First Nations Education and Inclusion in The Philippines: A Study of Textbooks

Kristina Maja Nicolas-Glodo

Thesis submitted for the fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Victoria University, Australia

Institute for Sustainable Industries & Liveable Cities
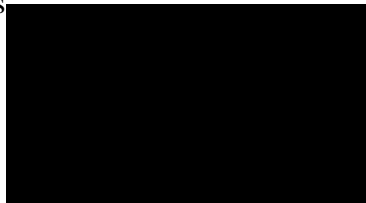
October 2024

Abstract

Education is a fundamental right of every person. Yet many First Nations groups around the world continue to be excluded from educational systems that do not recognise their cultures. Despite educational reform in The Philippines through the early 21st century, the impact of a long colonial history continues to influence the education of First Nations students. This research investigates how the Philippine education system accommodates First Nations students. It examines educational policy aimed at including First Nations students in education. To address these aims, the study employed critical discourse analysis and Nancy Fraser's social justice theory to examine power relations that shape knowledge distribution in education in The Philippines. In this study education policy was investigated and compulsory school textbooks were analysed. The research focused on the intent of the Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2013, and its implementation. Social studies textbooks used in primary education in public and private schools were also analysed. Finally, the findings from the analysis of literature, educational policy, textbooks and Philippine colonial history were synthesised. This research reveals that power inequality and the embeddedness of the colonial ethos, including the colonial discourse of civilising missions, determine how First Nations students are accommodated in Philippine education.

Doctor of Philosophy Declaration

"I, Kristina Maja Nicolas-Glodo, declare that the PhD thesis entitled *First Nations Students in Philippine Education* is no more than 80,000 words in length including quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, references and footnotes. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work."

"I have conducted my research in alignment with the Australian Code for Responsible Conduct of Research and Victoria University's Higher Degree by Research Policy and Procedures

Signature: █████████████   Date: 30 October 2024

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest appreciation to my supervisors, Associate Professor Fiona MacDonald and Honorary Professor Julie White, for their valuable guidance, feedback and support throughout my research journey. Their knowledge and experience were instrumental in the completion of this thesis.

I am extremely grateful for my family's support, encouragement and help over the years, especially my daughter and husband who have been supportive and understanding of our current situation. Thank you also to my mother, who despite her health, provided insightful suggestions and asked critical questions that encouraged me to think further and provide deeper sense to this work. To my siblings, especially my brother and his family who provided a warm home for us during our stay in Melbourne, and my sister who provided us a place in Sydney. Last but not least, thank you to my older sister who provided encouragement throughout my research journey.

In addition, I wish to acknowledge the significant knowledge and skills provided by Professor Rose Lucas and Professor Ron Adams during my first-year courses at Victoria University. The information and skills development they provided, especially on demystifying your thesis, reviewing literature and candidature presentation, have helped in my development as a research student. I treasure all the things they taught me that have enabled me to develop my thesis to the level they expected from us.

My appreciation also goes to the library staff for their assistance in accessing various resources, as well as the skills development workshop they provided, which were instrumental for conducting this research. I would also like to thank the university's IT support team for guiding me throughout technology issues and enquiries. The collective effort and support of everyone in this acknowledgement has enabled me to accomplish this research.

Last but not the least, I would like to acknowledge and thank Ms. Valerie Ho, who had been instrumental for the success of my application to pursue Doctorate Degree in Australia. Her passion and dedication to help students achieve their dreams helped create opportunity for a better future.

Professional Editorial Assistance

Paid editorial assistance was obtained and permission was granted before obtaining the editorial assistance. Services provided were limited to formatting and editing for spelling, grammar and style (according to the Australian Standard for Editing Practice ASEP Standard D – Language and Illustrations and ASEP Standard E – Completeness and Consistency).

List of Abbreviations

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DepEd	Department of Education
DO	Department Order
EBEA	Enhanced Basic Education Act
ICCs	Indigenous Cultural Communities
IKSP	Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Practices
IPEd	Indigenous Peoples Education
IPs	Indigenous Peoples
IRR	Implementing Rules and Regulations
MAPEH	Music, Arts, Physical Education and Health
MTB-MLE	Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education
NCIP	National Commission on Indigenous Peoples
NCSS	National Council for the Social Studies
Phil	Philippines
PSA	Philippine Statistics Authority
RA	Republic Act
UN	United Nations
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Glossary

The Philippines   The name of the country in noun form.

Philippine   The adjective form of the country name where the "s" is removed and followed by another word that represents a government office or system, such as Philippine Government or Philippine education.

Filipino/Pilipino   Means three different things: 1) the citizens of The Philippines in general, 2) the language subject taught in schools, or 3) the national language. The difference in spelling (F/P) comes from the evolution of words and influences from the Spanish, English and Tagalog alphabets. Both spellings are acceptable.

Filipina/Pilipina   Filipino/Pilipino is widely accepted for all genders in The Philippines; however, Filipina/Pilipina is also used to represent women in the country.

Tagalog   Sometimes called Filipino/Pilipino overseas. This language was declared the national language of the country despite the existence of many languages all over the Philippine archipelago.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Figure 1.1.

Introductory Chapter
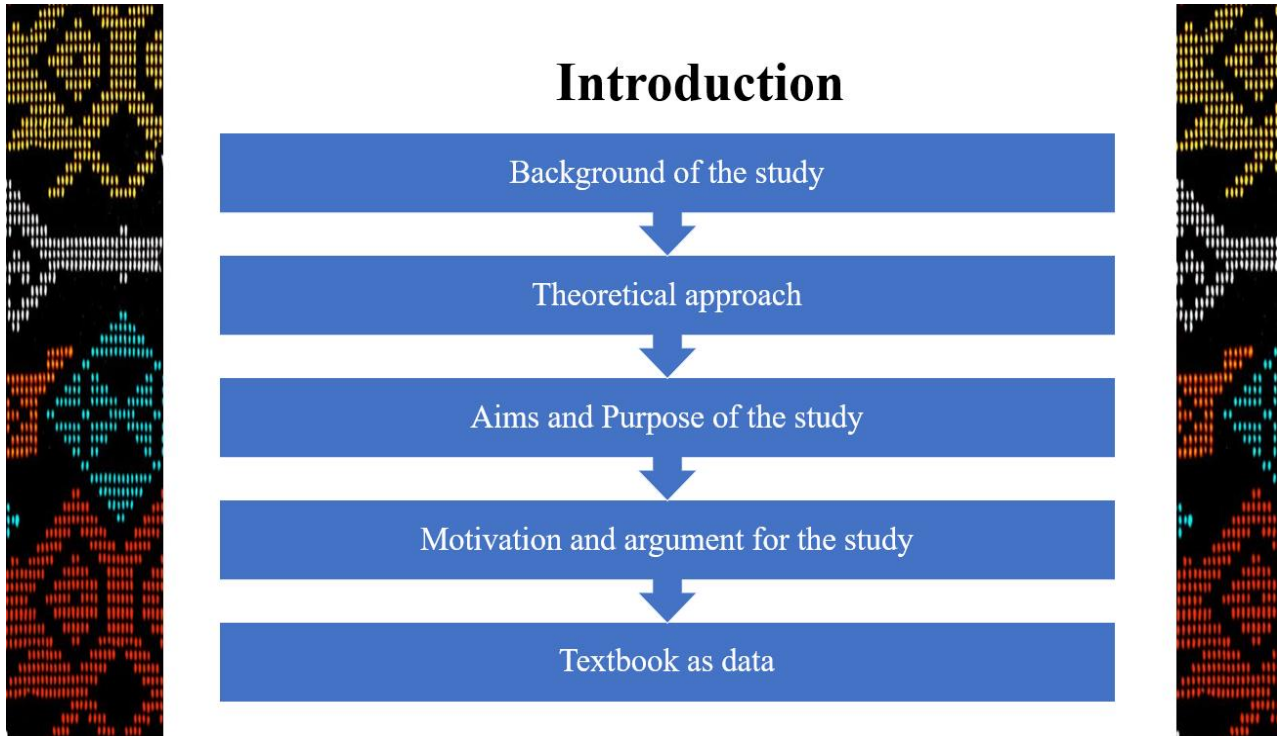
Introduction

Background of the study

Theoretical approach

Aims and Purpose of the study

Motivation and argument for the study

Textbook as data

Note. This visual representation outlines how this chapter is structured. The woven cloth image is a traditional design from one of the First Nations groups (Yakan[1]) in The Philippines. This woven cloth image is from Odyssea: Natural, Culture, People[2]

1.1. Introduction

This introductory chapter provides an overview of the research. This includes a brief background of how First Nations groups' current status came to be and their rights and need for culturally appropriate education. It also outlines the aims and purpose of this study, as well as the theoretical framework and methodological approach that was used to analyse social studies textbooks used in primary school education in The Philippines. This chapter ends by providing a brief outline of the entire thesis.

---

[1] Yakan are First Nations groups residing primarily on Basilan Island in Mindanao.
[2] https://www.facebook.com/odysseaPH/photos/pb.100071165063775.-2207520000/282291212205260/?type=3

The impact of the long history of colonialism in The Philippines continues to influence the education of First Nations groups. Recognising that education is key to improving social status, The Philippines undertook legislative and policy initiatives to accommodate First Nations groups in culturally appropriate education. To implement an education reform enacted in 2013, textbooks were created as a guide to teaching and learning. Using Philippine colonial history as context, this study examines the alignment of textbook narratives with some Philippine legislation and department orders (DO) enacted to accommodate First Nations students in Philippine education. In particular, it investigates how social studies textbooks used in primary education in The Philippines adhere to the goals of the basic education reform institutionalised through the Republic Act (RA) 10533 or Enhanced Basic Education Act (EBEA) in 2013 (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)). Specifically, the study investigates the impact of the textbooks created on the education of First Nations students. Drawing on the textbooks as a key aspect of the implementation of provisions of the RA 10533, this research investigates the question: How does the Philippine education system accommodate First Nations students and why?

