Contested Masculinity: Teenage Boys in the Central Philippines

by

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ABSTRACT

This study looks at the masculinity of teenage boys living in an impoverished community in Bacolod City, Republic of the Philippines. Through the use of ethnographic methods of participant observation, interviewing, and photographic techniques, this study assesses what it means for a group of teenage boys to become men. This study finds that the boys negotiate a complex set of demands and constraints on their becoming men resulting from influences of poverty and unemployment, dynamics of hegemony and subordination, and intergenerational relations of power. This study concludes that the inability of the boys to fulfill hegemonic notions of masculinity based on economic attainment may contribute to the boys' feelings of emasculation and problems of substance abuse, may widen the gap between hegemonic masculinity practised in the Philippines and forms of manhood available in this community, and may be instrumental in more firmly entrenching these males as an underclass in Philippine society.

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This study inquires into the nature of masculinity among a group of teenage boys living in Bacolod City in the province of Negros Occidental in the central Philippines. In surveying the elements of masculinity among these boys, this research addresses the following questions: (1) "What does it mean to a group of teenage boys in the central Philippines to become men?" (2) "How do these boys express being a man in their behaviour?" (3) "Who controls what it means to become a man and why do they control it?" and (4) "How is dissent from the control expressed and what are the results of this dissent?"

In addressing these questions, I assess the dynamics between the boys and their community as the boys make their transition to manhood. In taking this perspective, I link my work with an anthropological debate regarding the nature of masculinity that I outline below. My study further informs this debate by contributing ethnographic material that illustrates the usefulness of various theoretical approaches and sheds light on the often obscure subject of masculinity.

In this chapter, I begin by reviewing the anthropological literature on masculinity that relates most closely to my research. I discuss some of the shortcomings of this literature as well as assess some of its strengths. I then outline the theoretical perspective that I have adopted in my research. Finally, I survey the ethnographic literature on masculinity in the Philippines in order to contextualize my work.

The anthropology of masculinity

In 1990, Gilmore touched off a debate in anthropology about the nature of masculinity. Gilmore 1990 brings to prominence the so-called "manhood puzzle" or the question of

why there is pressure on males in almost every culture to "act like a man." Gilmore (1990:11) observes that in most cultures manhood is considered to be distinct from anatomical maleness in that manhood is something to be attained rather than something that is innate. As a result of the widespread prevalence of manhood being regarded as an attainment, Gilmore proposes that there is an underlying structure common to masculinity in all cultures, which he calls the "deep structure of masculinity" (Gilmore 1990:3). In this section I outline some important arguments in Gilmore 1990, consider some critiques of this work, assess some alternative perspectives on masculinity, and draw on the strengths of these sources to approach the subject of masculinity.

Gilmore (1990) surveys ethnographies from Andalusia, Micronesia, Melanesia, Africa, North and South America, South and East Asia, the Middle East, Britain, and Greece, and observes that similarities of masculinity arise in dissimilar cultures. Gilmore (1990:23) notes that there is a tendency in most cultures to polarize gender roles and he reasons that ideals of male behaviour are socially constructed rather than biologically innate. He argues that masculine ideals are "collective representations" (Gilmore 1990:5) that are sanctioned and defined by the males' community. He asserts that men feel compelled to live up to these representations whether or not they find them "psychologically congenial" (Gilmore 1990:4).

Gilmore (1990:224) also argues that there is a strong correlation between the way that a culture organizes its productive activities and the importance awarded to the male image. For instance, he notes that because of the scarcity of food among the island-dwelling Trukese of Micronesia, men often go on dangerous deep-sea fishing expeditions in order to feed their families (Gilmore 1990:72). The men who undergo these

expeditions are considered to show considerable bravery. As a result of the importance awarded to Trukese men who undertake such dangerous tasks, risk-taking behaviour has become an important part of the idealized notions of manhood among the Trukese and is exemplified daily in men's fighting, drinking, and acts of "defying the sea" (Gilmore 1990:73).

Gilmore argues that ideals of masculinity are "strateg[ies] of adaptation...[that] simultaneously reconcil[e] individual and social needs through the feedback of sanction and reward" (Gilmore 1990:3-4). In the Trukese example, to demonstrate risk-taking behaviour exemplifies the masculine ideal of bravery. This risk-taking behaviour simultaneously elevates a male's status and helps contribute to his family's survival.

Gilmore (1990) observes that men experience daily challenges living up to ideals of masculinity. The ability to attain distinct goals or to demonstrate particular behaviour that embodies ideals of masculinity Herzfeld has labelled the "performative excellence" of masculinity or "being *good* at being a man" (Herzfeld 1985:16). Gilmore (1990:3) has taken this hypothesis further to suggest that males in nearly all cultures[1] express concern over the bestowal and maintenance of manhood and measure it in terms of behaviour and accomplishment.

Examples in the ethnographic literature support Gilmore's point. In Andalusia, for example, men define their masculinity in terms of *servir* (to serve), which means that they spend time drinking with other men, aggressively pursue relationships with women, and hold regular jobs (Gilmore 1990:35). Among men in rural central Crete, demonstrating a particular flair at stealing sheep, showing one's skill in dancing, and

[1] See Gilmore (1990:201-219) for review of cultures where manhood is either of no interest to men or where there is little differentiation between genders.

taking risks are ways that men's behaviour achieves a hyper-masculine status (Herzfeld 1985:16-18). The Mehinaku of central Brazil idealize masculinity in terms of a man who is sociable and has good humour, who demonstrates restraint in the face of anger, who is generous and industrious, and who is sexually virile (Gregor 1977:187-190).

Gilmore's (1990) perspective on masculinity has received several criticisms. Almeida (1996:158) contends that Gilmore's adaptation argument (which states that masculinity is important to particular cultures because it increases the adaptive fitness of the group) is too deterministic. Almeida (1996:158) argues that if masculinity were simply an adaptive behaviour, it would stand to reason that cultures which exist in difficult environments would emphasize masculinity more than do cultures in less stressful environments. From another angle, Cornwall and Lindisfarne (1994b:27) refute Gilmore's work on the basis that it is a fallacy to assume that, in any particular cultural setting, there is only one way of being a man. Similarly, arguing against Gilmore's vision of the homogeneity of masculinity in any particular culture, Gutmann (1996:25) asserts that Gilmore's portrayal of Mexican men effectively stereotypes them as macho, a claim that is clearly contradicted by Gutmann's findings.

Certainly, Gilmore's (1990:9) answer to the so called "manhood puzzle" (or why men nearly everywhere are concerned with their masculinity), seems a little simplistic. On one hand Gilmore argues that masculinity is adaptive and that male identity is based on how well men perform their roles in stressful situations like physical and psychological danger (Gilmore 1990:223). On the other hand, confirming the criticism of Cornwall and Lindisfarne (1994b:27), Gilmore has portrayed only the dominant form of masculinity in

each cultures he discusses. His perspective, however, fails to account for males who do not conform to these dominant forms of masculinity.

In anthropology, sociology, and gender studies the dominant form of masculinity is usually labelled 'hegemonic masculinity'. According to Connell (1995:77), hegemonic masculinity is a culturally exalted form of masculinity which helps to legitimize patriarchy and also encourages domination by men and the subordination of women. Morrell, similarly, defines hegemonic masculinity as a "particular form of masculinity which is dominant in society, which exercises power over other, rival masculinities, and which regulates male power over women and distributes this power, differentially, amongst men" (Morrell 2001:10).

Connell notes that although the number of men practising hegemonic masculinity in its pure form may be small, the majority of men benefit from the "patriarchal dividend" (i.e., the overall subordination of women) (Connell 1995:79). Connell stresses that the cultural ideals of masculinity need not correspond to the actual lives of most men (Connell 1987:184). He argues that a particular strength of hegemonic masculinity is that it often creates models of masculinity that are quite literally fantasy figures; these models are symbolized and then transmitted through mass communications, thus encouraging their wide-ranging adaptation by men (Connell 1987:184-185).

Hegemonic masculinity may be articulated in terms of an ideology. Ideology is defined by Williams as "an articulated system of meanings, values, beliefs of a kind that can be abstracted as [the] 'worldview' of any social grouping" (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:29). This worldview is internally systematic, consistent in its outward forms, and provides a master narrative for symbolic construction (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:29).

As a master narrative for symbolic construction, ideals of hegemonic masculinity are transmitted through numerous institutional practices such as enforced competitive sport in the public school system (Hooper 2001:56). During boys' participation in institutional practices such as competitive sport, they are forced to respond to these hegemonic ideals and use them as standards with which to negotiate their own identities (Hooper 2001:56). The more that individual males associate themselves or corroborate with these public images of hegemonic masculinity, the more they will enhance their own conceptions and others' perceptions of their masculinity (Hooper 2001:56). Hegemonic masculinity, therefore, can be expressed and communicated through a set of symbols that link to a master narrative (i.e., an ideology) that helps to limit and control the definition of what it means to be a man.

Inherent within hegemonic masculinity is the dynamic of domination and subordination between men (Connell 1995:78). A key characteristic of hegemonic masculinity is that it subordinates particular men including the young, the effeminate, and the homosexual (Carrigan *et al.* 1985:587). In European and American contexts hegemonic masculinity helps to guarantee the domination of heterosexual men and the subordination of homosexual men (Connell 1995:78). Connell (1987:184) argues that ascendancy of one group over another is not achieved by overt force, but is instead attained through the embeddedness of hegemonic masculinity in religious doctrine and practice, in the content of the mass media, in taxation policies, and so on. Additionally, Nurse (2004:7) asserts that historically, subordinate masculinities have been portrayed as effeminate or infantile in order to distinguish them from hegemonic masculinity. Connell notes that, however, homosexual men are not the only ones who are subordinated; some

heterosexuals are also expelled from the circle of legitimacy through the symbolic blurring of their masculinity with femininity (Connell 1995:79).

The relationship between hegemonic and subordinate masculinities may be articulated in terms of resistance. According to Webster's, resistance is defined as "opposing actively; to keep from yielding to" (Webster's 1964:1239). Weedon (Thomas *et al*. 2004:6) asserts that resistance to hegemonic masculinity may involve contests over meanings, the articulation of counter-discourses, and the production of alternative forms of knowledge with the goal of gradually increasing one's social power. As well, resistance need not include radical change in order to be effective, but can occur through the subversion of one's gender identity (Kondo 1990:259) as well as by the representation of subjugated experiences that lie outside hegemonic gender norms (Davis and Thomas 2004:110). Scott (1990:20), too, recognizes "everyday forms of resistance" in which the subordinate can respond to the dominant hegemony through "informal, diffuse and often individualistic activities" with which they can gain power that has been withheld from them by those who dominate.

Subordinate resistance to hegemonic masculinity can be seen in studies that deal with ethnic identities. For example, Zinn (Hooper 2001:73) describes how African American men express a form of machismo (as exemplified in the 1990s by gangster rap) with which to respond to their emasculation by "white" popular culture. Zinn (Hooper 2001:73) claims that by manipulating stereotypes thrust upon them by the dominant culture, African American men rework these stereotypes into expressions of fraternity and cultural pride. Along similar lines, Mac an Ghaill (Hooper 2001:73) asserts that Asian youth in Britain resist stereotypes of oriental effeminacy by adopting black-

American street styles in attempts to make them less vulnerable to racist attacks. Likewise, Sinha (1995:21) relates how middle-class Bengali men in the mid-19th century resisted notions of the 'effeminate Bengali' thrust on them by the British colonial regime. These men resisted their feminization by reviving the culture of *akharas* (gymnasiums) which helped to re-instil pride in the physical prowess of Bengali men (Sinha 1995:21).

Subordinate resistance to hegemonic masculinity can also be seen in studies that deal with male sexuality. For instance, Carrillo (2003:356) describes how homosexual men in Mexico City resist popular stereotypes of homosexuals being *maricones* (gay effeminate men who are considered to have lost their manhood). Carrillo (2003:356) relates how some homosexual men resist the stigmatization of their alleged effeminacy by seducing heterosexual men and, during these encounters, asserting themselves as the dominant sexual partner. Likewise, Messner (1997:83) describes how gay professional athletes participate in aggressive, competitive sports to demonstrate their manhood and to disrupt society's equation of gayness with femininity. Along similar lines, Segal (1990:149) discusses how homosexual men in North America during the 1970s responded to their feminization in popular culture by enacting a gay machismo. Segal (1990:149) asserts that this 'butch shift' was a super-macho style that eroticized muscular men clad in leather and denim, and which exaggerated promiscuous, phallocentric encounters. Forrest (1994:97), interestingly, notes that these super-macho figures have become so pervasive during the last three decades that they have been incorporated into mainstream gay consciousness through gay erotica and in advertisements for gay chat-lines, bars and clubs.

Although the above examples of the relationship between dominant and subordinate masculinities suggest that men have a static relationship to their masculinity (i.e., they are either hegemonic or subordinate), in reality men may find themselves in frequently shifting positions with regard to their masculinity. In this case men may employ a fluid and situational set of meanings regarding what it means to be a man (Moya 2004:75). This fluidity in their masculinity allows men to sometimes align themselves with hegemonic masculinity and other times with subordinate masculinities (Hooper 2001:72).

Recent research into the nature of masculinity supports the hypothesis that masculinity is fluid and that males may align themselves with hegemonic masculinity or subordinate masculinities depending on the situation. For example, Laberge and Albert (2000) detail variations in the forms of masculinity that are considered acceptable among Quebec adolescents. The authors note that approximately half of the adolescent boys in their study espoused a masculinity that stressed physical and moral strength, seductive power, heterosexuality, control over one's emotions, leadership, and masculine display (Laberge and Albert 2000:200). They also note that about one quarter of the respondents diverged from this first group in that they criticized overt displays of masculinity such as aggressive challenges towards other males, showing off, and the sharing of stories of sexual adventures (Laberge and Albert 2000:204). In a similar fashion, the final 25 percent of the interviewees envisioned an ideal masculinity that developed intimate and respectful relations with others, particularly women (Laberge and Albert 2000:205). In addition to these findings, the authors discovered an approximately equal split in opinion over whether the students considered men who play so called "women's sports" (such as

figure skating or ballet dancing) to be either threatening or not threatening to their masculinity (Laberge and Albert 2000:210).

In a like manner, Garis (2000) illustrates the fluid and situational nature of masculinity in his study of an amateur boxing gym in the Bronx. Garis (2000) describes how gym members have varying opinions regarding what they define as acceptable masculine behaviour between two fighters during a sparring match. For example, several trainers remarked that boxers need to have an aggressive, "macho" attitude in the ring in order to do well (Garis 2000:95). Other trainers acknowledged, however, that neophyte boxers who are unable to control the intensity of their sparring sessions because of their aggressive, macho attitudes are either matched with other beginners who cannot hurt them, or taught a lesson by being placed in the ring with a more experienced boxer who will put them in their place (Garis 2000:98). As well, the way that boxers approached their sparring matches and how they conceived of their relationship with their opponents was variable. For instance, some boxers participated in "cooperative, non-aggressive" sparring characterized by mutual respect, consideration, and intimate contact (including expressions of physical affection after the session) (Garis 2000:100). Other boxers, however, communicated antagonism towards their partners through verbal taunting in an attempt to emotionally and mentally dominate their opponents (Garis 2000:101).

Along similar lines, Klein (2000) depicts variations in the attitudes towards masculinity among Mexican professional baseball players. He notes that many players demonstrate behaviour that is typically associated with machismo including hyper-masculine bravado and posturing, eagerness to engage in physical confrontations over perceived insults, domination over women and other men, excessive drinking, and sexual

conquest (Klein 2000:68). During games players project a studied image of "macho" including having several days growth of beard, wearing cut-off sleeves on their uniforms, and routinely pounding their plastic groin cups while proclaiming, "'Tenemos huevos!' (We have balls [eggs])" (Klein 2000:75). They also routinely engage in womanizing by fooling around with female "groupies" they encounter in their travels to different stadiums in Mexico (Klein 2000:76). Sometimes, however, players act in ways that seem to contravene the code of machismo. For example, Klein (2000:79) explains how one player, who after staying out all night drinking following a game in which his field error cost the team the championship series, arrived the next morning at the doorstep of the team's owner's wife crying and begging her forgiveness. This incident struck the woman as such a transgression of the masculine code that she remarked in an interview, "He was in my office for two hours, and I'm thinking, 'Man, this macho guy. And him coming to a woman'" (Klein 2000:79).

Another example of the fluid and situational nature of masculinity comes from the research of Barker and Loewenstein (1997). The authors discuss variations in *machista* values among low-income adolescent and young adult males in Rio de Janeiro. Male teenagers told researchers about the strong pressure that they felt in their male peer groups to purge from their behaviour all characteristics considered feminine including affection, friendships with girls, respect for girls, and caring for children (Barker and Loewenstein 1997:184). In addition, male teenagers were praised by their friends for their success in sexual conquests or taunted for their lack of sexual experience (Barker and Loewenstein 1997:184). Despite the strong pressure to adhere to a rigid masculine code, however, a minority of males professed the opinion that men should have a greater role

caring for children and demonstrate a greater respect for women (Barker and Loewenstein 1997:185). This minority of young men, furthermore, reported that their progressive attitudes were heavily influenced by a relative or family friend who supported the values of respect for women and the active involvement of men in childcare (Barker and Loewenstein 1997:185).

In the above discussion, I have outlined some of the important theoretical trends discussed in the anthropological literature on masculinity. The perspective that I take in my research is that although masculinity may be expressed in both hegemonic and subordinate forms in any particular culture (with their respective relationships of control and resistance), individuals may align themselves with either hegemonic or subordinate masculinities depending on the situation and their own motives (Hooper 2001:72). According to this perspective, masculinity is fluid and applied situationally despite the overarching controls of the dominant hegemony. This perspective of the fluid and situational nature of masculinity conceptualizes masculinity as a "lived system of meaningful practices" (Hooper 2001:58) that reproduces and confirms the identities of men rather than rigidly determining them. Thus, males participate actively, rather than passively, in constructing their own masculine identities. Later in this chapter, I return to this point to discuss Blanc-Szanton's (1990) work on the situational nature of gender in the Philippines.

Before I go further, I will discuss some problems inherent in defining masculinity. According to Connell (1995:68), it is important to avoid approaches that are either essentialist, positivist, or normative. Essentialist definitions of masculinity focus on a particular characteristic of masculinity and then judge males entirely according to that

criterion (e.g., masculinity = active or aggressive) (Connell 1995:68). Connell (1995:69) argues that the weakness in taking an essentialist approach is that the particular criterion chosen for defining something as masculine is completely arbitrary. Since the criterion is arbitrary it is likely to accurately reflect the masculinity of few males. Similarly, positivist approaches to masculinity, with their focus on finding facts, detail the patterns of men's lives and call those patterns masculinity (Connell 1995:69). Connell (1995:69) notes that a problem with positivist approaches is that although the categories used to describe men's behaviour appear neutral they are, in fact, underpinned by preconceived assumptions about gender. Cornwall and Lindisfarne (1994b:27), likewise, assert that the weakness of positivist approaches is their underlying assumption that the abstraction "masculinity" is a natural, incontestable category that exists universally regardless of culture or circumstance.

Along with essentialist and positivist definitions, normative definitions of masculinity focus on social norms, on a standard of what men should be (Connell 1995:70). Connell (1995:70) argues that the problem with normative approaches is that few men actually fit the blueprint of what is considered normal. Connell asks rhetorically, "What is 'normative' about a norm that hardly anyone meets?" (1995:70). Cornwall and Lindisfarne (1994b:20), too, refute the veracity of normative approaches on the grounds that there is more than one way of defining masculinity as normal in any particular cultural setting.

In contrast to the reductionism of essentialist, positivist, and normative approaches to defining masculinity, constructionist approaches conceptualize masculinity as a cultural construction. As Ramírez puts it, "the categories through which we perceive, evaluate,

and think [about masculinity] are socially constructed" and culturally specific (Ramírez 1999:28). In other words, masculinity is a "system of beliefs, attributes, and expectations" (Ramírez 1999:28) about what it means to be a man that is constructed through the ongoing and shifting consensus of members of a particular cultural setting. Ortner and Whitehead (1981:2) add to the constructionist approach by conceiving of masculinity in terms of symbols and then making sense of these symbols in terms of cultural beliefs, classifications, and assumptions. A synthesis of these interpretations of masculinity yields the definition that I use in my research: **masculinity is a system of beliefs, attributes, and expectations about being a man that is socially constructed, locally variable, and mediated through the use of symbols**.

In this section of the chapter, I reviewed some of the most important theoretical ideas in the anthropology of masculinity that have been helpful in determining the theoretical perspective that I use in my study. In the next section of this chapter, I discuss masculinity in the context of ethnographic literature on the Philippines. My focus is on ethnographic discussions of masculinity in the Philippine Visayas, including the islands of Cebu, Negros, Panay, and Bohol. My own research was conducted on the Visayan island of Negros.

Hegemonic masculinity in the Philippines

Hegemonic masculinity in the Philippines has been influenced by Spanish colonialism, gender relations, culture, and socioeconomic conditions. While Spanish colonialism has helped to shape what it means to be a man in the Philippines, notions of masculinity have not been blindly determined by the colonial experience. Filipinos have responded as

active agents in the construction of their gender by incorporating new elements into their gender construction as they have seen fit (Blanc-Szanton 1990:348). Gender relations, too, have shaped masculinity in the Philippines by counter-balancing women's equality in the domestic realm with a prevailing sexual double standard. Culture, as well, continues to influence articulations of masculinity by providing ideals of male sexuality and socializing. Finally, socio-economic conditions influence what it means to be a man in the Philippines by contributing the idea of men as breadwinners and simultaneously fuelling men's anxieties about their manhood during difficult economic times.

According to Blanc-Szanton (1990:348) native Filipinos responded to attempts by Spanish colonial forces to mould their gender systems by selecting and adapting new images of maleness and femaleness, giving these images new meanings, or combining these images in novel ways. These reformulations of gender were not formal statements, but rather were expressed in everyday interaction (Blanc-Szanton 1990:348). Although they were surrounded by colonial symbols and metaphors about gender, Filipinos filtered these symbols and metaphors selectively and used them for their own ends (Blanc-Szanton 1990:381). For example, sexual imagery from the Spanish Catholic tradition, which emphasized unmarried women being virgins and which allowed men a monopoly on the satisfaction of their sexual needs, was adapted by Filipinos to justify their current gender practices (Blanc-Szanton 1990:354). The agency of the colonized in adapting these new images of gender is responsible for the gender forms that exist in the Philippines today (Blanc-Szanton 1990:348).

The three hundred year Spanish occupation of the Philippines from mid-16th century to the late 19th century introduced some Catholic and Spanish notions of sexuality into

the Philippines. Among these notions, the Spanish practice of having a *querida* (mistress) became prevalent. Under the *querida* system, a married man maintains a mistress (unbeknownst to his wife) and visits her periodically. Although he may provide her with a home and conceive children with her, he tries to keep the relationship secret from his wife and ensures that he denies legal acknowledgement of his paternity for children produced from this union (Andres and Ilada-Andres 1987:87).

