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Josephine de Jesus Quimbo

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Survivors' Schematic Reconstruction of the Japanese Occupation of Los Baños

This article applies schema theory in understanding reconstructions of the Second World War by eight informants from Los Baños, Laguna, and shows the influence of cognitive structures on remembering. The analysis of personal narratives reveals the salience of three schemas. First, event schemas direct the recollection of affect-laden events. Second, self schemas influence the recall of the narrator amid threatening experiences, and of roles and activities as members of the family and community. Third, person schemas shape recollections of family, relatives, and social groups. The study shows that memorial reconstructions vary according to the informants' attributes, particularly gender, and the emotional intensity of events, such as the loss of family members.

KEYWORDS: SECOND WORLD WAR · RECONSTRUCTION · DIFFERENTIAL REMEMBERING · SOCIAL SCHEMA · NARRATIVES

Published recollections of the Second World War in the Philippines have helped constitute the public memory of the period. Statements by well-positioned individuals, mostly politicians, diplomats, and tacticians have pertained mainly to the war's political and military dimensions. At the cultural level of memory making, professional historians, writers, and scholars have delved into the war's social and cultural contexts and the lives and experiences of people. Meanwhile individual contributions to the shaping of public memory have become possible through the efforts of ordinary people to bring to the open their recollections of the war.

Even though the war transpired more than half a century ago, interest in the topic has not waned and books recounting memories of the war continue to be published. The most recent such book is *Kuwentong Bayan: Noong Panahon ng Hapon* (Kintanar et al. 2006), which presents memoirs written by survivors from different parts of the country, and narratives from interviews of survivors from southern Tagalog and central Luzon. A project in social history, the book reveals everyday life experiences during the Japanese occupation, the positive attitude of ordinary people in becoming part of history, and the scholarly treatment of those revelations.

The seventh volume in the *Kasaysayan* series on Philippine history, *The Japanese Occupation*, written by Ricardo Trota Jose (1998), is a comprehensive and well-researched accounting of the entire period. It contains illuminating essays that include the personal narrative by a woman who was the lone survivor of the tragedies that befell her family and the recollections by several "comfort women" of their traumatic experiences. *Under Japanese Rule: Memories and Reflections* (Constantino 1994) is an anthology of four essays written by different authors. Angelito L. Santos takes a political standpoint in presenting data from interviews with survivors on the collaboration issue. Joan Orendain brings to life survivors' experiences while growing up as children during the Japanese occupation. Helen N. Mendoza writes on the experiences of her family of moving from place to place during the war. Bernard Leo M. Karganilla provides thematic presentation of survivors' wartime recollections gathered from interviews made by his students.¹

In these published accounts the narratives bring to the open the feelings, thoughts, goals, and behaviors of ordinary people as they recall the realities of war. The narratives provide a way of writing history from the perspective of the people who experienced it directly, allowing the revelation of experi-

ences significant to the individual. However, while the (re)telling or writing of one's memories of the war is possible only through remembering, war memories have not been analyzed in relation to the process of remembering. Except possibly for studies such as that of Kintanar and others (2006), which does acknowledge gender and age differences in memories, very little attention has been paid to the analysis of differential remembering even when group-specific experiences surface in the narratives. The only explanation, if ever one is given, is the fallibility of memory, which is used as a convenient explanation for variations in memories even in instances when no analysis merits such a conclusion.

In this study an attempt is made to relate memories of the war to the process of remembering, as seen in the narratives of eight informants from the town of Los Baños, Laguna. The aim is to underscore not only the survivors' representation in memory of their understanding of the wartime environment and the mechanisms by which these representations are facilitated during recall but also the factors that influence differential remembering when it occurs. It analyzes the social schemas in the informants' narratives about the Japanese occupation of Los Baños in order to describe the survivors' mental representations of the war, the schema types that structure them, and the possible factors that account for variability in the recollections.

The War in Los Baños

The Second World War in the Philippines began when the Japanese bombed the country almost simultaneously with the attack on Pearl Harbor. The occupation of the country that soon followed was a great disruption to the normal affair of things. Expectedly the havoc it caused was most profound among ordinary people, their well-being, way of life, aspirations, and social relationships. As Aluit (1995, 134) puts it, "All through the years 1942 and 1943 and the better part of 1944, the Philippines suffered the lot of the vanquished."

Los Baños fell to the Japanese shortly after the capture of Manila on 2 January 1942. The town's vital establishments were soon commandeered. The University of the Philippines College of Agriculture (UPCA), presently the University of the Philippines Los Baños, was used as residence for Japanese officers and soldiers; a training camp for soldiers after their release from Camp O'Donnell in Capas, Tarlac; and an internment camp for civilian allied nationals. The armed resistance activities on nearby Mount Makiling and on the campus actively involved some UPCA faculty, students, and per-

sonnel, posing a grave threat to the Japanese who, in turn, exacted information and reprisal on the residents. However, locals who supported the enemy, a group known as the Makabayang Katipunan ng Pilipino (MAKAPILI), added terror to the people and caused further hardship.

The excesses were most intense as the war drew to a close, resulting in Japan's defeat. Close to 550 civilians were massacred on 21 February 1945. The remaining Japanese soldiers killed some 1,500 residents within days following the liberation of the internees by the combined efforts of Filipino guerillas and American troops on 23 February 1945. Among the victims were those discovered hiding in the old Saint Therese chapel located on UPCA premises whom the enemies purposely burned by setting the chapel on fire. Whatever were the reasons for the brutal and senseless killings, they made the war in Los Baños more devastating for ordinary people than in most other parts of the country. These events serve as the backdrop for the informants' narratives analyzed in this study, recollections that usually covered events from the time the war started to the time the war ended and the town was liberated.

Schema Theory and Social Schemas in Remembering

Remembering is believed to be a reconstructive rather than a reproductive process. Bartlett (1932, 204), who proposed this idea, pointed out that "in a world of constantly changing environment, literal recall is extraordinarily unimportant." McGlone (1998, 415) argues that during encoding and retrieval "even images of climactic experiences and moments of historic significance are reconfigured" and that "memories of personal experience are not so much reexperienced as reassembled." During reconstruction people are believed to fit their recollections into the general outlines of prior knowledge.

People remember information better when information are organized around themes. Schema theory asserts that, over time, people acquire their knowledge of the world from experiences, and this knowledge is packaged into interrelated patterns. Such mental units, called schemas or schemata, are used in remembering. Fiske and Dyer (1985, 839) describe schema from the definitions proposed by several theorists as a "cognitive structure that contains units of information and the links among these units." Schemas function to guide and facilitate recall. It is believed that, if one unit of information in the schema is activated in memory, it activates all strongly linked units. Well-formed or enriched schemas result in good recall because along with the retrieved schema come details.

Social schemas, or structures containing social information, are said to differ in content. Event schemas represent knowledge about appropriate sequences of events in known situations. Self schemas contain knowledge and expectations about oneself. Person schemas represent the traits, behaviors, and goals of people. Subsumed under self and people schemas are role schemas, which are used to describe one's self and other people in relation to the norms and expectations of specific social positions. Whatever the type schemas exert influence on recall and steer it toward schema-relevant and schema-consistent information.