1.2. Background of the study

1.2.1. The colonial period and its significance

In this section, an overview of the historical background is provided so that sufficient context exists for the focus and arguments of this study. The Philippine experience of triple colonisation has had lasting impacts on its people. It has fragmented Filipinos' cultural identities and marginalised First Nations groups who resisted subjugation by the foreign colonisers. From 1565 to 1946, The Philippines was governed by three colonial powers: Spain (1565–1898), America (1898–1941; 1945–1946), and Japan (1942–1944). It achieved freedom from colonisation on 4 July 1946 (Agoncillo & Mangahas, 2010). The current Philippine educational system has been shaped by its colonial history and this has impacted the education of First Nations students.

First Nations communities in The Philippines encountered the colonisers who occupied the country under the guise of salvation, whether spiritual or for human development (Agoncillo & Mangahas, 2010). Subjugation was achieved through religion (Spain),

education (America) or by using force (Japan). For more than 200 years, during the Spanish period, education was provided formally by selective schools, or informally by the Spanish clergy, to inhabitants of the islands who were moved to settled villages or pueblos and taught the "Catholic faith, crafts, agriculture and trade" (Hunt, 1988, p. 352).

During the American occupation, free public schools were established to encourage all Filipinos, including First Nations students, to study under an American curriculum and using American English as the language of instruction (Dacumos, 2015). The Japanese rule was the shortest and did not leave much impact on the education of Filipinos (Aggabao et al., 2018; Dacumos, 2015). Current Philippine basic education is managed by the National Government through the Department of Education (DepEd). Three major languages are used: 1) English, 2) Filipino, which is based on Tagalog, and 3) regional languages, referred to in the law as "mother tongue". The latter is spoken and used by the majority of Filipino inhabitants of a particular area. There are 17 regions in The Philippines, which cluster into provinces according to the mainstream group's common culture and language roots. This does not, however, include more than 100 First Nations groups that are scattered across the regions but whose languages, cultures, beliefs and traditions are different from the mainstream groups of the regions. Nonetheless, English continues to be the unifying language and major medium of instruction in all schools.

After colonial occupation, several religious and non-government organisations worked to provide basic education and livelihood programs to First Nations groups. However, these were intermittent and were not equivalent to the educational services being enjoyed by the majority of Filipinos (Abejuella, 2019; Licen et al., 2012). Community schools for First Nations groups were also established by non-profit organisations within First Nations communities. Recognition of these schools, however, is subject to a yearly licensing process based on compliance with minimum standards dictated by the regional office of the DepEd.

1.2.2. Diversity of Philippine polity

The Philippines is made up of 7,100 islands where more than 100 First Nations groups live. Because of its archipelagic nature and geography, settlers who first inhabited the country developed their own cultures and languages that were specific to their islands and settings, creating a cultural diversity in isolation from each other. First Nations groups were the first inhabitants of The Philippines and are currently referred to as "Indigenous peoples". Little evidence exists pointing to consultation or collective agreement with First Nations communities to refer to them as Indigenous peoples (IPs). However, the term was institutionalised in the 1987 Philippine Constitution and adopted when the Philippine Government enacted the *Republic Act 8371 Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act* (IPRA) *1997*. Nonetheless, out of respect for the first inhabitants of the country, I have chosen to use the term "First Nations groups" in this research.

The Philippines has also experienced a long history of colonialism. After 400 years of colonial rule, a sovereign nation emerged comprised of two major social groups: specifically, those who were co-opted or acculturated by the colonisers and those who stayed away from these Christianised Filipinos. The second group continued to be isolated and retained control over their lives and their culture. However, they were deprived of basic services and, for the duration of colonial rule, were unrecognised as Philippine citizens.

Records as of 2022 (Perez-Brito & Belghith, 2024) show that there are still more than 100 First Nations communities scattered across the Philippine archipelago. According to the 2020 census of the Philippine Statistics Authority (2023), First Nations groups comprise around 9.84 million people (or 9.1%), while Muslim ethnolinguistic groups comprise 7.1 million (or 6.5%) of the Philippine population. First Nations groups reside in remote areas including mountain ranges (Ty, 2010) that sit across the three main groups of islands of The Philippines, with 61% in Mindanao (southern islands), 33% in Luzon (northern islands) and 6% in Visayas (middle islands). Each of these First Nations communities has its own language, traditions, culture, history and way of life. At present, First Nations groups continue to live in isolation; some are displaced from their ancestral lands, severing links to their culture and identity (Dew et al., 2019; Quijano, 2005).

Currently, Philippine society is a pluralistic blend of Western, Asian and Austronesian cultures. Pre-colonial Austronesian migration created communities of First Nations groups evolving to have their own cultures and languages. Western culture was brought by the Spanish and American colonisers, while Asian culture was the result of trade and interactions with The Philippines' Southeast, East and South Asian neighbours. Some who brought their cultures have also intermingled with and settled in The Philippines. Thus, while The Philippines refers to the sovereign nation, it can also refer to a geographically and culturally diverse and fragmented society.

1.2.3.   Status of First Nations groups in the country

In The Philippines, First Nations groups were recognised in the 1987 Constitution which also committed to "provide quality education for all Filipinos" (*Philippine Constitution, 1987* (Phil), Section XIV). In 2013, the Philippine Government enacted the RA 10533 or EBEA (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)), which obligated the State to establish an integrated system of education that would be responsive to the needs of every student. Prior to enactment of the EBEA, access to established colonial-influenced standardised education has been difficult for First Nations groups (Rufino, 2013). The inappropriateness of the standardised curriculum proved exclusionary while exacerbating the effects of inequality, displacement and destruction of traditional ways of life (De Vera, 2007). This has led to low self-esteem and loss of cultural identity of First Nations groups (Licen et al., 2012; Soriano & Sandoval, 2007).

The Philippines was among the first countries in Asia to legally recognise the rights of First Nations groups (Theriault, 2019), through both the 1987 Constitution and the 1997 IPRA or RA 8371 (*Philippine Constitution, 1987* (Phil); *Republic Act 8371 Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act, 1997* (Phil)). Moreover, the 1987 Philippine Constitution included a provision on social justice and human rights (*Philippine Constitution, 1987* (Phil), Article XIII) and the provision of accessible quality education at all levels for all citizens of the country (*Philippine Constitution, 1987* (Phil), Article XIV, Section 1). To address the specific cultural needs of First Nations students, additional programs through non-formal, informal and Indigenous learning systems were encouraged and

scholarship grants were provided (*Philippine Constitution, 1987* (Phil)). In the post-colonial era, the standardised type of colonial-influenced education and the use of English as the medium of instruction has limited access to education for First Nations students (Eduardo & Gabriel, 2021; Rufino, 2013). Moreover, educational content is based on each mainstream culture's socio-cultural experiences and milieu. While acknowledging that education is necessary to improve their status in society, First Nations groups have found that education that does not address their needs is an impediment to realising their "dream of a professional career" (Eduardo & Gabriel, 2021, p. 1).

1.2.4. First Nations groups' right to education

Education is a fundamental human right. However, First Nations groups around the world continue to be excluded from educational systems that fail to recognise their specific needs and cultural background (UNDESA, n.d.). Despite educational reforms and a global shift to inclusive education, First Nations groups continue to struggle to have their culture accommodated in education. Inclusive education is key to addressing ongoing exclusion, as it emphasises the need to treat all diverse learners as part of society with equal rights to education. Twenty-five years after the adoption of the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994), the debate continues about the implementation of inclusive education (Magnusson, 2019), particularly for marginalised groups that include First Nations communities. In The Philippines, despite evidence of inclusive policy and practice, the effects of colonial history, and inadequate inclusive education approaches, continue to impact on education for culturally diverse First Nations students.

The historical injustice that led to the marginalisation of First Nations groups has a colonial imprint. Resisting subjugation, First Nations groups became marginalised during and after colonisation, as they continued to experience a lack of opportunities, discrimination, inadequate social support and loss of land. The latter resulted in the loss of their cultural identities, self-worth and sense of history, while making it difficult to integrate into Philippine society (Abejuella, 2019; Alicias, 2017; Soriano & Sandoval, 2007). First Nations groups remain some of the poorest and most ignored members of society (Plant, 2002). A lack of opportunity in education has deprived them of their

right to take part in fast-paced social and economic changes (Respall, 2010). However, providing culturally appropriate education for the different First Nations' groups has not occurred. This research will show that the accommodation of First Nations groups in education faces many challenges. This includes the existence of more than 100 ethnolinguistics groups, each with their own culture, traditions and way of life.

First Nations groups acknowledge the importance of education. The lack of what mainstream culture considers formal education has compounded the loss of cultural identity and the historical injustice experienced by First Nations groups (Licen et al., 2012; Soriano & Sandoval, 2007). Acknowledgement of First Nations cultures, differences and beliefs in educational content and pedagogy that is tailor-made for them is therefore crucial for children's self-development. Barriers to the educational needs of First Nations groups are deeply rooted in the impact of colonisation. Historically, education was used by colonisers as "both the target and tool of colonialism" to subjugate colonised people (Pihama & Lee-Morgan, 2019, p. 13). The coloniser's educational systems sought not only to destroy and weaken the importance and validity of First Nations groups' cultures, languages and identities, but also to replace and reshape learning in accordance with their worldview. The establishment of formal residential schools further promoted colonial objectives and ideologies (Pihama & Lee-Morgan, 2019).

By 1987, the revised Constitution included provisions that committed the State to quality education that is accessible and relevant to the needs of all its peoples and society. Subsequently, the RA 10533 or EBEA legislated in 2013 committed the State to providing quality education that is inclusive, culturally sensitive, relevant and flexible, with a curriculum that is localised and Indigenised in accordance with the social contexts of educational institutions (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)). The provision of cultural education includes use of the mother tongue as the first medium of instruction. It also requires those who implement the curriculum to develop not just culturally sensitive content but also pedagogy that respects diversity (Garcia & Pantao, 2021; Thomas & Quinlan, 2022).

