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Our task is to inform public opinion through a broad hospitality to divergent views and ideas that promote cross-cultural understanding, tolerance, and the dissemination of knowledge unreservedly. Papers adopting a comparative, interdisciplinary approach to issues of interrelatedness in the Pacific Rim region* will be especially welcome. Graduate students, as well as established scholars, are encouraged to submit their work.

* 'Pacific Rim region' as used here includes North America, Pacific Central and South America, Oceania, Australia, New Zealand, Southeast Asia, East Asia, South Asia (India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, and Sri Lanka), and the Russian Far East.

Exploring Korean Values

by Steven R. Brown Ph.D.
and Byung-ok Kil, Ph.D.

Abstract

The contours of the Korean value system are examined both extensively and through an intensive single-case study in which a representative personality is invited to appraise a set of historical figures under various conditions of instruction focused on Confucian and other values. The Q sample is comprised of the names of 50 historical and contemporary figures (e.g., Kim Ok-Gyun, assassinated reformer of the late Yi dynasty; Chun Bong-Joon, religious leader associated with peasant revolts in the late 19th century; Lee Hwang, 15th century Confucian scholar, et al.). Initially, 25 Korean students Q sorted the 50 names from appealing to unappealing, producing two factors. Intensive studies involved Q-sort appraisals in terms of values such as *In* (Chinese *Jen*, humanity, virtuousness), *Eui* (Chinese *Yi*, righteousness and sense of duty), *Yea* (Chinese *Li*, propriety), and others. Discussion considers sources of stability and change in Korean values.

Methodological Preface

Values are events that are preferred either for themselves or as means for achieving other desired outcomes (Lasswell & Kaplan, 1950, pp. 16-17), and their meaning and importance gain clarity in terms of the context in which they are pursued. That values are matters of preference implicates subjectivity and thereby places a premium on methods and principles of measurement that give centrality to the self of the person engaged in valuation. Because valuation occurs in contexts, we need to achieve a closeness to facts that elevates indigenization to a special position. In the study of Korean values, therefore, it is essential to adopt a methodological vantage point that focuses on the subjectivity of preferences and that is operationally sensitive to the specificity of the situation.

An approach to the study of values which incorporates the principles of self-referentiality and specificity, and which has already been applied within Korean culture, is Q methodology (Brown, in press; Brown, Durning, & Selden, 1999; Chang, 1996-1997; McKeown & Thomas, 1988; Stephenson, 1953; Xu & Kim, 1997). Knowledge of the procedures associated with Q methodology is now widespread. The individual is confronted with a set of stimuli which are to be evaluated under experimental conditions. The stimuli could be a collection of pictures of Korean pottery or artwork, or even a collection of folksongs, but more typically they consist of verbal expressions drawn from interviews or taken from the popular press.

In one such study, a collection was made of several hundred comments by Koreans about Koreans—for example, (a) “The spirit of fairness and justice burns deep within us,” (b) “We are a sentimental and lyrical people,” (c) “Expediency is deeply imbedded in our consciousness,” and so forth. A sample of these statements was drawn from the larger concourse and administered to almost 40 Koreans, who provided their own perception of the Korean people by

ranking the statements from “most like us” (+5) to “most unlike us” (-5). The responses were correlated and factor analyzed, and the results revealed three separate self-images of the Korean people: There were the Modernizers, who saw Koreans as in the process of change, with traditional values fading but not as yet fully replaced by new values; the Expedient, who viewed Koreans as having become more acquisitive and as having deteriorated into a socially pragmatic stance at the expense of morality; and finally, the Idealizers, characterized by their youth, who saw Koreans in highly idealized and even religious terms, as “putting into practice all that is good.” (A small group of Americans included in the study viewed Koreans in a way quite different from the above; for details, see Brown, 1984.)

In a second study, the concept of indigenization was itself placed under scrutiny in a Q-methodological investigation of 30 social science faculty and graduate students from a major Korean university (Brown & Kim, 1981). Although six separate perspectives emerged, only one accepted a universalist conception of science, i.e., as a way of obtaining knowledge that is independent of context; the other five, while different in many respects, more or less embraced indigenization and the need to tailor research to take into account the specificities of a culture. In this regard, a concluding principle from that study bears repeating:

... the necessary prerequisite for the proper study of Korean society (or any society for that matter) is not indigenization per se, but operationalization, and ... with suitable operations indigenization will take care of itself. Indigenization, however, does not ensure suitable operations, which are therefore more fundamental. (Brown & Kim, 1981, p. 134)

In the study of Korean values or any other aspect of Korean culture that implicates subjectivity, the principles and procedures of Q methodology, when properly employed, guarantee the indigenous integrity of the results, and they do so in the following ways:

1. In a study utilizing Q technique, the sample of stimuli (statements) to which the participants respond are drawn from the culture, hence are a matter of shared communicability. In the study of indigenization, for example, the statements were all taken from a paper by Korean psychologist Kim Jae-un, entitled “Problems Concerning Indigenization of Methodology for Education and Psychology” (Kim, 1979), in which the author was addressing a Korean audience. This does not imply that Kim’s comments would necessarily be agreed to by all, only that they would be understood at a certain level by all of those in the culture who were familiar with the issues.
2. Participants in a study provide their own perspectives by Q sorting the statements, usually from agree to disagree along a numbered scale—e.g., +5 to -5, with 0 (absence of meaning) in the middle. Inasmuch as the statements are assumed to lack inherent meaning until they are endowed with meaning by the person performing the Q sort, the response can safely be said to be indigenous in the sense that it represents the point of view of members of the culture.

3. The resulting data are statistically analyzed using a method (factor analysis) that preserves the indigenous character of the responses. Persons whose subjective outlooks are similar (i.e., they Q sorted the statements in essentially the same order) will emerge in the same group with others who believe as they do. The groups are therefore categories of operant subjectivity (Stephenson, 1977) and are reflective of the culture from which they have been obtained.

Q-methodological studies are therefore by nature as indigenous as can be imagined, and the operant principle which they embody renders the concept of indigenization redundant. There is no guarantee that social scientists, beginning with a personal commitment to indigenization, will necessarily obtain results that are operant, i.e., that will represent functional rather than conventional divisions within society. Q factors, by way of contrast, are always intrinsic to the culture from which they emerge and have the added advantage of being functional inasmuch as they are inextricably tied to the actual Q-sorting operations of participants.

A Study of Values

This study began in a graduate seminar in political behavior at a Korean university, but for reasons that will become obvious the results were considered provocative and it was suggested that they not be published at the time.¹ A beginning was made with Weber’s (1947) theory of charisma, and students were asked to provide a list of any names that came to mind of both Koreans and non-Koreans, living or dead, who, in their judgment, had demonstrated “the capacity to attract other people” for either good or ill. More than 120 such names were generated, of which the following will serve to indicate the range of consideration:

- An Ch’ang-ho** (1878-1938), a foremost patriotic leader.
- Buddha**
- Cha Bum Geun**, professional soccer player, hired away by the Hamburg, Germany team.
- Choi Jewoo** (1824-1864), martyred founder of the Tonghak (Chundo) religion, hanged by the government.
- Chun Doo Hwan**, military General and President of Korea at the time of the study.
- Confucius**
- Eulji Moon Duk**, a military General during the Koguryo dynasty who defeated Chinese invaders.
- Kim Chi Ha**, well-known poet who received a 20-year jail sentence from Park Chung Hee, reduced to house arrest by President Chun Doo Hwan.
- Kim Dae Jung**, opposition leader (and eventually president) whose death sentence was commuted to life by Chun Doo Hwan.
- Kim Il Sung**, then president of North Korea.
- Kim Ok Gyun**, pro-Japanese reformer of the late Yi dynasty, who was assassinated in the early 1900s.
- Kim Soo Hwan**, former Cardinal (now retired) and head of the Korean Catholic Church.

- Kim Yoo Shin**, military General during the Silla dynasty who unified the three dynasties; a symbol of the military.
- Lee Byung Cheol**, (late) president of the Samsung Group, a businessman and Korea’s equivalent of John D. Rockefeller.
- Lee Hwang**, a 15th century scholar who brought Confucianism to Korea from China.
- Lee Soon Shin**, late 16th century admiral who defeated the Japanese invasion.
- Non Kye**, a late 16th century kisaeng who pulled a Japanese general into a river, drowning both (the only female mentioned in the list of 120 names).
- Park Chung Hee**, former president, assassinated in 1979.
- Rhee Syngman**, former president (1948-1960).
- Yi Song-gye**, founder of the Yi dynasty (1392-1910).

Also on the list was a variety of well-known non-Koreans—e.g., Mao Tse-tung, Jesus Christ, Leonid Brezhnev (then Soviet premier), Jean-Paul Sartre, The Beatles, Ronald Reagan (then U.S. president), Mahatma Gandhi, Ayatollah Khomeini, Jimmy Carter, General Douglas MacArthur, Karl Marx, Leo Tolstoy, and many others.

As a device for winnowing down the list down to a manageable yet comprehensive few, the names which were nominated were initially assigned to one of the eight value categories employed in the policy sciences (Lasswell & McDougal, 1992):

- Power:** for example, political leaders Kim Ok Gyun and Chun Doo Hwan
- Enlightenment:** Lee Hwang, Kim Chi Ha, Confucius
- Wealth:** Rockefeller, Lee Byung Cheol
- Well-being:** Albert Schweitzer, Lee Soon Shin
- Skill:** Beethoven, The Beatles, Cha Bum Geun
- Affection:** Kim So Wol, early 20th century writer of love poems
- Respect:** Non Kye, Tangun, legendary founder of Korea in 2333 BC
- Rectitude:** Christ, Buddha, Choi Jewoo, Kim Soo Hwan

As might be expected, the most populous category was power, in which half of the names fell; the next-most popular category was enlightenment (a fifth of the names), as befits a Confucian society. The other categories contained only a sprinkling of names.

Following the initial categorization, a sampling of names was drawn from each category (in approximately the same ratio as the popularity of each category) for a Q-sample size of N=50 names, which are shown in Table 2. The names were then typed one to a card, so that each participant had a pack of 50 cards. Participants were then instructed to Q-sort the names from those toward whom they felt most positively (+5) to most negatively (-5), in the following forced-normal distribution:

Figure 1. Q-sort Distribution

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	X _i
3	4	4	5	6	6	6	5	4	4	3	f _i

Twenty-five participants, chosen by members of the seminar, provided their Q sorts, which were then intercorrelated and the 25 x 25 correlation matrix was factor analyzed.² As shown in Table 1, analysis produced only two factors, the first of which seemed to represent a cultural consensus inasmuch as all Q sorts were significantly associated with it, indicating that all participants had ranked the names in a highly similar fashion reflecting (presumably) that they were in general agreement with regard to those persons toward whom they felt most positively and negatively. A degree of insight into this cultural consensus can be gained initially by examining some of the names associated with the most positive and negative factor scores (all scores are shown in Table 2):

Positive Consensus: Buddha, An Ch'ang-ho, Kim Goo, Mahatma Gandhi, Jesus Christ, Albert Schweitzer, Leo Tolstoy
Negative Consensus: Kim Il Sung, Chun Doo Hwan, Park Chung Hee, Lee Byung Cheol, Nam Duck-woo, Rhee Kyu Ho, Adolf Hitler

The single highest score was associated with Buddha, whose authority was supplanted with the introduction of Confucianism as the state "religion" under the Yi dynasty, but whose influence obviously remains strong (at least symbolically so) in the 20th century. The fact that Gandhi, Christ, and Schweitzer are also atop this list lends credence to the conclusion that this factor is suffused with rectitude and religious sentiment, or perhaps more generally with reverence. That the factor also includes patriotic leader An Ch'ang-ho, assassinated nationalist Kim Goo, and revered Russian author Tolstoy indicates that the reverence extends to secular figures.

Table 1. Factor Matrix (Appeal)

Factor Loadings

R	A	B	age	sex	relig	major	party	philos
1	93	-6	22	f		educ		con
2	90	-19	20	m	Budd	hist	none	soc
3	89	9	25	m	Budd	pol	none	lib
4	85	-18	24	m	Budd	engin	none	natl
5	81	-19	29	m	none	engin	none	lib
6	78	-24	23	m		lit		lib
7	75	-6	25	m	Christ	sociol	none	lib
8	74	9	30	m	sham	pol	none	rad
9	68	16	26	m	Christ	law	none	mod
10	67	11	19	m		lit	none	lib
11	64	26	29	m	none	clerk	none	con
12	63	-24	24	m	none	sociol	none	rad
13	52	-28	20	m	Cath	econ	DKP	lib
14	53	72	28	f		secy	DKP	
15	59	67	47	f	Cath	hwife	DJP	con
16	73	54	49	f	Budd	hwife	DJP	con
17	65	53	38	f		hwife		lib
18	42	50	30	m		pol		mod
19	54	38	41	f	Budd	hwife	none	con
20	61	-64	26	m		sociol	SDP	rad
21	78	-42	25	m		sociol	none	soc
22	77	-38	25	m	Christ	lit	none	con
23	83	-31	28	m	Christ	hist	none	lib
24	74	-33	24	m	Pres	hist	none	lib
25	30	-38	24	f		hist	none	lib

Table 2. Factor Arrays (Appeal)

Factor Scores

	Name	A	B
1	Kim Ok Gyun	1	-1
2	Chun Bong Joon	3	-2
3	Mao Tse-tung	0	-5
4	Ludwig van Beethoven	2	1
5	Lee Hwang	1	3
6	Jesus Christ	5	4
7	Leonid Brezhnev	-3	-4
8	Albert Schweitzer	4	4
9	An Ch'ang-ho	4	2
10	Park Chung Hee	-4	5
11	Kim Chi Ha	3	-4
12	John D. Rockefeller	-2	0
13	Adolf Hitler	-5	-3
14	Kim So Wol	1	1
15	Kim Dae Jung	1	-4
16	Jean-Paul Sartre	2	-2
17	Kim Jong Pil	-3	1
18	Lee Soon Shin	3	4
19	Winston Churchill	0	2
20	Buddha	5	2
21	Nam Duck-woo	-4	5
22	Chun Doo Hwan	-5	3
23	The Beatles	-1	-2
24	Ronald Reagan	-1	3
25	Rhee Kyu Ho	-4	-1
26	Mahatma Gandhi	5	0
27	Eulji Moon Duk	2	1
28	Choi Jewoo	2	-1
29	Yi Song-gye	-2	1
30	Park Chong-hwa	-1	4
31	Confucius	3	0
32	Richard M. Nixon	-2	-1
33	Lee Byung Cheol	-4	0
34	Non Kye	1	-1
35	Kim Il Sung	-5	-5
36	Kim Jae Kyu	-2	-3
37	Ayatollah Khomeini	-1	-5
38	Jimmy Carter	-1	-2
39	Kim Soo Young	2	-3
40	Gen. Douglas MacArthur	0	3
41	Kim Goo	4	-2
42	Cha Bum Geun	0	1
43	Aristotle Onassis	-3	-1
44	Chiang Kai Shek	-2	2
45	Karl Marx	1	-4
46	Rhee Syngman	-3	5
47	Kim Yoo Shin	0	2
48	Kim Soo Hwan	0	0
49	Deng Zhao Ping	-1	-3
50	Leo Tolstoy	4	0

A singular feature of those persons whose names received high positive scores is that they are all dead, and almost all underwent severe deprivations during their lives on behalf of a greater societal good: Their reward is continued public respect. This is in marked contrast to the individuals whose names appear at the negative end of this list, all but two of whom (Park and Hitler) were living at the time of the study. It was noted previously that the results of this study were considered provocative, and here is the source of provocation. Those receiving the most negative scores included not only Kim Il Sung, then president of North Korea, but also Chun Doo Hwan, the president of South Korea, plus two members of his government: Nam Duck-woo, Chun's Prime Minister and economic advisor; and Rhee Kyu Ho, the Minister of Education. Also in this group is former President Park, who was assassinated by his own chief of intelligence; and businessman Lee Byung Cheol. It was this alliance of wealth and power for what was widely considered to be private rather than public gain that earned these individuals the lowest scores within this cultural consensus.

If factor 1 represents something of a cultural consensus, then factor 2 represents a source of cultural conflict. As shown in Table 1, although participants 14-25 are significantly and positively associated with factor 1 (hence participate in the consensus described above), they are also significantly associated with factor 2; there is therefore another aspect to their value system and it serves to polarize them. Whereas participants 14-19 are positively associated with factor 2, participants 20-25 are negatively associated. What this polarity represents can be inferred by examining the names most closely associated with the two poles, viz.:

The Establishment

Rhee Syngman, post-World War II president
Nam Duck-woo, Chun Doo Hwan's prime minister
Park Chung Hee, Rhee's "successor" (by military coup)
Jesus Christ
Lee Soon Shin, 16th century admiral who defeated Japanese
Park Chong-hwa, former director of the National Academy of the Arts
Albert Schweitzer

The Anti-Establishment

Ayatollah Khomeini, anti-American Iranian religious leader
Kim Il Sung, president of North Korea
Mao Tse-tung, leader of the People's Republic of China
Kim Dae Jung, political rival of Chun Doo Hwan
Kim Chi Ha, poet placed under house arrest by Chun
Karl Marx
Leonid Brezhnev, Soviet premier

As suggested, the positive pole of factor 2 is populated by individuals many of whom are associated with officialdom and with authoritative control in society: Presidents, presidential appointees, and military symbols (Lee Soon Shin) are

predominant. Even Christ, to the extent he symbolizes officially-sanctioned religion, is included. Only Schweitzer is anomalous in this regard. Hence, participants such as 14-19 (Table 1) not only gave high scores to culturally-consensual figures such as Buddha, An Ch'ang-ho, Gandhi, and Tolstoy, but were also drawn to such Establishment figures as Rhee Syngman, Park Chung Hee, and Lee Soon Shin. By the same token, participants 20-25 not only joined the others in embracing Buddha, An Ch'ang-ho, Gandhi, and Tolstoy, but were also attracted to such Anti-Establishment figures as Kim Il Sung, Kim Dae Jung, Kim Chi Ha, and such outsiders ("outsiders," that is, as viewed within the Korean context) as Khomeini, Mao, Marx, and Brezhnev.

The results above closely parallel those found in a similar study conducted in the United States—namely, a strong cultural consensus and a bipolar secondary dimension—and in both cases more Establishment symbols such as Christ and Schweitzer were included in the cultural consensus, which attests to the natural advantage of the Establishment in penetrating the culture.³ The fact that Chun Doo Hwan and his compatriots fared so poorly in this regard serves as a reminder to the Establishment that its favored position in the culture cannot be vouchsafed if its representatives stray too far from public expectations. As one of the participants said of the former president, "He goes against history."

Asking participants simply to react to the names of public figures barely scratches the surface of cultural values, but as a methodological illustration this study demonstrates how a commitment to indigenization as a scientific principle can be converted into procedures that provide the social scientist with leverage in studying the subjective aspects of culture. The names were freely given by members of the culture, and so can be considered pro tem to be of importance in the culture. So as to compensate for biases in the kinds of names provided, a sample of 50 names was drawn so as to represent a variety of values (power, enlightenment, wealth, etc.). Participants were then asked to rank-order the names in terms of their degree of appeal, which means that whatever was considered to be appealing as determined within the culture was incorporated within the study: The numbers (from +5 to -5) assigned the various names were a reflection of each participant's values and became the numerical basis for statistical analysis; consequently, the factors which emerged from the analysis necessarily represented value themes, or dimensions, which were a function of the culture itself. Of course, statistical results require interpretation, and persons inside and outside a culture may render different interpretations; nevertheless, the Q-methodological findings upon which the interpretations are based have a demonstrable and undeniable connection to the culture, and this is an important achievement.

