DISTANT SAVAGES, URBAN AGENTS: Discursive Construction of Indigenous Peoples in Social Studies Textbooks (2002-2008)

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ABSTRACT

The ways in which indigenous peoples' identities are constructed in social studies textbooks in the Philippines and the discursive and social practices that are at play in this construction are the overarching issues that animate this paper. Using Fairclough's Three-Tiered Model for Critical Discourse Analysis, three different contextual levels are examined: text, discursive practice, and social practice. A "critical" reading of the selected textbooks reveals some recurrent themes that could be clustered into two prongs: the seeming hegemonic and condescending attitude towards indigenous peoples; and the counter-hegemonic, agentive, and civilized side. On the one hand, the dominant and pejorative views about indigenous peoples include the imaginaries of indigenous peoples as poor, marginalized, and inferior, and the shifting, ambiguous, and selective use of the word "indigenous" to refer to different groups in the Philippines with references to certain binaries such as remote and backward, or urban and civilized. On the other hand, there are also more emancipatory and agentive views that include references to indigenous peoples as civilized, endowed with rights, partners in development, and as part of the Filipino nation. This paper links these constructions of indigenous peoples to textbook policy reforms and the disjuncture between educational philosophy and curriculum development in the Philippines. It also reflects on how the colonial past, postcolonial nation-building and contemporary globalization have unsettled notions of "Filipinoness" and ushered in the normalization of the "mainstream" and the "other." Lastly, this paper offers the possibility that these texts, despite their symbolic violence, can be viewed as possible spaces for counter-discursive practices.

Keywords*:* Indigenous peoples, representation, education, textbooks, curriculum development, critical discourse analysis

Introduction: The Gadfly and the Carabao in the Room

The enterprise of textbook production arguably does not only fulfill certain pedagogic ends. Inevitably, it is a landscape where cultural politics unfold in ways that reify dominant discourses – from the scientific to national memory – or contest certain grand narratives aimed towards emancipatory ends. The overlap between textbook production as representation and as productive responsibility of the state makes evident the entanglement as well as disjunctures of education and the politics of knowledge production, and their emerging, unintended consequences.

In the Philippines, the name Antonio Go, an academic from a private school in Quezon City, has become synonymous to a gadfly hovering over the carabao in the room, the Department of Education-approved textbooks. Since 2004, Go, who has been considered the whistleblower of the "textbook scam" would painstakingly browse over textbooks sanctioned by the Department of Education and point out their errors, often gaining media mileage on national television (PCIJ 2007). In 2004, Go contended that there are "431 factual, grammatical and other errors in the history textbook *Asya: Nuon, Ngayun at sa Hinaharap*," which eventually led to the Department of Education's admission that indeed, there are textbooks riddled with errors (Ronda 2004). In a letter addressed to Senator Panfilo Lacson, Go writes about his systematic study of English, Filipino, and Social Studies grade school textbooks.[2] He contends that "half, or fifty percent (50%), of all public school textbooks in English, Filipino, and Social Studies may be categorized as defective" (Go 2007).

Go would eventually become a fixture in the media brouhahas that took place every opening of classes or beginning of the school year, when he would count the errors in different government-approved textbooks.[3] Most recently, following the burial of former President Ferdinand Marcos at the Libingan ng mga Bayani and the opposing claims from different camps over the legitimacy of the clandestine burial, the primacy of textbooks in national memory is once again foregrounded. Secretary Briones of the Department of Education said the agency is reviewing history textbooks, specifically looking into how the martial law period is taught in schools (Cheng 2016).

Claims on the competence of textbook writers, the factual accuracy of content, and structure and grammar have dominated the debates surrounding Philippine textbooks. However, the symbolic representation and violence visited on the subaltern tends to be glossed over, even as it is the marginalized sectors of society who are at the receiving end of these procedural, factual, and syntactic errors. The case of the indigenous peoples in the Philippines and the ways in which they are constructed and described in textbooks

is both interesting and telling. It is striking because the unfounded and depreciatory claims about them arguably should not be in learners' materials. At the same time, the persistence of these errors also reflects the pervasive discursive and social practices of Philippine society, which are themselves at play in textbook representations of indigenous peoples.

Cognizant of these emergent issues, this paper examines the ways in which indigenous peoples' identity is constructed in select Philippine History textbooks used in private schools[4] and published from 2002 to 2008. In analyzing these textbooks, this paper uses Norman Fairclough's "Three-Tiered Model" of Critical Discourse Analysis and looks into three significant dimensions of context: text, discursive practice, and social practice (Fairclough 1992). Recurrent and pervasive in the textbooks' construction of indigenous peoples' identity are the oppositional themes of the "indigenous other" and the "indigenous agent." On the one hand, indigenous peoples are temporally constructed as moving from backwardness to civilization, and spatially from remoteness or the mountains to the lowlands or the city. On the other hand, counter-hegemonic discourses are also emergent. These describe indigenous peoples as stakeholders in development with rights and agency, and as part of the Filipino nation. This is also telling of how the textbooks grapple with the concept of indigenousness.

Indigenous Peoples, Law, and Pedagogy

In recent years, indigenous peoples have become conceptual contents of pedagogy due to efforts and mandates to foster inclusion and diversity. For example, the 1987 Philippine Constitution contains the state's commitment to the rights of indigenous cultural communities. Therefore, the state legitimately sanctions its duties to recognize, respect, and foster peaceful coexistence with indigenous peoples. Prior to the 1987 Constitution, the Batas Pambansa Blg. 232, otherwise known as the Education Act of 1982 was in place. This articulated in more comprehensive terms than the 1987 Constitution the state's recognition and commitment to indigenous peoples. As written in Section IV:

> [t]he educational system shall reach out to educationally deprived communities, in order to give meaningful reality to their membership in the national society, to enrich their civic participation in the community and national life, and to unify all Filipinos into a free and just nation. (in Estioko 1994, 204)

Contrary to the seeming coherence of legal and policy rhetoric, the debate on indigenous peoples being both symbolically and procedurally Othered in Filipino cultural politics continues. This is in reference to the existing dichotomy of the "Christianized-Americanized-mainstream" and the "indigenous other" that stemmed from the colonial past and continued in nation-building thereafter. Within education, there have been discourses that have historically marginalized indigenous peoples and indigenous knowledge. While indigenous knowledge is included in academic discourse, it is often treated as myth, sidebar, philosophical or spiritual discussion, and is thus unacceptable to scientific and social sciences inquiry. This oftentimes results in the invisibility of indigenous knowledge systems in academic discourses and research (Hereniko 2000, 78-91; Holmes 2000, 37-53). For Smith (1999, 2), this phenomenon is a product of a process that Edward Said refers to as "a Western discourse about the other" which is supported by institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles. Corson (1998b) also attributes this to the entanglement of capitalism and education. For him:

> the organization of education everywhere in the English-speaking countries is interwoven with capitalist social relations… In the capitalist world of affluence, privilege, and consumerism described by theorists of postmodernity, serious advocates for diversity are often ignored... Fewer people accept responsibility for others, or even acknowledge their collective identity." (Corson 1998a, 206)

Eventually, concepts such as citizenship education, multicultural education, education for diversity, and humanistic education—practices that aim at helping groups of students who differ in some educationally relevant way from the majority of students attending a society's schools (Corson 1998b, 3)—stemmed from the disjuncture of educational philosophy, policy, and practice. These are premised on the idea that "one crucial element of citizenship in any polity is a sense of being a member of that polity, of sharing with one's fellow citizens a conjoint set of political purposes and ends" (Archard 2003, 89). Their overarching aim is "to promote the unity of mankind…, respect for all varieties of experience, cultural practices, and social organization" (Estioko 1994, 222).