1.3.   Theoretical approach

When The Philippines became an independent republic in 1946, Filipinos belonging to mainstream groups took over governance of the country. At that time, The Philippines was already divided into two major social classes – the mainstream groups who were educated in Western philosophies and worldviews, and the First Nations groups that make up roughly 15% of the country's population. Members of the mainstream groups wrote the different versions of the Philippine Constitution from 1935 to the present 1987 Constitution. Recognising both historic and present-day injustice that First Nations groups continue to endure, the 1987 Constitution included provisions for social justice and human rights. This article (*Philippine Constitution, 1987* (Phil), Article XIII) of the Philippine Constitution requires Congress to

> give highest priority to the enactment of measures that protect and enhance the right of all the people to human dignity, reduce social, economic and political inequalities and remove cultural inequalities by equitably diffusing wealth and political power for the common good. (*Philippine Constitution, 1987* (Phil), Article XIII)

More than 30 years after the 1987 Constitution was ratified, First Nations groups still continue to endure oppression, discrimination and dispossession of their land and resources. They remain marginalised and are one of the most impoverished groups in the country. Nonetheless, various laws have been enacted, specifically the IPRA or RA 8371 in 1997 (*Republic Act 8371 Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act, 1997* (Phil)) and the EBEA or RA 10533 in 2013 (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)) to recognise the rights of First Nations groups to equal opportunities and self-determination. These laws were also authored by the mainstream groups and were commitments to correct historic injustice endured by First Nations groups. The 1987 Constitution and the aforementioned laws aimed to provide economic justice and cultural recognition of First Nations groups as members of Philippine society. Specifically, the EBEA is committed to providing a culturally sensitive and Indigenised education for the diverse learners of The Philippines. It was hoped that such education would lessen discrimination and prejudice against First Nations groups. The law also directed the DepEd to ensure the creation of textbooks that reflect such commitment.

1.3.1. Social justice theory and redistribution, recognition and representation

Social justice is a social arrangement that gives full access, value and respect to all groups in society and limits any form of suppression (Fraser, 1998, 2007, 2009, 2013). It is a dynamic process of recognising and understanding the prevailing power within society and its impact on the distribution of privilege and opportunities across diverse groups of people. Fraser (2007, 2009) argues that this is best understood through the dimensions of recognition, representation and redistribution. These dimensions are also recurring themes in other social theories focused on First Nations groups, including Southern theory and decolonising methodologies.

Fraser's (2007) dimension of redistribution is the economic aspect of social justice. It deals with the distribution of services and resources to society. On the other hand, recognition gives people acknowledgement and the right to participate socially in the society they belong to (Fraser, 2007). Representation is the political dimension that gives rights and power to people (Fraser, 2007). Having rights and power gives First Nations groups the ability to participate actively and equally in activities such as decision making that affects themselves, the community and society in general. It is the power to have the right and self-determination to decide and have the voice to speak. The economic, cultural and political dimensions of social justice are intertwined, and claims of correcting injustices by addressing only the economic aspect will create more injustice by forming welfare groups subject to the benevolence of government and non-government entities (Fraser, 1998). Such a situation would consequently diminish their status in society. Misrecognition and misrepresentation are perpetuated when these groups are not recognised as co-equal, with voices that are enabled to participate in decision making affecting their lives (Fraser, 2007, 2009, 2013; Smith, 2021).

As the theoretical framework for this study, Fraser's social justice theory is relevant to First Nations groups in The Philippines. Fraser (1998) argues that the root cause of injustice against First Nations groups is misrecognition of their cultural value. As a result, such misrecognition results in unequal opportunities to access social services including education. Lack of education exacerbates misrepresentation and maldistribution. Thus, as Fraser argues, these three dimensions are intertwined and co-imbricated.

1.3.2. *Critical discourse analysis*

This study employed a multimodal model of critical discourse analysis (CDA) to investigate the complex social phenomena and contexts of language (Wodak, 2024) and semiotics (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021). The evolution of the Philippine education system in relation to equity and social justice for First Nations groups can be understood through the contexts of language and semiotics. CDA enabled an investigation of whether the social studies textbooks created in accordance with the EBEA (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)), as a guide to teaching and used in primary schools in The Philippines, have engendered inclusion of First Nations groups in education, and why. CDA was used to examine how language and images in the textbooks have either perpetuated or settled the injustice that was brought upon First Nations groups by colonialism that is deeply rooted in the dynamics of power and social structures. The analysis of semiotics and narratives in the textbooks provides clues about normalised power relations between the mainstream groups as coloniser proxy and the First Nations groups. CDA was appropriate in this research because it enabled the researcher to look beyond the technicalities of language to focus on the influence of social contexts on education in The Philippines. Finally, CDA was used as a tool to examine whether these textbooks either perpetuate inclusion or exclusion in the education of First Nations groups in accordance with the current education reform.

The EBEA (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)) was enacted to soften the issues of standardised education (Eduardo & Gabriel, 2021; Rufino, 2013) imposed by colonial hegemony. These issues include the assumption of universality of Western knowledge, use of methods that do not consider Indigenous learning systems and practices, and disregard for First Nations groups' social experiences. The current research considered how language and texts play a role in delivering the accommodations envisioned by the law in the educational resources (textbooks) which are the educational guides of teachers in implementing the curriculum. CDA was used to investigate the meaning and accommodations made in the current Philippine education system through written documents, and to uncover the ideologies that have shaped social values and practices within First Nations students'

education. The analysis examined the linguistic and visual choices in the text and images to find the underlying meanings and their impact on First Nations students.

1.4.   Aims and purpose of the study

First Nations groups have long suffered oppression, discrimination and dispossession of their land and resources, thereby becoming one of the most impoverished groups in their countries (UNDESA, 2010). Because education is considered an important means to ensure social mobility, the 1987 Philippine Constitution included provisions for an inclusive and relevant education for all its peoples, including First Nations groups. To realise this, the Philippine Government undertook a major educational reform called the RA 10533 or EBEA in 2013. The enabling law (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)) included provisions to accommodate the diversity of learners in the country.

With the Philippine colonial history as a context, this study examined Philippine laws and policies and investigated how the language and semiotics of social studies textbooks align with the goals of the EBEA to accommodate First Nations students in education. The research explored how inclusivity in the textbooks is reflected by accommodating not just the narratives of the mainstream groups but also First Nations groups' knowledge, history and culture. It thus examined how textbooks created by the mainstream groups reflect the commitment made by the Philippine Government to "establish, maintain and support" an "education relevant to the needs of its diverse peoples" (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)). It also analysed how the teaching materials accommodate First Nations groups in education, aligned with the objectives of the EBEA. These teaching materials are textbooks that serve as guides for both teachers and primary school students in the social studies subject area.

This research utilised CDA to examine power relations, noting that the laws and textbooks to implement the EBEA were authored by mainstream groups. In addition, Fraser's social justice theory was employed as the overarching theoretical framework for evidence of redistribution, recognition and representation, which according to Fraser (2007) are dimensions of social justice.

1.5.   Motivation and argument for the study

As a teacher from one of the mainstream groups in The Philippines, I have previously advocated for inclusive education, focused on children with disabilities. When teaching, I witnessed a colleague unjustly treating a student from a different cultural background. Reflecting on this experience has led me to question my educational upbringing, cultural and societal norm, and values. It made me realise my privileged position and the exclusive education I had which inculcated worldviews and behaviour towards people whose background are different from mine. I went back to my lessons in social studies that led me to form my arguments that my worldviews were influenced by textbooks focused on the mainstream identity, culture and history with limited and stereotypical representation of First Nations groups.

1.6.   Textbooks as data

Based on the chronicles of the first Spanish missionaries to set foot on the islands, they found complex societies of First Nations groups with distinct languages, culture and Indigenous knowledge, embedded in music, dances and designs which were also used to educate their young (Agoncillo & Mangahas, 2010). These First Nations groups used oral resources to transfer knowledge intergenerationally. This legacy, however, has been obfuscated by Philippine colonial history. Instead, information in current textbooks[3] used to educate primary students in The Philippines is the legacy of colonial education continued by the DepEd who prescribe textbooks annually for use by students at specific levels. Textbook authors follow the guidelines of the government in writing content (*Republic Act 8047 Book Publishing Industry Development Act, 1995* (Phil), Section 10). Thus, analysing the text, language and semiotics of primary school social studies textbooks as both a political and cultural tool also determines whether these learning resources communicate and align with the objectives of the EBEA. This research employed CDA to do so.

---

[3] Textbooks used in private schools that were analysed in this study were the only remaining textbooks available for purchasing. This is due to the pandemic where the majority of the publishing house stopped printing textbooks.

1.7. Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the research to investigate how the Philippine education system accommodates First Nations students and why. It has introduced the research and presented a brief background, aims and purpose, and theoretical and methodological approach. The analysis of social studies textbooks as research data adopted a CDA approach. These textbooks are used by both mainstream and First Nations students enrolled in primary education in The Philippines. Informed by Fraser's social justice theory, the research investigated whether the commitment of the State through the EBEA was achieved by providing a culturally appropriate education that accommodates First Nations students' needs.

1.8. Structure of the thesis

Chapter 1 outlines the thesis. It provides a background of the study, briefly describing Philippine colonial history and the diversity of Philippine society. The research question is introduced, before the theoretical and methodological approaches and research data are explained.

Chapter 2 provides the context of the study. It discusses Philippine geography and history as the physical, cultural and legal context for the discourse analysis in the research data. This chapter also describes pertinent laws and policies that impact the education of First Nations students in the country.

Chapter 3 presents the literature review for the research. It examines Fraser's social justice theory as the theoretical framework that informed the research. Other social justice theories applied to the education of First Nations students are briefly described. The chapter also discusses the significance of social studies textbooks as research data in this study.