The Intensive Analysis of Value Structures

Crane (1978) states that "it is important to understand the workings of the Korean mind, how the thought-philosophical-value system functions" (p. 13), and if the above study merely scratches the surface in this regard, then it also provides procedures which can be used for probing more

deeply into value structures below the surface. This is achieved in Q methodology by instructing participants to operate with a Q sample under various experimental conditions, and analysis of these experimental performances then reveals the natural segmentations in the person's value system. This is illustrated in the study that follows. Which experimental conditions to select is based largely on theoretical considerations; i.e., in this case, on a priori knowledge about values existing in the Korean culture. There is general agreement, for instance, that traditional Korean values have been influenced mainly by Buddhism, shamanism, and Confucianism (see, for example, Covell, 1982; Hahm, 1998; Roundtable, 1998), especially the latter two. In particular, social life is widely believed to have been influenced by five basic Confucian virtues (*oreun*) (see MacMahon, 1975), i.e.:

- In** (Chinese *jen*): humanity, good will, virtuousness;
- Eui** (Chinese *yi*): righteousness, justice, sense of duty and mutual obligations, of which *hyo* (filial piety) is a sub specie;
- Yae** (Chinese *li*): respect for elders, especially parents;
- Chi** (Korean and Chinese): knowledge, especially of self; enlightenment;
- Shin** (Korean and Chinese): faithfulness and sincerity.

MacMahon (1975) expresses dissatisfaction with the examination of isolated traits and suggests that they have more meaning when seen as a pattern contained in the archetype of the *kunja*, the Confucian ideal, "that gentleman whom I believe to hold the key to understanding the Oriental mentality" (p. 17). Hence, it is not simply the presence or absence of traits that is of interest, but in their patterned relationship, as in the title of Crane's (1978) book, *Korean Patterns*.

With the above as a starting point, a beginning can be made in probing contemporary value structures. In this instance, a single participant was selected and instructed to Q sort the same 50 names used in the previous study, under 12 conditions of instruction—i.e., the participant, using the same set of items, provided 12 separate Q sorts under 12 different conditions (labels below keyed to Table 3):

1. Self: rank the 50 names from those persons whom you consider to be most like or similar to you (+5) down to those whom you consider to be most unlike or dissimilar to you (-5).
2. *In*: rank the 50 names from those persons who, in your judgment, come closest to embodying the value of *in* (+5) to those who embody its opposite (-5).
3. Reason: those who are most realistic, who act on the basis of reason and rationality (+5) versus those who act unrealistically and irrationally (-5).

4. Humor: those who have a sense of humor, who do not take themselves totally seriously (+5) vs. those lacking in humor (-5).
5. *Yea*: propriety and proper conduct (+5) vs. impropriety (-5).
6. Impulse: those who act impulsively and without thought for moral or rational consequences (+5) vs. those who are more constrained and do not act on impulse (-5).
7. Fight: those who take (or have taken) a heroic stand against other persons, groups, or overwhelming odds (+5) vs. those who have not taken a heroic stand (-5).
8. *Kunja*: those who come closest to embodying the characteristics of this Confucian ideal (+5) vs. those who are most unlike this ideal (-5).
9. Sexuality: those who have a strange mystique, who stimulate my curiosity (+5) vs. those lacking in mystique, about whom I am not curious (-5).
10. *Eui*: righteous, just, willing to sacrifice for the sake of others (+5) vs. self-interested (-5).
11. Imperfection: those who need or who would have needed me, or who could have used my help or support (+5) vs. those who do not/would not have needed me (-5).

Table 3. Operant Factors

	Condition of Instruction	A	B
a	Self	04	(70)
b	<i>In (jen)</i>	(65)	(59)
c	Reason	(82)	25
d	Humor	07	-36
e	<i>Yea (li)</i>	(95)	-08
f	Impulse	(-95)	08
g	Fight	(-75)	(46)
h	<i>Kunja</i>	(89)	-03
i	Sexuality	-37	(62)
j	<i>Eui (yi)</i>	20	(75)
k	Imperfection	-35	(64)
l	Appeal	(49)	(75)

Loadings in parentheses significant (p<.01); decimals to two places omitted.

To the Korean virtues of *in*, *eui*, and *yea*, and their embodiment in the image of the *kunja*, have been added other concepts such as humor, fight, and sexuality from Schiffer's (1973) psychological study of charisma, as well as reason and impulse as surrogates for the psychoanalytic concepts of id and ego—*eui* (righteousness) is already close enough to the psycho-analytic concept of superego—which Kim (1978) has judged to be of increasing applicability as Korea continues to undergo westernization. As in the previous study, appeal was added to incorporate Weber's (1947) idea of charismatic attraction. The inclusion of self requires little justification: According to Crane (1978), "Perhaps the most important

thing to an individual Korean is recognition of his ‘selfhood’ ... his inner feelings ... essentially his state of mind” (p. 25), which Crane sums up with the concept *kibun*, a term lacking an English equivalent, but which Crane says is similar to mood. Methodologically, self represents the perspective, or vantagepoint, of the person relative to the value assertions which are rendered in the course of the Q sorting, thereby incorporating the observer into the field of observation.

The 12 Q sorts completed by the participant were correlated, factor analyzed, and rotated according to varimax criteria, resulting in two factors (A and B, one of them bipolar) as shown in Table 3. These factors summarize the three different patterns produced by the participant’s Q sortings. Factor B is purely defined by the self (the names of persons who are most like me) and also the person’s sense of *eui* as well as the charismatic ingredients of sexuality and imperfection elaborated by Schiffer. Bipolar factor A, on the other hand, is defined at the positive pole by *yea* and the image of the *kunja*, as well as by the presumably Western value of rationality. Ostensibly, no traditional value defines the negative pole of factor A, which is defined instead by the charismatic trait of fighting stance (assertiveness) plus the psychological trait of impulsivity. The value of *in* and the charismatic concept of attraction (appeal) are complex, being associated with both factors A and B; assertiveness is likewise complex on A and B.

Before proceeding to an interpretation of these specific results, it is important to point out that factors A and B are, in a sense, somewhat independent of those values, such as *in* and *yea*, which serve to define them in this particular case; i.e., the value structures which manifest themselves mathematically as factors A and B exist independently of the particular Q sorts which the participant was asked to perform, and in fact could have been revealed using a totally different set of Q sorts obtained with another set of 50 names and a separate set of conditions of instruction. The factors are analogous to the “strange attractors” of chaos theory, i.e., those “sets of points toward which all trajectories seem to be drawn” (Ayers, 1997, p. 375). Through the experiences of social development, we acquire characteristic ways of feeling and responding which can be expressed in a variety of terms, of which *in*, *yea*, *oui*, and others are just a few of many interrelated alternatives which combine to form attractors and containers for subsequent experiences. The role of the conditions of instruction listed in Table 3, therefore, is mainly to release operant responses which are related to those experiential centers of gravity, and whose potentiality is antecedent to the conditions themselves.

The participant in this case is a male college student, the youngest of four children from a poor and uneducated family in which the hated father frequently beat the mother. Upon entering high school, the son began turning his back on family traditions, becoming a Christian and pursuing intellectual achievements. The details of his life are relatively unimportant except that they begin to set the stage for understanding how this person’s developing self image has begun separating itself from key symbols of the Confucian tradition. As shown in Table 3, this person’s self is firmly

associated with factor B (along with a sense of righteousness [*eui*], the need to help others [imperfection], and mystique and curiosity [sexuality]) and is segregated from such factor A concepts as *yea* and the image of the *kunja*; indeed, the highest scores in factor A go to such traditional figures as Confucius, Lee Hwang, and Choi Jewoo. The symbols of identification of the self, by way of contrast, include modernizer Kim Ok Gyun and peasant rebel Chun Bong Joon along with “outsiders” Christ, Buddha, Marx, and Mao, all of whom stand in opposition to the Establishment that the father likely represented.

This dynamic configuration substantiates Plato’s speculation (in Book 8 of *The Republic*) that disjunctions in the harmonious perpetuation of the political system are due to disturbances between fathers and sons (see Lasswell & McDougal, 1992, p. 686). From what little this participant has revealed of his life circumstances, we can infer that the father exaggerated the traditional ideals and endeavored to impose them by force, and that the anxiety which this generated in the son provided him with motivation to deviate, thereby weakening the strength (i.e., stimulus function) of traditional symbols. (The son’s anxiety is stimulated in reaction to the discrepancy between the father’s exaggerated avowal of cardinal principals [e.g., intimacy] and the degenerate character of his actual operation [tyrannical domination], which gives rise to a perception of hypocrisy and its attendant anxiety.)

It is noteworthy that factor A pits reason against impulse, with righteousness (*eui*) and self independent of this polarity. From the standpoint of psychoanalytic theory, this is equivalent to the ego standing in structural opposition to the id (factor A) and with the superego (factor B) located outside this conflict, which is a classic instance of the triple-appeal principle (Lasswell, 1932). Kim (1978) has noted that the Western experience that gave rise to Freud’s theory of the mind was not compatible with the traditional Oriental experience, but that the westernization of the East had brought with it changes and emotional conflicts that were transforming the Korean mind and rendering it more nearly like its European counterpart. This participant is a living specimen of Kim’s contention insofar as the factorial structure of his perceptions reads like a case from Freud’s notebook. In this regard, we can see how various figures in the external world have become for this student a manifestation, through projection, of the structure of his own outlook (scores for factors A and B, respectively):

Reason:	A	B
Schweitzer	+5	+1
Confucius	+4	-2
Impulse:		
Park Chung Hee	-5	-1
Adolf Hitler	-5	0
Morality (self):		
Karl Marx	-2	+5
Christ	+2	+5

This participant's factor structure and factor scores throw into sharp relief the personal meaning of the secondary world of politics and society. Albert Schweitzer and Confucius are associated with rationality as well as propriety, and figures such as these and others like them are arrayed against the impulsiveness of the likes of former President Park and Adolf Hitler. But factor A is a two-edged sword which this student has discarded, for his self is not associated with this factor, but with the morality and righteousness of factor B, rendered manifest in the lives and teachings of Marx, Christ, and others (e.g., revolutionary poet Kim Chi Ha).⁴ This student's preparation is for martyrdom rather than personal gain, for liberation theology rather than national ideology, and for well-justified action rather than contemplation.

Concluding Remarks

As a prelude to his essay on Korean social life, Crane (1978) suggests that "one way to understand a people better is to take a look at their traditional ideals, their historical goals, and the pithy proverbs that they use as markers to gauge their actions and train their children" (p. 21), and whereas this may be true in certain respects, observation that is too casual runs the risk of getting no deeper than what Miriam Cooke (1997) has recently referred to as "the cellophane of images that cultures construct of each other" (p. 101), and also of themselves it might be added.

In this respect, the two studies reported above are intended to be methodologically demonstrative rather than substantively conclusive. There is neither intent nor need to suggest that the small numbers of unrepresentative cases examined can in any way replace the general conclusions reported, for instance, by Lim (1998)—e.g., that according to polls, Korean traditional values are being replaced by collective individualism, or that goals and results are increasingly emphasized over procedures and means. Nevertheless, it can be said that the large-scale averaging that goes into polling and surveys is apt to obscure as much as it reveals, and that the extensive analysis of many cases needs to be supplemented from time to time with the intensive analysis of just a few (Lasswell, 1938). The principle of indigenization—as well as the principle of specificity (Kantor, 1978), with which it has affinity—requires that measurement and observation take into account the nuances of cultural context; significant differences do not cease propagating at national borders, however, but continue in sub-system contexts and into communities and homes, and even into the varied mosaics of individual lives. To take but one illustration, the single case featured previously reveals three possible modes of conduct (factor A-positive, A-negative, and factor B), only one of which was ostensibly kinetic at the moment it was being measured; but behavior occurs in dynamic fields of social structures and activity, and each behavioral potentiality carries different implications, hence means must be adopted for monitoring these behaviors at intensive as well as extensive levels. While trends are being reported at the aggregate level, then, it is also necessary to monitor those shifts in identity and identification that occur at the individual level and that promise to give us early warning of more widespread changes later on.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ As a reminder, this period (winter-spring 1981) was in the early months of the regime of Chun Doo Hwan, and shortly after the Kwangju uprisings and repression. Student demonstrations were frequent. The senior author was a Fulbright scholar in Korea at the time and was warned that the results of the study, which were not favorable to the regime, could cause difficulties for colleagues and the university. The findings have been shelved since.
- ² Analysis was by the principal axis method, with squared multiple-Rs in the principal diagonal of the correlation matrix. Only two factors had eigenvalues greater than 1.00, and were retained. Due to the statistical strength of the first factor, the unrotated matrix was accepted as the final solution, which comports with the result of a comparable U.S. study (Brown, 1981, p. 632). Factor scores were then calculated using the Jinni program (Brown, 1980, pp. 301-319). Jinni has since been superseded by *QMethod* 2.06 (Schmolck & Atkinson, 1998), which can be obtained free of charge at URL <http://www.rz.unibw-muenchen.de/~p41bsmk/qmethod/>.
- ³ In the American study (Brown, 1981, pp. 632-633), the cultural consensus included Einstein, Christ, Martin Luther King, Mother Theresa, Kennedy, and Gandhi (vs. Idi Amin, Hitler, Richard Nixon, and Khomeini); the bipolar factor involved the same Establishment (General MacArthur, Billy Graham, Ronald Reagan, Christ, and General Patton) vs. the Anti-Establishment (Mao, Yasser Arafat, Marx, Khomeini, Gandhi, and Castro). Gandhi was the only Anti-Establishment figure to take a prominent place in the cultural consensus list.
- ⁴ Factor B is not bipolar (see Table 3), but it does contain the names of individuals whom this participant implicitly considers to be the opposite of moral—namely, warriors Kim Yoo Shin, unifier of the three dynasties and continuing symbol of militarism, and Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the Nationalist Chinese; and plutocrats Aristotle Onassis, Greek shipping magnate, and Nam Duck Woo, former prime minister (under Chun Doo Hwan) and economic advisor. The dialectic of factor B therefore places power, wealth, and self-interest in opposition to justice, duty, and self-sacrifice.

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Transnationalization of Faith: The Americanization of Christianity in the Philippines and the Filipinization of Christianity in the United States

by Joaquin L. Gonzalez III, Ph.D.

Abstract

The historical coverage of bilateral relations between the Philippines and the United States has always been stacked in favor of the latter. For decades, scholars have written about America's impact on Philippine society, government, economics, and culture. However, the mass migration of Filipinos globally, and in particular to the United States, has turned the focus of attention to the growing influence and contributions of the former to American society. This article moves from a one-sided bilateral view of relations between the two states to a more two-way, transnational perspective. An interesting area that has emerged is religion, since Filipino immigrants not only bring with them their political ideals and economic quest but their deep faith. It argues that the Spanish and American Christianization of the Philippines also precipitated a Filipinization of American Christian churches, especially in California, which is the adopted home of close to a million Filipino immigrants.

I. Introduction

More than a century of bilateral and transnational relations (from 1898 to 2002) between the Philippines and the United States has not only seriously affected both countries economically, militarily, environmentally, and politically.¹ Depending on which side of the Pacific Ocean you are looking from, cross-cultural and social exchanges between the two countries have also been quite evident throughout their long colonial and post-colonial relationships. Unlike other studies that have concentrated heavily on the broad socio-cultural outcomes of this transnational exchange (see Pido 1985; Vergara 1996; Posadas 1999; Bonus 2000; among others), this article seeks to re-visit the specific crossing of boundaries by American and Filipino socio-religious experiences. This approach moves away from the traditional emphasis on America's contributions to religious life in the Philippines, especially the Protestant churches, (see Anderson 1969; Miller 1982; Maggay 1989; Kwantes 1998; Apilado 1999; among others) to a focus on Filipino sociological influences to a broad range of church denominations in the United States (see Cordova 1983; San Buenaventura 1999). Interestingly, the latter as a transnational cultural phenomenon has gained greater relevance as waves of Filipino immigrants started flowing into the major gateway cities of the United States beginning in the early 1900s.

Although known largely for their economic contributions into their new homeland (See Rodriguez 1996; Menjivar et al. 1998; Gonzalez 1998), many Filipino and American sojourners have automatically brought with them their Hispanic, Anglo-Saxon, and indigenously-inspired religious belief systems and

practices. Through the Christian Church, a societal institution with which they are already comfortable, new Filipino immigrants and their American counterparts are able to deal effectively with acculturative stress, assimilate politically, and contribute social energy to the cultures they come in contact with and the communities in their newly-adopted homes. Hence, using acute transnational lenses, this paper examines the "second comings of Christianity": firstly, as manifested in the Americanization of Christianity in the Philippines starting with the gateway city of Manila, and secondly, as illustrated by the growing Filipinization of churches in the United States through the gateway city of San Francisco, California.

II. Americanization of Christianity in Manila

The emergence of the United States as the new global hegemon at the end of the 19th century brought to the forefront international economics and security as key determinants of power relations between and among nation states. Many scholars have noted that the tenor of Philippine-American relations at the turn of the century was shaped by these formal geo-economic and geo-political forces (see Williams 1926; Fast and Richardson 1982; Schirmer and Shalom 1987; Baviera and Yu-Jose 1998). The quotes below from high-ranking Washington political and military officials reinforce the primacy of these over-riding themes in the early institutional exchange between the two countries.

In a stirring privilege speech to Congress, American Senator Albert Beveridge outlined the economic imperative for the United States in colonizing the Philippines in the following statement:

The Philippines are ours forever...and just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets.... The Pacific is our Ocean. Where shall we turn for consumers of our surplus? Geography answers the question. China is our natural customer. The Philippines will give us a base at the door of all the East. No land in America surpasses in fertility the plains and valleys of Luzon: rice, coffee, sugar and coconuts, hems and tobacco. The wood of the Philippines can supply the furniture of the world for a century to come (Lyon and Wilson 1987, p. 62).

Meanwhile, from a military standpoint, General Arthur MacArthur justified the strategic security importance of the Philippines in saying:

The Philippines are the finest group of islands in the world. Its strategic location is unexcelled by that of any other position in the globe. The China Sea, which separates it by something like 750 miles from the continent, is nothing more not less than a safety moat. It lies on the flank of what might be called a position of several thousand miles of coastline: it is in the center of that position. It is therefore relatively better placed than Japan, which is on a flank, and therefore remote from the other extremity; likewise India, on another flank. It affords a means of protecting American interests, which with the very least output of physical power has the effect of a commanding position in itself to retard hostile action (Quoted in Bello 1983, p. 3).

Hence, scholarly critical analyses of the relations have tended to place a heavy emphasis on - the dysfunctional economic and political institutions created by the colonial and post-colonial linkages (Pomeroy 1970; Shalom 1981; Brands 1992; Golay 1998; Delmendo 1998). As the US-Philippine

bilateral relationship deepened, many researchers from both ends of the Pacific also began to examine the converging socio-cultural experiences between the two countries (see Shaw and Francia 2001). This was a significant shift from looking at bilateral ties founded on state institutions and business organizations to more informal transnational arrangements based on people, communities, non-governmental groups. The latter presents fertile ground for social research. This includes examining the transnational religious link that developed between colony and former colony—one that would actually usher in a “second coming of Christianity” into the Philippines.