In its pure form, having a *querida* (i.e., an unmarried woman living in a house supported by her married lover) is practised by relatively few men because of the financial burden (Jocano 1983:141). Nevertheless, the practice is admired by men in all levels of society (Rodell 2002:132). Instead of having a *querida*, most men opt for extra-marital affairs that avoid the complication of supporting an extra woman and her household (Rodell 2002:132).

The reason that having extra-martial affairs (or having a *querida*) is so significant to men is that they believe that it attests to their virility (Yu and Liu 1980:159). Virility is considered to be a hallmark of hegemonic masculinity in the Philippines (Andres and Ilada-Andres 1987:82). The number of sexual affairs a man maintains and the number of children a man sires (either with his wife or with a girlfriend) validates his virility to his peer group (Andres and Ilada-Andres 1987:87). A man who is promiscuous is considered to be simply demonstrating his *pagkalalaki* (manhood) (Andres and Ilada-Andres 1987:85). The *querida* system, therefore, serves to idealize and justify male promiscuity and articulate it in terms of a desirable characteristic of manliness.

The masculinity of a man who shows little interest in women outside of marriage may be held suspect. For example, there is a persistent belief in Cebu that a man who

resists the advances of a sexually aggressive woman is either homosexual or effeminate (Yu and Liu 1980:185). Along similar lines, a homosexual man in Mindanao is regarded as being sexually impotent, incapable of sustaining an erection, and unable to sexually satisfy a woman (all characteristics lacking in manhood) (Johnson 1997:94). To avoid being regarded as *bantut* or *bayot* (homosexual), men in Mindanao prove their sexual potency through repeated sexual encounters (Johnson 1997:95).

In addition to the practice of having a *querida*, another influence of Spanish Catholicism on masculinity in the Philippines is the Catholic notion that contraception is a sin against God. In Cebu, men believe that contraception interferes with them having as many children as "God intended them to have" (Yu and Liu 1980:166). Furthermore, men may believe that those who use contraception go against the will of God and will face divine retribution later in life (Yu and Liu 1980:166).

Although Catholic beliefs regarding God's will and eternal damnation may be cited by men as reasons for their condemnation of contraception, men have other reasons for refusing to use birth control. Men may believe that to use contraception is an admission of their incapacity to provide for their families (Yu and Liu 1980:166). The number of children that a man is able to support is considered to be a testimony of his "economic competence" (his ability to provide) (Yu and Liu 1980:159). Some Cebuano men believe that as long as the woman has a husband, she should not worry about having too many children because the husband will provide for them economically (Yu and Liu 1980:163). Additionally, men may also fear that if their wives have tubal ligations, then their wives will want to have sex with other men. Husbands will then be unable to tell whether or not their wives have been faithful (Kwiatkowski 1998:92).

As a result of men's disdain for contraception, women who use the birth control pill or have tubal ligations may endure their husbands' wrath (Kwiatkowski 1998:92). Some men go to extensive lengths to ensure that their wives are not using contraception. Yu and Liu (1980:165) describe a situation where one Cebuano husband, who was suspicious because his wife was not getting pregnant (she was secretly using an IUD), repeatedly withdrew his penis in the middle of intercourse to inspect his wife's vagina for contraceptive devices with a flashlight.

In addition to the influences of colonialism on masculinity, gender relations also help to shape constructions of hegemonic masculinity in the Philippines. Blanc-Szanton (1990:382) argues that gender in the Philippines is constructed not on the basis of contrast between the sexes, but rather in terms of a "nonhierarchical complementarity" in which women have a strong and autonomous presence. Yu and Liu (1980:173) assert that marital relationships in Cebu are balanced in terms of women having nearly complete control over the budgetary management of the household economy while men hold final authority over sexual and contraceptive matters.

Since men are considered to have a weakness for spending money on their *bisyos* (vices such as gambling and drinking) women tend to control household finances. Women control the purse strings and men are expected to turn over their wages to their wives (Yu and Liu 1980:170). Among the Hiligaynon, for example, men admit that household money is safer with their wives because if the husbands have unrestricted access to it, they will gamble and drink it away with their friends (Jocano 1983:90). To avoid this temptation, Cebuano men frequently turn over most of their wages to their wives, retaining a small portion of money for their "daily expenses" (Yu and Liu

1980:170). Since the household is considered to be under the control of the wife, in order to encourage *pakikisama* ("smooth interpersonal relations" or harmony with others), Hiligaynon husbands follow the demands of their wives at home often at the expense of being called "under the *saya*" (skirt) by others (Jocano 1983:145).

Although women exercise control in the domestic realm, they are often tolerant of their husbands' sexual transgressions. According to Cebuano women surveyed by Chant and McIlwaine (1995:126), women have an attitude of resignation in that they are willing to forgive their husbands' infidelity for the sake of their children. Similarly, women interviewed by Yu and Liu (1980:189) exclaimed that their husbands like to have affairs with other women so that they can brag to other men in town.

Women's tolerance of their husbands' behaviour has unwittingly encouraged the association of male promiscuity with *pagakalalaki* (manliness). Fanciful psychological syndromes based on male sexual needs thrive in this permissive environment. For example, among Cebuanos, there is a widespread belief that a man who does not satisfy his sexual needs regularly will become sick and have a nervous breakdown or his condition may escalate to tuberculosis (Yu and Liu 1980:184). According to this belief, men who do not have their sexual needs met at home (because of pregnancy or quarrels) should seek outlets of gratification with other women (Blanc-Szanton 1990:353; Yu and Liu 1980:184). Men, however, are not blamed too harshly by their wives for their promiscuous behaviour. As one woman declared when discussing her husband's affair with a sexually aggressive woman, "It's her fault. She knew very well that [husband] is married.... My husband would be a bayot [homosexual] if he refused her advances" (Yu and Liu 1980:187).

This practice of male promiscuity is, furthermore, sanctioned by Philippine law. According to the 1966 Penal Code, in the Philippines a married woman can be charged with adultery on account of a single intercourse, whereas her lover will be charged only if it is proven that he knew she was married (Rodell 2002:132; Yu and Liu 1980:182). In contrast, if a married man has sex with a single woman, he can be charged only if he cohabits with his mistress (Yu and Liu 1980:182). The law, therefore, protects and encourages men's promiscuity. As a result, men may exploit their advantage over women and use it to guarantee their immunity from punishment (i.e., divorce) for their sexual transgressions.

In addition to the influence of gender relations on hegemonic masculinity, cultural beliefs about male sexuality influence notions of manhood in the Philippines. Beliefs regarding the practice of circumcision, for example, have a large impact on masculinity. Circumcision (*palta*) is a pre-Hispanic practice which is regarded as the first of two "baptisms" for a male[2]. Males are circumcised generally between the ages of 13 and 21 (Jocano 1982:159). Among the Ilocanos of northern Luzon, circumcision is considered by a boy's peers and elders to be a "sign of manhood" (Jocano 1988:52). It is believed that once a boy is circumcised he will quickly develop physically and emotionally into a man (Jocano 1982:159). It is also believed that circumcision makes intercourse more pleasurable for both partners and also ensures that the woman will be able to conceive immediately (Jocano 1982:159). Among the Agta of Palanan, circumcision is considered to be a prerequisite for attracting a marriage partner (Peterson 1978:56). Similarly, among

[2] Here we see the synthesis of the pre-Hispanic practice of circumcision with the Catholic idea of baptism to produce the symbolic rebirth of a man.

the Ilocanos, young males believe that no girl will marry a boy who is *supot* (uncircumcised) (Jocano 1988:85).

In addition to circumcision, the second "baptism" that a male undergoes on his quest to prove his manhood is sexual intercourse. A young man is frequently asked by his peers if he has yet been *nabinyagan* ("baptized" or initiated into sexual relations) and then is teased if he is "not yet a man" (Andres and Ilada-Andres 1987:82). As well, demonstrating one's virility through sexual intercourse is held in such a high regard that groups of teenage boys will often accompany the "uninitiated" male to the house of a prostitute and may even pay for his encounter (Andres and Ilada-Andres 1987:87).

Cultural beliefs about circumcision and sexual intercourse for males in the Philippines are both rooted in the hegemonic idea that virility is an essential part of being a man. Males who lack the desire to demonstrate their virility are regarded as lacking in manhood. For example, among the Tubaran of Panay, having neither the courage to court a woman or the ability to win the heart of a girl is seen as unmanly (Jocano 1988:53). Similarly, a Hiligaynon male who remains a bachelor for a long time is teased and referred to as *agi* (effeminate), *wala sing itlog* (without testicles), or *matalaw* (coward) (Jocano 1983:189). Likewise, men in Mindanao who show no inclination towards pursuing sex with women may be suspected of being *bantut* (homosexual) and impotent (Johnson 1997:94).

Virility is further proven by males in the Philippines through siring children. Among most young husbands, impregnating their wives is a major concern and also a source of anxiety. For example, newly-wed males may be teased by their friends that they might be *pundido* (impotent) if their wives have not conceived shortly after marriage (Andres and

Ilada-Andres 1987:82). Likewise, among the Hiligaynon, childlessness is frequently perceived to be a result of the husband's impotence (Jocano 1983:163). Similarly, among the Ifugao of northern Luzon, conception is considered to be imperative to manhood and there is an element of prestige attached to fathering children (Kwiatkowski 1998:92).

Cultural beliefs about hegemonic masculinity in the Philippines also rest on the idea that males should construct their identities primarily from activities outside the home (Rodell 2002:123). Ethnographic evidence for the importance of outside activities comes from several sources. For instance, among the Ilocanos (Jocano 1982:160) and among the Hiligaynon (Jocano 1983:147), boys who spend too much time at home may be subject to ridicule and regarded by their peers as effeminate. As well, among the Hiligaynon (Jocano 1983:197) and among the Malitbog of central Panay (Jocano 1969:61), boys and young men are expected to spend most of their time outside the home either working the fields on a farm, doing odd jobs in town, or socializing with their *barkada* (peer group). Similarly, among the Buid of the highlands of Mindoro, boys who reach the onset of puberty are expected to occupy the majority of their time outside the home comparing courtship poems, joking, and roaming in the company of other young males (Gibson 1986:97).

The fairly wide geographical area that young males enjoy for their activities reflects the general lack of concern over male virginity. On the island of Negros Occidental, for instance, adolescent boys (*solteros*) enjoy greater freedom of movement than girls because "they have nothing to lose" (meaning the potential loss of their virginity is not a concern) (Rutten 1982:50). Likewise, in Ilocos Norte, parents are stricter with girls than boys because girls are considered to be vulnerable to sexual experimentation and

pregnancy, while for boys, an undiscovered sexual affair is a "feather to their caps" (Jocano 1988:52). As well, among the Malitbog of central Panay, parents allow boys to roam freely (Jocano 1969:62). Restrictions are imposed on boys only when they return home drunk or are implicated in petty crimes (Jocano 1969:62).

Cultural beliefs about male socializing also influence the way that hegemonic masculinity is constructed in the Philippines. Specifically, one's masculinity should be guided in part by one's peer group (*barkada*). *Barkadas* evolve from boys' play groups and provide males with a sense of solidarity, an outlet for sharing ideas and interests, and a source of aid during romantic relationships and physical altercations (Morais 1981:75). The members of a *barkada* are usually the same age and from the same social class (Ness 2003:221). As well, the bond that they form is extremely strong and long-lasting (Rodell 2002:123). Furthermore, a young man's "gang mates" frequently end up being lifelong friends and these associations are often the basis for securing business partnerships as well as political appointments (Rodell 2002:124).

When adolescent boys are in their *barkadas*, they may participate in activities in which they either try to demonstrate their sex appeal or where they act *macho* (tough). For example, Jocano (1982:161) observes that when Ilocano boys are in their *barkadas*, they frequently boast about their sexual adventures, of the girls that they have kissed, and sometimes invent stories to impress their peers with their *kinasigat* (cunning) towards girls. Similarly, Morais (1981:76) reports that *barkadas* of teenage boys meet almost every night to roam, act *macho*, participate in drinking contests, play baseball, sing, go to parties, and court girls.

Men also have *barkadas* and these groups tend to be a man's primary outlet for socializing. In many cases, Ifugao men spend most of their personal money pursuing social activities with their *barkadas* (Kwiatkowski 1998:91). Similarly, the activities in which men in Manila are involved are characterized by an ideology of machismo (Berner 1997:91). Likewise, among Cebuano men, activities may include watching cockfights, playing cards, drinking, smoking, and sometimes indulging in sexual relations with the local "chicks" (mistresses) (Chant and McIlwaine 1995:125). Additionally, groups of adult men may join their unmarried peers in sprees of drinking and carousing (Elder 1982:164). Paying for drinks in Cebu is seen as a gesture that a man is "economically able" (Yu and Liu 1980:166), which is a direct reflection on his hegemonic masculinity. Many husbands are proud of paying for the drinking bills of their *barkadas* (Yu and Liu 1980:164). Among men in Manila, drinking is also an important "male bonding ritual" in which men participate in *tagay* (taking shots of alcohol from a glass passed among them) in efforts to out-drink each other and prove that they are *macho* (Berner 1997:91). As well, men's consumption of alcohol seems to accompany almost every social event: an overseas worker comes home, someone sells a pig, a man's fighting cock wins in a match, it is someone's birthday, or it is raining so heavily there is nothing else to do (Berner 1997:90).

In addition to cultural beliefs and practices regarding male sexuality and socializing, socio-economic conditions, too, influence articulations of hegemonic masculinity in the Philippines. Manhood is frequently equated with the successful performance of the breadwinner role. By showing that they are good providers, men ensure recognition of their masculinity. For example, in rural Ilocos (on the northern island of Luzon), ideal

males are considered to be those who are able to secure the economic stability of their family's household (Margold 1995:281). Similarly, in the central province of Cebu the ideal man is one who "responsible" enough to be able to support many children (Yu and Liu 1980:166). Likewise, for the inhabitants of Siquijor in the Western Visayas, the ability to catch fish is conceived of a measure of male success, an ability to feed one's family, and the mark of an ideal, prospective mate (Dumont 1992:112). As well, among the Ilongot of northern Luzon, teenage boys exemplify ideals of manhood by providing meat for their families through hunting game (Rosaldo 1980:90). Additionally, among the Gaddang of northern Luzon, boys learn farming and fishing so that they will be able to assume responsibility in the future for their families (Wallace 1970:41).

When socioeconomic conditions change and affect men's ability to provide for their families, their potential to live up to their hegemonic masculinity is threatened. Since men in the Philippines are generally expected to be the main source of household income, among the Ifugao of northern Luzon, unemployed husbands may be accused of being incapable of supporting their families and experience a "loss of pride" (Kwiatkowski 1998:91).[3] Yu and Liu (1980:166), likewise, assert that among Cebuano men being considered "economically unable" is a blow to one's masculinity. As well, men who are unemployed and spend too much time at home may be pejoratively called "under the *saya*" (under their wife's skirt) (Chant and McIlwaine 1995:9) Furthermore, feelings of inadequacy due to unemployment may influence men in Cebu to turn to drugs or alcohol as a way of dealing with their situation (Chant and McIlwaine 1995:123).

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[3] Some husbands of migrant labourers who are unable to work have taken on the job of rearing and caring for their children, managing the family finances, and doing household chores Although they are unable to embody the traditional breadwinner role, these husbands construct their sense of manhood through being good fathers and sexually active males (Añonuevo and Estopace 2002:90-93).

Men who have been unable to find steady work in the Philippines and who have contracted their labour outside the Philippines may find that these changing economic conditions compromise their ability to live up to their hegemonic masculinity. Margold (1995) discusses the impacts to the masculinity of Ilocano men working as migrant labourers in Saudi Arabia. Traditionally in Ilocos, notions of male honour and heroism have been equated with those men who travel or work abroad (Margold 1995:281). As well, men have been able to enjoy a fluid masculinity that combines notions of machismo with social sensitivity (Margold 1995:281). By being part of an internationally stratified labour force in Saudi Arabia, Filipino men cannot maintain the kind of behaviour that characterizes their masculinity at home (Margold 1995:278). Filipino men working in Saudi Arabia have had to endure racial slurs on the job, government imposed restrictions on their sexual behaviour, and exploitation by unscrupulous employers (Margold 1995:278). Male migrants who have returned from the Middle East often feel that they have been dehumanized and desexualized (Margold 1995:292). The equating of male honour and prestige with the men's work abroad no longer has meaning for men who have experienced humiliation during their work experiences in the Middle East (Margold 1995:292). On their return, Filipino men may be reluctant to disclose the details of their experiences and they may withdraw psychologically from their community, tending to remain at home when they are not working (Margold 1995:292). These men no longer try to engage in the social activities outside the home that once provided vital opportunities for establishing and displaying their hegemonic masculinity.

In addition to men's own experiences as migrant labourers, husbands of spouses who work abroad suffer effects on their masculinity because of these economic arrangements.

As a result of the persistent, accepted notions of men being faithful providers, good lovers, and responsible fathers, males may perceive a man's new domestic role as "houseband" to be a threat to their masculinity (Añonuevo and Estopace 2002:93). Pertierra (Chant and McIlwaine 1995:9) asserts that doing domestic work clashes with most men's sense of importance in the public sphere. Similarly, among sugar hacienda workers in Negros Occidental, men who participate in domestic work feel that other men may laugh at them (Rutten 1982:77). This ridicule would constitute an attack on their *amor propio* (self esteem) and may help to precipitate violent confrontations between them and other men (Rutten 1982:77). As well, some husbands of migrant labourers drink heavily, have indiscriminate sex with women they meet in bars, squander their wives earnings, disdain household chores, and avoid becoming involved too closely with rearing their children, all out of spite for being cast in a domestic role (Añonuevo and Estopace 2002:90).

As the preceding discussion in this section has shown, hegemonic masculinity in the Philippines has emerged out of Spanish colonialism, gender relations, culture, and economic conditions. Knowledge of these influences on masculinity in the Philippines as well as the theoretical concepts of hegemonic masculinity, subordination, resistance, the performative aspect of masculinity, and the fluid and situational nature of masculinity from the first section of the chapter are vital to understanding what it means to become a man for teenage boys in my study. In order to answer my research questions (i.e., (1) What does it means for a group of teenage boys in the central Philippines to become men? (2) How do the boys express being a man in their behaviour? (3) Who controls what it means to become a man and why do they control it? (4) How is dissent from the

control expressed and what are the results of this dissent?), I rely on theoretical ideas from the first part of this chapter, as well as an understanding of the major influences on hegemonic masculinity as portrayed in the ethnographic literature on the Philippines. In light of these theoretical concepts and ethnographic examples, I analyse my research findings in terms of how they both reflect and diverge from these concepts and examples.

Summary

In this chapter I reviewed the concept of masculinity as it has been studied in anthropology. I assessed Gilmore's (1990) work on the universality of masculinity as well as some of its criticisms. As well, I discussed the concepts of hegemonic masculinity, subordination, and resistance. Building on the strengths of these various approaches, I espoused an approach to studying masculinity that incorporates both hegemony and the situational nature of masculinity. I then reviewed the ethnographic literature on masculinity in the Philippines in light of the influences of colonialism, gender relations, cultural beliefs, and socio-economic concerns.

In chapter two of this thesis, I review the methods used in my study. I begin this chapter with a discussion of the research site of Purok Dagat in Bacolod City. I then review how I selected the informants for this study, discuss consent and ethical considerations, detail how interviews were conducted, assess potential biases, and review the methods of analysis.

In chapter three, I present my data on the masculinity of teenage boys in Purok Dagat. I detail the ways that responsibility, circumcision, *inspirasyon*, and being *macho* help to

shape the masculinity of teenage boys. I also explain how sexual relations and *barkadas* are vital influences on the boys' masculinity.

In chapter four, I assess my data. I discuss how particular aspects of the boys' masculinity are based in community responses to economic conditions of poverty and unemployment. In addition, I assert that some aspects of their masculinity have their basis in mainstream hegemonic masculinity. I also argue that particular aspects of masculinity are a source of conflict between teenage boys and adults and that this conflict reflects intergenerational relations of power.

I conclude this thesis in chapter five. I address the four major research questions that I asked at the beginning of chapter one. I also suggest directions for further research.

Research Site

The research site to which I refer by the pseudonym Purok Dagat is a neighbourhood in Bacolod City. Bacolod City is located in the province of Negros Occidental, on the northwest coast of the island of Negros, situated in the central Philippines (see Figure 1).

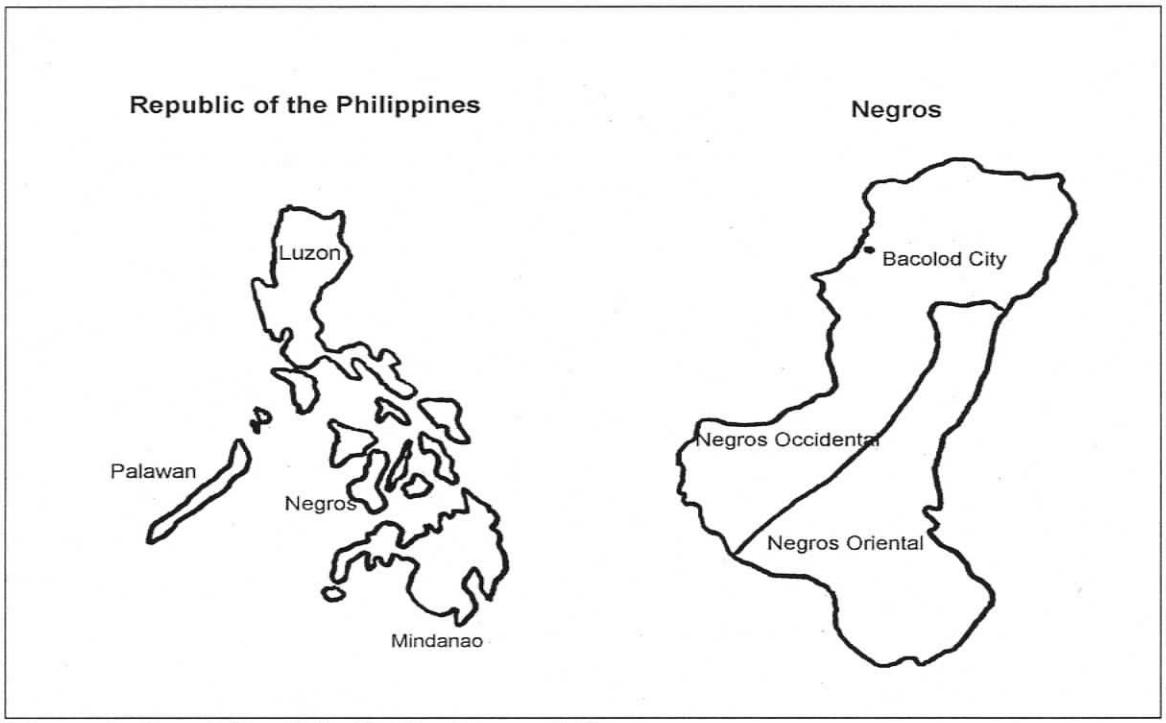

Figure 1: Republic of the Philippines and Negros.