In the Philippines, efforts to champion multicultural and citizenship education have also been in place. In 2011, the Department of Education adopted the National Indigenous Education Policy Framework (Department of Education Order No. 62, s. 2011), which aimed at "promoting shared accountability, continuous dialogue,

engagement, and partnership among government, IP communities, civil society, and other education stakeholders" (Department of Education 2011). Eventually, the agency also adopted the Indigenous Peoples Education Curriculum Framework (Department of Education Order No. 62, s. 2015). This framework seeks to "provide guidance to schools and other education programs, both public and private, as they engage with indigenous communities in localizing, indigenizing, and enhancing the K to 12 Curriculum" (Department of Education 2015).

Steering the Carabao: Big Questions and Analytical Frame

In general, this paper aims to explore the construction of indigenous peoples' identities in select First Year Social Studies textbooks (published from 2000-2008) and to uncover, describe, and critique dominant and hegemonic discourses. More specifically, this paper intends to address the following questions:

> 1. On text: Who are the indigenous peoples as constructed in the texts?
>
> 2. On discursive and social practice: What are the discourses and socio-economic and political processes at play in this construction of indigenous peoples' identities?

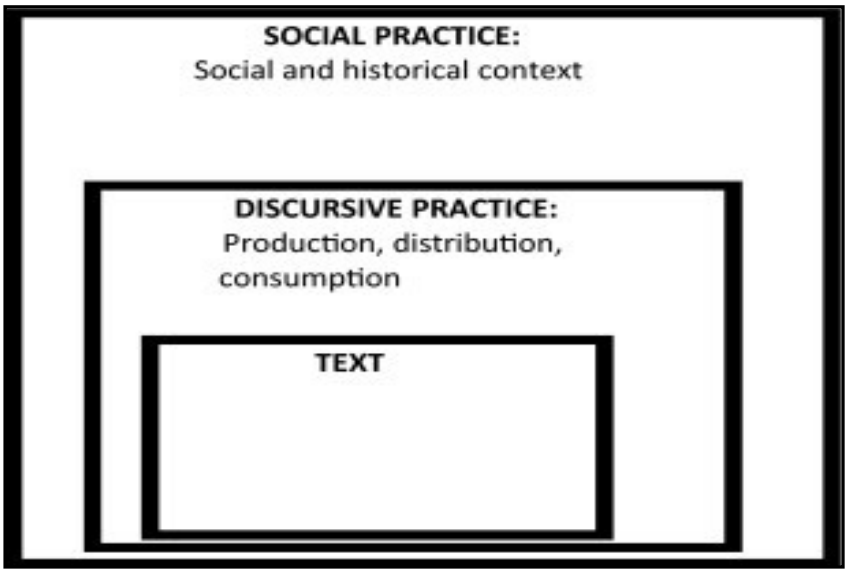
Alongside this sketch of the discourses on indigenous peoples[5] in selected freshmen social studies textbooks is the characterization of discursive practices such as educational policy and curriculum that facilitate the construction. Furthermore, this paper casts a critical gaze on social practice by focusing on the political economy of the state as reified in the colonial past and emergent globalizing tendencies in contemporary Philippine society, which constitute the backdrop of indigenous identity construction. This paper does not attempt to generalize the construction of indigenous peoples' identities in the entire gamut of educational practices nor is it invested in the stance that indigenous peoples in textbooks are ultimately constructed with an "othering" slant.

While this paper analyzes textbooks published between 2000 and 2008, the author is cognizant of the developments that have taken place after this project's completion in February 2011. These include the Department of Education's implementation of the National Indigenous Peoples Education Policy Framework (Department of Education Order No. 62, s. 2011) and the adoption of the Indigenous Peoples Education Curriculum Framework (Department of Education Order No. 32, s. 2015). Moreover, while there exists an assumption that there might have been changes made in current public schools'

textbooks (despite more recent criticisms raised by Antonio Go in 2015a and 2015b), this paper remains significant insofar as there is textbook deregulation in private schools. This paper also puts forth the problematic construction of indigenous peoples in academic discourse, and the disjuncture between education policy, philosophy, curriculum, and pedagogy, all of which seem to be complicit in the reproduction of these symbolic misrepresentations. Both the representational and institutional problematics in textbooks and the educational bureaucracy are undoubtedly persistent.

Critical Discourse Analysis

While there is a plethora of critical discourse approaches, Norman Fairclough's (1992) three-tiered model is used here. This paper intends to explore and decipher the discourses in the construction of indigenous peoples following the framework as shown below:



In the analysis of discourse as *text*, the organization of the text and textual properties such as vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure will be examined (Fairclough 1992, 75-78). Analysis of *discursive practice* casts a gaze on the production of the text, with a conscious effort to deconstruct 1) the producer into a set of positions; 2) the consumption (collective or individual), and the forms by which it is consumed and transformed; and 3) distribution with reference to anticipated audience (Fairclough 1992, 78-79). Fairclough advises that there should also be an investigation on the sociocognitive dimension of text production by deciphering the extent to which discourse participants have internalized and brought in dominant discourses, and how production and interpretation are socially constrained by member's resources (norms, conventions, etc.) and the very nature

of the social practices of which they are part (Fairclough 1992, 80). 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. (Fairclough 1992, 87)

The examination of ideology is intended to disclose and "denormalize" representations of social reality that have the function of power or domination. The concept of struggle is also considered important because it captures the ways in which the dialectics between "order of discourse," or structures, and human actions transform or reproduce their constraining structures (Fairclough 1992, 89). Therefore, while "interdiscursivity" is given prime importance in the analysis of discursive practice, or how the conditioning social structure shapes human actions or events, the analysis of social practice contributes to a richer understanding of the more complex interaction: the dialectics between structure and human agency. Therefore, Critical Discourse Analysis is a theory that describes, explains, and interprets discursive events in a fluid, dynamic, and potentially liberating endeavor. In fact, Rogers (2004, 6-8) contends that there are no formulas for conducting Critical Discourse Analysis since deciding which analytic procedures to use depends on the practical research situation one is in, the texts one is studying, and one's research questions.

Some first year/freshman Social Studies textbooks were chosen for analysis because Social Studies is a subject that is institutionally mandated to foster awareness about indigenous peoples, more than in other subject areas such as science and mathematics. Moreover, in the curriculum prescribed by the Department of Education in 2002, only the First Year Social Studies curriculum is required to include the study of the "peoples of the Philippines" as a subject matter. Consequently, social studies subjects in other year levels such as Asian History, World History, and Economics do not contain a discussion on indigenous peoples of the Philippines.

The following social studies textbooks used in private schools were analyzed:[6]

> Antonio, Eleanor, E Dallo, C Imperial, MC Samson, Celia Soriano C. 2007. *Turning Points 1, Worktext in Philippine History for First Year High School*. Manila: Rex Book Store.

Boncan, Celestina, MD dl Jose, J Ong, and J Ponsara. 2006. *Philippine Civilization, History and Government*. Metro Manila: Vibal Publishing House.

Gonzalez, Andrew, Adelaida Hukom, and Lilia Sta. Ana-Rankin. 2002. *Kasaysayan at Pamahalaang Pilipino*. Quezon City: Phoenix Publishing House.

Juntura, A, L Lim, M Majul, and MA Majul. 2008. *Sanayang Aklat sa Kasaysayan at Pamahalaan ng Pilipinas (Araling Panlipunan para sa Unang Taon)*. Quezon City: Smartbooks Publishing.

Between savagery and civilization, victimization and agency: Who are the "indigenous"?

A critical reading of the selected textbooks reveals recurrent themes that could be categorized into two prongs: (1) a seemingly hegemonic condescension towards indigenous peoples, and (2) the counter-hegemonic description of indigenous peoples as agentive and civilized. The first prong includes the following sub-themes: (1) ambiguity and complexity of "ethnicity" or "indigenousness"; (2) indigenous peoples in relation to time; (3) indigenous peoples in relation to space; (4) indigenous peoples as the Other; and (5) indigenous peoples as poor, marginalized, and inferior. On the other hand, sub-themes in the agentive view include: (1) indigenous peoples as civilized; (2) indigenous peoples' rights and agency; (3) indigenous peoples and development; and (4) indigenous peoples as part of the Filipino nation.