Just like the economic and security imperatives for colonizing the Philippines, which were trumpeted by leaders from Washington, a religious “call” was announced from the highest political pulpit in the land. In 1899, American President William McKinley, a devout Methodist, proclaimed that there was a burning need for the “benevolent assimilation” of the Philippines islands. McKinley elaborated on this political revelation with the following remarks to a delegation of Methodist church leaders who called on him at the White House:

I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight, and I am not ashamed to tell you, gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed to Almighty God for light and guidance more than one night. And one late night it came to me this way—I don't know how it was, but it came... *that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellowmen for whom Christ also died.* (quoted in Shirmer and Shalom 1983, p 22) [emphasis mine].

To many of his astonished guests, it seemed that somebody had forgotten to brief the honorable US president that the country he was referring to was already very Christian after more than 300 years of evangelization by Spanish Catholic religious orders. Nonetheless, as his tirade continued it became apparent that what McKinley really meant was that his fellow Methodists should spread the word of an American brand of Christianity to what he perceived as wayward Filipino Christians. His visitors left the White House with McKinley's civilization-Christianization mantra still ringing in their ears—the church must go where America chooses to go!

A. Arrival of American Protestant Churches

Like its European colonial predecessors, the United States needed to use the Christian Church to effectively and efficiently make the Filipinos embrace the patterns of behavior for an Anglo-Saxon civilization. Although at first hesitant to provide support to what seemed to them as the beginning of American imperialism, church leaders would eventually stand behind their beloved President's appeal. In the years to follow, many American Christian missionaries boarded the same ships that carried businessmen, civil servants, teachers, and military officers who were going to the Philippines for commercial, public administration, educational, and security concerns. Initially concentrating their religious activities in the gateway city of Manila, American Methodists, Congrega-

tionalists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Baptists, Adventists, Episcopalians, Mormons, Witnesses, and other Christian missionaries came to convince Filipinos to embrace American Protestant teachings. They also ministered to the thousands of American Protestants who had gone with them to the Philippines to work (See Anderson 1969; Kwantes 1998; Apilado 1999).

They were very effective since unlike their Spanish religious counterparts who discouraged the masses to learn Spanish and banned the reading of the Bible, American Protestant Christian missionaries immediately began teaching English and set up many mission schools, especially for the poor. They also encouraged the translation of the Bible into the various Philippine languages and dialects. American Protestants believed that there was a need to reform the Spanish-style practice of Christianity, which was not strongly Bible-based, and tainted with folk beliefs, idolatry, as well as the veneration of saints and the Virgin Mary.³

Historically, even before America's turn-of-the-century annexation of the Philippines, the first missionaries had already arrived as soldiers deployed to fight in the Spanish-American war of 1898. For instance, Methodist Chaplain George C. Stull of the First Montana Volunteers held the first Protestant service in the Philippines. At about the same time, two American YMCA workers, Charles A. Glunz and Frank A. Jackson, were already actively ministering to US soldiers in downtown Manila. Additionally, two artillery batteries arrived from Utah with Mormon missionaries William Call and George Seaman.⁴ On two Sundays in March 1899, Bishop James M. Thoburn of the Methodist Episcopal Church ministered at a rented theater in Manila. In April 1899, the Reverend James Burton Rodgers established the Philippine Presbyterian Mission. This was the first permanent American Protestant mission in the country. Reverend Burton stayed for 40 years to help guide the work of the Presbyterians. Following the lead of the Presbyterians came the numerous American Bible Societies in the same year. Men and women working for the American Bible Societies put themselves to the task of translating and printing thousands of bibles into the local dialects.

America's insistence on its “manifest destiny” of colonizing the country led to the Philippine-American war, a struggle that would break out in 1899 and last until 1902 with the capture of Philippine General Emilio Aguinaldo. During the war, Filipinos were literally “baptized by fire.” Instead of water over their heads, many of their bodies were immersed in pools of their own blood. Numerous Philippine towns were burned to the ground. Persons who collaborated with the Filipino revolutionaries were tortured. Churches were not spared the destructive wrath of the American army. More than half a million Filipinos died in the conflict. These rites of war were performed by American troops both “in the name of God” and because they were perceived to be “part of the white man's burden” (Constantino 1989; Agoncillo 1990).⁵ While all of these wanton acts were being done in areas outside of Manila, American clergy proceeded with their conversion work in the capital city as if nothing unusual were happening. Some members of the Christian clergy even

welcomed the conflict and viewed it as proof of divine favor of American expansion; that “The Lord Jesus Christ...is behind the bayonets.” (Miller 1982; Brechin 1999).

In January 1900, the Methodist church formally established their Philippine presence when the Reverend Thomas H. Martin of Helena, Montana started missionary work in Manila. By March of the same year, Nicolas Zamora, the first Filipino Methodist deacon was ordained with authority from the South Kansas Conference. Concentrating largely in Manila and its environs, the Methodists held regular meetings at Rosario, Pandacan, San Sebastian, and Trozo. Following the ordination of Reverend Zamora was the establishment of the first Methodist Church in Pandacan, Manila. On May 9, a second American Methodist missionary arrived.

The beginning of the 20th century also brought the American Northern Baptist Church to the country. Encouraged by the positive reports from the Foreign Missions of the first batch of American Protestant Churches, an annual influx of other Christian congregations arrived to claim a share of the evangelical bounty in the new colony. These included: the United Brethren in 1901, the Disciples of Christ in 1901, the Protestant Episcopalians in 1901, and the Congregationalists in 1902. Harassment from local Catholic clergy and their staunch supporters did not deter these missionary pioneers from their work.

After the Philippine-American War, the Seventh Day Adventist Church sent their first mission to the Philippines in 1905.⁶ The following year Adventists J. L. McElhany and his wife arrived and worked among the American soldiers, businessmen, and teachers who were sent to Manila. Founded in 1870, the work of Jehovah’s Witnesses also began in the Philippines, when American Charles T. Russell, president of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society in New York, gave an intriguing talk entitled “Where Are the Dead?” at the Manila Grand Opera House on January 12, 1912. Russell’s evangelical talk was attended by close to 1000 persons including the General J. Franklin Bell, the commander in chief of the 20,000 American troops stationed in the Philippines at that time. To spread the gospel, organized missionary work followed in the years to come with Bible literature being provided by the headquarters in Brooklyn, New York. More than two decades after Russell’s pioneering visit a Philippine branch was formally established in Manila.

In October 1914, more than thirty years before the founding of the ecumenical World Council of Churches, Philippine-based Presbyterians, Methodists, and Disciples of Christ decided to form the Union Church of Manila. The union of these Protestant churches was formally established at a liturgical service officiated by Bishop Charles Henry Brent of the Episcopal Church, Reverend George W. Wright of the Presbyterian Church, and Reverend Edwin F. Lee of the Methodist Church. The Union Church of Manila congregation eventually grew to include 22 denominations representing Baptists, Congregationalists, Disciples of Christ, Lutherans, Episcopalians, Federated churches, United Brethren, Church of God, Latter Day Saints, Greek Orthodox, Hebrew, Dutch Reformed, Evangelical, Mennonite, Nazarene, and some Roman Catholics. Union Church has historically

been the premier place of worship for expatriate Americans and Europeans based in Manila. At this church, they are able to interact with persons from their hometowns, organize picnics and socials, and maintain a predominantly western atmosphere while based in the Philippines. They are also able to use the church to contribute to local social charities as well as the alleviation of poverty both domestically and internationally.

The early Filipino converts from Catholicism and other Christian faiths were very helpful in spreading the gospel. But many lay expatriate American citizens, non-missionaries, who were simply serving in official military and civilian functions, setting up businesses, teaching classes in Manila and other parts of the Philippines were also responsible for promoting Protestant Bible and gospel teachings. Canadian and European Protestant missions also supplemented the work of the Americans. In the decades to come, protestant missionaries would spread the word to all the regions of the country. They would not only build churches but also seminaries, schools, hospitals, publishing houses, shelters, and social services in Manila all of the major cities and towns, even reaching hinterland areas that the Spanish Catholic friars were not able to cover.

B. Americanization of the Hispanic Catholic Church Regime

Many scholarly works have been written about the systematic conversion of the native Filipinos by Spanish Catholic religious orders, or friars. The Order of Saint Augustine sent the first Catholic priests to the Philippines. They came with the conquistador Legazpi expedition of 1564. The Augustinians were followed by: the Franciscans in 1577, the Jesuits in 1581, the Dominicans in 1587, and then the Recollects in 1606. In the second half of the 19th century, the first batch of Spanish religious groups was joined by: the Sons of Saint Vincent de Paul in 1862, the Sisters of Charity in 1862, the Capuchins in 1886, and the Benedictines in 1895. For more than three centuries, these religious orders facilitated the conversion of more than 85 of the population (or 6.5 million out of an estimated 8 million Filipinos) into Catholicism (See Anderson 1969; De La Rosa 1990; Kwantes 1998; Apilado 1999).

The American political administrators that arrived at the turn of the century had no choice but to get involved early on in the religious situation in the Philippines since the 1896 Philippine revolution released the anger and fury of the Filipinos not only against the Spain’s provincial government in the islands but also against the entrenched friar establishment (see Ileta 1989; Schumacher 1991). At the outbreak of hostilities, thousands of friars were able to flee to the safe confines of Manila. But some who were not lucky enough to reach the capital city were taken prisoners, while others were beaten or killed. Fearing for their lives and the sequestration of their vast properties, the friar leadership ensured that the terms of surrender between Admiral George Dewey and the Spanish authorities as well as the Treaty of Paris, which formally ceded the Philippines to the United States, included provisions that guaranteed American army protection for

their churches and “ecclesiastical lands.” The Vatican had no objection to this arrangement. American military governor, General Elwell Otis created added controversy when he allowed Spanish Archbishop Nozaleda, a hated friar, to replace the Filipino pastor at Paco Church in Manila. Made without their involvement, these policies and actions angered many Filipinos, especially the clergy, who began to suspect that their battle to gain control and influence over both church and state had not ended with the ousting of their Spanish conquistadors. Their new enemies were now the American religious authorities and the American government (see Anderson 1969; Giordano 1988).

The changeover to American rule in 1898 and the end of Philippine-American hostilities brought many American and other non-Spanish, European Catholic orders and congregations to the Philippines. These included: the Redemptorists (1906), the Benedictine Sisters (1906), the Congregations of San Jose (1906), the Fathers of the Divine Word (1907), and the Missionaries of the Immaculate Heart (1907). The Franciscans, Jesuits, Dominicans also made adjustments in their Philippine congregations by sending more Americans priests. Because of local Filipino resentment against the abuses and excesses of the Spanish friars, the American religious orders tried to create a new image of the Roman Catholic clergy. The American religious also tried very hard to show to the local populace that even though they were Catholic priests that they were different from the Spanish friar stereotypes that the Filipinos disliked. They also opened public schools to everyone to appease their apprehensions. Not surprisingly, the person who was put in charge of educational initiatives was a Catholic priest, Reverend Father William D. McKinnon, the Chaplain of the First California Volunteers. He was directed by Governor General Otis to begin the organization and construction of primary and secondary institutions in Manila. Father McKinnon’s rapport with the Catholic laity, the predominantly Catholic population, and knowledge of Spanish contributed heavily to his initial successes at setting up an American educational system in the capital city. In the early 1920s, American Jesuits from the Maryland-New York Province were sent to replace Spanish Jesuits. They introduced new missions in education, research, and social activism (Giordano 1988: 17).

Some changes were also implemented in the Catholic Church hierarchy in the Philippines. Spanish priests were not expelled unlike the Spanish military personnel and government officials. However, given the resentment against them by the Filipinos, many had decided to go back to Spain or get reassigned. Immediately after the take-over, high-ranking positions held by the Spanish clergy were assumed by American priests, many of who were of Irish-American descent. In 1903, Missouri native Reverend Father Jeremiah James Hart became the first American archbishop of Manila. Many parishes with Spanish pastors were redistributed to diocesan priests from Ireland, Germany, Belgium, and France. Religious societies of monks, brothers, and sisters from America and Europe also established missions, monasteries, convents, and schools all over the country. By the end of the year, the number of Spanish friars in the Philippines was

reduced from a peak of more than 1,100 in 1896 to a mere 246 five years after American takeover. In 1904, the last Spanish bishop had left the Philippines and almost all of the high positions in the Catholic Church were occupied by American bishops (Anderson 1969: 217).

These new Christian leaders tried to create an American-style church regime, and began by promoting the separation of church and state and the freedom to believe in any religion. These attempts to promote American liberal democracy in the religious realm of Filipino society were actively supported by both American Catholic and Protestant church leaders. Many Filipinos also warmly received this change after experiencing centuries of Spanish Catholic church intervention in the running of government and even their personal lives.

Dogmatically, the American Roman Catholic orders agreed with some of the observations of American Protestant Christians that there was a need to reform the Spanish-style practice of Christianity, which was not strongly Bible-based and tainted with idolatry and veneration of saints and the Virgin Mary. Apparently, both American Catholic and Protestant missionaries were after the creation of a more Anglo-Saxon-Teutonic culture in the practice of religion. English became the language of education, government, military, business, and of course, the church.

C. Founding of Filipino Independent Congregations

If the Spaniards used the Catholic Church to effectively conquer the hearts of the Filipinos, the Americans utilized the Protestant Church to “uplift their kindred spirits.” Many Filipino nationalists noticed this and concluded that the American *modus operandi* for colonizing the country was no different from Spain’s. As proof, just as in the government, very few Filipino religious leaders were granted positions of influence and leadership in the early American period Protestant and Catholic Church hierarchies. Besides, Americans controlled the military and American firms received monopolies, subsidies, and preferential treatment. Tired of the continuation of this unfair colonial socio-economic system, many Filipino leaders decided to lobby and fight for their political, social, economic rights and freedom while Filipino spiritual leaders were emboldened to organize their own indigenous and independent Christian Churches (see Agoncillo 1990).

The most serious breakaway group from the Catholic Church was the Philippine Independent Church (popularly known as the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente* or the Aglipayan Church). Although founded largely as a response to the total dominance of Spanish friars in the Catholic Church hierarchy, the PIC did not anticipate that any serious organizational changes would happen with the arrival of American Catholic clergy. Hence, one month after US President Theodore Roosevelt declared the end of the Philippine-American war in July 1902, in the meeting of the General Council of the *Union Obrera Democratica* (UOD), its head, Isabelo de los Reyes, Sr., announced the establishment of the Philippine Independent Church with Reverend Gregorio Aglipay as Obispo Maximo (Supreme Bishop). De Los Reyes and Aglipay convinced many Filipinos priests to join their cause-oriented religious

sect and sequestered Roman Catholic Churches "in the name of Filipinos." A year after the PIC's founding, it was believed to have amassed one and a half million members, which was roughly one fourth or 25 percent of the population of the Philippines then. Rejected by the Vatican, the PIC also did not see fit to align with the Protestant churches despite numerous talks with Methodist, Presbyterian, and American Bible Society leaders and missionaries. The American-controlled Catholic Church in the Philippines took more than four decades to appoint Monsignor Gabriel Reyes, a Filipino, as the Roman Catholic archbishop of Cebu in 1934. But by then the damage had already been done. Many Filipinos had turned away from the Catholic and Protestant Churches in the Philippines, and by 1939, the PIC had grown to a membership of more than one million members.⁷

An indigenous Filipino Christian Church that emerged during the American occupation was the Iglesia Ni Cristo (INC). The church was begun by Brother Felix Y. Manalo who was born and baptized a Catholic. As a teenager, Manalo left the Catholic Church and was fascinated by the Bible interpretations preached by the various American Protestant Christian denominations who arrived in the Philippines at the turn of the century. In order to learn more about their view of the gospel, Manalo joined the Methodist Episcopal Church and studied at the Presbyterian Ellinwood Bible Training School in Malate, Manila. He later ventured to the American-inspired Christian Mission and the Seventh Day Adventist Church. In exposing himself to the various Bible teachings Manalo became dissatisfied with what he saw as doctrinal contradictions and inconsistencies in the teachings and interpretations of these American-inspired Protestant faiths. In 1913, after praying, fasting, meditating, and seeking the guidance of God, he is said to have received divine instruction to begin the work of forming a new and independent Church of Christ. Based on a Filipino perspective of God's word, Manalo developed an integrated set of teachings and church organization taking off from the various American Christian faiths he had attended. In 1919, he also went to the United States to study and reflect on his new church. Manalo is seen by INC members as God's chosen messenger, having received spiritual enlightenment in order to reestablish the Church of Christ beginning in "the East" (Tuggy 1978; Reed 1990).

Other attempts by Filipino Protestant church leaders to "challenge" the administrative powers of their American counterparts contributed to the creation of: the United Evangelical Church in 1929, the Philippine Methodist Church in 1933, and the Evangelical Church in 1943. These loose alliances of Filipino-led independent Protestant Churches were the precursors of an umbrella organization called the United Church of Christ of the Philippines in 1948—two years after the granting of independence by the United States.

Other Filipino indigenous Christian sects and Masonic organizations that started during the revolution against Spain but continued to blossom during the American occupation were: Ruben Ecleo and his Benevolent Missionaries Association, Apolinario de la Cruz and his Cofradia de San Jose, Felipe Salvador and his Santa Iglesia Guardia de Honor de Maria, and the Rizalistas (including the Samahang Rizal,

Iglesiang Pilipinas, Watawat ng Lahi, Iglesia Sagrada Filipina ng Sinco Vulcanes) (see Mercado 1982). Muslims and other tribal groups in Mindanao and other ethnic minorities in Northern Luzon also resisted both Spanish and American evangelization in order to continue their own indigenous faiths (see Agoncillo 1990)

III. Filipinization of San Francisco's Churches

Unknown to President McKinley, a parallel "second coming of Christianity" was already underway even before the Philippines became a US colony in 1898. Unlike the Americans who (needed to build battleships and start a bloody war) used violence to civilize and Christianize the inhabitants of the Philippine islands, Filipinos reached the shores of the United States and began influencing American religion through peaceful means. They accomplished this by crossing the Pacific Ocean as crew members of the famous Spanish commercial galleons that went back and forth from Manila to the North American continent bringing precious commodities to Spanish settlements in what are now California and Mexico, all the way to Louisiana. Because of the harsh treatment and low pay they received in service of the Spanish crown, many of the Filipino seamen jumped ship and settled in pueblos of Acapulco and the bayous of Louisiana. Mostly Catholics, these men blended with Mexican and American Christian church congregations wherever they went. In the Louisiana marshes, they set up Filipino settlements on stilts and introduced shrimp processing techniques. They also brought with them to these new lands their religious faith, devotions, and prayers as part of their Filipino heritage.

While many Americans were busy administering, developing, and Christianizing their one and only prized colony in the Far East, the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s saw successive waves of Filipinos leave the Philippines for the United States. While most of them were hired to work in the farm areas as agricultural workers many also stayed in the cities and worked as domestic helpers, as well as hotel and restaurant cooks, dishwashers, bellhops, elevator boys, and busboys in Hawaii, California, Alaska, Washington, Oregon, and New York. There were also a large group of "pensionados" or US government scholars who came to study at American universities. After World War II, many Filipinos who served in the US military also decided to try out greener pastures away from their native land. Immigration increased further with the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, which encouraged a new wave of highly skilled professionals, i.e. doctors, nurses, engineers, and accountants to move to the U.S. Their families were allowed to join them soon afterwards (See Cordova 1983; Takaki 1987; Bonus 2000).

