6643, Sec 2; Department of Education, 2010, pp. 3-4). The Discussion Paper also mentions that the system prior to the reform of 2012 reinforces the notion that basic education is just a preparatory step for university and this same view is mentioned in the Declaration of Policy of the house version when it stated that “to attain internationally competitive basic education...the state shall...change public perception that secondary education is just a preparation for college...” (Sec 2(2); p, 4).

⁸⁰ See the complete description of the Filipino graduate in the three laws specifically in the Declaration of Policy, and in Education Vision, number 14 of the Discussion Paper

One important note on the intertextuality in consumption among the K to 12 texts is that probably by reason of brevity, the Senate version which has been used as the raw version by the bicameral conference committee, and subsequently R.A. 10533 have been lesser intertextual but not necessarily lesser interdiscursive than H. No. 6643 (Senate of the Philippines Journal, Session No, 52, January 30, 2013).

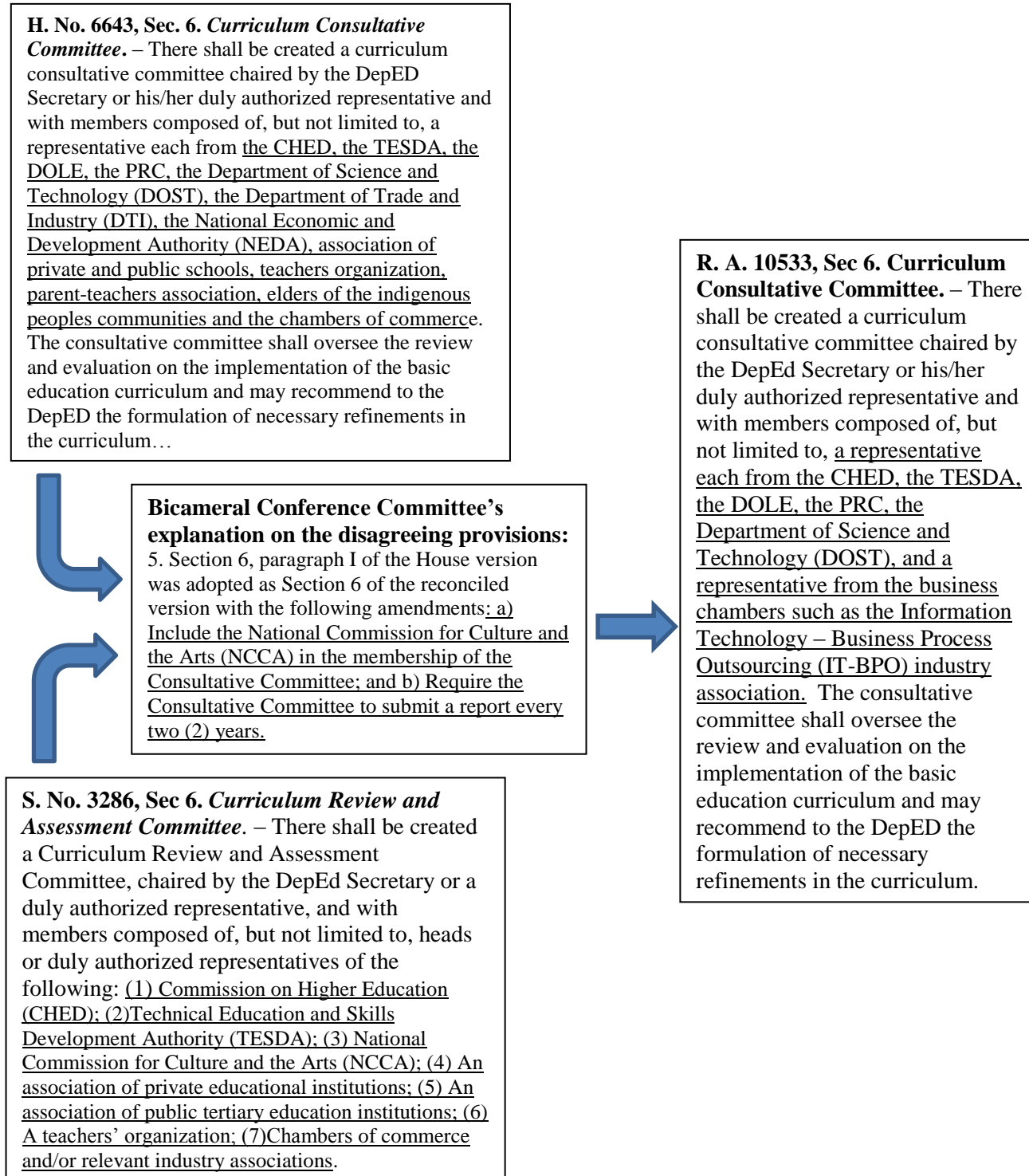
Another point insofar as the way the texts were consumed is putting special attention on how H. No. 6643 and S. No. 3286 were reconciled by the bicameral conference committee that led to the formulation of R.A. 10533. The case of the provision on the Curriculum Consultative Committee⁸¹, which appears in Section 6 of the three legislative pieces, tasked to oversee the implementation of the curriculum and to recommend changes to it as may be deemed necessary (H. No. 6643, Sec 6; S. No. 3286, Sec 6; R.A. 10533, Sec 6) is telling. The Senate Journal (Session No. 52, January 30, 2013) reports about the explanation of the conference committee on the disagreeing provisions of the House and Senate versions and in that journal entry, the joint committee mentions that in reconciling the disagreeing provisions of the two versions concerning the Curriculum Consultative Committee, they decided to have “Section 6, paragraph I of the House version [...] as Section 6 of the reconciled version with the following amendments: a) Include the National Commission for Culture and the Arts⁸² in the membership of the Consultative Committee; and b) Require the Consultative Committee to submit a report every

⁸¹ Both the House version and the final reconciled version use the term Curriculum Consultative Committee to refer to this evaluation and recommendatory body but the Senate version uses “Curriculum Review and Assessment Committee”.

⁸² The National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) has been mandated to “formulate policies for the development of culture and arts; implement these policies in coordination with affiliated cultural agencies; coordinate the implementation of programs of these affiliated agencies; administer the National Endowment Fund for Culture and Arts (NEFCA); encourage artistic creation within a climate of artistic freedom; develop and promote the Filipino national culture and arts; and preserve Filipino cultural heritage” (R.A. 7356, Sec 8). In the Senate version, the NCCA has been listed in Section 6 as part of the Curriculum Review and Assessment Committee together with six other stakeholders such as the Commission on Higher Education (CHED), Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA), association of private educational institutions, teachers’ organization; chambers of commerce or relevant industry associations (S. No. 3286, Sec 6).

two (2) years” (Senate of the Philippines Journal, Session No. 52, November 19, 2013). When compared to what appears in the reconciled version, the story tells otherwise. On the next page is a flowchart showing the changes made in Sec 6 from the two earlier versions from the two houses and the reconciled one from the bicameral conference committee:

Figure 6. The Transformation of the Curriculum Consultative Committee from bill to law



There are three issues that need to be clarified concerning the intertextual chain involving the composition of the Curriculum Consultative Committee starting from its conception in the separate versions of the two houses, to the explanations of the joint committee about how they reconciled the disagreeing provisions, and finally, to what has been stipulated in the law signed by the President. First, what are the changes that took place in terms of committee composition? Second, do the changes made in the final version reflect those in the initial versions and the explanations of the joint committee? Lastly, do the changes made follow both houses' rules of reconciling disagreeing provisions in similar bills?

The first issue can be answered by looking into what happened to the enumerated committee representatives as it moved from separate houses to the final version. On the one hand, the representatives from CHED, TESDA, PRC, and DOST were retained in the final version while those that were omitted were the DTI, NEDA, association of private and public schools, teachers organizations, parents organizations, and elders of indigenous peoples communities for H. No. 6643 while the NCCA, association of private educational institutions, association of public tertiary educational institutions, and teachers' organizations were removed from S. No. 3286. Telling is how the representative from chambers of commerce or relevant industry associations which was both in the two versions was changed into "Information Technology-Business Process Outsourcing (IT-BPO) industry association. Therefore, a quick response to the second issue raised earlier is that while the representatives of the committee that were retained reflect those that were mentioned in the earlier bills, the entire composition however only partly reflects the original provision because for one, "IT-BPO" industry representative was neither in the house nor the senate version but was included in the end. Moreover, the associations of public or private schools, and teachers organizations are both

mentioned in the separate versions but were omitted in the final law. Linked to this mismatch is also the explanation of the joint committee about how they reconciled the disagreeing provisions of the two bodies' versions. As shown in Figure 6, the joint committee mentions that they adopted paragraph 1, Section 6 of the house version by first, including the NCCA in the list and second, by requiring the committee to submit a bi-annual report (Senate Journal, Session No, 52, November 19, 2013). If we follow this explanation, we would expect to see the original Section 6, Paragraph 1 of the house version just added with NCCA in the list and a requirement of bi-annual report. But what actually is written in the final version⁸³ is different. The other representatives such as those from the association of public and private schools, parents, and teachers, elders from indigenous communities are missing in the final provision. Not even the NCCA was added. On the other hand, while these representatives were omitted, the representative from IT-BPO industry was added which ironically was neither mentioned in the house nor the senate version. With this, not only is there a mismatch with the way the final bill was reconciled based from the provisions of the two versions but also, a mismatch between what the bicameral conference committee reported it has done and what actually is written in the law. Lastly, on the issue of whether the house rules on the reconciliation of disagreeing provisions of two similar bills were followed or not, the rules of the Senate and the House of Representatives should be consulted. In the case of the House of Senate, the description of the authority of conferees states;

The authority given to the Senate conferees theoretically is limited to matters in disagreement between the two chambers. They are not authorized to delete provisions or language agreed to by both the House and the Senate as to

⁸³ Note that what I have used as copy of R.A. 10533 is from the Senate, the one signed by the President himself as shown in the document.

draft entirely new provisions. In practice, however, the conferees have wide latitude, except where the matters in disagreement are very specific. Moreover, conferees attempt to reconcile their differences, but generally they try to grant concession only insofar as they remain confident that the chamber they represent will accept the compromise (Senate of the Philippines, 2001, Legislative Process)

The rules of the House of Representatives on the other hand mention that:

The conferees are not limited to reconciling the differences in the bill but may introduce new provisions germane to the subject matter or may report out an entirely new bill on the subject (House of Representatives, Legislative Process).