Schema theory can explain variations in people's recollections of the past. Bartlett (1932, 214) himself said that, although cognitive structures endure, they are also "living and developing" all the time. With experience they become more organized and detailed: they become more flexible in accounting for contradictions (Augoustinos and Walker 1995) and, at the same time, more accurate and reflective of the complexity of social reality (Fiske and Taylor 1991). Because personal background and circumstances shape the way the mind builds schemas, during recall variations in accounts can emerge.

Cultural constructions of what a woman should be and how she should be treated in society can influence the person's schema of the self and others. Hsu (1985), according to Bennett and Detzner (1997, 119), has noted that Asian women tend to view themselves according to their place in the family: as daughter, mother, sister, and wife. Satisfying role expectations may take higher priority than personal gains. Access to avenues that may further her experiences, such as quality education, employment, recreation, and so on, may prove inadequate or totally lost to her. Thus, this study is sensitive to the possibility that women's recollections of the war can differ from those of men.

Education provides opportunities to further a person's horizons and status in life, and thereby enrich one's experiences and schemas. The sufficiency or lack of it may highlight how education can be a factor contributory to differences in the interpretation and recall of the social world. Thus, differences in representations of social reality may exist between two respondents who are positioned differently in society, intellectually and materially. Moreover, schemas are believed to be affect-laden. During recall the use of a particular schema can produce an emotional reaction (Taylor, Peplau, and Sears 1997; Fiske and Taylor 1991). The schemas of an informant with a highly disturbing experience, such as the loss of loved ones, can be expected

to differ from those of someone without a similar experience. Klinger, Barta, and Maxeiner (1980) argue that highly emotional schemata are likely to be more accessible than neutral ones. Emotions may thus account for varying accounts by respondents. Thus, in addition to gender, this study considers educational attainment and emotional cost due to the loss of a family member or members as possible sources of variations in the recollections of war-time experiences.

The reconstructive feature is seen as also embracing the social nature of remembering. Situating “remembering in the current of social life,” Garro (2000, 278) points out that recollections “cannot be understood apart from particular persons positioned in time and space.” Garro (2000, 277) cites Halbwachs (1980, 33) who argues that “our most personal feeling and thoughts originate in definite social milieus and circumstances.” The “past is not preserved but reconstructed on the basis of the present,” and thus the “mind reconstructs its memories under the pressure of society” (Halbwachs 1992, 40, 51). McGlone (1998, 438) agrees with this characteristic of remembering, noting that “memory has other masters than the past” and “belongs equally to the present.”

The Study’s Method

The study analyzes the narratives of eight informants from Los Baños—four females (Dolores, Petra, Sofia, and Teresita) and four males (Pedro, Mariano, Mauro, and Tomas)—who experienced the war period from 1942 to 1945. The informants were identified through a referral system. If an informant was deemed suitable for the study, the person was visited in his or her residence and his or her consent to participate in the study was sought. In the initial visit, the nature of the research, the content of the interview guide, and the schedule of interview were discussed. All immediately gave their consent to be part of the study.

The interviews were lengthy and were recorded on tape (Amutan 2004; Barile 2004; Feliciano 2004; Izon 2004; Lapis 2004; Mulimbayan 2004; Revilleza 2004; Tidon 2004). Three visits were made with each informant. The first session focused on the socioeconomic condition of the informant before and after the war. The second was dedicated to recollections of the war in answer to the interviewer’s simple request to narrate their experiences during the occupation, and the third was devoted either to the continuation of the narration or to clarifications on vaguely stated or inaudibly recorded parts of the narration.

The recordings of the interviews were transcribed into written text. With the use of schema analysis (coding tradition), as suggested by Ryan and Bernard (2000), each transcript was read carefully in order to identify themes or organizing structures (unit of analysis). In inducing themes from the transcripts, metaphors and proverbs, repetition of key words and phrases, and commonalities in their views were scrutinized. As D’Andrade (1991, 294) emphasizes, “perhaps the simplest and the most direct indication of schematic organization in naturalistic discourse is the repetition of associative linkages.” Concepts associated with one another were placed under one schema. Thus, the transcribed texts were utilized to tease out information on how war experiences were represented in memory. They were also used to examine the types of social schemas that guide recall and to determine the factors that result in variations in memories.

Event, self, and people became clearly identifiable after the associative linkages of the survivors’ reconstructions of the period were designated under a specific type of schema. In the sections that follow, selections from the narratives are presented to illustrate the informants’ knowledge of the wartime social environment, the schema types, and the variations in their recollections.

Event Schemas: Affect-Laden Memories

Because highly emotional schemata are more accessible than neutral ones, emotional cost due to loss of family members creates variations in the recollection of events. Both Sofia and Tomas suffered from deaths in the family due to war atrocities. When compared with the other informants, their recollections were richer in detail.

Fifteen years old at that time, Sofia recalls that when liberation was forthcoming the Japanese soldiers in the town became very fierce. It was 1944 and news of the coming of the Americans was heard on radios kept hidden by the guerillas in their hideouts. She says that, even though it was known that MacArthur had arrived in Leyte, the residents did not know when the Americans would arrive to liberate the internees in Los Baños. Two days before they were freed, some residents went around to tell the people to hide because the Japanese were seeking out and killing civilians. Sofia’s father brought her mother, who was pregnant, a sister one year her junior, and two brothers aged seven and three to their farm in Kabaritan in the town of Bay, located three kilometers away. Sofia remembers that

before leaving her mother handed her a comb and repeatedly said that she should fix her hair before going to the ricefield. Sofia admits that she was not mindful of her appearance because there seemed no time for grooming herself.

Very early the next day, soon after her father had returned, Sofia says that she went to the ricefield with her *bilao* (winnowing tray). When she reached the railroad, she realized she was the only one walking on the road. A Japanese soldier saw her and, despite her explanation that she was going to harvest rice, she was sent home. She told her father about the incident and urged him that they both go to Kabaritan. No one was around when they arrived in the farm. Someone who had hidden under a hut told them that the Japanese had herded all the people there toward Barangay Maahas. Sofia walked toward the railroad again by herself, and again a Japanese soldier motioned that she should go home. Later that day she met four persons who had feigned that they were dead and thus survived the massacre. They told her how her family members and others were killed. Sofia reckons that the killings must have happened about the same time that a soldier was waving at her to go home. Now 78 years old, Sofia narrates the incident with tears in her eyes—rekindling the pain as if the killings were happening at the moment of narration:

Yun pala nung oras na iyun, pinapatay na yung mga taong dinala sa, yung kinuha sa bukid na iyun, lahat doon ay pinatay ng bayoneta, kasama yung mother ko, kasama yung mga kapatid ko. Sus, napakasakit isipin. Yung mother ko, on the family way. Mga bata, mga baby, iniitsa, tapos sasaluhin ng bayoneta. Sobra-sobrang sakit ng kalooban iyon dahil biruin mo bigla kang mawawalan ng tatlong kapatid at saka mother. Napakasakit sa ano, hindi ko malilimutan ang pangyayaring iyun sa buong buhay ko.