The city spans a total land area of approximately 161 million hectares of which about three percent are streets and bodies of water (Balayan 1994). The use of land is distributed among residential (about 35 percent), commercial (about four percent), industrial (one percent), agricultural (59 percent) and public or vacant land (one percent) (Balayan 1994). The surrounding area is home to the agricultural production of primary crops including sugarcane, rice, coconuts, and other vegetables (Balayan 1994).

According to the most recent survey (1990), the number of households in Bacolod was 66,424 and the average number of people per household was five (Balayan 1994). Out of the total employable population numbering 237,849 people, about 25 percent are

either unemployed or do not have formal sector jobs (Balayan 1994). In addition, 31 percent of the population is considered "not economically active" (i.e., too young, too old, or too sick to work) (Balayan 1994). Among those lucky enough to secure employment, monthly income ranges from PHP 2,500 (CAN$83) to PHP 8,501 (CAN$283) (Balayan 1994).

At the time of my research, Purok Dagat was a settlement comprised of approximately 250 households or about 1200 people. The inhabitants of Purok Dagat wrestle with daily problems of poverty, poor sanitation, seasonal flooding, overcrowding, inadequate housing, insect and rodent pests, contaminated ground water, diminished fish and shellfish stocks, and refuse from urban dumping (Balayan 1994). Based on a household survey conducted as part of the parent research project, approximately 50 percent of the residents are under 18 years old (Mitchell 2005). According to teachers at the local elementary and high schools, rates of school completion are high. Many children also work to supplement their family income, a situation which is common in the Philippines among children from low-income families (Velazco 1996:172). As well, the health of these children is sometimes poor. For instance, children may be exposed to an array of infections including acute and chronic respiratory conditions, skin and eye infections, gastro-intestinal parasites, as well as injuries from accidents (Mitchell 2005).

Purok Dagat is accessible from a paved city road. Entrance to the community is along a narrow pathway between rows of small one and two level houses. Most of the paths are a mixture of dirt, wooden planks over large puddles, and some sections of concrete slabs.

Houses are constructed of either thatched bamboo or corrugated tin roofing with concrete blocks for walls (see Figure 2). Some houses have an attached *sari sari* (mixed goods) store, a window in the side of a house through which a family sells small consumer items such as soap, charcoal for cooking, matches, and packaged snacks.

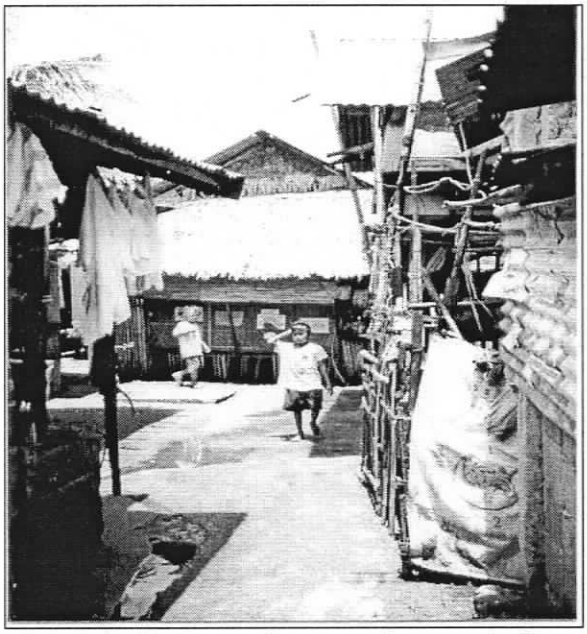

Figure 2: Pathway between houses in Purok Dagat (photograph taken by Stephen Lauer).

Purok Dagat occupies the space between a paved road and the shoreline, a distance that varies from a few meters to a few hundred meters. Houses near the shore contrast markedly with the sturdy construction of houses along the roadway. Dwellings near the shoreline are subject to frequent flooding during the typhoon season. Houses in this area are often built on stilts and are of relatively flimsy, bamboo construction. Most newly married couples and the most poverty-stricken inhabitants set up their households in this area. In addition, along the shoreline (*bay bay*) are strewn reams of plastic garbage and industrial waste that have been displaced from the city dump site near the western boundary of Purok Dagat and deposited along the shoreline by wave action (see Figure

3). Also along the shoreline are areas where fishermen make and repair nets and where they beach their boats.

Figure 3: *Bay bay* (photograph taken by Stephen Lauer).

According to the Annual Poverty Statistics Survey of the Philippines National Statistics Office, there are several indicators that are used to judge the severity of poverty in the Philippines. These indicators are referred to as the Minimum Basic Needs (i.e., the minimum criteria for attaining a basic quality of life) and are conceived of as the basic needs for a Filipino family in terms of survival, security, and empowerment (Philippines National Statistics Office 2002). These needs include access to safe drinking water, a sanitary toilet, and electricity for household use; possession of a roof made of strong materials, outer walls made of strong materials, and an owned house and lot; as well as the presence of a family head who is gainfully employed, and family members 18 years and older who are gainfully employed (Philippines National Statistics Office 2002).

Based on these criteria, the families of the teenage boys whom I interviewed, as well as the majority of Purok Dagat residents, do not meet their minimum basic needs. A household survey conducted in 2002 as part of the parent research project revealed widespread poverty in this settlement. In terms of basic survival, most households have only limited and sporadic access to safe drinking water. The community well draws ground water that has been contaminated by waste from landfill. It is, therefore, unsafe to drink and can only be used for washing. As a result, drinking water must be purchased from outside the community. As well, few families have access to a sanitary toilet because they lack plumbing in their houses. They have to improvise by either using buckets in the home or by relieving themselves in the sea.

In terms of access to utilities and housing, many houses have jerry-rigged access to electricity which even when used sparingly for powering television or stereo components consumes about 20% of daily household income (Lisa Mitchell, personal communication, July 2005). Kitchen ranges and ovens are too costly to run, so most families resort to cooking their food with charcoal or, if they can afford it, liquid petroleum gas. As well, although some families have houses composed of corrugated tin roofs and concrete block walls, the less prosperous houses are constructed of bamboo with thatch roofing. Bamboo and thatch provide insufficient shelter during the rainy season and much of the settlement floods several times a year.

Although families may own the material of which their houses are constructed, very few families own their own lot. Some families pay the landowner a monthly rent and have yearly contracts for occupation. The inhabitants must gather their own building materials as well as build their own houses. This investment on the part of the occupants,

however, is no guarantee that they will be able to stay at this location on a permanent basis. Unfortunately, there have been many instances of people losing their homes because of unsympathetic landowners who refuse to renew yearly contracts. As a result, some families have been forced to relocate directly in the midst of an open city dump-site which is one of the few areas where building space is available.

In terms of gainful employment, few fathers of the teenage boys I interviewed had employment that could be considered gainful. One father works as a cook at a manufacturing plant and his income has enabled him to support a family of nine and maintain a fairly large house. The rest of the fathers of boys to whom I talked work as either fishers or taxi car drivers, occupations which bring in insufficient income to meet their family needs. Many of the boys' mothers are homemakers who supplement the income of their families through working as seamstresses, fish vendors, or running a home-based *sari sari* store.

As a result of this lack of gainful employment, inhabitants of Purok Dagat are involved in intensive, daily subsistence activities. Many rise hours before dawn to begin their work. Groups of men and women board small fishing boats the size of canoes to pursue their catch in the less polluted but dangerous waters far from shore. Others travel several kilometres to buy agricultural produce from local distributors that they then resell at markets in the early morning. People in this community seem to be constantly at work either mending clothing, repairing their houses, doing laundry, or preparing food for consumption or sale. They must optimize their time and resources to make money wherever they can so that their family can continue to survive.

A conspicuous feature of Purok Dagat is that there are many unemployed young men in the community who are present during the day. Margold (1995:284) notes that the term *standby* is used to refer to young, unemployed men who linger outside *sari sari* stores and who sometimes joke about becoming mail-order grooms for Filipinas in the United States. It is widely acknowledged in Purok Dagat that there is a large number of out-of-school youth and young men who have finished high school but have not yet been able to find regular work. These young men may participate in household work but have little excess money as a result. They may spend their time with their *barkada* (group of friends) talking and joking with each other, standing beside the roadway to watch girls walk by, or meeting with their younger friends who finish school in the late afternoon.

People began settling in the area around Purok Dagat in the 1940s. During this time there were abundant marine and terrestrial resources. For instance, it is estimated that the daily catch at that time would yield 50 kilograms of fish (Dojillo *et al.* 1994). People were also actively involved in the cultivation of guava, santol, guaybano, and papaya. In the 1970s, migrants from the surrounding towns of Cadiz, Bantayan, Escalante, San Carlos, and Candoni settled near Purok Dagat. Their migration was partly the result of difficult economic conditions in the countryside as well as the intolerable working conditions endured during the sugar harvesting and milling seasons (Dojillo *et al.* 1994). This settlement led to a rapid increase in population.

In 1989, the city of Bacolod began dumping urban waste near the site of Purok Dagat. Although this waste had negative effects on the area (including the contamination of the shoreline and the displacement of fish stocks), inhabitants began exploiting the garbage as an economic resource (for reusing or selling discarded materials) and as a place on

which to build new houses (Dojillo *et al.* 1994). After 1989 the City of Bacolod built a seawall (*pica pica*) to guard against the tide and strong waves that had threatened houses built on top of a shifting foundation of garbage.

Site Selection and Entry into the Community

I did research in Purok Dagat during the summer of 2002 from July 10 until August 21. I was invited to participate in the research undertaken by my supervisor, Dr. Lisa Mitchell, on children's health and empowerment, a participatory action research project conducted in conjunction with the Balayan Community Development Office at the University of St. Lasalle and the local women's organization in Purok Dagat.

Purok Dagat proved to be a good site for researching teenage boys' notions of masculinity. First, Purok Dagat was appropriate to address my research interests because there is a high proportion of youth in the community. Second, taking part in my supervisor's project gave me the opportunity of working in a community where research was already ongoing, therefore, making it easy for me to enter the community and establish contacts. Third, my research was funded under the umbrella of Dr. Mitchell's 2002 SSHRC grant, making it financially feasible for me to conduct research in a foreign country. For these reasons, Purok Dagat was a suitable location for my research.

Dewalt and Dewalt (2002:100) argue that site selection is rarely straight forward. They assert that ideally the selection of a research site is based on the fact that the site is the best place in the world to address a particular research question (Dewalt and Dewalt 2002:100). They note, however, that often the selection of a site is based on practical concerns such as funding, health, family, the range of places available and so on (Dewalt

and Dewalt 2002:101). To reiterate, my selection of the research site of Purok Dagat was motivated by practical and theoretical concerns and was a good choice of location considering these factors.

Participants and Criteria for Inclusion

The validity of a sample of informants depends not on the number of cases, but rather on the proper selection of informants (Mead 1953:654). Campbell (Johnson 1990:26) asserts that a small number of specifically chosen subjects can generate data that is more valid and generalizable than a larger group of general informants. As well, Honigmann (1970:268) recommends the selection of informants on the basis of their status or previous experience. Likewise, Johnson (1990:28) argues for choosing subjects because of distinctive qualifications that are meaningful in terms of the researcher's hypotheses or hunches.

During my research, I selected participants based on particular criteria. First, I wanted to find teenage boys who would be the core group of my study. I located (with the help of the local women's organization) a group of four teenage boys who were willing to talk to me. As I got to know them, they introduced me to two of their close friends. These six boys formed the core of my study. Through these six boys, as well as other contacts, I was able to meet five more teenage boys and interview them to triangulate the data of the first group.

Second, I wanted to find out about parents' perspectives on teenage boys. To do this, I interviewed a group of four fathers, one man who was married and had two teenage sons, and the mother of one of my key informants. In addition, my time spend assisting

with Dr. Mitchell's research allowed me to observe and have casual conversations with several parents about their lives and their children.

Third, to get a wider perspective on what it means to become a man in Purok Dagat, I talked with one 86 year old man who had lived in Purok Dagat for over 60 years. In addition, I talked to a 32-year-old man who was gay and lived in the slightly more prosperous section of Purok Dagat. As well, I talked with a 50-year-old man who performs circumcisions in the community. Fourth, to further contextualize the lives of teenage boys, I talked with two teachers in the local school.

My strategy for selecting interview informants was motivated by my desire to have interviews with several boys and then to talk to a diversity of people in the community. I wanted to be able to contextualize the boys' statements in terms of what was said about them in the larger community. Miles and Humberman (Johnson 1990:27) recommend interviewing a variety of informants because this increases the chances of gaining a broad perspective as well as identifying informants' biases. My selection of informants generated interesting data for comparison and also illuminated some social dynamics about the boys and their community that I probably would not have been able to witness without a long-term stay in the field. My sampling strategy, therefore, was intended to enhance the quality and validity of my research.

In total, I interviewed 22 subjects in Purok Dagat. I interviewed 11 boys ranging in age from 15 to 20 years, eight men aged 23 to 86 years, and three women (see Table 1 below). I used this age range of males to get an idea about how notions of masculinity and social conditions among teenage boys may have changed in Purok Dagat over time. As well, interviewing the boys and the men allowed me to inquire into how ideas about

masculinity among boys and men might diverge. Interviews with the men also allowed me to probe into their attitudes towards teenage boys.

Table 1: Interview Respondents[4]

Type of Interview	Name and Age of Respondents
Unstructured group	Edgar (19), Renato (16), Enrique (16), Luis (17)
Unstructured group	Christina (36), Violeta (32)
Semistructured individual	Victor (15)
Semistructured individual	Joseph (19)
Semistructured individual	Edgar (19)
Semistructured individual	Renato (16)
Semistructured individual	Enrique (16)
Semistructured individual	Luis (17)
Semistructured individual	Domingo (15)
Semistructured individual	Jason (16)
Semistructured individual	Roberto (32)
Semistructured individual	Vicente (86)
Semistructured individual	Miguel (50)
Semistructured individual	Carlos (50)
Semistructured individual	Maria (45)
Semistructured focus group	Edgar (19), Renato (16), Luis (17), Enrique (16), Domingo (15), Jason (16)[5]
Semistructured focus group	Manolo (20), Paul (16), Winston (19)
Semistructured focus group	Gustavo (23), Jorge (47), Francisco (59), Juan (30)

Participant Observation

To triangulate data from the interviews, I employed participant observation over the course of the research season. Kirk and Miller (1986:30) assert that face-to-face, routine contact between the investigator and his research subjects continually tests the emerging hypotheses of the researcher. Furthermore, they argue that field research which includes participant observation possesses a kind of validity not shared by non-qualitative methods (Kirk and Miller 1986:30). Dewalt and Dewalt (2002:102), likewise, argue that

[4] The names in this table are pseudonyms.

[5] These six boys formed my core group of informants.

participant observation, when used in conjunction with other methods, allows for the cross-validation of conclusions and helps to validate the researcher's methodology. As well, Bernard (1994:141) notes that participant observation helps to reduce the problem of reactivity (i.e., people changing their behaviour when they know they are being studied). Bernard (1994:141) also argues that participant observation helps the researcher to get an intuitive understanding of what is going on in a culture and allows the researcher to speak with confidence about the meaning of the data.

In employing the technique of participant observation, I visited the local high school in Purok Dagat, as well as a neighbouring regional high school and an elementary school. As well, teenage boys in Purok Dagat took me around their community on several occasions, showed me different places, and introduced me to people. I also played basketball with the boys, observed them in their daily activities, and spent time with them in downtown Bacolod looking in shops, visiting entertainment arcades, and hanging out in malls.

In addition to these activities, I conducted participant observation as I assisted with Dr. Mitchell's research on children in Purok Dagat. The research activities in which I participated were conducted in one woman's home and included children's body-mapping and community-mapping. Teenage boys were sometimes present on the periphery of these activities (e.g., sitting in a back room of the house and drawing with extra pencil crayons from the children's activities). I used these opportunities to talk with the boys and ask them about themselves.

In addition to my observations in Purok Dagat, I was also able to visit a local young offenders' reformatory, a community of street kids, the public hospital, a fishing village

50 km south of the city, the University of St. Lasalle, an entertainment complex catering to the social elite of Bacolod, a cockfight arena, an upscale residential subdivision, as well as in numerous public localities throughout the city. The wide range of my observations helped me to conceptualize how the conditions of the inhabitants of Purok Dagat compare to other communities in Bacolod.

Consent and Ethical Considerations

Informed consent was obtained from all research participants before they were interviewed. As Fluehr-Lobban (2003:19) notes, the 1998 New Code of Ethics for the American Anthropological Association (AAA) stipulates that the essence of informed consent is a full disclosure of the intent, the methods, and the likely outcomes of the research. At the beginning of each interview session, I explained through a translator that I was a graduate student from the Department of Anthropology at the University of Victoria in Canada and that I would like to ask them some questions about what it means for them to become men. I explained that the information that I was gathering would be used to generate a Master's degree thesis in anthropology. I told them that their participation was completely voluntary and that they were free to refuse to answer any question or to terminate the interview at any time. I explained that their identities would remain anonymous. I also asked for their consent to record the interviews on audio tape. In addition, the translator read them a consent form in Ilonggo and then asked them to sign it[6].

The principles of professional responsibility of the AAA state that the anthropologist is primarily responsible to those who are being studied and that anthropologists must do

[6] A reproduction of this consent form can be seen in the Appendix.

everything in their power to protect the "physical, social and psychological welfare and to honor the dignity and privacy of those studied" (Berreman 2003:69). Throughout the course of the research and writing, I have used pseudonyms for all research participants as well as for all areas of the community. In addition, I ensured that I have portrayed inhabitants of the community in a respectful fashion. As well, this research conforms to the standards of the University of Victoria Human Research Ethics Committee and has been approved by the said organization as part of the larger project as outlined in Dr. Lisa Mitchell's 2002 Human Research Ethics Committee application.

Interviews

I employed unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews, and focus groups in this research. I used two unstructured interviews at the beginning of this study. These interviews included one group of four boys as well as two teachers at the local high school. Bernard (2001:206) asserts that unstructured interviews are excellent for building rapport. The use of unstructured interviews at the initial stage of my research helped me to gain familiarity with the research subjects. As well, these unstructured interviews helped me to identify important concepts and themes that I later used as the basis for more structured interviews.

In addition to unstructured interviews, I also conducted 13 semi-structured, individual interviews. As some have noted (Bernard 2001; Schensul *et al.*1998), semi-structured interviews do allow some flexibility when following responses and also preserve the particular order in which questions are asked. I utilized some of the themes and variables that I had identified in the unstructured interviews as the basis for questions in the semi-

structured interviews. These themes and variables included poverty, employment, school, pollution, family, friends, sports, and girlfriends.

I had much more success getting respondents to speak during semi-structured interviews than during unstructured interviews. Initially, the boys in the study group had difficulty opening up due to shyness as well as concern about their language proficiency in English. I used a translator during the semi-structured interviews. I found that the structure of the interview questions plus the presence of the translator made the boys much more responsive than they had been during the unstructured interviews. Accordingly, I was able to explore a wider range of topics and solicit greater detail during these interviews.

In addition to unstructured and semi-structured interviews, I also ran three focus groups during the course of this research. I conducted two focus groups with boys (one comprising six boys and the other consisting of three boys) and one focus group with four men. The focus groups were semi-structured according to a list of topics and questions.

One of the advantages of using focus groups is that they produce ethnographically rich data (Bernard 2001:230). Another advantage is that focus groups are useful for allowing the researcher to attain "natural language discourse", or the knowledge of important idiomatic expressions, common terminology, and communication patterns of the community (Schensul *et al.* 1998:52). Also, according to Morgan (Schensul 1999:52), focus groups generate data and insights that would not be as accessible without group interaction. As some have noted, however, the drawback to using focus groups is that they tend to generate consensus rather than a diversity of views (Schensul *et al.* 1998:52).

I found that focus groups were particularly illuminating for my research because one of my interests has been to determine collective conceptions of masculinity among teenage boys. By using focus groups, I was able to observe some of the discourse and behaviour that characterize displays of masculinity among these boys. I was able, for instance, to observe how the boys joked about things like sexual behaviour and what it means to be *macho* as well as to see how the boys negotiated displays of aggression and affection.

Translation and Possible Biases

During the course of my fieldwork I employed a translator from Purok Dagat. At the time of the fieldwork, the translator was 19 years old and lived in Purok Dagat with his parents and younger brother. He was competent in English and fluent in Ilonggo, had recently completed college, and was awaiting a job in Manila. He knew the majority of the inhabitants in Purok Dagat and was very helpful for introducing me to people.

Since my language proficiency in Ilonggo during the field season was limited, I was unable to record the nuances of discourse with which the boys used to talk about masculinity. I was entirely dependent on the translation for forming my impressions. Therefore, the depth to which I have been able to understand the boys' conceptions of masculinity is somewhat limited.

Since all respondents knew the translator, the translator's presence may have affected what the respondents were willing to disclose during interviews. It is possible that the boys refrained from divulging certain information because they feared that it might leak out into the community and cause repercussions for them. For example, although boys in

Purok Dagat informed me that between 60 and 90 percent of youth in the community used drugs, they denied having ever tried drugs themselves.

There is also the possibility that my translator did not give me accurate translations and may have presented the interview responses in ways that he thought would be agreeable to me. Bernard (2001:232) states that deference effect, the situation where people tell an interviewer what they think the interviewer wants to hear, can be one of the sources of bias in ethnographic research. To deal with this possibility, I asked my questions in several different ways. The answers from the respondents were consistent. It is unlikely that my translator was able to understand enough about the aims of my research to be able to give a consistent interpretation based on what he thought I wanted to hear. It is more likely, that he struggled to give as accurate a translation as he could.

In addition to the possible (yet improbable) deference effect of the translator, there is also the possibility that my appearance as a white, educated, Western researcher had some effect on the respondents' answers to my questions. The boys undoubtedly perceived me as different culturally and economically. As well, they may have perceived a power differential in our relationship since they maintained a respectful distance. I think that there was some trepidation on their part and they were, at least at first, somewhat resistant to opening up to me. Perceiving a difference between us, the boys acted towards me as if I was one of their high school teachers. I tried to encourage them to be expressive and casual and to tell me about themselves. I feel that I was able to gain their confidence, especially in later interviews. Nonetheless, because my fieldwork was of a short duration (six weeks), my understanding of conceptions of masculinity in Purok Dagat is exploratory and partial.

Photography

My approach to using photographs in this research was to give six teenage boys, who were my key informants, disposable cameras for a week with instructions to take pictures of people, places, and things that were important to them. I asked them to be aware when taking each photograph of what they wanted the viewer to know about themselves and their community. I left these instructions simple and open because I desired an understanding of what the boys wanted to communicate about their daily lives to someone outside their community.

By giving these instructions, I left it up to the boys which subjects they would photograph. I wanted the boys to construct the photographs from their perspective. I was seeking a subjective, rather than an objective treatment of images. I expected that many of the photographs would be deliberately posed. I was seeking to understand the reasons for why the boys constructed the images in the ways they did and what these constructions told me about how the boys felt about themselves and their community.

