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A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION IN THE HUMANITIES AND SCIENCES

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Silliman Journal

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Editorial Notes

"To effectively communicate,
we must realize that we are all different
in the way we perceive the world
and use this understanding as a guide
to our communication with others."
- **Tony Robbins**

Welcome to the first volume of the 2019 issue!

The issue begins with Gina Fontejon-Bonior's article on teacher education and development. In our country's educational landscaping, several initiatives have been introduced. At the forefront of these educational reforms are the teachers. In her article then, Bonior brings forward the narratives of Filipino literacy teachers as they navigate the many changes in the system.

In his article, Jose Edwin C. Cubelo surveys "carabao" mango farmers to find out their pest management strategies and to gauge their impact on farming aspects such as pest reductions, yield, profitability, and environmental safety.

Marshalay Baquiano writes about the controversial Philippine Priority Development Assistance Fund. She investigates Filipinos' understanding of it by using the word association technique, asking her participants the social meanings they associate with the fund scam.

Mary Joy V. Sienes investigates how Bahraini and Vietnamese students realize the speech act of thanking. Examining their thanking strategies and semantic formulae in expressing gratefulness, Sienes aims to find out the verbal variations of students and reflect on how these can be used in the classroom to heighten learners' communicative competence.

The last full-length paper is a study on pragmatics. Deo Mar E. Suasin examines the video blogs submitted by his senior high school students and analyzes the utterances contained in the vlogs using Searle's Taxonomy of Illocutionary Acts.

Aside from these five research articles, two articles are included in the Notes Section. The first one is by Haide M. Estudillo who writes about the use of 3Ts to increase the academic and spiritual engagement of teachers in Christian schools. The other one is by Novee E. Maestrecampo and Emervencia L. Ligutom who write about the contribution of the Silliman University Marina Mission Clinic.

This issue's cover art is by Negrense artist and fashion designer Dan Ryan E. Duran. It is a copy of his painting that is part of his collage series called "Contemporary Renaissance." He describes this work as "an intuitive re-interpretation of portraits from the renaissance era."

I wish to extend my heartfelt gratitude to the contributors and reviewers of this issue.

Warlito S. Caturay Jr., Ph.D.
Editor

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At the Forefront of Reforms: Teacher Emotion and Agency in the Appropriation of Recent Education Initiatives in the Philippines[1]

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The interpretation and implementation of education reforms are mediated by the teachers who enact them in multiple and complex ways as local conditions intersect with teacher emotions and identities. This study explores Filipino literacy teachers' emotions vis-à-vis a series of educational reforms and the various articulations of teacher agency amid the constellation of resources and constraints in their local contexts. Teachers' narratives suggest that they see themselves primarily as part of the system, feel grateful to be part of it, and feel responsible for the successful implementation of these reforms. Since the reforms are cascaded on a top-down model, teachers engage in "emotion management," which are deliberate attempts to navigate through their subjective experiences to align their emotions with "normative requirements." They employ "hidden scripts," e.g., venting their emotions among themselves as a therapeutic social practice. Driven by their commitment to teaching as a caring profession, a sense of accountability grounded on their spirituality, and deep gratitude to the government's initiative to improve the socio-economic status of public school teachers through the legislation of a salary standardization scheme, teachers creatively comply with mandates of the Department of Education resulting in various articulations of the reforms. Thus, although the teachers may be viewed from the surface as technicians who are uncritical of the system, a closer examination revealed teachers owning the reform through their creative appropriations of the program informed by their personal and professional experiences, a constant appraisal of the resources at their disposal, and their beliefs and aspirations.

1 This paper was awarded a bursary that covered transportation, accommodation, and other conference-related expenses during the British Educational Research Association (BERA) Annual Conference at the University of Sussex, Brighton, United Kingdom, September 4-7, 2017.

Strand: Teacher Education and Development

Keywords: Education reforms – Philippines; Teacher emotion in education reform program implementation, teacher agency in the appropriation education reforms in the Philippines, teacher development

The interpretation and appropriation of education reforms at the field level are mediated by the teachers who enact the reforms in their local contexts in the exercise of their agency. By appropriation, I mean the "ways that creative agents interpret and take in elements of policy, thereby incorporating these discursive resources into their own schemes of interest, motivation, and action, or their own 'figured worlds'" (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain, 1998, as cited in Levinson, Sutton, & Winstead, 2009, p. 779). Thus, there is a need to listen to teachers' voices and examine the ways with which they negotiate and navigate through education reforms. This study draws from the work of Priestley, Biesta, and Robinson (2013) who proposed that teacher agency is anchored on the understanding that agency is 1) something that is achieved in and through concrete contexts-for-action; 2) the outcome of the interplay of the iterative, practical, and evaluative dimensions, and projective dimensions, i.e., teacher agency emerges from the constant appraisal of one's personal and professional life history, the aims and means that inform education action, as well as one's professional values, aims, intentions, and ambitions; 3) impacted by the availability of cultural (e.g., ways of thinking, understanding, and talking about issues and conditions); material (e.g., physical and spatial-geographical resources); and social (i.e., relational) resources that may be deployed in a particular situation (Priestley, Biesta, & Robinson, 2015).

Moreover, this study assumes that teachers are beings with emotions and that these emotions impact their practices. This paper draws from the poststructuralist perspective, where the central argument is that emotion is "interactional and performative" (Zembylas, 2003). In other words, the language used "to describe emotions are not simply names for 'emotion entities,' or preexisting situations with coherent characteristics; rather, these words are themselves practices performed to serve specific purposes in the process of negotiating reality" (Lutz, 1988, as cited in Zembylas, 2011, p.32). Zembylas further posited that "emotions are not private; neither are they merely the effects of outside social structures." Rather, emotions are transformative (Chubbuck & Zembylas 2008; Zembylas & Chubbuck 2009), in that they are not simply "products of events" but are "constitutive forces for (trans) forming individuals, social interactions and power relations" (Zembylas, 2011, p. 33). Teachers have "spaces for emotional freedom" and they have the ability to resist external normalized rules for emotion, although…some constraints are virtually inevitable." Thus, "emotions are not the anticognitive domain of life but rather the very site of the capacity to effect change" (Zembylas, 2005b, p. 470).

This paper makes an argument that teachers' emotions are critical in the achievement of agency and that its consideration may present a possibility for the expansion of the Ecological Model of Teacher Agency. However, I would like to pose a caveat that the findings presented here are the initial data collection in an on-going research that I am conducting for my dissertation, and that the main purpose of this presentation is to generate suggestions and comments for its direction and refinement. Moreover, this is the first time that I am presenting the initial observations that form part of my on-going dissertation work. This is also my first time to present a paper outside of Southeast Asia, thanks to the International Bursary of BERA.

This paper is organized in three parts. First, I will present a brief overview of the rationale, key features, and criticisms on the newly implemented education reform in the Philippines, the K-12 program. Then, I will discuss initial observations on an ethnographic study that I am currently conducting in multigrade schools located in remote island communities to generate a thick description on how teachers exercise their agency in the appropriation of the education reform. Finally, I will argue for the importance of looking into teacher emotion in exploring teacher agency amid education reform implementation.

The Philippines has recently embarked on what it considers as the most comprehensive education reform program in the history of the country, the K-12 program. The government's rationale for the reform program are as follows. First, the Philippines must catch up with the rest of the world because international trends and research on education have indicated that the basic education in the country has failed the nation. For example, the World Economic Forum Global Competitiveness Report 2012 showed that compared to its ASEAN neighbors, the Philippines ranked 4th from the bottom of the eight countries that participated in the study, in terms of education quality. It ranked 2nd to the last in the quality of primary education, and it ranked last in the quality of Math and Science Education and capacity for innovation. Second, a study conducted by the Department of Education suggested a very low survival rate of students. Specifically, a study conducted in 2010 showed that of the 100 children who enrolled in Grade 1, only 46% completed secondary school, and of that number, only 16% earned college degrees. The government attributed these to the lack mastery of basic competencies due to the congested curriculum. While most countries already had a 12-year basic education cycle that included kindergarten, four years of junior high, and two years of senior high school, the Philippines only had six years of elementary and four years of secondary education. The Philippines was one of only three countries worldwide and the only one in the ASEAN with a ten-year basic education program.

Republic Act 10533 (An Act enhancing the Philippine Basic Education System by strengthening its curriculum and increasing the number of years for basic education from 10 to 12 years) was thus signed into law in 2013 as a flagship education reform program of the Aquino administration as part of its Basic Education Reform Agenda. The goal of the program is the strengthening of the curriculum through the identification and systematic assessment of identified key competencies for each subject at each level of schooling; the use of mother tongue-based multilingual education; and the introduction of four tracks in senior high school: Academic, Technical-vocational Livelihood (TVL), Sports, and Arts and Design.

The K-12 reform program was not without critiques, the main criticism being that 1) the government was ill-prepared for the full-blown implementation of the program; 2) studies suggested that lengthening the educational cycle, calendar-wise, did not always result in improved quality of education; 3) the addition of two years of Senior HS would entail additional costs that could be fully covered by the Government's SHS Voucher system (Tucay, 2015); and 4) tracking senior high school students had been designed to serve the government's labor export policy since the remittances of overseas contract workers, most of whom were in the technical-vocational fields, accounted for about 10% of the annual national Gross Domestic Product. In fact, in 2016 alone, cash remittances from OCWs reached a record of $26.9 billion (de Vera, Feb 16, 2017).

Despite the protests, the flagship program of the Aquino Administration persisted: teachers were required to undergo a series of trainings on both the content and pedagogy espoused by the program, and the first cohort of Senior High School graduates were to graduate in 2017-2018. In this context, what happens to the teacher on the ground? Particularly, how do they make sense of the program and appropriate it particularly in schools located in remote island communities which may not be reached by the surveillance mechanism that is often associated with top-down approaches to reform implementation? Given the top-down orientation of the program, how does teacher emotion intersect with teacher agency in the enactment of the program in MG schools located in remote island communities?

This study explores teacher agency and emotions in teachers' appropriation of the education reform program in a relatively unexplored context: teachers in multigrade schools located in remote island communities. By multigrade I mean contexts where a teacher may handle two or more grade levels in the class, depending on the student population. Around 30% of the schools in the Philippines are multigrade (SEAMEO, 2014), many of which are located in remote communities. Remoteness is defined in terms of distance from the nearest DepEd regional office, travel time and travel cost (Pante, Umali, & Ongkiko, 2015). The islands where the participants of this study were located rated high in all three indicators.

Initially, I conducted semi-structured interviews with eight teachers, focusing on their personal and professional histories; their thoughts and experiences in implementing the K-12; their aspirations vis-à-vis the reform in general and literacy instruction in particular since all of the participants in this study were Grade 1-3 teachers who attended a series of trainings on literacy instruction within the MTBMLE framework. Then, I shadowed eight MG teachers for about two months, i.e., at least two weeks in each of the three schools. I resided with two of the teachers in the two islands observing them as they tried to make sense of the newly introduced materials; sat in their classes and assisted the children during their "free reading" sessions; and joined them in school and district MG meetings, and went to social functions that they were expected to attend. To get a broader understanding of the vertical and horizontal relations that may have facilitated or constrained the emergence of teacher agency, I conducted informal interviews not only with the teachers but also with parents, school principal, the district MG coordinator, and the leadership at both the district and division level.

Based on the open coding of data, I found emerging themes suggesting that teachers engaged in what Zembylas (2005) called emotion navigation "which entails a … dynamic emotional 6 response to experience, a process that allows more space for the person to use emotions to explore or alter identity, perhaps even redefine the situation or modify goals in order meet larger higher level aims or ideals" (Reddy 2001, p. 122, as cited in Winograd, 2009, p. 303).

Ok na lang: On Constrained Agency and Emotion Navigation

A prevalent theme that surfaced in the conversations was that teachers had reservations and concerns about the education reforms primarily because a) they felt it was rushed; b) they feared that this was another experimentation that, like in the past, may be modified or superseded by another reform before its effectiveness was thoroughly investigated; and c) they knew that the new reform would add to the already heavy work load of teachers. What one teacher said exemplified the other participants' responses:

> *Initial training on K-12 was exasperating. They rushed everything. It was not clear. The Grade 1 teachers were confused on how to implement the program. The information dissemination was rushed. The trainors did it so fast. They rushed the training. We were not given the chance to express how we felt. We could not express our reaction because time was limited. We were expected to absorb and execute. Everything was rushed.*

On the other hand, despite these personal and private protestations, the teachers unanimously articulated during the interviews their willingness and commitment to abide by the mandate the Department of Education, to comply with the requisites in the program implementation, and to follow all orders from the "higher up." Second, they felt that since the government had recently established a salary standardization scheme that greatly improved their compensation package, least that they could do was to do as they were told. Third, they were convinced that this reform would ultimately be for the good of the children and the future generations despite their fears that K-12, being the most recent reform, might end up just like other reforms in the past: experimentations that were short-lived. One teacher had this to say:

The thing is, we just follow what DepEd says. This is the unwritten rule: Obey first before you complain. We comply because we work for Deped… Besides, [if we don't follow], the children will be at a loss. So, we comply. We just follow....

However, what I saw happening in the classroom during my stay in the islands painted a different picture. At the level of practice, the teachers did not simply follow what was required of them. They appropriated the program as they saw fit in their local contexts. For example, all of the three Grade and 1/2 MG teachers did not teach two subjects, *Edukasyon sa Pagpapakatao* (Values Education) and Music Arts, Physical Education, and Health (MAPEH). Instead, they used much of the day teaching the children beginning reading skills in the Mother Tongue (for Grade 1) and in Filipino (for Grade 2). When I saw that this practice was inconsistent with the DepEd-prescribed daily schedule posted on the teacher's table and by the classroom door, the teachers said that they would shift to the officially published schedule when observers visited them. However, since their schools were rarely visited even by the school principal who was based in another island, the unofficial schedule was the schedule. The interview with the principal corroborated what the teachers said: The principal was head of three schools in two islands, and the cost of plying from one island to another is prohibitive considering that principals were not allotted transportation allowance for such travels. In this context, the teachers in these remote island communities had relative autonomy in the program implementation.

When asked why they decided to modify the schedule at the exclusion of Values Education and MAPEH, the teachers argued that in extending the time allotment for language and literacy subjects, they were, in fact, ensuring that the government's ECARP (Every Child and Read A Reader Program) which is consistent with the K-12 goals was met. The statement of an MG 1 and 2 teacher resonated in the two others as well:

What is important is that the children can read in the mother tongue at the end of grade 1. How I do it is my own thing. I know what works in my class. Besides, I will still be the Grade 2 teacher of the Grade 1 children I have now, and I know what they need to succeed in all of the subjects in Grade 1 and beyond: They need to learn how to read and write. The other subjects can wait.

The teachers further argued that DepEd-target competencies and standards in Values Education were, in fact, already addressed since children learned these values more meaningfully in the context of the stories that they talked about during the Read Aloud Activities. As for Grade 2 MAPEH, the teachers believed that the singing and dancing, and indoor-outdoor play that were integrated in their lessons had already covered the target competencies. In the observations and conversations I had with the teachers, I also found that there was great pressure on the teacher to make the students in Grade 1 Mother Tongue and Grade 2 Filipino classes read because the students' beginning reading skills were assessed at the end of the year using a tool called EGRA (Early Grade Reading Assessment).

In the public domain where state surveillance mechanisms are tangible, teachers' discourses about certain aspects of the reform program are often subordinated because of the strong vertical power differential. The teachers articulated that they feared discussing such practices during the trainings, even when they believed in their effectiveness because the district and division heads were present. However, in the classroom, the teachers wielded power over the implementation of the curriculum. And in a context where surveillance mechanisms were limited to teachers submitting reports to the principal who had neither had the time nor material resources to visit the school regularly, the teacher was relatively autonomous and powerful to appropriate the program in the manner that they saw fit.

Mugna: Creative Articulations of the Reform Program

Data from classroom observations suggested that teacher agency emerged in their daily appropriation of the reform program through various strategies.

A. They engaged in hybridizing, finessing, or the temporary suspension of certain aspects of the program. "Finessing" is a process in which teachers "review the available options and make purposeful decisions to attend to some things while ignoring others" such as teachers extending literacy instruction in MTBMLE and Filipino while opting not to teach other subjects. In "hybridizing," teachers blend "aspects of the literacy instruction package with existing pedagogical practices" as they "draw upon a range of knowledge sources and past experiences" (Kersten &

Pardo, 2007) to inform decisions aimed at meeting the needs of students given available resources. Sometimes, the teachers did not follow the prescribed Revised Teachers' Guide at all. Instead, they used materials that they had collected from years of teaching.

B. Teachers engaged in performativity and claimed to be ready with the tools to do it when DepEd observers did observe them. Teachers seemed to have embodied this sense of performativity in order to cope with the complexities of reform implementation such as the lack of understanding of the principles behind the RTGs and the difficulty of procuring and preparing instructional materials given their inaccessibility in remote island communities, and the lack of strong supportive vertical and horizontal social relations because of the relative physical isolation in the island. One teacher said:

> *If someone observes, we go by the required format, and we have the DLL to show them, but if there are no observers, we find ways to ensure that what we believe 10 works best for the children in our local contexts is done given what we have. We do not necessarily follow the DLL.*

All of the teachers in this study expressed their support to the K-12 program and held high hopes that this would ultimately forge a better life for the children and a hope for the country. This prevailing belief and the economic benefit of being part of the DepEd payroll, which in remote island provinces means decent pay given that the standard of living is quite low, appears to constrain possibilities of expressing their emotions and thoughts freely especially in public. Teachers did not want to risk their jobs and the positions that they aspired for so that they could maintain their place in the system or move up the promotions ladder. Van Veen and Sleegers (2009) argued that "how teachers respond to educational reforms is determined, to a great extent, by their feeling towards the reforms themselves. If they feel that their personal and professional identity are threatened by the reform, they may not support or endorse it" (p.237). To the teachers in this island province, the greatest threat was losing their jobs, and so they strategically positioned themselves to ensure that they maintained their place in the system. Thus, emotions such as fear, burnout, and disenfranchisement were not expressed before authorities who could threaten their position in the system. Instead, their objections, protestations, and lamentations became part of the hidden scripts, something talked about in hushed voices, something discussed with colleagues who shared their predicaments, something laughed at or talked about cynically among themselves.

Such emotions embody teacher agency since it is the experience of these emotions that instantiates the transformation of teachers' personal and professional identities, and contributes to what of Priestley, Biesta, and Robinson (2013) called the "achievement" of agency. In the top-down management system of the DepEd, there are rules on how teachers are supposed to act and emote. In the presence of surveillance structures and mechanisms, the teachers may display compliance and resignation. However, in their own spaces, they "redefine the situation or modify goals in order meet larger higher level aims or ideals" (Reddy 2001, p. 122, in Winograd, 2009, p. 303). In their classroom, when surveillance is limited or weak, they engaged in "emotional control" and exercised their ability to resist external "normalized rules for emotion," suggesting that indeed "emotions are not the anticognitive domain of life but rather the very site of the capacity to effect change" (Zembylas 2005b, p. 470). In the teachers' engagement in emotion navigation, they formed and transformed the reform program in order to realize what they felt would work best for their students. The program as appropriated on the ground ceased to be the program that the government had intended it to be.

Driven by their commitment to teaching as a caring profession, a sense of accountability grounded on their spirituality and deep gratitude to the government's initiative to improve the socio-economic status of public school teachers through the legislation of a salary standardization scheme, teachers creatively complied with mandates of the Department of Education, resulting in various articulations of the reforms. Thus, although the teachers may be viewed from the surface as technicians who are uncritical of the system, a closer examination revealed teachers owning the reform through their creative appropriations of the program, informed by their personal and professional experiences, a constant appraisal of the resources at their disposal, and their beliefs and aspirations. Finally, it appears that teachers' constant appraisal of such iterative, practical-evaluative, and projective dimensions of teacher agency was mediated by their emotions, suggesting that emotions are an important dimension in the exploration of teacher agency in the appropriation of education reforms.

This presentation therefore ends with more questions:

1. How might the ecological model of teacher agency be further expanded to reflect the critical role of emotions in teacher agency?
2. The initial observations suggest that the geographical and psycho-social space has agency. When teachers move from space to space, their personal and professional identities are transformed. How may we expand our understanding of teacher agency to include the importance of space? There is something that needs to be said about methodology here.

Given the apparent contradiction between what teachers say from what they do, interviews alone are not sufficient for us to theorize teacher emotion and agency. Qualitative approaches that entail prolonged engagement, participant observation, and thick description, among others are needed to triangulate data sources and methods in order to generate more robust data for theory building and expansion.

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Perceived Impacts of Current Pest Management Strategies on Fruit-Bearing "Carabao" Mangoes in Negros Oriental, Philippines

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The Philippine mango industry is a significant contributor to the country's agricultural export earnings. However, this sector's continued viability remains to be threatened by a variety of pests that affect yield performance and quality of produce. The study examined the pest management strategies employed in mango farms in Negros Oriental, Philippines, and their impact on pest reduction, yield, profitability, and the environment. In-depth interviews were conducted with 100 randomly selected owners of "Carabao" mango trees and 100 sprayer-contractors in selected southern and northern municipalities in the province. Results show that the surveyed farmers had an average of 33 fruit-bearing Carabao mango trees, all artificially induced to flower. Except for six farmer respondents, the rest hired sprayer-contractors to perform floral induction and manage the entire fruit development stages. Respondents reported that in the absence of reliable alternatives, pesticides constitute the core pest management strategy. In all farms, insecticides were applied on scheduled timings at least six times between bud emergence to fruit maturity, while 54% of the surveyed farms utilized fungicides. Respondents indicated that pesticide application reduced pest damage by more than 50%, significantly increased harvestable yield, and made mango production profitable. However, respondents averred that excessive pesticide use is potentially hazardous to human health and contaminates the air, water, and soil resources.

Keywords: Pests, Pest Management, Pesticide Use, Pollution

INTRODUCTION

The production and export of fresh fruits play an essential role in the Philippine economy. Mangoes rank third among the most important fruit crops in the Philippines, after bananas and pineapples regarding area and volume of production (PSA, 2019). In 2018, fresh mango exports were valued at Php 990.2 million, while processed mango export products such as dried fruits, mango puree, and others were valued at more than Php 3.2 billion. The estimated value of the mango industry's production was about Php 27 billion, constituting about 1.57% of the gross output of agriculture in 2018 (PSA, 2019). In the same year, the Philippines ranked 12th as the world's largest mango producing country.