Complexities of 'ethnicity' or 'indigenousness'

The four textbooks manifest a divergent usage of labels such as "*katutubong pangkat*" (indigenous group) (Juntura et al. 2008, 35; Gonzalez et al. 2002); "ethnolinguistic group" and "ethnic group" (Boncan et al. 2006, 34-36); or just "group" (Antonio et al. 2007, 60-66) to refer to the groups inquired about in this paper. The addition or omission of the word "ethnic" is striking when the authors refer to certain groups. For example, Antonio et al. list the *Ita, Ifugao, Bago, Bontoc*, and *Ibanag* under the subject heading "Ethnic Groups in Luzon." This contrasts with the heading "Groups of People in Luzon", which implies a "non-ethnic" category and includes the *Tagalog*, *Ilocano*, *Pangasinense*, *Pampango* and the *Bicolano*. Similar observations also apply to Gonzalez et al.'s (2002) shifting usage of "*katutubong pangkat*" and "*pangkat*'" to refer to the same groups that Antonio et al. refer to.

Their usage of labels such as "ethnic groups" or "ethnolinguistic groups" is consistent with existing literature especially in reference

to shared language, territory, principles and institutionalized rules as bases for people to be under one "ethnic grouping" or "ethnolinguistic grouping" (Jocano 2000, 18; Lewis 1997, 61). The same congruence can also be observed with the definition of "indigenous peoples" since the elements of priority in time, perpetuation of cultural distinctiveness, and the experience of subjugation or disadvantage in the development process are also articulated (Asian Development Bank 1999, 6; Caruso and Colchester 2005, 7-8; Rovillos and Morales 2002, 2-3; Reid 2009, 20-21).

The ambiguity and divergence in naming reflects the greater problematique in identity construction. While authorities recognize that identity is acquired by virtue of self-ascription and ascription of others, proximity or distance to power should be factored in. In the context of this paper, it appears that the identification of who is "indigenous" or "ethnic" relies solely on textbook writers who possess the discursive power to attribute or take-away the "ethnicity" of a group of people. This alludes to ethnocentrism and internal colonialism making the indigenous peoples essentially colonized peoples within the larger society (Kornblum 2005, 381).

Indigenous peoples in relation to time

The textbooks' presentation of the indigenous peoples as situated in the continuum of temporality (Lewis 1997) is as divergent as the textbooks' attribution of indigeneity or non-indigeneity to certain groups. All the books presented indigenous peoples as able to preserve their ways of life in spite of colonialism (Boncan et al. 2006, 36). Furthermore, they are presented as peoples still practicing their traditions (Antonio et al. 2006, 61), which include clothing, as opposed to mainstream fashion (according to Juntura et al. 2008, 35), and polygamy (according to Gonzalez et al. 2002, 130) as opposed to the monogamy of the Christianized groups. At the same time, the books mention their forward temporal movement, usually in discussions of abandonment of certain cultural practices and coping with the fast pace of modernization. Boncan et al. (2006) view the identity of some groups as dynamic and changing as a result of being exposed to other groups considered dominant (36). For example, Gonzalez et al. (2002) refer to the Visayans as a group equally adaptive as the Tagalogs and other advanced groups that are able to adapt to the fast changing times (150). In short, the "*mauunlad na pangkat*" (advanced groups) are those who are "*nakikiayon sa mabilis na takbo ng panahon*" (adapting to fast changing times). Framed in this way, the books present those who are still practicing their ancient traditions as "backward."

While the stereotyping of indigenous peoples as backward in relation to modernization is upsetting (as shown in Juntura et al., Antonio et al., and Gonzalez et al.), there was an observable

sensitivity to certain issues related to time like headhunting among the Kalinga[s]. Antonio et al. (2007, 61) mention that "they (Kalinga) were former headhunters" while Gonzalez et al. (2002) refer to the practice as "a tradition of the past" (133). What is striking in their discussion of indigenous peoples and time is the inconsistency with which the authors semantically describe the relationship of the Visayans to time. Gonzalez et al. (2002, 150) describe the Visayan temporality as dynamic and adaptive just like other groups, yet claim that they will pass these traditions to posterity because they have inherited it from their ancestors. There seems to be a foregrounding of the Visayans' capability to cope with the changes of time on the one hand, and their ability to preserve or maintain their ways of life on the other. This kind of treatment and presentation of a group as flexible yet critical to change is scantly manifested in the textbook descriptions of indigenous groups.

Indigenous peoples in relation to space

The spatiality of indigenous peoples' identity is just as important as their temporality. This is exemplified in the inextricable link between land and identity, which is captured by the aphorism "land is life." Land facilitates both economic and cultural reproduction (Rovillos 2004, 90). The textbooks differentiate indigenous peoples' spatiality, particularly literal space, into three categories: (1) the mountains and the valleys or remote places, (2) the plains, and (3) the city.

Antonio et al. (2007, 60-61) describe the Ibanags as living in remote villages and the Ilocanos in the mountains of the east and south. In general, the textbooks state that indigenous peoples are usually found in the valleys and mountains (Boncan et al. 2006, 37) or in "*malalayong lugar*" (far-flung areas) (Gonzales et al. 2002, 134). The description of distance is definitely unnecessary and bothersome because it implies a certain dominant point of origin or reference from which distance is traced.

Concerning the plains as space, Boncan et al. (2006, 37) refer to the Christianized ethnolinguistic groups, which comprise 90% of the population, as residing in plains and coastal areas. They mention the Ivatan, Ibanag, Ilocano, Pampango, Tagalog, Bicolano, Cebuano, Ilongo, Kiniray-a, Aklanon, Capiznon, Waray, Cuyunon, and Pangasinense as part of the Christianized group. There seems to be an implicit overarching assumption that people from the mountains are merely cultural communities (3rd category in Boncan text) while there are indigenous communities who are Christianized and happen to occupy the mountains of the Cordilleras. This is understandable for the writers since they are trying to be consistent with their established groupings—Christians, Muslim, cultural communities—but unfor-

tunately, this is accomplished at the expense of misrepresenting indigenous peoples.

Referring to the city as a space of progress, Antonio et al. (2006, 61) describe some *Ibanags* who settled in urban areas as no longer practicing long-time traditions since they have acquired higher education and have improved social status. Basing from the previous statement and using the gaze of antonymy, it is implied that the *Ibanags* who are still residing in the remote areas have not acquired higher education nor improved their social status. The synonymy of urbanism and high status implies that staying in remote areas connotes low social status or a status that cannot be improved.

While the spatiality of indigenous peoples appears convoluted in the textbooks as presented above, indigenous peoples nevertheless are seen to be geographically mobile. This is exemplified by Juntura et al.'s (2008, 35) statements concerning ethnic diffusion due to inter-group interaction. The authors claim that many ethnic groups are now dispersed in different locations in the country while a small portion continue to live in their territories, with the exception of those whose original domains have since been occupied by other groups.

In a nutshell, different social spaces—mountains and valleys, plains and coasts, and the city—are accorded with different levels of prestige or status. The mountains, valleys, and remote areas are for the non-Christian cultural communities; the plains are for the Christianized; and the city is occupied by the indigenous who have acquired higher education and higher social status. The treatment of space is not dissimilar to the treatment of temporality. There is also a dichotomy between those who adhere to their traditions and those who cope or adjust with the changing times, and a third space for groups who synthesize these two capabilities. These discursive constructions reveal unilinear, evolutionist, ethnocentric, and assimilationist views of indigenous culture.