Chapter 4 describes the rationale, philosophical assumptions and theory underpinning the research. In this chapter, CDA, the method used to analyse both the legislation and textbooks is also discussed. This section also includes the application of Fraser's social justice theory in analysing research data.

Chapter 5 presents the findings from the critical analysis of 15 compulsory social studies textbooks used in primary education in The Philippines to determine the impact on inclusion and Indigenisation of education for First Nations groups. The chapter demonstrate how critical discourse analysis was employed in this research.

In Chapter 6, the discussion of the arguments in relation to the findings and interpretation of data is presented. The discussion is informed by the background context, literature and theoretical framework. It focuses on addressing the research question: How does the Philippine education system accommodate First Nations students and why?

In Chapter 7, the conclusions of the study are presented. This chapter synthesises the findings of the research, which examines the commitment of The Philippines to accommodate First Nations students, as stated in its laws and policies, and the alignment of the discourse in primary school social studies textbooks with such commitment. The conclusions are informed by Fraser's social justice theory, with Philippine colonial history as context. Finally, the chapter addresses the second aspect of the research question, as it explores why the accommodation of First Nations students in education continues to be influenced by Philippine colonial history.

Chapter 2: Context for the Study

Figure 2.1.

The Philippine Context
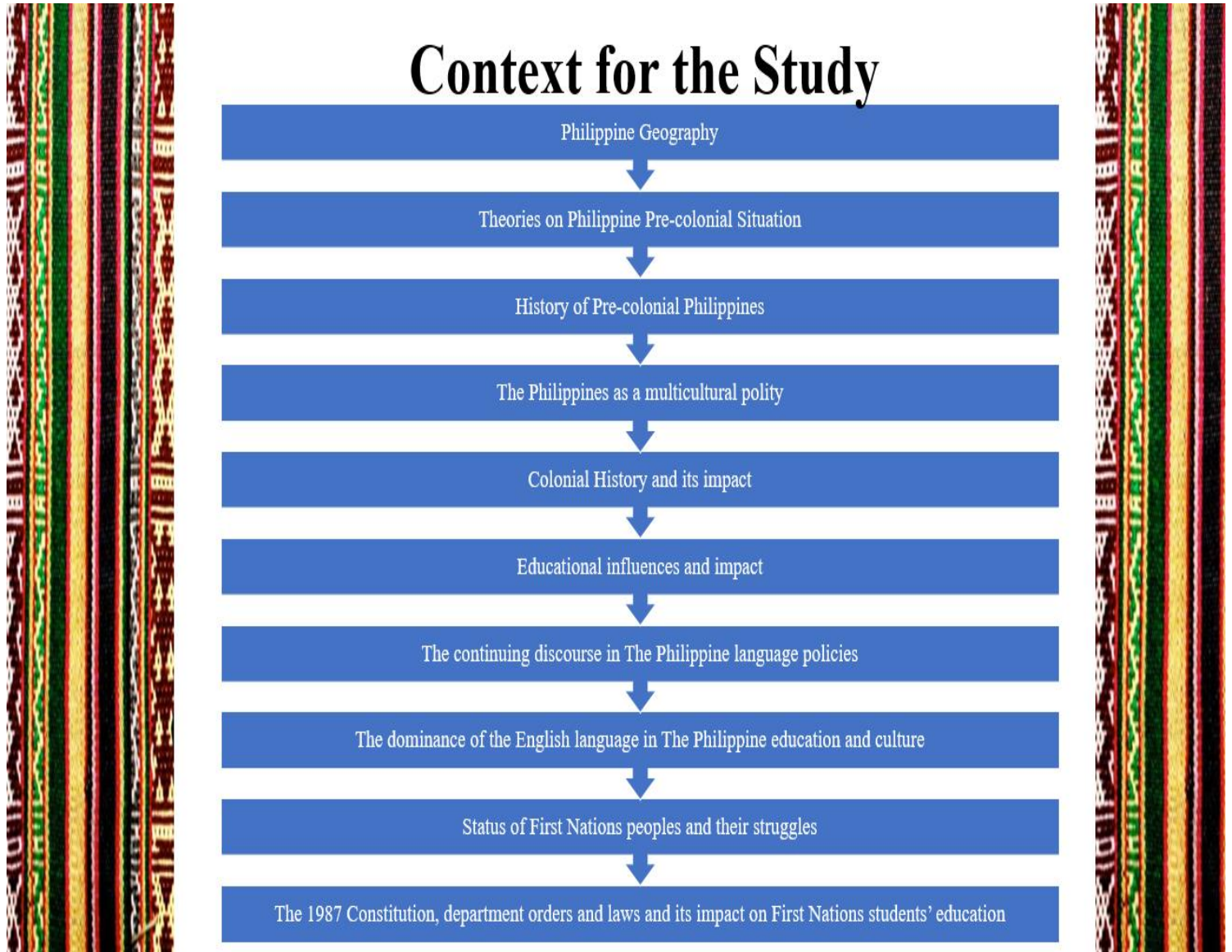
Note. This visual representation outlines how this chapter is structured. The woven cloth image is a traditional design from one of the First Nations groups (Yakan) in The Philippines. This woven cloth image is from Odyssea: Natural, Culture, People[4]

---

[4] https://www.facebook.com/odysseaPH/photos/pb.100071165063775.-2207520000/282293872204994/?type=3

2.1. Introduction

The Philippines is a culturally diverse country with a population spread across an archipelago of more than 7,000 islands. Its three major island groups are Luzon (north), Visayas (middle) and Mindanao (south) (Figure 2.2). Prior to colonisation, different groups of people came and settled in various parts of these islands. They are collectively called First Nations groups. Globally, they are known as Indigenous peoples (IPs). The groups have their own territory, government, economy, language, belief, traditions and social structures which they called *barangay*[5] In 1600, documenters Father Pedro Chirino and Antonio de Morga claimed that the First Nations groups were literate and had their own system of writing to communicate, particularly when trading with other people, and writing poems, songs and letters of courtship written on bamboo and leaves (Scott, 1995). In addition, Father Chirino and de Morga stated that the majority of inhabitants of the Philippine archipelago used a system of writing called Baybayin (Kawahara, 2016; Scott, 1995) or a variation. However, there was little recorded evidence of written artefacts or formal educational structure before colonisation.

This chapter outlines The Philippines' rich history that is marked by several colonisation events. This section begins with The Philippines' geography, which contributed to diverse groups of people co-existing within the archipelago. Following this, the chapter describes the theories behind the origin of First Nations Filipinos and the pre-colonial state of the country. The chapter then moves to the colonial history of the country, including the impact of each colonisation on its peoples. A summary of the influences of colonialism on current Philippine education is also presented. Finally, the chapter ends with an assessment of the state and struggles of more than 100 First Nations groups in the country.

---

[5] *Barangay* is the smallest political unit in The Philippines. It is derived from the word *balangai*, the boat used presumably by Malay ancestors to reach the Philippine islands and establish communities which were also called barangays (Porio & Roque-Sarmiento, 2019).

Figure 2.2.

The Philippines Three Major Group of Islands

Note: From Free world maps website[6]

2.2.   Philippine geography

Prior to colonisation, different groups of people came and settled in various parts of these islands. Some scholars believe that the settlement of people in the Philippine archipelago was the result of a lowering sea level and the major diasporas of the Austronesians in various groups (Bellwood, 2007; Bellwood et al., 2006; Soares et al.,

---

[6] https://www.freeworldmaps.net/asia/philippines/

2016; Thomas, 2011). These small communities or groups have their own territory, government, economy, language, belief, traditions and social structures – called barangay.

The unique geographical features of The Philippines – physical environment, climate and natural resources – have been a contributing factor for various groups to live in different self-sufficient areas of the islands (Agoncillo & Mangahas, 2010; Mallat, 2021; Zaide & Zaide, 1987). It was believed that various groups living on different islands had their own government systems, culture and traditions (Milligan, 2005). It has been claimed that pre-colonial settlers chose to live near coastal areas or bodies of water such as lakes and rivers where fishing was possible (Mallat, 2021; Nadeau, 2008). These bodies of water were used by First Nations groups as both a source of food and livelihood, as well as a means of communication with other island communities (Lacson, 2004; Paredes, 2016).

It has been suggested that part of the reason why there are few artefacts left as evidence of the vibrant pre-colonial settlements near the seas was because rising sea levels at the end of the latest ice age obliterated much of these communities (Nadeau, 2008). It was assumed that many of the First Nations groups subsequently moved further inland. The Philippines tropical climate (warm and humid) and the tropical cyclones that regularly pass through the country contributed to the disintegration or decomposition of wood, usually bamboo and other plant materials used by early inhabitants to build their homes, tools and writing implements (Nadeau, 2008). Thus, documentary evidence of pre-colonial life was primarily based on the Spanish chronicles that described the various cultures, socio-political structures and economic activities of the First Nations groups they encountered when they arrived on the islands.

2.3.   Theories on Philippine pre-colonial history

According to anthropologists, there are three mainstream groups' theories on how the First Nations groups emerged in The Philippines: 1) evolution, 2) migration (Montano, 1885, as cited in Aguilar, 2005), and 3) diaspora. The Philippines was once part of the Asian continent. Nadeau (2008) argues that during latest ice age, land bridges between the Asian continent through the Indochinese peninsula presumably existed. However,

during the Pleistocene period, the earth became warmer and ice started to melt, thereby increasing sea levels and obliterating the land bridges. In addition, volcanic eruptions and various earthquakes caused the country's land to move or break up and The Philippines became an archipelago. The existence of land bridges was shown by evidence that linked the species of plants and animals to those found in other Asian countries such as New Guinea, Australia, Taiwan and Borneo (Nadeau, 2008). Moreover, remains of animals found in the Asian continent, such as elephants and rhinoceroses, have been found in different places in Luzon,[7] such as Cagayan, Rizal, Batangas, Pangasinan, Pasig and places in Mindanao (Figure 2.3). Furthermore, there is fossilised evidence of human ancestry in The Philippines. Based on estimates, humans would have existed around 22,000 to 68,000 years ago (Agoncillo & Mangahas, 2010; Delfin, 2015). The more compelling pieces of evidence were human fossils and tools unearthed in various caves within the country, notably, the Tabon Cave in Palawan and the Callao Cave in Northern Luzon (Detroit et al., 2004; Mijares et al., 2010; Solly, 2019).