In 2013, there were 1,963,254 mango farms in the country, with a total area of 187,838 hectares producing 816,199 metric tons of fruits. Close to 73% of the area planted with mangoes in the country is owned by smallholder farmers. The Philippine mango industry supports as many as 2.5 million Filipinos.

However, mango production in the country continues to be plagued by high pest and disease incidence resulting in production decline and poor quality of fruits (PCARRD, 2006). Indeed, crop pests and diseases can cause severe damage, which leads to significant reductions in farm yields and incomes, despite the existence of alternative strategies to pest management. Kesavachandran et al. (2006) reported that pesticides are still aggressively promoted to increase agricultural productivity and eliminate pests and vector-borne diseases in many parts of the world.

To minimize economic losses due to various types of pests, farmers commonly resort to pesticides (Raju et al., 2011). The latter is a class of chemical substances placed directly to the soil or sprayed on crops to control destructive organisms such as insects, fungi, molds, nematodes, and rodents (Rodriquez et al., 2011). According to Mariyono and Battharai (2009), the principal rationality for employing pesticides in farms is the economic motive of reducing yield loss, thereby improving productivity and income. They explained that farmers' decision to apply pesticides on a crop is a preventive mechanism against crop failure due to pests and disease attacks. As propounded, elimination of pesticide use in intensive farming can substantially reduce crop yield, and in extreme cases, lead to zero levels of production (Knutson

& Smith, 1999). The loss could vary by location, nature of farming, history of pest infestation, and many other factors (Mariyono & Battharai, 2009).

Pesticides are known for their resilience against chemical and biological degradation, high environmental mobility, bioaccumulation in human and animal tissues, and impacts on human health and the environment, even when used in deficient concentrations (Liu et al., 2009). In many instances, the use of pesticides has caused adverse effects on human health (Lu, 2009; Raju et al., 2011), particularly among those exposed to it during the application period or those that consume agricultural products contaminated with their residues (DPR, 2008). Furthermore, there are other equally alarming negative externalities resulting from the misuse of pesticides, such as "environmental damage to the soil, surface water, groundwater, and air quality" (Lu, 2010). Pesticides reportedly contaminated land and water in areas sprayed aerially or allowed to run off fields (Damalas et al., 2011). A US Geological Survey showed that the United States' pesticides had polluted every stream and more than 90% of sampled wells (Gilliom et al., 2007).

Today, several destructive pests and diseases beset the Philippine mango industry. In response to this, farmers resorted to applying a wide range of broad-spectrum pesticides as a principal means of control against these pests and diseases (Bodnaruk, 2008). Locally, there are no known studies that focus on assessing the impacts of current pest management strategies in mango plantations in the province of Negros Oriental. Hence, this study sought to determine the effects of pesticide use in mango farms in the area on pest reduction, yield, profitability, and the environment. The study intends to help government officials craft local policies on improving mango productivity while sustaining the environment through safe agricultural management practices shall be the focus of this study.

METHODOLOGY

The study is descriptive. It utilized surveys and observational methods for data collection. Purposive quota sampling was employed to obtain 100 mango farmers and 100 sprayer-contractors as respondents for this study. For inclusion in the study, the mango farmers must have at least five (5) Carabao mango trees bearing fruits for at least five (5) years in any northern or southern municipality in the province of Negros Oriental. On the other hand, the sprayer-contractors must be either contractors, hired sprayers, or sprayer-contractors actively engaged in mango spraying operations in the province for at least two years at the time of the survey.

The mango farmers and sprayer-contractors randomly selected for this study came from nine municipalities; four (4) represented the northern municipalities such as Ayungon, Bindoy, Manjuyod, and Amlan. The municipality of Ayungon is within the geographic confines of 9° 52' 32" N latitude and 123° 9' 40" East longitude, and the municipality of Bindoy at latitude 9°45'38", N longitude 123 ° 8'33" E with a distance of 8.5 kilometers south of the City of Dumaguete. Meanwhile, the municipality of Manjuyod is within the geographic confines of 9°41'46" N latitude and 123 ° 9'43" E longitude, and the municipality of Amlan at 9° 26' 39.71" N latitude and 123°10'48.47" E latitude.

The municipalities of Bacong, Valencia, Dauin, Zamboanguita, and the city of Dumaguete represented the southern side of the province. Located at latitude 9°14'50.2" N longitude 123 ° 17'37.3" E with a distance of 8.5 kilometers south of the City of Dumaguete is Bacong. Valencia is within the geographic confines of 9° 16' 00" to 9° 20' 00" N latitude and 123°04'00" to 123°12'00" E latitude. The municipality of Dauin is at latitude 9°11'28" N longitude 123 ° 15'56" E of Dumaguete City and the municipality of Zamboanguita at 123 ° 8'47.04" E longitude and 19 ° 10'12.42" N latitude. Dumaguete City lies within the geographic confines of 9° 18' 24.62" N latitude and 123°18'19.62" E latitude.

Primary and secondary data collection methods were employed to obtain data for this study. Primary data came from mango farmers and mango sprayer-contractors interviewed using structured personal interviews by trained enumerators.

Details on pest management practices among key informants using informal interviews and observation methods on selected mango farms and sprayer-contractors for needed information on pesticide application practices constituted the primary data source for this study. Official statistics and internet databases of pertinent data and information represented the secondary data for the study.

Data were analyzed using the SPSS program. Descriptive statistics was employed to describe and summarize the data collected.

RESULTS

The study focused on farmers and sprayer-contractors of "Carabao" mango, considered the most economically important mango cultivar grown in the country, having been tagged by the Department of Science and Technology (DOST) an export winner. It is also known as "Manila Super" in the world market. It is a highly seasonal fruit with its natural fruiting season mostly occurring in April and May. However, with floral inducers, it is now possible for "Carabao" mango trees to flower and produce all year round (PCARRD, 2006).

Socio-demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Table 1 presents some of the socio-demographic attributes of the study respondents. Most of the surveyed mango farmers and sprayer contractors were males. The latter was younger by about ten years with a mean age of 35.56 years old, compared to the farmers' mean age of 45.46 years. Farmers were mostly (82%) married with more children, but 45 % of the sprayer-contractors were single. For both categories of respondents, household size was practically the same at about five members. The majority of the sprayer-contractors have completed at least elementary education, while more than one third (36%) of the responding mango farmers have either earned or completed some college education.

Table 1
Selected Demographic Characteristics of Mango Farmers and Sprayer-Contractors in Negros Oriental, Philippines

Characteristics	Farmers N=100	Sprayer-Contractors N=100
Gender		
Male	7	99
Female	29	1
Mean Age (Years)	45.46	35.56
Civil Status		
Married	82	55
Single	18	45
Mean Number of Children	2.82	1.41
Mean Household size	4.92	5.01

Educational Attainment		
No Formal Education	2	-
Elementary Level/Graduate	38	53
High School Level/ Graduate	24	38
College Level/Graduate	36	8
Master's Degree	-	1

Farming-Related Factors

The majority (75%) of the farmer respondents owned farmlands with portions planted to mango trees, while 15% were tenants or caretakers (Table 2). The farm's size averaged 2.52 hectares, with mango trees planted in about half (1.2 hectares) of the land. On the other hand, only six (6) of the sprayer-contractors owned farmlands, which averaged 3.3 hectares, about three-fourths of which (2.4 hectares) were devoted to mango production.

The number of mango trees per farmer widely varied with a range of five to 500 trees. On average, the surveyed farmers had 37.2 trees, most (89%) at the fruit-bearing stage. On the other hand, the six sprayer-contractors had mango trees numbering 12 to 460 trees, with a mean of 138 trees, all of which were at the fruit-bearing stage. The surveyed mango farms were mainly small scale.

The surveyed mango farmers and sprayer-contractors varied in their length of engagement in mango farming-related activities. On average, the mango farmers had relatively long experience in mango farming with a mean of 14.13 years, compared to the sprayer-contractors' average of 12.5 years of experience in mango spraying operations (Table 2).

All of the surveyed mango farmers with bearing trees had their trees artificially induced to flower to ensure greater regularity in fruiting. However, only six (6) of these farmers did the floral induction of their trees by themselves, with most (94%) opting to contract mango sprayer-contractors' services on an output-sharing scheme. The latter set-up implies that sprayer contractors assumed full responsibility for all decisions about floral induction, including pest management decisions.

The majority (56%) of the surveyed mango farmers enumerated why they opted to hire sprayer-contractors to induce and manage their bearing mango trees. Topmost in the list is lack of training, knowledge, practical skills on the procedures and requirements of floral induction; lack of capital for the required spraying equipment, transportation, chemicals, and labor costs; and lesser risk on the part of the owner in the event of an unsuccessful operation thereby avoiding possible losses.

The mango spraying operations of the surveyed sprayer-contractors are quite extensive and widespread. The number of mango farms sprayed ranged from one (1) to 300 farms, with an average of 19.93 farms located in different parts of the province and in nearby areas. The number of mango trees sprayed by the contractors ranged from five to 5000 trees in a year, with an average of about 611 mango trees annually.

Table 2
The Average Size of the Whole Farm and Mango Farm, Number of Mango Trees, the Number of Farms, and Mango Trees Sprayed per Year

Charateristics	Mango Farmers N=100	Sprayers N=6
Mean Total of Cultivated Land for All Crops (has.)	2.525	3.33
Mean Total Cultivated Land for Mangoes (has.)	1.329	2.400
Mean Total Number of Mango Tree	37.2	138.67
Mean Total Number of Bearing Trees	33.08	138.67
Mean Total Mango Farming Experience	14.13	12.51
Mean Number of Mango Farms Sprayed/Year		19.93
Mean Number of Mango Trees Sprayer/Year		611.53

Pest and Disease Incidence

Carabao mango trees are susceptible to some pests and diseases, particularly at the flowering and fruit development stages. Table 3 presents the different stages of flower and fruit development of mango and the major insect pests and diseases experienced by the surveyed mango farmers and sprayer-contractors at each stage. As reported, "flower worms or caterpillars" (Family *Pyralidae, Geometridae, Noctuidae*) and hoppers (*Idioscopus clypealis Leth*) are two insect pests that are destructive during the flowering stages of mango from bud emergence to full bloom by attacking the developing inflorescence. Reportedly, hoppers continue to be destructive until fruit is set. Four insect pests such as hoppers, fruit flies (*Bactrocera philippinensis Bezzi*), cecid flies (Procantarinia mangifera), and black ants (*Monomorium minimum)* were reportedly present and harmful during the fruit development stages of the surveyed farms from fruit set until fruit maturity. The nocturnal cecid flies usually occur as early as the fruit setting stage until the fruit development stage (61-89 DAFI). Fruitflies are widely considered as the most severe pest from fruit development to fruit maturity.

Among the pests, hoppers were cited by most to have the highest incidence and caused the most severe damage and highest yield loss regardless of the season. **The majority cited no other insect pest to be highly destructive, although fruit flies and cecid fly were generally damaging.**

Furthermore, three economically essential diseases infected many of the surveyed mango farms at different growth stages. Anthracnose threatened mango production throughout the flowering and fruit development stages. On the other hand, sooty mold, often associated with mango hoppers, infected mango trees during the flowering stage, while scab occurred at the fruit development stages.

Table 3

Insect Pests and Diseases Observed by Sprayer-Contractors and Farmers to be Destructive at Different Flowering and Fruit Development Stages of Induced "Carabao" Mango Trees

PESTS	**Flowering and Fruit Development Stages**							
Insects	**Bud Emergence** (10-14 DAFI)	**Bud Elongation** (15-21 DAFI)	**Early Opening Prebloom** (22-26 DAFI)	**Full Bloom** (27-33 DAFI)	**Fruit Setting Mungbean Size** (34-46 DAFI)	**Fruit Setting** (Corn Seed to Egg Size) (47-60 DAFI)	**Fruit Deve-lopment** (61-89 DAFI)	**Fruit Matu-rity** (90-120 DAFI)
Hoppers	→	→	→	→	→			
Caterpillars	→	→	→	→				
Cecid Flies					→	→	→	
Fruit Borers						→	→	→
Fruitflies						→	→	→
Mealy Bugs						→	→	→
Black Ants						→	→	→
Diseases								
Anthracnose	→	→	→	→	→	→	→	→
Scab					→	→	→	
Sooty Molds	→	→	→	→	→			

Pest Management Strategies

The survey has shown that both cultural and chemical-based methods of pest control were employed in the covered mango farms to deal with insect pest infestation and disease infection during the flowering and fruit development stages.

Cultural Methods of Pest Control

Data in Table 4 show the specific cultural practices reported by mango farmers and sprayer-contractors done in the mango farms they owned or serviced-sprayed, respectively. A thorough examination of the data reveals that except for fruit bagging, the two groups of respondents have adopted an insufficient number of cultural management strategies. Fruit bagging is pervasive in Carabao mango farms to protect developing fruits mainly from the attacks of fruit flies and, to some extent, scale insects, mealybugs, and other insect pests. Rectangular paper bags made of old newspapers wrapped the fruits at 55 to 60 days after floral induction.

The majority (76%) of the surveyed farmers reported that they practiced “smoking” of their trees by burning plant debris, coconut husks, and other materials, including rubber in a few farms, to drive away insect pests. It appears that this was a practice that they performed before the sprayer-contractors took control of the management of flowering and fruiting stages of the trees since only two (2) sprayer-contractors claimed to have done this in the mango trees they managed. The negligible number of sprayer-contractors doing this practice suggests that this is not part of the usual regime since it is laborious and entails an ample supply of materials that may not be readily available.

While recommended as a pest management strategy, pruning of dead, infected twigs and branches to remove or minimize sources of inoculum of infestation (PCARRD, 2006) was an uncommon practice with only 23% and 46% of mango farmers and sprayer-contractors, respectively, claiming to have performed it regularly. The higher percentage of sprayers than farmers practicing pruning suggests that the former may have assumed such critical decisions, especially since they practically control all field operations, particularly about the floral induction and subsequent actions. Sanitation practices, including removing and disposing of infected or infested fruits, leaves, and other plant debris on the ground, were conducted by more sprayer-contractors (34%) than farmers (6%).

Table 4
Cultural Pest Management Methods Reported by Surveyed Respondents

Cultural Methods of Pest Management	Farmers N=100	Sprayer- Contractors N=100
	Percent Reporting	
Fruit Bagging	100.00	100.00
Smoking	76.00	2.00
Pruning	23.00	46.00
Sanitation	6.00	34.00

Chemical Control Methods

In the surveyed mango farms, the pesticides as a primary pest management strategy have become an integral practice. Pesticides, mainly insecticides, and fungicides were used extensively in mango farms covered in the study by the sprayer-contractors and mango farmers. Regardless of the season, all of the surveyed sprayer-contractors applied insecticides as a principal insect pest management strategy. Fungicides were also used by 54% of the sprayers during the wet season and 51% during the dry season.

Profile of Pesticides Used

The insecticides applied to bear mango trees belonged to eight (8) subgroups or chemical families, with a combined total of 13 different active ingredients, contained in 15 different chemical trade names. Figure 1 shows the distribution of sprayer-contractors by a subgroup of chemicals used. The top five chemical families regarding the percentage of respondents using them were Organochlorine (87%), Thiocarbamate (50%), Pyrethroids (46%), Carbamate (45%), and Thiadizin (20%). Chemicals least used were Organophosphates + Carbamate (7%), organophosphates (4%), and Pyrethroids + Neonicotin (4%). Among these groups, Pyrethroids had the most active ingredients consisting of Beta-Cypermethrin, Beta-Cyfluthrin, Cypermethrin, Fenvalerate, and Lambdacyhalothrin. The data indicate that mango sprayers did not use only one but multiple subgroups of insecticides during the flowering and fruiting stages of induced mango trees.

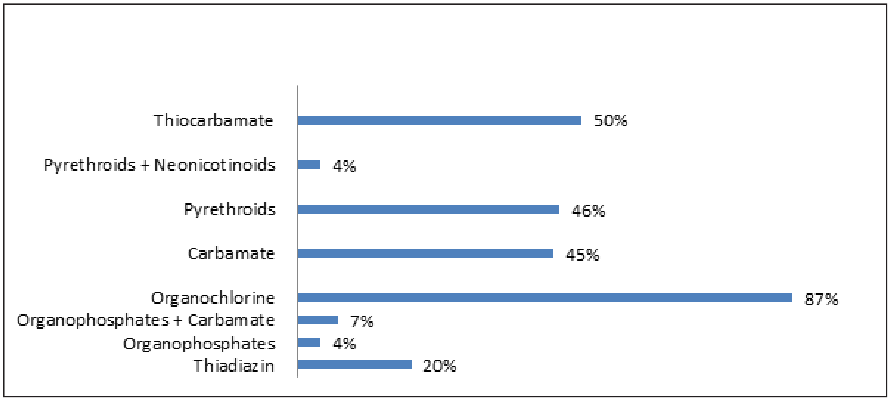

Figure 1. Subgroups/chemical families of insecticides applied on induced mango trees and the percentage of sprayer-contractors using them

The Frequency of Pesticide Application

Table 5 presents data on the frequency of pesticide application on flowering and fruit-bearing trees during the wet and dry seasons. Note that only six (6) of the mango farmers managed their trees' fruiting stages of their trees, while 94 hired sprayer-contractors. Data show that the application of insecticides ranged at varying frequencies from four to seven applications. However, the average number of pesticide applications during the wet and dry seasons was practically the same at 6.42 and 6.43 applications, respectively. The majority (57%) of the sprayer-contractors applied insecticides florally seven times, regardless of the season.

On the other hand, fungicides on mango trees were not as pervasive irrespective of the season. During the wet season, only 54% of the sprayer-contractors applied fungicides, declining to 51% during the dry season. Fungicide application during rainy and dry seasons ranged from 0 to 7, with an average of 1.39 applications during the wet season and 1.3 applications during the dry season. The difference in the percentage of fungicide users is attributed to the higher incidence of fungus-related infections during the wet season. The data suggest that a more significant number of respondents regarded fungicide use to be more indispensable during the wet season than the dry season, where the incidence of scab, in particular, is widely observed to be higher.

Table 5
Number of Pesticide Applications per Flowering-Fruiting Season during Wet and Dry Seasons by Farmers and Sprayer- Contractors

Frequency of Pesticide Application	Wet Season		Dry Season	
	Farmers N=6	Sprayer-Contractors N=100	Farmers N=6	Sprayer-Contractors N=100
Insecticides	**Percent Reporting**			
1-2	-	-	-	-
3-4	-	4	-	3
5-6	6	39	6 (100)	40
Above 6	-	57	-	57
Mean	5.83	6.42	5.83	6.43
Range	5-6	4-7	5-6	4-7
Standard Deviation	0.41	0.79	0.41	0.79
Fungicides	N=6	N=54	N=6	(N=51)
1-2	2	31 (57.41)	4	28 (54.90)
3-4	2	19 (35.19)	1	19 (37.25)
5-6	2	1(1.79)	1	1 (1.96)
Above 6	-	3 (5.36))	-	3 (5.88)
Mean	1.57	1.39	1.29	1.30
Range	0-6	0-7	0-6	0-7
Standard Deviation	2.30	1.63	2.36	1.63

Effect of Pesticide Use on Pest Damage Reduction, Yield, and Profit

Drawing from their experience in mango production, the respondents assessed the effects of pesticide use in reducing pest damage, yield, and profitability. Table 6 shows the mango farmers' and sprayer-contractors' perceived impacts of insecticide and fungicide application on fruit-bearing mango trees on insect pest reduction, level of fruit yield, and profitability during the wet and dry seasons.

Reduction of Pest Damage

Insecticides are widely perceived to be generally useful in reducing pest damage in mango farms by farmers and sprayer-contractors. Most (96%) of the sprayer-contractors indicated that insecticide application reduced pest damage by at least 51%, to as high as 75% regardless of the season. The rest reported a 26 to 50% reduction in pest damage. On the other hand, although only six (6) of the farmers did the actual spraying of their mango trees and the rest relied on sprayer-contractors' services, the majority pointed out that insecticide application reduced pest damage by 50 to 75% during the wet season and dry seasons.

On the other hand, respondents who applied fungicides on their mango trees reported its positive effect in reducing fungus-related damage, with most estimating more than 50% reduction in damage in both the dry and wet seasons. Although most farmers were not directly involved in spraying operations, the majority thought that fungicides could effectively reduce fungal damage by at least 50%.

Yield/ Productivity

The effect of pesticide use on mango yield was ascertained by asking mango farmers and sprayer- contractors whether such chemicals helped improve mango harvest based on the most recent cropping seasons. Data show that farmers who sprayed their mango trees by themselves and sprayer-contractors shared similar perceptions of insecticide application's contribution to increasing harvestable yield with all of the farmers indicating increased yield for both wet and dry seasons. On the other hand, the percentage of sprayer-contractors reporting increased yield resulting from pesticide application was higher for the dry season (71%) than 66% for the wet season.

Profitability

As expected, the surveyed farmers and sprayer-contractors who cited an increase in harvestable yield resulting from pesticide use also reported that pesticide use is profitable. There was an increase in yield regardless of the season. Although pesticides were not considered cheap, the value of their effect on pest damage reduction and consequent increase in harvestable yield was higher than the additional costs incurred by their use. Additionally, the use of pesticides was widely perceived to improve their product's physical appearance of their product, which favorably affects its market price.