Indigenous peoples as the different 'Other'

Indigenous peoples are viewed as 'different' from the perspective of mainstream society, and there is no difference in how textbooks construct or position them in relation to the mainstream (Pertierra 2002, 100). True enough, Gonzalez et al. (2002) for example, describe the practice of tattooing (in general) as "*hindi pangkaraniwan*" (uncommon) and "*kakaibang kaugalian*" (eccentric practice) (137-138). The fondness of Bicolanos for spicy food is labeled the same way (147). Surprisingly, the same textbook changes its tune when discussing the practice of tattooing among the Visayans. The authors make no reference to its being different or eccentric (137 and 148). This demonstrates how essentializing constructions could become problematic:

within the construction of indigenous peoples lies an internal condescension that is reflected in larger society.

Indigenous peoples as marginalized, discriminated and inferior

Still linked to the "Otherness" of indigenous peoples are notions of their "inferiority" or being "lesser." This implied inferiority of indigenous peoples can be seen in the description of their abodes as having "only one" room (in reference to the Yakans) (Antonio et al. 2007, 66), low lying, dark and with "only" one lamp (in reference to the Badjaos and I'Waks), or sometimes, "having no window at all" (Gonzalez et al. 2002, 158 and 132). The same treatment is given to their clothing, food, social affairs, and knowledge.

Concerning the clothing and ornaments, the Tasaday[7] are described as having leaves as the "only" covering for the lower part of their bodies, or the Negritos as using ornaments that are "easily broken." The Tasadays are also described as "possessing no knowledge on agriculture" or the domestication of animals and as a consequence, their staple food is usually composed of fruits or some parts of plants. Also, the marriage practices of Cordillerans are described as *"masalimuot"* (very complicated, with negative connotations) (Gonzalez 2002, 128, 130, and 137). It is important to note that the use of terms such as "only," "*tangi,*" "*lamang*," and "*wala*" are unnecessary if the only purpose is to describe the house or the practice of indigenous peoples.

The characterization of the indigenous peoples as 'Other' and as marginalized and inferior reflects what French Structuralism has argued about the human mind: the discourses on binary position (Ferraro 2006, 83). These discourses belabor the "we-they" mentality or the politics of identity where the presentation of the ways of life of indigenous peoples is "caught up in the construction of an inside and an outside, the mainstream and the marginalized and making it appear that these categories are natural, while they are in fact cultural" (Butler in Stevenson 2003, 26-27). A certain neo-evolutionism can also be seen where indigenous peoples are rarely called "savage" but are normally considered "backward" (Lewis 1997, 15).

As shown in the foregoing discussion, there are hegemonic, condescending notions in textbook discourses that normalize the inferiority of indigenous peoples. However, there are themes that seem to counter the "othering" construction in the same textbooks.

Indigenous peoples as "civilized"

Commenting on the beauty and wonder of the Banaue Rice Terraces, Antonio et al. (2007, 61) mention that "our" ancestors are ingenious, industrious, and diligent. Gonzalez et al. (2007) also write about the Tagalog's pre-colonial culture as an advanced civilization, citing as

example their riddles and aphorisms that demonstrate their brilliance (143-144). The same admiration is accorded by Gonzalez et al. to the Visayans (149). They also praised some groups such as the Tausug for their music (152), the Samal and Badjao for their shipbuilding skills, so much so that their ships were sold in Borneo, Celebes, Singapore, and Indonesia (159).

Looking at how Antonio et al. describe the Banaue Rice terraces, the use of the possessive pronoun "our" connotes the authors' and the students' affiliation to the Ifugaos. This is significant because while there seems to be some distantiation, the authors suddenly affiliate themselves and the readers with the Ifugaos by referring to the Ifugaos that built the rice terraces as "our ancestors." Moreover, Gonzalez et al. (2002, 137 and 148) depart from the frame of oddity to normality in their discussion of the *Pintados*. They describe the practice of tattooing among the Visayans as not peculiar but common to indigenous peoples.

Among more than a hundred in the list, only few groups were bestowed with praise or admiration. It is only the Tagalogs, Visayans, the Samals, and the Badjaos who were given such appreciation. This leads us to assume that, while it is true that there is an existing binary or dichotomy between indigenous peoples and the mainstream, there is also a dominant hierarchical arrangement that is made, positioning indigenous peoples in reference to progress and status. This is well manifested in Gonzalez et al.'s (2002) evaluation questions that require students to choose which among the indigenous peoples groups discussed is the most advanced or lagging behind (129). While the authors manifest that there are some groups who possess a certain degree of civilization, they have on the other hand implicitly imposed a hierarchical logic. Within this logic is the authors' overarching preference for those groups assimilated to Western culture, who are followers of Christianity, and who lean toward the Caucasoid physical appearance (Hollnsteiner et al. 1975, 200; Hunt et al. 1977, 134).

Indigenous peoples, rights, and agency

Fortunately, the books did not fail to mention that indigenous peoples, like the mainstream, also have rights. Both the Boncan and Antonio texts pointed out the existence of the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act, which "protects, and promotes the beliefs, customs, traditions, and institutions of the ethnic groups" (Antonio et al. 2007, 66; Boncan et al. 2006, 54). Another important observation is their discussion of the status of the rights of indigenous peoples and the lack of importance accorded to issues concerning their rights (Boncan et al. 2006, 50).

In relation to the IPRA, the textbooks also described the indigenous peoples as struggling to champion their rights and their

causes. Boncan, et al. (2006), in describing the reaction of indigenous peoples toward discrimination and oppressive practices mention:

> More often than not, they experience discrimination that is why they are campaigning for reforms…Aside from NGOs, there are also people's organizations (POs) who also promote environmental protection. POs are organizations composed of indigenous people who are directly affected and are deeply concerned about a particular issue. Examples of POs are the Katipunan ng mga Katutubong Mamamayan sa Pilipinas (KAMP), the national federation of all indigenous movements in the country; Ang Nagkakaisang Mamamayan ng Kostal ng Balayan (ANAK-Balayan); Buklod ng Magsasaka Nakaugat sa Kalikasan (BUKID); and Luntiang Alyansa sa Bundok Banahaw (LABB). (Boncan et al. 2006, 36 and 52)

Boncan et al (2006, 54-55) also mention the indigenous peoples' cooperation and capacity to provide sound feedback on policies that directly affect them and their continuing struggle for their rights to their ancestral lands and domains. While only two of them did a discussion on the rights of indigenous peoples and only one presented an agency-oriented discussion, this reflects an emerging liberal-democratic discourse centered on the value of human rights.

Indigenous peoples and development

Dominant among the discourses in the textbooks are the themes of victimization and the discourse on indigenous peoples as stakeholders and as significant partners in development. Discussing the idea that indigenous peoples are victims and are oppressed because of development initiatives, Boncan et al. (2006, 50 and 54) cite instances such as land-grabbing, land-use conversion, industrialization, and militarization as causes of indigenous peoples' displacement. Their discussion is very comprehensive and it touches on the basic development problematique of "what type of development do indigenous peoples really need?" The kind of development they mention follow the tropes of "needs-based development" highlighting the specific needs and cultures of indigenous peoples and the right to self-determination (32, 54, & 56).

Indigenous peoples as part of the Filipino nation

While the textbooks analyzed in this paper have misrepresented indigenous peoples to some extent, they nevertheless clarify that no matter how different we are, we are all Filipinos. This theme was

demonstrated very well in Antonio et al. (2007, 60 and 66) when they wrote:

> Our country is made up of different ethnic groups. Each group is distinct in the sense that its peoples possess distinct physical features, speak their own dialect and practice customs, beliefs, and traditions different from those of the other groups. However, despite these differences, all of us still belong to only one race. We are all Filipinos…We may differ in our regional groupings, but we still belong to one race. We are all Filipinos.