---

[7] Cagayan, Rizal, Batangas and Pangasinan are provinces on the island of Luzon. Pasig is a city in Metro Manila that derived its name from the major river that flows through the metropolis.

Figure 2.3.

The Philippine Map with Regional Locations

Note: From world atlas[8]

---

[8] https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/philippines
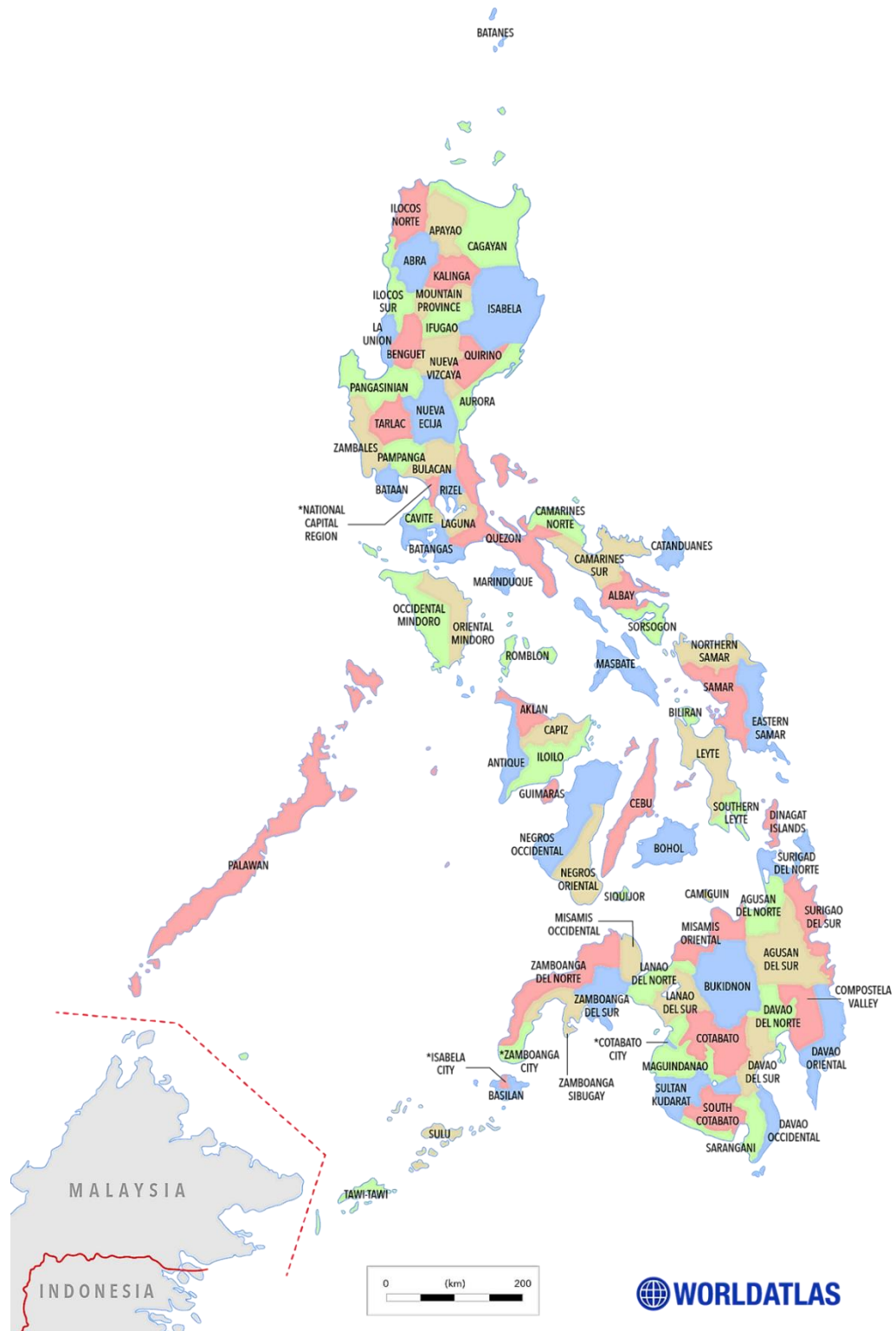
American anthropologists have argued that The Philippines' First Nations peoples comprised three major groups. These were the Aetas, Indones and Malays that travelled at different times and through different methods (Detroit et al., 2004; Montano, 1885, as cited in Aguilar, 2005). Others believed that some people used the Philippine islands as transit sites before moving to other regions through land-based migration or by sea travel during the Austronesian expansion (Bellwood, 2007; Bellwood et al., 2006; Blust, 1984–1985; Delfin, 2015; Nadeau, 2008; Reid, 2009; Ross et al., 2014; Soares et al., 2016; Thomas, 2011). However, Gray et al. (2009) argue that there was a pause in Austronesians' dispersal when the first Austronesians settled in The Philippines more than 5,000 years ago, at the same time that the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the language developed.

In the late 13th century, Islam influences spread across Southeast Asia through trading, reaching Sulu Island and other parts of Mindanao (Agoncillo & Mangahas, 2010; Milligan, 2005; Nadeau, 2008). This maritime trading and social contact encouraged the spread of culture and economic changes and introduced different religious and political models that helped shape local histories and hierarchies. Islamic influence is evidenced by the presence of mosques and schools called *madrasahs*. These schools were places where people received their early education and learned about Islam (Agoncillo & Mangahas, 2010).

2.4. History of pre-colonial Philippines

Written documents about pre-colonial life for Philippines First Nations groups were authored by the first Spanish missionaries, who produced these tools in aid of their Christianising mission (Scott, 1995). Their extensive work resulted in the production of dictionaries that listed hundreds of local words and their uses in everyday life. It included works by Sanchez and Mentrida on Samar and Hiligaynon culture, Lisboa-Bikolano dictionaries and the San Buenaventura-Tagalog dictionary. The latter contained "ethnographic data, details of technology and industry, commercial contracts, head taking and puberty rites, mortuary rituals and sexual mores" (Scott, 1995, p. ix). Although written by Spaniards for Spanish purposes, these data allowed historians a glimpse of pre-colonial life and a way to attempt a description of First Nations pre-Hispanic culture.

Descriptions[9] of pre-colonial society and culture in history textbooks in The Philippines reference eyewitness accounts by the Spanish expeditions, mostly in the Visayan regions, as well as English translations of dictionaries and Spanish documents (Scott, 1995). Additionally, anthropological studies have described stories about the lives, practices, laws and governance of First Nations groups told through "epics",[10] poems and music, which were oral traditions passed on by community elders as part of educating their young.

2.5.   The Philippines as a multicultural polity

The Austronesian migration resulted in occupation of the islands by various peoples who brought their own language, culture and traditions. Trading with peoples from Southeast, East and South Asia, and Western colonisation, have also contributed to the diversity of cultures in Philippine society. Traders, notably the Chinese, settled in The Philippines, growing in number to form distinct communities (Mallat, 2021) while assimilating many of the practices of local communities.

Multiculturalism describes societies of peoples living together characterised by significant ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural diversity (Song, 2020). These societies derive their collective identities from their cultural plurality. Although the people of The Philippines comprise two major groups – mainstream and First Nations – within both these groups are various ethnic clusters with their own regional or First Nations language. Both mainstream and First Nations groups therefore comprise multicultures that characterise Philippine polity.

The Philippines today is divided into administrative divisions called *regions* (Figure 2.4). These regional groups together form smaller government units called *provinces*, based on cultural similarities and ethnolinguistic compositions. The 17 regions in The

---

[9] Descriptions of pre-colonial culture in history textbooks were derived from: 1) a Blair and Robertson compendium of the translation in the Philippine islands, 1473–1898, including accounts of Magellan's chronicler Pigafetta, 2) Miguel de Loarca's 1582 *Relacion*, 3) Juan Plasencia's 1589 Treatise on custom, laws and religious practices, 4) Pedro Chirino's 1604 *Relacion*, and 5) Chapter 8 of Antonio de Morga's 1609 *Suceso*.

[10] An "epic" is a long story representing a person's adventure. It provides meaning and understanding of a groups' cultural and social identity and learning.

Philippines consist of provinces with their own mainstream regional languages (Figure 2.5). Examples of these mainstream languages include Ilokano, Bicol, Tagalog, Pangasinense, Waray and Hiligaynon. However, within these regions, and even within provinces, there are many more ethnolinguistic groups, including First Nations groups that speak minority languages and have their own distinctive cultures and more. In 2020, a national census by the Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA), the National Commission for Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) and the National Commission on Muslim Filipinos, listed 238 First Nations groups, seven Muslim ethnic groups and 23 mainstream groups (Perez-Brito & Belghith, 2024). Philippine society, therefore, is characterised by multiculturalism owing to several factors that include the origins of the people in these places, the impact of trade and colonisation that introduced foreign cultures, languages and religion, and the unique and archipelagic geography of the country.