Through several decades, San Francisco was the popular gateway city for most of these Filipino immigrants. They brought with them rich and distinctive cultures that eventually blended with the diverse cultural mix that characterized the Bay Area. Filipino food, dances, music, art, languages, and literature were slowly integrated into the local scenery. But, probably, the biggest and most obvious cultural contributions of generations of Filipino immigrants to San Francisco have been the active roles they play in the city's churches—roles

that range from pastors to brethren. Given the mass exodus from their motherland, maybe the “second coming of Christianity” was really destined to be from the East to the West, or from the Philippines to the United States.

After all, before 1965 many San Francisco Catholic and Protestant churches had been experiencing serious declines in active memberships. Low attendance rates led to low financial contributions. With rising maintenance bills, many of these churches had to rent out space to other interested religious congregations. Some were simply forced to close and sell their property. Heavy commercialization in the downtown neighborhoods reduced residential homes in the areas around churches. Moreover, earthquakes and fires also contributed to closures and migrations away from cities and into suburban areas. Interestingly, many religious centers affected by these natural and man-made tragedies have been “saved” by new immigrants groups, including, not surprisingly, Filipino Christians. Nowhere is the Filipino Christianization in the United States felt more than in the California—home to close to a million Filipino immigrants of Catholic and Protestant backgrounds.

A. Re-constructing San Francisco's Catholic Institutions

Coming from the only predominantly Catholic country in Asia, most new Filipino immigrants are likely to have been socialized in the Roman Catholic faith and traditions. Hence, the growing number of Filipino immigrants to the United States beginning in the 1910s also increased church attendance rates especially among Catholic Churches in the major gateway cities of San Francisco, Honolulu, Los Angeles, Seattle, New York, and Chicago. Filipino immigrants have become instruments of evangelization (Reed 1990; Almario 1993: 119-125). According to US official records, between 1920-1929, 31,092 Filipinos entered California and more than 80 percent of them went through the port of San Francisco (California Department of Industrial Relations 1930). The biggest beneficiaries of the Filipino inflow were San Francisco Catholic Churches in the area of town then known as “Happy Valley”. Some of these historic churches were: Saint Patrick (founded in 1851), Saint Joseph (founded in 1861), and Saint Rose (founded in 1878). Another favorite among Manilatown and Chinatown Filipino residents was Old Saint Mary's Cathedral (founded in 1854).

During this period, close to 90 percent of Filipino immigrants were single males, between the 18 to 34 years old. Family building was difficult since there were few women from the Philippines. The 1930 census estimated that there were only 1,640 women of Filipino descent in the whole United State—309 single, 1,258 married, 53 widowed, and 16 divorced. To complicate matters, Filipino men were “discouraged” from marrying Caucasian women by anti-miscegenation laws. Instead many Filipino men married women who were Mexican, African American, or members of other non-white ethnic groups. Anti-miscegenation laws did not apply to Caucasian men who wanted to marry Filipino women. One of the first recorded baptisms in San Francisco was held on November 8, 1914, when Isaac Braan originally from Raleigh,

North Carolina and his Filipina wife, Gregoria Pena brought their infant daughter, Erminda Celeste, to Saint Patrick's church. The Braans would later bring to the same church their two other children, born in 1916 and 1917, to receive the same religious sacrament. Church records also indicate that a few other Filipino children's baptisms also followed during the years to come.⁸

To combat the restlessness of the largely male Filipino immigrant group and encourage them to channel their socio-emotional energies towards morally appropriate activities, the leaders of the Diocese of Seattle and San Francisco sponsored the creation of Catholic Filipino Clubs (Burns 2001). In 1922, the Catholic Filipino Clubs in Seattle and San Francisco were born. Around 600 workers from Seattle registered and availed of the services of their Club, while in San Francisco, Archbishop Edward J. Hanna and the Community Chest became active supporters of the popular Catholic Filipino Club. The Club became the hub of social activities for the estimated 5,000 Filipino residents of the city. Aside from the Catholic Filipino Club, there were two other Filipino Catholic organizations—the Catholic Filipino Glee Club and Catholic Filipino Tennis Club. Other Filipino groups availed of club space, posted activities, and recruited members from those who went there.⁹

During the mid-1920s, the Caballeros de Dimas Alang, a Masonic-style club cum religious brotherhood, was also established in San Francisco by Pedro Loreto. Four years later, another fraternity called the Legionarios del Trabajo was formed in Stockton and San Francisco. Other famous fraternal groupings were the Gran Oriente Filipino and the Knights of Rizal. Many Filipino Catholics joined these quasi-Masonic Filipino organizations since they felt discriminated against in the “Caucasian-dominated” Catholic churches. Besides, some of the new immigrants had brought with them to America their memories of negative experiences and corresponding revolutionary thoughts about the Catholic Church.

As alluded to earlier, the end of World War II and the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act further increased immigration to the United States and thus raised attendance at Catholic churches in the vast Archdiocese of San Francisco (which encompasses the counties of San Francisco, San Mateo, and Marin). By the 1960 census, there were 12,327 Filipinos in the city of San Francisco alone. This figure has more than tripled by the 1990 census. According to official 2000 estimates, there are more than 90,000 registered Catholic parishioners in the Archdiocese out of an estimated population of more than 150,000 Filipinos. Statistically, one out of every four Catholics in the area is of Filipino descent.¹⁰

One example of a church that has been influenced by this growth in Filipino immigration is Saint Patrick's Catholic Church, once a favorite place of worship for Irish-Americans. Its dynamic Filipino pastor, Monsignor Fred Bitanga, has proudly proclaimed: “that Filipino parishioners practically saved the historic church from serious demise.” Saint Patrick's is presently staffed by Filipino priests, Filipino nuns, Filipino deacons, and Filipino lay workers. Daily noon services are popular among Filipino workers in the bustling downtown area while Sunday services draw loyal parishio

ners not just from the city but from all over the Bay Area.

New Filipino immigrants to San Francisco usually attend services at Saint Patrick's at first and then move on to other Catholic Churches once they feel comfortable with American life and can start affording homes outside the city. Some continue to go to Saint Patrick's even after moving out of the area especially to attend the two o'clock Tagalog Mass every first Sunday of the month. The noon daily mass is also a favorite among Filipino immigrants who live outside the city but work in San Francisco.

The interior decor of Saint Patrick's is typical of many Irish churches in the U.S., with its stained glass windows of Saint Matthew Saint Mark, Saint Luke, and Saint John, combination of Gothic revival and Celtic motifs, and panels of Irish green Botticino marble. However, it has been slightly Filipinized with statues and images of saints and the Virgin Mary. Some of them are indigenous Filipino folk figures like the Santo Nino (or Christ Child) and San Lorenzo Ruiz (the first Filipino saint). Visiting statues of the Virgin Mary from the Philippines are also accorded a special place in the church. For instance, the Our Lady of the Most Holy Rosary from Manila was a recent 'visitor.' Filipino-American parishioners, like in the Philippines, lined up to touch, kiss, and wipe their handkerchief on the Virgin Mary.

Also, the Filipino presence led either to the formation of new parish organizations or to the revitalization of existing ones. For example, the Saint Patrick's chapter of the Holy Name Society, an international Catholic confraternity, has its roots in the chapter established at the parish of Guadalupe in Makati, a city in Metropolitan Manila. Its president and several of its members, after their immigration to San Francisco, then established the organization at Saint Patrick's and now form an integral part of the parish's spiritual life.

Many other Catholic churches have filled up with devoted Filipino parishioners, especially south of San Francisco and across the bay in the neighboring Diocese of Oakland. Both Saint Andrew's Church and the Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church in Daly City, and Saint Augustine Church in South San Francisco all have Filipino priests preaching to memberships that are more than 80 percent Filipino. Tagalog masses are held at Saint Patrick's Church and Saint Boniface Church in San Francisco as well as Holy Angels Church in Colma. Filipino-American choirs, devotions to the Santo Nino, San Lorenzo Ruiz, and Mother Mary are very common. Seven parishes celebrate the Simbang Gabi while Flores de Mayo and the Easter Salubong are slowly being integrated into regular church activities. Popular Filipino Catholic groups such as the El Shaddai, Jesus is Lord Movement, Bukod Loob sa Dios, Couples for Christ, and Divine Mercy, have also gone forth and multiplied rapidly among Filipino brothers and sisters. The El Shaddai group, headed by the charismatic Brother Mike Velarde, which claims millions of active members in the Philippines, meets regularly at Cathedral of Saint Mary of the Assumption and other Catholic churches in the Archdiocese of San Francisco.

Reverend Fathers Jose Bantigue (Mission Dolores Basilica), Antonio Rey (Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church), Max Villanueva (Holy Angels Church), and Fred Al Bitanga

(Saint Joseph and Saint Patrick Churches) are some of the first Filipino Catholic priests in the Archdiocese. Father Bantigue began pastoral work in San Francisco as early the 1950s. Since then, 14 Philippine-based religious congregations of men including diocesan priests have sent members to serve in San Francisco parishes and dioceses all over the US. The demand for Filipino priests continues to increase as fewer and fewer Americans enter priesthood and more Filipinos immigrate to the United States. American theological seminaries have also started recruiting students from the Philippines to replenish the diminishing ministerial pool. Currently, Filipinos already make up a significant part of the leadership of San Francisco Bay Area Catholic churches. Officially, there are now 39 priests, 12 full-time deacons, 5 sisters, and 30 lay workers of Filipino descent in the 52 parishes of San Francisco.¹¹ The Council of Priests in the Archdiocese is chaired by Reverend Father Eugene D. Tungol—a Filipino pastor.¹²

Surprisingly, some of the earliest Filipino Catholic missionary congregations to work in San Francisco and other parts of the United States were religious organizations of Filipino women. In December 1955, the Benedictine Sisters of Ilocos Sur came to help Filipino families in the Salinas area. The Sisters opened a religious class for pre-schoolers. They were also instrumental in the creation of the Legion of Mary and Our Lady of Antipolo Society, popular devotions to the Virgin Mary practiced in the Philippines. In 1959, the Manila-based Religious of the Virgin Mary (RVM) started their overseas mission in the Sacramento area, followed by Honolulu in 1972 and then San Francisco in 1982. Today they assist with the spiritual needs of parishioners in Saint Patrick's Church and Our Lady of Mercy Church. Starting with an overseas mission in Hawaii in 1964, the Dominican Sisters of the Most Holy Rosary from Molo, Iloilo Province in the Philippines then moved to the mainland, starting with a San Francisco presence in 1982. The Dominican Sisters have made an impact by helping run Catholic schools and by assisting in devotions and services at Saint Charles Borromeo Church and Holy Angels Church. By the late 1990s, 32 Philippine-based congregations had religious sisters working in the United States.¹³

Aside from Catholic churches, Catholic clubs, and Catholic religious organizations of men and women, another big beneficiary of the Filipino inflow to San Francisco were the Archdiocese's many Catholic schools. As early as September 1963, 38 of the 45 elementary schools in the city reported a total of 680 Filipino children in attendance. The schools with the largest numbers were: Sacred Heart Elementary (78), Saint Paul (42), Star of the Sea (41), Saint Peter (38), and Saint Monica (28).¹⁴ By the 1980s and the 1990s, San Francisco's elementary and high schools experienced a surge in Filipino enrollment growths as immigrants from the 1960s and 1970s began sending their children to religious schools. New arrivals and their families also contributed to the increase. By 2000, Corpus Christi Elementary School had become more than 75 percent Filipino in terms of its student body. Aside from Corpus Christi, elementary schools at the Church of the Epiphany, Church of the Visitacion, Saint Elizabeth, Saint Emydius, Saint Finn Barr, Saint John the Evangelist, Saint

Kevin, Holy Angels, and Our Lady of Perpetual Help have student populations that are close to 50 percent Filipino. Some of the Catholic high schools in the Archdiocese currently have between 20-25 percent Filipino student populations, including Sacred Heart Cathedral Prep. Furthermore, Catholic tertiary institutions like the University of San Francisco have also experienced rapid growths in terms of Filipino student enrollment.¹⁵

B. Protestantism Returns to America

McKinley's "prophesy of a second coming of Christianity" to the Philippines brought many American Protestant groups to "build churches and save the Filipinos." Little did the Americans know that the same Filipinos they would "save and baptize" would bring back Protestantism to America, precipitating another "second coming of Christianity" —this time to the United States. Although smaller in size and distribution compared to their Filipino Catholic counterparts their presence and growth it still worth examining. Filipino Protestant agricultural workers to the United States began attending services and Bible studies with various American Christian Protestant churches in Hawaii and California. As their numbers grew, they also began to establish their own Filipino-American Christian Protestant congregations. Just as in the Philippines, many Filipino-American Catholics have also converted and joined Protestant congregations.

Following the pioneering efforts of their American Methodist counterparts, when they blazed the trail in Manila as a response to President McKinley's 1899 call, Filipino Methodists immigrants started arriving in San Francisco early in the century. In 1920, with their growing numbers, they established the Filipino Wesley Methodist Church—only two decades after the beginning of the American occupation and "Christianization" of their homeland. These Filipino Protestant pilgrims gathered together regularly for fellowship and a sense of belonging to a new and strange land. Later in the year, Dr. J. Stanley was appointed pastor. The congregation went on to change its name to the Filipino Fellowship Church. By the 1930s, around 100 Filipino Protestant Christians in San Francisco were registered with the Filipino Christian Fellowship and the YMCA's Filipino Christian Endeavor.

Outside of San Francisco, Presbyterian Pastor Pedro F. Royola began evangelical work among Salinas-based Filipino farm workers in 1924. He formed the Filipino Community Church (which later became Saint Philip's Church). Trained in Manila, Reverend Royola was greatly influenced by none other than American Presbyterian Dr. James B. Rodgers. He received his formal education from the American-established Ellinwood Malate Church, the Silliman Institute, and the Union Theological Seminary. Prior to moving to California he was successfully ministering to Filipino plantation workers in Hawaii (Solis 2000).

In the Pacific islands between the Philippines and California, Hilario Camino Moncado, one of the early Filipino labor migrants working hard at the sugar plantations of Hawaii, founded the Filipino Federation of America in 1925. The charismatic Moncado eventually transformed this labor

organization of US-based Filipino workers into the Equifrilibricum World Religion or popularly known as the Moncadistas. The Filipino labor leader claimed to be the reincarnated Jesus Christ. Moncado was looked up to by his fellow workers and religious followers as the person who would deliver them from the economic exploitation, unfair treatment, and racial discrimination that they were experiencing in American society. Unlike other social organizations during those times, which were notorious for their gambling, dancing, and drinking, Moncado's group claimed to promote a clean and upright lifestyle. Equifrilibricum also gained a foothold among the Filipino workers in San Francisco (Mercado 1982).

Joining forces with tired, oppressed Mexican and other Asian migrants workers, Filipinos started many labor mobilization activities. In 1928, protesting Filipino workers were driven out of the agricultural fields of Yakima Valley, Washington and Hood River and Banks, Oregon. This was not the first time they had instigated strikes. Fighting for the rights of thousands of migrant workers, Filipinos began to earn the reputation of being "radicals." However, during that same year, down the long Pacific coast, another group of Filipino agricultural laborers working in Southern California were also determined to organize. But this time it was for a less confrontational objective—the establishment of the first Filipino American Christian Fellowship Church of Los Angeles. Peaceful religious worship services did not placate the restless Filipino farm workers especially in rural California. They organized socials and invited white women, to the chagrin of many white rural men. Filipino migrant workers were also accused of stealing low paying job from white Americas. Tensions ran high and in January 1930, violent anti-Filipino riots erupted at Watsonville in Monterey County. Six years later, larger American labor unions took notice of their plight.

Because of successive waves of immigration starting from the 1920s, Filipino Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Adventists, Episcopalians, Mormons, and Witnesses have successfully established flourishing congregations all over the San Francisco Bay Area. Many of these Filipino religious congregations have taken over houses of prayer and worship that used to be all European-American (Caucasian). Peter Burnett, California's first governor, would probably never have expected that Saint James Presbyterian Church in Visitacion Valley, where his family attended services and taught Sunday school, would one day be transformed into a church pastored and participated in by brown skinned Filipinos from across the Pacific Ocean. Similar changes have taken place at Saint Francis and Grace United Methodist Church in the Sunset District, which has become predominantly Filipino.

Members of the all-Filipino Faith Bible Church of San Francisco purchased the former Salvation Army Church on Broad Street, while the San Francisco Filipino-American Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Pacifica and Holy Cross and Our Lady of Peace Episcopal Church in Sunnyvale both converted former Lutheran Churches. In 1968, the largest non-Catholic denomination in the Philippines, the Iglesia ni

Cristo, began its overseas mission when it formally established locales in Honolulu and San Francisco. In less than 40 years, it has expanded to 24 American states and 70 countries in the world. Beginning with two Bay Area congregations in the early 1970s, the Filipino-American Jehovah's Witnesses have grown to 12 congregations. Members have to know Tagalog to attend their Filipino services. Meanwhile, the Filipino ward of the Church of Jesus Christ and Latter Day Saints in Daly City, which also began in the 1970s, has grown to more than 350 members.

From the date of their establishment, it took the American Protestant Churches more than a hundred years to cross the Pacific Ocean and establish themselves in the Philippines. Comparatively, the Iglesia Ni Cristo (INC) only needed approximately half this time to set-up formal missions in the United States and then proclaim the Bible to the rest of the world. As early as 1967, Iglesia ni Cristo migrants to Hawaii began gathering other brethren in Oahu, Hawaii. In 1968, the Iglesia ni Cristo established its first overseas congregation in Honolulu, Hawaii. After a month, Brother Erano Manalo proceeded to San Francisco, California and officially proclaimed the establishment of an INC congregation in the continental United States (Reed 1990). Some of the largest INC congregations in the United States are found in the Bay Area. Offering both Tagalog and English services, the INC has more than 1,500 members in the San Francisco and Daly City locales alone.