At that moment they were already killing the people whom they had captured from the farm. All were killed with the bayonet, including my mother and my siblings. It's very painful to think about it. My mother was on the family way. Children, babies, were thrown to the air and caught with a bayonet. It's exceedingly heartbreaking. Imagine in just one instant gone were my three siblings and my mother. It's very painful. I will never forget that incident in my whole life.

Sofia also recalls the other crimes that happened after the internees' liberation, such as the burning of the residents in the chapel of Saint Therese and the massacre of civilians who were caught hiding in the coffee-planted area of the UPCA, including women who were first abused before being killed, some by beheading. She also recollects the killing of two old residents from Barangay Anos who decided not to evacuate to a safer place and a relative's family among whom only a female cousin, who was stabbed several times, survived.

Fourteen years old at the outbreak of the war, Tomas, who lost his sister and her family during the massacre at the Saint Therese chapel, recalls the following incidents after his narration of the liberation of the UPCA internees. Tomas says that, soon after the Americans left the town together with the internees, the remaining Japanese soldiers who had hidden in the nearby mountains returned to the town and were very angry and vindictive. Before they arrived most of the residents had fled toward Laguna Lake to take boats that would ferry them to liberated towns like Calamba, Cabuyao, and Santa Rosa. Those who were left behind, including Tomas and his siblings and their families, sought refuge at the chapel. His older brother, he remembers, had an eerie feeling about hiding in that place and suggested that they leave immediately. His sister's family, however, remained in the chapel.

Ang kapatid kong babae, at saka ang asawa at anak, ayaw sumama. Doon lang daw sila, andun lang noong gabing yun ang asawa eh. Gerilya ang asawa eh. At saka ang kanyang mga ninang andun. Ang daming tao. Eh di alis kami, punta kami sa bundok.

My sister as well as her husband and child did not want to go with us. They would just stay there together, as her husband was with them that night. Her husband was a guerilla, you know. Her godmothers were also there. There were many people. So we left and headed for the mountains.

Tomas recalls that it was nighttime when Japanese soldiers started burning the chapel and the houses. The houses then were made mostly of bamboo so they burned easily. From their hideout in the mountain, Tomas and his companions heard the crackling sound of the burning bamboos. The night turned bright because of the fire. When morning came they realized

that the chapel had been burned. He was convinced then that the Japanese soldiers came back only to exact vengeance. They burned the place, hounded and killed the remaining residents in the town, and left right after the carnage.

Tomas's feelings also center on his bitterness that the American soldiers had planned to rescue only their fellow Americans as they were nowhere to be found after they had taken the internees. He recalls that, because efforts to free the interned foreigners were not possible through land as the roads of Barangay Lalakay had been planted with mines, part of the combined American and Filipino liberating forces entered Los Baños through Laguna Lake in amphibious tanks. Very unfortunately, he says, the American soldiers returned to the town only after the atrocities had occurred. Tomas says that his brothers told him later that they took the boat to escape, paying several cavans of rice to the crew just so they would be taken to the next town.

The other informants also have narrations about similar incidents. Petra, for instance, recalls simply that many people took refuge in the chapel and that it became known later that the men must have thought that there were many enemies and so did not attempt to go out and fight. Apparently, she says, there were only two Japanese soldiers who made it appear that there were many of them by firing their guns in one place then quickly running to another spot to fire again. They then poured gasoline and set the chapel on fire. Among those killed, Petra says, were two priests who were among those trapped inside the church (but others have differing recollections of how the priests died, one hanged from a tree, the other bayoneted). She also mentions some survivors who narrowly escaped the massacre. Her current neighbor's family, however, lost some members:

Yung kapitbahay namin ngayon eh kung ilan ang anak. Tumakbo sila. Nailabas nila ang mga anak, pero yung isa sa takot kasi may akay na maliit na kapatid ang tinakbo sa bahay din doon sa loob ng simbahan. Doon sila hinabol ng Hapon, dalawang kapatid at pati siya ay napatay. Pero yung ibang kapatid nabuhay, nakatakabong malayo. Nakarating sa tubigan ng UP.

Our present neighbor had many children. They ran and were able to take their children out of the chapel. But one panicked because of the younger siblings in tow, and headed for the house also inside the cha-

pel. The Japanese ran after them, killing the two younger ones and the older sibling also. But the other siblings survived because they were able to run farther up, reaching the irrigation site of the UPCA.

Dolores, then 19 years old, mentions the massacre at the old chapel as occurring as a result of the internees being freed. She narrates:

Ang mahirap naman nito pagkakuha noong mga interns iniwanan ung Kolehiyo, walang gwardiya. Eh di galit ung mga Hapon at nakuha iyung mga interns ay iyung mga Pilipinong inabutan nila kinulong nila sa Saint Therese at sinilaban. Ayun ang nangyari kasi yung isang kapitbahay namin dyan ayaw pumunta sa bundok at iyun ay may apo ay wala daw tubig sa bundok.

The problem here was that after the interns were taken nobody was left to guard the College. So the Japanese were angry because the prisoners were taken from them. They rounded up the Filipinos who were still around, trapped them inside the Saint Therese chapel, and burned them. That's what happened to one of our neighbors over there. They did not go to the mountain because of a grandchild who needed water and on the mountain they said there was no water.

The stories of these other informants, who recalled about neighbors and other persons in the town, contain fewer, although sometimes different and even conflicting, details. Their stories had less emotional intensity than the recollections of Sofia and Tomas, whose personal losses in the war made them reconstruct painful incidents with seemingly raw emotions.²

Self Schemas: Females

The informants' self-related knowledge facilitated recall toward information pertaining to themselves and which were important to them. The direct and vicarious experiences that cast harm or threat due to the intense emotional reaction evoked at the time these events were experienced became readily accessible in memory. All the survivors, irrespective of gender, educational attainment, and degree of emotional cost, were able to remember many, if not all, of those experiences and their emotional reactions toward them. In these affect-laden recollections, the remembering focuses on the self of the

narrator. For example, Petra remembers that the Pearl Harbor bombing was announced on 8 December 1942 when it was the town's fiesta. The mass had ended already so she and her friends watched a contest of bands outside the church. That was when they were told that the announcement about the war was being made. She recalls her initial innocence about the meaning of war. She recounts:

Meron daw nag-a-announce, eh di puntahan ang mga tao. Katatapos ng misa, yung concelebrated kung tawagin. Maraming pari kasi fiesta yun eh. Dun in-announce sa taas, yung kinakantahan ng choir. Nag-bibinyag na nuon yung pari. Natatapos kasi ang misa mga alas diyes, pagkatapos ang binyag.

They said someone was making an announcement, so the people rushed inside. The mass had just ended. The mass was what they called concelebrated, with many priests, as it was the town's fiesta. From the height of the choir loft the announcement was made. It was already the time for the baptism of infants. At that time, the mass ended at around ten o'clock and was followed by baptism.