Pink (2001:59) asserts that in participatory or collaborative photographic projects, the researcher and the informants combine their interests in order to negotiate the content of the photographs. This negotiation process may involve informants requesting (or taking if they are the photographers) certain kinds of photographs which they can use for visual self-representation (e.g., portraits of family members, images that provide legal evidence, documentation of local traditions, artistic exhibits, or souvenirs or photographs that may be used for publicity) (Pink 2001:59). As a result of the separate interests of researchers and informants, the analysis of the content of images should be informed by considering the intentions of the photographer in taking the image, the institutional agendas to which

the photographer is responding, and ways in which the photographer has used the images to refer to particular discourses or to represent certain aspects or self identity (Pink 2001:55).

During the course of my research, I looked at the boys' photographs in light of Pink's (2001) perspective. Specifically, I considered the intentions of the boys in taking particular photographs, the ways in which they responded to my request to document their lives, and how they used particular images to refer to specific cultural discourses or aspects of their self-identity. I also am aware that the boys to whom I gave cameras had interests that were independent from my own. I realize that by giving them control over the images that they took, I allowed them to assert their own agenda into my research. The benefit of this approach is that the boys photographed some significant subjects which I had not anticipated (such as the dilapidated condition of their chapel and the under funded condition of their school) or those to which I had no direct access (for example significant relatives who were influential on the boys). The boys' photographs, therefore, gave me a chance during interviews to discuss topics which I had not previously considered. In addition, I suspect that the boys were selective about their photographs to some degree and refrained from portraying sensitive, private details about their own lives (for example the representation of alcoholism or physical abuse is mostly absent from their photographs). I had to be content with photographic details of their lives that they considered safe to discuss with an acquaintance.

As a result of giving the boys control over the photographs they took, many of the images did not fit with my research interests. For example, all of the boys involved in the photographic project took pictures of their families. These images were useful to me to a

point. For instance, some boys portrayed their brothers or fathers as being particularly responsible or loving. These kinds of images were useful for my discussions about masculinity. Many of the images, though, seemed to be a collection of family portraits. Numerous pictures of aunts, uncles, nephews, nieces and so on were taken that had seemingly little to do with the masculinity of teenage boys (other than illustrating the importance of family in their lives).

I inferred before I gave the boys cameras that they had strong feelings about particular things in their community. Subjects in their photographs confirmed some of my hunches as well as revealed aspects of their lives that I had not anticipated. I did not accept their photographs and their discussions of these representations naively, however. Through participant observation, I was able to corroborate what I considered to be the more important aspects of their photographs and use them in my research.

In addition to the boys' intentions for taking photographs, I had my own agenda for presenting photographic material. I selected images and discussed the boys' comments about images that best portrayed the aspects of the boys' lives that I considered significant. As well, the photographs that I took were representations of my particular viewpoint based on my research interests, perspective, and experiences. For example, in taking pictures of the community (presented in this chapter as Figures 2 and 3), I felt compelled to take images that showed the extent of the pollution and poverty that families endure on a day to day basis. I wanted to try to document these conditions because of the injustice I felt about people having to continue to live in these conditions. My images, therefore, are biased by my perspective.

I gave the boys a week to take their photographs. At the end of that period, I retrieved the cameras, had two sets of photographs from each camera developed (one for myself and one for each boy), and began interviewing the boys individually about the images they had photographed. My protocol during these interviews was to ask the boys questions such as, "Why did you take this photograph," "What can you tell me about this photograph," and "What would you like the viewer to know about this photograph?" Through probing, I tried to elicit explanations from the boys that would help me to understand why they considered the images to be important and what was the relevance of these subjects to their lives.

These photographs formed the basis of individual interviews (n=6) where my intent was to probe into how the boys' notions of masculinity are tied to their daily activities. As Wagner (1999:161) notes, to gain some insight into the worlds of youth, we should invite them to talk about images that they create. This technique has been argued by Clark (1999:40) to allow children and youth to maintain some control over an interview through their interpretation of visual material. As well, according to McCracken (Clark 1999:41), this kind of interviewing encourages respondents to explore particular topics in greater depth since it invites respondents to see familiar images in new ways. The use of photographs as a mnemonic aid during interviews enhances the interview experience by "sharpen[ing] the memory and giv[ing] the interview an immediate character of realistic reconstruction" (Collier and Collier 1986:106). The use of photography during interviews has also been observed by Butler (Clark 1999:41) to reduce self-consciousness as well as to encourage conversation and the sharing of stories.

The boys were enthusiastic about taking part in the photographic project. Although they had family photographs in most of their living rooms, their personal use of a camera was a novel experience. They were especially pleased to take pictures of their classmates and teachers at school. I was pleased to discover that their photographs reveal a diversity of images concerning their perceptions of themselves and their community.

In addition to the boys' photographs, the interviews based on these photographs (n=6) were revealing as well. I found that important concepts that had been identified in prior interviews (such as the importance of responsibility) were exemplified and personalized through the boys' identification of these concepts with members of their family, their friends, and other members of their community. These interviews also helped to reveal some of the structure of their daily activities. Finally, these interviews assisted me to further identify important places in their community.

Analysis

I organized textual material in terms of themes and variables and through the use of tables. Initially, I coded interview transcripts and field notes for a number of themes and variables. Then, using word processing software, I grouped excerpts of transcripts and field notes according to a smaller number of important themes and variables. My themes and variables emerged from what teenage boys in Purok Dagat said was important to them, important about their masculinity, and from observations that I made in the community. The themes and variables included *barkadas* (groups of friends), *fraternities* (gangs), circumcision, drugs and alcohol, gays, girlfriends, the masculine body, poverty, places to hang out, relationships, and work. Once the textual material was grouped into

these categories, I tabulated the data for comparative analysis. I fashioned relationships between tabulated variables for each theme. In addition, I linked these variables to textual examples from interview transcripts that exemplified the explanation or description.

Summary

In this chapter I outlined the methods that I used in my study. I profiled the research site, discussed the participants and the criteria for their involvement, and reviewed consent and ethical considerations. In addition, I outlined interview formats, reflected on translation and possible biases, reviewed photographic methods used in this study, and discussed my methods of analysis.

In chapter three, I present my data on the masculinity of teenage boys in Purok Dagat. I look at how responsibility, circumcision, *inspirasyon*, and being *macho* shape the masculinity of teenage boys. I also discuss the influence of sexual relations and *barkadas* on the boys' masculinity.

In this chapter I outline how masculinity is understood and expressed by teenage boys in Purok Dagat. I assert that particular goals and attainments provide a route for the boys to demonstrate their masculinity. Teenage boys in Purok Dagat have a particular way of understanding masculinity and what it means to become a man. Among the boys, masculinity is measured through the attainment of particular goals or attributes. Herzfeld refers to masculinity that is measured through goal-oriented achievement as "performative" (Herzfeld 1985:16). He refers to the "performative excellence" of masculinity or "being *good at* being a man" (Herzfeld 1985:16) as whenever masculinity is measured in terms of behaviour, the attainment of particular goals, or the embodiment of certain physical characteristics.

Teenage boys in Purok Dagat express what they consider to be the essential characteristics of what it means to become a man through the notion of responsibility, the practice of circumcision (*palta*), and the concept of *inspirasyon* (inspiration). In addition, teenage boys consider having sexual relations with girls and being *macho* to be important to their masculinity. Finally, *barkadas* (groups of friends) support teenage boys in their activities to enact particular aspects of their masculinity.

Responsibility

Teenage boys in Purok Dagat identify responsibility as one of the most important characteristics of what it means to become a man. Two ways that the boys express responsibility are through depending on oneself and helping others. Depending on oneself includes both demonstrating financial independence from one's parents and also attaining a job upon completion of high school. The ideal of helping others extends to helping

friends and family members as well as supplementing parental responsibility for younger siblings.

Teenage boys in Purok Dagat articulate depending on oneself primarily in terms of their goal to be financially independent from their parents. Fifteen year-old Domingo was the first to mention this notion of depending on oneself:

> Steve: What are important things about being a man?
> Domingo: You should stand yourself alone without depending to your parents. You should show them that you can stand on your feet alone.

Domingo expresses how the boys feel the need to demonstrate that they are responsible and can function independently from their parents. Similarly, 15-year-old Victor mentioned that in order to be considered responsible he feels that he has to prove that he can get a job after he has finished high school. The boys attest that finishing high school and getting a job means that one has achieved a prime requirement for being a responsible man.

Even though depending on oneself is usually expressed in terms of getting a job after finishing high school, teenage boys in Purok Dagat attempt to reproduce financial independence on a small scale in their own lives. The way that they demonstrate this independence is in terms of saving enough money to take girls on dates. The boys asserted that they do not ask their parents for money to take out girls. Instead, they save money from their allowance for this purpose. The boys explained that the allowance that they receive from their parents is intended to pay for daily expenses such as riding the *jeepney* (small bus) or buying lunch at school. Although most of the boys receive only a small amount of money per day (from five to 22 pesos) some of them manage to save this money. With this accumulated surplus they are able to go out with girls. Some of the

boys also hold part-time jobs that allow them some financial independence from their parents. These jobs include driving a tricycle taxi, working on a fishing boat, and caring for chickens and for fighting cocks in a neighbour's coop.

Men in Purok Dagat also acknowledge that depending on oneself is a key aspect of responsibility. For example a focus group of men identified the importance of responsibility for teenage boys in terms of them being able to care for themselves and their families:

> Steve: What are important things to learn about being a man?
> Jorge: They [teenage boys] should do things for themselves that they become responsible someday for their family. They should attend some meetings in the projects in the community so that they can avail.
> S: What do you mean by "avail"?
> J: For example, they could get involved for that project.

In this passage, 47-year-old Jorge emphasizes that teenage boys are expected to learn how to depend on themselves. He indicates that learning the skill of being able to depend on oneself translates into an ability to take care of one's family in the future. Jorge also mentions that being involved in community projects is a way that young men can augment the skill of being dependent on themselves. Through developing skills and initiative by volunteering with community projects, teenage boys enhance their ability to be responsible for their families in the future.

Men in Purok Dagat also declared that teenage boys need learn to be responsible in preparation for when they are married. For example, 59-year-old Francisco stated that the boys would have to prepare themselves to be dependable and to make sacrifices:

> Steve: How would things change when the boys are married?
> Francisco: It is not free for them what they want to do because they are married. They have responsibility to their wives, so they should do anything to find a job.
> S: What other things change?

> F: There are some things that they have to stop. For example, smoking must stop. All the money that was going to smoking goes to financial…to the house.

In this excerpt Francisco outlines the situation for newly married men. Francisco asserts that teenage boys in Purok Dagat will soon find themselves in this situation. In order for the boys to prepare themselves, he suggests they should do anything to find a job and learn to sacrifice for the good of the family.

A similar example comes from an interview with 86-year-old Vicente. He discussed how he had to make sacrifices for his family when he was a young man:

> Vicente: When I got married we had a child...a son...so I was thinking I will find a job doing anything to support a family. When I get into marriage, there was a very big change in my life because the focus is to be stable…to get my family stable.
> Steve: What did you do for a living? What job did you have?
> V: When I was a young man, I was fisherman...until such time that I got into a job in central Negros cutting sugarcane. Then I stopped as fisherman.
> S: What kinds of things did you do with your friends when you were a young man?
> V: I don't like to have a *barkada* [group of male friends] because I focus on my family's life...how to improve our lives...and one thing that we had was a store. It is a *sari sari* store or small grocery store.

Vicente explained that, when he was a young man, instead of spending his time and money drinking and smoking with other men, he worked in his family's store. He felt that he had to forgo *barkada* relationships in order to make his family a priority in his life. Vicente criticized the teenagers of today, noting their strong attachment to their *barkadas* and their seeming lack of responsibility towards their families. He asserted that teenagers should learn to be responsible for their families instead of going to fiestas with their *barkadas* to get drunk.

In addition to depending on oneself, the second way that teenage boys in Purok Dagat articulate responsibility is through the practice of helping others. Sixteen year-old Paul described the importance of helping:

> Steve: What sorts of things does a man do to handle himself well?
> Paul: If there is someone in your family or other people that are asking help, you should give your help.

In this excerpt, Paul stresses the importance of helping family members as well as others. Some examples of helping family members include helping one's family with work, running errands, and sometimes providing financial assistance.

Although financial assistance is generally regarded as a practice limited to adults, there are some teenage boys with jobs who supplement the income of their parents. For example, 17-year-old Luis has a job feeding his high school teacher's chickens and roosters. With the 500 pesos he makes each month, Luis contributes a portion of this money to the household of his parents. Other boys who do not have jobs do have plans to help their parents financially when they become employed. An interview with 15-year-old Victor illustrates this plan:

> Steve: What do you think about your prospects for the future?
> Victor: My first plan is to finish my study in college so that I can get a job and help my parents.

In this excerpt, Victor's recognition of the importance of helping his parents financially extends years into the future. As he develops into a man, he feels that helping his parents is a way of being responsible.

An interview with 15-year-old Domingo as he referred to a photograph of his older brother also exemplifies the importance of helping one's family:

> Domingo: This is my stupid brother.
> Steve: And why is your brother stupid?

> D: My brother is very...what do you call it...doing bad things sometimes. But even though he does that, he is also helping our mother to have money to spend in the house.
> S: And how does he do that? How does he help your mother?
> D: He is helping her through working in construction.

Although Domingo's 19-year-old brother seemingly acts irresponsibly by using drugs and becoming violent, he is still responsible enough to hold a job and help support his mother. To not have a job and to refuse to contribute to his family's financial well-being would be a failure in terms of his responsibility and an affront to his manhood.

Dealing with confrontation is another way that teenage boys in Purok Dagat help their families and act responsibly. For example, Domingo described how he helps his older brother who sometimes becomes violent:

> Domingo: Sometimes when my brother is bad, there would be a tendency that he can kill, but we can control our brother.
> Steve: *To kill*, did you say?
> D: To kill some other people.
> S: So he gets very angry. Violent?
> D: Yes, very violent.
> S: And how do you control your brother when he gets angry or violent?
> D: When the time that my brother is getting angry and violent, we talk to our brother that...we let him understand what is happening. That our mother is getting too sick when he does that. And we say that we love him.

In this example, Domingo describes how he calms his older brother by telling him that their mother is becoming sick when he is angry and violent. Domingo's brother wants to pick fights with other men when he is under the influence of drugs or alcohol. In the absence of his father, Domingo takes responsibility for the safety of his brother by soothing his brother's anger.

Another example of helping one's family comes from an interview with 16-year-old Enrique:

> Enrique: I am close to my younger brother and I am also helping him with his assignments for school.
> Steve: How old is your younger brother?
> E: Eleven.
> S: How often do you help your younger brother with his assignments?
> E: Sometimes my younger brother could not answer it well for his assignment, so I help him.

In this example, Enrique relates how he helps his 11-year-old brother with school assignments when his brother has difficulties. Previously in this interview, Enrique stated that his father usually helps his younger brother with school assignments. Through helping his brother, Enrique supplements the responsibility of his father and demonstrates that he is responsible enough to help his family.

These examples of the importance of helping others illustrate how notions of responsibility are identified, aspired to, and enacted by the boys. Further examples of helping others include older brothers helping younger siblings with personal problems, boys doing child care for their married brothers and sisters, helping friends with difficult school assignments, and helping neighbours in times of emergency (e.g., house fires or floods).

Circumcision

In addition to responsibility, teenage boys in Purok Dagat also identify circumcision (*palta*) as being significant to what it means to become a man. Circumcision is considered important to the boys' sense of manhood because it is believed to allow the bodies of boys to grow into bodies of men. Circumcision also ensures that, when they are married, the boys will be able to sexually satisfy and impregnate their wives.

Boys identify circumcision as an essential characteristic of what it means to become a man. For example:

> Steve: When does one become a man?
> Enrique: One becomes a man if he is already circumcised.
> S: And so, are you guys circumcised?
> Boys: Yes!
> S: All of you?
> B: (Laughter).
> S: Anybody here who is not?
> B: (Laughter).

The laughter of the boys during this exchange reveals that it would be very embarrassing for any of them to be uncircumcised at their age (between 14 and 17 years old). To be uncircumcised would have meant that they were lacking one of the essential components of being a man.

Fifty year-old Carlos, who performs circumcisions in Purok Dagat, described the typical procedure of circumcision. He said that after sterilizing a needle with boiling water and then cleaning it in alcohol, he injects anaesthesia into the boy's penis. He then stretches the boy's foreskin over a wooden guide (*batahi*) made from a branch of the guava tree. The *batahi* is about four inches long and two inches in diameter and has a deep groove down the centre, which is used for guiding the blade that performs the incision. Technically, *palta* is not circumcision, but rather super-incision since there is only one longitudinal incision made in the foreskin. Once the foreskin is stretched over the *batahi*, a single incision is made on the top of the foreskin with a sterile razor blade.

After the incision, Carlos noted that:

> Carlos: He [the patient] should first take a rest for a while. That's a very long time…several minutes. And then I will give him a glass of water so that he does not…what you call it?
> Steve: So that he won't faint?
> C: Yes. There are some that are not in pain but they are not in good

> feelings because of the blood.
> S: Oh, okay. They feel pain, like faint?
> C: Yes! Poong! [Indicating someone falling over]. (Laughter).

Carlos said that he wraps the boy's circumcised penis in *balungay* leaves and then sends the boy home with instructions on how and when to wash and which medications the boy is to take.

I asked Carlos if boys come to him alone to undergo the operation. He replied that typically, boys arrive in groups to be circumcised. They witness their friends' ordeals and wait their turn. As I mentioned in chapter one, Jocano (1983:193) asserts that circumcision is considered by boys to be a rite of passage in which males are challenged to undergo the pain of the operation. Since groups of teenage boys in Purok Dagat tend to be circumcised together, their trial is validated in the presence of their peers. Their first *binyag* ("baptism"), or circumcision, is witnessed by those whose appraisal of their masculinity matters considerably.

It is commonly believed by boys in Purok Dagat that circumcision helps bodies of boys to grow into bodies of men. Circumcision is considered to allow a boy's penis and testicles to grow and for him to grow taller[7]. Carlos discussed how circumcision impacts the growth of boys:

> Carlos: Boys need to be circumcised because it can affect the growth of the boys.
> Steve: The growth of the boys?
> C: Yes.
> S: How would it affect the growth of the boys?
> C: Because there is some dirt inside the penis of the boys.

[7] In recent interviews (May 2004) with boys aged 9-14 living in Purok Dagat circumcision was reputed to enable (1) the penis and testicles "to grow", (2) the boys to "make children", and (3) the boys to grow taller (Lisa Mitchell, personal communication, September 2004).

The idea that dirt or debris inside the foreskin could lead to infection and affect the health and growth of boys during adolescence is a commonly acknowledged fear. Why this health concern does not extend to the lives of younger boys is curious, though. If circumcision were justified on the basis of health reasons alone then it stands to reason that even younger boys would be circumcised. The fact that such operations are performed during adolescence, however, suggests that circumcision has more to do with male rites of passage than it has to do with health. It is interesting to note that the age of circumcision roughly coincides with the onset of puberty among boys. Boys are not circumcised at birth. Rather, circumcision takes place as they are on the verge of becoming men.

Ethnographic sources note the significance of circumcision among adolescent boys in the Philippines. As I noted in chapter one, circumcision is considered by a boy's peers and elders to be a "sign of manhood" (Jocano 1988:52). Once a boy has been circumcised it is believed that he will quickly develop physically and emotionally into a man (Jocano 1982:159). Circumcision is also viewed as a male rite of passage because boys are challenged on the basis of their ability to endure the "pain of the operation" (Jocano 1983:193). Most importantly, it is believed that circumcision makes intercourse pleasurable for both partners and also ensures that the woman will be able to conceive immediately (Jocano 1982:159). As a result, circumcision is considered to be a prerequisite for attracting a marriage partner (Peterson 1978:56).

I asked Carlos why circumcision is so important to teenage boys in Purok Dagat:

> Steve: Why is it important that boys are circumcised?
> Carlos: If you will be having sex with the girl, not only the skin will be cut but you feel but that the sex will be very satisfactory.

In this excerpt, Carlos states that for teenage boys, sexual satisfaction is one of the primary reasons that they are circumcised. This does not mean, however, that premarital sex for teenage boys is condoned by adults in Purok Dagat. Instead, it is recognized that it is important to the boys to have satisfactory sex when they become men. The boys believe that they are unable to do this unless they are circumcised.

The importance of circumcision extends to marital relations. For example it is commonly acknowledged that wives expect their husbands to be circumcised. I asked Carlos why:

> Steve: Why is it important that husbands are circumcised?
> Carlos: Most of the women expect that their husband is already circumcised because it would be satisfactory sex. It would give them satisfaction during sex.

I was sceptical about whether women cared whether their husbands were circumcised. I asked for further clarification:

> Steve: If a woman has sex with a circumcised man...with her husband, why would it be more satisfying for her than with a man who is not circumcised?
> Carlos: There is a difference between the man who has had circumcision and the one who is not. If the man has not undergone circumcision, the inner part of his penis would not go out...not come out. So if a man has undergone circumcision, that part will come out...because part of the skin will be cut. And it is open. *That* is the one that is satisfying.

In this excerpt, Carlos stresses that the part of the penis that becomes exposed (i.e., the glans) due to the operation is responsible for giving and receiving sexual pleasure. Carlos also mentioned that circumcision is necessary for conception. Carlos explained that since men want to have many children, being circumcised ensures that they are able to get their wives pregnant.

According to the ethnographic material on the Philippines, being a satisfying lover and impregnating one's wife are considered to be essential characteristics of being a man. As I discussed in chapter one, through sexual relations, a man can prove his "capability" and exercise his sexual "prowess" (Andres and Ilada-Andres 1987:83). A man who is able to sexually satisfy a woman is considered to be demonstrating his *pagkalalaki* (manliness) (Andres and Ilada-Andres 1987:85). Men who are able to get their wives pregnant believe they have provided proof of their virility and receive prestige from their peers (Kwiatkowski 1998:92). Men who are able to sire many children are considered to be "socially very responsible" and to be exemplars of manhood (Yu and Liu 1980:160).

For teenage boys in Purok Dagat, therefore, being circumcised is an essential part of what it means for one to become a man. The only way for them to "grow" men's bodies and for them to become sexually potent is through being circumcised. In order for them to be considered adequate lovers in the future and to be able to sexually satisfy and impregnate their lives, they must be circumcised.

Inspirasyon

In addition to responsibility and circumcision, teenage boys regard *inspirasyon* (inspiration) as being significant to what it means to become a man. *Inspirasyon* is a concept that the boys use when they talk about relationships with girls. The reason that *inspirasyon* is important to the boys' sense of manhood is that having a relationship with a girl is considered by the boys to be a defining characteristic of being a man. As Domingo said, "Whatever your face is like, if you have a girlfriend, you can prove that you are a true man."

Boys receive recognition from their peers for having a girlfriend. Boys may assume that this relationship is an outlet for demonstrating their sexual prowess. In order to constrain the relationships between teenage boys and girls (thereby avoiding premarital pregnancy), *inspirasyon* has emerged as a socially acceptable practice for expressing attraction or love among teenagers. The practice of *inspirasyon* directs the boys' attention away from having sexual relations with girls to focus it on academic achievement.