The first Filipino Jehovah's Witness congregations were established in Stockton (1974) and Salinas (1975). Most of the members were early Filipino farm workers and their families. In the 1980s and 1990s, the number of Filipino Witnesses increased rapidly. Hence, there are now 12 Filipino-American congregations in the San Francisco Bay area, 12 in the Los Angeles area, and 4 in the Washington-Oregon area. Each of these Filipino-American congregations has around 100 active members. All 28 Filipino-American congregations comprise a closely-knit group that meets regularly throughout the year. The San Francisco area congregations are found in Alameda, Daly City, El Cerritos, Hayward, Milpitas, Salinas, San Francisco, San Jose, Stockton, Sunnyvale, Vallejo, and West Sacramento.¹⁶

Organized in 1967, the San Francisco Filipino-American Seventh-Day Adventist Church is part of the sisterhood of churches of the Central California Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. It is committed to proclaiming the Gospel to its community, training, and equipping its members for Christian service and preparing believers for the second coming of Jesus. While the Church endeavors to minister to people of different cultures, it exists primarily to reach individuals of Filipino backgrounds, offering two Tagalog Bible classes, one Kapampangan Bible class, and one English Bible class every Saturday.¹⁷

The first service of the Faith Bible Church of San Francisco (FBC) was in April 1971 at the 21st Avenue Baptist Church. The Filipino group stayed there until 1973 when the church was formally organized in the home of Pastor Leo Calica. In 1975, the group moved to Saint James Presbyterian Church with Pastor Calica as the full-time pastor. In both

places, they were sharing the facilities with other congregations. But two years later, the FBC group found a permanent home when they purchased the Salvation Army chapel on Broad Street. In 1989, a Tagalog service was started in FBC San Francisco. With Pastor Calica's able leadership, FBC grew in membership and in activities. It is now proudly supporting missionaries all over the world. Other Faith Bible Churches have sprung from this "mother" congregation and taken root in Oakland, Vallejo, and Pittsburg. Following his footsteps, Pastor Calica's son is now the Pastor of Faith Bible Church in Vallejo, a city north of San Francisco.¹⁸

Reverend Arturo Capuli is the third Filipino pastor of the Saint Francis and Grace United Methodist Church (San Francisco). His two predecessors, Reverend Leonard Autajay and Reverend Juan Ancheta, were originally trained as Baptist Ministers. All three started their training in the Philippines and then did advanced theological studies in the United States. The present congregation was a merger between the Filipino Wesley Methodist Church, and Parkside Methodist Church, a predominantly Caucasian congregation, whose membership was rapidly declining. Over the years, the Caucasian congregation diminished rapidly and it became an almost all-Filipino group. Saint Francis and Grace United Methodist Church is one of three UMC churches that has an active Filipino ministry. The other two UMC churches are in Geneva Avenue, San Francisco and Southgate, Daly City. There are a total of 22 UMC churches in the San Francisco Bay Area. All of them have large Filipino memberships.¹⁹

C. Replenishing San Francisco Socio-cultural Energy

Through their churches, Filipino immigrants have contributed tremendously to the building of San Francisco civil society and its socio-cultural capital. Aside from the economic, financial, and technical contributions to America, Filipinos bring with them their social relations, kinship ties, networks, emotional commitment, traditions, beliefs, customs, practices that promote and produce community self-help, the spirit of trust, and self-reliant attitudes and behavior. These are manifested as *bayanihan* (community self-help attitude), *bisita* (kin-visits), *panata* (vow), *pagkamagalang* (respectfulness), *bahala na* (intense self determination), *utang na loob* (debt of gratitude), *pakikisama* (getting along with others), among many other Filipino traits, practices, and behaviors.

To foster a strong sense of community and pride, many San Francisco churches have made accommodations to popular Philippine languages and dialects. In both Catholic churches and many other Filipino Christian religious congregations, liturgies, homilies, novenas, Bible studies, funerals, marriages, confessions, baptisms, counseling, and prayers sessions are already being conducted in Tagalog, Ilocano, Cebuano, Kapampangan, Bicolano, Ilonggo, and other Philippine languages and dialects. Some Tagalog hymns have even found their way into the English services. Reverend Jeremiah Resus commented on the blending of spirituality and the immigrant experience at Saint James Presbyterian Church:

"It is a place to learn and experience God, and for spiritual salvation. It is a place that changes perceptions of reality, and supplies perspective to face challenges in life. St. James tries to provide spiritual upliftment and a sense of the holy for each individual. As a community, St. James provides a sense of identity for immigrants... Membership in the church allows the process of assimilation, movement into American life, a sense of belonging. It also provides a springboard to a better life through marriage and jobs that the church offers to its members."

Aside from religious rituals, Filipino immigrants use their churches as much-needed places for community gatherings, group meetings, dances, fiestas, graduations, parades, processions, bingo nights, birthday parties, anniversaries, cultural presentations, etc. Many senior citizens and retirees seek companionship and camaraderie from their churches and congregations. For instance, members of the San Francisco Filipino-American Seventh-Day Adventist Church regularly visits the elderly and sick who are in the hospitals, care facilities, or home alone. The need for senior citizen care has grown over the years with the influx of Filipino war veterans, many of who are in their 70s and 80s and have no family support system in the US. According to Monsignor Bitanga, Saint Patrick Catholic Church also acts as a vital referral service for bilingual education projects, Westbay Pilipino Multi-Services, the Filipino Education Center, Catholic Charities, low cost housing for seniors, the Veterans Equity Center, among others. English classes and citizenship assistance are provided in some of the Filipino-American churches.

In addition to helping their own parishioners or members, Filipino-American churches reach out to non-Filipinos, non-members, and the San Francisco Bay Area community at-large. Their volunteer efforts have saved Bay Area cities thousands of dollars in public monies. Some common civic activities are blood drives, tree plantings, cleanups of public places, and food distribution to homeless and other needy people. Some churches also provide space for community organizations to hold meetings and other gatherings, thus serving as an important neighborhood resource. Politicians have taken notice and have officially hailed many of these invaluable contributions. For instance, on June 28, 2001, Mayor Carol L. Klatt declared July 22 to 28, 2001 as the Iglesia Ni Cristo Week in Daly City. The Daly City Council has awarded the Iglesia Ni Cristo with a number of community citations including the "Most Outstanding Volunteer Group Award". Mayor Klatt summarized the important of their civic involvement in stating that:

Throughout Daly City, volunteers from the Iglesia Ni Cristo (Church of Christ) have made a difference. The congregation's civic activities and volunteer effort occur year-round. The group has participated in numerous community projects over the years, logging countless hours. Time and again, they have come through, regardless of the odds and obstacles. Because of them, the standard of excellence in the area of community service for organizations in Daly City has been raised.²⁰

Filipino American congregations contribute to San Francisco society by helping many new Filipino immigrants in their adjustment to America. According to Reverend Capuli, "The grace of God makes people productive members of society

(i.e., taxpayers, professionals with valuable services to offer) and individuals with strong moral character and which value family." Some church members are already providing assistance to newcomers by volunteering to pick them up when they arrive at the airport. House basements become temporary housing until fellow members find their own places to stay. New members are even carpooled to church services while they are still familiarizing themselves with roads and public transportation routes. At the church, bulletin boards are filled with important leads from job opportunities to baby-sitting offers. Church members also hire fellow members to work for their companies. Training sessions to upgrade skills are even offered through the church for free. Some Filipino American churches, like the Saint Francis and Grace United Methodist Church and the Saint James Presbyterian Church also rent out space for pre-school education in their neighborhoods. They also allow local non-profit organizations such as Alcoholics Anonymous, or candidates for local office to use their space free of charge. Saint Francis and Grace United Methodist Church provides valuable meeting space for San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown during his first campaign for public office. The congregation also allows community groups to use their space, like Alcoholics Anonymous, other churches who do not have buildings, events surrounding local elections, and other community gatherings for the Sunset district.

With the support of their San Francisco church congregations, Filipino-American mission work has been able to expand in the United States, the Philippines, and the rest of the world. Local social service organizations visit the Filipino-American churches to spread information and educate members on welfare, health, and other programs. Interestingly, many American Christian missionaries in the Philippines are being supported financially by Filipino-American Churches. Many projects and programs of their "home" churches in the Philippines and other parts of the world have received much-needed financial and spiritual support from Filipino-American churches. Pastors in the Philippines attest to the valuable contributions of Filipinos in America to the restoration and beautification of old historic churches as well as and building of new chapels. After all, their home churches are probably the places where Filipinos who have migrated to America prayed for God to facilitate their departure from the Philippines. When natural calamities strike, such as earthquakes, fires, and typhoons in the United States, the Philippines, or elsewhere in the globe, Filipino American churches have been known to provide relief goods in cash or in kind. Some have even send members to help in disaster management and relief. For instance, Saint Francis and Grace United Methodist Church contributes to the Philippines by sending scholarships to seminary and college, clinics in Palawan, gave aid to victims of Mount Pinatubo disaster.

IV. Summary and Conclusion

The Americanization of Christianity in Manila helped build the Philippine social infrastructure with the development of a formal mass-based, English-language educational system. This move not only increased the educational levels

of Filipinos, but also facilitated the reading and understanding of the Christian Bible, which the Spanish friars banned for more than 300 years. The cost however was literally baptism by fire with the eruption of the Philippine-American War. While Catholic churches sought to refurbish their tainted image among the Filipinos through newly installed American clergy, American Protestant churches and their missionaries came and spread a different brand of Christianity throughout the country. Unconvinced of any changes in the political, economic, and most especially religious leadership in the Philippines, a group of nationalist leaders were inspired to deviate from the Western-dominated church hierarchy and establish the Philippine Independent Church. The shortcomings in the teachings of both Protestant and Catholic churches from the west inspired Felix Manalo to establish his own Church of Christ (*Iglesia ni Cristo*) from the east. Filipino Protestant church leaders also challenged the centralized authority of their American counterparts contributing to the creation of Filipino-led independent Protestant Churches, which later came under the umbrella organization called the United Church of Christ of the Philippines.

In subtle but definitive ways, the “second coming of Christianity” to the colonized also precipitated a “second coming of Christianity” back to the colonizer through successive waves of Filipino immigration to the United States beginning in the early 1900s. Interestingly, in contrast to McKinley’s benevolent assimilation proclamation, which did not have any scriptural basis, there are many Filipinos who prefer to believe that the second coming of Christianity to America, as manifested in the rise of Filipino-American churches, is foretold in the Bible—“From the far east will I bring your offspring, from the far west will I gather you.” (Isaiah 43:5, Moffatt). Filipino Christian congregations have blossomed in San Francisco and many other gateway cities in America since the 1920s. They have taken over places of worship which were previously occupied by predominantly European-American congregations, in many cases, salvaging them. Aside from the Filipinization of churches through their attendees, many Filipino church leaders, ministers, administrators, and religious workers are also becoming more visible in American communities. And in addition to churches, immigration has increased the number of Filipino students at San Francisco Catholic educational institutions from the elementary to the tertiary levels. Through their churches, in other words, Filipino immigrants have been making significant contributions not only to the cultural fabric of San Francisco but the larger American society as well.

Nevertheless, the current Filipino immigration to the United States is only one aspect of the global Filipino diaspora. With more than seven million Filipinos overseas in more than 70 countries, Filipino culture and social energy are now being mainstreamed into a borderless global community. Rapid advances and continuing innovations in technology, transportation, communications, internet, and education are all contributing to the perpetual crossing of physical and spatial boundaries. Based on their migratory pattern, Filipinos will continue to flock and to multiply, bringing with them their strong faith and traditions—to the “promised land”,

wherever this may be. As this study has shown, their churches will always be used as a safe space for engaging in Filipino culture and ethnicity while at the same time contributing valuable social energy to American society. Furthermore, the churches and religious spaces that they Filipinize have become major instruments that help facilitate their acculturation, assimilation, and incorporation into their new homeland. Learning to be good citizens not only for America but also the larger global society.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Bilateral relations are formal government-to-government ties while transnational relations are linkages and networks between and among people, civil society organizations, businesses that transcend or go beyond these formal diplomatic relations between states.
- ² This was part of the privilege speech to the US Senate by Senator Albert Beveridge, 9 January 1900, regarding America’s trade position regarding the Philippines.
- ³ The first Protestant missionaries to the Philippines came from Spain during their occupation of the country, including Dominican priest-turned Protestant missionary Manrique Alonso Lallave (See Kwantes 1998; Apilado 1999).
- ⁴ There was no Mormon missionary activity in the Philippines until the end of World War II, when Maxine Grimm, wife of a U.S. Army colonel, serving the American Red Cross in the Philippines, introduced the gospel to Aniceta Pabilona Fajardo, the first Filipino to join the Church of Jesus Christ and Latter Day Saints in the islands. Sister Fajardo was baptized in 1945.
- ⁵ White man’s burden is the white race/people’s belief that they have been destined to spread good government, economic prosperity, and Christian morality to the “uncivilized” countries of the world.
- ⁶ Doctrinally, Seventh-day Adventists are heirs of the interfaith Millerite movement of the 1840s. Although the name “Seventh-day Adventist” was chosen in 1860, the denomination was not officially organized until May 21, 1863, when the movement included some 125 churches and 3,500 members.
- ⁷ Serious schisms would later reduce PIC membership significantly. In 1947, relations with the Episcopal Church of the United States of America (ECUSA) were formally laid down in two documents: Declaration of Faith and Articles of Religion and The Constitution and Canons.
- ⁸ Taken from Saint Patrick’s Church Baptismal Registry.
- ⁹ Edward B. Lenane, “Survey Catholic Filipino Club, 1421 Sutter Street, San Francisco, California,” March 25, 1935.
- ¹⁰ Based on interviews with Noemi Castillo, Director, Office of Ethnic Ministries, Archdiocese of San Francisco, May-June, 2001.
- ¹¹ According to other priests interviewed, there are others who have been serving in unofficial capacities while: visiting as tourists (B1/B2 visa), studying at Bay Area universities (F-1), or participating in exchange programs (J-1).
- ¹² Archdiocese of San Francisco Official Directory, various years; Catholic Directory of the Philippines, various years.
- ¹³ Ibid. Supplemented with interviews from Sister Avelina Macalam and Sister Gloria Burganoy, RVM, Religious of the Virgin Mary, May-June 2001.
- ¹⁴ September 30, 1963 Memo from Monsignor Foudy to Most Reverend Joseph T. McGucken, S.T.D. regarding “Minority Group Students in Catholic Elementary Schools, City of San Francisco.
- ¹⁵ Based on interviews with Noemi Castillo, Director, Office of Ethnic Ministries, Archdiocese of San Francisco, May-June, 2001.
- ¹⁶ From interviews with Brother Ismael Laguardia, San Francisco Filipino Jehovah’s Witness, March 2001.

- ¹⁷ From interviews with Reverend Gerry Eborá, Pastor, San Francisco Seventh-Day Adventist Church, March 2001.
- ¹⁸ From interviews with Reverend Leo Calica, Pastor, Faith Bible Church of San Francisco, March 2001.
- ¹⁹ From interviews with Reverend Arturo Capuli, Pastor, Grace United Methodist Church, San Francisco, March 2001.
- ²⁰ Mayor's Message, June 28, 2001.

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Complementary Role of the Rohri Hills and the Thar Desert in the Development of Indus Valley Civilization: New Research

by Qasid H. Mallah Ph.D.,
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Abstract

The archaeological research on the Indus Valley Civilization (3000 B.C-1500 B.C.) has contributed much to the understanding of this highly-complex civilization. However, the conventional view that the civilization flourished mainly on the banks of the Indus river has been increasingly challenged. This paper provides original data to show that geographical regions once considered inhospitable to the growth and extension of the Indus Valley civilization (namely the Rohri Hills and the Thar Desert), were in fact quite conducive to human settlement. To make our case we provide a significant set of empirical data collected during our archaeological fieldwork from the Thar, Rohri Hills and its adjacent areas to give a fuller vision of historical culture developments from the Palaeolithic to the Indus period.

Introduction

The archaeological research on the Indus Valley has contributed great wealth of information on the various aspects of Indus Civilization. Any forthcoming discovery is considered an addition to the field. This present paper contributes fresh data in which a complete sequence of cultural development from two distinctive geographical zones of the greater Indus Valley, Rohri Hills and Thar Desert have been discussed. Among these distinctive geographical zones, the Thar Desert was previously considered as a hindrance in the extension and expansion of the Indus Culture (Shaffer 1981 :65). On the contrary, most recently a significant empirical set of data has been collected from the Thar, Rohri Hills and its adjacent areas and has provided a full vision of historical culture developments from the Palaeolithic to the Indus period.

Environmental Setting

The Rohri Hills are a distinctive geographical feature and are mainly composed of limestone deposits with layers of chert nodules of generically brown, sometimes variegated color embedded into them. They are located in a sub tropical arid landscape of upper Sindh and cover an area of some 40 kilometers from North to South and 16 kilometers from east to west. The shifting sand dunes encroach and cover the hills in its southern extremes. Apparently these hills merge into the desert south of Kot Diji, after which they are scattered into desert up to the Thar town (Fig.1). The chert/flint nodules which are embedded within the limestone layers are also

scattered on the hill terraces. This was a major source of attraction to the early inhabitants and has been continuously exploited from the Palaeolithic to the Indus period.

The Thar Desert ,on the other hand, is the continuation of the Cholistan Desert. In the east it extends into the Rajasthan desert and its southern extremes submerge into Rann of Kutch. The color of the sand dunes is gray, grayish-white or yellowish-gray (Baqri et el 1992). The Thar Desert of Sindh comprises a total 43,276 square kilometers. This region in its Northern portions shows traces of prehistoric channels of Raini and Karo Naro submerging into the Nara/Hakra river. Ancient Hakra /Nara Nadi flows into a narrow strip of alluvial flood plain that extends five to ten kilometers in width, where Hakra/ Nara has made numerous flood spill channels into smaller valleys among sand dunes, thus creating many oxbow lakes and providing ample opportunity for prehistoric inhabitants. It is here that several archaeological sites have been documented.

On the western side of the hills and desert are the alluvial Indus Plains. The River Indus passes through the northern tip of the Rohri hills and flows west of it, whereas the Hakra skirts the western edge of the desert. These plains are very fertile with diverse resources. The region between Indus Plains and Hakra river comprises of the alluvial plains, hills and the desert environment and as such has furnished important evidences of archaeological sites.

Present Research

Except for some previous surveys conducted on Rohri Hills region by De Terra and Paterson (1939), Allchin (1976), Biagi and Cremaschi (1988); the rest of the area remained basically unexplored. In the early 1990's the Department of Archaeology at Shah Abdul Latif University, Khairpur in collaboration with the Italian mission of the University of Venice conducted surveys on the Rohri Hills (the survey is still in progress). In 2000 the Department of Archaeology at Shah Abdul Latif University independently launched another program of field research in the Thar desert area concentrating in the first season on the western fringes of the desert overlapping the Rohri Hills. Both these intensive surveys have for the first time furnished evidence of cultural continuity and a link between Palaeolithic developments of the region and civilization that followed. The survey conducted by Dr. Rafique Mughal in Cholistan along the dry bed of Hakra presented evidence of continuous sequence of development of the Indus Civilization between the 4th century and beginning of the 1st millennium. However, this region due to the combination of essential resources of the riverine plains, Rohri Hills and the desert had complemented each other and helped in the nourishment, growth and expansion of cultures through ages. This research has produced the richest results, ranging from Paleolithic to historic times. This cultural sequence is unmatched in any given region of the Indus Valley.

The recent survey on the hills and adjoining regions has furnished evidences of 1444 sites/workshops or quarries. The sites range from the Paleolithic to the historic period but here only sites/workshops ranging from Paleolithic to Mature

Indus have been taken up. A glimpse of this spectacular progression of culture is presented below.

Period	Number of Sites	Workshops/Quarries (Upper Palaeolithic)
Paleolithic (Lower, Middle & Upper)	11	24
Mesolithic	20	
Neolithic	3	
Hakra	5	
Kot Dijian	6	
Mature Indus	15	1360
Total	60	1384

Paleolithic Period

The oldest known cultural assemblage in the Rohri hills was of the Paleolithic period. The remains of this period are found on the terraces of the hills (Fig. 2). The tool repertoire from the Lower Paleolithic includes mainly hand-axes, these hand axes are dark brown in color and are heavily patinated. The Middle Paleolithic Industry consisted of hand axes, scraper, bifacial tools, and picks. The tools of this period are lighter in color with little or no patina and the technology had improved. These tools are also lighter in weight and smaller in size than the Lower Palaeolithic. The Upper Palaeolithic material consisted of end scrapers and blade industry comprising of cores, flakes and blades (Fig. 3).

