## philippine studies: historical and ethnographic viewpoints

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## **Editor's Introduction**

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n the nineteenth century, pharmacy in the Philippines was an exclusively male profession in terms of both education and practice. Moreover, despite the presence of Spanish and native pharmacists, the profession was dominated by migrant male German druggists who owned the largest boticas (drugstores). Leo Angelo Nery explains what a prominent male pharmacist decried in 1929 as the "feminine invasion" of the profession. Nery shows that, under US colonial rule, new educational institutes arose starting in 1903 to cater to the demand of women for training in pharmacy. Most crucially, in 1910 the colonial education system introduced domestic science as a mandatory subject for girls from the fourth to the seventh grade, a subject that not only prepared them for secondary school science subjects but also influenced perceptions of what constituted women's work. Nerv argues that the alignment of these subjects to the pharmacy course in college made the latter hugely popular such that, by the 1920s, the feminization of pharmacy education and practice had been completed. By the 1930s women pharmacists opened home-based boticas, which allowed them to combine pharmacy practice with familial responsibilities—pharmacy being an extension of women's work at home. Thus, the creative process of breaking established norms of male exclusivity had the effect of liberating educated, middle-class women to pursue a career aspiration on top of their household duties, a layered burden eased by poor women domestic workers who performed the hard labor.

A different kind of breaking barriers is portrayed in Miguel Paolo Reyes's article on the making of Ferdinand Marcos's persona as a scholarly president and ruler. In power for two decades, Marcos caused several books to be published with him as the supposed author, including *Tadhana* (1976), the hefty series on Philippine history that many know was written by a group of professional historians. Reyes draws from the methods of book history to demonstrate that thirteen books, which were strategic for the

legitimation of the martial law regime, were written by minions who played key roles in constructing the fiction of a scholar-president. The first and most crucial among these books was *Today's Revolution: Democracy* (1971), which, argues Reyes, was beset by plagiarism and factual errors. That he could breach norms of intellectual honesty is not surprising; the bigger question is why Marcos desired the reputation of a scholar. Was he styling himself as a philosopher-emperor like Marcus Aurelius? Did he seriously think of himself as a political theorist? Did he believe people would read his books or even just behold them and be mesmerized by his intellect? Did he really think that those books would be the first and last word on his rulership? Reyes provides some clues to explain Marcos's scholarly dream, but it remains an enigma.

Max Weber famously described the state as reserving for itself the monopoly on violence within its jurisdiction, thus drawing the line between the legitimate and illegitimate use of physical force. In discussing the relationship between the Philippine state and the Banwaon in Agusan del Sur province, Augusto Gatmaytan argues that the military's deployment of the katangkawan (Supreme Datu) in counterinsurgency operations since the late 1990s has punctured the boundary between state and private violence. The indigenous leader has become a paramilitary organizer, armed, paid, and supervised by the state through the military, but superimposed on his deathly actions is the pursuit of the traditional vendetta, which eludes the state's control and centralizing authority. Gatmaytan argues that in this frontier zone people live in fear of the underworld, where the state has been "tribalized," one in which the datu blurs the line between legal and extrajudicial violence. Colonial states encouraged this type of underworld, as James Rush has shown vividly in the opium trade in nineteenth-century Java; at present, the Philippine state has also relied upon an underworld in pursuit of its antidrug operations. What will make state actors realize that a stable state cannot be built on shifting sand?

Some lines must not be crossed; some barriers are not meant to be breached.

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