Inspirasyon is usually explained as when teenage boys and girls are inspired by their admiration of each other to do well in their work or studies. Nineteen year-old Joseph described inspiration the following way:

> Joseph: Okay, the importance of the girls to teenage boys is they are one of the inspirations for the studies of the boys.
> Steve: What exactly does that mean?
> J: It means that the girls are the inspiration because they love…they will say…I love that girl so I have an inspiration for my study. So, that I will study well for her. So, that I will always go to school to see her. (Laughs).
> S: Do the girls know that they are the inspiration for these boys?
> J: If they will talk and there is a commitment for a relationship. She would be the girlfriend and they know they are making…the boy knows they are making a commitment for the inspiration.

Some boys talked about how they are inspired by girls to study hard and do well in school. Sixteen year-old Victor mentioned that he and his girlfriend work very hard to get good grades in school in preparation for college. Victor stated that he and his girlfriend frequently spend time together at the school library studying and preparing for exams. Similarly, 16-year-old Enrique claimed that he is always present in class because a female classmate inspires him. He called her his *inspirasyon* and, although he had not yet developed a formal relationship with her, he hoped to inspire her though showing that he could be a model student.

Men are also aware of the importance of *inspirasyon* to teenage boys. For example, I discussed the concept with a group of men:

> Steve: When you were a teenager, was it important for you to have a girlfriend?
> Gustavo: I had a girlfriend when I was young. It was important because it gave me inspiration.
> S: Inspiration for what?
> G: Inspiration for my work and study.
> S: Okay.
> G: I studied with my girlfriend after school. So I went to school to see my girlfriend.

In this excerpt, 23-year-old Gustavo relates his experience with *inspirasyon* as a teenager. He considered the relationship that he had with a girl at that time to be important to his success because it inspired him to do well in school. Gustavo is a college graduate and has two small children. Gustavo also remarked that teenage boys could learn from the experience of *inspirasyon*. He said that if they put their studies first and see their girlfriends either to study or after they have completed their homework, then they can become successful.

Sexual Relations

Despite the efforts of adults to define relationships between teenage boys and girls in terms of *inspirasyon*, having sexual relations with girls continues to be of significant interest to teenage boys in Purok Dagat. According to the boys, having a girlfriend proves that one is a "true man." Being a "true man" implies virility or sexual potency. Furthermore, having physical relations with a girl proves to a boy's friends that he is virile enough to be a man.

Referred to in the Philippines as *maypagkalalaki*, sexual virility is particularly significant to males (Yu and Liu 1980:185). As I discussed in chapter one, the ethnographic literature on the Philippines emphasizes the importance for teenage boys to be initiated into sexual intercourse in order to prove their virility. In regards to his "second baptism" (the first being circumcision), a teenage boy is asked by his peers if he has yet been *nabinyagan* ("baptized" or initiated into sexual relations), and then he teased if he is "not yet a man" (Andres and Ilada-Andres 1987:82). As well, demonstrating one's virility through sexual intercourse is held in such high regard that groups of teenage boys will often accompany the "uninitiated" male to the house of a prostitute and may even pay for his encounter (Andres and Ilada-Andres 1987:87). Similarly, teenage boys believe that having sexual relations with a girl will make them feel "as a man, proud of having achieved something" (Jocano 1988:120). Additionally, boys expect each other to actively pursue relationships with girls. Boys who fail to show sufficient interest in girls may be considered to be lacking in manliness (Jocano 1988:53), homosexual, or impotent (Johnson 1997:94).

When teenage boys in Purok Dagat spend time with their male friends, they sometimes indulge in sexual innuendos about girls they know. For instance during an interview with five other boys, 19-year-old Edgar stated that instead of taking his girlfriend out, he *took* her at home (in other words, he "took" her sexually). This play on words in the presence of his male friends generated laughter as well as recognition of his sexual potency. In the same interview, Domingo discussed taking his girlfriend to the lagoon to "talk about the relationship." Domingo laughed and confessed that he had more in mind than just talking. He confided that talking was really an excuse to bring his

girlfriend to a private place where they could make out. Several of the boys told me that they frequently talk about girls while they are walking home in groups, during their *vacant time* (a daily free hour between classes at school), or when they are with their friends just outside the school grounds or near the rice field. Sex is a central theme during these discussions. For these boys sexual intercourse with a girl is an indicator of their virility and, ultimately, their manhood.

In addition to talking about girls, teenage boys in Purok Dagat spend time with their friends actively pursuing girls. The case of 19-year-old Edgar shows the importance to teenage boys of having sexual relations with girls and how teenage boys may resist adults' attempts to restrict their relationships with girls. When my research was conducted, Edgar had recently graduated from high school, but he did not have a regular job. Edgar's father, 59-year-old Francisco, is one of few men in Purok Dagat who has been able to obtain a regular, moderately well-paying job. He worked abroad for several years and then, upon his return, took a position at a manufacturing plant. The regular income from Francisco's employment has allowed him and his wife to support a large family and live in a relatively large house.

Since Francisco has been able to hold a regular job and provide for his family, he embodies the hegemonic masculine notion of being "socially responsible." This notion means that the father in the family is the breadwinner and is able to support a wife and several children (Margold 1995:281; Yu and Liu 1980:166). Francisco expects the same attainment from his son, Edgar. Furthermore, Francisco expects Edgar to attain a job before he becomes involved in a relationship with a girl. Since Edgar has been unable to find a job, his parents insist that he occupies his time during the day helping family

members by doing errands or work around the home. Edgar remarked that he usually spends his time during the day at his sister's house helping to take care of her two young children and sometimes running errands for her.

When Edgar has finished his daily familial duties (at around seven in the evening) he likes to meet his friends along the roadway near the entrance to Purok Dagat. Edgar mentioned that he and his friends talk with each other and watch for girls who pass by. Edgar talked about places in Purok Dagat that he goes with his friends regularly to admire girls:

> Steve: Why do you choose this place? Is there somewhere to sit there? It's a rice store. Why do you choose a rice store to meet your friends?
> Edgar: I chose this place because this girl is in charge of the store and my friend has a crush.
> S: Oh, okay. Does she know him well?
> E: No, they do not know each other. My friend only admires the girl.

Edgar reported that he and his friends urged their smitten comrade to make advances towards the girl who works in the rice store by involving her in conversation and making jokes. Edgar hoped that his friend would have the opportunity to act like a "true man". In other words, he wanted his friend to have a chance to develop a sexual relationship with the girl.

Edgar's father is aware that his son has an active interest in girls. In a thinly veiled commentary on his son's activities, he expressed disappointment about Edgar's pursuit of relationships with girls:

> Francisco: In the past there should be respect to everyone in the relationship between boyfriend and girlfriend. They want to have a relationship to the girlfriend, so they would respect the family of the girl. They don't just see each other anywhere. So, they should go to the house of the girl.
> Steve: Okay. And what about today?
> F: They are changing today to the opposite of that. You can see that some

> of the boyfriends and girlfriends will see each other anywhere. If in disco, that relationship will begin in the disco house.
> S: Okay, so what will happen?
> F: They are engaging each other without marriage.
> S: What do you mean engaging?
> F: They are living together without marriage. No respect to parents. They are not sacred living with each other without their family.

Francisco was particularly upset during this interview because he believed that Edgar was not showing proper respect to him or to the parents of girls in whom Edgar is interested. Furthermore, from Francisco's perspective, since Edgar has no job he would be unable to be support a family should he get a girl pregnant. Edgar's family would then suffer some embarrassment. In that case, instead of following in Francisco's footsteps by successfully providing for a large family and demonstrating that he is "socially responsible", Edgar would be forced to remain at home with his pregnant girlfriend, or worse yet, endure the shame of seeing her sent away by her family to distant relatives.

Faced with his father's disapproval of his pursuit of relationships with girls, Edgar uses a particular strategy to legitimize his activities: Edgar expresses his interest in girls in terms of *inspirasyon*. Edgar asserts to his father and to other adults in the community that he is interested in a particular girl who will give him inspiration to find work. Edgar, therefore, builds on his father's hope that he become "socially responsible" through having an *inspirasyon*. He remarks that by finding such a girl, he will be inspired to secure a career and begin a family.

In an interview with me, however, Edgar suggested that *inspirasyon* is really an excuse for pursuing sexual relations with girls. I asked him why it is important for him to be inspired by a girl. He remarked that he wanted to prove that he could be the first one "to get" (become intimate) with a girl. Edgar said that he is interested in girls who do not

have prior experience with other boys. He called these kinds of girls "innocent" and said that he wanted to "teach the girl about the relationship", particularly the physical relationship[8]. Suggesting to his parents that particular girls will inspire him to find work, Edgar subverts the concept of *inspirasyon* and uses it to mask his pursuit of sexual relationships with girls. The subversion of *inspirasyon* enables Edgar to resist his parents' control over his activities and to allow him to continue to pursue girls for the purpose of proving his virility.

As with their pursuit of sexual relations with girls, the boys' attitudes towards contraception reveal more about the inner workings of their masculinity. Teenage boys in Purok Dagat claimed that 60 to 70 percent of male high school students are sexually active[9]. With such a high rate of sexual intercourse, I wondered if the boys took steps to prevent pregnancy during their sexual adventures. I asked them how they avoid getting girls pregnant:

> Steve: What do you do about birth control?
> Cesar: Sex withdrawal.
> S: Yeah? Anything else? What about condoms?
> C: It is not effective.
> S: Why not?
> C: You do not feel the heat of your partners. It is best not to use condom.

In this excerpt, 19-year-old Cesar voices the concern of teenage boys that condoms interfere with sensations of pleasure during sexual intercourse. Teenage boys believe that

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[8] Female premarital chastity is generally regarded in the Philippines as important (see Andres and Ilada-Andres 1987:83; Jocano 1969:61; Jocano 1982:160; Jocano 1983:197; and Rutten 1982:52). In Purok Dagat, a girl who is no longer a virgin is most likely pregnant due to lack of available birth control or reluctance towards its use. The boys' preference for girls who are "innocent", therefore, may be a practical concern that enables them to court girls who are available. According to the boys, the premarital chastity of girls is not particularly important since the boys reported that they would consider marrying a girl who had already given birth to a child conceived with another man.

[9] Teen girls report a much lower rate of sexual activity, around 25 to 30 percent (Lisa Mitchell, personal communication, September 2004).

they cannot be satisfying lovers if they use condoms. Being a satisfying lover translates into being regarded as particularly virile and, therefore, manly. The use of condoms according to the boys, therefore, inhibits their ability to be effective lovers and calls into question their masculinity[10].

In the ethnographic literature on the Philippines, birth control is often considered by men to be a threat to their manhood. In Cebu, some men believe that to use some kind of birth control signifies that they are unable to be sufficient providers (Yu and Liu 1980:166). As I mentioned in chapter one, the number of children that a man is able to support is considered to be a testimony of his "economic competence" (his ability to provide) (Yu and Liu 1980:159). Men who are able to support many children are considered to be "very socially responsible" (Yu and Liu 1980:160). As well, men assert that their wives should not worry about having too many children because their husbands will provide for them economically (Yu and Liu 1980:163). As a result of men's disdain for contraception, conflicts may occur between husbands and wives over the use of birth control (Kwiatkowski 1998:92).

In addition to contraception, having more than one girlfriend is another topic that teenage boys in Purok Dagat brought up as being significant to their manhood. They referred to a male who has more than one girlfriend as a "playboy." I asked them what they thought about being a playboy:

> Steve: It is good to be a playboy?
> Domingo: It will sometimes cause problems.
> S: How come?
> D: There will be a time that both of those girls which you have relations will meet and then they will slap each other.

[10] Married women in Purok Dagat report that their husbands also refuse to use condoms. In addition, Barangay health workers at the local clinic claim that they sometimes have to give condoms out for free (Lisa Mitchell, personal communication, September 2004).

S: Really?
D: It's a very big problem for me. (Laughter)

Fifteen year-old Domingo describes the potential confrontation between two girls who are seeing the same boy. That Domingo brought up the scenario of two girls fighting over a boy instead of confronting him about his deception suggests that the boys consider themselves to be so irresistible to girls that they believe they can flaunt conventions of monogamy with impunity. To have one girlfriend is to be a "true man" but to have two is even better.

Ethnographic data on men in the Philippines support the position that men frequently engage in sexual relations with more than one woman in order to prove to their peers that they are particularly virile and masculine. As I outlined in chapter one for example, through extra-marital sexual relations, Filipino men attempt to prove their "capability" and exercise their sexual "prowess" (Andres and Ilada-Andres 1987:83). As well, men who have *queridas* (mistresses) increase their status among their peers (Andres and Ilada-Andres 1987:87; Yu and Liu 1980:191). In addition, having sex outside of marriage is seen by men to confirm a husband's manhood, especially if a child is born to a girlfriend (Rodell 2002:132). Although there is little ethnographic data that describes teenage males having multiple sexual partners, the above interview excerpt suggests that teenage boys consider being a playboy to be a way to gain recognition from their peers for their virility.

As I mentioned above in the case of Edgar and his father, Francisco, the interest of teenage boys in proving their virility to their peers through sexual relationships with girls conflicts with what adults in Purok Dagat consider to be acceptable behaviour for a teenage boy. Men condemn the pursuit of sexual relationships by teenage boys. The men

whom I interviewed claimed that, in relationships between teenage boys and girls these days, boys demonstrate a lack of respect towards girls and parents. For example, Francisco suggested that teenage boys and girls today sometimes meet in iniquitous locales like the "disco house." He also noted that these kinds of relationships frequently end up with the couple living together without the consent of their family. Such an arrangement is considered by adults to be contrary to the convention of "sacred living" (i.e., marriage before intercourse, pregnancy, and cohabitation).

Twenty-three year-old Gustavo also conveyed his opinion about relationships among teenagers today:

> Gustavo: There are some [teenage boys] that getting themselves into girl-friends. But it is play. It is a game. It is not a true relationship to each other.

In this excerpt, Gustavo claims that teenage boys do not take relationships with girls seriously. He believes that the boys consider a relationship with a girl to be "a game", "play", and a trophy to be won to indicate their sexual prowess. According to Gustavo, these boys are less interested in having a "true" relationship with a girl (one that is based on *inspirasyon* and mutual respect) than in pursuing frivolous sexual experiences.

The opinions of adult males show their disapproval of teenage boys' attempts to become men through sexual experiences. Engaging in sex before marriage contradicts adult notions of "good boy", in other words, one who has self control and respect for his parents and who concentrates on his studies (Lisa Mitchell, personal communication, September 2004). Teenage boys who depart from conventional behaviour in regards to relationships with girls risk being regarded by adults as irresponsible.

Sexual relationships continue to be a source of conflict between the boys and adults. The boys are resistant to adults' attempts to influence their love lives. For instance, 19-year-old Joseph talked about teenage boys whose parents have found out that the boys have girlfriends:

> Joseph: Some parents don't like that their teenage sons have a commitment for a relation with a girl.
> Steve: And what do the parents do?
> J: They talked to their child and said, "Could you please stop your relation to each other," and he could do it [have a girlfriend] after he graduates from high school.
> S: Do the boys listen to that usually?
> J: Some of them are listening to their parents and some are standing for their rights. "I know what I am doing." They think that they are doing right.

Joseph relates how teenage boys protest the curtailment of their relationships with girls. The boys believe that they are doing right and that they have the knowledge and responsibility to handle the relationship despite their parents' protests.

Being *macho*

Another important element of what it means to become a man for teenage boys in Purok Dagat is being *macho*. According to the notion of being *macho*, maleness is conceptualized in terms of big muscles and outstanding sports performance. In order to embody this notion, the boys measure the yearly progress of their bodies in the school clinic and enact *macho* behaviour on the basketball court.

One way that the boys understand being *macho* is to have a strong and muscular body. For example:

> Steve: What does it mean to be a man?
> Domingo: To have a good height. And *macho*.

S: *Macho*? What does it mean to be *macho*?
D: Nice firm muscles, big.
S: Big muscles?
D: Yes.
Joseph: Big muscles.
D: And carry one hundred fifty pounds.

In this example, Domingo identifies big muscles as a defining characteristic of being *macho*. Having a "good height" and weighing 150 pounds, too, figured as important. It is interesting to note that among the six boys who took part in this interview, only one of them exemplifies the characteristics of having the right height, the right weight, and big enough muscles to qualify as *macho*. Although at the time of the interviews the other boys did not have bodies that qualified as *macho*, these boys still aspired to this notion.

An interview with a second group of teenage boys emphasises the importance of looking *macho*:

Steve: What do you think a teenage boy should be like physically?
Cesar: *Macho* for the physical. Perfect body for the man.
S: Okay. And what sorts of things make it a perfect body?
C: You can see that he has muscles…good muscles to look. And also that you can measure the muscles of that guy.
S: We're talking big muscles here?
C: Yes.
S: Like…like a bodybuilder?
C: Yes. Like that.

In this excerpt, 19-year-old Cesar explains *macho* as an ideal physical characteristic for how teenage boys should look. He mentions having a "perfect body" with muscles that are measurable to the eye. The boys also made reference to Arnold Swartzenegger and Hulk Hogan as examples of muscular bodies to which the boys aspire.

The importance of big muscles as a defining characteristic of being *macho* was also supported by observations that I made watching younger boys in Purok Dagat draw pictures of their muscle-bound, comic book heroes. In these images, boyish faces are

adorned with muscular torsos, washboard abs, and stylish hair. It appears, then, that boys learn from a very early age about this masculine ideal of being *macho* and having big muscles.

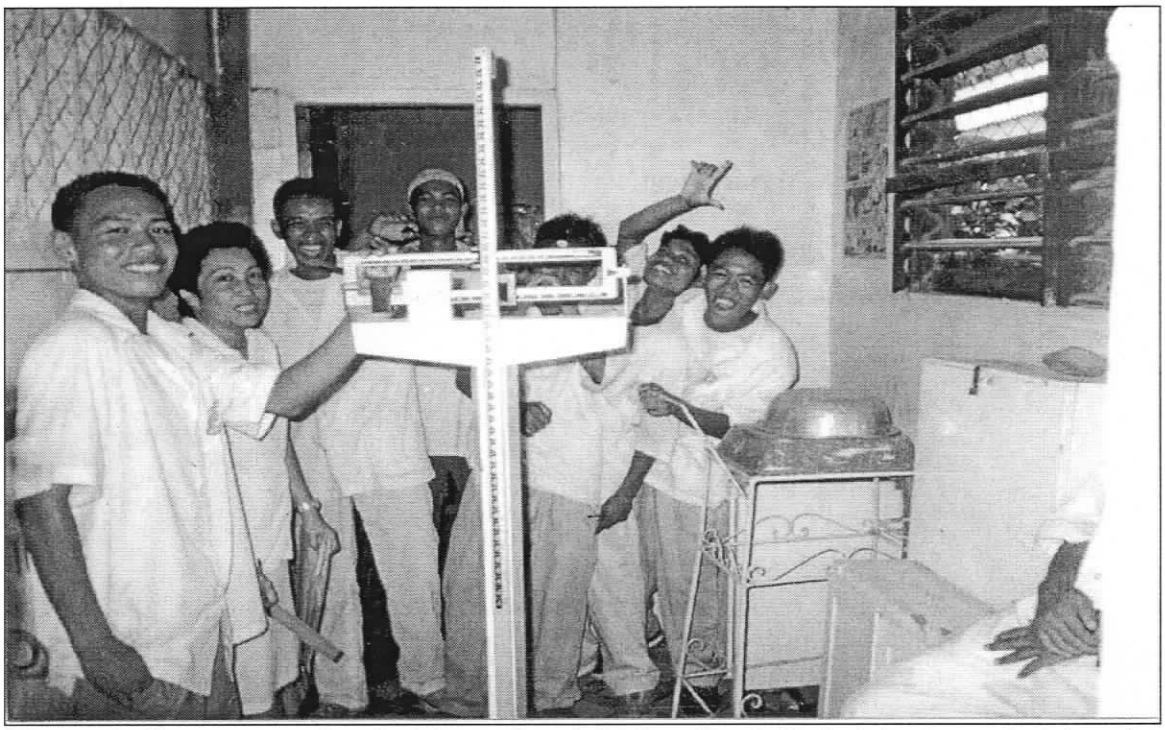

Figure 4: Boys measuring height and weight in school clinic (photograph taken by Luis).

Seventeen year-old Luis took the above picture of his classmates in the school clinic (see Figure 4). Luis said that in the picture his classmates are measuring their height and weight[11]. In taking this photograph, Luis was trying to document some of his daily experiences at school. This photograph comes from a collection of images that he took of students and teachers in classrooms, the library, and around the school grounds. Luis used the camera that I gave him mainly as a device with which to enhance his social interaction with those around him. In this picture, the boys are laughing and joking with

[11] These measurements are taken as part of an effort to compile municipal and regional statistics on malnutrition (Lisa Mitchell, personal communication, September 2004).

him. Luis's goal in taking this photograph, therefore, was to respond to my request to take photographs and also to share the novelty of a camera with which to engage others.

Through this photograph Luis was documenting the importance of the development of the body for teenage boys. Taking part in this yearly measurement of their height and weight in the school clinic allows teenage boys to measure how close they are to the ideal, *macho* body that is tall, muscular, and weighs 150 pounds. Measuring their bodies in small groups also allows the boys to determine the measurements of their friends so that they have an idea who is closest to being *macho*. Luis' photograph, therefore, brought to my attention the importance of the notion of being *macho* and also one of the ways in which teenage boys judge their own masculinity according to this notion.

Another way that teenage boys enact being *macho* is by playing basketball. Boys play basketball in the schoolyard after their classes at the end of the day as well as at local hoops in their neighbourhood. During these informal games, boys act *macho* by demonstrating their muscular coordination and exercising their bodies. Playing basketball allows the boys to emulate the exploits of professional basketball players. The players who the boys emulate during basketball games are the ideal of *macho* (i.e., big muscles, tall, and weighing well over 150 pounds). The boys frequently watch basketball games on television and often wear basketball tank-tops printed with professional team logos when they play. By playing basketball and emulating these stars on the basketball court, the boys enact being *macho* through the interactions with their peers during games.

Teenage boys usually involve themselves in games with between 6 to 12 friends. The largest (and most frequently used) basketball court in Purok Dagat is located at the end of the main road (see Figure 5 below).