Nanonood kami ng mga barkada kong dalaga ng serenada ng musikero, labanan ng mga banda. Peacetime nun, in-announce na magsiuwian na ang mga tao kasi binomba na raw ang Pearl Harbor. Eh, di nag-uwian kami. Siyempre, kinakabahan ka, kung ano ang giyera. Hindi ko pa alam ang giyera.

My female friends and I were watching the musicians' serenade, the competition of bands. It was peacetime then. It was announced that people should go home because Pearl Harbor had been bombed. So we all went home. Of course, I was worried—this war that they were saying. I still had no idea what war was about.

There were instances when dangerous experiences arose from the narrator's being male or female. Looking attractive even as an adolescent, Teresita attributes her scariest experience to her being a woman. While walking home after classes with a few companions, Teresita, whose family lived in one of the houses on Faculty Hill, was suddenly ordered by a Japanese sen-

try, who was stationed in one of the three outposts in that part of the campus, to stay behind. Although Teresita now recalls the experience with laughter, she remembers how frightened she was then, and even recounts the incident somewhat incoherently as the remembering evokes the anxiety of that moment. Here is an extract from the interview transcription:

In going home di ba, we pass by the sentries. Pinagkatuwaan ako ng last sentry. Pinaiwan ako, doon sa ano, ay nginig na nginig na ako. Siguro I was fourteen. I was fourteen siguro noon. Nanginginig ako kasi pinalakad yung iba, ako ang naiwan doon. Napagkatuwaan lang pala ako ng Hapon. Tapos yung mother, malapit yung house namin eh, next house eh. Sinabi noong mga kasama ko. My mother came. Nang nakita niya [tinutukoy ang kanyang ina] pinaganun [sumenyas ng "uwi"] niya na ako. Iyun yung experience ko na talagang nakakatakot. Ang natatandaan ko na sabi niya, "dyon de," "stand there." So, nakatayo ako doon and then my mother came nga at pinaalis na ako, pinauwi na ako. Kaya ako, tinatago ako nila, pag may Japanese, mga groups na dumadaan kung minsan, ano.

In going home, you know, we pass by the sentries. The last sentry wanted to have fun at my expense. He told me to stay behind, somewhere there; oh I was trembling so much. Maybe I was fourteen. I was fourteen years old then. I was trembling with fear because the others were told to walk on, while I was left behind. That Japanese wanted to have fun at my expense. Then my mother—our house was nearby, it was the next house, eh—my companions told her about what happened. My mother came. When she saw me, she gestured at me for me to go home. It was a really scary experience of mine. I remember him saying, "dyon de," "stand there." So, I was standing there, and then my mother came, and then I was allowed to leave, I was told to go home. That was why my parents would hide me whenever Japanese were around, when groups would sometimes pass by.

Sofia recalls her role as a courier for the PQOG (or President Quezon's Own Guerrillas). She surmises that she was made a courier because, as a 15-year-old girl, she would not be suspected of involvement in clandestine activities. She relates that during the early part of the Japanese occupa-

tion, at night she would go with her mother to sell native delicacies outside the Salunan, a cabaret. One evening a man approached her and secretly instructed her to give a roll of paper that he had placed in her basket to someone who, while buying from her, would whistle several times. That started the exchange of communication that, she says, happened regularly and lasted until 1945. The paper was almost the width of a matchstick and when unrolled was long. Supposedly written on it was a message that Sofia had no knowledge of because she never asked about it nor opened it, but she knew to whom she should hand over the note because of agreed upon signals. Later in the occupation, she delivered messages during vacant periods in school to Higamot Hill, a place where the International Rice Research Institute is now located.

Sofia believes that Japanese soldiers and their local supporters detected her participation in the guerilla movement, which led to her experience of torture. When she was in her third year in high school, “ang mga Hapon naging mainit, nag-iinit ang kanilang mga ulo dahil maraming gerilya ang nag-iikot-ikot at nagbabali-balita” [the Japanese got so angry because the guerillas were going around and circulating information]. One day the women in her class were detained in one room of the University of the Philippines Rural High School (UPRHS). Sofia and two other female students were brought to what could have been the Entomology Building and interrogated separately. She recounts the torture:

Nakaranas ako noon na yung paa ko, yung ibibitin ako sa tubig nang patiwarik. Mga tatlong beses sa isang drum ng tubig para magsabikung sino ang mga tumutulong sa mga Amerkano. Wala akong sinabi kahit pa patayin nila ako. Until such time that nagsawa na sila. Alam ko, sina Espino, number one iyun, sina Centeno, yung me apelyidong Amparo. Sina Dr. Habito kasama din doon, noon. Meron ding kanyang istorya si Dr. Habito tungkol dito. Pero, walang nakaalam tungkol dito kundi kaming tatlong babae lang. Pagbalik namin, nagtataka sila bakit basang-basa kami, hindi naman kami nagsalita. Walang kibuan kasi mag-sound lang kami na nagsasalitaan, papasok na agad yung Hapon na nakabantay sa amin.

At that time I experienced being tied by my ankle, hanged upside down, and dipped in a vat of water about three times to force me to

say who were helping the Americans. I did not say anything, even if they had killed me. They eventually gave up. But I knew those people. Espino was number one. Also Centeno and someone with Amparo for a surname. Dr. Habito was among them also. Dr. Habito has his own story to tell. No one else knew about what happened to the three of us. When we came back, the other students wondered why we were very wet, but we did not say a word. No one could make any sound, because at the slightest hint of someone talking, the Japanese soldier guarding us would immediately come inside.

Interestingly, aside from being a courier for the guerillas, Sofia's role and activities centered on acquiring food for the family. Being the eldest she had to take on this role. Sofia narrates that during the difficult years, which started around the middle part of the occupation, she saw the big need to help her family. The tailoring business of her father had become very sluggish, with only a few guerilla-clients who secretly had their uniforms repaired. She thus found herself in places and activities in search of food. With her mother she went to the fields to harvest rice for a share of the produce, or to plant crops for other families in exchange for boiled *kamote* (sweet potato), boiled banana, or *binatog* (boiled and skinned mature corn kernels). At times, in between classes, she would run to the harvest place or to the river to gather clams or catch shrimps. On other days Sofia would go to the field very early and then run to school after harvesting, which usually was over by nine or ten o'clock in the morning. She did not mind being late in going to class during those years. Sofia's role in securing food for the family had actually spared her life because, as recounted earlier, she did not join her mother and siblings in going to another village, as she had to harvest rice early the next day.

As reflected above, part of the female respondents' memories of the war, including those involving danger and harm to their being, were brought about by their circumstances as women. Teresita was placed in a scary situation by a Japanese sentry who probably was attracted to her good looks, her beauty later drawing another Japanese soldier to court her. Sofia's role as a youthful courier resulted in her being tortured, which created a constant feeling of dread of being discovered by the enemy. Memories of the self that exposed the narrator to threatening experiences made these events significant, and thus were well formed and easily accessible as self schemas. Fur-

ther, Sofia's roles as courier and as the eldest in the family, which she took seriously, were no doubt significant to her and helped form her self-concept as a brave, responsible person, in turn allowing the easy recall of memories that confirmed these traits.³

Self schemas: Males

Pedro, who was 25 years old when the war started, was with the Philippine Army and not in the town when the war erupted because he had already left as early as October 1941 to attend the training of army reserves in Malvar, Batangas. Except for a brief visit on the night of 7 December 1941 to witness the eve of the town fiesta, he did not return to Los Baños until August 1942 after his release from the POW camp in Capas, Tarlac. His role and participation in the army exposed Pedro to countless life-threatening situations.