This same unifying and inclusivist theme amidst the challenges of diversity resonates until a section entitled "Challenger"—the evaluation section—of Antonio et al. where they ask how students can make indigenous peoples feel that they are Filipinos (70). Moreover, Juntura et al. (2008, 35) used the Chapter title "*Ibat-Ibang Pangkat, Iisang Lahi"* to convey oneness in spite of all the differences in ways of life.

Undeniably, this mirrors the reigning assimilationist and integrationist discourse of the post-war period. It is reflective of the attempt to build the nation on the premise that citizens found in a common land are citizens of the same state or nation. This may be akin to multiculturalism, which advocates for a sense of membership in a polity, of sharing with one's fellow citizens a conjoint set of political purposes, and holds within it enduring, well defined communities whose sense of collective identity derives from significant ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural features (Archard 2003, 89-90).

An analysis of the text that responds to the first question raised in this paper as to who the "indigenous" are shows that indigenous identity is highly ambiguous and contested. It is apparent that it is a project of ongoing clarification. This is evident in the shifting or interchangeable use of "ethnolinguistic group," "indigenous group," "ethnic group" or merely "group" to refer to a community of people who possess common characteristics such as language and tradition, territory, historical and economic development, and exclusion or marginalization. Furthermore, their affiliation or belonging to these groups is a result of a dialectic of self-ascription and ascription by others. To make sense of these representations in the textbooks, indigenous peoples are those whose identity is anchored in their location and stance in the spectral axes of time, space, and power—often transitioning from the mountains and remoteness, to backwardness and civilization, and from victimization to agency—such that they equally belong to the Philippine polity despite stark or

subtle differences from the Westernized, Christianized, and nationally integrated groups.[8]

Concerning the more practical question: who bears the weight of the clarification of indigenous identity? It can be surmised based from the representations made in the textbooks, that it is a project involving the state (i.e. the passage of the IPRA as discussed in Antonio et al. 2007 and Boncan et al. 2006), indigenous peoples themselves (i.e. as partners in development who are campaigning for reforms as discussed in Boncan et al. 2006), and the rest of the population that is tasked to manifest acceptance of indigenous peoples as members of the Filipino nation (discussed in Antonio et al. 2007).[9]

Constructing the Indigenous: Analysis of discursive practice

This section will look into trends and practices within educational philosophy, policy, and practice that have facilitated the emergent constructions of indigenous identity in Philippine textbooks. First, a discussion on textbook-writing and textbook policy reforms in the Philippines will be offered. Second, a reflection on the disjuncture between educational philosophy and curriculum development will follow.

Textbook-writing in the Philippines

The production of textbooks is the concern of the Instructional Materials Council (IMC), the policy-making body of the Department of Education that focuses on teaching materials for elementary and secondary schools. Empowered by Executive Order No. 127 of 1993, the IMC selects and prescribes textbooks, supplementary materials, and reference books for use in public and privately owned learning institutions, consistent with the curricula warranted by the Department of Education (Reyes 2007, 28). Reyes (2007) observes that anyone can write a social studies textbook since there are no restrictions so long as it was prepared in accordance with the minimum learning competencies required by the Department of Education. Textbooks must pass tests, evaluation, selection and approval of the IMC prior to authorization for use in public schools. While this process appears to be sufficiently stringent and rigid, this was the case prior to the passage of R.A. No. 8047 otherwise known as the "Book Publishing Industry Development Act of 1995." This law activated the involvement of the private sector in the production of textbooks, and enabled the termination and shift of government's publishing function to the private sector within a period of three years. Its implementation relied on a Board that would monitor and conduct an annual investigation (Sec 10). Doing so was expected to foster the "progressive growth and viability of the book industry" (Sec 2).

In 2004,[10] Department of Education Memorandum No. 289 or the "Textbook Policy" was implemented to provide a more stringent evaluation and selection of textbooks for public schools (Department of Education Memo 289 of 2004) through the regulation of the procurement of textbooks and teachers' manuals. With Memo 289, "the Department of Education must now organize a pool of evaluators – academics, private educators, master teachers, administrators, textbook specialists, and curriculum specialists – to assure the intended quality of student support materials" (Lontoc 2007). A textbook publisher must now fulfill four requirements which are: 1) consistency of content to learning goals specified in the Philippine Early Learning Competencies (PELC) and Philippine Secondary Learning Competencies (PSLC); 2) there should be no conceptual, factual, pedagogical, grammatical, and other types of errors; 3) proper organization and presentation of lessons, language, and visuals to audience, society and culture; and 4) approval of language experts to ensure grammatical correctness, appropriateness to target users, and a satisfactory fulfillment of revisions and recommendations from evaluators and reviewers (Lontoc 2007). Unfortunately, these prerequisites only apply to textbooks for public schools.[11] There is no clear-cut policy on the evaluation of textbooks used in private schools following the deregulation of textbook publishing (Monsod 2007).

Eventually, private schools' textbooks with some errors in their content – grammar, semantics, and facts – thrived as an unintended consequence of the policy. Reyes (2007, 46-47) cites some of these problems such as a lack of proper documentation of historical sources, and little adherence to scholarly standards in the social sciences. These result in the reproduction of national narratives where linearity, simplicity, and singularity trample upon depth, tension, contradiction and complication of our story as a nation. As a safety net, the Department of Education through the National Book Development Board, issues a "Quality Seal" in which it offers to evaluate textbooks for private schools. While this is commendable, this is on a voluntary basis for publishers and therefore has few takers. In addition, the Department of Education does not have sanctioning authority whatsoever, rendering this policy futile (Monsod 2007).[12]

The implementation of R.A. 8047 of 1995 and the "Textbook Policy" of 2004 along with the private publishing sector's numerous challenges such as market development, investment recovery, and small private school markets (Buhain 2005), motivated publishers and authors to be strategic in the production and distribution of textbooks. Among these strategies to maximize profit are the marketing of private textbooks by offering perks to those who select textbooks on behalf of private schools. The offers take precedence over content, appropriateness, or inherent quality in the selection of textbooks. While some

private schools have their own institutionalized mechanisms for textbook selection, such as yearly evaluation of textbooks, publishers and agents usually undermine these processes by bypassing the evaluation of books and proceeding immediately to school authorities who may impose their own preferences.

Reyes (2007, 29-30) succinctly captures the intricacies of the enterprise of textbook writing in the Philippines by citing three of its objectives. Firstly, authors write textbooks to fulfill the objectives of history and reflect on latest research. Secondly, they intend to profit from the lucrative publication business. Lastly, they compose scripts and frames that the educational bureaucracy sanctions. It appears that with the textbook policy reforms that have taken place, the first goal to cultivate national consciousness has been shelved. Furthermore, in the third goal, the state surprisingly distances itself from its indoctrinating authority over its subjects by allowing textbook writers to generate state-sanctioned motifs.

It should be understood as well that the carabao in the room is fed not only by the profit-driven publishing industry, or state deregulation, but also by some pervasive elitist publishing culture in the academe. Tan (2015) points out that the root cause of this problem is the lack of competent textbook writers. This is primarily because the competent ones are too busy teaching and doing research, and thanks to the academe's overarching condescension toward textbook writing.[13] To piggyback on Tan's argument on competence, it could also mean that the lack of it among the textbook writers has significant implications for the quality of representations and narratives they convey. Arguably, the writers' construction of indigenous identity as the "other," or as "marginalized" is reflective of how the authors of the textbooks perceive themselves as well as their inability to check their "normalized" prejudices or imaginaries about indigenous peoples. This taken for granted "we-they" binary shows how "the crux of identity [is] that it is shaped not just in relation to some other, but to the Other, to another culture. The notion of cultural identity becomes much stronger and firmer when we define our 'selves' in relation to a cultural 'Other'" (Clarke 2008, 511). In other words, the textbook writers' construction of indigenous peoples is also a construction of their identity – seeing themselves as different in oppositional terms, degrees and extents – on the basis of how they view the "Other" often in ethnocentric and condescending tropes (Hunt et al. 1977, 127; Bassis et al. 1991, 75). Undoubtedly, these problematic constructions could have been avoided by more competent, culturally aware, sensitive, and critical textbook writers. Therefore, misrepresentations continue to appear in textbooks circulated among private schools, abetted by the loose textbook policy, the profit-orientation of publishers and writers, problematic textbook selection mechanisms practiced in

private elementary and high schools, and elitist publishing practices in universities.