The chert used by them for making tools was collected from the terraces of the hills. Some caves are also present which may have been used as residing places but which have not been explored yet. This assemblage of the Lower, Middle, and Upper Palaeolithic is represented at 35 sites out of which 24 are workshops which belong to the Upper Palaeolithic (see table). None of the Paleolithic sites has been found in the desert so far. The number of Upper Paleolithic sites is higher and its technology seems to have given a base for the stone tool technology of the Pre-and Mature Indus period as the preparation of tool out of core had started during this period.

Mesolithic Period

This cultural phase followed the Paleolithic and a new feature was observed. There was a shift from the hills to the desert environs and the settlements of Mesolithic period concentrated in and around the lakes found in the desert. The sites appeared in clusters along the western edge of the Thar Desert to the south of Rohri hills, where these hills are scattered and are covered with dunes. A total of 20 settlements were mapped and many of them clustered together. The majority of these clusters are located nearby and/or around the lakes and in alluvial valleys. The occupation of clusters is at the slopes and/or in the depressions of the sand dunes, and these valleys are very suitable to watch for game. However, some clusters are also located on the top of sand dunes (see Fig.2). This situation depends upon the availability of resources in the vicinity. The artifact repertoire of the

Mesolithic period consisted of geometric microliths, trapeze, bladelets, cores, arrowheads and micro-burins (Fig. 4).

The concentration of the artifacts authenticates the temporal stability and the abundance of subsistence resources at one spot. During the survey some Neolithic tools were also gathered from Mesolithic site clusters.

Neolithic Period

This cultural phase seems to be transitional: a total of three Neolithic period settlements were found in the desert region (see Fig.2). Not a single site of this period has been found on the hills. From these sites the material includes retouched parallel-sided blades, flakes, and cores (Fig. 5).

During this period the microlithic tools were also in use. However, these items are morphologically larger in size as compared to the Mesolithic tools and are more precise. A few potsherds were also found, but due to heavy erosion they are unidentifiable. During explorations it was noticed that the Neolithic objects were littered in the vicinity of other sites belonging to the Mesolithic and Kot Dijian period settlements. Some of these sites are located approximately within 0.5 kilometers range. The location of sites indicated the exploitation of the alluvial valley and lake resources, which were suitable for food production. The combination of the Neolithic material with the succeeding periods indicated that the Neolithic people domesticated plants and animals and continued exploitation of the wild resources as well. The domestication, however, provided them with high food return and was a reliable subsistence resource throughout the year. Not surprisingly, the people established permanent villages.

Hakra Ware Period

This cultural phase was first identified by Dr. Rafique Mughal and it is the oldest known cultural assemblage that he discovered in Cholistan belonging to the 4th millennium B.C. He defined major characteristic of the Hakra ware period as: (1) pottery bits in the body wall of sherd; (2) appliqué pottery which Mughal described as "a thick coating of mud mixed with small pieces of pottery and applied to the external surface of vessel. He claimed that it is the most distinguishing feature of pottery grouped under this category; (3) incised pottery that contains triangular design, comb design, and wavy lines (Mughal 1997: 64). The pottery is similar in characteristics to the Hakra ware discovered in the Thar region (Figs. 6 and 7).

This ware is represented in this paper at five settlements; all of these sites consist of surface scatter (Fig.8). The morphological analysis of many pottery sherds shows similar manufacturing characteristics and properties as have been observed from the Cholistan sites. The concentration of Hakra ware sites was found in the valleys and near ancient river courses in the Thar region.

Kot Dijian

After initial excavation of the Kot Dijian site, the distinctive cultural period was recognized as the "Kot Dijian Period." The concentrated distribution of Kot Dijian sites has been reported from the Cholistan region, where a total of 40 sites have been recorded (Mughal 1980). In the recent survey six sites have been recorded in and around Thar (see Fig. 8). Most of these settlements are permanent settlements and situated on the banks of the then existing river channels. The settlements are found as surface scatter and mound sites. This was an era of technical complexity in which new geometrically sophisticated designs occurred on the pottery. Pottery itself was manufactured on the wheel and its body wall was thin and delicate with short rim-vessels with black bands around the neck that became a very common tradition in the Kot Dijian culture. The material from the Kot Dijian sites in Thar included pottery with short trim, black band around the neck, ledged rim sherds with black horizontal and wavy lines, fish scales and buff ware. Other material included terracotta cakes, terracotta bangles, terracotta beads, lithics, copper pieces and Shell objects indicating long distance connections (Figs. 9 and 10).

Mature Indus Period

This phase of cultural development is best represented at the various cities and towns of Indus Civilization. The major settlements relating to this phase are Mohenjo Daro, Chanhu Daro, Harappa, Kali Bangan, Lothal, Lakhueen-Jo-Daro, including others. All these settlements (and others as well) have revealed important evidence that reflects the development and cultural change of a complex urban civilization. The material repertoire recovered from the sites in Rohri Hills and Thar include a large number of stone tools, marine shell, various types of the semi-precious stones, copper/bronze, white disc beads, Terracotta cake, terracotta beads, terracotta bangles, banded chert weights, etc (Figs. 11, 12 and 13).

The most significant aspect of this period was the increase in the number of settlements and the profusion of industrial areas. During this urban phase maximum activity was noticed in the Rohri hills, where a total of 1360 workshops/quarries are recorded—mainly on the western fringes of the Rohri hills between Rohri town and Adam Sultan. These quarry sites are seen as patches which Bridget Allchin (1976) mentioned as a place where craftsman may have sat and worked. This view has been completely changed by recent research as these are actually quarries which were excavated by the Mature Indus people for chert/flint nodules (Fig. 14 and 15).

Moreover, the available evidence suggests that the Indus people favored one variety of banded chert which was used for making weights. This variety of banded chert was found only on the northern tip of the Rohri hills where, again, a large number of workshops/ quarries were found (Fig. 16). The Thar furnished evidence of a total of 15 sites of this period including settlements on mounds, surface scatter and workshops. At one site a different variety of chert nodules was noted which when heated changed its color. Here kilns were also found, where chert was heated for making tools. In

this site raw material was found in and around the kilns. Kilns were made of limestone blocks where reddish soil and ash was present. This type of chert which changed color after heating was not found in any other part of the hills (Fig. 17 and 18).

The discovery of a huge quantity of chert from the sites of the Indus civilization suggest the chert was multifunctional and was commonly utilized for cutting, drilling, scraping, plough activities, and for weights. It was because of the workability of the chert and its requirement in the Indus settlements that more than 1,000 flint-processing workshops/quarries/sites were found on the Rohri Hills and Thar Desert. A very significant thing was noted, namely that there was a negligible amount of finished tools. Due to the presence of more than 1,000 workshop and quarries with very few finished tools, we have clear evidence that this region played a dominant role in internal and international interaction trade networks. The survey is still continuing, and it is expected that a large number of sites will be found on the eastern edge of the Hakra river. The towns of the Mature Indus period in the plains of Indus near the hills and Thar desert, viz: Kot Diji, Pir Sarhiyo, Lakhueen-Jo-Daro, perhaps played an important role in the interaction networks. The primary examination of all these sites indicates continuous occupation from the Kot Dijian period to the Mature Indus period.

Conclusion

The present research conducted in the Rohri Hills, Thar Desert and the bordering areas of the Indus and Hakra Plains has brought to light a unique sequence in which for the first time, a complete cultural progression starting from Paleolithic to recent historical times is found. This sequence is reconstructed on the basis of artifacts associated with each period and potential subsistence resource niches available within the given region.

The evidence shows that different types of chert, especially plain chert, and banded chert were commonly used. Before the Mesolithic period chert tools were manufactured in larger size and were heavy in nature. Also the sites were only found on the Hills. But during the Mesolithic period a shift of the settlements was seen from the hills to the desert environment. The Mesolithic sites indicate a movement towards lakes and valleys in the desert. The tool production was revolutionized into micro-tools. The heavy retouching regardless of size, shows the comfort level of the craftsman's skill and experience with chert. The analysis of the material provided evidence that as soon as the people of this region became sedentary, the chert became a commercial commodity that consequently established trade networks with neighboring communities. Along this line, the craftsmen experience of working on the chert was improved and intensified in the Mature Indus period. Now the Rohri hills were exploited to the extent they took on the shape of a commercial industry. New techniques were applied, including heating technology, pressure flaking, and excavating quarry pits for chert nodules. At this time chert technology was specialized into cores, flakes, blades and weights and was traded within Indus Valley and beyond.

It seems appropriate to argue here that Rohri hills chert resources were the main attraction and the Thar Desert's rich source niches were supplementary resources. The combination of both, along with the rich riverine resources has played a very important role in the development of cultures through time in this region, unmatched in any other area of South Asia. The survey is still ongoing, and it is expected that a large number of sites will be found to the south and on both sides of the Hakra river. The new data may change the present interpretations and fill in existing gaps in the knowledge. However, it would not be out of place to mention the difficulty in exploring this terrain due to the sand desert environment and high velocity winds covering and exposing sites.

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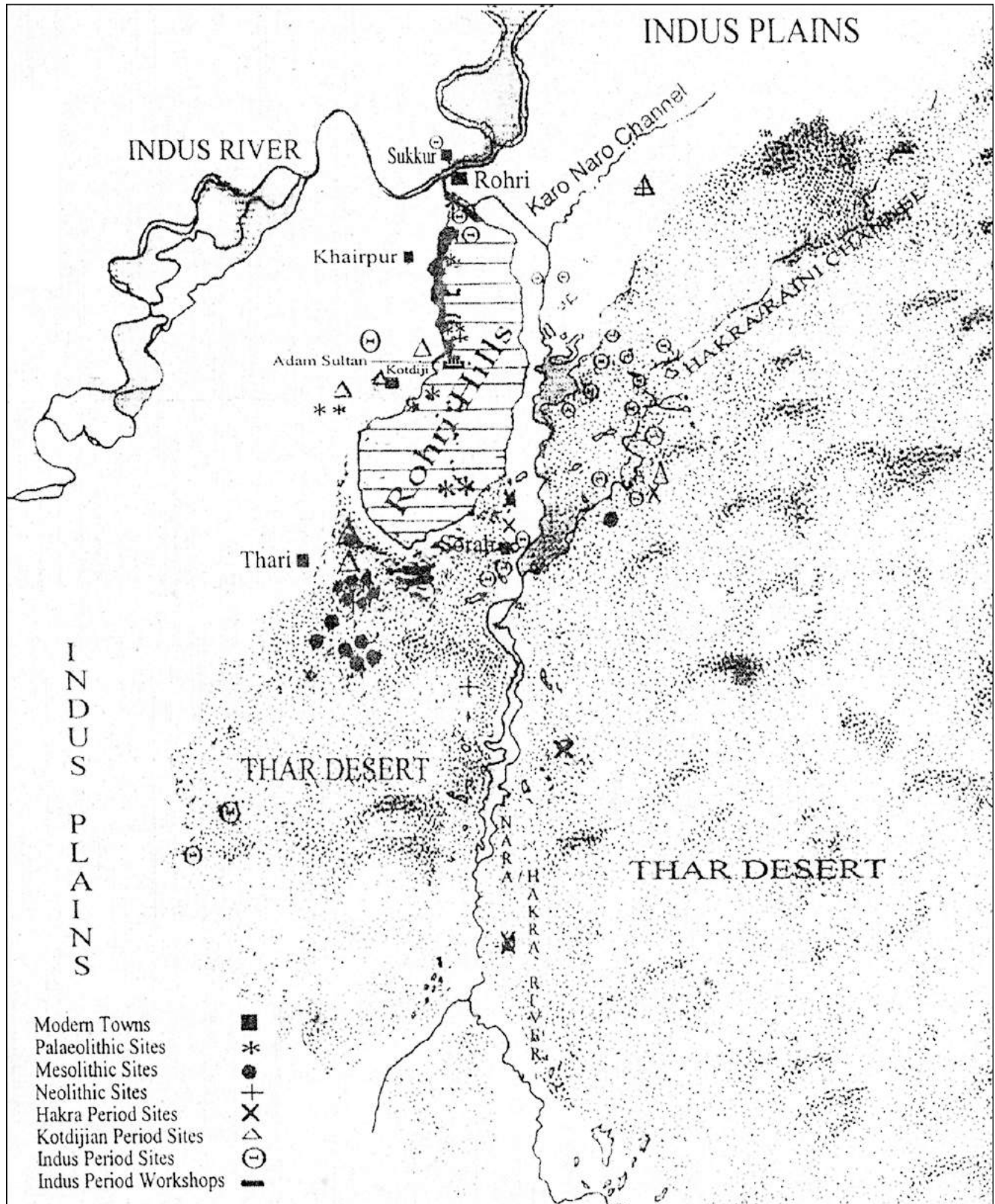