These rules seem to be problematic because the Senate rule implies that the conferees cannot delete provisions that both the Senate and the House versions agree into which further means that in cases where there are disagreements, omitting parts of a provision may be acceptable. However, the House of Representatives allows the introduction of new provisions or even the introduction of a new bill but it does not qualify when these actions are allowed by the house's rules. Going back to the case of the Curriculum Consultative Committee, there was an agreement in the two versions to include public or private educational institutions representatives, and teachers' representatives; and also the complementarity between the representation of the NCCA in the senate version and indigenous peoples' elders in the house version as a cultural voice. However, even when the rule of senate on the authority of the conferees mentions that they are not allowed to omit provisions or language that constitute points of agreement, the joint committee went on to remove these representatives, and worst, added a

new provision stating that an IT-BPO industry representative must hold a seat in the committee. Given that there is also a mismatch between what the committee report says it has done and what is actually written in the ratified law, the Senate Journal states “in case of a conflict between the statements/ amendments stated in this Joint Explanation and that of the provisions of the consolidated bill in the accompanying Conference Committee Report, the provisions of the latter shall prevail” (Session No. 52, January 30, 2013). In the end, the propriety and legality of the changes made in so far as the reconciliation of disagreeing provisions are concerned is one thing, but more importantly, the fact that there were representatives from other sectors of society that constitute an extra-governmental nature, speaks of a more problematic dimension of policy-making in the Philippines. This will be further nuanced in the succeeding paragraphs.

Understanding that intertextuality, which is the presence of other texts in a given text, and interdiscursivity in a similar light as the existence of discourses within another, the explicit articulation of these previously seemingly dormant texts and ideas have a subsequent transformative effect (Lewis & Ketter, 2004, p. 120) in the Philippine social imaginary in terms of understanding the educated Filipino citizen, what quality education is, and who have legitimate stake in deciding about what constitute a responsive curriculum. In the end, in the final analysis of these texts as a discursive practice we ask, whose voices are represented in constructing the reform and subsequently the Filipino? And whose voices are silenced?

The articulation of economic benefits in sketching the K to 12 reform conveys what the state thinks of Filipino citizenship. In this light, it is construed in an instrumental sense such that educated citizens are supposed to aid in national development by engaging in productive work in any way possible, being productive and efficient, and therefore contributing to the Gross Domestic/National Product. In this light, the pervasiveness of economic rationalization as an

animator of the K to 12 reform puts the Filipino citizen within the confines of “economic citizenship” not necessarily understood as responsible economic consumption or production but as means to economic growth of the nation.

The articulation of the President’s view on the K to 12 reform as providing equal chances to success to all Filipinos manifests the government’s view that learners and Filipinos in general are homogenous collectivity of citizens. By arguing that the provision of 12 years of education leads to equal chances towards success, the government ignores the existing socio-economic and even political gaps that hinder students from fully utilizing and invoking their right to equal educational opportunity. By assuming absolute equality towards success, the government seems to mask the underlying social, economic, and cultural differences among Filipinos. This manifests the government’s expectation that people from highly diverse and different backgrounds are supposed to act or perform alike (Kalantzis, 2000, p. 43) and a myopic and simplistic view that simply because there is provision of “assumed” equal educational opportunity that there is also a uniformity and universality of outcomes (Kalantzis and Cope, 2012, p. 114).

Moreover, by making the 21st century skills as the central defining characteristic of the Filipino learner, and being cognizant of the concept’s corporate origin and prospective corporate use, the state also manifests its accommodation if not concession to the increasing colonization of market discourses in education.

The prominence of mainstream basic education, alternative learning system, and special education in the definition of “basic education” which seemingly projects an “inclusive” educational system yet is silent to the existence and recognition of indigenous educational

institutions suggests the state's inherent bias towards what Tiongson (1995) calls as the Westernized-Christianized-lowland-mainstream.

And most importantly, by omitting, whether intentionally or not, the representation of the indigenous peoples, parent, teachers, public and private organizations in the Curriculum Consultative Committee, while in very overt fashion inserting IT-BPO representation, the state makes a resounding message about who really have a stake in deciding over the curriculum and because subsequently, the curriculum shapes the ideal Filipino, also suggests who has a stake in the shaping of the Filipino citizen. Moreover, there is no need for substantiation or further explication what it in fact means when a bicameral conference committee can easily omit significant representation of stakeholders even when it means violation of house rules on reconciliation, and worst, reporting that it has done what is mandated by law even if in truth it has done otherwise. What does it mean when the legislature can conveniently omit indigenous peoples, parents, school owners and easily insert dominant business organization? Moreover, this act of the bicameral conference committee, given that the house rule provides that in cases when a mismatch between the report and the final law exists that the provisions in the latter prevails, makes the indigenous peoples, parents, teachers, and school-owners at a losing end because not only were they promised legitimate representation at the onset but in the end, were dismissed because of an act of intentional or unintentional omission. This whole Curriculum Consultative Committee confusion speaks of the kind of valence the state gives to the marginalized sectors in society.

In sum, the articulations made to legitimize the reform, to define the curriculum, and the Filipino, makes real the colonization of economic, corporatist and neoliberal calculation to

citizenship, the homogenizing effect of state and economic driven citizenship, the predominance of the mainstream Philippine society, and the silencing of the marginalized.

The K to 12 Reform within Social Practice

For Fairclough (1992), the analysis of discourse within social practice should aim at specifying “the nature of the social practice of which the discourse practice is a part, which is the basis for explaining why the discourse practice is as it is; and the effect of the discourse practice upon social practice” (p. 237). More specifically, this form of analysis casts gaze on what he calls the “social matrix of discourse”; the “order of discourse”; and “ideological and political effects of discourse”. In the first prong, the goal is to identify the hegemonic relations and structures that constitute the discursive practice; how this discursive practice stands in relation to social structures, and its effect to these structures. The second involves pointing-out the relationship between the discursive practice and the orders of discourse, which is a way by which discourse figures itself in social practice in ways of acting (genres), ways of representing (discourses), and styles (ways of being) (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 237-238; 2003, p. 26). In more detail, for Fairclough (2003), this may constitute “making a connection between the concrete social event and more abstract social practices by asking, which genres, discourses, and styles are drawn upon here, and how are the different genres, discourses and styles articulated together in the text?” (p. 28). The third aspect inquires on the effects of the discursive practice in terms of systems of knowledge and belief, social relations, and social identities (Fairclough, 1992, p. 238).

To start, I will try to bring forth social and political processes that in one way or another, have figured in the K to 12 reform and hence, the redefinition of the Filipino citizen within educational policy reform.⁸⁴

It has been pointed out in the first chapter that while poverty rate has been declining in the Philippines, the rates are still relatively high. Poverty incidence was at 44% in 1985, 40% in 1988, 36% in 1994, 33% in 1997, 24% in 2003, 27% in 2006, and 26% in 2009 (Social Weather Stations, 2011). This is one of the many strong driving push factors why there are more than 2,000 Filipinos who leave the Philippines every day in search for better opportunities in more than 182 countries (Migrante International, n.d.) and as of the end of 2012, there are already almost 10.5 million Filipinos in the diaspora (Commission on Filipinos Overseas, 2012). That constitutes approximately a tenth of the Philippine population at present. Along the lines of this increasing flow of Filipinos in the global workspace is the inevitable cultural, economic, and political glorification of leaving, those who leave, and those who return after working abroad for relatively long years.⁸⁵ While the muse for leaving was already present due to the colonial education received by the Filipinos especially from the Americans in ways such as the inculcation of American life and culture, and the belief that the Philippines is ideally suited to be an agricultural country (Constantino, 1976, pp. 312-313), this constantly lingering attraction to leaving is bolstered by the cultural glorification of foreign life. Part of this is the fad for goods that are foreign made over those that are locally produced and this has become one of the interesting cultural highlights of the diaspora because wherever the Filipinos are, they will try to send to their families, goods that are produced in the countries where they are working through

⁸⁴ I take the example of Hayden & Lorenzoni's study on energy security and climate change in the UK and how they started the analysis of "social practice" by pointing out social and political processes that led to the reframing of nuclear power as necessary within the context of climate change and energy security.