Educational Philosophy and the Curriculum

Estioko (1994, 202) describes the Philippine educational system as:

> a carabao behind the plow. We have a huge educational system without a clear philosophy. First, there must be a philosophy of the Filipino people. What are we and what do we want as a people? In other words, who is the Filipino and what are his goals as an individual and his aspirations as a nation?

Unlike other countries that decentralize decision-making on matters of curriculum and content, the Philippines is under the purview of the central government through the Department of Education. More specifically, the Central Office Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education, and Curriculum Development Divisions are responsible for defining the learning competencies for different subject areas, conceptualizing the structure of the curriculum, and formulating national curricular policies (Mariñas and Ditapat n.d., 113). In essence, the Philippines as opposed to other countries has a national curriculum.

While curriculum development is left to the central agency, education continues to marginalize non-western ways of representation with respect to race, gender, and class. These are oftentimes intertwined with legacies of colonization in curriculum and teaching, hence perpetuating the effects of the colonial past within and across specific locales (Asher 2009, 72). The colonial past of the Philippines witnessed the use of religious education and subsequently, democratic education to support the administrative goals of the colonizers. The emergence of multiculturalism on the other hand takes the form of a panacea yet it is oftentimes confused with a "tourist curriculum" which is "patronizing, emphasizing the 'exotic' differences between cultures, and trivializing, dealing not with the real-life daily problems and experiences of different people, but with the surface aspects of their celebrations and mode of entertainment" (Derman-Sparks in Lee 2001, 32). Lee (2001, 32) tells us that there is too much emphasis on the superficial features of culture. This eventually leads to stereotyping and is evinced in practices such as asking the students to come to school wearing Chinese attire or cooking Chinese food during Chinese New Year, which to some is already a sufficient experience of diversity and cultural encounter. In the Philippines, this is sometimes done by asking students to come to class wearing *bahag* or *Barong Tagalog* during *Linggo ng Wika*.

The main problematique that a postcolonial education such as the Philippines' must respond to, is the issue of nation-building where national integration or the formation of national identity are of prime importance. Doronilla (1986, 10 and 15) who is one of the earlier critical analysts of education argues that curriculum materials in public schools are void of instructional objectives geared towards the formation of national identity. She concludes that there is a disjuncture between educational philosophy – rhetorically invested for national development – and curriculum, which is supposed to realize it.

Another review done by the Philippine Social Science Council in the year 2000 concluded that the textbooks were problematic and they attributed this to the curriculum itself (Bernardo 2000, 5). At that time, the basic education curriculum enforced was the New Elementary School Curriculum and the New Secondary Education Curriculum (Department of Education 2002c) and the agency was still named Department of Education, Culture, and Sports (DECS). Bernardo argued that while the textbooks complied with the basic competencies mandated by the curriculum, this did not result in quality textbooks since the problem stemmed from adhering to the DECS curriculum. Most of the reviewers were of the impression that the major problem was the DECS curriculum and that textbook problems were just reflections of the deeper problem (Bernardo 2000, 164-165).[14] The same review also found that some textbooks perpetuated inaccurate social constructions such as gender stereotypes, understood Filipino achievement as exogenously-influenced, and portrayed indigenous technologies as inferior (Bernardo 2000, 171-172).

Hornedo (2000, 92-95) in his content analysis of social studies textbooks in Philippine secondary schools echoes the "diffusionist" tendencies Bernardo observed. Hornedo adds that the "patron-client" relationship glosses over the emphasis on the Filipino as capable of growing and developing. Twenty-four years after Doronilla's observation, upon examination of the Basic Education Curriculum (Department of Education 2002a), particularly the one designed for First Year students, it is found that the curriculum does not mandate any competency related to raising awareness and knowledge on indigenous peoples.[15] Hence, Hornedo comes full circle back to Doronilla's claim, this time highlighting a disjuncture between policy, philosophy, curriculum, and pedagogy.

The enterprise of academia and its subsidiary industries have a stake in this. By emphasizing grand narratives and Western civilization, Filipino intellectuals and academics who are mostly educated in the West and in westernized metropoles have "peripheralized" indigenous peoples and indigenous knowledge (Tan, 2015). Ironically, all these unfold within the project of molding a nationalist cause and identity (Azurin 1995, 178).

Dialectics of History, Globalization, and Pedagogy: Analysis of social practice

This section will link discursive practices in educational policy, philosophy, and curriculum to social practices. Firstly, it looks into how colonial history has shaped notions of "Filipino-ness." Secondly, it examines how this crisis of identity is being shaped by globalizing trends resulting in the normalization of cultural binaries of the "mainstream" and the "other." Lastly, it reveals how the text itself can be looked at in an agentive view such that it becomes a space in which to respond to the domination of discursive and social practices.

Philippine Education: A system presently living in the past

Asher (2009, 69) argues that the postcolonial self has always been "other" and always "elsewhere" such that those who resist this "othering," or those committed to dismantling it are in some ways external to the mainstream. This construction of the postcolonial self in our histories, anthropological texts, laws and policies has been instrumental in perpetuating the discourses of the West by facilitating transnational capitalism and therefore, the diffusion of economic and cultural goods and the perpetuation of architectures of power (Azurin 1995, 178-179; Chakrabarty in Asher 1995, 71; Dirlik in Rizvi 2009, 51). As Yoshino (in Daza 2009, 329) argues, "what society comes to imagine as 'normal' and 'mainstream' are myths that limit us by forcing us to highlight privileged traits and hide disadvantaged ones in order to fit in." This explains the attribution of prestige and progress by some of the textbooks studied to those who are in an urban social space and those who move forward in the continuum of time. The complications of history and the politics of postcolonial nation-building normalized the foregrounding of the Christianized-Americanized mainstream while peripheralizing those who do not fit within their attributes. This cultural domination and internal colonialism have become the ideology and hegemony of the postcolonial facilitated by the mechanisms of socialization and nation-building.

It should be understood that the notions of citizenship and Filipino identity changed from one colonizer to another. The religious and language policies of the Spanish *conquistadores* were the major elements reshaping the notion of Filipino identity through ardent campaigns for Christianization, resettlement of native communities, and the identification of Spain as the "mother country" (Bauzon 1991, 157). With these, there was a clash between the many local dialects and the Spanish language, the native animism and *anitoism* against Christianity, and the reference to the Philippines as a mother country against that of Spain. I make sense of these devel-

opments as causing tensions and shifts insofar as notions about the "ideal Filipino" are concerned. As a result, this ideal shifted symbolically from a person who would normally wear *kagan, bahag*, and some *kalumbiga* into a person who speaks imperfect Spanish, adheres to Christian values, and looks and acts like a Spaniard. American rule lasted for five decades commencing from the signing of the Treaty of Paris and hypothetically ending in 1946. Upon the assumption of power, the American "integrationist" policy was applied to several aspects of national life from governance to social structure making every locality a duplicate of the modern Western world (Bauzon 1991, 161; Featherstone 2000a, 6-8). With the use of English as the medium of instruction and American culture as contents of pedagogy, the Americans succeeded in ushering in the shift from a *Hispanized* Filipino into a "brown" American confident of emulating the early stars of Hollywood (Constantino 1982, 6).