Figure 2.4

The 17 Regions in The Philippines
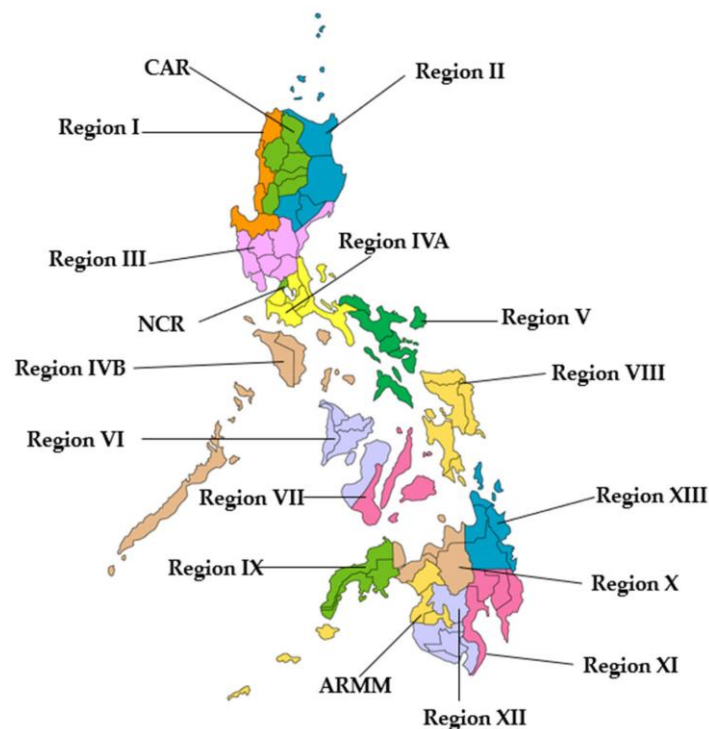
Note: From Nnadiri et al., 2021[11]

---

[11] Nnadiri, G.U., Chiu, A.S.F., Biona, J.B.M.and Lopez, N.S. (2021). Comparison of Driving Forces to Increasing Traffic Flow and Transport Emissions in Philippine Regions: A Spatial Decomposition Study

Figure 2.5.

Major Languages in Different Philippine Regional Areas
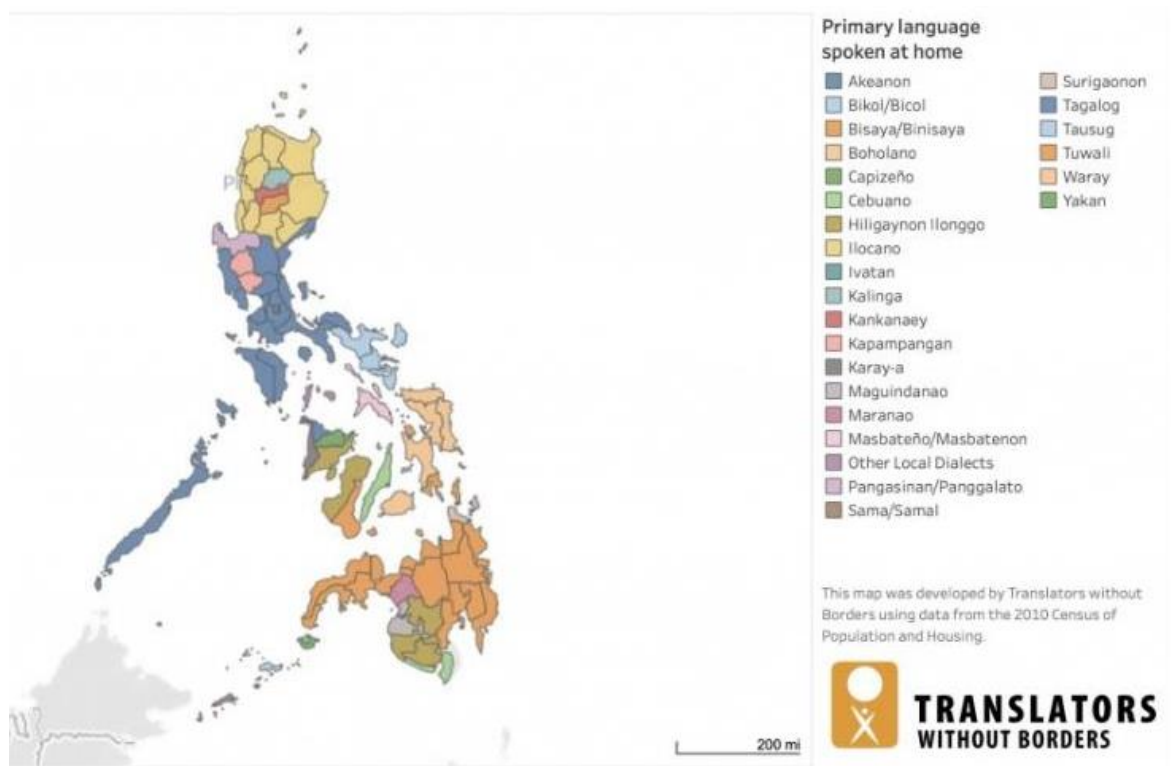
Note: From translators without borders[12]

To conclude this brief section about The Philippines' geography and pre-colonial culture, several factors led to The Philippines being a nation of cultural plurality and diversity. These included: 1) the various ways of peopling the islands of The Philippines, trade and the impact of colonisation, 2) unique geography that determined how contained and self-reliant communities with their own culture, tradition and languages would expand, and 3) the Islamic influence in the south which made the communities of the Southern Philippines different in terms of language and religion. The geographical features of the Philippine islands, interrupted by mountain ranges, rivers and wide lakes, have also created a space for First Nations communities to live in siloed self-reliant communities while co-existing autonomously with others within the islands of the archipelago. As First Nations groups thrived and expanded, they

---

Comparison of Driving Forces to Increasing Traffic Flow and Transport Emissions in Philippine Regions: A Spatial Decomposition Study. Sustainability, 13, 6500. https://doi.org/10.3390/su13116500

[12] https://translatorswithoutborders.org/language-data-for-the-philippines

continued to maintain an oral tradition, which is why there is a paucity of written records authored by them. The Spanish missionaries who needed tools to proceed with their Christianising mission, compiled extensive data about Philippine pre-colonial life, albeit from their own perspective and for their own purposes. However, this historical evidence also suffers from two significant lacunae: the lack of statistics on the total number of First Nations groups, and data about selected regions, mostly Visayan and Tagalog, that did not cover the entire archipelago (Scott, 1995).

2.6.   Colonial history and its impact

Figure 2.6.

The Philippines' Colonial Timeline
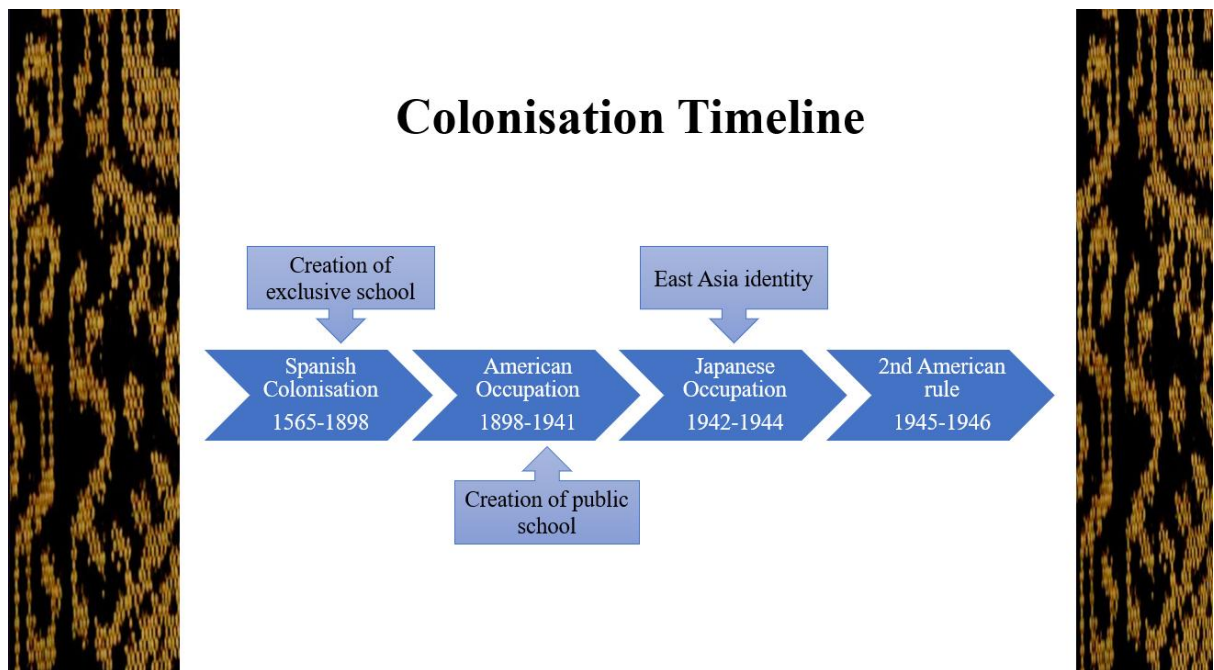
Note. This visual representation outlines the Philippine colonial timeline that was discussed in this section. The woven cloth image is a traditional design from one of the First Nations groups (Blaan[13]) in The Philippines. This woven cloth image is from Odyssea: Natural, Culture, People[14]

The Philippines was ruled by three colonial powers from 1565 to 1946, before becoming an independent republic. The Philippines' First Nations groups encountered Western colonisers who conquered the country, espousing their colonising missions.

---

[13] Blaan are First Nations groups of Southern Mindanao
[14] https://www.facebook.com/odysseaPH/photos/pb.100071165063775.-2207520000/243609762740072/?type=3

The Philippines was under the control of Spain (1565–1898), America (1898–1941) and Japan (1942–1944), then back to America (1945–1946), before achieving sovereignty. Colonisers have been referred to as "whites", "Europeans" (Quijano, 2005, p. 56) and "Westerners", because of their place of origin and skin colour. *Colonisation* is a term used to justify control of First Nations peoples through assimilation or oppression. The exercise of power and control by the colonisation of peoples and their territories has been shown to be the root cause of injustice against territories' original inhabitants (Huseman & Short, 2012; Mullen, 2019, 2020; Tuck & Yang, 2012).