Pedro narrates that his infantry, the Forty-second of the Forty-first Division, was initially told to defend the beach of Calaca, Batangas. However, as a result of the Japanese arriving in the country through Pagbilao, Quezon, instead of Batangas, they were ordered to take the frontline of the allied forces in Bataan. He remembers that the early weeks in the Bagac frontline passed with only a small number of Japanese soldiers to fight. The nights of the allied group were spent on vigilance patrol. Pedro elaborates on this as well as the fight against Yamashita's troops:

Ang nangyari sa amin, gising sa gabi, tulog sa araw. Hindi kasi lumulong yung mga Hapon kung araw eh. Ginagapang kami sa gabi. Gawa nang kung araw eh kita sila sa frontline, 700 meters ang hawan. Eh, di kita ka. Kaya sa gabi sila nalusong.

What happened to us was we stayed awake at night and slept in the daytime. The Japanese did not attack during the day. They would crawl toward us at night. In the daytime, eh, they would be seen in the frontline, which had a clearing of 700 meters. That was why they advanced at night.

Hindi nga kami tumagal sa pwersa ni Yamashita eh. Masyado nang tinadtad sa giyera ang aming frontline sa Balanga, yung Pilar-Bagac Road eh. Ang lintek na tankeng yan [ng Hapon] eh nasa ilog. Kami,

nasa foxhole. Ang ginawa pa ng Hapon eh sinilaban yun kugon. Kugunan yung lugar eh. Sinilaban yung kugon. Di hindi kami makalabas sa foxhole. Yung ngang Mount Samat, iyan ang umpisa nang pag-surrender.

It did not take long for Yamashita's troops to overpower us, eh. Our frontline in Balanga, the Pilar-Bagac Road, was already under very severe attack, eh. Those damn tanks [of the Japanese] were in the stream, while we were in the foxhole. What was more, the Japanese burned the cogon grass. That place was full of cogon grass. They ignited the grass. We could not get out of the foxhole. That Mount Samat was where the surrender started.

Pedro says that it was on 9 April 1942 that the allied forces surrendered in Bataan and that there were thousands of casualties in this battle. Thousands more died during the Death March due to extreme physical exhaustion, hunger, and thirst. They were taken to Camp O'Donnell in Capas, Tarlac, after three days in San Fernando, Pampanga, in a train that was too hot because it had no windows. They still had to walk twenty-five kilometers to reach the camp. He estimates that around 60,000 men made it to the camp from about 100,000 Filipino soldiers who joined the Philippine Army at the outbreak of the war. In the prison camp the captives experienced unforgettable hardships. Among those he recalls were his bout with dysentery and his confrontation with death, particularly how the dead were treated:

Wala namang gagamot sa iyo hanggang kaya. Eh, ako, palibhasa nasa Forestry alam ko iyung mga damo, kahoy na . . . nung ako'y nakwan na, nanguha ako ng dahon ng alibangbang, maasim iyun eh, sinuka ko iyung dahon at di na ko naalis sa latrin hanggang nung kalaunan na, iyung dinudumi ko na iyun na lang dahon ng alibangbang. Kung di ka manggagamot sa sarili mo walang gagamot sa iyo hanggang mamatay ka na.

Nobody would give you medical care for as long as you could manage. As a Forestry student, I knew about grasses and trees that . . . when I fell ill, I gathered *alibangbang* [*Piliostigma malabaricum*] leaves.⁴ They're very sour, I took them and it made me throw up. I did not get up to leave the latrine until such time that what came out were just the leaves. If you do not treat yourself nobody would, until you just die.

Ang patay eh, mga limang daan isang araw, di mo na madadala sa sementeryo, iyung mga namamatay kinikwan na lang sa banyo, yung mga banyo panay yero ang mga sahig at dinding eh. Yung unang namatay nasa ilalim, yung huling namamatay nasa ibabaw. Kaya pag inililibing, iyung huling namatay iyun naman ang naililibing nang una. Di na naililibing iyug dating namatay. Tubigan yun eh, matigas na matigas eh, tag-araw na tag-araw eh. Tipak, ang hirap-hirap hukayin. Yung naghuhukay sa grave detail, bukas ay ikaw naman ang ihuhukay. Katakut- takot na hirap.

The dead, eh, numbered around five hundred a day. You could no longer bring them to the cemetery. The dead were just being placed in latrines. The latrines all had corrugated iron sheet for walls and flooring. The first ones to die were under the pile; those who died last were on top. That was why the last ones who died were the first to be buried, while those who died earlier were not being buried. It was so difficult to dig graves because the area, which was swampy, had dried up as it was the peak of summer. Those who were assigned to dig graves one day were those to be buried the next day. It was dreadful hardship.

Unlike Pedro, Mariano also wanted to be in the army but was unable to enlist because the war came before he reached his twentieth birthday, which was the minimum age required to start training in Canlubang, Laguna, in early 1942. He was able to narrate a lot about the battle in Bataan and the Second World War in general, including the involvement of numerous local and foreign personalities because, being interested in history, he had read materials, watched television, and engaged in story telling, which compensated for his limited years of formal schooling, having only finished seventh grade. Nonetheless, Mariano had a direct experience of the sona, a Japanese military strategy of rounding up civilians in order to identify and eliminate the guerillas among them.⁵ Mariano recounts his experience of this dreaded activity, which was enforced usually on the menfolk:

Nagpunta na kami diyan [Lopez Elementary School], nagbalot na kami, may binalot na kami. Yun pala kaya tinipon doon, kami ay iko-confine na nga, sasonahin na kami. Kaparis ko, noong [ako'y] napakulong sa Entomology. Ewan ko lang kung buhay pa ang building ng Entomology

dito sa Kolehiyo. Entomology tabi ng Palma Bridge. . . at yung iba sa Maquiling [school] napa-confine. Kami noong napakulong doon, ang pinakakain lang sa amin ay tubig. Ibig sabihin ginugutom kami para kung kami ay hindi na makatiis, kami ay magsasabi ng tutoo kung kami ay gerilya o hindi. Yun ang kanilang purpose. Pagdating ng apat na araw pinakain kami ng lugaw. A walang hiya ang kain namin ng lugaw namumuti dito ang lugaw sa gutom. After four days pagkakain ng lugaw umabot kami ng siyam na araw pa na walang kain kundi tubig.

We went there [Lopez Elementary School], we packed our things, we already packed something. It turned out that we were gathered there, we were confined, because we were to be placed under sona. Like when I was detained at Entomology. I don't know if that Entomology building still survives in the College. Entomology was near the Palma Bridge . . . The others were confined in Maquiling [school]. In detention, we were fed with water only. Meaning, they were starving us so that, if we could no longer bear it, we would tell the truth about our being guerillas or not. That was their purpose. On the fourth day, we were given porridge. We were shameless in eating the porridge; in our hunger the porridge went all over our mouth. Four days after eating the porridge, we reached another nine days without food, except water.