⁸⁵ For additional reading, see de los Reyes, 2013 "(Re)defining the Filipino: notions of citizenship in the new K+12 curriculum".

big boxes, more commonly referred to as the *Balikbayan Box* (returnee's box) that are shipped for months back to the Philippines.⁸⁶ This has become one of the most sought-after events in the family especially during the holidays when families gather together and open these boxes. Moreover, in rural Philippines for example, most of the colossal houses are owned by families who have sent some members abroad for work.⁸⁷ Undeniably therefore, because of these material possessions, the families of Filipinos abroad are much talked-about in villages and are even the subject of envy. But more than this social and cultural legitimation, there are also political processes that led to further glorification of leaving. One of these is the government's labeling the Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) as *bagong bayani* or modern-day heroes which promotes and gentrifies domestic or household jobs in the Middle East or East Asia for example as honorable and noble⁸⁸. They are called modern-day heroes because not only do these Filipinos overseas build better lives for their families, they also keep the economy afloat because of their remittances. In fact, it is because of the remittances that the survival of the Philippine economy from the effect of the 1997 Asian financial crisis was attributed to (Aning, 2006). On top of the hierarchy of glorification has been the passage of Republic Act 9225 or the Citizenship Retention and Acquisition Act of 2003 that declared former Philippine citizens who become citizens of another country deemed not to have lost their Philippine citizenship and are eligible to reacquire it under conditions provided by law (Bureau of Immigration, 2012). This is for the purpose of encouraging OFWs to retire and invest in the Philippines as well as reduce fears of severance of

⁸⁶ For an interesting parody about this cultural phenomenon, see Michael Bustos, a famous comedian in the Philippines who created a parody about it: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WSMw7trHUcU>. Also, another rock band in the Philippines, Eraserheads, wrote a song about it. See <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JiFWeCmCqFM>

⁸⁷ This is very much observable in northern Philippines particularly in the Ilocos Region where most of the families have relatives in Hawaii.

⁸⁸ The Bagong Bayani Awards for example was instituted to give honor to the Filipinos in diaspora. It was first given in 1984 through the initiative of Ramon Fuentes in cooperation with then Philippine Overseas Employment Administration's administrator Patricia Sto. Tomas (Bagong Bayani Foundation Incorporated, 2012). See <http://www.bbfi.com.ph/about-us/>

national ties to potential diasporic Filipinos. By doing these, the Philippine government seem to have been sending the message that it might not be that bad to leave after all which is in direct opposition to nationalist discourses that previously highlighted loyalty by staying and the threats of brain-drain.

Further political strategies intended to tap the vast human resource of the country are educational policies implemented prior to the K to 12 reform. One of the significant reforms had been the passage of R.A. 7796 otherwise known as the Technical Education and Skills Development Act of 1995. This law is premised on the state's responsibility to provide "relevant, accessible, high quality and efficient technical education and skills development" in order to rear "high quality Filipino middle-level manpower responsive to and in accordance with Philippine development goals and priorities (Sec 2). This law created the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority which has been tasked to manage the provision of technical and vocational education in the country through consultation with industries and stakeholders, coordination of technical education from national, regional, and local levels, entering and carrying-out foreign and domestic contract, approval of trade skills standards, establish a system of accreditation and training support systems (Sec 8). The creation of this government agency demonstrates the seriousness and commitment of the government to tap the labor resources of the Philippines in order to meet the economic demands faced by it. In TESDA's website, particularly in its "about" section, it states that its vision and mission is to be "the leading partner in the development of the Filipino workforce with world-class competence and positive work values ... [and to provide]... direction, policies, programs and standards towards quality technical education and skill development" (TESDA, 2014, Corporate Information). Committed to the development of world-class and competent Filipino workforce, TESDA offers among

others, a regular competency-based curriculum that ranges from game arts development, automotive, backhoe loading, barbering, bartending, beauty care servicing, caregiving, welding, food and beverage services, heavy equipment operation, housekeeping, welding to wheel loading.⁸⁹ Also part of TESDA's mandate is to certify workers in specific occupations among them would be welders, household service workers, and maritime workers and attest to their level of competency which is often used by employers abroad and locally to verify their qualifications. Very noticeable is that these programs are usually the occupation of Filipinos abroad such as becoming heavy equipment operators and welders in the Middle East; housekeepers in Hong Kong and some countries in Southeast Asia; caregivers and nannies in Europe and North America; and food service providers in luxury ships the world over. TESDA therefore, corollary to the formal education system of the country, acts as a conduit of Filipino labor to global employment.

In relation to the rest of the world, the Philippines has also become cognizant and committed to emerging trends in education and educational policy. The Philippines since 1990, has been committed to the World Declaration on Education for All which was drafted in Thailand and as a result, has crafted a ten-year EFA Plan of Action 1990-2000 (Philippine Education for All, n.d., p. 3). In 2000, the Philippines reaffirmed its commitment to EFA Dakar Framework to ensure that by 2015, all children have access to complete, free, compulsory and quality primary education (p.4). Aside from the EFA, the Philippines is also committed to the Millennium Development Goals which includes the goal to achieve universal primary education. The MDGS have been mainstreamed in Philippine development goals through the Medium Term Philippine Development Plan (2004-2010) specifically Part IV which centers on Education and Youth Opportunity (p. 2; United Nations, Millennium Development Goals). The emergence and

⁸⁹ For the complete list of competency-based programs, see http://www.tesda.gov.ph/program.aspx?page_id=29

continued popularity of standardized testing and international comparisons has stung the Philippine education sector too. For one, the Philippines has become more cognizant and sensitive of the performance of the country in international tests such as the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) where in 2003, the Philippines ranked 34th out of 38 countries in math and 43 of 46 in science for both second year high schools; and for grade four math and science, the country ranked 23 out of 25 participating countries (Department of Education, 2010, p. 3).

These socio economic and political processes, as well as international commitments and testing performance that the country has been committed to and has become conscious with respectively have been used to legitimize the K to 12 reform implemented in 2012 and are significant in the redefinition and reframing of Filipino citizenship. Therefore, the declaration of the Filipino who is merely humane, god-fearing, nationalistic, and naturalistic, as seemingly obsolete and insufficient to the 21st century because this era requires a different Filipino (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries), together with the call for him or her to possess 21st century skills to be a holistic learner (pp. 9-10) to meet the demands of the competitive and globalized modern world, is a reproduction and reification of the social, political, and economic realities faced by the Filipinos, and the commitments and international pressures that the state has to grapple with. In sum, these processes that have unfolded and emerged in Philippine society form part of the structures that shape the reframing of Filipino citizenship. This way, the call for a new Filipino within the enterprise of education should be understood as the state's way of dealing with the challenges of this reeling time not only by reproducing the dominant glorification of leaving, but also, in innovative ways "reappropriating" these ideas such that it

suits the interest of the state, and to forward a message that within this new imaginary, everyone wins.

How exactly does the state, in reforming the basic education curriculum, and envisioning the new Filipino citizen, synthesize and reappropriate available resources from these seemingly constraining socio-political and economic processes? Going back to the text shows some strategies of negotiation that the state implements in order to address both the demands within the nation and those that are emerging from the rest of the world that it has been committed to and cognizant of. One of the interesting aspects of the curriculum change and the redefinition of the Filipino is how the global competitiveness and orientation of the 21st century Filipino is coupled by local groundedness or the ability to be in harmony with both local and global communities (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries; Department of Education, 2010, p. 6; H. No. 6643, Sec 2; S. No. 3286, Sec 2; R.A. 10533, Sec 2), and the expectation that this global competitiveness is also coupled with moral and spiritual grounding (p.8). In so far as the curriculum is concerned, the reform also allows the possibilities of localization and indigenization of educational technologies, as well as the provision of alternative delivery modes and alternative learning system to provide better access to educational opportunities, and the recognition of indigenous technologies as significant (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, pp. 49-55; H. No. 6643, Sec 5(m)). In practical terms, this negotiation between the desire to go global to meet local needs yet at the same time grounding oneself in the more proximate local manifests itself in the reform's provision of safety nets such as the requirement that the curriculum should be in line with national heritage and culture (H. No. 6643, Sec 2), value-driven, culturally responsive and sensitive (Sec 6(e)). Moreover, other forms of safety nets come in the extension of the Expanded Government Assistance to Students and Teachers in Private Education (E-

GASTPE) to poor but deserving Filipino students (H. No. 6643, Sec 12; S. No. 3286, Sec 11; R.A. 10533, Sec 10).

It is also important to understand how the reform-process also showcases the increasing sensitivity of policy-making to the representation of marginalized voices. The House version of the Enhanced Basic Education Act for example require the representation of indigenous peoples, teachers organizations, and parents in the Curriculum Consultative Committee (H. No. 6643, Sec 6) in the same way as the Senate's version required the presence of representatives from the National Commission of Culture and the Arts, teachers, parents, and school-owners in the Curriculum Review and Assessment Committee (S. No. 3286, Sec 6). While these are laudable at least as they appear at face value along with the recognition that along the way, there had also been drawbacks to the representation of the marginalized. The fact remains that there is this increasing consciousness, no matter how fruitless this representation ended within the context of the K to 12 reform, among policy makers to include as many voices as possible in deciding what curriculum a Filipino child deserves and in so doing, opens more spaces to social forces in deciding the who the Filipino should be and what his or her future is like. Beyond the rhetoric of legislative documents and policy papers, the K to 12 reform also at least showcases human action and the presence of even an inferior opposition. Fairclough (2001) argues that in doing CDA, an error that must be avoided is the assumption that only the dominant and mainstream discourses exist, there should be a recognition of resistance too (p.12). The increasing representation of the party-list sector in the House of Representatives and the rise of political leaders who are not always from traditional political background have allowed the representation of dissent. In the House of Representatives for example, during the first roll call for the final voting on H. No. 6643, only Representative Almario voted against it but when the second roll

call was done, representatives Almario, Casino (Bayan-Muna), Colmenares (Bayan-Muna), De Jesus (Gabriela), Ilagan (Gabriela), Mariano (Anakpawis), and Palatino (Kabataan), and Tinio (Alliance of Concerned Teachers) (House of Representatives Journal No. 31, November 19, 2012, pp. 9-14; Boncocan, 2012). These people who voted against the K to 12 law are mostly from the party-list sector who, by reason of constitutional mandate, gained representation by national vote to represent sectors of society such as laborers, women, farmers, teachers, and the youth. In the Senate on the other hand, Senator Antonio Trillanes IV, a senate member who rose to popularity because of launching a mutiny against the armed forces' top official on alleged corrupt practices, introduced a resolution requesting for an inquiry in aid of legislation about the feasibility, viability, practicability, and acceptability of rationales forwarded by the Department of Education in implementing the K to 12 program (P.S. Res. No. 499, May 2011, p.1). In this resolution, Trillanes reasoned-out that there is no sufficient justification for the lengthening of the basic educational system in order to improve the quality of education. He cited researches and comparative studies that purport that length of schooling does not have significant bearing on performance in standardized testing (pp. 1-2). Moreover, during the final reading and voting for the senate version of the K to 12 law, Trillanes was the only one who voted against it (Senate of the Philippines, 2013, Legislative History of S. No. 3286). These forms of dissent, no matter how seemingly inferior or insignificant they are signal that at least, there are voices in the halls of the Senate and the House of Representatives who speak against the loud mainstream and popular views backed up by the majority blocks.