Table 6

Perceptions of the Effectiveness of Insecticides and Fungicides during the Wet and Dry Season

Particulars	Insecticide				Fungicide			
	Wet Season		Dry Season		Wet Season		Dry Season	
	Farmers N=6*	Sprayers N=100	Farmers N=6	Sprayers N=100	Farmers (N=6)	Sprayers (N=54)	Farmers N=6	Sprayers N=51
Reducing Pest Damage	Percent Reporting							
<25%	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.00	-
25-50%	-	4.00	-	4.00	-	-	-	2 (3.92)
50-75%	4.00	58.00	5.00	54.00	3.00	25 (49.02)	3.00	24(47.05)
>75%	2.00	38.00	1.00	42.00	2.00	26 (50.98)	1.00	25 (49.02)
No Answer	-	-	-	-	1.00	-	1.00	-
Yield								
Increased	6.00	66.00	6.00	71.00	5.00	44 (86.27)	4.00	45 (88.23)
Unchanged	-	21.00	-	15.00	-	4 (7.84)	-	3 (5.88)
Reduce Yield	-	1.00	-	2.00	-	1 (1.96)	-	-
Not Sure	-	12.00	-	12.00	1.00	2 (3.92)	2.00	2 (3.92)
No Answer	-	-	-	-				1 (1.96)
Profitability								
Profitable	6.00	79.00	6.00	93.00	5.00	48 (94.12)	4.00	50 (98.03)
Break-Even	-	15.00	-	2.00	-	1(1.96)	-	-
Loss	-	2.00	-	-	-	1 (1.96)	-	-
Not Sure	-	5.00	-	5.00	1.00	1 (1.96)	2.00	1 (1.96)

*Only six of the 100 surveyed mango farmers induced their mango trees by themselves and managed the fruiting stages.

Perceived Adverse Effects of Pesticide

While most of the surveyed farmers had a favorable view of the effects of pesticide use on reducing crop pest damage and improving yield and profitability of mangoes, they were also aware of the potential adverse impact of pesticide use. The perceived negative impacts of pesticide use revolved around its possible effect on human health and the environment (Table 7).

Ranked first among the perceived adverse effects of pesticide use in mango farms is its potentially harmful and detrimental effects on human health, mainly to farm labor who are most directly and frequently exposed to it, as cited by the majority (75%) of the sprayer-contractors. The majority of the respondents recognized that the adverse health effects of pesticide use in farms are not only limited to those who applied them. People who work or live close to farms that heavily use pesticides may inhale pesticide aerosols or mists from nearby farms, as was supported by 72% of the respondents who cited air pollution as an adverse effect. Furthermore, 70% of the respondents cited "contamination of fruits or produce" with pesticide residues as another harmful effect of pesticide use.

Pesticides were also perceived to have adverse environmental effects such as water pollution (48%) and soil contamination (27%). There appears to be very little recognition among the sample farmers (14%) of pesticides' potentially harmful effects on the pests' natural enemies that could also be present in their farms.

Table 7
Adverse Effects of Pesticide Use on Farms as Perceived by Sprayer-Contractors

Adverse Effects	Percent Reporting	Rank
Harmful effects on human health	75	1
Air pollution	72	2
Contamination of fruits or produce with pesticide residues	70	3
Water pollution	48	4
Soil contamination	27	5
Destroys beneficial organisms	14	6

DISCUSSION

Effects of Pesticide Use

Insecticides were widely perceived to be generally useful in reducing pest damage in mango farms by farmers and sprayer-contractors. This finding is significant, considering that according to Banjo et al. (2010), losses due to pests and weeds could range from 10-90% for all potential food and fiber products. In mango production, major insect pests such as hoppers, fruit flies, and capsid bugs reportedly caused significant yield losses by as much as

90% if left uncontrolled (Chin, 2010). Hence, a reduction in damage and crop losses by more than 50% due to pesticide application, as was reported by the majority of the surveyed farmers, is economically advantageous to farmers. According to Hussain et al. (2002), pesticides are used on a massive scale on mango plantations to avert economic losses caused by these harmful insects, fungi, weeds, and others. According to Fabro and Varca (2012), pesticides benefit Filipino farmers by decreasing crop losses due to various insect pests, weeds, plant diseases, rodents, and other problems.

Generally, farmers and sprayer-contractors reported that insecticides on bearing mango trees have contributed to increasing harvestable yield for both wet and dry seasons. As more sprayer-contractors reported a significant reduction in insect pest damage due to pesticide application, correspondingly, a higher percentage also reported increased yield. An increase in yield is possible since the use of insecticides on bearing mango trees has reportedly brought down the level of pest damage by at least 50 % to as high as 75%. For instance, farmers contend that without pesticide application, the bearing mango trees, which were severely infested by some insect pests, mainly hoppers or fruit flies, could have been severely damaged, thereby adversely affecting yield. As a result of this observation, farmers employed the use of pesticides for pest control. Hence, they reported a reduction in pest damage and consequent improvement in the harvestable yield.

Similarly, the application of fungicides reportedly contributed to increased yield. These findings drew support from the findings of Jeyanthi and Kombairaju (2005). They pointed out that the intensive use of pesticides had significantly increased farmers'productivity in some parts of India. For this reason, Birthal et al. (2000) declared that pesticides had helped Indian farmers to achieve a substantial increase in agricultural productivity. However, the on-farm benefits of pesticides were offset to some degree by the off-farm costs imposed by them on the environment (Jeyanthi & Kombairaju, 2005).

While most of the surveyed farmers had a favorable view of the effects of pesticide use on reducing crop pest damage and improving yield and profitability of mango farms, they were also mindful of the potential adverse impacts of pesticide use. Ranked first among the perceived adverse effects of pesticide use in mango farms is its potentially harmful and detrimental effects on human health, mainly to farm labor working in direct contact and frequently exposed to the chemicals. The respondents also recognized that the adverse health effects of pesticide use in farms are not only limited to those who applied them. Meanwhile, indirect exposure occurs among people who live close to farms, which heavily use pesticides or buy fruits coming from such farms using pesticides. The former may inhale pesticide aerosols or mists from nearby farms or consume vegetables that contain pesticide residue levels exceeding the Maximum Residue Level (MRL). Among the reported health problems experienced by farmers that handle the chemicals are a pain in the abdomen, dizziness, headache, nausea, vomiting as well as skin and eye problems (Ecobichon, 1996; Banjo et al., 2010).

Based on their study, Hussain et al. (2002) reported that various insecticides and fungicides had been used on mangoes on a massive scale to minimize economic losses caused by insect pests and fungi. However, they averred that when misapplied, pesticide residues can remain on foods and, as such, can pose a significant hazard to human health. The perceived negative impacts of pesticide use revolved around its potential effect on human health and the environment. As Fabro and Varca (2012) pointed out, pesticides are poisons that, if improperly used or used with very little knowledge of their side effects, can endanger humans and animals due to the accumulation of persistent pesticide residues within the food chain and the contamination of the environment.

The use of pesticides was also widely perceived to have adverse environmental effects such as air pollution and soil contamination and is consistent with the report on the organophosphorus application to control agricultural pests. Issues associated with this today led to soil contamination either by a direct application or spray drift (Cycon et al., 2013), as was shown by Fosu-Mensah et al. (2016).

However, there appears to be very little recognition among the sample farmers of their potentially harmful effects on the pests' natural enemies that could also be present in their farms. The majority were not particularly wary that pesticide use does not only eliminate or control targeted pests but also other beneficial organisms present in their farms (Ecobichon, 1996). Banjo et al. (2010) stressed that many of the herbicides, and insecticides, act on a comprehensive spectrum of target species, which hurts the food chain of the wildlife inhabitants resulting in an indirect impact on species that eat specific prey or use the affected habitats. Also, Ecobichon (1996) and Banjo et al. (2010) pointed out that the constant use of pesticides led to secondary pest outbreaks and the widespread resistance development. This phenomenon results in the insecticide's inability to kill its target organisms at the prescribed dosage formally found to be lethal (Georghiou & Melon, 1993; Banjo et al., 2010).

CONCLUSION

The surveyed "Carabao" mango farms were generally small scale and were all artificially induced to flower to ensure regularity in fruiting. Hired sprayer-contractors managed the flowering and fruiting stages of most mango farms. Hence, pest management decisions, particularly about pesticide use, were wholly vested in the sprayer-contractors. Farm owners have voluntarily relinquished control of their mango farms to sprayer-contractors due to lack of knowledge and practical skills, lack of capital, and aversion to production and financial risks.

The surveyed mango farms were vulnerable and susceptible to a wide range of destructive insect pests and diseases, particularly at the flower and fruit development stages. Pesticide application is the core pest management strategy in all of the surveyed farms and by all sprayer-contractors. It is a pervasive and profoundly entrenched practice spawned by farmers' aversion to production risks brought about by the destructive effects of pests on yield and profit.

The application of pesticides on bearing mango trees has reportedly brought positive impacts regarding reduced crop pest damage, increased yield, and enhanced profitability of mango farms. However, excessive and persistent use of the chemical on farms was widely perceived as hazardous to human health and caused adverse environmental effects regarding air, water, and soil pollution.

RECOMMENDATIONS

So that proper management of pesticide use is enforced, the Local Government Units in the province must adopt local policies to regulate the sale and use of pesticides in farms. The provision for incentives to farmers practicing reduced pesticide usage and set-up mechanisms for regular monitoring of the level of pesticide contamination on harvested mango fruits, farm soils, and groundwater resources in tandem with the BPI Pesticide Analytical Laboratory Regional Office or the Fertilizers and

Pesticides Administration. Good agricultural practices must be enforced. Furthermore, local agricultural extension programs of the Department of Agriculture should emphasize the use of good agricultural practices (GAP) to ensure high farm productivity without compromising food safety and environmental integrity.

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SILLIMAN

Understanding Political Scandals Using a Social Representations Approach: The Case of the Philippine Priority Development Assistance Fund Scam

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The study puts forward the use of Social Representations Theory in investigating Filipinos' shared understanding of the scandal surrounding the Philippine legislators' Priority Development Assistance Fund. Employing the word association technique, 151 Filipinos who were familiar with the event wrote down the social meanings they associated with the fund scam. Data were analyzed using thematic analysis and hierarchical evocation method (Abric, 2012). Respondents' core understanding of the scam depicted the issue as a story of corruption, which was orchestrated by Janet Lim-Napoles. On the other hand, the respondents' peripheral apprehension centered on depicting the scandal as one that involved the government and some corrupt legislators. Hence, the pork barrel scam was viewed as a form of injustice that pointed to the greed and insincerity of the legislators involved, and the kind of system the Philippine government had. Because of the scandal, Filipinos had felt enraged and betrayed, and were then calling for genuine change in the system. Moreover, the pork barrel scam was largely associated with Lim-Napoles, and the implicated legislators were likened to *baboy* (swine). In sum, findings point to the potency of the Social Representations Theory in investigating political scandals, such as the pork barrel scam.

Keywords: Social Representation Theory, Philippine Pork Barrel Scam, Political Scandal, Hierarchical Evocation Method

The highly publicized Philippine legislators' pork barrel scam shocked the country in 2013. The incident triggered public and private discourses, stirred up strong emotions, and led to political consequences.

However, political scandals, such as this, are not new as they have always existed and have been salient in the area of politics (Tumber & Waisbord, 2004; Thompson, 2000).

A scandal is a social phenomenon whereby a transgression is committed, serious enough to evoke a public response when disclosed and endanger the reputation of the individuals involved (Thompson, 2000). Oftentimes implicating a political figure, political scandals usually revolve around sex, money, and power (Thompson, 2000; Thompson, 2005). Extant literature on political scandal points to people's reactions to this social phenomenon (see Lee, 2015), their perceptions of politicians involved in scandals (see Brenton, 2011), and the impact of political scandals on how politicians are judged (see Bhatti, et al., 2013) during elections (Long, 2019) by the electorate (Sikorski et al., 2019). Not enough studies, however, have looked at how a political scandal is socially understood by the public and how it is being talked about in the public space. To bridge this gap, this study thus captured Filipino citizens' socially shared understanding of the Philippine pork barrel scam which was a political scandal that rocked the Philippine society in 2013.

In the next section, I first detail a review of findings of some studies on political scandals and of specific political scandals that have taken place in various parts of the globe. To put my study in context, since political scandals are culture and time-bound, I then provide a brief background of one of the most shocking political scandals in the Philippines which is the 2013 pork barrel scam. Then, I discuss the lens through which I captured the fruit of the public social thinking and collective feelings surrounding this scandal.

Political Scandal: An Overview

Political scandals spell great drama, and they are a powerful component of public discourse (Pawelczyk, 2014). As such, these social phenomena are not only tackled in public and private conversations but are also discussed in and communicated through mass media. In the end, these public scandals provide information which can form basis for societal decisions and opinions (von Sikorski et al., 2019; Pawelczyk, 2014).

The media cover political scandals mostly through news reports, editorial articles, or cartoons (e.g., von Sikorski, 2018; Wiid, et al., 2011). In many instances, newspapers that are strong supporters of certain political parties intensely report scandals that involve politicians belonging to an opposing party while only lightly covering scandals that implicate politicians who belong to the party they support (Galvis et al., 2016). For instance, Puglisi and Snyder, Jr. (2011) found that newspapers that were partial to the democratic party tended to have more coverage on scandals implicating republican politicians than those involving democratic politicians. Meanwhile, newspapers endorsing republicans were disposed to doing otherwise.

The assessment of political norm transgressions as either careless indiscretion or deliberate trickery hinges partly on people's prior political attitudes (Lee, 2014) as well as on their prior levels of cynicism (Dancey, 2012). Wrongdoings that involve illegal conducts are viewed with leniency while those that point to neglect of legislative obligations are mostly evaluated negatively (Bhatti et al., 2013). Scandals implicating legislators adversely influence the public's attitudes towards political institutions and processes (Bowler & Karp, 2004). Thus, the public's assessment of the response of implicated officials are based on the larger society's perception of the factuality and acceptability of the scandal. This evaluation of factuality and acceptability influences people's estimation of the public officials (Lee, 2014). On the aftermath of a political scandal, politicians generally receive negative evaluations (van Sikorski, 2018), which could lead to unfavorable consequences. Long (2019), for instance, found that senators who were facing a scandal while seeking reelection sustained a decrease in the popular votes, especially when they were linked to issues of political wrongdoings, financial misconduct, and controversial statements. However, politicians who gave positive justifications for their behavior or declared their involvement in the scandal to be untrue were able to lessen the negative impact of the scandal, to some extent (Brenton, 2011). Moreover, when confronted with scandalous information about their favored political candidate or officeholder, avid political supporters would often engage in motivated reasoning in order to preserve or strengthen their candidate's image and reputation (von Sikorski et al., 2019). It is also interesting to note that voters did not demonstrate gender bias in their appraisal (Bhatti et al., 2013). Specifically, it was found that female politicians ensnared in a scandal were no more disadvantaged than their male counterparts (Brenton, 2011).

Political Scandals Around the Globe: A Quick Peek

Political scandals have become a frequently occurring social phenomenon as various politicians are getting involved in events related to abuse of power, sexual affairs, and financial misdeeds (Ekstrom & Johansson, 2008). An example is the wiretapping scandal that involved President Francois Mitterrand of France (Trueheart, 1997), and this parallels the Watergate surveillance scandal that implicated US President Richard Nixon who was consequently forced to resign (Feldstein, 2004). There was also the Iran-Contra affair in which the administration of US President Ronald Reagan was embroiled in the controversy of covertly assisting the sale of arms to Iran in order to free American hostages in Lebanon and use the proceeds to financially support the rebel group, Contras, that was involved in an armed conflict in the Nicaragua (Waxman, 2019). Recently, Korea saw the ousting of its first female president, Park Geun-hye, who was charged of bribery, abuse of state power, and leakage of classified state information ("South Korea's Presidential," 2018).

Besides wiretapping, secret arms deals, and abuse of power, political leaders also get involved in sex scandals, such as the one that entangled US President Bill Clinton with former White House intern, Monica Lewinsky (Waxman & Fabry, 2018). Moreover, British Secretary of State for War, John Profumo, was implicated in an issue with the young model, Christine Keeler (Farmer, 2016). The scandal cost Clinton a fine of USD25,000 and a 5-year suspension of his lawyer's license ("Bill Clinton Can," 2006). Profumo, on the other hand, later resigned from the Parliament (Farmer, 2016).

Political scandals are also associated with illegal use of financial resources and corruption among political leaders. For instance, in 2009, members of the British Parliament were tossed into media headlines when their widespread abuse and illegal misuse of the parliamentary allowances were revealed. This led many of the members to leave their posts (Hechinger, 2012). In 1992, Italy uncovered and exposed Tangentopoli, a system of corruption implicating many of Italy's political leaders. This led to arrests and suicides of several politicians, and to the end of the Italian Socialist Party and the Christian Democracy Party (Giglioli, 1996). In 2004, senior government officials running the Sponsorship Program in Canada were charged for their misuse of public funds. Specifically, commissions were paid to communication agencies, but the source of funding and the content of the transactions were concealed ("Auditor General's Report," 2004).

In the Philippines, President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo was involved in electoral fraud, known as the "Hello Garci" scandal, during the 2004 national elections ("Hello Garci Scandal," 2008). This issue was on top of the fertilizer fund scam where President Arroyo's agriculture secretary was accused of diverting millions of fertilizer funds to the president's election campaign that year ('Fertilizer Fund Scam,' 2016). In 2000, President Joseph Estrada was also embroiled in the *Juetengate* scandal for receiving *jueteng* payoffs and bribes. *Jueteng* is a numbers game that is popular in the country, but it is also considered as an illegal form of gambling. This scandal eventually led to Estrada's impeachment from office (Finin, 2000; Rood, 2019). Furthermore, several members of the senate and congress were ensnared in a corruption scandal in 2013. I give more details about this in the next section.

Political Scandal in the Philippines: The Pork Barrel Scam

On July 12, 2013, the Filipino people were stunned by the news about what was touted as the biggest corruption scandal under the administration of former President Simeon Benigno Aquino III. The issue was made known to the public when the Philippine Daily Inquirer (PDI), one of the leading newspapers in the country, published a special report on the allegation that a certain businesswoman named Janet Lim-Napoles had been channeling some 10 billion pesos from government funds into ghost projects over the past 10 years (Carvajal, 2013a).

The funds were allegedly sourced from the pork barrel of some lawmakers or legislators of the country--both from the Senate and the House of Representatives (Carvajal, 2013b). Pork barrel is also known as Priority Development Assistance Fund (PDAF). This discretionary fund allows the lawmakers to financially support small-scale infrastructures or community projects for their constituents (Diaz, 2013).

The PDI report alleged that, based on affidavits submitted to the National Bureau of Investigations, some legislators used their pork barrel funds to support ghost projects whose identified beneficiaries were the fake Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) created by Lim-Napoles (Carvajal, 2013b). The lawmakers, accordingly, would get a commission based on a

40-60% sharing of the project funds. The rest of the amount would go to Lim-Napoles (Carvajal, 2013a), as there were no real project beneficiaries (Carvajal, 2013c). However, there were times when actual "deliveries" or benefits were coursed through legitimate projects, but these would cost only a small amount. The bulk of the budget would go to the pockets of the legislators and Lim-Napoles (Burgonio & Carvajal, 2013).

When the issue erupted, Lim-Napoles (Ager, 2013; Carvajal, 2013d) and the lawmakers vehemently denied the said allegations (Carvajal & Avendano, 2013; Sabillo & Ager, 2013). However, one month after the news exploded, the Philippine Commission on Audit released a comprehensive report revealing that between 2007 and 2009, six billion pesos of lawmakers' pork barrel funds went to dubious non-government organizations including those linked to Lim-Napoles. However, the intended beneficiaries of the funds denied receiving the goods claimed to be funded by the pork barrel or PDAF (Carvajal & Avendano, 2013).

Amid public uproar on the PDAF issue, parallel investigations were conducted by the Senate Blue Ribbon Committee (Bordadora, 2013) and the Inter-agency Anti-Graft Coordinating Council to probe the misuse of the pork barrel funds (Lapena & Meruenas, 2013). As a result, many Filipinos were enraged by the news about the scam (Badoy, 2013; Royandoyan, 2013). Protesters gathered at Manila's Rizal Park to call for the abolition of the pork barrel and the prosecution of those involved in the scandal (Mangosing et al., 2013). Prompted by a growing public outrage, the Philippine Supreme Court stopped the release of the remaining PDAF allocations, and two months later declared the PDAF as unconstitutional (Torres-Tupas, 2013).

After seven months of investigation and gathering of evidence, the Office of the Ombudsman and the Senate Blue Ribbon panel announced the findings of their separate investigations on the pork barrel scam. Both investigating bodies found reason to hold Lim-Napoles as well as three senators and other government employees liable for committing plunder (Avendano & Balana, 2014; Balana, 2014). Having found a probable cause, the Office of the Ombudsman formally filed plunder charges against the officials tagged in the pork barrel scam (Cabacungan & Burgonio, 2014; Cayabyab, 2014).

To capture the public's shared understanding of this political scandal, I propose the use of Social Representations Theory as theoretical lens. In the next section, I outline how the theory proves valuable in understanding how a specific political scandal is socially understood in the public sphere by a thinking society.

Investigating Political Scandal through the Lens of Social Representations Theory

Social Representations Theory is a theory of social knowledge that looks into how group members think, feel, and act about a particular social object (Wagner et al., 1999), such as the pork barrel scam. Social representation, thus, refers to the system of knowledge that enables members of a group to understand social phenomena, and to communicate and act within their social milieu (Moscovici, 1988). Thus, social representations refer to the knowledge, symbols, and emotions shared by a group (Wagner, 1995), and such representations are articulated in the verbal and overt behavior of group members. This behavior constitutes an object for the group (Wagner et al., 1999). Moreover, social representation is also a group's shared understanding (Joffe, 2003) of certain phenomena that are socially relevant to them (Wagner et al., 1995), such as a political scandal. Such understanding may come in the form of an icon, image, or metaphor (Wagner & Hayes, 2005) which is created in the daily interactions (Moscovici, 1988) and elaboration of social groups. This process of creating an image to symbolize a social object or of turning the abstract into something concrete is called objectification (Abric, 1996). Social representation is, thus, a product of social thinking (Philogene & Deaux, 2001) and resides across the minds of the co-acting individuals (Wagner, et al., 1999).

Making representations social. It is through the process of interaction and communication that a group's understanding of a social issue is formed and transformed (Moscovici, 1988; Wagner et al., 1999). As such, it is during conversations with friends, colleagues, and neighbors about the pork barrel scam that people are able to create a shared understanding of the issue. As Social Representations Theory focuses on common-sense knowledge regarding a society's everyday issue, this theory, thus, highlights lay interpretations of reality (Moscovici, 1988). Social representations of the pork barrel scam, thus, reflects common people's shared understanding of this social object, their feelings and attitude towards it, as well as their explanation about it (Echabe, et al., 1994; Wagner, et al., 1999).