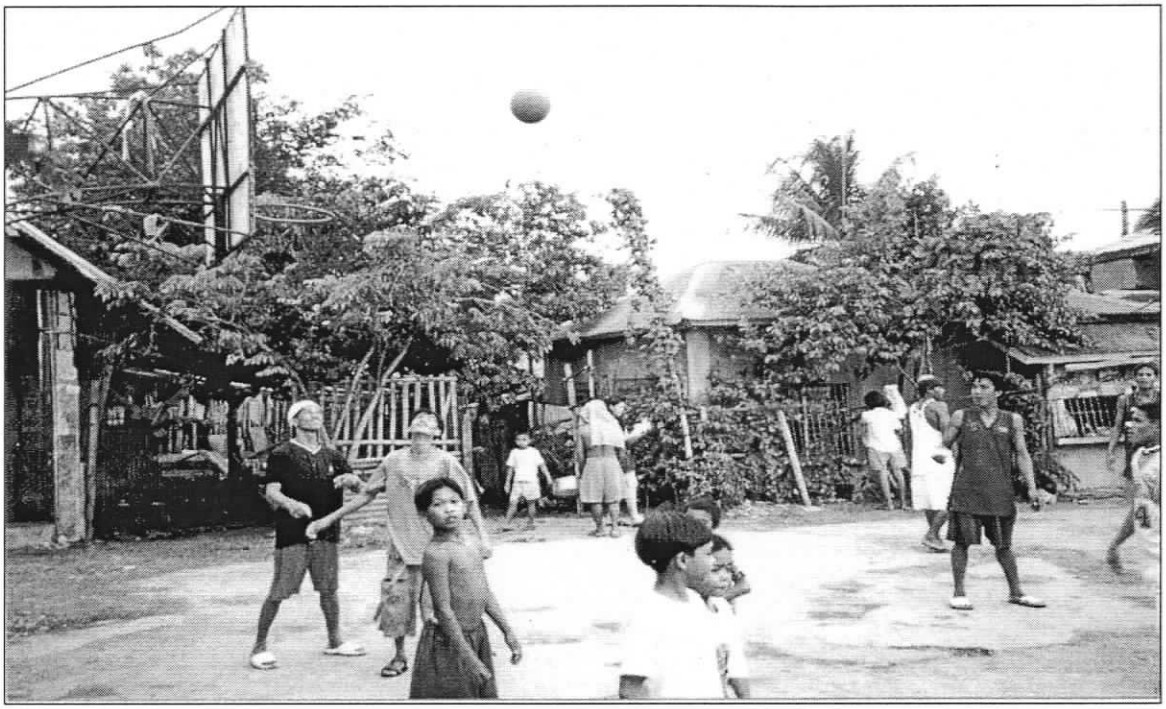

Figure 5: Boys' basketball game (Photograph taken by Stephen Lauer).

My intention in taking this photograph was to portray the very regular occurrence of teenage boys playing basketball Purok Dagat. Although I had witnessed teenage boys playing the game on numerous occasions and had played several games with them myself, this was the first time that I witnessed a game while I had my camera with me. The reason that I wanted to take this picture was to communicate that basketball in Purok Dagat is a big deal. There are three sizable courts in the community: one at the end of the main road (where this picture was taken), one near the shoreline, and another closer to the school. Since space is at a premium in the community and since families often have to relocate their homes in dangerous or polluted areas, the presence of basketball courts in such prominent places suggests that basketball is very important to the community.

In terms of the use of this image in my research, I wanted to show the discrepancy between the lack of available space for the housing of families and the use of prominent locales *for a game*. I also wanted to illustrate that for basketball courts to occupy such

central locales, somebody with influence in the community must believe that basketball is worth investing in. This photograph fit with my research interests, therefore, by allowing me to present the apparent discrepancy and use it to discuss the significance of basketball to the community and to teenage boys.

Teenage boys and young men tend to dominate and control the area of the basketball court. Younger males who venture onto the court during games are often pushed out of the way or shouted at. In addition, girls who want to play basketball may be labelled by the derogatory term "tomboy", which calls their femininity into question (Lisa Mitchell, personal communication, July 2005). Through discouraging others from using the court, teenage boys and young men reserve it as a space for enacting their masculinity.

While playing basketball, teenage boys enact aspects of masculinity based on the theme of competition. In a basketball game the boys divide themselves into teams of three to six players, strive to possess the ball, and attempt to score baskets. Although these actions do not appear particularly remarkable, the boys' motivations for competition and their responses to it reveal the underlying workings of their masculinity. The boys feel under pressure to excel in the game because a major part of their interaction while they rest between plays and after the game is to relate stories of exceptional plays and good players. As I noted above, teenage boys in Purok Dagat strive to emulate professional players who embody the notion of being *macho*. When the element of competition is added, however, the boys strive against their friends to gain recognition for their performance during a game. This recognition has ramifications for the boys' masculinity since to do poorly during the game translates into being considered

less *macho* than one who has demonstrated exceptional performance[12]. As well, boys who fail to make good plays may be teased as being uncircumcised (in other words, unmanly). The boys, therefore, play hard to receive recognition for being *macho*.

As a result of the fact that teenage boys feel impelled to perform exceptionally during games, there are sometimes hostilities between boys. Seventeen year-old Luis noted that conflicts break out on the basketball court, because players who are trying hard to do better than each other become frustrated. He said that these misunderstandings happen when a boy is getting too serious or acting too *macho*. Other boys in the game may react to the aggressive boy and call him by the derogatory term *bugalon* (proud) and sometimes resort to shoving matches or very infrequently fistfights. These conflicts tend to happen when a boy is trying so hard to prove himself on the court that he oversteps the boundaries of what the other boys consider appropriate behaviour for a man. This aggressive behaviour includes body-checking or pushing other boys, verbal taunts towards competitors, and gloating after scoring.

Although sports competition is a route for the enactment of masculinity among teenage boys in Purok Dagat, its use is constrained by the expectation of humility as a standard of masculine behaviour. Teenage boys consider pride to be denigrating to their masculinity. For example, 16-year-old Jason and 15-year-old Domingo identified the importance of humility and pride to what it means to become a man:

> Steve: What are important things about being a man?
> Jason: One of the important things is that you are good to others.
> Domingo: Should be humble.
> S: Do you have a word for someone who is not humble?
> D: You call it *bugalon*.

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[12] Sports scholarships to colleges promoted in the Purok also encourage competition among the boys during games. There are also frequent basketball tournaments between different Puroks that promote an atmosphere of competitiveness among the boys (Lisa Mitchell, personal communication, September 2004).

S: And what does it mean to be *bugalon*?
J: They are putting down others.
D: Most of them have very high pride.

In this excerpt, the boys identify humility and pride as indicators for what it means to be a man. When boys enact *macho* behaviour while they play basketball, they walk a fine line between humility and pride. If on one hand, they are too aggressive in trying to demonstrate their skill, then they risk being called *bugalon* (proud). If on the other hand, they act too meekly, then they miss their opportunity to receive recognition from their friends for their performance. As well, boys who play poorly are sometimes teased as being uncircumcised (in other words, unmanly). To protect their own sense of masculinity, therefore, the boys put a lot of effort into competition during games.

Although the boys negotiate the notions of being *macho* by scoring baskets and receiving recognition for their plays from their friends, basketball is also considered to be a way to make teenage boys more responsible. For example, several of the boys communicated the slogan, "Do sports. Don't do drugs" when discussing suitable activities for teenage boys. Similarly, the theme of sports and masculinity emerged in a focus group composed of adult males:

Steve: What are things that one should learn about becoming a man?
Gustavo: You should indulge yourself in sports.
S: Okay sports. Why is it important to do sports?
G: So that they [teenage boys] could focus themselves into sports, not into drugs.

Twenty-three year-old Gustavo relates his opinion that becoming a man includes the pursuit of sports activity and the avoidance of drug use. Additionally, the government of Negros Occidental supports the idea that sports make teenage boys more responsible. One of their mandates is to develop and promote sports programmes for youth. One

government official who was enthusiastically devoted to these kinds of programmes stated that sports could improve the lives of impoverished youth by giving them "goals and discipline" (Lisa Mitchell, personal communication, September 2004). Through being involved in sports, teenage boys participate in an activity that is believed to form them into responsible men[13].

Barkadas

In addition to responsibility, circumcision, and inspiration, sexual relations and being *macho*, teenage boys' *barkadas* are significant to their manhood. *Barkadas* are groups of friends with whom teenagers spend considerable time socializing. As I mentioned in chapter one, *barkadas* usually evolve from boys' play groups and provide males with a sense of solidarity, an outlet for sharing ideas and interests, and a source of aid during romantic relationships and physical altercations (Morais 1981:75). The members of a *barkada* are usually around the same age and from the same social class (Ness 2003:221). As well, the bond that they form is extremely strong and long-lasting (Rodell 2002:123). A young man's "gang mates" frequently end up being lifelong friends and these associations are often the basis for securing business partnerships as well as political appointments[14] (Rodell 2002:124). *Barkadas* are characterized by affection, loyalty, and friendship and are frequently articulated as being closer than consanguineous

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[13] The underlying assumption according to this perspective is that "goals and discipline" are enough to enable the boys to overcome their poverty. This conclusion, however, seems to be erroneous considering the prevalence of poverty in Purok Dagat despite the presence of such programmes. It is unlikely that goals and discipline alone are enough to overcome the boys' conditions of poverty. Financial assistance for families and funding for educational programmes may be a better use of government funds.

[14] In Purok Dagat, these ties are the basis of networks of shared information, access to employment, shared *tricycads* (tricycle taxis), and shared fishing boats (Lisa Mitchell, personal communication, September 2004).

relationships (Alsaybar 1999:120). Although both teenage boys and teenage girls in the Philippines have *barkadas*[15], a *barkada* is widely regarded as a "brotherhood, a male-bonding and masculinity-constructing institution" (Alsaybar 1999:120).

Teenage boys in Purok Dagat describe their relationships with their *barkadas* as being very close. For example, 16-year-old Jason presented to me a picture of himself posing with four friends from his *barkada* (see Figure 6):

Figure 6: Jason and his friends *stand by* (Photograph taken by Jason's friend).

By taking this photograph, Jason's intention was to show how important to him are relationships with his friends. Many of the photographs that he took portray images of friends and relatives whom Jason described as "loving", "responsible", or "helpful." Jason responded to my request to take photographs by taking images of things in his life

[15] Teenage girls in Purok Dagat also talk about their *barkadas*. They use the term to refer to their friends or girlfriends (Lisa Mitchell, personal communication, September 2004).

that made him happy or people that he said he loves. The underlying theme in his images, therefore, is that helping each other is the way that people are able to deal with the challenges of daily life and that through friendship and love one becomes happy.

Jason discussed the above photograph:

> Jason: These are my friends. We are treating each other. We are like brothers to each other.
> Steve: How are you like brothers?
> J: We are helping each other and if one has nothing, we will help him to have something.
> S: Like money or food?
> J: Yes. We are sharing with each other.
> S: What sorts of things do you do together?
> J: We are doing some games like basketball, volleyball, billiards and sometimes we treat each other. We treat.

In this excerpt, Jason describes the members of his *barkada* as being "like brothers." The boys are close enough that sharing with each other is an essential ingredient in their activities. Jason talks about the boys treating each other to snacks or to activities like billiards. The boys cultivate closeness with each other by sharing and supporting each other.

Teenage boys in Purok Dagat cultivate close *barkada* relationships through many different activities. When they go to the billiard hall, for instance, they share the money that they have with each other so that each person has an equal opportunity to play. The game, instead of focussing on competition, emphasizes the participation of all members of the *barkada* and the equal sharing of resources. Similarly, when the boys play video games in an arcade they take turns playing the same game rather than each individual boy playing his own game. The boys gather around the one playing and cheer his performance or joke about it. As well, when the boys go to the mall, they also spend time

browsing in clothing stores, looking at the newest styles of Nike and Adidas trainers, and treating their friends to drinks or snacks.

When the boys are in their *barkadas*, they sometimes involve themselves in an activity called *stand by*. The term *stand by* roughly translates to that which is defined in North America as "hanging out". Teenage boys in Purok Dagat *stand by* with their *barkadas* along the main road outside the school yard where many *tricycads* (tricycle taxis) congregate, outside *sari sari* stores (small family grocery stores), and near the local rice field.

As the boys *stand by* along the main road and engage their *barkada* by making jokes and telling stories, they watch to see who is passing by on foot. As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, teenage boys in Purok Dagat spend a good deal of their time talking about girls. As a result, their jokes and stories often focus on the subject of girls. As girls pass by, the boys make verbal contact with them and attempt to involve them in conversation. Boys urge each other to interact with particular girls that they like. As I discussed earlier in this chapter, boys receive recognition from their friends if they are able to pursue sexual relationships with girls. If a boy is successful in attracting a girl to linger on her way home from school and to flirt with him, the boy's *barkada* mates laud his success and comment on his *pagkalalaki* (manliness). Wooing girls while the boys *stand by*, therefore, is an opportunity for teenage boys in Purok Dagat to enact their manhood in a way that diverges from the notions of masculinity prescribed for teenage boys by adults.

The boys remarked that they go places with their *barkadas* for the specific purpose of meeting girls. Some of the places that the boys mentioned include the local sports complex, the mall, their school, fiestas, and the "highway" (the nearest major road).

When they go to these places, *barkadas* of teenage boys encourage and support each other to pursue girls in whom they are interested. Their coordinated effort to support each other shows the important role that *barkadas* play in the boys' masculinity. The *barkada* encourages boys to demonstrate their manliness (*pagkalalaki*) by pursuing girls with the goal of proving their virility.

Although *barkada* relationships and activities encourage the boys' sense of manliness, adults in Purok Dagat may be apprehensive about the boys' activities. Many adults perceive *barkadas* of teenage boys to be a potential source of trouble. For example, the negative connotation associated with teenage boys who *stand by* is illustrated in an excerpt from an interview with 32-year-old Roberto:

> Roberto: Okay, they are sitting in every corner in different places and looking at somebody's back…waiting for what will happen….
> Steve: What does that mean to be looking at somebody's back?
> R: *Stand by*…that is what we call them *stand by*….
> S: Does that mean friends who take care of each other?
> R: No, no, no, no. It's just when you pass by and then they are looking at you. And then they will think of something to do and then they will tell somebody, "Who's that guy?"
> S: Okay. And so are they involved in…. Is this done maliciously?
> R: No, no, no. But it will maybe cause…negative and sometimes positive effects. And if it will cause negative effects, of course it may cause trouble.

In this example, Roberto alludes to the fear felt by many adult members of the community towards *barkadas* of teenage boys who *stand by*.

From an adult perspective, groups of teenage boys who *stand by* constitute a threat[16]. As a result, adults are often suspicious of teenage boys and their *barkadas* and they

[16] *Barkadas* are sometimes associated with the gangs (*fraternities* or *frats*) in the area. Adults report that gang members carry weapons and intimidate people (Lisa Mitchell, personal communication, September 2004). Several men that I talked to, however, claimed that there are no longer gangs in Purok Dagat. They said that *fraternities* were popular in the 1980s but that gang members had since aged and had forsaken

frequently talk about them with disdain. For example, the mother of 17-year-old Luis said that teenage boys who *stand by* are irresponsible. She declared that instead of wasting their lives with their *barkadas* and getting into trouble, the boys should be working or helping their families. Similarly, 59-year-old Francisco asserted that *barkadas* have a negative effect on boys. He proclaimed that due to the influence of their *barkadas*, boys are inclined to fight with their parents for the freedom to be with their *barkadas* whenever they want. As a result, he argued, the boys neglect their responsibilities.

Adults sometimes use rhetoric about the prevalence of drug abuse to justify their disapproval of teenage boys' activities. For example, Francisco claimed that teenage boys today are irresponsible because instead of working, they meet with their *barkadas* to use drugs. Similarly, 47-year-old Jorge stated that in the past teenage boys were concerned for their family's welfare. He asserted that now, however, teenage boys neglect their families to abuse drugs. I asked him about the use of drugs by teenage boys:

> Steve: How big of a problem are drugs among teenage boys?
> Jorge: There are 30 percent into drugs.
> S: Is this boys or everyone?
> J: The boys. There are some who are using *shabu* and marijuana[17]. There are prostitutes using cocaine.

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their gang ties in order to raise families. As well, 15-year-old Victor claimed that the activities of the few existing *frats* focus on the abuse of drugs rather than the perpetration of violent crime.

[17] In the Philippines the most common drugs are marijuana, *shabu* (methamphetamine) and *rugby* (aromatic solvents). Marijuana is cultivated and used throughout the archipelago despite severe sentences for possession and the threat of vigilante-style killings by death squads (Drug War Chronicle 2004). Methamphetamine (*shabu*) is commonly prescribed as a treatment for narcolepsy and attention deficit hyperactivity disorder. It stimulates nerve cells in the brain and spinal cord to increase nerve activity and alertness, and prolonged use of the drug is considered to be habit forming (WholeHealthMD.com 2000). *Shabu* laboratories in the Philippines produce the third largest supply of methamphetamine on the world's black market (UNODC 2002). In the Philippines, *shabu* is the "drug of choice" among substance abusers and, according to the UN Office on Drugs and Crime, it accounts for 95 percent of all drug use in the region (UNODC 2002). *Rugby* (aromatic solvents) is an inhalant that is commonly used by street children in the Philippines to assuage their hunger pains (Bordadera 2003). Since *rugby* is cheap, widely available, and requires no paraphernalia to use, it may be seen as the low-cost choice for drug use by the poor.

As Cohen (Tan 2004:143) notes, societies may be subject to periodic occurrences of moral panic. Cohen (Tan 2000:143) further argues that during these episodes particular groups of people become identified as threats to the values and interests of society and are portrayed in the media in a stereotyped fashion. During the moral panic about HIV/AIDS that began in the Philippines in the late 1980s, for example, the threat of the emerging epidemic was characterized in terms of the decline of morality and the rise of criminality (Tan 2000:153). As well, some groups portrayed the epidemic as a "punishment from God" for immoral actions in the Philippines such as prostitution and homosexuality (Tan 2000:153). Other, more secular attempts to attribute blame for the epidemic identified first foreigners (particularly those of African dissent) and then those of supposedly questionable moral fibre such as female sex workers as sources of the virus in the Philippines (Tan 2000:148-149). Attempts to control the spread of the virus led to the process of identifying and policing populations that indulge in "risky behaviour" such as sex trade workers, those who engage in sex with multiple partners, and intravenous drug users (Tan 2000:154).

The concern over the consumption and sale of illicit drugs in the Philippines can be understood in the same light. The so-called "war on drugs" in the Philippines is a moral panic that generates considerable media attention and has percolated into the consciousness of most Filipinos. Public apprehension over the extent of the drug problem is continuously fed by the media. Headlines are saturated with the latest news of drug factories, the arrest of drug "vendors", and reports of efforts to protect youth from drug traffickers (for examples, see Borinaga 2005; Cabotaje and Versoza 2004; Cimatu 2004; Perolina 2005; Smith 2004). As a result of sensationalized reports of drug trafficking and

enforcement in the Philippines as portrayed in television, radio, and newspapers, and through the association of drugs with a decline in morality, Filipinos may be willing to support government efforts to take extreme measures against drugs. For example, public support (or, at least, ambivalence) for the use of violence as a means of drug enforcement is evident from the many reports of death squads employed by local politicians (see Zarate 2004). People may be so fearful of the spread of drugs that they may turn a blind eye to extreme measures to deal with the problem. The threats of drug abuse appear to be everywhere.

Despite rampant fears about drug addiction in the Philippines as well as the pervasiveness in Purok Dagat of the theory that *barkadas* prompt drug abuse, some adults recognize that drug use by teenage boys is part of a larger problem. For example, 86-year-old Vicente discussed the link between teenagers, drugs, and unemployment:

> Steve: What do you think about teenagers?
> Vicente: Some who have income for the day use it for drugs. Others are spending it for liquors.
> S: Is this a big problem among teenagers?
> V: Yes, it is a very big problem here in our community. The teenager as of now does not have a stable job. So, if there is a chance that they can find a job, they will go for it, for the job. If there is no job, they will stay in their house together with their friends...or going to somewhere else.
> S: If teenage boys are with their friends, where do they go?
> V: If the groups [*barkadas*] have money, they spend it. They go to some place where there is a fest.
> S: Fest?
> V: Fiesta. So, together with their friends they are celebrating and drinking.

Vicente suggests that teenagers use drugs because they are unemployed and have nothing to do. With nothing better to do, the boys meet with their *barkadas* to use drugs and alcohol. Vicente implies, however, that if the boys had the opportunity to get stable jobs, they would not be inclined to abuse drugs and alcohol.

Thirty-two year-old Roberto also indicated that unemployment is a factor in drug use by teenage boys:

> Roberto: We have lots and lots of out-of-school youth here in our community. So, even though they are not studying, as long as they have something decent to earn money...then they can help their family. Because what children tend to do when they are out of school...they tend to turn to drugs.

Roberto declares that a substantial portion of teenage boys are out-of-school and are unable to secure meaningful employment. Without the opportunity to contribute economically to improve the lives of their families, he argues, teenage boys get involved in drugs as an escape from their conditions of poverty.

The lack of access to meaningful employment among the boys is directly related to their level of education. Nineteen year-old Joseph discussed the relationship between employment, higher education, and poverty among teenage boys in Purok Dagat:

> Joseph: You know what? Most of the guys here are high school graduates, but they did not get help from their parents…did not help to send them to college...to be professionals.
> Steve: What happened because of that?
> J: Because of that they will find a job. Some are in the construction. Some are tricycle drivers and others are fish vendors.
> S: Do you think they are happy in that life?
> J: It is hard for them in that life. They find it hard.

Joseph draws attention to the fact that most teenage boys in Purok Dagat are unable to go to college because their parents cannot afford to support the costs of enrolment. As a result, the boys cannot attain stable, well-paying employment. They have to be content working as either fish vendors, a tricycle drivers, or working in construction[18]. These jobs are not the occupations to which the boys aspire. The boys told me that they want to

[18] These jobs rank fairly high in Purok Dagat. The low paying or low status jobs include "errand boy," plastic seller, and sweeper. Even fishing provides insufficient earnings to support a family (Lisa Mitchell, personal communication, September 2004).

become professionals such as engineers or marine pilots. The sad reality is that although teenage boys in Purok Dagat today are more educated then their fathers, they have few employment opportunities.

Since most of the boys are unable to attend college and, therefore, incapable of fulfilling their desires for meaningful careers, teenage boys focus their efforts on their activities with their *barkadas*. The boys sometimes occupy their time by going to parties with their friends. When the boys gather for these occasions, they sing along with a karaoke machine, drink alcohol, and socialize with their friends.

As I discussed in chapter one, according to the ethnographic literature on the Philippines, alcohol plays a key role in male social activities. For example, in metropolitan Manila, drinking is considered by men to be a way to establish feelings of trust, intimacy, and equality with each other as well as a means to celebrate (Berner 1997:91). In Cebu, men are proud of paying for their friends' drinks because it signifies that they are "economically able" and, therefore, particularly manly (Yu and Liu 1980:166). As well, when men drink, they may participate in the custom of *tagay*: taking turns drinking from a single glass that is filled with alcohol and then passed around by the *kapitan bote* (captain of the bottle) (Berner 1997:91). The ability to maintain the outward appearance of sobriety throughout countless rounds of *tagay* is indicative of being inherently *macho* (tough) and manly (Berner 1997:91).

For teenage boys, the consumption of alcohol in their *barkadas* is also considered to be a way for them to prove themselves as men (Tan 2004). I asked teenage boys in Purok Dagat about their drinking:

> Steve: What kinds of alcohol do you drink?
> Cesar: We drink Red Horse beer, gin pomelo, tandu white [rum]....