More than these socio-economic and political processes as constituting immediate social structures that may have in one way or another figured in the redefinition of the Filipino citizen, there are also more abstract social structures composed of ways of acting, representing, and

identifying that select or restrain possibilities (Fairclough, 2003, p. 24). In other words, this constitutes what may be referred to as “orders of discourse” which is a “network of Discourse practices that include genre, Discourse, and style that occur within local, institutional, and societal contexts” (Rogers, 2004b, p. 244). While this section should include also some analysis of genre and style, I would like to focus more on more abstract discourses that are emerging in the two spheres that this paper straddles, that of citizenship and education, and then later on make sense of this with the genres of policy-making and legislation and the ways in which the producers of these policy and legal texts identify themselves with the reform and the citizenship that the reform forwards.

This implies therefore that we look back and link the redefinition of the Filipino citizen, to what has been happening in the theory and practice of citizenship. It can be recalled that in the review of literature on citizenship, the tradition of liberal citizenship anchored on the value of universal rights such as civil, political, and social rights (Marshall & Bottomore, 1982) regardless of social status has been at the forefront of understanding citizenship as a concept. On the other hand, the civic-republican view foregrounds the citizenship as the possession of citizenly virtues such as the participation of a citizen in the affairs of the republic for both personal and communal good (Heater, 1999). I have mentioned earlier in the literature review that there is also this seeming third wave or tradition of citizenship anchored on the critique of universal citizenship arguing that citizenship is not sameness and that it should recognize difference (Young, 1989; Turner, 1993; Kalantzis and Cope, 2012). Along this call for differentiated citizenship came ideas of citizenship which are not necessarily rights-bound but are centered on actions of citizens. Examples of these are Albrow’s (as cited in Tan, 2005) concept of “performative citizenship” when individuals work as citizens of the world and Ong’s

(1999) “flexible citizenship” where individuals become “neoliberal subjects” of the cultural rationalities of profit, mobility, and opportunism (p.6). These emergent ideas on citizenship constitute a gradient to the pre-existing juridical and legal citizenship or primary citizenship making it a secondary one where citizenship is understood as “system of values, efforts, and institutionalized practices required for creating and maintaining conditions for living together in a complex society” (Dimitrov and Boyadjieva, 2009 as cited in Reid, et al. 2010). Understanding that the emergent ideas on citizenship reflect what theorists have seen as unfolding at the state and international levels such as what Ong has seen in Singapore⁹⁰, or what Sassen (2002) speaks of the case of diasporic El Salvadorians⁹¹ (pp. 85-86) hence something akin to citizenship practice, there seems to be an increasing emphasis among states on the civic-republican view of citizenship even when the granting of basic rights is implemented in a universal sense or even sometimes, the granting of citizenship and rights result from the performance of actions perceived valuable by the state to which these individuals are primary citizens of. The intersection of the traditions of liberal citizenship anchored on “universal citizenship” which purports “primary citizenship” in a juridical and legal sense on the one hand, and civic-republicanism grounded on citizenship as effort, performance, values, and feelings on the other constitute a problem not only because rights-based citizenship and its duty-based counterpart are logically and inherently irreconcilable but also because their coexistence, upon consideration of the realities of diversity, differentiation, pluralism, and social inequality, homogenizes not only citizenship and citizens on the level of rights, but also on the level of expectations. This is so because the granting of universal rights, on the assumption that

⁹⁰ Ong (2006) mentions that in Singapore, there had been a situation in which the talented expatriates are viewed as ideal citizens while the low-skill migrants brought in including some of the locals are ‘invisibilized’ (p. 21).

⁹¹ Sassen (2002) mentions that Salvadorian migrants who were previously excluded from El Salvador through political violence, economic hardships, and persecution have gained rights and privileges in their country of origin because the country badly needed remittances from abroad (pp. 85-86)

everyone is the same and that everyone deserves this right (which is not at all debatable), also coexists with the expectation that by virtue of this universality of rights, the state has also the mandate to impose expectations on its people to possess citizenly values, perform citizenly efforts and activities. The problem in this intersection is that rights are provided universally to “assumed” homogenous citizens, so are performance and effort expected from them in a similar light.

Just as there are discursive changes in the social structure of citizenship, so is in the field of education and in the same way as we went back to the literature on citizenship laid out in the earlier parts of this paper, we also need to go back to the development of education in the Philippines described in Chapter IV. The story of Philippine education is a story of education under colonial rule, revolution, dictatorship, and struggle for freedom and within these stories are smaller narratives of contradictions, co-optation, and breakaways. For one, the religious education received by the middle-class mestizos of the 1800s which was at the onset a medium for their *hispanization* unexpectedly boomeranged against the Spanish conquistadores when these educated elite became the voices of struggle for independence. Colonial education under Spain became nationalist education without a nationalist curriculum which during the short-lived revolutionary period (1896-1899) tried to make real. American colonial education, just as Spain tried to *hispanize* the Filipinos, so did the American regime through programs such as the Pensionado program that brought Filipinos, mostly from elite families (Constantino, 1976, p. 310) to the United States to study. This same education that tried to co-opt the elite by giving them American education also produced a nationalist segment of the population. Isagani Cruz (2009), a former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippines, and was educated during the American period in the Philippines describes his education:

We were taught more of the American Revolution than of Rizal, Bonifacio⁹² and the Katipunan. We learned of how Nathan Hale said before his execution by the British that “I regret I have only one life to offer my country” and not how the young Gen. Gregorio del Pilar died with his men at Tirad Pass resisting the American forces. We recited “The Star Spangled Banner” oftener than our own “Lupang Hinirang”⁹³... Nationalism was never taught as a subject in our public schools, but we learned it just the same as citizens of a subject country. Grade school revealed to us the wonders of the world, high school how to prepare them for our specific purposes in life, but it was college that made us think of the fate of our country. We were under a foreign imperialist and we longed to be free. There was that group of “angry young men” in UP⁹⁴ who spoke against the United States, and was berated by President Quezon who later fed them “lechon”⁹⁵ in Malacañang. But those nationalists, like many of us, never lost their ideals.

If Cruz is right, there is probably reason to believe that while American colonial education aimed at making the Filipinos “little brown Americans”, it still nevertheless produced nationalists who didn’t learn under a nationalist curriculum. The Japanese education that inculcated in the Filipinos the need to sever from its reliance to western nations called for the development of a Filipino culture that is conscious of being oriental (Duka, 2006, p. 111), also had its inherent contradiction of not wanting to rely on western nations but legitimized the rule of

⁹² Jose Rizal and Andres Bonifacio are famous heroes of the Philippines during anti-Spanish campaigns for independence.

⁹³ It is the title of the national anthem of the Philippines

⁹⁴ University of the Philippines

⁹⁵ It is a roasted whole suckling pig cooked by skewering the suckling pig and roasting it until the skin becomes golden brown and crispy. It is one of the food highlights of festivities in the Philippines.

an oriental nation to its fellow Orientals as well as the recurrent co-optation of the elites to forward the interests of Japan (Francia, 2010, p. 181).

There is also another aspect of colonial education that might provide an interesting link and nuance to the developments in educational reform and citizenship today. This is the emphasis on technical and vocational education starting from the Spanish occupation, to the Americans, and then the Japanese. The establishment of vocational schools that taught drawing, dying, mechanics, agriculture during the Spanish occupation (Alzona, 1932, pp. 45-46); the passage of the Vocational Education Act of 1928 that advocated for the teaching of agriculture, trade and industries, home economics, gardening and hand-weaving, woodworking, and sewing, cooking, and housekeeping were taught for girls in the elementary (pp. 246-248), together with the education of the non-Christians for industry, vocational training, and health education during the American regime (pp. 263-267); and the promotion of vocational education and the inspiration for the spirit, dignity, and love for manual labor during the Japanese occupation (Duka, p. 111) all are significant forces in the shaping of Filipino citizenship. These training that the Filipinos received from the colonial masters as reflected in historical accounts were used to support the management of the colony such as clerical work and bookkeeping were taught and those who excelled in it were employed in local parishes to manage their finances (Alzona, 1932, p. 102) just as the embroidery, crochet, and lace-making skills of women were made use for the making of adornments and clothes for the church idols during the Spanish occupation. This education for servitude that ossified the backbone of colonial affairs as extended in the post-war and post-dictatorship periods in morphed forms that are usually disguised in the mask of national development.