Social representations may be hegemonic, polemical, or emancipated (Moscovici, 1988). Hegemonic representations are those that are shared by most members of a group, indicating that they are of the same opinion concerning a social object such as a fraudulent act. Polemical representations, on the other hand, are representations that are contentious or are opposing or being disputed by members of a group (Ben-Asher, 2003). For instance, one group may find the whistle-blowers of a scandal as courageous and admirable for bravely telling the world about the scandal despite the dangers and risks whistle-blowing poses. However, some people may find whistle-blowers as deplorable as the latter are actually guilty of committing an unlawful act and are only trying to save themselves from people's wrath by divulging what they know about the issue and finger pointing at other people involved. Emancipated representations are those that may vary from yet complement one another (Moscovici, 1988).

Emotions as social representations. Strong group emotions emerge along with events that are contentious, hostile, or scandalous (see Bar-Tal, 2005; Christie, 2001; Sen & Wagner, 2005). Thus, this suggests that events or issues in society, such as a public revelation of a ten-year, ten-billion-fund scam, can trigger intense emotions among people. As part of their collective symbolic coping, people would want to come to grips with those emotions. As Joffe (2003) has asserted, social representations are shaped in line with people's concerns, which are oftentimes emotion-driven.

The Social Representations Theory, thus, allows for the integration of affective and symbolic processes into one social representation (Rey, 2006). This theory also recognizes that affective factors influence how the contents of thoughts are formulated (Jodelet, 2006). Moreover, Social Representations Theory understands that a group's representation of a social object is not purely cognitive but is affective as well (see Sen & wagner, 2005), for the process of knowing involves the desire to know or the desire not to know as well as feelings towards the object of knowledge and the act of knowledge. Representing something is not the bland production of a cognitive map, but rather it is an act of people who have thoughts, feelings, motives, and identity, and who live in a social world (Jovchelovitch, 2002). The theory delves into how people's daily talk gradually develops in order for them to manage socially and emotionally-charged experiences (Contarello et al., 2007).

Structure of social representations. Jean Claude Abric (1993) has stated that social representations are both rigid and flexible. They are consensual yet are characterized by strong interindividual dissimilarity. These contradictions, according to him, can be traced back to a representation's structure — the central core and the peripheral elements. The central core is a representation's chief element (Abric, 1996) that is oftentimes non-negotiable and rigid, and remains stable across time (Abric, 2012). Peripheral elements, on the other hand, are those components of a representation that are flexible, bears contradiction, are sensitive to the immediate context (Abric, 1993), and allows interindividual differences within the representation (Abric, 1996). For instance, permanently seeing politicians who have been involved in political scandals as untrustworthy may be central to the understanding of political scandal, while being forgiving to some forms of political scandal and not to other forms may be peripheral to the meaning constructed around this social phenomenon.

According to Abric (2001, 2012), the central core is often evoked frequently and promptly, while peripheral elements may be brought to mind less recurrently and less immediately. As such, he proposes the use of hierarchical evocation method or HEM to capture these structures, cross-measuring frequency and immediacy of evocation. I give further details on HEM in the method section.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This study aims to capture the social representation or shared understanding about the pork barrel scam. Employing Abric's (2001) hierarchical evocation method, this paper also endeavors to present the structure of this representation by unveiling the central core and the peripheral elements.

METHOD

To achieve the research objectives, I utilized both qualitative approach and hierarchical evocation method. In this section, I elaborate on the participants, the data corpus, the procedure for gathering data, and the analysis used in the study.

Participants

One hundred fifty-one (151) Filipinos, aged 16 to 28 (M=19, SD=1.81) answered the study's qualitative survey questionnaire. Most of them were female, comprising 72% of the sample while the remaining 28% were male. The respondents came from various parts of the country, namely, Palawan, Negros, Iloilo, Capiz, Antique, Cebu, Bohol, Zamboanga, and Davao. In terms of selection criteria, knowledge about the pork barrel scam was the main criterion for selecting the respondents of the study. In other words, the respondents were not randomly selected but were requested to participate because they knew about the pork barrel scam. Therefore, they could share their thoughts about the scandal as this could be one of the frequent topics of their day-to-day conversations.

Data Corpus, Data Gathering Procedure, and Data Analysis

Using a free association technique, I asked the respondents to write their first three ideas regarding the pork barrel scam. There were no limits to the number of words they could write and the amount of time given to them. They were also made to use the language they were most comfortable with. Their answers, which amounted to 411 utterances, served as the data/evocation corpus of the study. The generated data were subjected to both thematic analysis and hierarchical evocation method of analysis.

Data in this study were gathered at the height of the pork barrel scam investigation, long before the indictment of those linked to the scam. Data gathered were first subjected to a qualitative analysis (Braun & Clark, 2006; Ritchie et al., 2003), which was data driven. Specifically, I went over the data several times and coded them without a pre-existing framework. However, I paid close attention to cognitive and affective representations that emerged from the data. Then, I searched for and aptly labelled recurrent themes from among the generated codes.

After the thematic analysis, I applied the hierarchical evocation method, following the steps proposed by Abric (2012). The method was applied in order to determine the structure of the social representations gleaned from the data, and identify the components of the central core and the peripheral elements of the pre-determined structure. The data or the evocation corpus were reduced to nine themes, based on the results of the thematic analysis. Then, I searched for the social representations structure by associating the themes with two main criteria, namely, the frequency of occurrence and the order of evocation of the themes in each category (see Baquiano & Mendez, 2016; Montiel et al., 2012; Roland-Levy et al., 2010; Sarrica & Wachelke, 2010; Wachelke, 2008). I cross-referenced the two criteria to produce a four-area chart. The upper left quadrant of the chart was the zone of central core while the lower left quadrant was the zone of contrasted elements. The upper and lower right quadrants, on the other hand, were the area for first and second peripheries, respectively. Themes that were evoked more frequently and more promptly were salient and, thus, belonged to the central core. Themes that were more promptly but less frequently evoked were regarded as contrasted elements. Moreover, themes that were frequently yet less promptly evoked were considered as elements of the first periphery, while those that were evoked less frequently and less promptly were classified as elements of the second periphery.

I requested the participation of two fellow qualitative researchers. One of them, who had done Social Representations studies, checked the data to ensure validity. We discussed our findings after our individual qualitative data analysis. Our analyses and discussion yielded similar findings and, thus, interpretation agreement was achieved across data.

RESULTS

I divide the results section into two parts. In Part 1, I detail the findings of the qualitative analysis. In Part 2, I present the results of the hierarchical evocation method employed.

Part 1. Shared Understanding of the Pork Barrel Scam

Thematic analysis of the data brought about eight major themes categorizing the respondents' social understanding of the pork barrel scam. Specifically, the respondents socially understood the pork barrel scam as a scandal, as a story of corruption, as a reflection of the kind of government the Philippines had, as a mark of greed and insincerity of the legislators' involved, as a form of injustice, as a source of negative emotions, and as an orchestra of various key players. The analysis also revealed images that the respondents used in symbolizing their shared knowledge of the pork barrel scam.

Pork Barrel Scam as a Scandal

The social issue concerning the fraudulent act of some Philippine legislators, of Janet Lim-Napoles, and of other people involved in the pork barrel scam was understood by the respondents as a serious misconduct that exposed the dirty politics in the Philippines. Labelled by the respondents as a "Billion Peso Scam," the pork barrel scandal was a big and complicated scandal that involved people's money and humiliated some politicians. The respondents referred to the scandal as a shameful act and a crime against the government itself, against God, and against the Filipino people. The scandal was regarded by the respondents as a cause of conflict in the country at the time and, thus, was another *gubot* (mess or problem) that the government had to face and address.

Pork Barrel Scam as a Story of Corruption

From the point of view of the respondents, the scandal surrounding the Priority Development Assistance Fund (PDAF) or commonly known as the pork barrel scam was a story of corruption. According to them, billions of pesos owned by the Filipino people, (i.e., government funds coming from the taxpayers) were being used illegally by government officials who were abusing their power. The respondents were aware that money which goes to the *pondo ng pamahalaan* (government fund) and is considered as *pera ng bayan* (people's money) was to be utilized to fund projects such as construction of roads and other infrastructures, livelihood programs in various communities, and scholarships for the youth in order to benefit the Filipino people. However, according to the respondents, the money had been wasted on phantom projects that benefited ghost or non-existing beneficiaries. This unscrupulous system was orchestrated by Janet Lim-Napoles mainly through creating fake non-government organizations (NGOs) and applying them as recipients of the PDAF funded projects.

Moreover, the respondents were also cognizant that the lawmakers involved manipulated the projects in a seemingly legal manner so that they could exploit people's money for their personal gains. It appears that they treated PDAF as their own personal budget. Thus, to the respondents, the pork barrel scam was a misuse of people's money (*"hindi paggamit ng pera ng taong bayan sa wastong paraan"*). Worse, the hard-earned money of the common people was being utilized to make those who were in power become rich (*"ginamit ang perang pinaghirapan ng mamamayan upang yumaman ang mga makapangyarihan"*).

Moreover, the respondents described the pork barrel scam as a devious scheme, a criminal act, an anomaly within the government, and *pagpanikas* or *pagpanlimbong* (act of cheating). They described it as *pagnanakaw* or *pagpangawa*t or stealing taxpayers' money and deceiving these taxpayers in the process. In other words, the political leaders, particularly the legislators, were the ones who duped out the very people they promised to serve. As one respondent put it, the scam was an act of *"pagloko ng gobyerno sa mga tao"* (the government deceiving the people).

Pork Barrel Scam as a Reflection of the Kind of Government in the Philippines

As perceived by the respondents, the pork barrel scam was a reflection of the kind of government that the Philippines had: incompetent, inefficient, dirty, imperfect, and irresponsible as evident in how politicians involved in the scam finger-pointed on others and washed their hands of the issue. According to the respondents, the government was incompetent because it was not able to promptly discern the fraudulent act due to lack or absence of proper auditing, especially of the large amounts of money used to fund government projects. Such blunder also reflected the government's inefficiency in delivering its services.

Furthermore, the respondents also believed that the pork barrel scam, being the scandal that it was, exposed the dirty politics at work in the country as well as the anomalies in the sovereign state. The scandal also uncovered the malignant and systemic corruption in the government. Moreover, the government was placed in a bad light, and the Aquino administration blamed such negative image on the leadership of the former president, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo. As one respondent put it, "the Aquino administration is not perfect."

The scam, according to the respondents, also revealed how unprincipled government leaders/legislators were. Despite the awareness that their actions would make the Filipinos suffer, these political leaders continued with their wrongdoing while blatantly denying it at the same time.

Pork Barrel Scam as a Mark of Legislators' Greed and Insincerity

The respondents also expressed that the act of the people involved in the scam, particularly the lawmakers, was a mark of their greed, dishonesty, deceitfulness, and insincerity as public servants. The respondents said that those who were in power only thought of their own welfare and not of the people's welfare. They also described the politicians as *makasarili* or selfish and hungry for more money--people's money, that is--but did not have the passion to serve their constituents.

The respondents believed that people in power, particularly the legislators involved in the scam, were hypocrites. They presented themselves as the good guys who had programs intended for the poor, but they were actually using their position and authority as smokescreen to conceal their criminal acts of stealing and corruption. Therefore, the respondents likened these legislators to thieves and *baboy* (swine), and described them as dishonest and lacking in principles.

Pork Barrel Scam as an Injustice to the Filipinos

The respondents of the study perceived the fund scam as an injustice to the Filipinos, especially the poor. They reckoned that pocketing government funds in the guise of projects which did not actually exist was totally unfair. Worse, all these had led to underserved outcomes.

How did the scam affect the Filipinos? What were its consequences? According to the respondents of the study, the PDAF or pork barrel scam was a social issue that affected the people in many ways, and Filipinos should be concerned about these effects. The criminal act of the legislators meant "eternal suffering for the poor." The scam, apparently, had been going on for years already. This means that the Filipino people had been defrauded by the government officials, particularly lawmakers, across time. It is no wonder then that social services such as health services and education services had been below par. Even the infrastructures in the country were substandard or inferior in quality. Some of the respondents also expressed that due to the the scam, their own scholarships would be terminated.

The respondents believed that due to the unlawful use of legislators' pork barrel funds, the poor had become even poorer while the rich ones, especially those involved in the scam, had become richer. The respondents were also convinced that this situation could lead to more taxes for the people, and thus, *makadugang na pud sa kalisud* (adds to the [people's] suffering).

Pork Barrel Scam as a Source of Negative Feelings

As viewed by the respondents of the study, the pork barrel scam had ignited a range of negative emotions among Filipinos. They said that the Filipinos felt extremely angry, disgusted, and betrayed by their very own leaders—emotions that the respondents themselves had felt. For example, one of them said, "*Maglagot ko makadungog ana kay daghan ang nadamay, lalo na katong mga* scholars" (I get mad hearing about it [pork barrel scam] as many innocent people had been affected, especially the scholars). Another respondent described the scam as *kailinit*, while one of them emphasized that the whole thing was *ulugtasan* which meant that they felt infuriated by the mere thought of the issue.

Furthermore, the respondents believed that the Filipinos were displeased and felt a sense of betrayal especially that the political candidates whom they had voted for and trusted were the very ones who deceived and double-crossed the unsuspecting common *tao* (people). For the respondents, this act was extremely unfair. Thus, these Filipinos (i.e., the respondents) were convinced that it was high time that the system be changed. According to them, this need for change was precisely the reason why people went out on the streets to protest and demand that the PDAF be abolished. Thus, the respondents believed that there should be a move towards structural reforms and genuine social change.

Pork Barrel Scam Key Players

In the eyes of these Filipinos (i.e., the respondents), the key player of the whole pork barrel scam was the government, particularly the Aquino administration and President Benigno Simeon Aquino III himself, as well as the involved legislators such as Bong Revilla, Jinggoy Estrada, and Juan Ponce Enrile, whom the respondents alluded to as the "fat-bellied senators." Other critical players of the pork barrel scam, according to the respondents, were Janet Lim-Napoles and her fake NGOs. Napoles had been touted as the pork barrel queen and the mastermind of the scam.

As perceived by the respondents, the government played a key role in the scam because it was not able to immediately spot the unlawful act, but rather, simply allowed corruption in the system to continue. It was during the administration of President Aquino that the scam was unearthed, but he did not do much to address the issue. Instead, he kept blaming the issue on the past administration. Moreover, the real damage was done by the legislators who were involved in the unscrupulous activities and cheated their constituents. These politicians, according to the respondents, were the ones who stole the money from the government and from the people. The counterfeit NGOs also played a key role in the scam because it was through these NGOs that the corrupted funds were channeled. The last but not the least key player was Janet Lim Napoles, who, according to the respondents of the study, was the one who planned and directed the ingenious scheme.

Images of the pork barrel scam. The data generated two very distinct images that the respondents associated with the scandal. Specifically, the PDAF or pork barrel scam was extraordinarily linked to Janet Lim-Napoles, and the legislators involved in the fraudulent activity were depicted as baboy (swine).

Pork barrel scam as Janet Lim-Napoles. The pork barrel scam was vastly associated with Janet Lim-Napoles such that if one thinks of the fund scam one immediately pictures out Janet Lim-Napoles. As one respondent put it, whenever the pork barrel scam was mentioned, "the very first thing that comes to [my] mind is Janet Napoles." Napoles was also labelled by one respondent as the queen of the pork barrel scam and by another one as the mastermind of the scam.

Scammers as *baboy* (swine). The respondents of the study referred to those politicians who, according to them, were guilty of corruption as *baboy* or swine. In the Philippines, swines are pictured as "fat-bellied" that do nothing all day but eat and sleep, and expect to simply get and/or receive from others. *Baboy* may also be used in the Philippine context when alluding to someone who is lazy or dirty, or to someone who has a negative image for doing something unscrupulous. In the context of the issue at hand, the image of the swine was used to symbolize those legislators who were proven guilty of corruption through their involvement in the pork barrel scam. The legislators specifically were Senators Ramon Bong Revilla, Jr., Jinggoy Estrada, and Juan Ponce Enrile.

Part 2. Structure of Pork Barrel Scam Social Representations

The themes discussed above were used in the next round of analysis which utilized the hierarchical evocation method in order to uncover the central core and peripheral elements of the social representations of the pork barrel scam. It should be noted that here, the key players—Janet Lim-Napoles, the Philippine government, and the legislators involved in the scam—were not categorized under one theme but under three separate themes. Table 1 (see Appendix A) shows the structure of the shared understanding of the scandal surrounding the legislators' pork barrel, while Table 2 (see Appendix B) presents examples of words used by the respondents and the frequency of use of these words.

Core meanings of the pork barrel scam. The core shared understanding of the pork barrel scam among the respondents of the study was that the fund scandal was a story of corruption — corruption of the PDAF, which was supposed to be allotted for projects that would benefit the nation. Due to the scam, a considerable amount of government funds which came from the taxes were missing or could not be used as intended as there were no actual projects and beneficiaries. However, through the orchestration of Janet Lim-Napoles, the Filipinos were presented with what appeared to be "legal" projects, which were actually non-existent. The funds allotted to these projects were pocketed by the legislators and Napoles herself.

The quadrant of the central core, as shown in Table 1, has the following themes: pork barrel scam as a story of corruption (f=249, AEO=1.74) and as masterminded by Janet Lim-Napoles (f=45, AEO=1.96). These were the salient themes. As such, these themes were the most recurrent ones as they were mentioned frequently and promptly by the respondents.

Peripheral understanding of the pork barrel scam. The respondents of the study also perceived the pork barrel scam as a scandal or a serious wrongdoing committed not just by Janet Lim-Napoles but also by the (corrupt) legislators involved in the scam. This scam was blamed on the Philippine government, which was described by the respondents as inefficient, incompetent, and corrupt. The scam was also understood as a cause of injustice to the Filipinos, who were deceived by their very own legislators. Calling the legislators thieves, the respondents therefore, described these legislators as greedy and insincere. All these caused the Filipino people to feel enraged and demand for genuine structural reforms.

Taking a closer look Table 1 (see Appendix A), one can see that there were no peripheral social representations that belonged to the quadrants of contested elements and of the first periphery. The rest of the themes were all grouped together in the quadrant of the second periphery. Specifically, the categories, namely, (corrupt) legislators (f=37, AEO=2.14) and Philippine government (f=17, AEO=2.47), were among the identified key players of the fund scam. Moreover, the pork barrel scam was perceived as a scandal (f=25, AEO=2.16), a form of injustice to the Filipino people (f=25, AEO=2.40), a reflection of the kind of government the Philippines had (f=16, AEO=2.19), a mark of the legislators' greed and insincerity (f=15, AEO=2.27), and a source of negative emotions such as outrage (f=9, AEO=2.22) among people. It appears that the last few themes were the least important to the respondents as these were not constantly evoked; if they were, they were elicited last, in most cases.

DISCUSSION

Results of the study pointed to seven themes representing how the fraudulent scheme on Philippine lawmakers' PDAF was socially comprehended by the respondents of the study. The core understanding of the scam revolved around a story of corruption orchestrated by Janet Lim-Napoles. The respondents' peripheral apprehension of the PDAF scandal showed that the respondents were aware of the involvement of the government and some (corrupt) legislators. This scandal was seen as a form of injustice, thus pointing to the legislator's greed and insincerity, and the kind of system the Philippine government had. Because of this scandal, Filipinos felt inflamed and betrayed, and therefore demanded for a genuine change in the system. The respondents also heavily associated the pork barrel scam with Lim-

Napoles, and they likened the implicated lawmakers to *baboy* (swine). I now discuss how I make sense of my findings by elucidating the study's theoretical and practical implications. I end this section with a roadmap for future research concerning political scandals and the pork barrel scam.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

Findings of the study show that Social Representations Theory is able to aptly capture this group of Filipinos' (i.e., the respondents) ideas, feelings, attitudes, and explanations of the issue surrounding the pork barrel scam. Their understanding of this political scandal can be described as hegemonic, which means that the respondents had no contentious understanding about the scandal. For instance, seeing the scam as a form of corruption orchestrated by Janet Lim-Napoles was common among the respondents. The findings also pointed to social representations as something that was not only cognitive but affective as well. For example, the pork barrel scam evoked anger, disgust, and a sense of betrayal among Filipinos and among the respondents themselves. This suggests that strong emotions may surface during political scandals and such emotions, according to Jodelet (2006), can potentially influence the construction of the contents of people's thoughts.

The respondents' social representations of political scandal clearly reflected their shared beliefs, values, and attitudes. For instance, the respondents viewed the fund scam as corruption, injustice, and a depiction of the current state of the Philippine government. Other groups of people faced with a similar political scandal may have a different construction of it. As can be seen here, social representations of a political scandal, such as the pork barrel scam, cannot be removed from the social and cultural contexts within which any political scandal occurs. People's norms, beliefs, attitudes, and values, thus, provide a tapestry against which shared knowledge is formed and transformed. Social Representations Theory, as can be discerned, is valuable in investigating locally-embedded phenomena. Utilizing this theory helps a researcher explore group knowledge in specific circumstances and contexts (Howarth et al., 2004).

The study also found that the respondents used images to give form to the phenomenon (i.e., the pork barrel scandal) which they were trying to understand. For instance, the word, *baboy* (swine) is used to depict or symbolize those whom the respondents perceived as guilty of corruption. Such use of image or symbols to represent a social object and to make the intangible tangible is called objectification. Objectification, according to Wagner and colleagues (1999) "captures the essence of the phenomenon, makes it intelligible for people, and weaves it into the fabric of the group's common sense" (p. 3).

Capturing the structure of the shared meanings of any social object such as a political scandal helps one see the internal organization of a social representation. This organization is governed by the double system, central system, and peripheral system (Abric, 1996). Awareness of this organization helps in understanding that there are components of a social representation that are stable and rigid, while there are elements that are more flexible because they are more sensitive to the immediate contexts. For instance, years after the pork barrel scam broke out, the fund scandal is still understood as a story of corruption, and Janet Lim-Napoles is still largely associated with it. However, the three legislators (i.e., senators) who were deeply involved in the scam are no longer associated with the scandal. One of them, Ramon Bong Revilla, Jr., even won the senatorial election again in 2019. After the PDAF was declared illegal, there were no longer any protests urging the government for genuine structural change. These examples show that social representations are both rigid and flexible, and consensual yet, at the same time, supportive of the heterogeneity of a group (Abric, 1993).