Figure 1. Map Showing Palaeolithic to Indus Period Sites

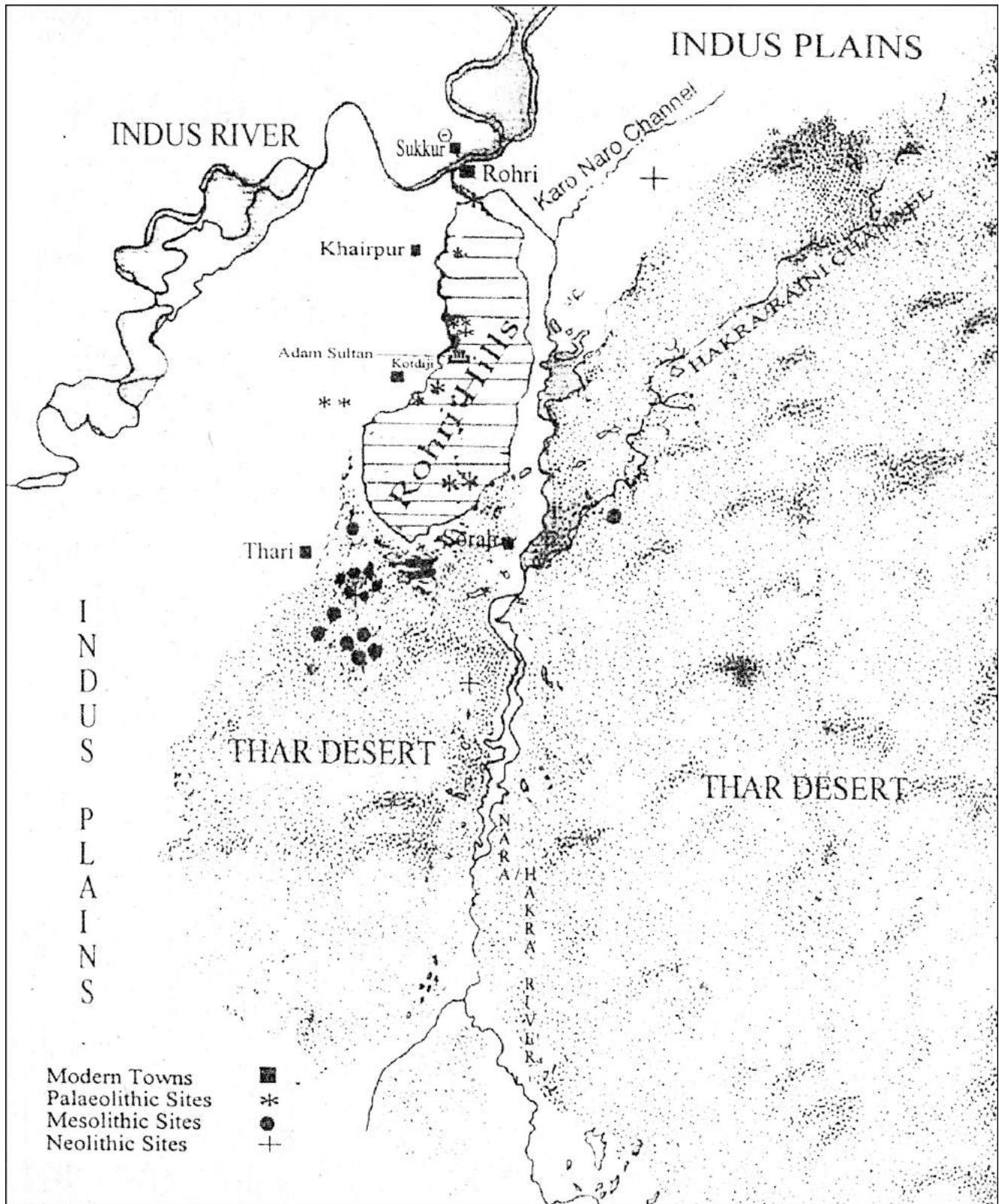


Figure 2. Map Showing Stone Age Sites

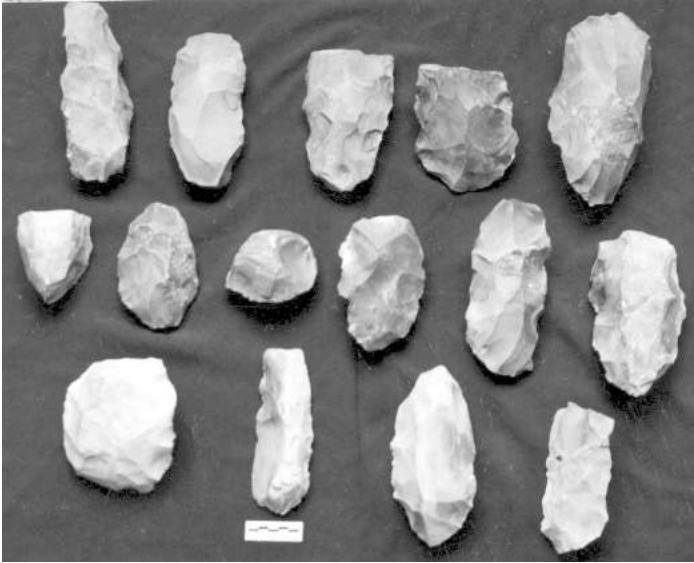


Figure 3. Tools of Lower, Middle, and Upper Paleolithic Period



Figure 5. Tools of the Neolithic Period

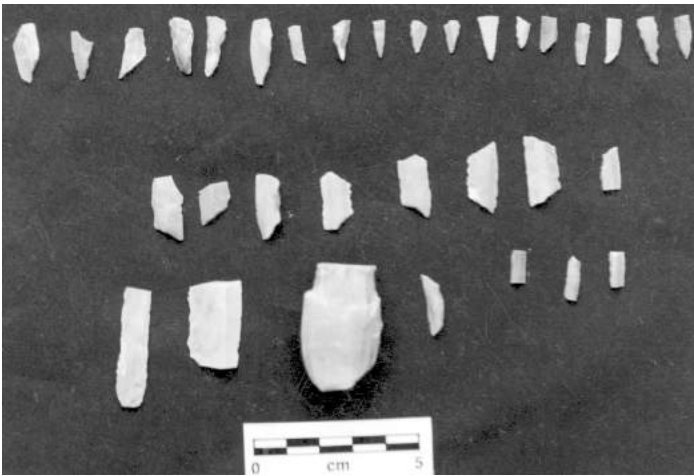


Figure 4. Tools of the Mesolithic Period



Figure 6. Hakra Period Ware from Thar



Figure 7. **Hakra Period Ware from Thar**

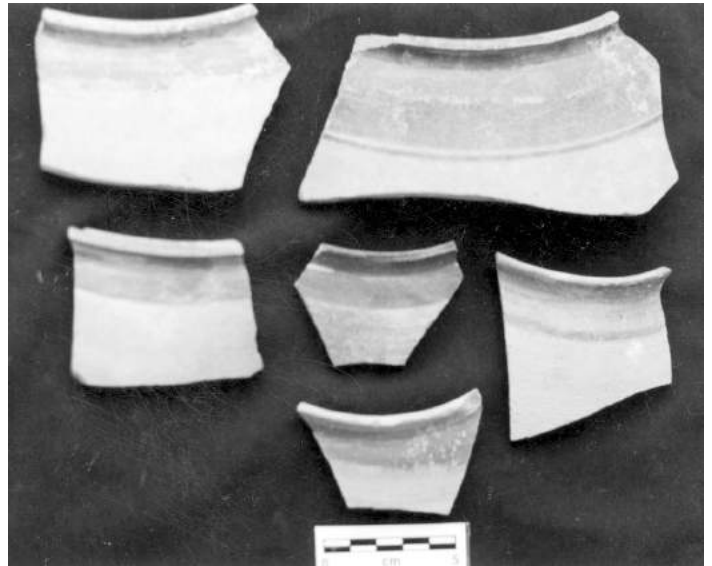


Figure 10. **Kot Dijian Period Pottery**



Figure 9. **Kot Dijian Period Pottery**



Figure 11. **Cores and Crested Blades of Mature Indus Period**

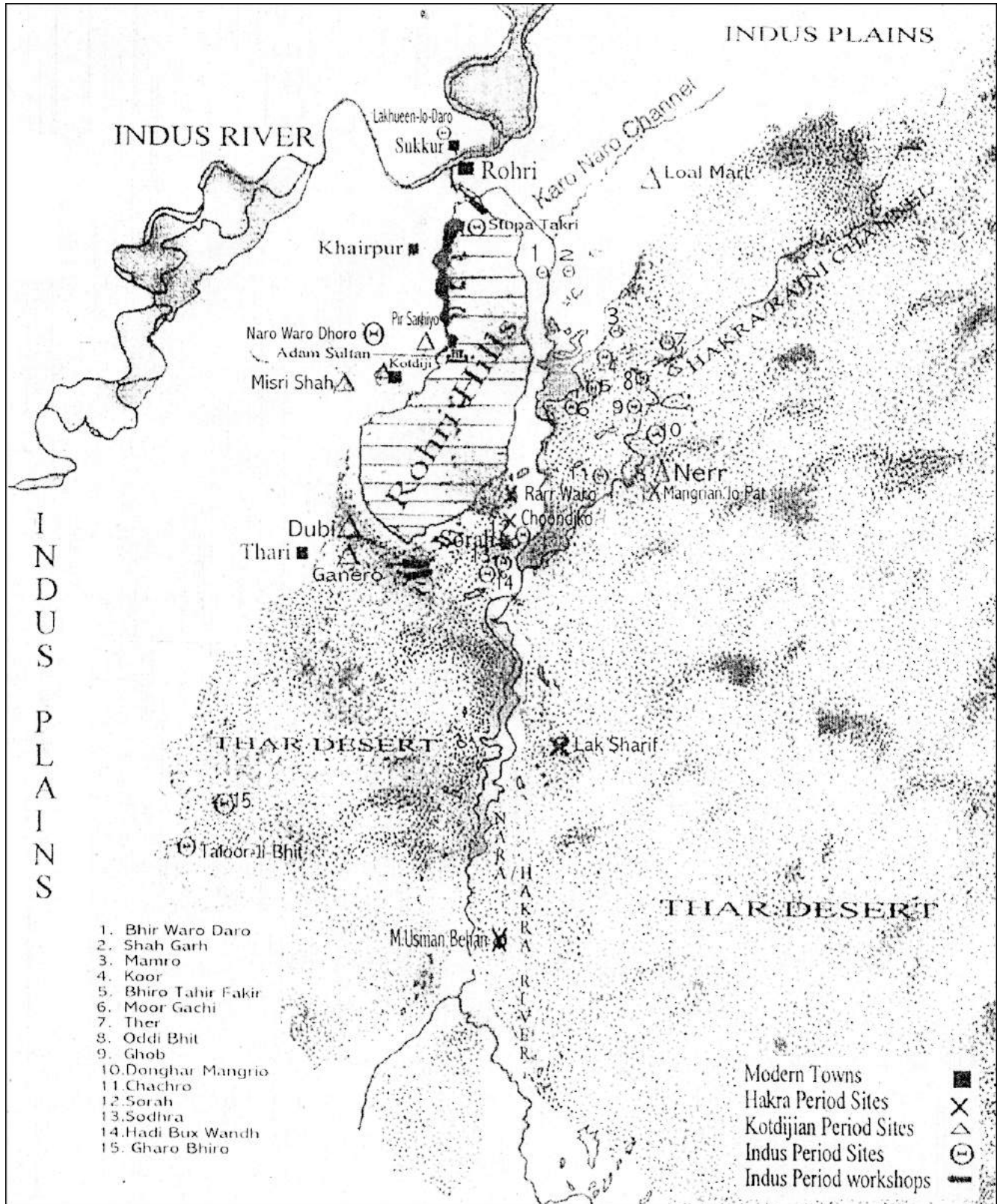


Figure 8. Map Showing Hakra to Indus Period Sites

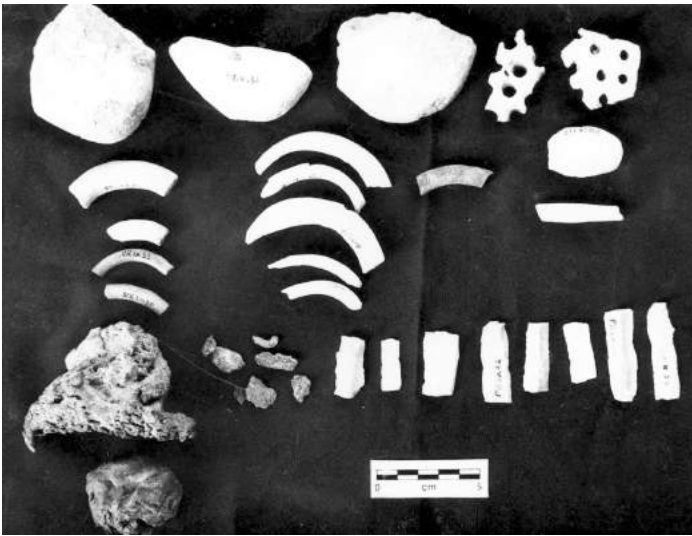


Figure 12. **Objects of Mature Indus Period**

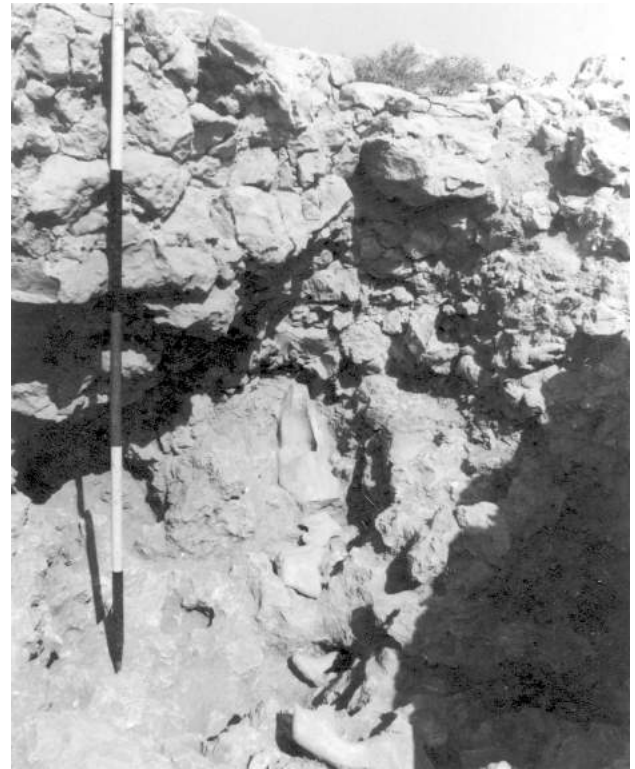


Figure 14. **Chert Nodules Extracted by Mature Indus Peoples**

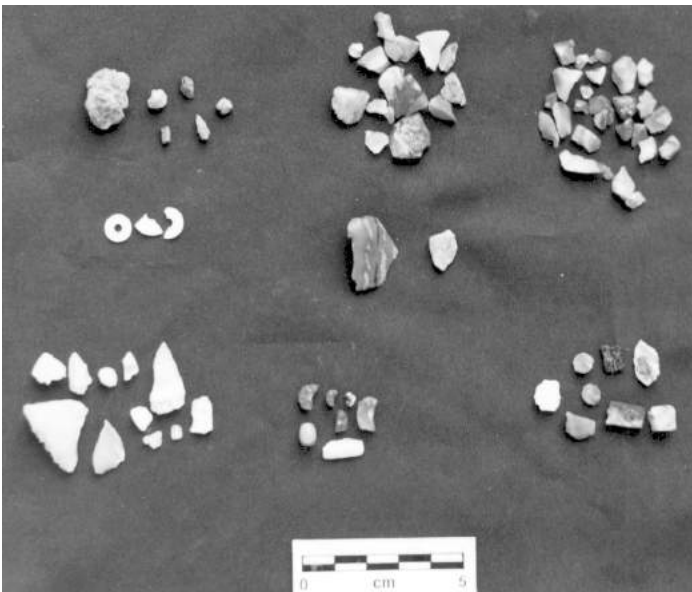


Figure 13. **Semi-Precious Stone and Steatite Disc Beads**



Figure 15. **Chert Nodules Extracted by Mature Indus Peoples**

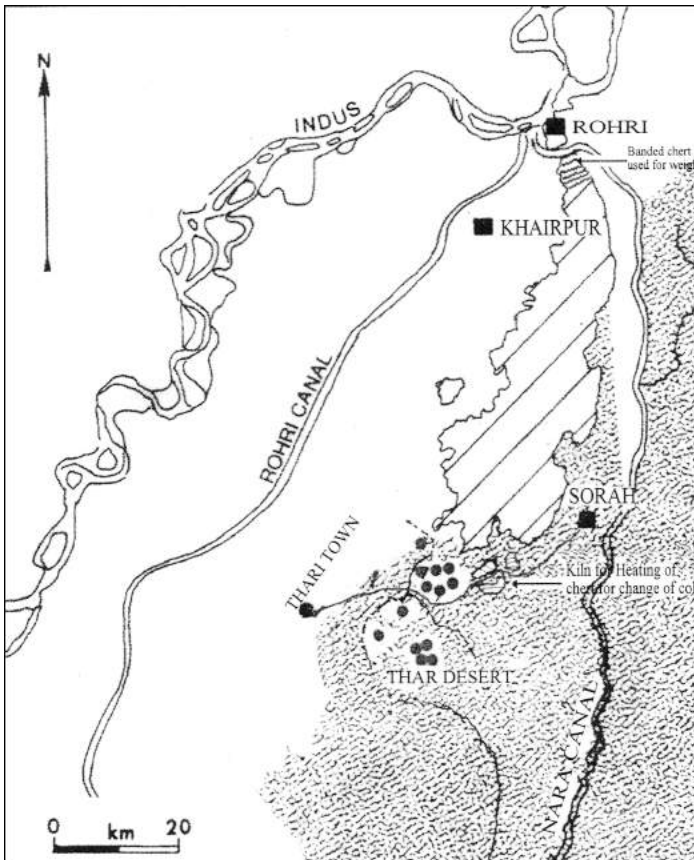


Figure 16. Map Showing Resources from the Rohri Hills

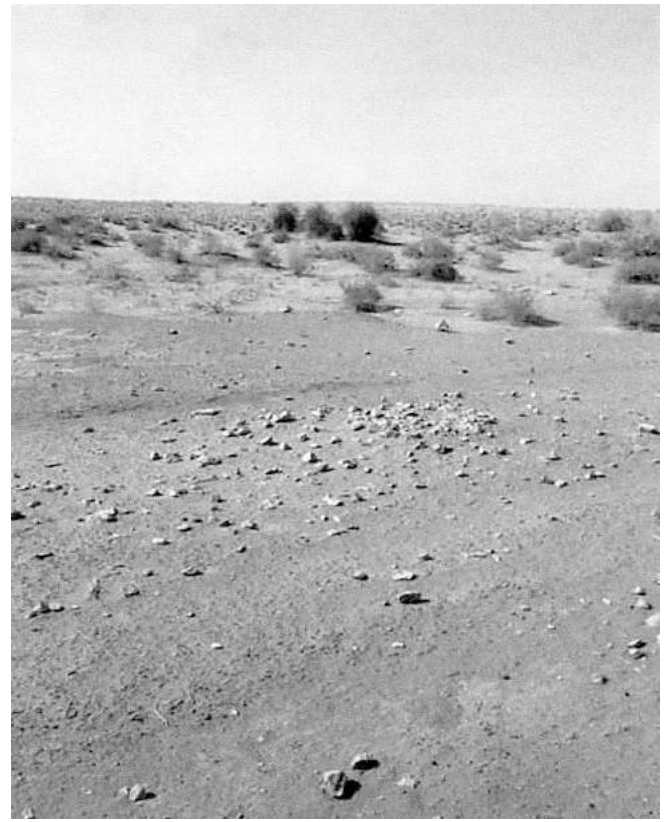


Figure 17. Kiln for Heating Chert at Khandharki



Figure 18. Close-up View of Kiln for Heating Chert at Khandharki

A New Era of International Trade: A Study of Asian, North American, and Latin American Regional Associations

by Rolf Mário Treuherz, Ph.D.

Abstract

The need to achieve competitive advantage in foreign trade operations has led both developed and developing countries to join forces. A new balance of power was generated by the formation of regional associations in the global marketplace. This trend brought about a new era in the field of international relations, as a direct consequence of liberalization of trade and capital flows impelled by globalization. In this context, where disputes among nations can become endless, it is easy to understand the growing importance of the WTO (World Trade Organization) as a ruler and mediator. On the other hand, forming an opinion about possible consequences of this new order upon world trade, involves a thorough comprehension of the objectives and forms of organization of the existing trade agreements.

1. Introduction

Competition and survival in the international marketplace stimulated the establishment of regional trade agreements. In Asia, North, and South America various groups of countries implemented joint treaties, each one with specific objectives. Under the principles and rules set forth by the WTO (World Trade Organization), regional associations have grown in size and scope in response to liberalization of trade and capital flows impelled by globalization.

As the growth trend continues, their power of negotiation will rise, bringing about a new era in the field of international trade. To evaluate this new scenario, it is of primary importance to understand the objectives, procedures, and disputes within these agreements.

The purpose of this article is to analyze the functions of the main trade arrangements in the above continents and to provide a sense of perspective in terms of their internal and external coexistence. An analysis will then be made of the future outlook in world trade.

Although trade agreements have many different goals, the discussion in this paper will be limited to the aspects of trade.

2. Regional Agreements

Asia

Two important associations among Asian countries will be described in this topic: ASEAN and APEC.

ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) ¹

This association for regional cooperation among the countries of Southeast Asia was formed in Thailand in 1967 with the purpose of promoting the economic growth, social progress, peace, and cultural development of its members. Other common interests are contained in the agreement such

as collaboration in technical, administrative, educational, scientific, and administrative fields; improvement in transportation and communication facilities, and cooperation with existing international and regional organizations.

Unlike the European Union, ASEAN did not adopt a central bank that defines the group's monetary policy or conducts foreign exchange operations like the European Central Bank. Each country controls its own economic policy, its own foreign exchange operations, etc.

In 1967 only five countries became members of this community - Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Throughout the years, five more nations joined the group. With the association of Cambodia, Brunei Darussalam, Vietnam, Laos and Myanmar, all Southeast Asian economies are now members of ASEAN.

The total population of the countries of ASEAN is about 500 million, which is equivalent to half the size of China. One in every ten persons in the world today is a Southeast Asian. With the increase in world trade liberalization, member countries agreed to create the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) at the fourth ASEAN Summit in 1992. This free-trade area, a market of close to half a billion people, would allow corporations in ASEAN to take advantage of economies of scale. These companies would also have access to the best prices for raw materials, even as competition among them stimulates their productivity and efficiency. An integrated ASEAN economy would thus be a potent attraction for investors from outside the region who prefer large, integrated, and efficient markets to small, fragmented, and inefficient ones.

APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) ²

APEC was established in 1989 in response to the growing interdependence among Asia-Pacific economies. Begun as an informal dialogue group with 12 members, APEC has since become the primary regional vehicle for promoting open trade and practical economic and technical cooperation. Its goal is to advance Asia-Pacific economic dynamism and sense of community based on a spirit of openness and partnership. It is intended also to encourage the free exchange of goods, services and investment, and work towards broadly based economic growth and higher living, and educational standards. Other objectives were established later in 1996, such as developing human capital, fostering safe and efficient capital markets, strengthening economic infrastructure, harnessing technologies of the future, promoting environmentally sustainable growth, and encouraging the expansion of small and medium-sized enterprises.

APEC's 21 member economies comprising 2.5 billion people had a combined gross domestic product of over US\$18 trillion in 1999 and 47% of world trade.

The countries currently participating in APEC are: Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Canada, Chile, People's Republic of China, Hong Kong (SAR), Indonesia, Japan, Republic of Korea, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Russia, Singapore, Chinese Taipei, and Vietnam.

North America³**NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) ⁴**

The North American Free Trade Agreement was implemented in 1994 by Canada, the United States and Mexico. It was designed to increase trade and investment among these countries, with a schedule for gradual tariff elimination and reduction of non-tariff barriers, as well as comprehensive provisions on the conduct of business in the free trade area. This includes discipline on the regulation of investment, services, intellectual property, competition and the temporary entry of businesspersons. The lowering of tariffs among members is envisioned to be accomplished over a transition period that concludes on January 1, 2008.⁵

The majority of trade in North America is made in accordance with rules of the NAFTA and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Each country retains its external tariffs vis-à-vis non-members' goods and levies a lower tariff on the goods from the other NAFTA members. Rules of origin provide the basis for customs officials to make determinations about which goods are entitled to preferential tariff treatment under the agreement. These rules provide certainty and predictability to producers, exporters, and importers. They also ensure that the benefits are not extended to goods exported from non-NAFTA countries that had only minimal processing in North America.

The numbers reflecting the increase in trade and investment between Canada, Mexico and the United States are impressive. Since 1994 trade has grown by 128%, surpassing US\$676 billion, against US\$297 billion in 1993, which represents more than US\$1.8 billion per day. Investment among the three economies also increased markedly, with the total in NAFTA countries reaching US\$1.3 trillion in 1999. As a result of this growth in trade and investment, millions of jobs were created in all three countries.⁶

Latin America⁷**The Mercosur (Common Market of the South) ⁸**

The Common Market of the South, established in 1991, is an economic integration project between Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay, mainly for the improvement of the countries' competitiveness and the enlargement of their markets. This agreement should contribute to economic development of the region through a more efficient use of available resources. It also determined measures to preserve the environment, improve communications, and coordinate macroeconomic policies.

A transition period was set up in order to create the common market. The instruments to attain this goal consisted of a trade liberalization program that established a progressive tariff reduction, the coordination of macroeconomic policies, a common external tariff (CET), and the adoption of sector agreements to optimize the utilization and mobility of the factors of production.