2.6.1. *Spanish encounter and colonisation (1521-1898)*

The search for spices from the East Indies led a Portuguese explorer named Ferdinand Magellan to the islands which he claimed for the Spanish King, Philip (Agoncillo, 1990; Constantino & Constantino, 2008). He sailed west across the Atlantic towards South America in 1519 and landed in one of the islands in the east called Homonhon (one of the islands of The Philippines) in 1521. Magellan's voyage paved the way for Spanish colonisation of The Philippines. However, he did not live to accept recognition of this accomplishment because he was killed by the chieftain of a First Nations group (Joaquin, 1988). His voyage to The Philippines also facilitated the Christianisation of the Philippine islands (Joaquin, 1988). The subsequent Spanish incursions in 1565 successfully colonised the islands, particularly Luzon and the Visayas groups of islands. These islands, including those extending from Luzon to Mindanao, were subsequently named The Philippines after the then King of Spain, King Philip (Agoncillo, 1990).

Subsequently, the Spanish colonisers established political and cultural domination over the First Nations groups living in The Philippines; this act was called "Eurocentred colonialism" (Quijano, 2007) or "Western colonialism". The success of Spanish colonisation was due mainly to the acceptance by many First Nations groups of the colonising mission that would save their souls, and the imposition of a Eurocentric ideology or Western ideology that implanted the colonial mentality of white superiority. On the other hand, the first Spanish chroniclers in 1600, Father Pedro Chirino and Antonio de Morga, claimed that the First Nations groups, whom the Spaniards called

Indios[15] or Indians, were literate and had their own system of writing to communicate, particularly when trading with other people or connecting with each other within communities. According to Father Chirino and de Morga, the majority of inhabitants used a system of writing called *Baybayin* (Kawahara, 2016) or versions of it.

Spain was able to maintain its occupation of the island for 333 years through five critical policies:

1) Christianisation;
2) *Reduccion*;
3) *encomienda*;
4) tribute and tax collection; and
5) *polo y servicio* or forced labour.

Both Christianisation and the *Reduccion* policy (*Recopilacion, 1841*) had the greatest impact on the fragmentation of First Nations cultural identity. The latter had the most consequence on the education of First Nations children. *Reduccion* was implemented for the following reasons:

1) to disseminate and convert the First Nations groups to Christianity,
2) to isolate the colonised from the rest of the nation and prevent any form of contact with other peoples,
3) to have control over the native land, and
4) to prevent adults from transferring First Nations groups' knowledge to their children (Daes, 2000).

In addition, containing First Nations groups in designated colonised communities helped colonisers control First Nations peoples. Consequently, many have forgotten their traditions, resulting in the loss of their writing systems, culture, identity and knowledge (Garcia-Olp, 2018; Mulder, 2013). The First Nations groups who resisted the direct impact of the colonisers isolated themselves and moved to the mountain ranges (Acabado, 2017; Joaquin, 1988). However, their culture, traditions, ways of life

---

[15] Indios were Spanish coloniser's term for colonised Filipinos during the Spanish occupation (Perez, 2020). In the Philippine context, Indios were native-born inhabitants of The Philippines who were of Malayan ethnicity. They occupied the lowest level in the Spanish hierarchy of social classes.

and knowing were also affected because of forced displacement, severing their nexus with their ancestral lands (Kawahara, 2016). They also became marginalised, unable to access basic services provided to the acculturated First Nations groups (Reyes et al., 2017).

In 1573, educational services were offered to privileged Filipinos who could pay for education (Agoncillo, 1990; Kawahara, 2016). Privileged Filipinos were taught to read and write in Spanish, which was viewed at that time as the language of the educated. Ramone (2011) argues that the intention of placing First Nations groups in a Western education system was to erase any existence of cultural and traditional knowledge. Under the Western education system, Filipino children were taught the history and language of the colonisers, forcing a different psychological and cultural reality on them (Ramone, 2011). Educated Filipinos became the new elite, rising in rank in the social order under the Spanish colonial rule (Agoncillo, 1990; Constantino & Constantino, 2008). However, despite the education and status given to educated Filipinos, the colonisers did not transform The Philippines to the same image and rank as Spain, emphasising the inequality between the colonisers and the colonised people. As explained by Memmi (2013), colonisers aimed to acculturate the colony's culture but not to assimilate the people, because it would reduce their opportunity for exploitation.

Meanwhile, Filipino First Nations groups on the islands of Mindanao lived under the Islamic religion before the Spaniards arrived. This made it hard for the spread of Christianity and full control over the islands (Milligan, 2005). Islamic culture, however, was biased against women, who were considered as inferior, thereby depriving them of opportunities to grow their literacy or their reading and writing skills (Kawahara, 2016). Spanish colonisation lasted for 333 years, resulting in a significant gap between rich and poor. It also resulted in the marginalisation of First Nations peoples (Reyes et al., 2017). However, Joaquin (1988) claims that Spanish colonisation has brought advancement in The Philippines through advanced technologies for improving agricultural practices as well as road networks. It may be assumed that this was because most pre-colonial First Nations groups were traders who used water as their communication and transportation network (Paredes, 2016). Moreover, the rich soils of The Philippines did not require sophisticated agricultural methods (Mallat, 2021). Any benefits that Spanish

colonisation brought to Filipinos has cost First Nations groups their freedom, land, language, rights, culture and knowledge.

Various education decrees and legislation were passed by the Spanish monarchy. These decrees were directed to all Spanish colonies including The Philippines. The salient features of the decrees will be discussed next.

2.6.1.1. Decree for the education of male children - The Laws of the Indies

Policies during Spanish colonisation were in the form of orders from the Spanish King and the Pope, and they were implemented by the Governor General, who was assigned to head the colonised country. In 1573, the King of Spain decreed the "Laws of the Indies" (*Leyes de las Indias, 1573*), which addressed the educational entitlement given to the colonised Filipinos. It stated:

> Sons of the Indian leaders will be instructed in reading, writing and the Catholic faith at the expense of their encomienda masters. (*Leyes de las Indias, 1573*)

The Son in the decree refers to the male child, emphasising the patriarchal view or superiority of men to women. Indians were colonised Filipinos, whom the Spaniards referred to as Indios (Agoncillo, 1990; Kawahara, 2016), while the *encomienda*[16] masters were rich Filipinos who owned parcels of agricultural land. The instructions embody some of the core missions of the Spaniards (Daes, 2000; Joaquin, 1988). As Christians, their mission was to convert Filipinos while teaching them to read and write in Spanish. However, standardised instruction in the Spanish language was not given to all Filipinos. Because the language was taught only in formal schools, the Spanish language was viewed as the language of educated Filipinos during that time. The word "expense" meant that accessing education for Filipinos required fees, which implied selective access to education by recognised rich Filipinos or those who found favour

---

[16] *Encomienda* was legally defined in 1503 as grants of land by the Spanish crown to soldiers, officials or favoured others, including Filipinos living in a particular area or colony. The grant specified that the receiver could exact tribute or labour as a fee. In return, the grantee must protect the populace in the territory and instruct them on Christianity. Subsequently, however, abuses led to the *encomienda* becoming a system of forced labour imposed on the populace (Wallenfeldt, 2024).

with their masters in this political system (Agoncillo, 1990; Joaquin, 1988). As a result, education was not considered a right but a privilege for rich Filipinos or those who could pay the educational fees.

2.6.1.2. Decree for the education of all children - Education decree

Before the end of 1863, the Education Decree or Royal Decree was proclaimed by the Queen of Spain. The decree directed the creation of schools for all children:

> A boys school and a girls school will be created in each town … first elementary education is compulsory for all Filipinos and Chinese[17] inhabitants from seven to twelve years old whose parents cannot afford it … [to] teach Christian Doctrine and Moral class … Algebra, Agriculture, Arithmetic, Chemistry, Commerce, English, French, Geography, Geometry, Greek, History, Latin, Mechanics, Natural History, Painting, Philosophy, Physics, Rhetoric and Poetry, Spanish Classics, Spanish Composition, Topography and Trigonometry for boys … Arithmetic, Drawing, Dress-cutting, French, Geology, Geography, Geometry, History of Spain, Music, Needlework, Philippine History, Physics, Reading, Sacred History and Spanish Grammar for girls. (*Instruccion Primaria Para Filipinas, 1863*)

The decree was followed by the establishment of separate boys' and girls' schools, giving due recognition to the right of females to education. Primary or elementary education was free and obligatory for all Filipino and Chinese children aged 7 to 12, living in the country. Education informed by Christian values was still part of the curriculum. Though education had been opened for girls, their educational content differed from the boys', with more subjects being taught to boys (*Instruccion Primaria Para Filipinas, 1863*).

---

[17] The Chinese, called Sangleys, were travelling merchants who settled in The Philippines, and had relations with the inhabitants of Luzon long before the Spaniards came to the islands. Their descendants established themselves in the provinces as entrepreneurs, engaging in wholesale and retail commerce. As they grew in number, they formed distinct communities within municipalities and cities (Mallat, 2021).

2.6.2. *American colonisation (1898-1941)*

In 1897, the Spanish–American war began while the Spaniards were also fighting to contain the Filipino revolution in The Philippines (Agoncillo & Mangahas, 2010). To end the war, the Spanish and Americans signed an agreement, transferring The Philippines to a new coloniser. The agreement was called the Treaty of Paris. There was initial resistance, mostly led by educated Filipinos, who began governing what they thought was a free country after the Spaniards left. A group of Filipino lawyers who were educated in Madrid during the Spanish colonisation wrote the first Constitution of The Philippines, called the 1899 Malolos Constitution. Several months thereafter, The Philippines went under American rule.