S: When do you do this? When do you drink?
C: If there will be an occasion.

The boys reported that they drink together at birthday parties, at fiestas, and during fests (festivals for Catholic saints). When teenage boys in Purok Dagat attend fiestas with their *barkadas*, they involve themselves in drinking contests. As the boys drink, they encourage each other to be *macho* (tough or strong) by holding their own despite the volume of alcohol consumed.

Drinking to excess and remaining conscious proves to a teenage boy and to his *barkada* that he is *macho* enough to be a man. He is able to withstand the effect of the alcohol and excel in singing karaoke regardless of his hampered state. He sings ballads to girls with whom he is enamoured and sometimes demonstrates the latest hip-hop dance moves to his friends. His *macho* behaviour draws attention to his capabilities and helps to achieve recognition for his manhood.

Since teenage boys are usually unable to afford large quantities of beer for their *barkadas*, they optimise their money by sharing a bottle of inexpensive alcohol. Gin and white rum are considered favourites because they are relatively inexpensive. One bottle of gin is costs about the same as a bottle of beer. Older teenage boys who have jobs and can afford more sometimes drink beer, especially San Miguel Red Horse (which is considered to be stronger than regular beer).

In addition to the boys' own beliefs about drinking, media messages also encourage the consumption of alcohol among teenage boys by associating drinking with masculinity. For instance, in her analysis of alcohol advertising in the Philippines, Valbuena argues that:

> Alcohol advertisements present a direct link between alcohol and happiness, sexual conquest, success, and excitement. Alcohol drinkers are portrayed as heroic, attractive, athletic, or successful. [Valbuena 2001:14]

Advertising sometimes associates key elements of Filipino masculinity (such as virility, athleticism, or financial success) with alcohol and, therefore, influences teenage boys to drink. The boys internalize their desire to become a man in terms of the consumption of alcoholic beverages. For instance, San Miguel Red Horse beer is considered by many adolescent males and young men to be a particularly desirable brand to drink. In television commercials for this brand, twenty-something males are portrayed as trying this beer for the first time. In one particular commercial, after his first taste of Red Horse beer, the actor's head snaps back, denoting that this beer has a "kick" (San Miguel Corporation 2005). The ability to withstand the "kick" suggests that one has crossed over a crucial threshold between adolescence and manhood. As well, being able to endure the "kick" also implies that one is virile enough to deserve attention from one of the scantily-clad, female models who are, apparently, inexorably drawn to young men who drink Red Horse beer.

These media messages build upon teenage boys' existing conceptions of masculinity in order to introduce specific products into their daily lives. Alcohol is already an important element in the boys' activities with their *barkadas*. As I noted above, enduring the consumption of relatively large volumes of alcohol and remaining conscious is a way that the boys can prove that they are *macho* (tough) and worthy of being called men. Alcohol advertising provides an additional incentive for teenage boys to drink because the males portrayed in television commercials represent the boys' epitome of what a young man should be (e.g., virile, *macho*, athletic, and attractive). The boys' desire to

embody these masculine traits influences them to incorporate into their *barkada* activities the consumption of particular brands of alcohol that are believed to instil in them desirable traits of manliness.

Although men talk about teenage boys' use of drugs and consumption of alcohol with disdain, men admit that their own activities, both past and present, are not free from indulgences[19]. For instance, I asked a group of men what they did for fun when they were teenagers:

> Jorge: We drank. Go together with our friends.
> Steve: Where did you go?
> J: Outings. To the beach. Sometimes we went to the disco.

The men acknowledge that they used to drink when they were teenagers and frequent discos. Although the men identified discos, night clubs, and bars as places where teenage boys should not go, they did not reflect much on their own past transgressions. As well, men in Purok Dagat frequently socialize with their friends or male relatives after work and consume alcohol (usually beer), either in the context of conversation, while they watch sports on television, or when they gamble.

The men seem to be unaware that there might be a connection between their own indulgences and the sorts of activities in which teenage boys today partake. Although the men vilify the evils of substance abuse (particularly drugs that were not around when they were teenagers), through their own consumption of alcohol, men set an example for teenage boys. According to my informants, children of parents who drink regularly are

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[19] Besides alcohol, gambling is another common activity among men. For example, 50-year-old Miguel (father of 19-year-old Joseph) is an admitted gambler. He grew up watching his father work as a *gapper* (one who ties spurs to the legs of fighting cocks at the beginning of matches). Although he seldom frequents the cock ring (*bulang*) due to his wife's protests, he still compulsively gambles in the Purok, often taking the neighbours in card games. Despite his unrepentant attitude towards his gambling habit, he confessed that he does not want his son to "follow in the footsteps of a gambler."

likely to experiment with alcohol. For instance, 15-year-old Victor discussed children of parents who drink:

> Steve: Do you know any parents who drink a lot?
> Victor: Yes, my uncle.
> S: What are the children like?
> V: Sometimes when the parents are not around, they also try to drink some liquors.

Victor identifies the link between the parents' drinking and their children's experimentation with alcohol. Since men in the community exemplify the masculine characteristics of virility and toughness (*macho*) that they have cultivated during their difficult lives, teenage boys look up to them. When the boys see men consuming alcohol, they recognize a pattern to emulate. These men may be models who unwittingly encourage teenage boys to develop similar habits of substance abuse.

Summary

In this chapter I argued that ideas about responsibility, circumcision, *inspirasyon*, having sexual relations with girls, being *macho* and *barkadas* are important influences on the masculinity of teenage boys in Purok Dagat. The notion of responsibility emphasizes being able to depend on oneself and helping others. The boys enact responsibility through financial independence from their parents, saving money, getting a job upon completion of high school, and helping family members with work, finances, and childcare, as well as dealing with confrontations. Circumcision (*palta*) is believed to help change the boys of bodies into bodies of men. Circumcision also ensures that when they are married, the boys will be able to sexually satisfy and impregnate their wives. *Inspirasyon* directs the boys' interest in girls away from sex and towards academic achievement.

In addition, teenage boys believe that having sexual relations with girls is a way that they can prove their virility. By having a girlfriend, making sexual innuendos in front of their friends, and actively pursuing girls the boys express their virility in the context of their everyday activities. I also discussed the reactions of men to teenage boys' attempts at sexual relations with girls and noted men's disdain and concern regarding the boys' activities. As well, through the notion of being *macho*, teenage boys conceive of manhood in terms of big muscles and physical prowess. The boys enact being *macho* when they measure their height and weight in the school clinic and also when they play basketball.

Additionally in this chapter, I asserted that *barkadas* are important to the boys' masculinity. I discussed how the boys cultivate close relationships with their *barkadas* to support each other in expressing their manhood. I argued that *barkadas* encourage the boys to attract and pursue girls in order to prove their *pagkalalaki* (manhood). As well, I noted adult disapproval of the boys' activities and discussed the discrediting of *barkadas* in terms of a discourse about drug addiction. I suggested that adults' concern about the boys' use of drugs may reflect more accurately the media-exacerbated moral panic about drugs than the reality among teenage boys in Purok Dagat. I also asserted that the boys consider the consumption of alcohol to be important to their masculinity. I stated that *barkadas* encourage the boys to be *macho* by remaining conscious during drinking contests at parties. Finally, I suggested that the drinking habits of men in the community may unwitting influence the behaviour teenage boys.

In the next chapter, I discuss my findings. I assess aspects of the boys' masculinity in terms of community responses to economic conditions of poverty and unemployment. As

well, I look at how conflict between teenage boys and adults over the boys' masculinity reflects intergenerational relations of power.

In the last chapter, I reviewed the key aspects of masculinity among teenage boys in Purok Dagat. I explained how responsibility, circumcision, *inspirasyon*, sexual relations, being *macho,* and *barkadas* influence what it means for the boys to become men. I argued that the boys enact the notion of being responsible through depending on oneself and helping others. Depending on oneself includes demonstrating one's financial independence from one's parents and getting a job upon completion of high school. Helping others includes helping family members with problems and supplementing parental care for younger siblings. I also asserted that circumcision is believed to make the bodies of boys grow into bodies of men and to ensure that when the boys are ready to be married, they will be able to sexually satisfy and impregnate their wives. In addition, I argued that *inspirasyon* redirects teenage boys' interest away from having sexual relations with girls to focus it on academic achievement. As well, I argued that through sexual relations with girls, teenage boys receive recognition from their friends for their virility. Additionally, I stated that through being *macho* the masculinity of teenage boys is conceptualized in terms of big muscles and performance on the basketball court. Finally, I argued that *barkadas* influence teenage boys to prove their virility by pursuing girls and to show that they are *macho* during drinking sessions.

In this chapter I discuss the significance of this material. I argue that aspects of the boys' masculinity are grounded in community responses to economic conditions of poverty and unemployment. In addition, I assert that their masculinity has its basis in mainstream hegemonic masculinity. I also argue that particular aspects of the boys' masculinity are a source of conflict between teenage boys and adults and that this conflict reflects intergenerational relations of power.

The expressions of masculinity portrayed in my data are all hegemonic since they are either reflected in the ethnographic literature as expressions of the dominant form of masculinity, or they are identified by adults in the community as the right way for teenage boys to act in order to become men. There is a divergence, however, between hegemonic masculinity in the Philippines as portrayed in the ethnographic literature (and which is enacted by adult males in Purok Dagat) and community-sanctioned notions of masculinity for teenage boys in Purok Dagat. This divergence is a result of adults' efforts to direct the masculinity of teenage boys away from particular aspects of hegemonic masculinity common in the Philippines and towards community-sanctioned notions of masculinity that are socially or economically productive. The tension that develops between teenage boys and adults occurs when the boys continue to pursue hegemonic aspects of their masculinity that adults deem objectionable, such as sexual relations with girls and drinking with their *barkadas*.

I argue that the defining of teenage boys' masculinity in terms of responsibility, circumcision, *inspirasyon*, and being *macho* has its basis in community responses to economic conditions of poverty and unemployment. These notions of masculinity are not biologically innate, but are what Gilmore (1990:5) calls "collective respresentations." According to this concept, what it means to become a man is controlled and defined by the community in which a male finds himself (Gilmore 1990:5). Through the feedback of sanction and reward, males are encouraged to enact particular characteristics of maleness that are considered to be beneficial to the community (Gilmore 1990:4). In Purok Dagat, the masculinity of teenage boys is a collective representation that is controlled and defined by adults in their community. As a result of economic conditions of poverty and

unemployment, adults feel motivated to define teenage boys' masculinity in terms of characteristics that are productive either socially or economically. The boys are then given constructive feedback for behaving in ways that support these community-sanctioned notions of masculinity or discouraged from enacting aspects of their manhood that conflict with these notions.

Teenage boys are expected to fulfill community-sanctioned notions of masculinity through the attainment of particular goals or attributes. These goal-oriented achievements, which Herzfeld (1985:16) calls the "performative excellence" of masculinity, are demonstrated by the boys in such attainments as getting a job upon completion of high school, saving money from their daily allowance, helping family members with work, and so on. The performance of these activities is considered by adults to prepare the boys to deal with conditions of poverty and unemployment, to help ready them for the responsibility of raising a family, and to encourage them to take an active role helping their parents and siblings.

The influence of economic conditions on masculinity is described in other ethnographic studies of men. For instance among Puerto Rican immigrants to the United States in the 1940s and 1950s, work-related definitions of manliness became paramount and being *un hombre y derecho* (a complete man) meant demonstrating one's ability to earn a stable income and taking full responsibility for supporting a family (Singer *et al.* 1992:90). These immigrant men who became unemployed during the 1970s due to the changing nature of blue-collar jobs in the U.S. were faced with their worst fears: the dread of feeling blamed for being inadequate, for failing their families, and for being unable to succeed where other men had thrived (Singer *et al.* 1992:90). As a result of this

economic down-turn, these men sought refuge in one of the few manly expression in their lives that they had left, the consumption of alcohol (Singer *et al.* 1992:93). Hard drinking replaced hard work as an expression of the men's masculinity, and alcohol "was transformed from compensation for the sacrifices of achieving success into salve for the tortures of failure" (Singer *et al.* 1992:93).

Similarly, among descendents of these Puerto Rican immigrants who grew up in the Bronx in the 1970s, male heads of households suffer assaults on their sense of masculine dignity resulting from repeated experiences of economic failure (Bourgois 1995:215). Unable to fulfill Puerto Rican concepts of masculine respect that focus on men's abilities to support large families, these men attempt to maximize their progeny through having children with numerous girlfriends (Bourgois 1995:292). In an inner city climate plagued with endemic problems of poverty, drug addiction, domestic violence, and sexual abuse, these men use children conceived with their girlfriends to gain masculine respect (Bourgois 1995:292).

In the Philippines, as well, economic conditions impact men's masculinity. As I discussed in chapter one, Filipino hegemonic masculinity emphasizes men being "socially responsible." To be "socially responsible" means that a man is the breadwinner of the family and is able to support a wife and several children (Margold 1995:281; Yu and Liu 1980: 166). If a man is unable to financially support his family either because of poverty or unemployment, his self-esteem is jeopardized and his manhood suffers as a result (Kwiatkowski 1998:91; Yu and Liu 1980:166). For instance, Filipino migrant labourers who have been economically and socially mistreated during their work in the Middle East have been unable to sustain their sense of male dignity and have withdrawn

from engaging in public displays of their masculinity upon their return to the Philippines (Margold 1995:292). Similarly, men who have been unable to find regular work in the Philippines and whose wives have become migrant labourers due to changing global economic conditions, may perceive that their engagement in domestic duties threatens their sense of manhood (Añonuevo and Estopace 2002:93).

Faced with the economic conditions of poverty and unemployment and determined that their sons should become "socially responsible" men in Purok Dagat tend to define teenage boys' masculinity in terms of socially and economically productive traits. For instance, men believe that by teaching teenage boys to be responsible and to help others, the boys will be able to take care of their families in the future. As well, by stressing the importance of circumcision, men transmit the idea that being able to sexually satisfy and impregnate one's wife is a defining characteristic of being a man. Since virility is considered to be a hallmark of hegemonic masculinity in the Philippines (Andres and Ilada-Andres 1987:82), men in Purok Dagat stress the importance of this notion to their sons. By doing so, men alert their sons to the centrality of virility and the equation of manhood with the siring of children. Additionally, while their support for boys' *inspirasyon* in non-sexual relationships with girls is partially about avoiding premarital pregnancy, men are also reinforcing the association between masculinity and heterosexuality. In the Philippines, homosexuality is not only illegal, and reviled by the Church, but it calls one's masculinity in question (Johnson 1997:94). Similarly, by influencing the boys to take an interest in the development of their bodies and in sports competition, men encourage teenage boys to develop goals and discipline and to avoid the vice of drug addiction. As well, the cultivation of a muscular body and the skill of

playing basketball reinforce hegemonic masculinity in the boys, in part, because these are not feminine activities (Lisa Mitchell, personal communication, July 2005). Through these various means men instil the idea of being "socially responsible" in the boys and, in so doing, bolster their own claims to be men.

Although men in the Philippines take much pride in their claim of being the sole breadwinners of the family, women also play a vital economic role in the family. Women often devote their entire wages to the household budget whereas most men withhold a portion of their wages for their own interests (Chant and McIlwaine 1995:10). As well, women usually manage the household budget and are responsible for making sure all family needs are met (Yu and Liu 1980:170). Additionally, women are considered to provide for the continuity and security of the family and are charged with the responsibility of worrying about and controlling the "gambling, drinking, and philandering of their fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons" (Blanc-Szanton 1990:351). Women must handle the demands of their husbands for drinking and gambling money as well as deal with the consequences when their household budgets are affected (Chant and McIlwaine 1995:125). As well, women endure a sexual double standard in which their husbands' sexual transgressions (i.e., extra-martial sexual relations) go unpunished, whereas similar acts performed by women may have severe legal repercussions (Rodell 2002:132; Yu and Liu 1980:182).

Since women are well aware of the conditions of poverty and unemployment in Purok Dagat, and since they have to endure the ongoing difficulties resulting from their husbands' behaviour, women have a vested interest in raising their sons to act differently from their husbands. Whereas women have little direct control over the actions of their

husbands (Chant and McIlwaine 1995:11), they are able to exert direct pressure on their sons. In Purok Dagat where men's drinking and gambling can put a family at risk, women try to raise their sons to take an interest in being socially and economically productive and steer them away from men's indulgent habits. Women do this by supporting conceptions of masculinity for the boys that reflect a concern for the welfare of the family. Through defining the masculinity of the boys in terms of their academic achievement, an interest in helping others, an emerging sexuality which is controlled through *inspirayson*, and an interest in hegemonic pursuits such as muscular development and sports, women help to mould teenage boys into actively contributing members of the household. Women, therefore, may use their influence on their sons to try to encourage stability in the family to compensate for the effect of their husbands' habits.

Despite the efforts of adults to define the masculinity of teenage boys in ways which they believe will help the boys to overcome conditions of poverty and unemployment, community-sanctioned notions of masculinity may be unattainable by the boys. For instance, the notion of being responsible through getting a job upon completion of high school presupposes that there are jobs available for teenage boys in Purok Dagat when they complete high school. Considering the lack of jobs in Bacolod City, boys are often unable to find permanent or well-paying work when they finish high school.

The economic reality of life for teenage boys is demonstrated by the case of Luis who has recently been hired as a "bagger" by a department store. While he and his parents are happy that Luis has found work, this employer like a growing number in Bacolod, hire only on short term (three to five month) contracts with no possibility of re-applying before a year's absence (Lisa Mitchell, personal communication, July 2005). With such

impermanent and low paid work and with no assurance of being re-hired, Luis may be unable to afford to help his family financially and will have little financial independence from his parents. Most likely, he will have to rely on money generated in the informal economy (jobs such fish vendor or errand boy) which will not meet his daily needs.

Being unable to find employment is hard on the boys' masculinity. The case of Edgar illustrates how a teenage boy who has completed high school is unable to embody the notion of being responsible. Although his father exemplifies "social responsibility" through having stable, well-paying income, and raising a large family, Edgar is unable to live up to his father's example. His unemployment is a disappointment to his father. Furthermore, because he has no job, he spends his time either running errands for his family or helping to take care of his sister's children. In the mean time, Edgar has little opportunity to find work. Edgar must endure the embarrassment of being unable to support himself or to help his parents financially. Edgar is, therefore, unable to embody aspects of hegemonic masculinity that have their basis in economic success and his sense of his own manhood suffers as a result.

Community-espoused ideas about boys' participation in sports, too, fail to deliver promises of economic amelioration. The focus on sports (which is reflected in community support for the boys' basketball games and in government funded sporting programmes) as an antidote for poverty assumes that hard work and discipline cultivated through sports will enable teenage boys to overcome poverty and unemployment. The political-economic context of Purok Dagat proves otherwise. A scholarship may not provide for the full costs of college education and even a college degree does not guarantee a job that enables individuals and families to escape poverty. The failure to

overcome conditions of poverty and unemployment does not result from a lack of goals and discipline, but rather, from a lack of available opportunities. Furthermore, this lack of available opportunities is symptomatic of endemic government corruption, control over resources by a very small and rich percentage of the population, as well as the government's failure to address gross economic inequalities in the Philippines (Lisa Mitchell, personal communication, July 2005).

In this climate of unemployment, underemployment and a grossly unequal distribution of income, teenage boys are attracted to aspects of masculinity other than those encouraged by adults. As I mentioned above, males who find their avenues for expressing their masculinity limited by poverty attempt to make use of the few, remaining domains of masculinity that are available to them (Bourgois 1995; Singer *et al.* 1992). Faced with the difficulties of living up to notions of social responsibility and economic success, teenage boys in Purok Dagat pursue sexual relations with girls and socializing with *barkadas*. Boys are attracted to sexual relations with girls because through these relationships boys believe they can prove their virility and be "real men." The boys receive encouragement from their *barkadas* to pursue girls. Groups of teenage boys may pursue girls together as they *stand by* or when they go to the local sports complex, the mall, their school, fiestas, or the nearest major road. As well, during drinking sessions with their *barkadas*, boys encourage each other to drink to excess in order to show that they can be *macho*.

Having sexual relations with girls and socializing with *barkadas* are mainstream hegemonic pursuits for males in the Philippines. These pursuits are reflected in media messages as well as in men's everyday activities. One of the hallmarks of hegemonic

masculinity is that it is characterized by models of masculinity that are fantasy figures and which may be symbolized and transmitted through mass communications, thereby encouraging their wide adaptation by males (Connell 1988:185). Boys are exposed to advertising on television, on billboards, on the radio, and in magazines that links notions of being a man with the consumption of alcohol and also with sexual attractiveness. As well, teenage boys see their older male relatives socializing and drinking with their friends on a regular basis. The boys may also be aware of men's interest in extra-marital affairs since they recognize this interest to be an integral part in what it means to be a man. Boys are, therefore, encouraged by these influences to pursue sexual relations with girls and socializing with their *barkadas* so that they can realize their manhood.

Teenage boys realize that their parents do not want them to pursue sexual relationships with girls or spend too much time with their *barkadas* because these interests conflict with community-sanctioned notions of masculinity. By pursuing sexual relations with girls and by socializing with their *barkadas* despite their parents' wishes, teenage boys show that they are witting actors in the construction of their masculinity. Rather than allowing community-sanctioned definitions of masculinity to dominate what it means for them to become men, the boys make conscious choices to accept notions of masculinity that adults in their community may find objectionable. As Weedon (Thomas *et al*. 2004:6) notes, resistance to subordination may involve contests over meanings, the articulation of counter-discourses, and the production of alternative forms of knowledge. The boys' resistance to their parents' attempts to constrain their masculinity exclusively in terms of community-sanctioned notions is shown in how the boys subvert the conventional meaning of *inspirasyon* and use it for their own purposes. Under the guise

of saying that they are inspired by particular girls to excel in their studies or in finding a job, teenage boys use *inspirasyon* to mask their pursuit of sexual relations with girls.

Adults in Purok Dagat react negatively to the boys' pursuit of sexual relations with girls and activities in their *barkadas*. Adults argue that by meeting girls in places outside the girls' homes, boys show a lack of respect toward girls and parents. As well, men assert that pursuing girls is only a game for teenage boys, not a situation where "true relationships" can develop. Men fear that if these relationships are left unchecked, teenage couples will begin living together without marriage (a situation considered to go against the decency of the convention of "sacred living[20]"). Teens who become pregnant may be expected by their parents to marry. If this occurs, they will probably live with and be supported by either the boy's or girl's parents (Lisa Mitchell, personal communication, July 2005). Adults expect a teenage male to be a "good boy", in other words one who has self control and respect for his parents and who concentrates on his studies. A boy who pursues girls in preference to his studies is seen by adults as irresponsible and deserving of scorn. Similarly, adults claim that teenage boys who drink and socialize with their *barkadas* are irresponsible. Adults believe that boys who indulge in drinking at the expense of their responsibilities (such as homework, taking care of their siblings, or helping around the house) put their masculinity at risk. They are indulging themselves instead of helping their families and demonstrating that they can be responsible men.