Eh ang higaan namin ay diyan sa floor kami'y dikit-dikit para kaming sardinas. Kaya noon ay marami ang nagkasakit noon. Karamihan na sakit noon ay, ano tawag doon sa sakit sa tiyan, diarrhea . . . at ang aming dumihan pa noon ay mayroong isang kanal na ganyan, yung hukay, bago doon ka dudumi. Tatalikod ka lang, wala nang hiya-hiya, panay kami lalaki eh. Ang ginagawa ko naman eh every morning ako'y lumalabas sa labas pinipitas ko yung dahon ng santol, yung pinakaubod kinukuha ko't nginunguya ko para ako'y makasagap ng fresh air noon. Pero noong punta ko roon, noong ika siyam na araw panay amoy patay na kami. Amoy bangkay na kami, walang paligo eh. At yung damit namin sirasira na, walang bihis-bihis. Wala namang makapasok doon makapaghatid sa iyo, wala eh.

We slept on the floor side-by-side like sardines. That was why many got sick then. Most everyone got sick of, what do you call that stomach

ailment, diarrhea . . . And our toilet then was a hole in the ground, like a trench, that was where you did your thing. You just turned your back. No need to feel embarrassed. We were all men anyway, eh. What I did was, eh, every morning I would go out and gather young leaves of the *santol* [*Sandoricum koetjape*], and munch them. That was my excuse so I can breathe fresh air. On the ninth day, we all smelled like the dead. We smelled like corpses because we had not taken a bath. Our clothes were torn and had not been changed. No one was allowed to come in to bring you things, no one.

Being included in the sona was so significant to Mariano for him to remember the details of that experience, highlighting the starvation, the sickness, and even the pseudo encounter with death. The event was a mild version of what a soldier would have undergone, but it gave him the opportunity to prove his bravery and patriotism even if he was not in the frontline in Bataan to defend the country as a Philippine Army soldier, which he really wanted to have become.

Mauro, then a 17-year-old high school student, was not spared from the sona:

I was detained by the Japanese during that sona time. I was one of those imprisoned at the College campus by the Japanese. In fact, I was imprisoned at the former Chemistry Building [after my transfer from the Zoology Building due to overcrowding]. For seven days, I have been there without food and I survived. Then immediately when I was released I went to the mountains and joined the guerrilla movement . . . because of my hatred of the Japanese, because I was also tortured when I was brought to the old Chemistry Building. I was tortured seven days without food. They were hitting me with the butt of the guns and hitting my face with twigs. Because I could not drink. I was not allowed to drink. From that Chemistry Building, inside that room was a faucet. *Yung lababo* [The washbasin]. Whenever the soldiers are not around, I open it and then drink. That was prohibited. They saw me and they ganged up on me.

The male informants' accounts reveal schemas of the self that underwent the dangers and ravages of war. However, the intensity of their emo-

tional reactions toward direct and vicarious experiences of harm and threat varied according to the situation with which each of them was confronted. At the same time, the emotional intensity in these recollections is greater among male informants than among some of the female informants, such as the recollections of Teresita who, despite having experienced being frightened by a Japanese sentry, was spared from something more dangerous. Among the informants, Pedro developed the greatest anxiety from the numerous and profoundly life-threatening situations he faced as a soldier in active duty in Bataan. Mauro's recollections of the sona (not recounted verbatim above) also show strong emotions due to the physical torture that exceeded Mariano's experience during detention.

Apparently, the informants' direct and vicarious experiences of harm or threat were so significant that these became part of their schemas and were well remembered in spite of the passage of time. They recounted having felt intense fright during most, if not all, of these personally encountered events: witnessing the bombing of the College Station of the Philippine National Railways, which wounded and killed many people; seeking cover under a bridge in the campus during the UPCA bombing; hiding with family in the dugout during Japanese air raids; evacuating to the mountains to avoid the arriving Japanese forces; witnessing at close distance the arrival on foot of huge numbers of Japanese soldiers; detention of family members during sona; being in the midst of MAKAPILI and Japanese soldiers; enemy patrol of their neighborhood; coming face to face with a Japanese houseboy who searched the house for evidence to link the family to guerilla activities; having a Japanese officer and group of guerillas at the same time as visitors, although in different parts of the house; and studying with a Japanese officer who regularly carried a gun with bayonet during Nippongo class.⁶

Gender roles appear to contribute to variations in recollections as can be gleaned from the above stories of Pedro as a soldier and of Sofia as a courier for a guerilla group. However, gender roles also shaped memories particularly in cases of role reversal. For instance, although it became everyone's concern to help bring food to the family's table during the latter part of the occupation, it became the men's primary role among some informants. This was true of Pedro, who had a wife and whose parents were old; Mariano, whose father's odd jobs barely supported the big family; and Tomas, whose family had lost the mother just before the war. These role reversals were vividly recalled.⁷

People Schema

Another type of schema that emerged in the informants' reconstruction of the Japanese occupation was one related to people. Except in one or two cases, all the eight informants included accounts about their families and relatives; their neighbors and the community as a whole; their teachers and classmates; and foreign military forces, such as Americans and Japanese. It appears that being female influenced the recall of family member or members, particularly pertaining to mechanisms employed to safeguard them from possible sexual advances by Japanese soldiers. Although schemas of self are embedded in these people schemas, the focus in the latter are certain individuals—parents, grandparents, suitors—who evidently had a great influence in etching the past in the informants' memory.

As mentioned earlier, Teresita remembers how her parents would hide her whenever groups of Japanese soldiers were around. Petra recalls her grandmother telling her, being the only teenager among her grandchildren, to hide whenever the Japanese were nearby, not to look out of the window when they passed by, and not to look or stare at them since it was rumored that the Japanese raped women. She recalls her grandmother saying, "Para iyang hitsura mo hindi mapansin at baka magandahan pa sa iyo" [So your appearance will not attract attention lest they might find you beautiful]. Petra also remembers not to have liked wearing the *baro't saya* attire that her grandmother wanted her to wear so she would look older than her age.⁸ For her part, Sofia recalls her mother making her unattractive and thus not noticeable by Japanese soldiers. "Nilagyan ako ng uling-uling sa mukha. Yung buhok ko mahaba ano, pinuyod nang hindi ayos para daw di mapansin. Tapos, yung mga baro't saya, ginawang damit ko" [My mother smeared my face with charcoal. My long hair was knotted into an untidy bun so it would be unnoticeable. Then the baro't saya was made into my attire]. Sofia says that her mother made her appear that way for as long as it was necessary. When the feared behavior by the Japanese soldiers did not happen, she was allowed to dress normally again.⁹

Female informants also had recollections of suitors during the war period. Teresita, for instance, remembers that when her family evacuated to Santa Rosa they were later taken to the ancestral house of the Potencianos, a prominent family in Biñan, Laguna. However, the house became so full with evacuees that Teresita's family had to stay by the staircase. She narrates how a suitor, who also stayed in Los Baños to study at UPCA, had helped them secure a better evacuation place in his aunt's house:

Merong manligaw sa aking estudyante dito na taga Biñan. Nung malaman na andun kami, naawa naman kasi malapit na kami sa hagdan. Kinuha kami, dinala kami sa relative niya na dalawa lang yata ang anak na walang asawa. "Doon na lang kayo sa tiya ko tumigil nang hindi kayo tabinghagdan."