While free from colonial rule and with its aim to enhance participation and develop the foundations of versatile citizenship, the Education Act of 1982 seemed to have been contradicted by the fact that students who learned under the Marcos education that desired active and versatile citizenship had to reconcile what their education wants them to be and what was concretely happening (RA 232, 1973).

In recent years, there had been the introduction of management strategies in the educational system such as the “Trifocalization of Education Management”⁹⁶ that established the Commission on Higher Education (CHED), the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA) to complement the Department of Education in managing the broad spectrum of educational services that include higher education, technical education, and basic education respectively. Along with the “trifocal” system were the intents of the government to promote and strengthen the quality of technical education to be internationally competitive and to meet the demands of quality middle-level manpower (R.A. 7796, Sec 3) and the introduction of management strategies such as “shared governance and accountability (RA 9155, Sec 5). The R.A. 7796 which intended to tap the vast skilled labor resource of the Philippines constitute the perpetuation of the kind of instrumentalism the persisted during the colonial years but this time, it changes its scope by making Filipinos render “professionalized” and “quality” services to the rest of the world as the key for the survival of their own families and for economic success (de los Reyes, 2013, p. 559). That is why today, it is not uneasy to believe that the Philippines is one of the most stable remittance economies in the world and what remains to be the most successful export of the country today is its people (Banyan, 2010).

⁹⁶ It was implemented with the passage of Republic Act 7722, Higher Education Act of 1994, and Republic Act 7796, Technical Educational and Skills Development Act of 1994

Colonial education, even when it unintentionally produced nationalist Filipinos that broke away from the majority, still has at the same time generated citizens that neglected their cultural heritage as Orientals and had desires to Occidental life (Recto in Constantino, 1969, p. 122) as well as a bunch of citizens who were, by reason of subjugation trained to provide service to their Western masters and their fellow Oriental colonizer. Subsequently, post-colonial education, even in the absence of a colonial threat had to grapple with dictatorship and the new colonization of neoliberal ideas of global competitiveness and middle-level skills for export and international comparisons of standardized testing as indices of quality education. However, even when there is this pervasiveness of colonial mentality and the desire to leave, discourses on nationalist education are still alive although admittedly not that very much alive. The rhetoric of nationalist education still exists mostly in the academy especially around issues of leaving and participating in the diaspora to earn for a better living. In a sensational talk in her class during the last day of the semester at the University of the Philippines, the premiere state university of the country, noted economist Solita Monsod (as cited in Lapena, 2010) said:

By doing that [referring to leaving the country], you are essentially betraying the people in the Philippines who trusted you, who invested their money in you...So if you turn your back on the country, if you turn your back on the Filipino people...you are exacerbating the problem rather than helping in the solution...So if you insist on going abroad, at the very least, will you pay back the entire cost of your education in UP, plus interest?⁹⁷

These ideas and discourses of nationalism and dedication to the Philippines are still circulated but as mentioned earlier, socio-economic and political processes such as the increased

⁹⁷ For an expanded story and the video clip, visit <http://www.gmanetwork.com/news/story/202984/news/nation/in-last-lecture-winnie-monsod-tells-students-to-stay-in-rp>

remittances of Filipinos overseas, the cultural glorification of leaving, the political strategies that aggrandize working abroad such as the “Bagong Bayani” (Modern-Day Hero) program and the “Balikbayan Program” (Returnee Program) all act as unified and dominant legitimating forces that come from the realms of culture, economy, and politics.

It is probable and sound to believe therefore that citizenship and education as have been shown in the preceding paragraphs had to deal and cope with the increasing colonization of neoliberal ideas such as neoliberal calculations to citizenship (Ong, 1999; 2006) and “education for global competitiveness” appropriated as middle-skills labor export to meet the demands of the globalizing world, “education for remittance to keep the economy afloat” and practically “education as a ticket to the rest of the world”. And sad to say, the concession and legitimation has been coming from significant realms of human life ranging from the cultural, economic, and political, and even from the smallest unit of society, the family, making the nationalist voices for citizenship silent and marginalized in the vast ocean of citizenship and educational reform.

So with all these constituting the orders of discourse that select sets of possibilities for the construction of Filipino citizenship within educational reform, how does the recent reform deal with it? How does the K to 12 program grapple with the influences emerging at the intersection of civic republican and liberal citizenship where the colonization of the neoliberal calculation is strong? What does the K to 12 program as a social practice do in relation to social structures and the orders of discourse?

To respond to these questions as part of the final analysis of this piece of work is to look into the ideological dimension of the K to 12 reform that constituted the reconstruction of the “educated Filipino citizen”. For Fairclough (1992), ideologies are:

Significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities), which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contributes to the production, reproduction, or transformation of relations of domination...The ideologies embedded in discursive practices are most effective when they become naturalized, and achieved the status of 'common sense'...(p. 87).

Understanding this nature of ideology, the K to 12 reform reconstructs different realities that have significant implications to citizenship by 1) redefining success, good education and nationalist education; and 2) along these lines of redefinition, also reconfigures the successful citizen, the educated, and the nationalist.

For one, the K to 12 program has redefined success and good education because by arguing that the addition of two more years to the ten-year structure levels the playing field and hence provides equal chances to succeed regardless of class, gender, or ethnicity as seen in the two documents from the executive that used the President's statement where he mentions:

We need to add two years to our basic education. Those who can afford to pay up to fourteen years of schooling before university. Thus, their children are getting into the best universities and the best jobs after graduation. I want at least 12 years for our public school children to give them an even chance at succeeding (Department of Education, 2010, p. 3; SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p. 7).

Thus, the K to 12 reform, aside from arguing that there is equality to success with the addition of two more years, success itself is redefined. Contrary to what has been the mainstream understanding of success within education contexts that usually meant the

completion of basic education and the acquisition of a university degree, the K to 12 program considers as successful, accomplishing just basic education and landing on a good and rewarding job immediately after graduation and by explicitly changing what it considers a misperception that basic education is just a preparatory step to a university degree (Department of Education, 2010, pp. 3-4; H. No. 6643, Sec 2 (2)). These, within the K to 12 program constitute what is quality education because it prepares the Filipino for the world of work, entrepreneurship and higher education (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p. 8) as opposed to the previous curriculum that only focused on functional literacy. This redefinition of success and quality education can be seen in two opposing ways. On the one hand, this could be considered as a positive development because from the state level, and at an ideological level, the state forwards the idea that we can all be successful in our own right. It conveys a message that a welder who does his job excellently is just as successful as a lawyer who does his job as excellently as the other. This counters the pervasive glorification of white collar jobs in the country and seemingly puts the blue-collar work at the same platform as the former. On the other hand, there could be another function of forwarding this seeming equality between white collar work achieved because of university education and blue-collar work made possible by technical and vocational education. It can be surmised that what the K to 12 program actually does in changing success to arrive at a seeming equality is, however bad and condescending it sounds, to downgrade the concept of success itself. I do not mean to use this phrase in a derogatory sense but what I am pointing out is that this downgrading of success should respond to questions such as for whom and at whose advantage? While at the surface the advantage seems to be to those who are elevated, does this downgrading of success really forward equality in essence and in spirit? This is reminiscent of how some states in the United States which, by fear of sanctions and accountability, had changed

their academic proficiency standards in order to create a situation of proficiency (Dillon, 2009). Working further on this flipside, by saying that basic education that leads to an occupation is just as good as getting a university education, the state normalizes and puts at a “taken-for-granted” level, the fact that education, and specifically university education as a privilege and even when indeed, it is not the responsibility of the state to provide free university education to all, it also renders this inequality normal because after all, those who are unable to go to universities can land on rewarding jobs within the country or better yet, abroad. This I think is tokenism at its finest and at whose advantage? Undeniably, this discursive and ideological strategy makes the state immune from demands to intensify to make higher education more accessible since the availability and access to local and global jobs are real. The change in the concept of success and quality education also comes along the change in the concept of nationalist education. By recognizing that we are in the 21st century and the world is modernizing and globalizing (R.A. 10533, Sec 2 (b)), implicitly, it can be surmised that a nationalist education is one that is cognizant of local communities and being proud of the Filipino heritage by responding to the needs of the community (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, p. 4) yet is in harmony with global communities by ensuring that the skills taught to students match the demands of the labor market and employers (p. 4; Department of Education, 2010, pp. 3-4) both locally and abroad. This is definitely oppositional to the previously popular discourses on nationalist education anchored on residence and loyalty through service to the nation and to fellow Filipinos.

And what does this reform do to the concept of Filipino citizenship? In what ways does this implicate the concept of an ideal educated Filipino, the ideal Filipino citizen? By anchoring the attributes of a holistically-developed Filipino in their possession of 21st century skills and arguing further that the modern world has demands that cannot be met by simply being god-

fearing, humane, nationalistic, and naturalistic (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries), the K to 12 reform has rendered the Filipino incapable of living up to these attributes and coping with the demands of the 21st century, as an obsolete citizen, as a citizen in a state of lag, a citizen left-behind. Therefore the ideal Filipino in light of the reform is someone who is prepared for higher education, middle-level skills development, and entrepreneurship by possessing learning and innovation skills; information, media, and technology skills; effective communication skills; and life and career skill which seemingly, the K to 12 purports that the Filipinos produced by the previous curriculum by simply focusing on functional literacy, do not possess (pp. 8-10). Beyond the possession of these skills are the coexistence of awareness and recognition of local and global communities. No longer is the Filipino learner only thinking of his local, he is also cognizant of the global. This is best captured in Luistro's statement that the "Filipino must be globally-oriented and locally grounded" (preliminaries). And most importantly, this Filipino, who is cognizant of the rest of the world, just as he is of his community, wherever he is, whatever he does, as long as he gives back to his family, and the nation through his hard-earned remittances, is just as nationalistic as those who stay or even more.