Political scandal as a construct has almost always been investigated using a post-positivist lens that looked into this social phenomenon in relation to how it impacted the people in society, the politicians themselves, and the political system (e.g., Brenton, 2011, Bhatti, et al., 2013, Long, 2019, Sikorski et al., 2019). This study, however, moves the conversation about political scandal forward by capturing the public's shared knowledge and emotions that were being formed and transformed through interaction and communication (Moscovici, 1988, Wagner et al., 1995). As such, using a constructivist perspective, one can now go beyond cause-effect relationships of political scandals and take a deeper look at the production of a socially-shared meaning of this social phenomenon.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

The results of the study show how acts that are interpreted by the citizens as a form of corruption may reduce their belief in the government's capacity to serve them and may lessen their trust in their own leaders (Armah-Attoh et al., 2007). Understanding such acts may also enable people to see that unreliable, corrupt leaders contribute to the suffering of the poor and spoil social services as they siphon off public funds to make more money. Nevertheless, the government is placed in a favorable position as it is seen by Filipinos to be a major player in the scam. This means that the people actually understand that the government has the "power" to do something that is constructive and beneficial, not only things that are devious and destructive. Such power may be used by the government to initiate actions that would address corruption and come up with reforms that would sincerely promote and effect social and structural change.

Social representations can direct ensuing actions and steer discourses about a social object (de Rosa, 2006), thereby creating a space for refabricating meanings, reconstructing reality, and redesigning the process of interaction to pave the way for a veritable social change (Montiel et al., 2013). This space may be utilized by various groups in the Philippine society, particularly by its government, to address political scandals such as the pork barrel scam.

Lastly, the findings also illustrate how social-psychological research studies such as this can help people gain cognizance of how certain groups interpret political scandals affecting society today. In this study, it can be surmised that using the Social Representations Theory as interpretative lens can lead to the construction of group knowledge that is integral and essential to the process of understanding and addressing political scandals or social issues, such as corruption in the country.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

I gathered data from the lay people/public and obtained valuable findings. It might be interesting for future studies to look into the actual conversations of the key players of the fund scam. Using these conversations that can be accessed on media can help determine the dynamics of the communication processes of the key players, the way they frame social meanings to reflect their own construction of reality, and their dominance in the public sphere. This analysis may lead to a greater understanding of the pork barrel issue and may generally provide a clearer direction towards addressing social issues such as corruption or fund scandal. Future studies may also look at the current state of the pork barrel scam in the country, several years after the issue first came out, and see how people's understanding of this issue has evolved across time.

This study focused on a particular scandal that rocked the Philippines, specifically one that revolved around money. Thus future studies may also take a closer look at other forms of political scandals, such as one about power. It would be interesting to see how groups or people implicated in a power scandal position themselves and others, what rights and duties they accord themselves and others, and what is socially accomplished when they position themselves in a particular way. I think that investigating the lived experiences of those who go through the ordeal of being incriminated in a political scandal and the way they make sense of the experience would also be a valuable contribution to political scandal extant literature.

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APPENDIX A

Summary Table

Table 1

Structure of the Representation of the Pork Barrel Scam

	AEO	
	Low Rank < 2	**High Rank > 2**
High Frequency f > 48.67	corruption (f=249, AEO=1.74) Janet Lim-Napoles (f=45, AEO=1.96)	
Low Frequency f < 48.67		(corrupt) legislators (f=37, AEO=2.14) scandal (f=25, AEO=2.16) injustice (f=25, AEO=2.40) Philippine government (f=17, AEO=2.47) reflection of kind of government in the Philippines (f=16, AEO=2.19) greed, insincerity (f=15, AEO=2.27) causing negative feelings among filipinos (f=9, AEO=2.22)

APPENDIX B

Sample Words

Table 2

Social Representations of Pork Barrel Scam: Sample Words and Frequencies

Theme	Sample Words	Frequency (*f*)
Pork Barrel Scam as a Scandal	scandal, controversial issue that involves money of the people, scandal that exposes the dirty politics in the Philippines, big problem of the government	5.71% (25)
Pork Barrel Scam as Corruption	corruption, pagnakaw ng pera na inilaan para sa proyekto, pagnanakaw ng pera ng mga tao, money corrupted by the legislators, ginamit ang perang pinaghirapan ng mga mamamayan upang yumaman ang mga makapangyarihan, The billions gone from the public funds, ghost projects,	56.85% (249)

Pork Barrel Scam as a Reflection of the Kind of Government in the Philippines	our abnormal president blaming Gloria's regime, improper management of Philippine resources, systemic corruption, government incompetence in auditing large funds	3.65% (16)
Pork Barrel Scam as a Mark of Legislators' Greed and Insincerity	self-interest of people in the government, greed of people involved, dishonesty, greediness of those persons seated in power, insincerity of those who are in authority, greed	3.42% (15)
Pork Barrel Scam as Injustice	injustice, eternal suffering of the poor, rich getting richer and poor getting poorer, injustice made by the government officials to the Filipino people	5.71% (25)
Pork Barrel Scam as Arousing Negative Feelings	something that disgusts me, ulugtasan, kailinit, displeasing	2.05% (9)
Pork Barrel Scam key Player: Philippine Government	the administration, government, Aquino, President Noynoy Aquino	3.88% (17)
Pork Barrel Scam key Players: (corrupt) Legislators	corrupt officials, senate and congress, senators Bong Revilla, Jinggoy Estrada, Enrile, the Big Three Senators, involved politicians	8.45% (37)
Pork Barrel Scam key Players: Janet Lim-Napoles	Napoles, Janet Napoles, the bogus NGOs and Janet Lim Napoles, The Pork Barrel Queen, the mastermind Napoles	10.27% (45)


SILLIMAN

Discourse Analysis of Speech Acts of Thanking by Bahraini and Vietnamese ESL Learners

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Language teaching has changed from the traditional focus on grammatical competence to communicative competence. The prevailing point of view in the field of pragmatics is that "two participants with two different value systems underlying each of their first language (L1) cultural group (Click, 1886 as cited in Cheng, 2011) transferred their L1 pragmatic rules into a second or foreign language (L2) domains" (Mascuñana & Patron, 2013). It is also widely accepted that different cultures structure discourse differently (Demir & Takkaç, 2016). Based on these assumptions, this paper employed a textual discourse analysis to examine the thanking strategies and the semantic formulas used by Vietnamese and Bahraini ESL students in their letters. This study focused on identifying the students' semantic expressions in thanking based on the 19 forms of thanking identified by Cheng and Seto (2015) and analyzing the students' thanking strategies based on Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) and Aijmer (1996) as cited by Demir and Takkaç (2016). Results showed that the students had limited semantic formulaic expressions in expressing gratitude. Meanwhile, there are significant variations of verbal strategies among students from the two cultural groups. The findings imply that thanking, as a speech act, along with other language functions, needs to be emphasized in the ESL curriculum in the hope of developing communicative competence inside and outside the classroom.

Keywords: speech act, thanking, gratitude, verbal strategies, communicative competence, pragmatic transfer

INTRODUCTION

The words that we utter in a speech situation are not only words and mere syntactic structures; they are thoughts, ideas, and emotions. In everyday communication, the words, phrases and sentences uttered or written perform certain language functions such as greeting, complimenting, ordering, thanking, apologizing, complimenting, among others, called speech acts.

According to Green (2014), speech acts are staples of life and have become a topic for investigation since the middle of the twentieth century. She pointed out that the "recognition of the significance of speech act illuminated the ability of language to do other things aside from describing reality." In How to Do Things with Words, J.L. Austin writes,

> *…to say something is to do something; or in which by saying or in saying something we are doing something.*

Speech Act of Thanking

This paper focused on the speech act of thanking. The speech act of gratitude is one of the commonly used speech acts in everyday interaction yet draws less attention (Adini & Iragiliati, n.d). The speech act of thanking is categorized by Austin (1962 in Searle, 1979) as behabitives include "the notion of reaction to other people's behaviour and fortunes and of attitudes and expressions of attitudes to someone else's past conduct or imminent conduct." Searle (1979), in his work *Expression and Meaning: Studies in the Theory of Speech Acts,* criticized Austin's work saying that one of the weaknesses of Austin's taxonomy is "the lack of clear principle of classification, there is a persistent confusion between illocutionary acts and illocutionary verbs, and an overlap from one category to another." This criticism led to Searle's alternative taxonomy. He classified "thanking" in his category of ***expressives*** together with "apologizing," "congratulating," "welcoming," among others. Searle also discussed the syntax of expressive in English, and that is, "expressive verb in a ***performative*** utterance will not take *that* clauses but require a gerundive nominalization or other nominals." An example presented by Searle in the speech act of thanking is "I thank you for paying me the money" rather than saying, "I thank you that you paid the money." Meanwhile, the term "performative" was coined by Austin (1962) from the verb "perform" as associated with the noun "action" which indicates that the "issuing of utterance is the performing of an action; it is not normally thought of as just saying something."

Coulmas (1981 as cited in Díaz Pérez, 2005) presented the taxonomy of classification of expressions of gratitude. Díaz Pérez elaborated that " the object of thanking may be described in relation to different properties. Thus, it can be real or potential, material or immaterial, requested or not requested and indebting or not indebting. Likewise, the object of thanking may vary with regard to a scale of importance. The different objects of gratitude demand different strategies of thanking." Based on Coulmas' work, the expressions of gratitude were classified in four dimensions:

I - thanks ex ante (for a promise, offer, invitation)
- thanks ex post (for a favour, invitation (afterwards))

II - thanks for material goods (gifts, services)
- thanks for immaterial goods (desires, compliments, congratulations, information)

III - thanks for some action initiated by the benefactor
- thanks for some action resulting from a request, wish or order by the beneficiary

IV - thanks that imply indebtedness
- thanks that do not imply indebtedness

There are many ways or strategies to perform the speech act of gratitude. A simple utterance of "Thanks" may be the most common expression, but there are other semantic formulas to perform "thanking." In a study conducted by Cheng and Seto (2015), they identified nineteen forms of thanking: Thanks, Thank you, Thanks very much, Thank you very much, I can't thank you enough, I don't know how to thank you, Thank you for…, Thank you so much, Thanks so much, Thank you so much for…, Thank you very much indeed, Thank you very much for..., Thanks a bunch, Thanks a lot, Thanks a lot for…, Thanks for…, Thanks for everything, Thanks awfully, Thanks very much indeed. These formulaic expressions were identified by Cheng and Seto through various literature review.

On the other hand, Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) and Ajmer (1996 as cited in Demir & Takkaç, 2016) identified thanking strategies. This paradigm accounts for a thanking utterance's specific purpose and offers syntactic formulas for some verbal thanking strategies. These thanking strategies are summarized by Demir and Takkaç (2016) in a tabular form.

A. An explicit expression of gratitude
Sub-formula A1. ***Use of performative***
Sub-formula A2. ***Offer of gratitude***
Sub-formula A3. ***Expressing indebtedness***
B. An account or acknowledgment of favour
C. An expression of admiration
Sub-formula C1. ***Admiration of the act***
Sub-formula C2. ***Admiration of the addressee***
D. An indication of unnecessity of favor
E. A promise of repayment

The researcher used Demir and Takkaç's discussion to explain each thanking strategy and presented some examples from the coded thank you letters.

A. An explicit expression of gratitude

Sub-formula A1. ***Use of performative.*** It can be recalled that Austin coined the term performative to mean an utterance performing something rather than plainly saying something. In Demir and Takkak's work, this category offers explicit thanks in formal speech events and requires a first-person subject and a speech act verb.

Example:

I would like to thank you for all that you have done for the class.
I really thank you for teaching us.

$\boxed{\textit{I + speech act verb}}$

Sub-formula A2. ***Offer of gratitude.*** This is characterized by elliptical expressions of gratitude, thus, the subject which is the pronoun I, is implied.

Example:

Thank you for giving me extra lessons
Thanks for everything.

*Sub-formula A3. **Expressing indebtedness.*** This is done through chunks or fixed expressions such as I am much obliged, I am grateful, I am thankful, among others. Based on Demir and Takkak's corpora, this formulaic expression is used to express gratitude of a favor already done.

$\boxed{\textit{I + copula + adjective}}$

Examples:
I am grateful for your efforts.
I am so thankful.

B. An account or acknowledgment of favor.
Unlike the previous category, this group expresses illocutionary intent which may not be directly seen using grammatical indicators. It does not explicitly convey gratefulness but only suggests the positive effect that the favor has on the speaker.
Examples:
You made me star. But now it's time to move.
Nothing you have done has been forgotten.

C. An expression of admiration
*Sub-formula C1. **Admiration of the act.*** This is an expression of appreciation towards the hearer's kind act or benevolent deed. Demir and Takkaç construed that this strategy can strengthen the correlation between the speaker and the hearer.
Examples:
Million of thanks. I really appreciate your work.
Thank you. I really appreciate everything you did.
I greatly appreciate your generosity.

*Sub-formula C2. **Admiration of the addressee.*** In this strategy, the speaker focuses and expresses his/her admiration towards the hearer by giving well wishes and other utterances of appreciation and affirmation after thanking.

Example:
Thank you. You are my best English teacher.

D. An indication of unnecessity of favour.
In this strategy, the speaker expresses gratitude by using negative statements. Some common examples presented by Demir and Takkaç from their corpus are *you shouldn't have; I didn't expect you to do that; and you didn't have to do it.* Meanwhile, there was no single example of this thanking strategy found among the letters being coded.

E. A promise of repayment.
According to Demir and Takkaç, this strategy implies a "high feel" of indebtedness and gratitude. This thanking act commits a future repayment of the favor done by the hearer. From the letters coded, the researcher found a single example of this strategy being used.
Example:
Thank you, teacher. I owe you a lot.

Pragmatic Transfer

Since this paper also focused on the assumption on pragmatic transfer, it is important to discuss theories that explain this notion.

A pragmatic transfer is an offshoot of pragmatic competence, which is a sub-category of communicative competence. "Dell Hymes coined the term communicative competence in 1966 in response to Noam Chomsky's linguistic competence in 1965. Communicative competence is defined as the intuitive functional knowledge and control of the principles of language usage" (Armostis, 2013). Meanwhile, Blythe (2010) discussed that "Canale and Swain published an influential article in 1980, which they argued that the ability to communicate required four different sub-competencies: *grammatical* (ability to create grammatically correct utterances), *sociolinguistic* (ability to produce sociolinguistically appropriate utterances), *discourse* (ability to produce coherent and cohesive utterances), and *strategic* (ability to solve communication problems as they arise)." While *linguistic* competence refers to the grammatical knowledge of a person, which includes phonological knowledge, syntactic knowledge, and semantic knowledge (Finch, 2000), Kecskes (2013) defines *pragmatic competence* in L2 research as the ability to produce and comprehend utterances (discourse) that is adequate to the L2 socio-cultural context in which interaction takes place.

According to Robledillo (2015), pragmatic transfer is commonly defined as the influence of the speaker's L1 on his/her performance of the L2. Ellis (1997) discussed about negative and positive transfer. L1 transfer refers to the influence of learner's L1 that exerts over the acquisition of an L2. When the learner's L1 is one of the sources of error in learner language, it is referred to as negative transfer. On the other hand, positive transfer occurs when the learner's L1 can facilitate L2 acquisition. In the discussion of pragmatic transference, Zegarac and Pennington (2000 as cited by Hoang, 2013) who said:

> *In the case of L2 learners, negative transfer occurs when L2 learners have mistakenly generalised from pragmatic knowledge of L1 to an L2 setting, that is, they have carried over the L1 knowledge which is appropriate and acceptable in L1 culture but inappropriate and unusual in L2 culture. Positive transfer, on the other hand, happens when the learners apply an L1 pragmatic norm in an L2 interaction with success because the norm is shared.*

Speech Act of Thanking as Influenced by Culture

According to Gass (1995), "speech acts are realized from culture to culture in different ways and that these differences may result in communication difficulties that range from the humorous to the serious." Speech acts vary from culture to culture, and people from different cultures have different norms in expressing gratitude, apology compliments, refusal, etc. (Yusefia, Gowharya, Azizifara & Esmaeilia, 2015). Meanwhile, Eisenstein and Bodman's (1986) study revealed that non-native speakers have difficulty expressing gratitude in English. The participants of the study were unable to approximate idiomatic expressions due to socio-cultural incongruities, which created serious misunderstandings.

It is assumed that speech acts vary from culture to another and that L1 speech patterns may be carried over or may be transferred to the target language subconsciously. Since some text samples analyzed and coded in this study are written by Bahraini students, studies focusing on speech act of gratitude in the Arabic-speaking context are considered relevant.

First, a study conducted by Morsi (2010) which focused on the thanking strategies of Egyptians revealed that their strategy of thanking differs significantly from English thanking strategy and that of other cultures. Morsi elaborated that the Egyptian verbal strategies of thanking are comprised of lengthy utterances. These verbal strategies include repetitions, blessings, religious and non-religious semantic formulas, and other formulaic expressions. Another cross-cultural study on thanking strategy was conducted by Farnia and Abdul Sattar (2015) among Iranian and Malay students in Malaysia. Results showed that both groups used similar thanking strategies but differed on the frequency of strategies used. Just like Morsi's findings, Farnia and Abdul Sattar construed that "Iranians use lengthy thanking strategies when expressing gratitude to people of higher social status (e.g. professors)."

Another group of students in this study is composed of Vietnamese ESL students. Thus, it is also relevant to explore studies of the speech act of thanking in the Vietnamese context. One study was conducted by Pham (2013) to explore the effects of social distance in the speech act of thanking among Vietnamese. Results showed that social distance is found to affect thanking behaviors in Vietnamese significantly; that is, the greater the social distance between the speaker and the hearer, the more frequently thanking expressions (direct and/or indirect) are employed. Pham's data showed a higher frequency of thanking strategies characterized with explicit head act used in talking to strangers. In comparison, there is less frequency incurred of thanking strategies using head act among intimate (e.g., spouse, partners, nuclear family members, etc.) interlocutors. Meanwhile, another study which explores about the change of social relationship between interlocutors through the use of personal pronouns was conducted by Ho-Dac (1997 as cited in Hoang, 2013). Ho-Dac argued that "because the use of address terms in the Vietnamese language is so important in speech, 'a change in address terms signals a change in relation between the participants'". To explain the Vietnamese communication style, Clark (1988 as cited by Hoang, 2013) elaborated that

> *Vietnamese language "does make distinctions in terms of address that reflect a very deep concern in Vietnamese society for respect*

and good feeling in personal relation". This means that the nature of communication among Vietnamese is determined by hierarchical factors such as age, social status, kinship, and relationship, all of which again determine the word choice patterns formally and informally.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study aimed to explore the thanking strategies used by Vietnamese and Bahraini students in writing their "thank you" letters to their teachers. Although many studies are available on the speech act of gratitude, most of these studies used DCT and corpora to gather data. Aside from this, most investigations on cross-cultural pragmatic on speech acts of thanking were done using contrastive analysis between English and other native languages. In this study, the researcher employed textual discourse analysis of authentic thanking letters written in English by ESL students from two different cultural backgrounds. This paper is based on the assumption that ESL learners tend to carry the socio-pragmatic rules of their L1 when they write a letter in English, the target language. At the end of the study, the research hopes to find certain implications relevant to the development of communicative competence among ESL learners. Specifically, it seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What are the thanking expressions used by the students?
2. What are the thanking strategies used by each group of students?

METHODOLOGY

This paper implored discourse analysis, which is a qualitative research approach. According to Jones (2012), "discourse analysis is the study of language. As a sub-field of linguistics, it is the study of the ways sentences and utterances are put together to make texts and interactions and how those texts and interactions fit into our social world."

Discourse analysis is defined as the study of naturally occurring language in any social context that uses various qualitative methods to increase people's understanding of the human experience (Shanthi, Lee & Lajium, 2015).

In this research, there are two sets of data. The first set was composed of letters written by Grade 6 students of an international school from the Kingdom of Bahrain. The thanking letters were products of freewriting activity in an English class conducted through emergency remote teaching (ERT); thus, the letters were submitted and collected through Google form. Before the writing activity, the researcher provided instructions and a letter template to the students. Below are the exact instructions and the content of the letter template provided before the writing activity. Although it was freewriting, some students chose to create thanking letters for their teachers. Thus, the researcher purposively selected these thanking letters for teachers to match the criteria of the other set of data.

General Instructions

Writing a Thank You letter

This is a free writing activity in which you just have to put your thoughts into writing regardless of errors in spelling, grammar or punctuation. For this activity, you are encouraged to pour your thoughts and feelings in writing.

Specific Instructions

Think of someone who has inspired or helped you. Express your gratitude by writing a Thank You letter to him/her.

Dear ____________________,

Thank you for the _________________________________. I really

____

From ______________________

Another set of data was taken from the thank you letters and notes written and pasted by the students in a scrapbook as a year-end activity. They were Grade 6 students from a private institution in Vietnam. Since it was a scrapbooking activity, the letters were products of the students' free will and expression.

Initially, 56 thank you letters were collected from the Bahrain group; however, some letters were expressions of gratitude to their parents and siblings. Meanwhile, there were 34 thanking letters from the Vietnam group. Yet, some samples were written by Grade 9 students. Thus, for even distribution when it comes to age and academic level, a purposive sampling was done. Coincidentally, both groups had 15 samples, which were coded and analyzed. To sum it up, the data sources were thank you letters for teachers in English written by Grade 6 students from private schools in Bahrain and Vietnam.

For ethical considerations, the researcher sent emails to the administrators of the two schools to request permission to use the letters for discourse analysis. The two schools graciously granted permission for the utilization of the letters for the sole purpose of this research.

This paper identified and categorized the students' thanking expressions in their thanking letters for their teachers. This was done by identifying the students' semantic expressions in thanking based on the 19 forms of thanking identified by Cheng and Seto (2015) and analyzing the students' thanking strategies based on Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) and Aijmer (1996 as cited by Demir & Takkaç, 2016).