Although men criticize the boys' pursuit of sexual relationships with girls and socializing with their *barkadas*, however, virility and male socializing are very important to men's own masculinity. For instance, men in the Philippines who have extra-marital sexual relations receive praise from their friends for their virility (Andres and Ilada-

[20] "Sacred living" means that a couple is married before cohabitation, pregnancy, or sexual intercourse.

Andres 1987:87). Similarly, paying for the drinking bills of their *barkadas* demonstrates to a man's friends that he is "economically able" and particularly manly (Yu and Liu 1980:166). By pursing these interests through drinking and gambling (and possibly indulging in sexual affairs), men in Purok Dagat embody hegemonic masculinity. As well, by discouraging teenage boys to express their virility through having sexual relations with girls and to socialize with their *barkadas*, men try to subordinate teenage boys. Men may also be trying to compensate for their own economic shortcomings and trying to ensure that their sons are able to avoid similar "mistakes."

Additionally, men may consider teenage boys to be a threat to their own masculinity and so discourage them from pursuing aspects of hegemonic masculinity that might jeopardize men's privileged positions of control over women and use of household funds for drinking or gambling. These men may be trying to control the few expressions of hegemonic masculinity that are available to them because of their impoverished conditions (Bougois 1995; Singer et al. 1992). As Connell (1987:184) asserts, in power relations between groups of males, the ascendancy of one group over another is not achieved through overt force, but through practices of hegemony and subordination. By trying to subordinate the masculinity of teenage boys and define it in terms of particular characteristics that are socially or economically productive, men may be trying to maintain their own privileged positions of virility and hyper-sociality. As well, considering the impact which men's habits of gambling, drinking, and pursuing sexual affairs may have on their wives and, more generally, on the household, men may use the focus on their sons' behaviour as a way of deflecting criticism from their own habits.

The relationship of domination by men and subordination of teenage boys reveals the workings of intergenerational relations of power. On the one hand, men insist that relationships between their sons and girls conform to the practice of *inspirasyon*. In other words, boys may express their feelings for girls, but only in terms of non-physical affection with the goal of improving their academic standing. According to this perspective, boys become men through being responsible and industrious, and by having an inspiration for their academic efforts or career aspirations. Similarly, men condone the gathering of groups of teenage boys for participating in sports, which the men believe discourages drug addiction and teaches the boys goals and discipline.

On the other hand, teenage boys consider the significance of relationships with girls in terms of how these relationships impact their virility. The boys are aware that adults wish to control their relationships with girls. Seeing *inspirasyon* as an opportunity to interact with girls, the boys subvert the original meaning of *inspirasyon* (i.e., a focus on responsibility and schoolwork) and use it to mask their pursuit of sexual relations with girls. While the boys claim to adults that they are inspired by girls to do well in their studies, they admit to their friends that they are trying to get the girls in bed. Similarly, teenage boys strive to enact their masculinity through the consumption of alcohol in their *barkadas*. They demonstrate to themselves and to each other that they are *macho* enough to endure the consumption of alcohol while excelling at karaoke, dancing, and socializing with their friends.

The result of this conflict between adults and teenage boys is a mounting distrust of teenage boys by adults. If adults realize that teenage boys manipulate the conventional practice of *inspirasyon* in order to pursue sexual relationships with girls, adults try to

restrict relationships between teenage boys and girls. Parents tell their teenage sons to stop seeing a particular girl until after they have finished high school. Some boys listen, but others do not. They defy their parents' requests by stating that they know what they are doing and that they are able to handle those relationships. Similarly, teenage boys socialize and drink with their *barkadas* against their parents' wishes. Adults are taken aback by the boys' resistance to following their directions and, feeling disillusioned they label teenage boys as irresponsible and lacking in respect.

When adults are unable to restrict the activities of teenage boys, they may resort to discrediting the boys' activities in order to control them. As I explained in chapter three, *barkadas* of teenage boys in Purok Dagat are regarded by adults with a mixture of fear and disdain. Building on these negative sentiments, adults evoke fears about drug addiction by associating *barkadas* of teenage boys with the illicit activities of *fraternities* (gangs). *Fraternities* are feared by people in Purok Dagat because their members are known to use drugs, to carry weapons, and to intimidate people. Although the association of *barkadas* with *fraternities* is a spurious one, however, this suggestion is enough to give *barkadas* of teenage boys a bad reputation.

Considering the moral panic over drugs in the Philippines and the fears about *fraternities* in Purok Dagat, casting a shadow of suspicion on *barkadas* of teenage boys may be an effective strategy for discouraging teenage boys from appearing openly in the community with their *barkadas*. If a group of teenage boys is involved in activities other than school or sports, they may be identified by others as a threat or regarded with suspicion. Furthermore, the discourse on sports and drug addiction (as represented by the

popular slogan "Do Sports, Don't Do Drugs[21]") helps to discredit *barkada* activities. The assumption implicit in this discourse is that if groups of teenage boys are not participating in sports, then they must be indulging in drugs.

The moral panic about drugs in Purok Dagat focuses on youth and diverts attention away from poverty, unemployment, and powerless--the root causes of drug use in this community and elsewhere (Bourgeois 1995). It is assumed by adults that *barkadas* influence teenage boys to use drugs rather than drugs being symptomatic of the economic and social conditions in Purok Dagat. As well, in the midst of moral panics about youth and drugs, youth and AIDS, and youth and premarital sex, Filipino governments prescribe sports as the antidote for social ills. The assumption is that the poor are "lazy" and are, therefore, inclined to use drugs, but that sports can make them "competitive and strong" so that they can overcome their economic disadvantages. Obviously, the theory that sports is a panacea for all social ills is clearly mistaken. Being "competitive and strong" does not necessarily improve the conditions of unemployment and poverty in Purok Dagat. Teenage boys who are involved in these programmes may fare no better economically than those who are not.

As a result of adults' attempts to discredit them, teenage boys are faced with the choice of denying these accusations by restricting their *barkada* activities to playing sports or effectively confirming these accusations by doing other activities such as *stand by*. The end result of the discrediting of *barkadas* is some control over the boys' activities. If the boys gather in their *barkadas* at one boy's home so that they can avoid being regarded with disdain and suspicion, then they may be under the watchful eye of an

[21] This slogan is inscribed on several prominent public walls in Bacolod and was repeated by several men and boys whom I interviewed.

older relative. Their choices of activities in this locale are limited. Similarly, if they go in their *barkadas* to play sports at one of the local basketball courts, then their activities are also under surveillance. Particularly, since basketball courts occupy prominent open areas in Purok Dagat, teenage boys who play sports at these courts are subject to observation by adults. Teenage boys, then, may be inclined to conduct their *barkada* activities surreptitiously. They may, for example, travel to areas such as the sports complex just outside the community under the pretence of playing sports. Instead, they may go there to pursue girls or to socialize with their *barkadas*.

Teenage boys in Purok Dagat must negotiate a complex set of demands about them becoming men. There are competing demands and expectations regarding their behaviour that come from different generations. For instance, they are under pressure to conform to adult's conceptions of what a teenage boy should be like. They are encouraged by their own generation to pursue notions of masculinity that may conflict with those espoused by adults. In addition, they are influenced by hegemonic concepts of being a man that are present in the media and exemplified in the behaviour of men in their community. The boys must also handle situations of conflict arising from contradicting ideas about masculinity in their community, endure resentment towards their activities, and deal with discrepancies arising from what men say is important about becoming a man and what they actually demonstrate in their own behaviour.

Given the economic conditions of Bacolod City, even if the boys try to fulfill community-sanctioned notions of masculinity, they may be unable to do so because of the economic climate in the Philippines. Finishing high school is no guarantee that the boys will be able to find jobs. Getting into college may be impossible for teenage boys in

Purok Dagat because, due to the conditions of poverty, they are unable to rely on financial support from their parents. The boys will, most likely, be unable to attain stable, well-paying employment. As a result, their ability to embody key hegemonic notions of masculinity in the Philippines such as the concept of being "socially responsible" and supporting a family will be compromised.

Faced with these demands and constraints, teenage boys find themselves in frequently shifting positions with regard to their masculinity and they must employ a "fluid and situational set of meanings regarding what it means to be a man" (Moya 2004:75). In a political-economic context where young men are denied access to the most basic forms of regular employment, and where making enough money to support a family is an insurmountable task, teenage boys may have to find alternate ways of establishing their claims to be men. As well, if the masculinity of young men is dependent on how well they fulfill their "social responsibility", their sense of manhood as it exists presently may be in jeopardy. It is likely, that if the economic conditions in the Philippines continue as they are presently, the gap may widen between hegemonic ideas about masculinity in the wider culture and notions of masculinity that are attainable by males in Purok Dagat. If this occurs, the greater entrenchment of males in Purok Dagat as an underclass in Philippine society is eminent. The disenfranchisement of males in Purok Dagat may then spread beyond economic effects to the very root of their notions of personhood.

Summary

In this chapter I discussed the significance of my data on the masculinity of teenage boys in Purok Dagat. I argued that responsibility, circumcision, inspiration, and being *macho*

are community-sanctioned notions of masculinity that have their basis in community responses to economic conditions of poverty and unemployment. I also asserted that men and women have particular motives for defining the masculinity of the boys in terms of socially or economically productive traits. Men define the boys' masculinity in such a way in order to teach their sons to be socially responsible and also to maintain their own hegemony through the subordination of the boys. Women define the boys' masculinity in such a way in order discourage the boys from following in the footsteps of men's indulgent activities and to encourage the boys to become contributing members to the household.

In addition, I argued that teenage boys' interest in having sexual relations with girls and socializing with their *barkadas* shows that they are active agents in determining their own masculinity. Furthermore, the boys' choice to pursue aspects of their masculinity that are not sanctioned by adults leads to conflict between teenage boys and adults. In order to gain the upper hand in this conflict and to control the boys' activities, adults may discredit the boys' *barkadas* through the association of *barkadas* with *fraternities* and by evoking fears about drug addiction. Although this strategy is partially successful in curtailing the activities of teenage boys, it may also drive those activities underground. Finally, I argued that as teenage boys negotiate a complex set of demands and constraints on their masculinity, they may find that there is a widening gap between hegemonic notions of masculinity practised in the Philippines and the forms of manhood that they are capable of attaining.

In the next chapter I make my conclusions. I state my findings in terms of the research questions which I posed at the beginning of chapter one. I also suggest directions for further research on masculinity in Purok Dagat.

I present in this conclusion my interpretation of the research questions that I asked at the beginning of chapter one: (1) "What does it mean to a group of teenage boys in the central Philippines to become men?" (2) "How do these boys express being a man in their behaviour?" (3) "Who controls what it means to become a man and why do they control it?" and (4) "How is dissent from the control expressed and what are the results of this dissent?"

What it means to become a man among teenage boys in Purok Dagat means being (1) responsible, (2) circumcised, (3) in a relationship of *inspirasyon*, and (4) *macho*. As well, in order to be considered men, the boys feel they also have to demonstrate that they are (5) virile and (6) *macho* (tough) enough to handle alcohol. The first four criteria are community-sanctioned notions of masculinity. The last two criteria are hegemonic notions of masculinity that are common in the Philippines but which conflict with community-sanctioned notions of masculinity in Purok Dagat.

Community-sanctioned notions of masculinity of teenage boys in Purok Dagat are "stateg[ies] of adaptation...[that] simultaneously reconcil[e] individual and social needs through the feedback of sanction and reward" (Gilmore 1990:3-4). The notion of responsibility forges a link between the idea of being a man and productive activities. As a result of defining what it means to become a man in terms of being dependent on oneself and helping others (in other words, being responsible), teenage boys' manhood is dependent on their efforts to be socially and financially productive. As well, adults support the boys' efforts to enact notions of masculinity that have their basis in productive activities such as study and work. By rewarding the boys with recognition of

their manhood for their efforts to be responsible, community-sanctioned notions of masculinity are instilled in the boys.

Since responsibility is so strongly advocated by the community, it influences other notions of the boys' masculinity and ties them to productive purposes. The practice of circumcision links the responsibility of sexual reproduction with the idea of becoming a man. Boys believe that being circumcised will allow their bodies to grow into those of men. Circumcision is considered to increase a boys' sexual potential and to prepare him for marriage. Therefore, being circumcised, helps to ensure that the boys contribute to social reproduction. Likewise, according to the practice of *inspirasyon*, the boys' interest in girls is directed towards the responsibility of academic achievement. A boy is encouraged by adults to express non-physical affection for a girl and to dedicate his study or work to her. He will go to school every day to see her and work hard to inspire her as well. Similarly, the boys' desire to have big muscles and to become *macho* is encouraged on the basketball court in order to steer them away from drug addiction and to teach them goals and discipline.

In regards to the second question, "How do the boys express being a man in their behaviour," the boys (1) demonstrate that they are responsible through being dependent on themselves and helping others, (2) show that they are circumcised by undergoing the procedure with a group of friends, (3) participate in the practice of *inspirasyon* through dedicating their scholastic efforts to a girl, and (4) act *macho* on the basketball court and assess their bodies according to the bodily ideal of *macho* when they are in the school clinic. In addition, the boys (5) prove that they are virile through having sexual relations with girls, and (6) demonstrate that they are *macho* by drinking with their *barkadas*.

The answer to the third question, "Who controls what it means to become a man and why do they control it," is that adults attempt to control what it means for teenage boys to become men. Cognizant of the conditions of poverty and unemployment in Purok Dagat, adults try to define the masculinity of teenage boys in terms of characteristics that are productive either socially or economically. Aware of the importance of their own roles as breadwinners, men in Purok Dagat try to influence the boys to become "socially responsible" by advocating boys' behaviour that enhances boys' responsibility and helpfulness, prepares them for marriage, and encourages their participation in sports. As well, men may subordinate the masculinity of teenage boys and discourage them from pursuing hegemonic masculine forms that might jeopardize men's positions of control over women and indiscriminate use of household funds. Women, too, have a vested interest in defining the masculinity of teenage boys. Weary of their husbands' habits of drinking and gambling, women support conceptions of masculinity for the boys that reflect an interest in the welfare of the family and which help to mould teenage boys into actively contributing members of the household.

The answer to the fourth question, "How is dissent from the control expressed and what are the results of this dissent," is in two parts. First, the way that the boys express their dissent from community-sanctioned notions of masculinity is through the pursuit of sexual relationships with girls and socializing with their *barkadas*. The boys are aware that adults wish to control their relationships with girls. Seeing *inspirasyon* as an opportunity to interact with girls, the boys subvert the original meaning of inspiration (i.e., a focus on responsibility and schoolwork) and use it to mask their pursuit of sexual relations with girls. While the boys claim to adults that they are inspired by girls to do

well in their studies, they admit to their friends that they are trying to engage the girls in sexual activity. Since adults realize that teenage boys manipulate the conventional practice of *inspirasyon* to pursue sexual relationships with girls, adults may try to restrict relationships between teenage boys and girls. The boys may defy their parents' directives by stating that they know what they are doing and that they are able to handle those relationships. Similarly, the boys socialize and drink with their *barkadas* against their parents' wishes.

The second part of the question, (i.e., "What are the results of this dissent,") concerns the reactions of adults to the boys' choice to pursue sexual relations with girls and socialize with their *barkadas*. Since adults feel that they are unable to control the actions of teenage boys, they may capitalize on community fears about *barkadas* by discrediting the boys' activities. Associating *barkadas* of teenage boys with the illicit activities of *fraternities* and evoking fears of drug addiction, adults cast a shadow of suspicion on teenage boys' activities. These accusations discourage teenage boys from appearing openly in Purok Dagat with their *barkadas*. If *barkadas* of teenage boys are to avoid the accusatory stares of adults, they must restrict their activities to their homes, the basketball court, the school, or the sports complex. If they gather in other areas to socialize, they are subject to social sanctions. The boys' *barkada* activities may, then, be driven under ground and pursued surreptitiously under reputable pretences.

To conclude, due to expectations and constraints imposed on teenage boys in Purok Dagat by the influence of adults and by the social and economic conditions, teenage boys find themselves in frequently shifting positions in regard to their masculinity. In an economic climate where notions of "social responsibility" do not often lead to the desired

outcome of stable, well-paying employment teenage boys may have to consider alternative ways of enacting their masculinity. If the boys cling to notions of masculinity that are based on economic achievement, their sense of manhood may be in jeopardy. The continuation of present economic conditions may wider the gap between widespread hegemonic notions of masculinity in the Philippines and those attainable by males in Purok Dagat. If this trend continues, men in Purok Dagat will be cut off from attaining hegemonic notions of masculinity and they may become more firmly entrenched as an underclass of men in Philippine society.

Other ethnographers have documented that when economic routes to masculinity are blocked, men may resort to alcohol (Singer *et al.* 1992), drug abuse, and domestic violence (Bourgois 1995) as alternative routes. Men in the Philippines who have been unable to successfully fulfill notions of "social responsibility" (i.e., being the breadwinner in the family), similarly, may become psychologically withdrawn (Margold 1995:292), resort to excessive alcohol consumption and drug abuse (Añonuevo and Estopace 2002:88), perpetuate domestic violence (Chant and McIlwaine 1995:13), expose their spouses to risks of sexually transmitted diseases by unprotected sex with prostitutes (Yu and Liu 1980:185), or gamble away sorely needed household funds (Milgram 1998:178).

The economic emasculation of men in the Philippines, therefore, may have significant consequences for impoverished families in addition to poverty. Men's self-destructive behaviour in Purok Dagat may put families more at risk than they already are through draining crucial economic resources and by impressing models of behaviour on young males that seemingly condone substance abuse and domestic violence. Furthermore, girls

growing up in these families may be subject to domination and abuse by males, and their career and educational aspirations may be curtailed. Refusal by men to use contraception and men's preference for having a large number of children may undermine women's ability to make choices about their own futures. Finally, teenage boys who are on the threshold of becoming men may be unable to reconcile the discrepancy between what they are told about becoming a man by adults and the contrasting behaviour that they see demonstrated by men in their community.

Further Research

If anthropology is to understand masculinity in a deeper way it must make more of an effort to study impoverished groups of males. As Bourgois (1995), Singer *et al.* (1992), Margold (1995), and myself show males who are cut off from embodying notions of hegemonic masculinity because of economic factors may turn their frustration inward and express it through self-destructive behaviour that affects the well-being of themselves and their families. An understanding of this process of discontentment and emasculation, as well as the pressure under which males negotiate the complex set of demands and constraints about being men, should be foremost in the analysis of masculinity of impoverished groups of men. As well, in the ethnographic literature on the Philippines, the lack of documentation regarding the lives of impoverished groups of men has led to a situation where hegemonic masculinity is homogeneously portrayed without regard to the different social and economic conditions in which males find themselves. The subtle variations of what it means to become a man are lost in the "public, simplified, and

idealized model of easily symbolized aspects of interaction" (Hooper 2001:56) that is hegemonic masculinity.

To help to create a clearer picture of masculinity in Purok Dagat, I suggest some further research to be done in this community. First, to understand better how hegemonic and subordinate masculinities interact in Purok Dagat, I suggest an inquiry into the relationship between homosexual and heterosexual males in the community. I believe that it would be insightful to study teenage boys' and men's attitudes towards homosexual men as well as how homosexual men view themselves in regards to their heterosexual counterparts. Johnson (1997) has made insightful observations of gay and heterosexual men's attitudes towards each other in his study of gay beauty pageants in Mindanao. The study of the relationship between gay and straight men in Purok Dagat may further increase the understanding of dynamics of domination and resistance among different groups of males.

Second, to help illuminate the influence of male friendships on masculinity, I suggest an inquiry into men's *barkadas* in Purok Dagat. There is some documentation in the ethnographic literature regarding the importance of men's socializing and drinking with other men (Berner 1997; Elder 1982; Yu and Liu 1980), gambling (Chant and McIlwaine 1995; Kwiatkowski 1998; Yu and Liu 1980), and shared ideas and interests among men (Morais 1981; Rodell 2002). Yet, there is little written about personal loyalties between adult members of *barkadas* and the role that these groups play in terms of the economic and social support of individuals (Rodell 2002). By discussing the importance of their *barkadas*, these men would provide vital data about social relationships among men that may reveal greater depth and complexity in their masculinity.

Third, I suggest an inquiry into the personal strategies of males for dealing with demands and constraints on their masculinity. I recommend talking to men about their relationships with others in their work, how they deal with shortcomings in their daily income, the demands that family life places on them, and how they negotiate with their wives the use of their earnings. As well, I suggest interviewing men about their use of money for personal expenses. In the Philippines buying drinks for one's male friends is considered to be a gesture that a man is "economically able" and particularly manly (Yu and Liu 1980:166). Men's use of their earnings for "entertainment purposes" such as drinking and gambling, however, has been shown to cause tension between men and their wives (Chant and McIlwaine 1995:125; Yu and Liu 1980:167). I believe that it would be revealing to probe into the tension resulting from men's perceived need to share their earnings with their friends and the expectations of the use of their income by their wives.

Finally, I recommend studying the extent of alcohol consumption and drug addiction among males in Purok Dagat. If these are strategies for dealing with economic emasculation, it is important to know more fully how this behaviour is expressed in the daily lives of males and how these habits are believed to enhance one's masculine identity. As well, it is also useful to study how this behaviour may be communicated between generations of males and the effects that this behaviour has on family members.

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FORMAS SA PAGPAHANUGOT PARA SA MAY EDAD NA NGA PARTISIPANTE (CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEW)

Titulo sang proyekto: Ikaayong lawas, seguridad kag palibot sand kabataan sa Purok . (Prinsipal nga imbestigador: Dr. Lisa M. Mitchell, Anthropology, University of Victoria)

Ang upon sa University of St Lasalle kag duha ka Canadians, nga mga maestra sa isa ka unibersidad sa Canada. Nagatrabaho kami sang ulolupod para makapangita sang pamaagi nga mabuligan ang mga kabataan sang sini nga komunidad nga mangin maayo ang ila ikaayong lawas kag mapahilayo sila sa katalagman. Nagatinguah nga makakita sang pmaagi kon paano mbuligan ang mga kabataan nga nagapuyo sa sini nga komunidad nga mangin maao ang ila ikaayong lawas kag mapahilayo sila sa katalagman diri sa Purok.

Ang ingerbyu makaon sang isa ka oras sa imo tion. Kon matapos ka na sabat sang tanan nga pamangkot, ang imo pamilya magabaton sang P100 para pagpasalamat sa tion nga imo ginhatag. Indi kami manugid sang mga bagay nga ginsugid mo sa amon.

Ihatag man namon ang amon natun-an sa sini nga hilkuton sa iban nga tawo sa komunidad. Ginapaabot namon nga ang ____ mausar niya man ini nga kinaalam para sa kauswagan sa sini nga komunidad. Kon sa amon paghambalanay kag pagsulat sang amon natukiban, indi namon paggamiton ang imo ngalan.

May ara kamo nga pamangkot?

Kon gusto mo mag-estorya bahin sini nga proyekto, palihog kadto _____ I.

Gusto mo partisipar sa interbyu?

Ngalan _____ Huo _____ Indi _____

Petsa _____

Pirma sang Partisipante _____