This redefinition of the Filipino can also be linked with the problem that lies at the intersection of liberal citizenship grounded on universal rights and the civic republican tradition premised on the performance of efforts and citizenly duties. By constructing education as a universal right, as a social right that has been granted to all regardless of socio-economic status and by forwarding the idea that this is a means to more equitable chances to a successful life, the Philippine government it follows, also expects a homogenous return of its investment regardless of backgrounds of the citizens. By merging the provision of education as a universal social right and the expectation that citizens should perform certain functions or duties even when the state

does not mandate it, there is a seeming neglect of social differentiation that is pervasive in Philippine society from class, gender, and ethnicity. Moreover, the problem lies on the implications of this approach of citizenship to Filipino citizenship itself because the truth remains that even when the idea of success and good education is changed, even when the idea of an ideal citizen is changed such that a technical-vocational graduate who is gainfully employed abroad or within the country is just as good as a university graduate, the reality that the economic base of society is unchanged because in the first place, not everyone can fit within this construct hence cannot fulfill the expectations of an ideal graduate or an ideal citizen; second, assuming everyone who cannot afford university education are able to finish technical-vocational work or venture into entrepreneurship, the economic base and the reality that income generation is marked by a wide gap between the two remains. Therefore, while the model is an improvement to what exists in status quo, it is I would say a “necessary but not sufficient” strategy because it still reproduces the social differentiation and inequality persistent in the Philippines into another form.

Given that there is also the colonization of neoliberalism in citizenship, and in educational policy as demonstrated and argued earlier, this scenario is very similar to Ong’s (2006) concept of “neoliberalism as exception” where market driven calculations are brought in the management of populations that may consequentially lead to “exceptions to neoliberalism” where in political decisions made by the state, some segments of the population are stripped away political protection and from the benefits of capitalist development (pp. 3-4). Arguing that the redefinition of the Filipino within the K to 12 program also constitutes what Ong (1999) describes as “flexible citizenship” because by forwarding the centrality of 21st century skills, global competitiveness, work, higher education, and entrepreneurship as valuable attributes of

the ideal Filipino citizen educated in the new program, because it evaluates the citizen according to the “cultural logics of capitalist accumulation, travel, and displacement that induce subjects to respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions” (p.6). Part of looking at the problem at the intersection of liberal and civic republican citizenships that has implications to Filipino citizenship is also looking at the overlap between those who are at an advantageous position within this framework of “neoliberalism as exception” and its coexistence with “exceptions to neoliberalism” by looking at the “interplay among technologies of governing and of disciplining, of inclusion and exclusion, of giving value or denying value to human conduct” (Ong, 2006, p. 5). In a powerful way, Ong (2006) argues:

Neoliberal exceptions have been variously invoked in Asian settings to recalculate social criteria of citizenship to remoralize economic action, and to redefine spaces in relation to market-driven choices...As an intervention of optimization, neoliberalism interacts with regimes of ruling and regimes of citizenship to produce conditions that change administrative strategies and citizenship practices...Meanwhile, citizens who are judged not to have such tradable competence or potential become devalued and thus vulnerable to exclusionary practices (pp. 5, pp. 6-7).

Therefore, along these lines of analysis, how does the K to 12 program, by employing “neoliberalism as exception” as an evaluative tool to Filipino citizenship, implicate and make some segments of the population “exceptions to neoliberalism”?

The place of the poor, women, and the indigenous peoples within this redefinition of Filipino citizenship is important because they definitely have to grapple with the blanket implementation of universal citizenship through the provision of the K to 12 education as a

social right and the concomitant expectation of performance of citizenly virtues evaluated under neoliberal standards. The primary question is how do these marginalized sectors of society fit within the 21st century holistically developed Filipino citizen?

Education has always been class-based in the Philippines as can be surmised from the colonial years when the mestizos, mostly Filipino-Chinese were able to send their children to Catholic schools and even received education in good schools in Manila or abroad (Constantino, 1976, pp. 146-147; Hunt & McHale, 1965, p. 65). King and Lillard's (1983) study of the determinants of enrollment rates in the Philippines also reveals that land ownership of parents, which is a primary indicator of wealth in an agricultural society like the Philippines, has positive effects to the educational attainment of their children (p. 54). Complicating this class-based education is the evidence that as one goes up the ladder of education, there is greater risk of dropping out. Sixty out of 100 students only finish grade school; 43 will graduate from high school; and only 14 will finish a university degree (Romualdez, 2013). It is very ironic that education is considered by many as a way-out of poverty but it is this same goal in mind that hinders many young Filipinos from being fully schooled. While I do not dismiss the presence of other factors to educational attainment, the pervasiveness of economic class and wealth as determinant of access to higher education in the Philippines remains and that to locate the poor within the Filipino in the K to 12 program results to an acceptance that their place is to take technical-vocational tracks which is more useful than taking an academic track to prepare for university which they do not have easy access to anyway. This is definitely a way to make their lives better compared to the usual high school education before the K to 12 reform. Along with the redefinition of success, by considering technical-vocational education just as valuable as college education because of the student's employability, the K to 12 reform might be

establishing pipelines that channel the poor to this specific track of technical vocational education that prepare them for middle-level skills jobs domestically and abroad as a way to be freed from poverty.

It should also be understood that the poor are not just males, they are also females who, by reason of poverty also are unable to go to higher education and would definitely resort to middle-skills jobs to earn a living. Part of the destination that they thread into is to participate in the diaspora. We recall that several years ago, there were approximately 6.5 million Filipino migrants the world over and that more than half of these migrants are composed of women (Asis as cited in Parrenas, 2001, p. 1). In fact, Tyner (1999, as cited in Parrenas 2001) claims that the outflow of Filipinas to more than 130 countries to provide domestic work is one of the most widespread movement of women in contemporary migration. Harris (1995, as cited in Parrenas 2001) states:

Filipinas are everywhere, a genuine labor force – maids gossiping and smoking on their day off in downtown Hong Kong or Singapore, working Japanese farms, running the duty-free shops of Bahrain, cleaning most of the world's largest cities from London to Sau Paulo (p. 1).

If the objective of the K to 12 curriculum is to intensify the dispersal of the Philippine “national treasure”, its skilled migrant workers, it also intensifies the flow of women diasporic workers since they compose the majority of those who leave the Philippines for overseas work. But does being the one who is more likely to leave to work for the family tantamount to saying that women are harmed by the discourse forwarded by the shift in the curriculum? The response is necessarily double-edged since leaving may also presuppose danger or no danger at all

depending on the situation. But literatures on the Filipina migration say that women most often if not all the time, take jobs that involve the provision of service such as health care or domestic work. Boris and Parrenas (2010) argue that Filipina migration constitute what they called ‘intimate labor’ which “encompasses a range of activities, including bodily and household upkeep, personal and family maintenance, and sexual contact or liason” (p.2). In a sense according to them, intimacy becomes a material, affective, psychological, and embodied labor. Worst, these kinds of work are usually considered to be the unpaid responsibility of women, a non-market activity of minimal economic value done by members of the lower classes or racial outsiders in their host countries (Boris and Parrenas, 2010, p. 2). As opposed to these intimate laborers, men in the diaspora usually work as sea men, construction workers, drivers, welders and many others that are not as pejoratively viewed as those of the Filipina migrants. This might constitute what Martin (1981) calls as ‘genderized traits’⁹⁸. In this case however, the state, through its control of the curriculum, perpetuates this pernicious social assignment of roles.

More than being workers of intimacy, of commodifying care, women are the most exposed to various forms of dislocations among those in the diaspora. According to Parrenas (2001), dislocations are the “positions into which external forces in society constitute the subject of migrant Filipina domestic worker which might include partial citizenship, the pain of separation, the experience of contradictory class mobility, and the feeling of social exclusion (pp. 3,12). Furthermore, Filipinas are most often the victims of illegal recruitment even sometimes by their fellow Filipinos, being prey to human trafficking or drug trafficking. To motivate K to 12 graduates to go and see the world constitutes the state’s exploitation of them specifically

⁹⁸ Martin contends that domestic and reproductive work are assigned to women while the productive ones are assigned to men. For a more comprehensive discussion, see her presidential address delivered during the Philosophy of Education Society 37th Annual Meeting, 1981.

when it allows them to experience dislocations in exchange of the remittances they give back home.

In light of the K to 12 curriculum, who then is the educated Filipina? It can be surmised that an educated Filipina goes to higher education, becomes an entrepreneur, or goes abroad to work as a domestic helper. These three images constitute the three career paths provided by the K to 12 curriculum for those in Grades 11 and 12. The first two examples require huge amounts of money while the third one requires lesser and yields more immediate returns. In a country plagued by poverty, there is more incentive for women to take the third option: to leave and work overseas than to go to college or do the far-fetched dream of entrepreneurship. Some Filipinas though will be fortunate enough to go to college and perhaps finish it but will certainly have to face the challenge of landing on a good job at home, something that will pay-off the expensive college education. Unfortunately, most of these college graduates will find it difficult to find a job domestically and would be forced to look for ‘domestic’ work abroad. Again, this complicates the Filipina migrant’s experience of dislocation since it constitutes a form of contradictory class mobility. The thought of a Filipina with a degree in Business Communication from a premiere university cleaning a condominium in Hong Kong is definitely bothersome.