How do we make sense of these complications of the colonial past to grapple with an attempt to at least describe group relations in the postcolonial? Davis (1999) argues that the history of the country is a history of opposition hence entailing a seeming "doubleness" of Filipino identity.

Identity politics are evident specifically in the shifting language policy. Using the case of the shift from bilingualism to mother-tongue based instruction to make sense of the postcolonial terms of engagement, Tupas (2011) argues that multilingual education (MLE) poses a possibility of re-mapping the nation. She contends that the bilingualist debate revolved around de-imperializing English through the use of Filipino, the national language packaged as "mother-tongue" (Tupas 2011, 112). However, this move to put forth Filipino to foster national unity and consciousness still marginalizes people from minority or indigenous communities. In sum, she argues that, "there have been two strands of education for at least three decades now – the "mainstream" bilingual strand and the "non-mainstream" multilingual strand" (Tupas 2011, 115). In his critique of minority discourse in the Philippines, Garcia (2017) argues:

> …minority discourse has been trapped in a nativistic framework that essentializes the country's linguistic diversity, canonizing one language, Tagalog, and euphemizing it as Filipino…institutionally imposed as the official medium of postcolonial resistance, routinely invoked in a binary opposition against a colonially endowed English – a dualism that obfuscates the neglect of all the other local languages, effectively minoritizing them as well as their corresponding oratures and literatures. (24)

Both the narratives of nation-building and pedagogy in the Philippines foreshadow the overarching oppositional and dichotomous nature of cultural politics. Going back to the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act as an implicit codification of postcolonial relations, it also runs in the same vein when it describes indigenous peoples as groups "that have become historically differentiated from the majority of Filipinos" hence marking a line that separates cultural minorities or indigenous peoples from the mainstream or dominant majority (Reid 2009). However unsophisticated and unsavory to our postmodern palates, the possibility of a post-postcolonial "imaginal politics" (Boticci 2011)[16] remains distant.

The building of the Filipino Nation

The crux of nation-building is the generation of a coherent collective imaginary of citizens, hence a civilized identity which builds on binaries such as the "central-self" as opposed to the "peripheral savage," the "internal core" and an "external periphery." These binaries inevitably yield an identity crisis founded on the tension between what is peripheralized within us and outside of us or the disintegration of local self-productive systems and their integration into colonial systems (Friedman 1994, 84 and 90). Friedman reveals the seeming arbitrary labor and struggle of society to veto what it deems unimportant, and foreground what is more valuable. This is seen in the decline of pre-colonial culture with the *Hispanization* campaigns, the decline of the latter with the integrationist *American-ization* efforts, and the postcolonial era as a continuously unfolding debate of "Filipino-ness." In sum, the nation is represented through a bundle of coherent images and memories that tell bits and pieces of origin, difference, and distinctiveness, as a collective (Featherstone 2000b, 107-109). Putting together Friedman's sets of binaries and Featherstone's coherent imaginary, Kymlicka (2005, 115) describes the postcolonial nation as a nation of "parallel societies." For him, this is a case where the nonchalant and self-absorbed dominant group and the marginal minority coexist.

The rise of the parallel dominant and minority societies made possible the coexistence of what this paper conceives of as "mainstream" and the "other." This dualism has been enabled by the popularization of the mainstream culture, through export, urban, or mass media (Chaney 2002, 162-173). Inevitably, most icons, images, symbols, and ways of life that depict the entire nation erroneously represent the minority. In this sense, the indigenous peoples who were not under any colonial rule or who did not assume the ways of life introduced by the colonizers were later peripheralized in the postcolonial as efforts initiated to build the nation often came from

the schooled, Hispanized and Americanized groups, or the Filipino mainstream. To concretize the contemporary Filipino mainstream, Tiongson (1995, 21-22) creatively describes it as:

> All [who] went through the same reorganization of government under the American governor-general, the establishment of the Commonwealth and the subsequent presidencies of Roxas, Quirino, Magsaysay, Garcia, Macapagal, Marcos and Aquino… [w]ent through the same educational system, are familiar with *Florante at Laura*, *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo,* with Zaide and or Agoncillo, with English and Filipino, Shakespeare and Joaquin…[know] Ronnie Poe is a national institution; so are Dolphy, Nora Aunor and Vilma Santos.

Using Tiongson's commentary, unfortunately, the indigenous peoples do not seem to conveniently fit-in within the institutionalized parallel society of the "mainstream" and the "other."

Globalization, Identity, and Philippine Education

Education is deeply implicated in the processes of contemporary globalization even if there is little agreement on the ways in which globalization relates to educational policy and practices (Rizvi 2009, 47). The global political economy facilitates emergent globalizing trends in the local through mechanisms such as McDonaldization on the one hand, and the alignment of educational policies with the standards of international organizations or financial agencies on the other.

McDonaldization is a phenomenon in which values inherent in fast food restaurants like efficiency, rationality, and mass production are penetrating institutions (Ritzer in Lanuza 2007, 313). This leads to discourses around education and development producing "populations economically useful and politically docile in relation to dominant global [capitalist] interests" (Tikly 2009, 23). Corson (1998, 206 and 4) is not oblivious to this when he argues that there is an inextricable link between education and capitalism that generates dilemmas in efforts to respond to cultural diversity issues. For one, there is already recognition of human diversity yet sociocultural identities remain to be of little value in the new world marketplace. The strong policy requirements and recommendations of financial institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, concretize/evince the colonization of education systems by capitalist rationalities. These, in turn, result in the global convergence of educational policies (Tikly 2009, 27; Rizvi 2009, 48). Looking at

how the World Bank is operating not just as a lending institution but as a policy-making and advising guru, Tikly differentiates between political rationalities, programs of government, and technologies of government in order to have a clearer understanding of how global policy-making occurs at the World Bank level and trickles down to Philippine educational policy. For him, political rationalities are ways of thinking about the practices of government; programs of government are the specific ways of doing; and technologies of government encompass the techniques, procedures, and strategies used to put political rationalities and programs into effect (Tikly 2009, 36). In essence, the World Bank generates political rationalities or discourses on development or education; suggests programs of government or requires countries to create their own and implement them using technologies of government, granted that the program of government created by these recipient countries is consistent with the political rationality of the financial institution. These processes eventually yield a global synchronic and vertical uniformity of discourse, policy, and implementation akin to what may be referred to as global imaginary (Steger 2008 and 2013) or neoliberal imaginary of globalization (Rizvi 2009; Rizvi and Lingard 2010).

Latin America during the 1990s for example developed policies such as school decentralization, school autonomy, managerialism, establishment of national evaluation system, and elimination of state regulation for equal educational opportunities (Pini and Gorostiaga 2008, 329). In East Asia, policies such as devolution of fiscal responsibility and management to lower levels of governments, making public schools autonomous, requiring the participation of communities in operating schools, expanding community financing, and allowing families to choose their schools, and stimulating private provision of education have been in the works (King and Guerra 2005, 179). In the Philippines, the government has been committed to Structural Adjustment Programs imposed by the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and Asian Development Bank geared towards the reduction of social spending to ensure the payment of foreign debt and a more efficient appropriation of public funds (Guillermo 1997). To list a few programs of the Department of Education made possible through the funding of these international financial institutions, there are the Social Expenditure Management Projects (SEMPs), Third Elementary Education Project (TEEP), National Program Support for Basic Education (NPSBE) (Amsberg 2006) and their textbooks development projects. Therefore, with its main textbook development project being funded by the World Bank and Asian Development Bank, the Department of Education accepts bids even from international publishers such as Daewoo of Korea (Lontoc 2007). This is clear in the Department of Education Memo No. 289, 2004 (in

endnote No. 4), which states that "the loan covenants with foreign-assisted projects require international competitive bidding." In effect, local publishers and printers are hard-pressed to compete (Lontoc 2007) and as mentioned previously, the only recourse they have is to compete in the private arena which is too small to accommodate all of them; hence they resort to "under-the-table" negotiations.