Since January 1, 1995 Mercosur has been a customs union (although still an imperfect one) whereby the member states have eliminated tariff and non-tariff barriers to reciprocal trade and adopted a common external tariff for third party

countries. According to what has been negotiated by its members, the customs union will be in full effect on January 1, 2006. All four countries of Mercosur have equal rights and obligations.

Chile and Bolivia signed agreements in 1996 and 1997, respectively, for economic integration in Mercosur and are presently associated members. Negotiations are being carried out in order to include Venezuela as an associate member of Mercosur⁹ in a free trade arrangement.

The World Trade Organization (WTO) anticipates the possibility of joint action by countries that create a customs union (in a manner similar to that of the European Union). As measures are taken to consolidate and perfect the customs union, Mercosur may act as a single unit in the future.

Mercosur encompasses an area of about 12 million square kilometers, which corresponds to four times the European Union. It represents a potential market of 215 million people and a gross national product of over US\$ 1.2 trillion. This means that Mercosur is one of the main regions for foreign investments and is ranked as number four among the largest economies of the world, following closely behind Nafta, the European Union and Japan.

CAN (The Andean Community) ¹⁰

The Andean Community is a sub-regional organization with an international legal status. It was created by Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela in 1969 and became an Andean free trade zone in 1992. In 1995 the member countries (with the exception of Peru) adopted an economic common tariff and, in 1997 set up an agreement with Mercosur. The five Andean countries have a population of over 111 million inhabitants with a gross domestic product that amounted to 272 billion dollars in 1999.

The key objectives of the Andean Community (CAN) are to promote the balanced and harmonious development of the member countries, to boost their growth through economic and social cooperation, to strive for a steady improvement in the standard of living of their people, and to accelerate the creation of employment. The final outcome should enhance the progressive formation of a Latin American Common Market.

Likewise, this Agreement seeks to reduce external vulnerability and to improve the position of the member countries within the international economic context, to strengthen sub regional solidarity, and to reduce existing differences in the levels of development among the member countries. The fulfillment of these objectives shall lead to an enduring improvement in the standard of living of the population.

According to the ASEAN Secretariat as of May 10, 2001, the Andean Community and ASEAN agreed to intensify their cooperation through information and communication technologies to help overcome the geographical distance and increase the awareness of opportunities in each other's regions.

The Andean Community successfully deregulated trade in goods among its member countries and is now moving toward liberalizing trade in services. A common external tariff

is in place on imports from non-member countries, thereby giving shape to a customs union, albeit a still imperfect one. Community efforts are now being directed toward perfecting this enlarged market and ensuring its transparent and proper operation, thus providing adequate customs instruments, technical and health provisions, and provisions on origin and competition.

LAIA (Latin American Integration Association) ¹¹

The Latin American Integration Association, also known as ALADI, was formed in 1980 with the participation of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela, comprising a population of 430 million people in an area of 20 million square kilometers. Later in 1999 the number of members was increased to 11 with the inclusion of Cuba.

The objectives of LAIA are to promote the harmonious and balanced socio-economic development of the region and to lay the foundation of gradual and progressive establishment of a Latin American common market.

LAIA took over the duties of the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA), which had been created in 1960 to establish a common market for its member nations through progressive tariff reductions until the elimination of tariff barriers by 1973. In 1969 the deadline was extended until 1980, at which time the Treaty of Montevideo created LAIA. It has the more limited goal of encouraging free trade, with no deadline for the institution of a common market. Economic hardship in Argentina, Brazil, and many other member nations has made LAIA's task difficult.

G-3 (Group of Three) ¹²

The Group of Three was formed in 1995 between Venezuela, Colombia, and Mexico. The group was initially set for a minimum of three years, but the agreement was renewed for an indefinite period. The objectives of the G-3 are to stimulate the expansion and diversification of trade among members, eliminate barriers to trade, and facilitate the movement of goods and services, promote conditions of fair competition, increase substantially investment opportunities in the territories, protect and enforce intellectual property rights, and foster equitable relations among members while recognizing the differential treatment that results from the country categories established in LAIA. It is also the objective of G-3 to eliminate tariffs among member nations over a ten-year period and to add more members.

As of 1997 gross domestic product of the group amounted to US\$ 586 billion and trilateral trade of US\$ 3.6 billion a year.

Western Hemisphere

FTAA (Free Trade Area of the Americas) ¹³

At the Summit of the Americas held in Miami in 1994 all 34 democracies in the Western Hemisphere, with the exception of Cuba, signed an agreement aimed at creating the largest free trade area in the world, the FTAA, also known as ALCA (*Área de Livre Comércio das Américas*, in Portuguese).

With a population of approximately 800 million people, the purpose of the agreement is to progressively eliminate all barriers to trade and investment. The negotiations of the agreement will be completed by 2005. According to the Declaration of Principles established at the Summit, the FTAA's objectives are to preserve and strengthen the community of democracies of the Americas, promote prosperity through economic integration and free trade, eradicate poverty and discrimination in the hemisphere, and to guarantee sustainable development and conserving the natural environment for future generations.

The objectives also encompass the promotion of human rights and cultural values, the fight against corruption, drugs, terrorism, and the increase in mutual trust. Capital markets development and liberalization, cooperation in telecommunications and information infrastructure, energy, science and technology, and tourism incentives became part of the project. Other items, such as universal access to education and to basic health services, strengthening the role of women in society, encouraging micro enterprises and small businesses, and forming partnerships in energy, biodiversity and pollution prevention were also defined as targets of the agreement.

The list of members of the FTAA includes Central American as well as Caribbean countries. They are: Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Chile, Costa Rica, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Granada, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, St. Kitts and Nevis, Sta. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago, United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

3. Explaining Different Types of Agreements and Related Terms

The following terms used throughout this article deserve some clarification:

Common external tariff: this means member countries define the same tariff for the same types of imported goods. As an example, all member countries could decide jointly to levy a tariff of 10% on imports of merchandise "A" and 15% for product "B".

Common market: is a fully integrated market area, including not only complete freedom in internal trade as in a customs union, but also free mobility of labor and capital. This involves the right to reside and accept employment in all member countries and mutual recognition of professional and technical qualifications, subject to satisfying language requirements. Full capital mobility means lack of exchange controls and full right for the establishment of firms in all countries. It also implies the coordination of macroeconomic policies. The European Union is now a typical common market with the addition of a common currency. The harmonization of the national legislation can also be required.

Customs union: supposes the elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers among member countries in order to create a single customs territory and the adoption of a common external tariff for trade with non-members.

Free-trade area: is an arrangement whereby member countries eliminate all tariff and non-tariff barriers to reciprocal trade, but retain independent tariff systems with non-members. Free-trade arrangements must apply to a substantial proportion of trade, but some sectors, such as agricultural products or defense equipment, may be exempted from the free-trade provisions. To avoid the country with the lowest external tariff on any good being used as a route for imports to other members, tariff-free trade is confined to goods certified as being produced in member countries. One example of a free-trade zone is the NAFTA (North America Free Trade Agreement). However, each member retains its institutional individuality, without making common commercial commitments.

Imperfect customs union: is a free-trade agreement adopting economic obligations in common which, by their importance and scope, imply a political coming together among its members. Mercosur and the Andean Community are examples of an imperfect customs union.

Independent tariff system: is a means whereby every country establishes its own tariff for incoming goods from non-member countries.

Non-tariff barriers: are man-made obstacles to trade, such as the imposition of import quotas, or barriers imposed by national differences in matters like health and safety standards, labeling requirements, and weights and measures regulations. Although they may not be imposed as trade barriers, they tend to cause delays and higher costs on international trade in excess of those experienced in domestic trade.

Tariff barriers: are practices that make trade between countries more difficult and expensive. They are accomplished through the imposition of tariffs on imports.

Tariff preference: means that similar imports from different countries are taxed at different rates. It is the opposite of a non-discriminatory tariff whereby imports from all countries are taxed equally.

4. Countries Participating in Different Agreements

In examining the various agreements described in the previous paragraphs it becomes evident that various countries are members of more than one trade agreement. They are shown in the following list.

COUNTRY	AGREEMENT
Peru	APEC, CAN, LAIA, FTAA
Canada	APEC, NAFTA, FTAA
Chile	APEC, LAIA, Mercosur, FTAA
Mexico	APEC, NAFTA, G-3, LAIA
Brunei Darussalam	ASEAN, APEC
Indonesia	ASEAN, APEC
Malaysia	ASEAN, APEC
Philippines	ASEAN, APEC
Singapore	ASEAN, APEC
Vietnam	ASEAN, APEC

COUNTRY	AGREEMENT
Ecuador	CAN, LAIA, FTAA
Columbia	CAN, LAIA, G-3, FTAA
Venezuela	CAN, LAIA, G-3, FTAA
Argentina	Mercosur, LAIA, FTAA
Brazil	Mercosur, LAIA, FTAA
Paraguay	Mercosur, LAIA, FTAA
Uruguay	Mercosur, LAIA, FTAA
Bolivia	Mercosur, LAIA, CAN, FTAA
United States	APEC, NAFTA, FTAA

The table suggests that the above mentioned countries might have a competitive advantage over countries participating in just one, or in no, agreement at all. This observation will be discussed further in the item "Globalization and Regional Associations", under the next heading.

5. World Trade Outlook

Decline in Worldwide Economic Activity

The declining economic activity in the United States and in other parts of the world since the beginning of 2000 affected trade worldwide, especially in emerging countries. The stock exchanges suffered the consequences, and a typical bear market developed, causing an almost complete halt in new stock issues.

This recessive climate was further aggravated by the contagion from the Turkish and Argentinean financial crises early in 2001, affecting developing countries of the Mercosur, the Andean Community, the Group of Three, and the Latin American Integration Association. The devaluation of the Brazilian currency in January 1999 represented an additional burden on Argentina and was greatly responsible for the decline in its exports. The drop in world trade and investments harmed the Brazilian trade balance in the first three quarters of the year as well as its industrial output and the economy in general, causing additional currency devaluation of the Brazilian currency until November 2001 that again backfired on Argentina and other countries in South America. The economy of Brazil, however, started to recover in December, despite the Argentinean problems. The "real" appreciated almost 20%, the stock market turned around and exports soared, restoring the confidence of foreign investors in the country's future.

On the other hand, the recent resignation of President Fernando De la Rúa and Minister of the Economy Domingo Cavallo, after a failed martial law imposed by the government on December 20, 2001, was a direct result of the insurrection of the population. The repulsion against the latest measures imposed upon them by Domingo Cavallo and the significant increase in unemployment to almost 20% stirred popular demand for the presidential resignation and eventually transformed Buenos Aires into a battlefield between the worn-out people, and government troops.

De la Rúa was immediately replaced by the President of the Senate, Ramón Puerta, but the majority of the congress, supported by the Justicialist Party, decided to nominate Adolfo Rodríguez Saá as President of Argentina on December

23. Saá, former governor of the province of San Luis, did not last more than seven days as president due to a series of errors starting with the nomination of a cabinet charged with corruption. Furthermore, he announced the default of the country's foreign debt and the creation of one more currency in addition to the peso, by the name of "Argentino". He also maintained the restriction upon bank withdrawals at a maximum of US\$ 1,000 per month per bank account. The immediate consequence was an even greater rebellion of the population, forcing Saá to resign.

Finally, on January 2, 2002, both houses of congress elected Senator Eduardo Duhalde (of the Judicialist Party) President of Argentina with a mandate until 2003. His nomination constituted the climax of the long-lasting financial, economic, and social crisis of Argentina.

The Terrorist Attack

The attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001 contributed further to slowing down world trade and reducing stock prices, not only in specific sectors such as the airline industry, travel and services, but in other segments as well. Clearly it would be impossible at this time to foresee the perverse effects that these events will have upon the global economy, upon emerging nations, and upon countries participating in trade agreements. Some advantages, however, seem to emanate at this point, as described in the next topic.

Greater Economic Cooperation Among Nations

First, the relationship between the United States and Latin and Central America appears to be changing toward one of closer cooperation. Working groups are being formed with the purpose of opening markets in various fields of economic activity. In addition, it is not unlikely that the various alliances of the United States with other countries in the fight against terrorism will be mutually advantageous in commercial terms.

Second, in the words of Director-General Mike Moore, "the success of the WTO Ministerial Conference Doha, Qatar held between November 9 to 13, will be remembered as a turning-point in the history of the WTO and the trading system and in relations between developed and developing countries within that system. With the accession of China and Chinese Taipei to the organization, the final outcome at Doha brings to an end the uncertainty, loss of momentum and lack of confidence created by the equally spectacular failure at Seattle two years earlier".¹⁵

Third, according to recent U.S. trade meetings in Managua, Nicaragua, a possible free trade agreement with countries of Central America¹⁶ may become feasible.

The present circumstances and the need to overcome the world economic slowdown may eventually convince the United States that the power of regional associations has to be considered more seriously and that all pertinent negotiations must be handled with fairness to provide equal opportunities to emerging countries.

Another effort in mutual assistance is being made by Australia and New Zealand to develop closer ties with ASEAN on a framework for the Closer Economic Partnership (CEP) between these countries in order to improve the prevailing business and trading climate. Australia also shares membership with several Latin American countries in APEC, working towards trade and investment liberalization and business facilitation in the Asia-Pacific region. The majority of APEC member economies have reported further tariff reductions or significant steps to reduce non-tariff measures this year. Australia is working constructively with Mexico when it takes on the job of chairing APEC in 2002.¹⁷

Additional developments such as the financial packages supplied by the IMF to both Argentina and Brazil may indirectly contribute to reduce somewhat the internal disputes within Mercosur. These disputes were related to Chile's and Argentina's intention to establish closer and more direct commercial ties with the United States, which was harshly criticized by Brazil and contributed to undermine Mercosur's harmony.

Unfortunately, the so-called "Fast Track" bestowed upon President Bush by the United States Congress to negotiate treaties and commercial agreements with countries and/or blocs of countries has frustrated many emerging nations. Among other protesters, the Brazilian government considered this a protectionist measure by the United States, in conflict with what was established at the Doha Ministerial Conference. Although negotiations will continue, this event will possibly delay further discussions toward the establishment of the FTAA.

Assuming that such negotiations will result in a future conciliation between developing countries and the United States in the near future, the FTAA will represent a powerful trade instrument of the Western Hemisphere. Many regional associations may choose to merge to avoid duplication of efforts and achieve greater economies of scale.

Globalization and Regional Associations

The greater degree of liberalization of trade and capital flows in the Information Age intensified price competition among nations. So, countries availed themselves of regional associations to achieve superior competitive advantage. The new trend to form larger associations is therefore a direct consequence of the upsurge in globalization. Consequently, regional groups generate greater strength with a resulting change in the balance of power within the international marketplace.

For example, as stated earlier, when the FTAA becomes fully operational, its power of negotiation will become overwhelming. The entire Western Hemisphere will be integrated into one association. Another shift in the balance of power would occur in a (hypothetical) merger between ASEAN and APEC. Such integration would bring new and unexplored trade opportunities vis-à-vis other groups such as the European Union.

However, while these large regional agreements will confer greater bargaining force to the group as a whole, it is not implicit that individual members will benefit uniformly

from the integration. But surely non-members will be at a clear disadvantage.

The difference will be amplified exponentially when comparing the power bestowed upon large regional associations with that of countries of the African continent, most of which do not arouse much attraction for foreign investments and are therefore powerless to generate sufficient international business.

A corollary of this perception is that developed nations will continue to increase the size and strength of their foreign trade, while less developed economies will probably trail behind in their quest to compete in international markets. Unintentionally, globalization could be causing additional economic and social imbalances through the increase in regional agreements.

6. Final Comments

Regional associations established connections among different countries not only in trade affairs but also in terms of human relations, understanding, and mutual respect. This is especially true at this moment of international tension resulting from the recent acts of terrorism. However, this interdependence must be governed by principles of justice and fairness, an attribute that has not been regularly followed by industrialized countries in their disputes with less developed nations.

This new era in the field of international trade will require the firm commitment of the World Trade Organization to impose standards of behavior that will render foreign trade more reliable and predictable. In the above context, it becomes even more important that both the WTO and regional associations analyze this new framework by focusing on the effect that the additional power will have upon the labor force that is ultimately responsible for the global productive output. The advantages and disadvantages of more potent regional agreements must therefore be carefully weighed, above all with reference to the disparities among group members and individual countries not associated with regional associations.

However, both the WTO and regional associations have gained sufficient experience in the past and are now capable of following a path of greater and more effective integration towards trade and investment liberalization in the global economy.

This increased understanding will facilitate the transition toward a New Era of International Trade.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ See also <http://www.aseansec.org/menu.asp?action=2&content=1>.
- ² See also <http://www.apecsec.org.sg/>.
- ³ See also <http://the-tech.mit.edu/Bulletins/Nafta/01.objective>.
- ⁴ See also <http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/nafta-alena/over-e.asp>.
- ⁵ Economic Research Service, US Department of Agriculture, July 3, 2001, in <http://www.ers.usda.gov/briefing/nafta/>.
- ⁶ Building on a North American Partnership, in Nafta Free Trade Commission: Joint Statement, Washington, DC, July 31 2001, in http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/nafta-alena/NAFTA_Communique-e.asp.
- ⁷ See also <http://the-tech.mit.edu/Bulletins/Nafta/01.objective>.
- ⁸ See also Uruguayan Embassy, Washington DC <http://embassy.org/uruguay/econ/mercosur/merc-000.html>, <http://www.mercosur-comisec.gub.uy/mercosur/ingles/htm/wmeringl.htm>, and Rigotto G., in *Revista do Mercosul* N° 74 Ano 2001. See also Kotabe, M. *Mercosur and Beyond: The imminent emergence of the South American Markets*, University of Texas at Austin, in <http://lanic.utexas.edu/cswht/kotabe.html>
- ⁹ See Lafer, H, in *Revista do Mercosul*, 09/03/2001.
- ¹⁰ See also <http://www.aseansec.org/link.asp?file=http://www.comunidadandina.org> and <http://pandino.hypermart.net/pg02.html>.
- ¹¹ See also <http://www.factmonster.com/ce6/history/A0828976.html> and http://www.aladi.org/nsfaladi/sitio.nsf/vsitioweb/paises_miembros.
- ¹² See also http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200104/08/eng20010408_67167.html.
- ¹³ See also Free Trade Area of the Americas "FTAA" Secretariat, at http://www.ftaa-alca.org/alca_e.asp and Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, U.S. Department of State, November 9, 2000, in http://www.state.gov/www/issues/economic/ftaa/0599_ftaa_exec.html.
- ¹⁴ Black, J. *A Dictionary of Economics*, Oxford University Press, 1997.
- ¹⁵ Moore, M. WTO and the new Round of trade talks. Speech in Hong Kong, November 28, 2001, at the 14th General Meeting of the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council.
- ¹⁶ Palmer, D. U.S., Mercosur Agree on Plan to Boost Trade Ties. Reuters, September 24, 2001, in http://www.iwon.com/home/news/news_article/0,11746,169074|politics|09-24-2001::21:23|Reuters,00.htm
- ¹⁷ Opening Address by the Minister for Trade and Deputy Leader of the National Party, The Hon Mark Vaile MP, at the Australian National Centre for Latin American Studies Conference 2001. Canberra, 25 September 2001, in http://www.dfat.gov.au/media/speeches/trade/2001/mvt020s_01.html.

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