Seemingly, in the same way as the poor men are lured to take technical-vocational tracks, so are the poor women who are likely to take caregiving, housekeeping, food and beverage preparation, and many others in order to land on middle-skills jobs that pay quick rewards.

The case of the poor men and women, even when their place in the K to 12 reform resides within the realm of technical-vocational tracks, the case of the indigenous peoples seems to be more miserable than them. On the one hand, at a conceptual level, how do indigenous

peoples fit in to the 21st century holistically developed Filipino? The truth is, more importantly than caring to fit within this redefinition of the Filipino, the indigenous peoples have far serious issues such as access to health care, education, representation in political decision-making, and even displacement due to capitalist development. The Philippines has more than 110 ethnolinguistic groups (UNDP Philippines, 2010) who since time immemorial constituted the indigenous peoples of the country. Today however, they form part of a segment of the population either as part of the Islamized ethnic or the Malay ethnic communities who are most often than not, held or viewed in opposite terms as their Christianized and Americanized counterparts (Tiongson, 1995, p. 17). These groups in my point of view make up the bipolarized mainstream and the “other” structure of contemporary Philippine society. As seen in the portrayals in the media, textbooks (de los Reyes, 2011), and quotidian and often taken for granted conversations, the “indigenous other” is seemingly challenged to fit-in to the existing constructs of the educated Filipino citizen. While they are not devoid of reason, calculation, will, and courage, they often have to face greater challenges in terms of access to resources such as education, health, and social entitlements and privileges that hinder them from fitting into these specific privileged categories. The case of the indigenous peoples within the K to 12 reform is captured by Kalantzis (2000) when she states:

...the realm of Symbolic Representation has remained fixed in a mirror-like relationship to the dominant group. National identity has meant, and continues to mean, looking like that group. Those not born into the dominant group have had to clone to the norms of the dominant group in order to assume the same stance of belonging and hence to make an effective claim on their right to a fair distribution of resources (p. 44).

Even when we assume that they are empowered to take technical-vocational courses in order to have sufficient income, the de facto discrimination that persists in society is another challenge that they have to deal with in terms of the availability of employment opportunities to them. This however does not mean that they do not have to be educated.

So within the K to 12 “neoliberal calculation”, is it sound to assume that the poor, women, and indigenous peoples are the most vulnerable to be the “exceptions” to neoliberal capitalist development, the obsolete Filipinos in the 21st century? It is true that the poor and women are given better economic opportunities in the new model hence forwarding the seeming “inclusion” but they are in fact still part of a wider form of capitalist exploitation. The only difference is that they are earning and living better than they used to be while maintaining themselves as the exploited. Nevertheless, if there is one good thing that the K to 12 reform does, it is to put forth the problems of access to higher education, the problematization of school and jobs, as central talking points in educational policy.

But even when these are some of the threats and danger posed by the K to 12 reform, the state, through mechanisms of policy is able to mask these dangers of “exceptions” or “exclusion” by creating an atmosphere of “inclusion”, “consultation”, “co-ownership”, and “cooperation” among sectors of society. This is made evident in R.A. 10533 when it mentions that in order “to achieve enhanced basic education curriculum, the DepEd shall undertake consultations with other national government agencies...” (Sec 5) in the same way as its earlier versions in the Houses of Senate and Representatives mention it (S. No. 3286, Sec 5; H. No. 6643, Sec 6). The Discussion Paper also states that “an open and consultative process will be adopted” in promoting the K to 12 reform in line with the principle “*Tao ang Boss*” (the people are the boss) advocated by the Presidency (Department of Education, 2010, p. 10). Moreover, this same

document also mentions of regional consultations to be conducted to solicit inputs from different stakeholders (p.11). There is also the use of the “spirit of cooperation” especially within the Department of Education headed by Armin Luistro. In his message to the K to 12 teachers who are going to use the Toolkit, he makes references to the K to 12 reform as both an effort of the government and those working with them. He says, “Together we will make early childhood education a reality for all Filipinos...with all of you in the frontlines, *hindi lang po kakayanin kundi kayang-kaya natin!*”⁹⁹ (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries). It looks like aside from using consultative and cooperative strategies, the state also seemingly sought the cooperation of the party-list sector in drafting the bills to give it a non-partisan face because the party-list representatives are presumed to be representing the marginalized sectors of society. Of the 58 authors of the Enhanced Basic Education Act in the House of Representatives, eleven are from the party-list sector representing interests of the teachers, laborers, youth, pro-life advocates, farmers, and a group representing a region in the Philippines (RAPPLER, 2013). More importantly, even when, as mentioned in the earlier sections of this paper that the indigenous peoples, representatives of teacher organizations, parents associations, and associations of public and private schools were removed in the list of members of the Curriculum Consultative Committee, the bill, R.A. 10533 which is a reconciled version of H. No. 6643 and S. No. 3286 uses the phrase “but not limited to” when it enumerated composition of the committee. This already manifests the expectation of the producers of the texts of some opposition that is why, as a disclaimer, they have used the phrase “not limited to” to argue that even when these representatives from indigenous groups, parents, teachers, public and private universities are not listed overtly, they may still be part of the committee. The point here is that by not mentioning these rather marginalized sectors in the committee, their presence is reduced

⁹⁹ When translated in English: “We cannot only do it, we can surely do it!”

to mere “discretion” of persons in authority to include them in the proceedings while their business counterpart, the IT-BPO representative is explicitly listed which in the earlier versions of the bill from the house and the senate, was even unheard of.

These acts and strategies from the government form part of a regime that may constitute hegemony, a form of domination that guise itself in leadership, alliance, integration of subordinate classes in decision-making (Fairclough, 1992, p. 92). In more detailed fashion, Fairclough describes it as:

...leadership as much as domination across economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of a society...the power over society as a whole of one of the fundamentally-defined classes in alliance with other social forces, but is never achieved more than partially, as an ‘unstable equilibrium’...about constructing alliances, and integrating rather than simply dominating subordinate classes, through concessions or through ideological means, to win their consent... (p. 92).

The K to 12 reform therefore classifies some sectors of Philippine society as obsolete due to their inability to fit within the 21st century holistically developed educated Filipino citizen and puts them in the category of “exceptions to neoliberalism” in two levels. In the first place, they are exceptions in a substantive sense because they are in a disadvantageous position in the redefinition of the educated Filipino citizen because they need to exert more efforts compared to those who are economically, and socially better off in order to fit in to the mold of new Filipino citizenship. On another level, they are held obsolete and as exceptions by means of procedural machinations that silence them in their participation to decide over what constitutes quality curriculum that generates the ideal Filipino citizen. Therefore, not only are the marginalized

sectors of society exceptions to neoliberalism or as Filipinos in obsolescence due to their inability to pass the neoliberal calculative test, but also by reason of structural and procedural exceptions in curricular decision-making, are made mute to decide over what ideal Filipino citizenship should be. Not only are these marginalized sectors “invisibilized” in the equation of “citizenship”, they too are invisible in deciding over it.

What has been accomplished in this chapter is an analysis of Filipino citizenship within K to 12 reform as both a “discursive” and “social practice”. The first was dealt with by looking into “intertextuality” both at its manifest and latent forms to expose amplified and silenced voices as well as positioned both the legislature and the executive as producers of the text. The second, which was aimed at capturing the interaction of constraining systems of social structure and human action, was dealt with by presenting the social and historical processes, as well as theoretical developments in citizenship theorizing as elements constituting the orders of discourse and then went on to discuss the ideological and hegemonic facets of the K to 12 program that as argued in this chapter, has reproduced social inequality by complicating and creating symbolic and procedural exclusionary mechanisms that relate to Filipino citizenship.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The K to 12 reform which has been implemented since June of 2012 added two years to the then 10-year structure of basic education in the Philippines; made kindergarten compulsory; introduced a tracking system that includes academic, technical-vocational, and entrepreneurship; and made 21st century skills a primary defining characteristic of the Filipino learner.

Based from a Critical Discourse Analysis of the following documents: 1. Discussion Paper on the Enhanced K+12 Basic Education Program; 2. K to 12 Toolkit; 3. House Bill 6643, Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2012; 4. Senate Bill 3286, Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2012; and 5. RA 10533, Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2013; the following findings¹⁰⁰ have been arrived at:

A. Analysis of Text

1. Representation of Reform

The K to 12 reform has been couched as the most comprehensive reform to rebuild the broken system of Philippine education. The documents describe the K to 12 curriculum as “seamless”, “relevant”, “responsive”, “enriched”, “learner-centered”, “culture-sensitive”, “contextualized and global”, “integrative”, and “flexible” (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, pp.3-4; R.A. 10533, Sec 5(a-h). In legitimizing this reform, the government, both at the executive and legislative levels employed various argumentation schemes and rhetorical means, which in this paper has been called *topoi* (Wodak, 2001) such that the reform was construed as urgent and

¹⁰⁰ Due to the length of this paper as required by the framework used, it is important to present a summary of findings before providing the conclusions and implications as well as recommendations. That way, the conclusions and recommendations mentioned in this chapter will be better contextualized and appreciated.

critical; benefits individuals, society, economy, and the region in ways that outweigh the costs; responsive to the calls of the labor market and to 21st century's demand for a different Filipino; can yield quantifiable results and improvements in individual employment and the economy in general; upholds the state's responsibility to provide free public education and equal opportunities to succeed for everyone; coheres with the 1987 Constitution and the international commitments of the country such as Education For All; changes the misperception that basic education is just a preparatory step to higher education; and implements reform that has long been overdue since the establishment of public education in the country.¹⁰¹

2. Representation of the Filipino Citizen

The Filipino in the five documents analyzed used words such as “student”, “educated Filipino”, “Filipino”, “individual”, and “citizen”, to refer to the person who goes through the K to 12 program. In the same way as the new curriculum is dubbed as new and comprehensive, so is the Filipino by pointing out the insufficiency of being humane, god-fearing, nationalistic, and naturalistic as values (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries) and instead argue that the new Filipino is empowered, excellent, competent, productive, in harmony with the local and global communities, autonomous, critical-thinker, and transformative of oneself and others (Department of Education, 2010, p. 6; H. No. 6643, Sec 2; S. No. 3286, Sec 2; R.A. 10533, Sec 2). The Filipino has also been presented as “holistically developed” because of his possession of 21st century skills that include learning and innovation, information and media, communication, and life and career skills (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, pp. 9-10).¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ For a more comprehensive discussion of these argumentation strategies and the exact documents which they were drawn from, read Chapter V, Representations of the K to 12 Reform.