The text, discursive practice, and social practice in interaction

The discourses found in the texts analyzed here have been facilitated by the dynamics of the institutional context in a multitude of ways: through discursive practices such as the provision of the legal framework, as well as the perpetuation of practices, notions, and legacies that the institutional context deems valuable or has traditionally possessed.

The deregulation of textbook production gave much freedom to private publishers to produce and market their books to local private schools. Coupled with stiff competition between and among private publishers in a too narrow market space, this has contributed to the construction of indigenous peoples in several ways. One, since the private textbook publishing industry has been deregulated, the Department of Education does not evaluate their textbooks anymore (if they intend to sell it to private schools). This stimulated a highly profit-oriented production of textbooks marked by a lack of attention given to details and facts. This results in the misrepresentation and construction of indigenous identity, and nonchalance towards academic and scholarly standards.

The problematic philosophy, curriculum, and content have facilitated the misrepresentation of indigenous peoples by failing to create an available and workable framework for a more relevant discussion of indigenous peoples. In fact, it was the curriculum itself, particularly the Basic Education Curriculum (NSEC, 1991-2002; NESC, 1984-2002) that failed to insist that indigenous peoples are relevant subjects.

The colonial nature of our education has perpetuated "othering" constructions of indigenous identity that reify internal colonialism by foregrounding the mainstream (e.g. Tagalogs and Visayans) and setting those in remote areas in the background. The global political economy penetrates the Department of Education's policy-making through Structural Adjustment Programs on deregulation and decentralization. Furthermore, the global political economy's dictates on budgetary allotment led to lesser control of the Department over the production of textbooks for private schools. This trend has pushed the private textbook industry to produce on their own, to hire their own evaluators and writers, and to market their own products, which inevitably led us to where we are today, the unchecked use of some

textbooks with disturbing misrepresentations of indigenous peoples.

An equally significant perspective is how the texts themselves are sites of struggles on indigenous identity. For one, the inclusion of the indigenous peoples as a subject matter in private schools' textbooks, even if this is not required by the 2002 Basic Education Curriculum, is pushing the limits of policy although at the expense of "symbolic violence" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990).

More interestingly, the disjunctive application of stringent and rigid textbook policy to public and private sectors enabled the relative autonomy of both private schools and the private school publishing industry in the Philippines. The private textbook publishing industry is a significant space where well-meaning advocates of a critical and inclusive national consciousness could maneuver. While it opens a great space to possibly disrupt architectures of power, it equally allows the logic of capital to circumvent it. In this sense, with the nonchalance and insensitivity of policy and history, even the profit-driven private sector becomes an ironic and accidental champion of indigenous peoples.

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NOTES

1. The University of Melbourne, Melbourne Graduate School of Education, Educational Policy and Leadership, Victoria, Australia; Saint Louis University-Laboratory High School and School of Teacher Education, Baguio City, Philippines. Correspondence can be sent to elizerd@student.unimelb.edu.au or elizerjaydelosreyes@gmail.com.
2. Go was invited by Sen. Lacson to attend a public hearing in the senate on the quality of school textbooks. See the report for this senate hearing: http://www.senate.gov.ph/press_release/2007/0123_lacson1.asp.
3. For example, in 2007, he pointed out that the book "*Ang Bagong Pilipino*" for grade 3 pupils (Ocao 2008) contained more than 100 errors (Go 2007) which included factual errors such as the acronym PAGASA and some incorrect translation of names of bodies of water. In 2015, he reviewed the book "Diversity: Celebrating Multiculturalism through World Literature" intended for grade 10

students and found 1,300 errors (Go 2015a). In December 2015, Go also pointed out that the Learners' Material for Grade 4 Science contained 775 errors which include conceptual, pedagogical, and even faulty drawings and illustrations (Go 2015b).

4. The use of textbooks in private schools in the Philippines is different from the public school system. For one, the selection of textbooks to be used relies primarily on the individual schools as a result of the implementation of Department of Education Memo No. 289 or the Textbook Policy. This policy requires textbooks intended for public schools to fulfil certain requirements but does not do so for those in private schools. The evaluation of textbooks for private schools through the issuance of a Quality Seal by the National Book Development Board only works when the publisher voluntarily submits itself for review.

5. In the succeeding parts of this paper, the term indigenous peoples is used interchangeably with other terms such as "ethnic minorities," "ethnic groups" and many other possible terminologies that are synonymous to "indigenous peoples."

6. It is unfortunate that textbooks used by the secondary public schools are not included since a perusal over the contents of these textbooks reveals that there are no specific chapters on indigenous peoples allotted although this is not to discount the fact the construction of indigenous peoples identity still happens possibly in other parts of these textbooks. This however alludes to some serious implications on education policy and practice.

7. Much of the discussion about the Tasaday is on the controversy of whether they were an actual indigenous group or merely staged. In 1986, Bilangan, one of the casts, revealed to Oswald Iten that Elizalde (Marcos' Presidential Assistant on National Minorities, PANAMIN) forced them to live in caves, to wear clothing that made them almost naked, and to be even poorer. Today, the T'boli and Manobo actors who were exploited to play as "Tasaday" continue to live in South Cotabato, specifically in T'boli and Manabo communities who are fighting for their rights to self-determination, ancestral domain, and control over their lands and resources. The T'boli land where the "hoax" was staged remains highly militarized (Thomas 2000, 78 and 84).

8. I can surmise from the discussions in the textbooks that indigenous peoples identity can be imagined as a function of located points within three intersecting spectral axes: (x) space that might account for their physical and geographic location and accessibility (remoteness to accessibility); (y) time as ranging from

backwardness to advancement or civilization; and (z) power and will that represent their extent of victimization and agency.

9. In the evaluation part of the chapter on indigenous peoples, Antonio et al. ask: How can you make the indigenous peoples feel that they are Filipinos? (Antonio et al. 2007: 70).

10. This was also the time when the Department of Education was bombarded with issues of erroneous content in their prescribed textbooks.

11. When I was initially looking for books to be analyzed for this paper as early as 2010, I wanted to do a CDA of the first year high school history book used in public schools. To my dismay, the public school Philippine history textbook did not contain a chapter on indigenous peoples. This is primarily the reason why I resorted to studying social studies textbooks circulated in the private schools.

12. Monsod (2007) adds that when there are problems concerning the contents of these private textbooks, the Department of Education has no actual authority, no sanctioning power, over textbooks written for, or chosen by, private schools and this may be limited only to calling the attention of the publishers as opposed to its highly interventionist and stringent power on the production and selection of public schools textbooks.

13. Dr. Tan (2015) adds that what complicates this problem further are the evaluation mechanisms enforced in universities that concern the awarding of points for promotion with respect to the publication an academic has produced. He uses the example of the University of the Philippines where a textbook is given 10 points while an academic journal weighs 50 points. See http://opinion.inquirer.net/85656/good-textbooks.

14. Some of the criticisms raised against the NESC (1984-2002) and the NSEC (1991-2002) curricula are the poor performance of students in achievement tests and the congested or overcrowded content (Department of Education 2002b, 2002c).

15. Ironically, the history textbooks used in private schools have included a chapter on indigenous peoples even when the curriculum did not have a specific competency for it.

16. Boticci (2016) argues that politics has been so concerned with the "active" side (e.g. governance, administration) that it lacks imaginal inventiveness or imagination. Moreover, there is so much

overwhelming production and flow of images) such that these images become ends in themselves. Because of this, it has become more difficult to create new ones. See http://futureswewant.net/chiara-bottici-imaginal-politics/. It is a shorter essay that explains her account on the relationship between politics and the imaginal.

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