I had a suitor from Biñan who was a student here. When he knew that we were there, he took pity on us because we were staying by the stairs. He took us to his relative who was living only with her two children who were still single. He said, "You stay with my aunt so that you will not stay near the stairs."

Petra, who was 18 years old when the war started, reminisces about her three suitors during the occupation: one was preferred by her grandmother, another one by her mother, but she eventually married the third:

Mayroon akong manligaw noon, tatlo yun. Di alam ng pamilya ko may nobyo na ako, akala nanligaw lang. Isa taga dyan sa Mayondon. Yun ang gusto ng lola ko. Kasi ba naman, aba naigib ng tubig. Wala kaming gripo noon pero may tiyahin ako. Dun sa banyo [nila] dun naigib. "Hay naku, ayoko nga niyan, may nobyo na ako," sa loob-loob ko. Yung isa naman, Bisaya na prisoner of war na lumaya na. Mother ko naman ang sinusuyo. Pareho sila Bisaya. Pero sa isip ko lang ano, baka may pamilya na sa probinsya kasi mas matanda sa akin. Yun napangasawa ko, yun talaga ang nobyo ko. Natakot, ayun kinausap ang parents ko. Pakasal na daw kami.

I had suitors then, there were three of them. My family didn't know I already had a boyfriend, whom they thought was just courting me. I had one suitor from Mayondon. My grandmother liked him. Because, you know, he would fetch water. We had no tap then, but my aunt had in her bathroom. There he would collect water for us. "Oh, well, I don't like him, I already have a boyfriend," I thought to myself. The other one was Bisaya, a prisoner of war who had been released already. It was my mother's nod that he sought. They're both Bisaya. I thought that maybe he already has a family in the province, as he was many years older than me. The one I married was my real boyfriend. He

became fearful, and so he talked to my parents, asking for my hand in marriage.

Another category of people well remembered by the informants consists of those who joined the enemy and became loathsome members of the MAKAPILI. The remembrance is often combined with a sentiment that those who really risked their lives for the country were not being recognized and given due honor. Sofia, who at the time of interview was preparing to write a book so, she says, Americans would know about her participation as a courier of the guerillas, blames the MAKAPILI for the death of many Filipinos, including the members of her family. What angers her, according to Sofia, is that some of them to this day are recipients of compensation given by the U. S. government to war veterans. She explains how it came to be that MAKAPILI members were included in the roster of veterans:

Noong dumating ang mga Amerikano, sila ang nakapronta. Yung mga MAKAPILI ayun, dahil iniwan na sila ng mga Hapon. Iyung ibang MAKAPILI, noong ang mga Hapon ay magtago na rin sa bundok, sila ay kinakain na nung ibang Hapon. Naging cannibal ang mga Hapon, kinakain na din sila. Nang makita nilang ganun na ang ginagawa, pina-patay na rin sila, gumawa na sila ng paraan na sila ay makaligtas. Yung ding mga MAKAPILI na humiwalay sa mga Hapon ang nagkwento. Tapos nang dumating nga yung liberation, dumating ang mga Amerikano, sila ang nakabungad doon at nag-pretend na sila ang tumulong sa mga Amerikano. In fact, hindi sila nakatulong. Nakasira, kaya maraming namatay na Pilipino dahil sa kanila.

When the Americans arrived during liberation, the MAKAPILI were there in front. They had been abandoned by the Japanese. Some MAKAPILI who hid in the mountains were eaten by the Japanese, who became cannibals. They were eaten. When they saw this happening, that they were being killed, they found a way to save themselves. The MAKAPILI who separated from the Japanese were the ones who told these stories. Then when liberation came, when the Americans arrived, they were in the front, pretending that they helped the Americans. In fact, they did not help. They were destructive, and many Filipinos died because of them.

Mauro also remembers the pro-Japanese local residents, which contrasts with his recollection of his participation in hiding the ROTC rifles in the UPCA just before the Japanese arrived in the town and his role as a member of the Red Lion, an all-student group of the PQOG. He proudly says, "It was my sworn duty as a citizen of Los Baños and as a student of the University of the Philippines to show my loyalty." He laments that his contribution as well as those by other students and employees remain unrecognized to this day.

At that time you have to be wary whom to trust and make sure that you have no adversary. It's difficult because your adversary might happen to be a MAKAPILI. They just pinpoint you and you are done. One thing good in a small town like Los Baños, everybody knows everyone. We can identify the MAKAPILI . . . You would be surprised. After the war, the first ones to receive from the Veterans were the MAKAPILIs. Aba'y, marunong yang mga yan eh. Samantala kami we still suffer up to now. [Those people are really smart, eh. But look at us, we still suffer up to now.] Remember when I mentioned the general mobilization? My experiences in the skirmish? Even the ones on the roster of recognized guerillas, not all of them were guerillas. They were recognized, not us. That's the sad part.

People-related schemas clearly structured recall toward experiences involving others, such as family members, suitors, and spies, which showed in differential remembering. Anger and frustration are highly evident in the recollections of Sofia and Mauro regarding the MAKAPILI members who despite having been spies for the Japanese became recipients of war compensation and recognition. Not unexpectedly their memories of these people contain more details than that of Sofia about her mother's way of protecting her from the Japanese and those of Teresita and Petra about their suitors, which were all recalled with fondness.

Conclusion

The memorial reconstructions of the Second World War in Los Baños by eight informants make clear that the inclusion of personal and significant memories highlights the notion that reality has specific meanings and relevance to different people, resulting in variability in their recollections of

the period. To account for these differences is important because, in spite of the obvious presence of differential remembering of war experiences, published memoirs and recollections do not give due notice to such variations. Memories are taken at face value in the interest of coming up with a narrative of the period. By relating memories to the process of remembering, this study has sought to acknowledge differences in memorial reconstructions and to identify the factors that shape cognitive structures that contain memories of the past and which strongly influence recall. These factors show that informants' differing views, feelings, motives, and actions toward wartime situations were products of their personal background and circumstances.

Schema theory shows the influence of cognitive structures on remembering. Social schemas facilitated and structured the informants' reconstruction of wartime experiences. In particular, event schemas were affect laden and as such were more accessible to remembrance than neutral events. Emotional cost due to the loss of family members created vivid and detailed recollection of events. In general, the extreme danger and difficulties experienced during the period made salient the recall of events corroborating the country's known history as well as that of local history, such as the bombing of Pearl Harbor and of the Philippines on 8 December 1941; the College bombing on 25 December 1941; the evacuation by local residents; the imprisonment and liberation of civilians at the UPCA internment camp; and war crimes committed against civilian residents.