¹⁰² For more exhaustive discussion, see Chapter V, The Filipino Citizen: Representation of a Social Actor.

3. Representations of the Filipino and the Curriculum in relation to space and time

Corollary to the representations of the K to 12 reform and the Filipino citizen is their relationship to space and time. The curriculum is dubbed as internationally recognized, comparable and competitive as widely as possible, and is responsive to both local and global needs (Department of Education, 2010, p.8; H. No., 6643, Sec 2 (1); S. No, 3286, Sec 2 (a); R.A. 10533, Sec 2(a); SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, pp. 6 & 10). On the other hand, the learner is constructed as in harmony with local and global communities by being globally-oriented and locally-grounded and in reference to the former, is globally competitive and internationally recognized (H. No., 6643; S. No, 328; R.A. 10533, Sec 2; SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries; Department of Education, 2010, pp. 7 & 8). More importantly, the curriculum and the learner were situated in the 21st century which as described by the documents, is a time where knowledge is expanding and requires a different set of skills (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries & p. 61). In relation to the 21st century, the word “modern” also appears in the texts and was characterized as a time full of challenges and in a similar way as the 21st century was painted, also requires a new citizenship (Department of Education, 2010, p. 6).¹⁰³

B. Citizenship and Reform as Discursive and Social Practice

1. Positioning the Executive and the Legislative

The executive was positioned within the Presidency’s commitment to a new form of leadership articulated in the 16-point Social Contract where education is considered as a central strategy to deal with social problems and build national competitiveness (Official Gazette, 2010). The bicameral legislature on the other hand specifically the House of Representatives was positioned as a government branch dominated by the President’s political party while the Senate,

¹⁰³ See Chapter V, The Filipino and the Curriculum in Space and Time for more comprehensive analysis.

even when overt party alliances are not pronounced, individual alliances and loyalties were in operation.

2. *Intertextuality*

The 1987 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines, World Declaration on Education for All, earlier educational policies, President Aquino's sound bite on "even chances of succeeding" in the K to 12 program, and the Partnership for 21st Century in the definition of 21st century skills, were sources where voices and ideas dominant in the K to 12 reform were drawn from. Moreover, the documents analyzed in this paper also constitute an intertextual chain such that earlier texts are echoed in subsequent texts as demonstrated in the description of the Filipino graduate, the characteristics of the K to 12 curriculum and the definition of "basic education", and the composition of the Curriculum Consultative Committee where industry and government representatives dominate it while marginal sectors are underrepresented.¹⁰⁴

3. *Social Matrix of Discourse*

Some of the more immediate social processes that were considered as significant in understanding the K to 12 reform and the concomitant redefinition of the Filipino citizen includes the high incidence of poverty; the strong cultural glorification of foreign life; the state's political strategies that glorify leaving such as the *Bagong Bayani* Awards (Modern-Day Hero Awards) and the *Balikbayan* Program (Returnee Program); implementation of educational policies that intensify labor outflow; and international commitments such as the Education For All and the Millennium Development Goals.

¹⁰⁴ See Figure 4, The Transformation of the Curriculum Consultative Committee from bill to law, to have a clearer understanding of the process.

4. Moments of Human Action

Even when there is this seeming strong and increasing colonization of neoliberal calculation in citizenship and educational reform, the K to 12 reform also demonstrates that there are still, however marginal they are, voices that resist this colonization. Examples of these are the opposition of Senator Antonio Trillanes IV despite being alone who voted against S. No 3286 and the opposition of 8 members of the House of Representatives mostly from the party-list sector.

5. Orders of Discourse

The emerging trends in citizenship theory and the developments in history of Philippine education also form part of the conventions that shaped the redefinition and reform respectively. For one, the redefinition of the new Filipino reflected the emergent citizenship theories such as “performative citizenship” that consider citizenship as constitutive of efforts and actions (Albrow as cited in Tan, 2010) and “flexible citizenship” (Ong, 1999) that looks at the citizen as a neoliberal subject. Also, significant are the contradictions at the intersection of civic-republican citizenship and the universal liberal tradition which, by virtue of providing educational rights in a blanket approach implicitly expects a concomitant homogenous performance of expectations from citizens even when there are pre-existing social differences. In terms of the history of education, there had been increased marginalization of nationalist discourses on education and the championing of cultural glorification regimes from society, culture, and politics. All these conventions in citizenship theory and the history of education in the Philippines significantly situated the K to 12 reform and the Filipino citizen.

6. *The Reform and the Citizen as “Ideological”*

The K to 12 reform reconstructs different realities and has redefined success, good education and nationalist education. For one, by arguing that the K to 12 curriculum levels the playing field to success and by changing the misperception that basic education is just a preparation for university, the government redefines success as not necessarily getting a university degree but completing basic education that leads to a gainful employment or entrepreneurship which counters the dominant glorification of white-collar jobs in the country. Second, the reform also redefines what good and nationalist education is by arguing that a good education prepares the individual for higher learning, middle-skills work, or entrepreneurship, and nationalist education involves an individual in harmony with local and global communities, proud of his or her Filipino heritage, and responsive to local needs at the same time.

7. *Citizenship, Reform, and Hegemony*

By creating a scenario of inclusion, co-ownership, and cooperation as a way to gain consent and recognize efforts of different sectors of society by using the “*Tao ang Boss*” (The People are the Boss) principle and mentioning regional and national consultations, the state employs a hegemonic strategy that disguises itself in leadership, alliance, and integration of subordinate classes.

Based from the mentioned findings, the following conclusions and implications are offered:

1. The articulations made to legitimize the reform, to define the curriculum, and the Filipino, and structuring representation in decision-making process over curricular matters reify the increasing colonization of economic, corporatist and neoliberal calculation to citizenship, the

universalizing proclivity of state-centered construction of citizenship, the predominance of the mainstream Philippine society, and the silencing of the subaltern.

2. Implicitly, by redefining the Filipino as holistically developed through his possession of 21st century skills, the K to 12 curriculum renders the mere god-fearing, humane, nationalistic, and naturalistic Filipino in a state of obsolescence inevitably categorizing them as “exceptions to neoliberalism” when the state clandestinely employs “neoliberalism as exception” in evaluating the citizen (Ong, 2006). With these in place, the condition the subaltern such as the poor, women, and the indigenous peoples mean that they have to struggle with the implementation of universal citizenship and the concomitant expectation of performance of citizenly virtues evaluated under neoliberal standards making them exert more efforts in order to fit in to the new mold of Filipino citizenship.

3. The K to 12 reform classifies and marginalizes the subaltern both in a “substantive” sense by expecting them to fit into the neoliberal calculative mold as efficiently as the mainstream and the rich on the one hand, and in a “procedural” sense by tokenistically representing them at the onset but subsequently excluding them in deciding over curricular matters and necessarily, on citizenship on the other hand. Therefore, this dualism of exclusion also reveals the complicated nature of citizenship especially at the intersection of civic republicanism and liberal citizenship where not only theoretical but also practical contradictions remain.

4. In the end, what this paper reveals is the inevitable and indubitable truth that educational policy, construed by the state as legitimate, is never value neutral, and in relation to citizenship, assumes a field where contesting views and interests are reckoned. With this,

citizenship as a construct is always subject to “presentist” needs and to existing relations of power.

In light of these conclusions, the following recommendations are offered:

1. Understanding that this paper is an analysis which revolved around discourses in legislation and policy documents, there is a need in the future to conduct case studies and ethnographic work that inquire on the experiences of students, and teachers that revolve around this new citizenship. In doing so, we are able to capture, in a deeper sense the interaction of structure and human action within the K to 12 reform.

2. Comparative studies on the rationalization and legitimation of curriculum change particularly on adding or removing years in basic education from a transnational perspective will also be important. This is in order to reckon the argumentation strategies of states about curriculum policy reforms and look into their differences in expression, legitimation, and rationalization in so far as the need to increase or decrease years in school is concerned.

3. From a theoretical viewpoint, a further exploration is necessary particularly in understanding the intersection of civic-republican and liberal traditions of citizenship and their corresponding duty expectation and universal provision of rights that are at loggerheads conceptually and practically. Interesting is to also look into the extent of state recognition of this contradiction and their corresponding modes of negotiations within citizenship and educational reform especially in highly diverse and differentiated post-colonial societies such as the Philippines.

4. In a more practical sense, a longitudinal study of students as they transition to higher education, middle-skills jobs, and entrepreneurship would also be beneficial in understanding

more rigorously the class, ethnicity, and gender implications of the tracking system implemented by the K to 12 program.

5. It is also important to capture the responses of the indigenous peoples, women, and the poor with respect to what this paper has claimed to be the emerging citizenship. This is so because this amounts to a recognition of their capacities as humans to respond to constraining structures.

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