RESULTS

The tables below present the data gathered, which were coded and analyzed. Below each table are discussions of the most important and salient aspects of the data.

To determine the thanking expressions, the researcher only counted the utterances with direct, explicit thanking expressions like "thank you," "I am grateful," and "I really appreciate." Other implicit expressions and utterances to express gratitude are coded and considered in the thanking strategies based on Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) and Aijmer (1996 as cited by Demir & Takkaç, 2016).

Table 1

Thanking Expressions Used by Bahraini Students

Thanking Expressions	Frequency	Percent
Thank you for…	21	91.30
Thank you	1	4.35
Thanks for everything	1	4.35
Thanks	0	0.00
I can't thank you enough	0	0.00
I don't know how to thank you	0	0.00
Thank you very much	0	0.00
Thank you so much	0	0.00
Thank you so much for...	0	0.00
Thank you so much indeed	0	0.00
Thank you very much for...	0	0.00
Thanks a bunch	0	0.00
Thanks a lot	0	0.00
Thanks a lot for...	0	0.00
Thanks for...	0	0.00
Thanks awfully	0	0.00
Thanks very much indeed	0	0.00
Thanks very much	0	0.00
All expressions combined	23	100.00

The data in Table 1 show that among the 19 expressions identified by Cheng and Seto (2015) in their study, the students used three semantic expressions. This current study shows a similar result with Cheng and Seto's work in which ***thank you*** and ***thank you for*** falls on the top five most frequent forms of thanking in the four corpora of their study. The expression ***thank you for*** accounts for the highest number in the thanking letters of students from Bahrain. This expression is used to specify the thing which a speaker is thankful for. In Arabic, šukran is a formal way of saying thank you (Arabic Manners: Learn how to say "thank you", n. d.). It is used in all Arab countries and understood among all Arabic dialects (How to say thank you in Arabic in 13 ways, 2020). In Lebanese Arabic, ***thank you for*** is done by adding the preposition "3alā / عَلى" (usually contracted to 3a / عَ) + noun to the word or expression of thankfulness. If what the person being thankful for is described in a phrase, the preposition is omitted (Lebanese Arabic Institute, n. d.).

Table 2

Thanking Expressions Used by Vietnamese Students

Thanking Expressions	Frequency	Percent
Thank you	6	42.86
Thank you for…	5	35.71
Thanks for everything	1	7.14
Thank you very much	1	7.14
Thanks for...	1	7.14
I don't know how to thank you	0	0.00
I can't thank you enough	0	0.00
Thank you so much	0	0.00
Thank you so much for...	0	0.00
Thank you so much indeed	0	0.00
Thank you very much for...	0	0.00
Thanks a bunch	0	0.00
Thanks a lot	0	0.00
Thanks a lot for...	0	0.00
Thanks	0	0.00
Thanks awfully	0	0.00
Thanks very much indeed	0	0.00
Thanks very much	0	0.00
All expressions combined	14	100.00

Table 2 shows that the ESL students from Vietnam used five expressions from the 19 expressions identified by Cheng and Seto (2015). Among the five expressions, the expression *thank you* is the most frequently used. This result coincides with the corpus-based study of the speech act of thanking by Stephanie Cheng (2010). She asserted that the "systematic finding based on the two corpora she utilized in her study indicates that *thank you* is much more conventional and well-accepted than *thanks*, and thus is used in wider different contexts (e.g., whether it is formal or informal) or with wider range of social relationships." In a study conducted by Pham (2013) that explored the Vietnamese thanking strategies, most Vietnamese respondents prefer to use direct head act strategies, especially when talking to strangers. She explained that a direct thanking head act is composed of the semantic unit *cảm ơn* "thank" which can be used to express gratitude, with or without other elements. Pham's data suggested a tendency that "the closer the relationship between the speaker (the receiver of favour or a good deed) and the hearer (the giver) was, the less frequently verbal expressions related to gratitude were used." The data imply that Vietnamese students may have used a similar semantic pattern in their L1 in expressing their gratitude in English (L2), primarily that the speech act of thanking is addressed to a teacher.

Table 3

Other Thanking Expressions Used by Bahraini Students in their Thank You Letters

Thanking Expressions	Frequency	Percent
I really appreciate	3	25.00
I would like to thank you for	2	16.67
I'm writing to thank you for	1	8.33
I am grateful for	1	8.33
I really thank you	1	8.33
I wrote this letter to thank you for	1	8.33
I thank you for	1	8.33
Thank you once again for everything	1	8.33
Million of thanks for	1	8.33
All expressions combined	12	100.00

Table 3 shows other thanking expressions by ESL students from Bahrain other than the 19 expressions identified by Cheng and Seto (2015). It can be deduced that out of nine expressions tallied, seven of these expressions use of formal performative structure *I + verb.* According to Cheng (2010), as cited by Adini and Iragiliati (n. d.), this structure is sub-categorized as elaborated thanking, which is used when the speaker hopes to sound more formal. In the study of Adini and Iragiliati, the majority of the subjects used an elaborated thanking strategy. Some of the occurrences include strategies that contain the following semantic formulas: thanking + intensifier (thank you very much), thanking + reason *(thank you for your help), thanking + intensifier + reason (thank you very much for your help).* Meanwhile, in a study of thanking appropriateness in a dynamic context, Liao (2013) described that Indonesian students do not use the utterance "I appreciate your help" in a daily conversation. Liao asserted that this kind of expression is only used by the students in a formal context. These semantic formulas used by some ESL students in Bahrain may be due to formal language practice in the students' Arabic classes. This is also another implication of the influence of the students' pragmatic transfer from L1 to L2.

Table 4

Other Thanking Expressions Used by Vietnamese Students in Their Thank You Letters

Thanking Expressions	Frequency	Percent
Thank you, teacher	3	37.5
Thank you, teacher, for	2	25.00
I am truly grateful	1	12.50
I'm very grateful for	1	12.50
Thank you for everything	1	12.50
All expressions combined	8	100.00

Table 4 shows Vietnamese students' thanking expressions other than the expressions identified by Cheng and Seto (2015). It is notable that the first and second expressions directly address the person whom the expression of gratitude is intended for. When the data are combined, 62.5% have a direct address, ***"teacher."*** This finding implies a change of semantic formula to show politeness and respect, especially when there is a social distance like a teacher-student relationship. A study conducted by Farnia and Abdul Sattar (2015) in a cross-cultural study on the expression of gratitude among Iranians and Malays, both groups of respondents in a DCT "softened" their responses by adding "Professor" in their thanking utterances. Farnia and Abdul Sattar explained that "this is a cultural specific strategy where the respondents attempt to emphasize, and even exaggerate their recognition of the higher social rank of their interlocutors as a way of showing respect. Therefore, the use of forms like 'professor,' 'Dr.' or 'sir' was evident in the data." On the other hand, it is also worth mentioning that the use of the intensifier "truly" and "very" in the two utterances in the table above also signifies politeness. According to Otani and Ogawa's (2014) study of how Japanese EFL learners express their thanks and disagreement, students added intensifiers such as "so much" or "very much" when they thanked their teachers. Otani and Ogawa concluded that "the greater the social status between interlocutors is, the more polite a beneficiary, a person who feels indebted, expresses their gratitude." The same claim was made by Robledillo (2015) in her study on the thanking formula in English and Spanish. Robledillo asserted that "social relative power may also be a determining factor in the use of internal modifiers." Her study showed that 80% of the participants used intensifiers to express gratitude to a professor or a boss.

Table 5

Thanking Strategies Used by Bahraini Students in Their Thank You Letters

Thanking Strategies	Frequency	Percent
A. An explicit expression of gratitude		
Sub-formula A1. Use of performative	7	14.00
Sub-formula A2. Offer of gratitude	26	52.00
Sub-formula A3. Expressing indebtedness	1	2.00
B. An account of acknowledgment of favor	2	4.00
C. An expression of admiration		
Sub-formula C1. Admiration of the act	9	18.00
Sub-formula C2. Admiration of the addressee	5	10.00
D. An indication of unnecessity of favour	0	0.00
E. A promise of repayment	0	0.00
All strategies combined	50	100.00

Based on the thanking taxonomy of Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) and Ajmer (1996 as cited in Demir and Takkac, 2016), the data show that majority of the subjects from Bahrain used the sub-formula in ***offering an explicit gratitude.*** Demir and Takkac explained that sub-formula A2 – offer of gratitude is characterized by the use of the most common elliptical expressions such as *thank you, thanks, thanks for doing something.* This result is similar to the finding of Cheng (2010) in which *thank you* is the most frequently used expression in the two corpora being coded and analyzed. In the study of Díaz Pérez (2005), it was found out that the IFID (illocutionary force indicating device) *thank you* and *gracias* in English and Spanish, respectively, are the most common among the three groups of informants.

The other formulas such as expression of admiration of the act, admiration of the addressee, and the use of performative also tallied a significant number. According to Demir and Takkac, the sub-formula expressing admiration of an act contains a specific reference to the act worthy of appreciation. Usually, it is represented by a direct head of thanking expression followed by the appreciation of the benevolent act. Here are some samples from the letters coded:

Thank you for everything you taught me. I really appreciate everything you did.
Thank you. I greatly appreciate your generosity.
Thank you for always inspiring and loving us. I really enjoy being your student.

Meanwhile, the sub-formula of the admiration of the addressee is characterized by focusing the semantic expression on the hearer. This is done by adding well-wishes and other positive statements after thanking. Here are some samples from the actual letters coded.

Thank you for being such a great teacher. I really appreciate that I got to be your student.
Thank you for teaching us. You are my best English teacher.
Thank you for taking care of us during this school year. I wish you happiness and good fortune.
Thank you for being my teachers and making me the best. May you inspire others to achieve the greatness you have.

Finally, the sub-formula of explicit expression of gratitude through the use of performative is characterized by ***the first-person subject I and a speech act verb.*** According to Demir and Takkac, this formula is used to offer thanks in formal speech. Here are some actual samples:

I would like to thank you for all that you have done for the class year 6A throughout the year.
I thank you for teaching me English, writing and for preparing me and my friends for the next grade.
I would like to thank you for the support you provided to me during the virtual learning in term three.
Today, I would like to say thank you for your hard work.

On the other hand, the table above shows a total of 50 strategies coded and identified from 15 sample letters written by ESL students from Bahrain. Though the writing template provided before the writing activity presented the simple thanking expression *(Thank you for…)*, the students created longer thanking expressions by using other strategies such as using the formula of expressing gratitude through performative, expressing admiration, indebtedness, and acknowledgment of favor. This may be attributed to the fact that the letters were produced because it was expected from the students to write a thanking letter as a requirement of an English class. Other factors that may have affected the length and the variation of thanking strategies were social and cultural. According to some Arabic teachers, students are taught the formal Arabic structure of utterances in their Arabic classes. It is assumed that this practice would influence students' writing outputs in English. In a study conducted by Morsi (2010), which focused on the analysis of different functions of expressing gratitude and the responses to it in Egyptian Arabic, he claimed that "the forms of thanking in Egyptian Arabic differ significantly from those of English and probably those of some other cultures in particular ways. In Egyptian Arabic, to be polite and express sincere gratitude to the hearer, the thanker uses one or more of the following strategies: 1) repetition and 2) formulaic expressions, whether explicit mention of thanks, e.g. ('thanks a million,' 'don't mention it') or 2) blessings, e.g. ('bless your hand,' 'bless your heart,' 'may God reward you') or other non-religious formulas including good wishes, e.g. ('may we hear good things about you') all of which result in a lengthy form and expressions of gratitude. It is important to note that different factors affect the thanker's choice of any or all of these strategies, such as the thanker's age, gender, and social distance with the hearer."

Table 6

Thanking Strategies used by Vietnamese Students in Their Thank You Letters

Thanking Strategies	Frequency	Percent
A. An explicit expression of gratitude		
Sub-formula A1. Use of performative	0	0.00
Sub-formula A2. Offer of gratitude	14	51.85
Sub-formula A3. Expressing indebtedness	2	7.41
B. An account of acknowledgment of favor	5	18.52
C. An expression of admiration		
Sub-formula C1. Admiration of the act	1	3.70
Sub-formula C2. Admiration of the addressee	4	14.81
D. An indication of unnecessity of favour	0	0.00
E. A promise of repayment	1	3.70
All strategies combined	27	100.00

The table shows a summary of Vietnamese students' thanking strategies in their thanking letters and notes. There are 27 thanking strategies coded and identified. There are 27 thanking strategies coded and identified. Most of the students expressed their thanks by using the sub-formula of ***offering gratitude***, that is, using elliptical expressions by omitting the pronoun I. This result may be attributed to the semantic formula in expressing gratitude in the students' L1. In a study by Pham (2013), which investigated the effects of social distance on the act of expressing gratitude in Vietnamese, data revealed that most of the responses are done by using a single direct head act ***cảm ơn*** (thank). Pham explained by citing Huu (2009) that "expressing gratitude is a frequently used speech act in Vietnamese and an important part of speech etiquette in Vietnamese culture." There are two ways in which Vietnamese expresses their gratitude: direct and indirect (Luong 2010, Nguyen, 2010 as cited by Pham, 2013). She also explained that "a direct expression of gratitude contains either cảm ơn (thank) or another more formal thanking verb such as *cảm tạ, đa tạ, đội ơn*, or *bái tạ* (in Nguyen, 2010). Here are some samples of the direct strategy of thanking by using a sub-formula of offering gratitude.

Thank you teacher for teaching me for one school year.
Thank you teacher for sticking with the whole class for a complete school year.
Thank you teacher for teaching us.
Thank you very much.

As shown in Table 4, Vietnamese students used direct address by writing the word ***"teacher"*** in between the thanking utterance and the reason. This data indicates politeness and respect of the students towards the teacher.

Meanwhile, Pham (2013) explained that "Vietnamese' indirect expressions are those which have the illocutionary force of thanking but are realized in the form of other speech acts such as complimenting, evaluating, expressing luckiness, etc." Since Vietnamese also use other indirect strategies of expressing gratitude in their L1, this characteristic may be transferred or may influence the students' thanking strategies in English. This is evident in the students' use of the semantic formula in acknowledging favor (18.52%) and expressing admiration of the addressee (14.81%). Demir and Takkaç (2016) contended that an account or acknowledgment of favor "divorced from the other strategy types in that it covers illocutionary intent rather than grammatical indicators. An 'account' or an 'acknowledgment of favor' does not push on to convey gratefulness, but only suggests the positive effect that the favour has on the speaker instead." Here are some samples from the letters and notes coded and analyzed.

You are the only one who can make me interested in studying English.

You taught me a lot of things and I'm very grateful. I hope I can meet you again.

You have been helping and caring for us in every period possible.

The data show that Vietnamese students do not use the thanking strategy using the performative formula ***I + speech act verb.*** This may be explained by the fact that the activity was a year-end scrapbooking activity where students drew and wrote anything they wanted to express. In most situations, scrapbooking is an informal writing and art activity. This may have affected the students' semantic formulas in their letters and notes. At the beginning of the activity, the instructions focused on creating a scrapbook as memorabilia of the whole class. Though they were given prompts as a guide, all the writing outputs and their contents were products of the students' free-will. There may be many other factors that influence the students' thanking strategies, but the results of the analysis also give rise to some teaching-learning implications.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study explored the thanking strategies of Grade 6 Bahraini and Vietnamese students in their thank you letters. It employed discourse analysis to determine the thanking expressions in reference to Cheng and Seto's (2015) nineteen (19) linguistic realizations of thanking and to classify the thanking strategies using the taxonomy of Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) and Aijmer (1996 as cited by Demir & Takkaç, 2016).

Results showed that both groups used a limited number of expressions in thanking. While Cheng and Seto identified 19 expressions from their literature review and corpora, Bahraini students only used three of these thanking expressions (Table 1) while Vietnamese students only used five thanking expressions (Table 2).

Each group of students has a unique syntactic pattern expressing gratitude other than those 19 expressions identified by Cheng and Seto. Some Bahraini students use the ***performative I + speech act verb*** of thanking like *I thank you for*, or *I would like to thank you*. Others express gratitude using the expression of admiration like *I really appreciate* (Table 3). Meanwhile, Vietnamese students' expression of gratitude in written English is characterized by an "alerter" or "direct address" of the person whom the thanking is intended for. Based on the researcher's personal experience as an ESL teacher, the Vietnamese students also carry the same behavioral pattern in spoken English inside the classroom. As evident in Table 4, some utterances include *"Thank you, teacher"* and *"Thank you, teacher, for."* These syntactic structures and semantic formulas in expressing gratitude are believed to be influenced by the students' L1 and culture resulting in pragmatic transfer in L2.

In Table 5 and Table 6, data showed that both groups of students used the ***sub-formula of offering gratitude*** characterized by direct and simple expressions such as "thank you" and "thank you for" in expressing thanks to their teachers. Both groups did not use the sub-formula in *indicating unnecessity of favor* as a thanking strategy. According to Demir and Takkaç, this strategy is not widely used in American daily conversation. These two researchers had a hard time finding samples of this kind.

PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Due to the students' limited use of thanking expressions, it implies that other thanking expressions be taught in the classroom in various ways. Although students knew how to express gratitude using simple and direct expression like *"thank you,"* they have to understand that there are other formulaic expressions to express thanks in various contexts. According to Jones (2012), "the meaning of an utterance can change dramatically depending on who is saying, when and where it is said, and to whom it is said." To communicate effectively, one has to gain not only linguistic competence but also sociolinguistic competence and discourse competence. This is why pragmatics has become an important aspect of learning a language. This paper supports Mascuñana and Patron's study on *Sociolinguistic Competence through Speech Acts* (2013), which asserted that a language teacher's primary goal is to teach communicative competence and can do this by integrating pragmatics in the classroom . Mascuñana and Patron suggested some strategies in teaching speech acts such as model dialogs, role-plays, discourse completion tasks (DCTs), discourse rating tasks, and awareness-raising.

RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

This is a small-scale study with a sample of 15 letters from each group, a total of 30 letters. In the coding and analysis of data, the researcher is fully aware that the coding process should have involved a team of professionals to increase the coding's reliability. Likewise, since the samples are written discourse, a triangulation of data is recommended in future researches.

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An Analysis of Speech Acts in STEAM Students' Video Blogs

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The popularity of video blogs as a medium of mass communication nowadays has reached the educational landscape, and these are now being adapted as instructional materials and assessment tools. Video blogs, more commonly known as vlogs, have given students more opportunities to communicate and can therefore be a viable source of data on students' communication skills in the second language. Using Searle's categories and taxonomy of illocutionary speech acts, this study aimed to determine the types of illocutionary speech acts derived from Oral Communication video blogs created by grade 11 STEAM students of Silliman University Senior High School. The study involved 40 students from Grade 11 STEAM strand. This study employed an observational descriptive research design using the students' video blogs about the invention they made in their Earth Science class. A total of 193 utterances were derived from the video blogs and were classified according to Searle's Taxonomy of Illocutionary Acts. The students' use of speech acts as gleaned from their utterances was generally appropriate to the context of the video blogs. Although there were some illocutions that were predominant in the scripts, the students, nonetheless, used a variety of speech acts in their utterances. Furthermore, an in-depth inquiry into this present topic may be pursued to generate ideas for the teaching of speech acts and of communication in general, as well as for the preparation of appropriate instructional materials. The end goal is to provide the kind of STEAM education that enhances effective communication not just in the classroom but in society.

Keywords: speech acts, illocutionary speech acts, utterances, video blogs

INTRODUCTION

"Language is ambiguous," linguist Rodney Jones (2012) stated in introducing discourse analysis as texts. Texts are the main items that are used in analyzing discourse. The ambiguity of language does not only stem from cultural differences or form the lexicon of a language but from how that particular language is used in the "world" where it is used. This means that language is social, and it is never detached from the identity of the people speaking it. Hence, even if people who belong to the same ethnic group use the same words and expressions from their language, it is undeniable that meanings may still be taken differently. Moreover, the effects of words may vary depending on how speakers say them and how receivers perceive them.

The ambiguity of language is manifested mostly in spoken form. The interaction between interlocutors in a spoken conversation is carried out effectively if meanings are conveyed and negotiated in a way that both parties agree with each other. Otherwise, breakdown in communication occurs. These breakdowns usually come from the inappropriate choice of words, the erratic structure of phrases and sentences, vagueness of meanings, and even the directness (or lack of it) of utterances (Kaur, 2017).

Furthermore, utterances produced by speakers are not just merely spoken words, for utterances actually constitute specific actions in the real world (Parker, 1986). Such specific actions committed through speech can be understood through the study of speech acts. Speech acts are utterances that perform actions.

The concept of speech acts therefore suggests utterances are not solely and heavily based on their meaning but also on their force. This force is the "ability of the utterance to perform actions" (Jones, 2012). John L. Austin who first came up with the idea of the actions performed through utterances categorized these forces into three: (a) *locutionary* or the literal meaning of the utterance; (b) *illocutionary* or the actual purpose of saying the utterance; and (c) *perlocutionary* or the effect of the utterance to the hearer. In particular, the illocutionary force requires attention since it tends to perform something different from what has been said. Originally, five categories of illocutionary force were formulated by Austin, namely verdictives, exercitives, commissives, expositives, and behavatives. However, this categorization was deemed problematic by one of his students, John

Searle, mainly because Austin's classifications did not necessarily comprise different illocutionary acts. Instead, the classifications consisted of illocutionary verbs that suggested similar actions. Hence, Searle published a modification of Austin's categorization of illocutionary acts.