Self schemas facilitated recall because direct and vicarious experiences of harm and threat were vehicles for knowing as well as projecting the self of the informants. The gender of the informants and the various roles they assumed during the period, including role reversals and covert activities, influenced the process of differential remembering. Lastly, people schemas guided recall of significant individuals and groups of people that affected the lives of the informants, and these included family members as well as spies who cooperated with the enemy.

In general, the informants' personal background and circumstances shaped their experiences and, therefore, the schemas were found to have influenced variability of memorial reconstruction. Emotional intensity of the experience had an obvious effect on recall of events. Male and female differences were also revealed in the survivors' recollection of their direct and vicarious experiences of harm and danger, and their emotional reactions to them. Finally, the significance and implication of cognition to the

understanding of human thought, feelings, and actions demonstrated the affect-laden character of schemas, strengthening the view that remembering is a reconstructive act in the present.

Notes

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- 1 Other accounts focus on the last month of the war in Manila. *Warsaw of Asia: The Rape of Manila* (Escoda 2000) offers a vivid day-to-day account of the events during the last month of the war that saw an immense toll in human lives, properties, and cultural treasures. The abundant data from interviewed survivors, diaries, and secondary sources as well as various photographs make the case that Manila was the most devastated capital city during the Second World War. *By Sword and Fire: The Destruction of Manila in World War II, 3 February – 3 March 1945* (Aluit 1995) provides a graphic daily account of the month-long liberation of Manila woven from oral narratives and data from diaries, records of depositions, testimonies of civilians, and other written sources.
- 2 Events that were also mentioned in the survivors' recollection pertain to the preparations at the UPCA before the arrival of the Japanese in the town (like the hiding of ROTC rifles in unlikely places such as the septic tank in the Seniors' Social Garden); the passing through the town of trucks ferrying evacuees from Manila on the night of 8 December 1941; the power outage that started on the night of 8 December; hiding in the dugout during air raids and keeping of valuable possessions there; and the evacuation before the Japanese arrival to occupy the town. Likewise recalled were the Japanese patrol of the UPCA campus and other parts of the town; socioeconomic changes and adaptations; celebrations, like fiestas, baptisms, weddings; parties and Japanese-sponsored programs; scary as well as friendly encounters with Japanese soldiers; interactions with guerillas or American soldiers; visits to prison at Santa Cruz, Laguna; skirmishes between guerillas and Japanese soldiers; mobilization of guerilla groups in Luzon; the bivouac of guerillas at the UPCA; liberation of internees and of the town; evacuation due to liberation efforts; burning of the town by the Japanese; and the strong defense by the enemies of their stronghold at Barangay Lalakay.
- 3 Among the other schemas of self by female informants is that of Petra, who was around 20 years old during the occupation. Although at first opposed to the idea of marrying as she was still enjoying her life with her friends, she eventually agreed and was married in 1944. A small celebration was held at the town's popular Cosmos Hotel. She soon experienced raising a family under war conditions while her husband looked for ways to find food. Other roles and activities reminisced by individual female informants included participating in Japanese-organized cultural shows; assisting in packing and bringing things during evacuation; attending parties in the unoccupied part of the campus; accompanying an aunt to visit and bring food and other stuff to her detained husband in Santa Cruz, Laguna; attending weddings and other celebrations in the town; working in the cigarette business of an uncle; helping in household chores and caring for

younger siblings; selling pineapple to classmates; maximizing use of school supplies and uniform to save money; and giving food to internees and to detained relatives and students.

- 4 *Alibangbang* leaves being very sour are commonly used for cooking sour stew. Barks when boiled are usually used to treat diseases such as malaria and dysentery. However, because even a simple task such as boiling was not possible under the circumstances, Pedro settled for the leaves to treat himself of dysentery.

- 5 Most helpful in carrying out this purge were local members of the MAKAPILI. Aluit (1995, 138) provides this description of the *sona*:

In the “zona,” a neighborhood suspected of harboring resistance elements would be cordoned off at certain hours and sentries placed at all possible entrances and exits. All residents would be compelled to come down their homes and made to file past the “secret eye,” a person whose identity was concealed by a hood, improvised by a burlap sack or straw bag with slits for eyes. As the people filed by, the secret eye would indicate to the Japanese officers present by a nod or a gesture the alleged guerilla, who would be pulled out of line and detained. People thus held and taken away were rarely known to return to their homes.

- 6 Also recalled were the trepidation of seeing the state of a certain Tatay Andoy and his daughter, Maring, after interrogation and torture at Maquiling School; witnessing the massacre at the old Saint Therese Chapel, where Mauro and another guerilla, Eby Cendaña, would have also lost their lives if they manned the watch tower immediately as ordered by their superior; risking one’s life to help a Filipino who was stabbed in the throat by a Japanese; barely escaping a crossfire between guerillas and Japanese soldiers while leaving for Santa Rosa, Laguna; crossing Laguna Lake on a small boat only inches above the water due to numerous passengers and while Americans and Japanese were fighting heavily at Barangay Lalakay; waiting at the beach for two days with no boats to take the family and relatives to Cabuyao, Laguna, during the liberation period; and witnessing heaps upon heaps of dead bodies of children, women, and men who were said to have been tricked by the Japanese to go to marked houses so their lives would be spared.

- 7 Recollections by individual male respondents pertain to working as a checker in the headquarters at Camp O'Donnell; assigning tasks and issuing release orders to POWs; gathering food from an American warehouse, which was intentionally burned to render useless to the arriving Japanese; providing clean and at times naughty fun to classmates; escorting civilians during the evacuation; harvesting rice in near and even far places like Calauan, Laguna; doing odd jobs for the Japanese like hauling logs, cultivating cotton and castor plant; mining white clay; and so on.

- 8 A two-piece set of clothing, the *baro't saya* (*baro at saya*) consists of a short-sleeved collarless blouse and a long skirt. Although this attire emerged during the Spanish colonial period, during the Japanese occupation it was worn almost exclusively by older women, as younger women had began to switch to American-influenced clothes during the first half of the twentieth century. The baro't saya can be simple or elaborate, depending on the occasion and the status of the wearer. Although worn daily in the past, it is now donned only during special occasions like weddings and stylized performances.

- 9 Sofia recalls the gender bias of her father, who at first did not want her to study high school because of the prevailing belief that women need not have a good number of years in school, which was why her mother, Sofia narrates, had only three years of schooling. She recalls her father saying that she would not need a high school education when she got married. She never forgets that only her earnest appeal and promise to pass all her subjects at the UPRHS made him change his mind, and so she studied very hard in the early part of the occupation when life was more or less normal.

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Josephine de Jesus Quimbo is assistant professor at the University of the Philippines Rural High School, University of the Philippines Los Baños, College, Laguna, 4031 Philippines. She obtained her bachelor's degree in education from the Philippine Normal College and, in 2004, her master's degree in sociology from the University of the Philippines Los Baños. She started teaching in the Department of Social Studies of the University of the Philippines Rural High School in 1994. <jdquimbo@uplb.edu.ph>