In his publication called *A Classification of Illocutionary Acts,* John Searle (1976) presented an alternative taxonomy that categorized illocutionary acts into representatives, directives, commissives, expressives, and declarations. Telling about the truthfulness or falsehood of an utterance, the representative category of speech acts include concluding, deducing, or boasting. Meanwhile, in using directives, the speaker attempts to make the listener do something as in requesting, and giving orders or commands. Moreover, commissives are speech acts that assert the speaker's intention to perform some action in the future like promising or refusing. Meanwhile, expressives show psychological or emotional states that are assessed through the sincerity of the intention of an expression such as apologizing and thanking. Lastly, declarations are utterances that alter the status or condition of the object or person referred to in the real world. The success of this alteration depends on the degree of authority or power of the speaker performing the speech act. For example, by virtue of his/her position, an employer has the authority to nominate an employee for a position in a company. Moreover, changing someone's status from being unemployed to being employed is possible for a person who has the power or authority to hire (Searle, 1976). These categories of speech acts also suggest that utterances can perform actions that are not indicated in the syntactic form. This idea brings about the notion of directness in the enactment of speech acts. Specifically, it is important to note that speech acts can either be direct or indirect. While the intended meaning of direct speech acts is readily discernible through the syntactic structure of the utterance, the meaning of indirect speech acts have to be derived from the intention of the speaker and the situational context. Thus, the notion of indirect speech acts can be captured in the adage, "People do not always say what they mean, and people do not always mean what they say."

Communication is dynamic, and the ways of meaning making are evolving. Aside from face-to-face, real time communication, modern modes of communicating are being used. One of these modes is video blogging. In this generation, video blogging has become so popular and powerful that many people use it to communicate their intentions and achieve their purposes. Nowadays, even in the field of education, video blogging is utilized as a way of promoting communicative approaches and innovative ways of teaching skills in different subject areas such as language communication arts. For instance, Pascual (2019) conducted a study on the effectiveness of travel blogs in teaching English as a foreign language. In his discussion, he asserted that travel blogs were sources of authentic texts and contexts where natural language and values could be observed. In addition, using travel blogs enhanced students' digital competence which is essential to successful communication in the 21st Century communication. Likewise, Watkins (2012) has posited that video blogs, commonly known as vlogs, provide avenues for increasing students' off-classroom communication, self-monitoring of speech, and practice of listening skills. Vlogs can also improve students' digital literacy and provide an excellent space for collaboration and exchange of ideas.

Since video blogging is a relatively new material used in classrooms, a limited number of studies can be found about it, especially those that deal with speech acts. Nevertheless, a number of published researches show an examination and analysis of speech acts in various texts and students' spoken discourse records. For example, Matenab-Temporal (2018) performed a conversation analysis on the speech acts of ESL students' classroom discourse. In this study, the teacher-student and student-student interactions were documented to analyze how they negotiated meaning and gave appropriate responses. Each category of illocutionary speech act was analyzed using excerpts from classroom documentations. It was found out that the most recurrent speech acts performed were apologizing, explaining, asking questions, confirming, giving emphasis, citing examples, giving suggestions, scolding, giving advice, requesting, and giving commands. It was further explained that most conversations were teacher-led, so learners were the receivers of the speech acts most of the time. It was recommended that learners be given more opportunities for communicative practice inside and outside of the classroom.

Another study by Fikaningsih in 2017 on speech acts dealt with the analysis of directive illocutionary act in the video blogs of an Indonesian vlogger. The researcher categorized the directive speech acts in the utterances of the vlogger and determined the preferred directive speech acts of the viewers. The directive illocutionary act of suggesting turned out to be the most preferred speech act of the vlogger and the viewers. This finding suggests how vloggers and viewers would choose to be more subtle in asking people to do something for them than be blunt and imposing as in the speech act of advising or ordering.

Several related studies have focused on speech acts in different types of discourse. One of these studies, which was conducted by Surahman (2015), examined the directness and literalness of speech acts in the film, "Pirates of the Carribean: On Stranger Tides." Through documentation, the researcher sorted, organized, and analyzed the speech acts found in the script of the film and categorized them based on the taxonomy of Searle. The findings revealed that representatives were the most common speech acts in the film. This was followed in rank by directives, commissives, expressives, and declarations, respectively.

Another study aimed to identify and analyze the functions of the indirect speech acts found in the film "Imitation Game." Through documentation, Dewi, Sudipa, and Savitri (2016) employed note-taking techniques and captured the scenes of the film. The researchers came up with nine indirect types of speech acts, the most common of which were declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives. Assertive (representatives) and directive speech acts were the most prominent since, as the author explained, these speech acts sounded more polite given the context of communication.

In the field of STEAM, communication is a soft skill that is given a high regard (Burowczak, 2015). Aside from mastering the sciences, technology, engineering, agriculture, and mathematics, it is crucial for students to develop practical communication skills, especially in conducting activities that entail the need to convey messages to other people. Furthermore, the development and improvement of STEAM students' communication skills and their performance of speech acts can be helpful when they work in groups and present in front of an audience. Since the social aspect of language can either facilitate or hinder effective communication, it is necessary for students to develop their language skills in order to understand and appreciate the indirectness and meaning of speech acts. This knowledge of speech acts can be applied in the field of STEAM.

Since students nowadays are viewers and, in most cases, creators of video blogs, these media can be an effective tool for enhancing students' sociocultural, discourse, or pragmatic competence and developing their total communicative competence. Moreover, there are still language and communication classes that employ the linguistic or structural approach which undermines the role of language functions and meaning in teaching communication. Hence, requiring students to create video blogs for classroom use can help them practice the performance of direct and indirect speech acts in a meaningful context. Moreover, the video blogs created by the students can be used as springboard to teaching speech acts and providing feedback to students regarding the direct and indirect meanings of utterances. Thus, students can learn that failure to understand the source of misinterpretation and ambiguity of meaning can lead to communication breakdown.

Thus, based on the foregoing, the study aimed to accomplish the following objectives:

(a) to determine the most common illocutionary speech acts used by STEAM students in Oral Communication video blogs based on Searle's categories; and

(b) to typify illocutionary speech acts of STEAM students in their Oral Communication video blogs.

RESEARCH DESIGN

This study employed an observational descriptive research design. According to Koh and Owen (2000), an observational descriptive research approach emphasizes inductive reasoning, whereby the researcher seeks to generate hypotheses from observations. The researcher is the primary research instrument, and the researcher's insight is the key instrument for analysis. According to Williams (2007), the descriptive research approach is a basic research method that examines a situation as it exists in its current state. Descriptive research involves the identification of attributes of a particular phenomenon based on observation or on the exploration of correlation between two or more phenomena.

In this study, students' utterances recorded through video blogging were observed and explored. However, in the interest of time, the correlation between and among students' utterances and other variables will be done for future purposes. For the time being, presented in this paper are the speech acts from the video blogs and their respective illocutionary typologies.

RESEARCH ENVIRONMENT

The study was conducted in Silliman University located in Dumaguete City, Negros Oriental. The university is a non-profit and private Christian educational institution. The study focused on the basic education unit of the university particularly the Senior High School. The Senior High School department offers four tracks: academic, technical-vocational-livelihood, sports, and arts and design. The Academic track includes three strands: Accountancy, Business and Management (ABM); Humanities and Social Sciences (HUMSS); and Science, Technology, Engineering, Agriculture, and Mathematics (STEAM). In this study, STEAM students were involved. The Senior High School is directly under the supervision of the College of Education.

RESEARCH INSTRUMENT AND SOURCES OF DATA

The study analyzed four video blogs created and produced by students from grade 11 STEAM–A which was a section handled by the researcher. The creation of the video blogs was an integrative performance task that enabled the students to demonstrate learning competencies across subject areas including Oral Communication, which the researcher taught on the first semester of SY 2019-2020. Created as a requirement for Oral Communication class, using topics and themes from the students' Earth Science class, the video blogs contained ten-minute skit presentations of the students' inventions or products that offered mitigating or adaptive solutions to climate change. Other than the creation of the video blogs, the students were also required to submit the scripts of their skits. The scripts were used by the researcher as the main source of utterances produced by the students in the video blogs. The utterances extracted from the scripts were subjected to frequency counts and categorization based on Searle's taxonomy of illocutionary acts. The actual video was used as reference on the context of the utterances.

A total of 193 utterances were derived from the scripts. These utterances were then classified according to Searle's categories of illocutionary acts. Searle (1977) categorized illocutionary speech acts into five macroclasses, namely, representatives, directives, commissives, expressives, and declaratives. The macroclasses of students' utterances were also determined.

DATA GATHERING PROCEDURE

Prior to the gathering of data, the researcher sought the approval of the Senior High School principal regarding the conduct of the study. In addition, an electronic version of informed consent forms were sent to grade 11 STEAM-A students and their parents to secure their permission on the access and use the video blogs as a source of data for this study. Moreover, the students were informed of the purposes of the study and were assured that their identities as well as data derived from the analysis would be treated with utmost confidentiality. Once permissions were obtained, the researcher requested the students to upload and share their video blogs through the researcher's Google Drive folder.

The scripts of the video blogs were then subjected to a detailed observation and digital text analysis which involved a few steps. First, the illocutionary speech act utterances were identified and extracted from the video blog scripts. The extracted utterances were then organized in a tabular format and were classified according to Searle's taxonomy of illocutionary speech acts.

DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURE

As mentioned earlier, the utterances lifted from the video blog scripts were tallied and tabulated for digital document analysis. The tabulation of results was divided into four columns with the following headings: the utterance, syntactic form of the utterance, direct meaning, and indirect meaning (i.e., illocutionary force). The first column contained all the utterances gathered from the video blogs script. The second column specified the grammatical and syntactic forms of the utterance (i.e., declarative, interrogative, imperative, or exclamatory). The third and fourth columns were filled out with the meanings of the utterances (i.e., direct meaning based on the syntactic form of the utterances and indirect or underlying meaning, which carried the illocutionary force). A frequency count was done to determine the most common illocutionary speech acts found in the scripts.

Meanwhile, to typify the indirect meanings based on Searle's categorization of illocutionary speech acts, the researcher used the results of analysis on the fourth column. An inter-rater analysis was employed to verify the researcher's categorization and establish the reliability of data. The inter-rater was a senior high school English teacher who also handled an Oral Communication class during the semester.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The study aimed to identify and categorize the illocutionary speech acts in the video vlogs created by grade 11 STEAM–A students for their Oral Communication class. Moreover, the illocutionary speech acts were typified as either direct or indirect, based on a mapping of the relationship between the speech acts and the semantic form of the utterances. As mentioned earlier, a total of 193 utterances were gathered, analyzed, categorized, and typified. The typification focused on the level of directness of the speech acts.

Out of 193 utterances, 76 were considered as direct illocutionary speech acts. The considerable number of direct speech acts in the data implies that the meanings of the utterances were reflected in their syntactic form. Most of the direct speech acts belonged to the representatives which are speech acts that commit the speaker to the truthfulness of a statement. Since most direct illocutions speech acts, all their meanings are reflected in their syntactic form.

Meanwhile, there were 117 indirect illocutionary speech acts. This preponderance of indirect illocutions signifies that students may consciously or unconsciously say something and mean it while, at the same time, also trying to mean something else. According to Searle's theory, the underlying meaning of an indirect speech act can only be decoded when the interlocutors share common prior knowledge about each other's linguistic and nonlinguistic information. Hence, it can be inferred that the use of indirect speech acts was prominent in the scripts created by the students because they shared similar sets of prior knowledge and linguistic background. This can explain why the frequency of utterances containing indirect speech acts exceeded that of the direct speech acts.

Table 1 shows that the most common category of illocutionary speech acts used in the Oral Communication video blogs were expressives, which were used 59 times to be exact. This was followed in rank by 40 directives, 10 commissives, seven representatives, and one declaration.

Table 1

Frequency of Occurrence of Indirect Illocutionary Acts in Utterances

	Frequency of indirect illocutionary act in utterances	Percentage
Representatives	7	5.98%
Directives	40	34.19%
Commissives	10	8.55%
Expressives	59	50.43
Declarations	1	0.85%

The analysis and frequency count done by one Oral Communication teacher, who served as the inter-rater, corroborated the data presented above. The inter-rater analyzed 62% of a total of 117 indirect speech acts in the students' video blog scripts. Similar to the researcher's analysis, the most common illocutionary speech acts identified by the inter-rater were expressives (34.25%), followed by directives (28.77%), representatives (24.66%), commissives (9.59%), and declarations (2.74%).

Based on the data above, the most common illocutionary speech acts that carried the underlying meanings of the utterances were expressives and directives. These were followed by commissives and representatives. Last in rank were declarations.

On the other hand, the speech acts were typified based on the items found in column four of the data analysis table. Out of the 117 speech acts typified as indirect, the majority were expressives. In particular, the most common indirect illocutionary speech act used by the students in their video blogs was complaining which is under the category of expressives. This was followed by the directives (i.e., suggesting and requesting) and commissives (i.e., promising).

The main objective of the students for creating the video blogs was to present their Earth Science inventions on climate change mitigation and adaptation; hence, their videos blogs followed a problem-solution pattern. In other words, the video blog characters (i.e., the students themselves) presented a problem related to climate change for which they invented products and mechanisms that offered probable solutions to this issue at hand.

Table 2 provides some examples of the most common indirect illocutionary acts gleaned from the utterances.

Table 2

Common Indirect Speech Acts in Utterances

Sample utterance	Syntactic form	Direct speech act	Indirect speech act
a. *The power isn't back yet Mom, and our phones are starting to run out of power.*	Declarative	Stating	Complaining (expressive)
b. *Yeah and of all times, the generator had to run out of fuel. My phone is dying. I hate this!*	Declarative	Stating	Complaining (expressive)
c. *I wonder if we could replicate the device on the commercial. We can use materials that we have here at home.*	Declarative	Stating	Suggesting (directive)
d. *Can you get wood first thing in the morning [?] and then I'll go to the market to buy more food and some coal.*	Interrogative	Asking	Requesting (directive)
e. *I know right, anyways I'll try to make use of what we have and make some food.*	Declarative	Stating	Promising (commissive)

The usual syntactic form of the utterances was declarative; that is, the acts were not merely stated but were used to convey other actions. According to Trosborg (1995) as cited in Ghaznavi (2017), a complaint is an expression of disapproval and negative feelings towards someone or something. Searle added that the issuance of a complaint calls for a direct response to solve the cause of the complaint and save the "face" of the complaining party. Furthermore, in Andrew Cohen's discussion of related studies on speech acts, complaints normally start with a statement of the problem, followed by a "request or demand for repair." This formula comprises a speech act set consists of an expressive (i.e., complaining) and a directive (i.e., making the complainee fix the cause of the complaint) (McKay & Hornberger, 1996). The dominance of expressive and directive speech acts in the students' video blogs must have been influenced by the theme of the activity, which is about providing solutions to environmental problems through innovative and sustainable ideas. This result provides implications on the function of complaints and requests in the context of a problem-solution speech event. It can be inferred that expressing complaints was the students' way of articulating the problem while directives were used in providing or suggesting probable solutions. In addition, commissives, representatives, and declarations were used by the students (i.e., complainees) to provide the assurance that the problem could be solved, and to assert that the ideas they presented were plausible and could actually enact change in their specified context.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

In conclusion, the most common illocutionary speech acts found the video blogs of Oral Communication students were expressives. The purpose of the video blogs was to present a problem on climate change, hence the predominant use of complaints that were indirectly stated as declarative sentences. In other words, when using declarations, the students were not simply stating the issues or the problems on climate change but were actually complaining about them. Moreover, directives were followed by complaint acts (i.e., the actual complaint) to indicate that a course of action must be carried out to address the complaints. Interestingly, the complaint acts were followed by commissives and representatives. This means that the illocutions behind some utterances in the scripts intended to provide solutions to the given complaints or problems by suggesting, requesting, and promising products and mechanisms that can help society mitigate and adapt to the effects of climate change. Moreover, the students used assertives to argue that their ideas were valid and could be effective if properly executed. Furthermore, it was observed by the researcher that declarations provided some form of resolution that concluded the storyline of the video blogs.

In conclusion, the students' use of speech acts was generally appropriate to the context of the video blogs that they created. Although some illocutions were more predominantly occurring in the scripts, the students were still able to use a variety of speech acts in their video blogs.

It is, therefore, recommended for future studies to focus on gaining a deeper understanding of the reasons for the predominant use of certain categories of illocutionary speech acts in given communicative contexts. Moreover, other studies may focus on explaining the prominence as well as the functions of representatives and declarations in some speech events. Furthermore, an in-depth inquiry into this current topic may be pursued to generate ideas for materials preparation and the teaching of speech acts in Oral Communication as well as for the teaching of communication in general. The ultimate goal is to provide the kind of steam education that enhances effective communication not just in the classroom but in society.

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NOTES SECTION

Using the 3Ts to Increase the Academic and Spiritual Engagement of Teachers in Christian schools

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Schools undoubtedly face multifarious challenges in terms of operation, management, and leadership. In the private sector, especially in Christian schools, one of the challenges is the turnover of teachers each year. Teachers migrate to public schools because of the promising salary and enticing work benefits that are offered by the government (Sambalud, 2014). Most private Christian schools cannot compete because they are mostly mission schools, and the salaries of teachers are derived from the tuition fees of students.

The high rate of teacher turnover remains a problem for private Christian schools. However, while it is true that remuneration is a paramount issue among teachers in private Christian schools, school leaders strive hard to develop the academic and spiritual values of teachers, so they can internalize the Christian education mission of the school in general and their personal mission as teachers in particular. Thus, it is important to inspire Christian school teachers to engage in the development of their academic and spiritual values through the dedication of their time, talents, and treasures.

Christian School Education

Christian education, even in the early times, had already placed importance on literacy alongside Biblical values embedded in Christian faith and in the conviction to live a worthy life acceptable to God (Rodriguez, 2001).

In response to their call and purpose, Christian schools have emphasized the teaching of Biblical values as the fundamental foundation of Christian education and quality academic life (Hill, 2014). Their curricula and teaching approaches are holistic and distinct because religious beliefs and teachings are integrated with the traditional academic curriculum. Success in learning and spiritual growth of students are evident educational outcomes. In the Philippine context, Christian schools that are members of the Association of Christian Schools International (ACSI) are mandated to incorporate Biblical principles of teaching into their pedagogy as well as in the management of schools (ACSI, 2012).

In relation to the foregoing, Christian schools maintain a faith-based perspective. Thus, school administrators and teachers are regarded as spiritual leaders who serve as models of spirituality, exemplify a personal relationship with God, and establish strong rapport with and among students. In a Christian school, teachers play the crucial role of effectively integrating Biblical teachings with the subject lessons (Van Brummelen, 2002). Teachers are expected to be careful enough in all their actions to ensure that the examples they set would make their students understand the role that Jesus Christ plays in their respective lives. Teachers' role as models to their students is reflected in Titus 2:7 (NIV) which says, "Show yourself in all respect to be model of good works, and in your teaching show integrity and dignity." Thus, without these dedicated and anointed teachers, the school's mission will not be accomplished.

Christian School Teachers

In a Christian school, teachers regard teaching as the noblest multifaceted profession. Teaching is not seen as an ordinary profession, for it is considered a vocation--a call to serve in an educational ministry following the mission of church-related or church-owned schools (Randall,1962). In support of the mission of the school, Christian school teachers believe that their prime accountability is the academic and spiritual development of students. Aware of this greater mission, teachers are sent out like missionaries who leave their comfort zones and consider classrooms as their mission field. Their task as missionaries is huge and tough, but they do it in response to the first and the greatest commandment of Jesus Christ found in Matthew 22:37 which is to "Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind." This means that Christian school teachers' service to God through the gift of teaching is an answer to God's instruction and a manifestation of their great love for Him. In order to accomplish this mission to teach, teachers should receive divine enablement and empowerment by establishing a personal and growing relationship with Jesus Christ as their Lord and Savior. Otherwise, the purpose of performing the said mission will not have meaning and significance to their calling.

Moreover, teaching is a profession, a vocation, and a calling with a divine purpose. A Christian school teacher, therefore, should define his/ her purpose in life. As Rick Warren, the prominent writer of the book titled, *"Purpose -Driven Life,"* clearly states, if a person fails to see the purpose of life here on earth, *"motion is without meaning, activity is without direction and events are without reason."* Therefore, to develop a better appreciation of life here on earth, Christian school teachers need to use their time, talent, and treasures.

The 3Ts to Increase the Academic and Spiritual Engagement of Teachers

"The earth is the Lord's and everything in it." This is a complete reminder found in Psalm 24:1 (NIV) which tells that everything one sees and owns is just borrowed from the Creator of heaven and earth. People are merely temporary loaners and stewards of things in life. Thus, it is but proper to use one's talents and resources in a way that pleases the Giver of things possessed. As good stewards in God's vineyard, Christian school teachers enhance their academic and spiritual engagement by using time, talents, and treasures to honor God through their teaching ministry.

Teachers as stewards of time. As stewards of time, teachers must ensure that as they engage in the teaching ministry of the school, they commit and dedicate their time to the provision of an impactful service to their students. Teachers' time is, therefore, devoted to dealing with students' concerns, planning the goals and assigning tasks, allocating resources needed for the job, providing quality teaching and learning, and meeting the needs and expectations of the students, parents, and school leaders. Moreover, teachers are expected to attend and support the school's academic and non- academic activities. All these and more are part and parcel of a teacher's duty while in school.

However, Berry et al. (2008) has revealed that time is a serious concern for teachers who desire to plan and collaborate with colleagues for the purpose of improving teaching performance. Christian school teachers live with huge responsibilities and have packed schedules that need to be managed effectively. Aside from allocating time for the preparation of interesting lessons, teachers also make time for professional development through active participation in trainings (on-site) and conferences, helping in the development of curriculum, attending teacher leadership workshops and seminars, engaging in professional exchanges, spearheading information drive about the school's culture, assisting the school in its documentation processes, and being involved in decision-making that redound to the improvement of the school and their profession. These engagements of teachers are cited as very good reasons and sources of encouragement for them to continue rendering their service to the school (Hicks, 2012).

In Ephesians 5:16 (NKJ) the apostle Paul reminds Christians of *"redeeming the time because the days are evil."* He warns everyone to use time wisely, in a way that honors God's name. Thus, the only weapon that Christian school teachers use to combat these challenges is prayer. They are accustomed to having quiet time dedicated to prayers and devotions, either individually or in groups. Similarly, Ackerman (2008) shared that teachers devote time for prayer in order to seek guidance and wisdom in dealing with students. As Christian teachers, they believe that the power of prayer can transform lives, and the divine intervention of God in their work can make things light.

Furthermore, Donahue and Benson (1995) stressed that in order to lessen social problems and other forms of delinquency, a teacher must relate to a higher being by strengthening spiritual activity. Thus, Article VI, Sect. 9.2 (PCC Code, 2010) requires all faculty and staff of the school to attend religious activities such as devotions, retreats, convocations, and other faith-nurturing activities designed to uplift spiritual values. Moreover, teachers never limit their capabilities and hone their talents by joining the faculty chorale, participating in Biblical musical plays, or learning to play musical instruments and the like. The time spent on these activities is not futile; instead, participating in these activities is a way of rejuvenating the spirit to develop a closer relationship with God.

Teachers as stewards of talents. Talented actors are not only seen on big screen or on stage. They are also present in the classroom in the person of gifted teachers. The different roles teachers portray in class are concrete examples of how they use their versatile gifts like singing, dancing, acting, story-telling, facilitating, motivating, and other abilities that are useful in the field of teaching. As written in 1 Peter 4:10 (NIV), "Use whatever gift he has received to serve others so that in all things God may be praised."

Therefore, it can be surmised that the very craft of teaching inspires teachers to be creative and excited to tell Bible stories or do any other similar activity that requires careful preparation of the lesson and creation of a classroom environment that is conducive to learning. Moreover, teachers who are endowed with the gift of teaching employ effective and varied of teaching strategies, effective techniques in managing the classroom, and appropriate curriculum design to effectively improve students' learning (McGavran, 2013; Schussler, 2009). This special gift is truly an amazing ability that a teacher can have.

In like manner, exemplary teachers find a way to engage in relevant trainings to improve their teaching skills and, in turn, improve student learning as well (Allingto, Day, & Gabriel, 2011). As their teaching talent needs to be polished like any other talents, teachers also engage in professional development which is intended to shape and empower them as leaders of their classrooms. Teachers update, learn, and grow professionally by participating in faculty development trainings provided by the school. Furthermore, teachers who show commitment to their profession recognize and accept these responsibilities that involve making decisions, creating and designing curriculum, and taking the discretion to improve the valued programs of the school (Johnson & Short, 1994).

However, it should be noted that designing curriculum and programs suited to the needs of learners cannot be done overnight; thus teachers who are true to their calling strive hard to provide quality education to their students. Berlin (1986) likens expert teachers to a "chess master [who is] capable of seeing many things simultaneously and making adjustments with ease and fluency." Their sensitivity to the needs of students is a gift that students themselves need to recognize. This means that students need to the see the importance of their teachers' presence in their lives. As beautifully put in the inspiring words of Henry Adams, "*[A teacher] affects eternity, he can never know where his influence stops.*" Indeed, the gift of influence is a teacher's powerful tool in molding the fragile lives of students. This is a reminder that each person has a gift given by the Creator; hence, every person has the responsibility to use his/her gifts for a meaningful purpose. The words of the apostle, Paul, affirms the need to embrace God-given gifts in order to live meaningfully: "*We have different gifts, according to the grace given us. If a man's gift is prophesying, let him* *use it in proportion to his faith. If it is serving, let him serve; if it is teaching, let him teach; if it is encouraging, let him encourage; if it is contributing to the needs of others, let him give generously; if it is leadership, let him govern diligently; if it is showing mercy, let him do it cheerfully*" (NIV, Romans 12:5-8).

In relation to the forgoing, it is worthy of note that Christian school teachers exert effort to hone their gift of teaching. They believe that it is their accountability to God to productively and meaningfully use what He has entrusted to them, according to His will. The lesson is drawn from the *Parable of the Talents* in Matthew 25:14-30 which says that if a person does not cultivate his/her talents and abilities, the Lord will take them back as they are not used meaningfully and wisely. As regards teaching, Christian school teachers never stop using their talents in empowering, motivating, inspiring, guiding, and directing every learner's life to the Lord. Since teachers are spiritual leaders of the school, their gift of mentoring the faith journey of students is also regarded as an eternal investment and legacy of a teacher (Hoekstra, 2012). Teachers never stop doing things that honor God, for they know that their labor in the Lord is not in vain.

Teachers as stewards of treasures. The salary in most private Christian schools is comparably lower than that of their counterparts in the public schools. Yet, teachers who have a deep understanding of their purpose in life tend not to mind that the monetary compensation they receive is actually not commensurate to the service they render. They seem to have found truth in Matthew 6: 20-21 (NIV) which says, *"But store up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where moth and rust do not destroy, and thieves do not break in and steal. For where your treasure is, there your heart will be also."* Aside from being cognizant of their roles as torch-bearers of knowledge, teachers also recognize their role as stewards of treasures, who leave a lasting legacy to students. Teachers' role as stewards of treasures is evident in their sharing of their gift of knowledge and wisdom to students, and in their investment of financial resources to accomplish their earthly mission.

Moreover, it is greatly believed that the gift of knowledge and wisdom imparted by Christian school teachers to their students is a timeless treasure that has eternal value. This treasure is more precious and purer than gold; it is sweeter than honey from the comb. Although in reality, everyone needs money, monetary benefits are not the only source of motivation of those who are called to do the teaching ministry. In Ecclesiastes 3:9 (NIV), Solomon asks, *"What does the worker gain from his toil?"* This is a good reflection on whether one works only for money and purposely for money, or for the completion of his/ her purpose in life. The motivation of teachers, so they will not be disheartened, should be this ultimate purpose. As Solomon laments in Ecclesiastes 5:10 (NIV), *"He who loves money never has money enough, whoever loves wealth is never satisfied with his income. This too is meaningless."* These two Biblical verses express that monetary and material wealth cannot fully satisfy a man. The treasures of the earth are fleeting, and the insatiable human wants somehow blind the true purpose of living. Hence, when faith is anchored on the Lord, and life is in tune with His eternal will and purpose, Proverbs 10:22(NIV) says, *"The blessings of the Lord brings wealth, and he adds no trouble to it."* Even if the salary is not high, the faith that a teacher holds is more than enough to go on living. Teachers may not have an abundance of material wealth here on earth, but in other aspects of life, the blessings they receive are enormous and countless. What matters most is that teachers unselfishly share the eternal treasure that exceeds knowledge and wisdom.

On the other hand, teachers in the academic realm invest their financial resources to accomplish an earthly mission that brings heavenly joy. As stewards of treasures, teachers improve their experiential and professional learning through experiences and personal reflections that increase knowledge, develop skills, and encourage student learning (Kane, 2004). This is the reason why ACSI (2012) encourages member schools to send participants in regional, national, or international conferences of teachers and/ or school leaders spearheaded by the said organization. In most seminars conducted by the organization, teachers' calling is defined, strengthened, and saturated with biblical thoughts and principles necessary to improve the academic and spiritual learnings. According to Nwokorie- Anajembra, (2010) the lack of time and funding are the identified challenges to teacher leadership development. Planning and funding are most likely of the school's prerogatives. Whenever teacher development opportunities are offered, teachers show no reluctance towards opportunities that can bring a gem of thought and learning. Thus, teachers find it important to emerge themselves in any relevant activity that improves their teaching practice even if it requires a personal monetary contribution. As Cotton Dana put it, *"Who dares to teach must never cease to learn ."* To remain effective in teaching, one has to pursue higher learning that sometimes entails shelling out from one's out pocket. Christian school teachers opt to gain new learnings by availing scholarships either in-house or through external sponsorship. There are times when they invest some money, but such is a little sacrifice in exchange of the new learnings which they can acquire and eventually share. This is reflective of a verse in 2 Corinthians 9:8 which says, *"God can make all grace abound toward you; that ye, always having all sufficiency in all things, may abound to every good work."* Therefore, whether teachers invest little or much to enhance their skills and potentials, it is rewarding to know that God honors their efforts and investments no matter the amount. The hymnal song titled, "Worship and Work Must be One," written by Fred Kaan, states that whatever one does in life is a form of worship to God and is used in His service. As the last stanza of the song says, *"Called to be partners with God in creation, honoring Christ as the Lord of the nation, we must be ready for risk and sacrifice, worship, and work must be one!"* This is a call to teachers of Christian schools to consecrate their lives in service to God, as a way of worship. As stewards of treasures, the things that teachers invest in, using their financial resources, honor God who is the giver of all valued possessions.

CONCLUSION

The effort of teachers to enhance themselves academically and spiritually by using time, talents, and treasures is an act a passion for their vocation or calling. Above all, their effort is an act of worship and an expression of gratitude for the things that God has done in their lives. It can be, therefore, said that these teachers' commitment towards performing their responsibilities is admirable and praiseworthy. The talents they share with administrators, colleagues, and students are remarkable and commendable. Moreover, the treasures they share and invest in order to fulfill their mission surely leave a lasting legacy especially among students who are entrusted to their care. Therefore, the three Ts discussed in the foregoing complete the engagement of teachers as true missionaries of God in Christian schools.

The engagement of teachers in a Christian school is unquestionable when their purpose and calling are clear to them. It is further hoped that school leaders will also support and engage in the academic and spiritual enhancement of teachers by formulating and designing professional development programs that promote effective teaching and learning. Professional development programs require careful planning and adequate funding. Nevertheless, if planning is properly done and adequate funding is provided for professional development, the issue on the exodus of teachers can be lessened, to say the least, if not at all completely solved. In addition, professional development programs for teachers contribute to the achievement of the kind of learning environment the school desires. Also, such programs can give teachers the opportunity to plan and make decisions, set goals, provide effective instruction, develop enriched spiritual values, and structure better classroom management. All these processes are crucial since teachers have a lot of tasks to accomplish.

Finally, Christian school teachers serve as the "salt and light" for the students. They are the salt because they give flavor and meaning to the lives of their students; they are the light because they share the truth to guide the path of every learner. Therefore, they need to use their time carefully, as well as their talents and treasures in order to enhance their academic and spiritual engagement.

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SILLIMAN

NOTES SECTION

The Silliman University Marina Mission Clinic (SUMMC): A Healing and Teaching-Learning Facility of Community Extension in Silliman University[1]

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The Silliman University Marina Mission Clinic (SUMMC) has sustained its existence for the past 47 years. The clinic traces its history from the missionary spirit of the fraternal workers at Silliman University in the early 1900s. It aimed to bring the Christian mission of healing for the marginalized barrios of Negros Oriental with health as an entry point for community organizing.

SUMMC was set up in the Municipality of Dauin (16 kilometers south of Dumaguete City) in 1972 as an extension community clinic of the Silliman University Medical Center (SUMC) in Dumaguete City. The goal of SUMMC was to serve the rural barangays in Dauin. One of its notable services to the community was the maternity clinic. Being an extension of SUMC, SUMMC started with the *"Bio-Medical"* model of community health care.

In the past one-and-a-half decades, more SUMMCs had been established to focus on the barangays that are remote from the clinic. Community organizing and development that addressed "health concerns" was used as an entry issue to the community. Later on, there was a shift from *"Bio-Medical"* model to the *"Bio-Social"* model of community health care.

Since the last decade, more academic units of Silliman University have put emphasis on learning in and with the community through the immersion of learners in real-world situations. *Experiential Learning and Service Learning* were used as pedagogies, and SUMMC has been the hub of field learning experiences for students from various courses in Silliman University.

1 This paper was presented during the 3rd Colleges and Universities Public Service Conference (CUPSCon) last October 16-18, 2019, at the University of the Philippines-Visayas, Iloilo City Campus.

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SUMMC complements the rural health care program of the government. SUMMC offers an enhanced program that is different from those offered by rural government health units. Specifically, SUMMC has a community organizing component that encourages communities to be more self-reliant. Further, the sustainability of SUMMC is underpinned by the missionary spirits of the pioneering organizers of the clinic. This mission is an expression of the Silliman University motto, Via Vita Veritas, by the clinic's administrators and workers. Moreover, SUMMC has also been sustained by alumni and friends who have given support to SUMMC's program.

Keywords: Community, Extension, Experiential Learning, Medical Extension, Community Work

"[Silliman University Marina Mission Clinic] is a vital link joining people to people."
Rev. Dr. Proceso U. Udarbe (Negros Examiner, May 12, 2017)

THE BEGINNINGS OF SUMMC

The SUMMC started in 1972 as an extension of the Silliman University Medical Center (SUMC). Its primary goal was to serve the rural community in Dauin, a small rural municipality 16, South of Dumaguete City where the campus of Silliman University is located.

The late Don Daniel SyCip, a known philanthropist in Negros Oriental, donated the land where the clinic was built. He also gave financial support as start-up funds for the clinic. The clinic was then named Marina in honor of the mother of Don Daniel Sycip. There were also fund support from the Gottingen Reformed Church (Germany) and the United Presbyterian Church (United States of America). Don Daniel Sycip provided support to SUMMC during his lifetime (SyCip-Wale, 2017)[4].

SUMMC traces its philosophy from the missionary spirit of the early fraternal workers of Silliman University who aimed to bring the Christian mission of healing to marginalized barrios in Negros Oriental, using promotion of health as an entry point. Specifically, SUMMC's mission was (1) to provide quality care to the needy and the less fortunate so that no one is refused from receiving medical help due to lack of funds; and (2) to understand that "a poor man's tear of gratitude is better than a pot of gold."

4 SyCip-Wale, Fe. 2017. Evolution of Medical Extension Work: A Personal Experience with the Silliman University Marina Mission Clinic

THE LOCATION OF SUMMC

The SUMMC is in the Municipality of Dauin, Negros Oriental. It is 16 kilometers south of the main campus of Silliman University in Dumaguete City. The municipality of Dauin has a total population of 25,000 or about 5,000 families. Out of the 25 barangays in Dauin, 20 have been reached by the services of SUMMC since 1972. Moreover, other barangays in the adjacent towns such as Zamboanguita (approximately 10 kilometers south of Dauin), Bacong (five kilometers north of Dauin), and Valencia (10 kilometers north of Dauin) have been reached by the services of SUMMC.

THE BIO-MEDICAL APPROACH TO COMMUNITY HEALTH CARE

SUMMC started its operations in 1972 as an extension clinic of the Silliman University Mission Hospital, which was the forerunner of the present Silliman University Medical Canter (SUMC). Back then, it was normal for SUMMC to follow the "bio-medical" approach to community health care. However, the "biomedical approach" was withdrawn from "explanations of ill-health as the basis for treatment and intervention."[5] Health is, thus, defined as the "absence of having no abnormality or change…diseases as observed are conceived as predominantly a biological state associated with the malfunctioning of the human biological system."[6] Thus, the main reason for the existence of SUMMC was to give cure or administer treatment to the sick members of the communities that the clinic catered to. Moreover, because of the missionary spirit that underpinned the clinic's existence, SUMMC's clinic-based function was supplemented with community outreach projects; the clinic was open for 24 hours every day of the week. Moreover, SUMMC served as a kind of referral clinic to SUMC for medical cases that the clinic could not handle due to the lack of proper equipment.

5 Yuill, C., Crinson, I. & Duncan, E., 2010. Key Concepts in Health Studies.
6 Ibid

The more significant functions of SUMMC then were primarily clinic-based:

1. **Providing health care services.** Health care services such as immunization (TPD, OPV, Tetanus Toxoid), family planning, health, and sanitation education, curative care (both outpatient services and general admissions to the clinic base), and health insurance schemes (supporting BHWs and purchasing of medicines) were provided.
2. **Training of medical workers and auxiliaries.** The trainings were conducted by medical professionals of SUMMC, Barangay Health Aides (BHAs), and "Hilot" or "Mananabang" (or the traditional midwives).

A PARADIGM SHIFT FROM BIO-MEDICAL TO BIO-SOCIAL APPROACH TO COMMUNITY HEALTH CARE

Dr. Jose S. Garcia, the medical director of the Silliman University Mission Hospital which later became the Silliman University Medical Center (SUMC) said, *"…the clinic base will serve as a jumping board to many other projects designed for communities in Dauin. Health education, family planning and related self-help projects designed to improve the barrio man's lot are all part of the project."* Thus, SUMMC started to shift to the "bio-social" health care approach.

"Bio-social" health care is a *"distinctive and holistic definition and understanding of health.* It embraces all aspects of human experience and places health as fully in the dynamic interplay of social structures and embodied human agency."[7] The shift in paradigm was brought about by insufficient support and plummeting morbidity cases for admission. Moreover, the shift was also motivated by the realization that addressing community health problems is not only about offering services when community members are sick, but also addressing problems that ill-health causes such as the inability to access social and economic opportunities.

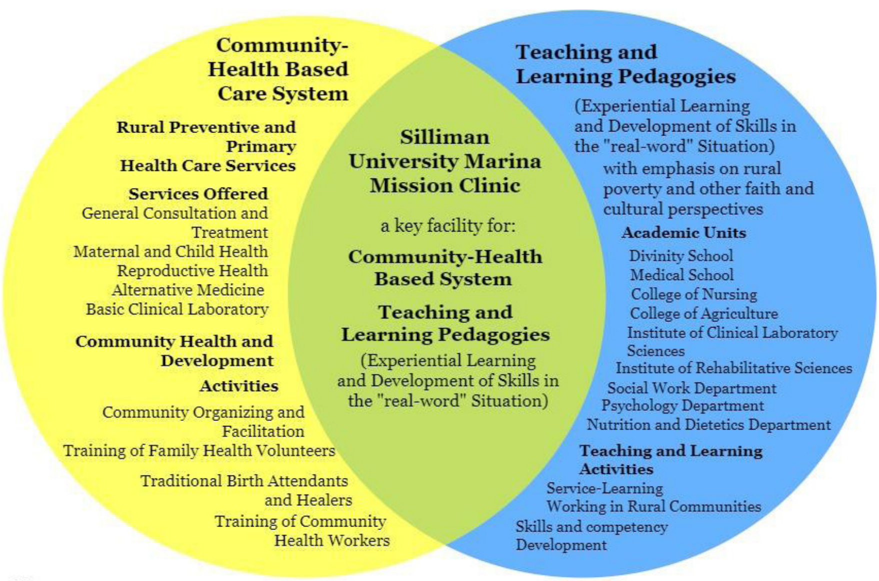
In 1981, SUMMC expanded its reach to communities in Dauin and adjacent municipalities. It served as a facility offering general healthcare services. During the same period, SUMMC expanded further

7 Yuill, C., Crinson, I. & Duncan, E., 2010. Key Concepts in Health Studies

to community health-work. Community development became a priority, with health as an entry point. A social worker was hired to facilitate community organizing (CO).

In addition, SUMMC focused more on organizing communities for the purpose of income generation and provision of livelihood to community members, especially among women. These activities led to establishing self-help groups, consumers, and farmers' cooperatives, and establishment of people's organizations (POs) for the community-based and community-managed healthcare program.

The SUMMC has reached remote barangays in Dauin such as Libjo, Mag-aso, Magsaysay, Panubtuban, Bunga, Boloc-boloc, Casile, Tunga-tunga, Batohon, Dacu, Anjawan, and Maluncay-Dacu. In the same period, SUMMC, with support from the Philippine government, began reaching out to communities outside of Dauin. A very significant result of the expanded reach was the establishment of primary community hospitals with SUMMC as the model in Kalumboyan in Bayawan City (1987), Amio in Sta. Catalina (1989), Nabilog in Tayasan (1991), Pacuan in La Libertad (1994), Inapoy in Mabinay (1996), and Luz Sikatuna in Guihulngan (1997).



Ablan & Maestrecampo, 2015

Figure 1. *The SUMMC, A Hub of Teaching and Learning*

A CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF LEARNING AND TEACHING AT SUMMC

The bio-social approach to healthcare at SUMMC opened a wide range of possibilities for teaching and learning within the SUMMC. Since the last decade, more academic units of Silliman University have put emphasis on learning in and with the community through immersing students in real-world situations. *Experiential Learning and Service Learning* were used as pedagogies, and SUMMC became the hub of field learning experiences in various courses. Underpinning the learning of students in the different programs and activities at SUMMC is the mission to provide *opportunities to students to develop sensitivities towards and empathize with the poor.* Thus, the learners were immersed in situations where they could experience living in poverty.

The learning opportunities came in two different contexts:

1. **Working within the clinic.** The experiences of the learners were different from working in laboratories of a well-equipped medical center. For example, medical technologists learned the basic laboratory tests that were mostly needed by rural folks. Medical interns had to understand the language, culture, and sensitivities in the practice of community medicine.
2. **Working in the communities.** The learners were also introduced to alternative medicine which was practiced in the communities. They also learned to blend Western medical practices with some cultural beliefs and practices.

There were two basic pedagogies employed, namely, Experiential Learning and Service-Learning.

Table 1

Teaching-Learning Engagements

Department	Nature of Engagement	Duration
1. *Medicine - Medical School*	Medical Clerkship (4th Year) – Family Medicine; Community Health & Complementary Medicine	1 Week
2. *Physical Therapy – Institute of Rehabilitative Sciences*	Internship (5th Year Students) – community-based and clinic-based rehabilitation	2 months
3. *Medical Technology – Institute of Clinical Laboratory Sciences*	MT 24 (2nd Year) – Community & Public Health; Organize community blood testing and health education	6 Hours/Week (Laboratory Hours)
4. *Nursing – College of Nursing*	Community Heath Nursing – Health assessment and provision of care	5 Hours; 2 Days/Week (9 Weeks)
5. *Nutrition and Dietetics – College of Education*	Practicum (4th Year) – Public Health Nutrition; Diet Counseling, Mothers' Class & Nutrition Education	1 Week
6. *Social Work & Psychology – College of Arts & Sciences*	Internship (4th Year) – community organizing, group work activities, case management of selected clients, mobilizing resources, facilitating the implementation of projects	5 Months
7. *Divinity School*	Community Exposures (MA Diaconic Management)	
8. Local and International Service-Learning	Observer-participant community engagements & cultural exposure; helping women and farmers in livelihood activities, herbal medicine preparation, assist in community health activities and women self-help groups	1-4 Weeks

REFLECTIONS

SUMMC complements the rural health care program of the government. It offers an enhanced program that differs from the ones offered by government rural health units. Specifically, SUMMC's program has a community organizing component that encourages communities to be more self-reliant. Further, SUMMC's sustainability is supported by the missionary spirit of the pioneering organizers of the clinic. SUMMC is also sustained by its administrators' and workers' expression of the Silliman University motto, *Via Vita Veritas,* and by alumni and friends who have given support to SUMMC's program.

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