Similar to the Spanish strategy, the Americans made alliances with friendly locals to help destroy local resistance, particularly in the Muslim South.[18] Moreover, they embarked on infrastructure and institution building, resulting in socio-cultural changes to the Filipino way of life. A countrywide public school education scheme patterned after the American system was established to teach Filipinos about American culture and the English language (Dacumos, 2015). This gave rise to the building of numerous schools, colleges and universities to guide the colonised to a progressive and civilised society. Regardless of their economic status and ethnicity, all Filipinos were encouraged to study (Aggabao et al., 2018; Durban & Catalan, 2012). Gonzales (2016) argues that American teachers were used as "weapons of mental and cultural mass destruction" (p. 37), to subjugate Filipinos through Western education and ideologies.

A new social elite consisting of American-educated Filipinos emerged. The use of a foreign language in this new education system was a major barrier that prevented First Nations children from participating in the public school system created by the Americans. This lack of inclusion hindered their access to formal education. This made children reluctant to go to school and some remained isolated from society (Abejuella, 2019; Alicias, 2017; Curtis, 2009). Moreover, American education, which employed English as the medium of instruction and communication, prevented a truly Filipino language from evolving and developing to incorporate words from various First Nations groups. Education also focused on American patriotism and language, perpetuating

---

[18] https://philippines.michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/s/exhibit/page/creating-the-moro-subject

colonialism while suppressing nationalism and the establishment of a national identity among colonised Filipinos (Durban & Catalan, 2012).

The Americans used education as a major program to realise their colonising mission of ensuring the colonised people became civilised according to the coloniser's viewpoint. Consequently, various legislation was issued which impacted education during the American colonial period. Key legislation will now be discussed.

2.6.2.1.   Establishment of the Office of Public Instruction

Act No. 74 was enacted into law in January 1901, establishing the Office for Public Instruction. Section 14 of this legislation mandated English as the medium of instruction:

> English language shall, as soon as practicable, be made the basis of all
> public education instruction, and soldiers may be detailed as instructors until
> such time as they may be replaced by trained teachers. (*Act No. 74*
> *Department of Public Instruction in the Philippine Islands, 1901* (USA))

English as the instructional medium in schools was the most significant barrier to accessing education, despite the provision of free education during the American colonial period. In addition, the education that the Americans were offering at that time was based on Western thoughts and concepts which differed substantially from First Nations groups' beliefs and knowledge systems. Meanwhile, First Nations groups' culture, knowledge, language and ways were negated by the colonisers.

2.6.3. The Commonwealth period (1935-1946)

The Tydings-McDuffie Act paved the way for the creation of the Philippine Commonwealth, a transition period to Philippine independence. It created socio-political institutions headed by Filipinos who were mentored in governance and administration. Following the election of the executive branch, headed by the President, the other branches of government were created. This included the National Council for Education, the Office of Private Instruction and the Adult Education Office. The Institute of National Language was also created, which subsequently recommended the establishment of Tagalog as the national language.

The Commonwealth period lasted for 10 years from 1935 to 1946. During this period, mainstream groups were established, particularly the ruling elite as the power centre of Philippine society. Most institutions created projects for the mainstream ethos. First Nations groups remained voiceless, with hardly any record of participation in governance and other social institutions.

2.6.3.1. The 1935 Commonwealth Constitution

Under the dictates of the American government, a Commonwealth Constitution was approved in 1935. The citizenship provision of this Constitution was not clear with regard to the citizenship of First Nations groups. The importance of being acknowledged as citizen of The Philippines was access to the services being offered by the government, such as education. This provision, however, stated that:

> those who are citizens of the Philippine Islands at the time of the adoption of this Constitution … whose father … [or] mother are citizens of the Philippines upon reaching the age of majority, elect Philippine citizenship. (*Commonwealth Constitution, 1935* (Phil), Article IV, Section 1, Numbers 1, 3, and 4)

The Constitution also emphasised the use of two foreign languages spoken by the Spanish and American colonisers – Spanish and English, respectively – as the official medium of instruction in all schools in the country. This was because no single language was being used by the colonised Filipinos. However, because the Spaniards did not formally teach the Spanish language to all Filipinos except for religious purposes, even the acculturated Filipinos who became the mainstream groups retained their different regional and ethnic languages. Therefore, a national language to unify Filipinos was indicated in the Constitution. Language was considered a critical part of communicating information and knowledge to children. The Constitution thus directed Congress to:

> take steps toward the development and adoption of a common national language based on one of the existing native languages. Until otherwise

provided by law, English and Spanish shall continue as official languages. (*Commonwealth Constitution, 1935* (Phil), Article XIV, Section 3)

The Commonwealth Government continued the public education program started by the Americans. Formal educational institutions were created and placed under regulatory control by the government, with the directive that:

all educational institutions shall be under the supervision of and subject to regulation by the State … [and] establish and maintain a complete and adequate system of public education, and … at least free public primary instruction, and citizenship training to adult citizens. (*Commonwealth Constitution, 1935* (Phil), Article XIV, Section 5)

2.6.4. *Japanese colonisation (1942-1944)*

When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941, the United States was drawn into World War II, and this altered the balance of power in the Pacific (Agoncillo & Mangahas, 2010; Dittoe, 2013). The Japanese then moved towards The Philippines, defeating the remaining American stronghold, and gained control over The Philippines (Agoncillo & Mangahas, 2010). The Japanese tried to reform the educational system in The Philippines (Dacumos, 2015). Among the goals of the Japanese invasion were to: 1) promote and enrich Filipino culture and raise its morality, 2) teach Filipinos the Japanese language (Nippongo) and refrain from Western dependency, and 3) modify elementary (primary) and vocational education to develop the love for work.

Similar to the other two colonisers, the Japanese envisioned that the colonised people would learn and adopt their language. However, the strong influence of America's extensive education in the minds of the mainstream groups, and the ensuing atrocities committed during the war, meant that the Japanese were viewed by Filipinos as the enemy (Caraccilo, 2005). The Japanese invasion ended in 1945 with the surrender of Japan, making the Japanese occupation the shortest colonisation that The Philippines experienced. Consequently, its impact on the education system was minimal (Dacumos, 2015).

2.6.4.1. Enactment of the 1943 Philippine Constitution

Under the Japanese watch, the 1943 Constitution was enacted. Just like the 1935 Constitution, the definition of Filipino citizens was vague. Thus, the inclusion of First Nations peoples to enable them to receive the services offered by the government was subject to interpretation by the ruling class. This Constitution stated that:

> those who are citizens of the Philippines at the time of the adoption of this Constitution and their descendants [are Filipino]. (*Philippine Constitution, 1943* (Phil), Article VI, Section 1, Number 1)

Meanwhile, the language provision named Tagalog as the national language. This was stated in the General Provision of the 1943 Constitution, whereby:

> the government shall take steps toward the development and propagation of Tagalog as the national language. (*Philippine Constitution, 1943* (Phil), Article XI, Section 2)

2.6.5. *Resumption of American colonisation: The second American occupation (1945-1946)*

The Americans returned to The Philippines after the end of World War II, presiding over the rehabilitation of the country. Different educational disciplines, such as engineering, medicine, nutrition and related fields, were introduced to help rebuild the country from the ruins of war. The education of mainstream Filipinos on governance and administration continued for the remaining 2 years of the Commonwealth period prior to Philippine independence. The Americans did not annex The Philippines as a state or protectorate as it did with Hawaii and Guam. Nonetheless, the influence of colonisation on the viewpoint of mainstream Filipinos and their attitude towards First Nations peoples prevented the latter from being recognised as co-equal members of Philippine society (Durban & Catalan, 2012; Reyes et al., 2017). While mainstream Filipinos went ahead with nation building, First Nations groups were largely ignored as non-participants and thus remained marginalised. Moreover, the use of English became pervasive and widely used by the government and civil service even after independence (Luo, 2023), contributing to the exclusion of First Nations peoples.

2.7. Educational influences and impact

Colonial influences in The Philippines are still evident in the education system (Adonis & Couch, 2017; De Guzman, 2003; Eduardo & Gabriel, 2021). Religious beliefs, largely due to Spanish influence, have been central to educational decisions. Religious groups continue to manage 1,400 private schools (Aguas, 2019) from primary to tertiary, charging fees for operational expenses. Despite the Americans only colonising The Philippines for approximately 40 years, compared with the 333 years of Spanish colonisation, the Americans still had a greater influence on the country's education system.

Education has been a successful tool to subjugate and colonise the minds of Filipinos. The pervasive public school system patterned after the American educational system, the use of foreign textbooks and of English as the medium of instruction, ingrained the colonial ethos in the Philippine educational system (Aggabao et al., 2018). On the other hand, the Japanese occupation had the least impact; however, it did influence the longer school calendar (Aggabao et al., 2018).

2.8. The continuing discourse on Philippine language policies

When Spain chose Manila as the seat of government, the Tagalogs became more involved in governance. The Tagalogs were the First Nations groups occupying Manila and its environs prior to the coming of Spain. As Manila prospered under Spain, the Tagalog culture and language spread (Rafael, 2018). Manila became the centre of education with the establishment of schools and The Philippines' first university. Thus, Manila became the centre that created the educational elite. Manila-centricity continued with the American colonisation. The creation of a system of public instruction to educate all Filipinos was undertaken. However, the pervasive language was no longer Tagalog. Instead, the Americans mandated the use of English in civil service and instruction. The establishment of the Commonwealth Government as a prelude to Philippine independence revived nationalistic sentiments, particularly among the educational elites. The Institute of National Language was created, unanimously recommending the designation of Tagalog[19] as the national language.

---

[19] In 1959, the Philippine Government changed the name "Tagalog" to "Pilipino" to remove its ethnic connotation, thereby assuming a national character. To assuage the protestations from various regions and ethnolinguistic groups, the term was changed to "Filipino" to include "those Philippine languages with

In 1974, the DepEd issued Department Order (DO) 25 (*Department Order 25 Bilingual Education Policy, 1974* (Phil), s.1974), which provided implementation guidelines for bilingual education policy. The aim was to produce Filipinos who could communicate with equal proficiency in both languages – Filipino and English. This was legitimised by the 1987 Constitution and the subsequent DO 52 (*Department Order 52 Policy on Bilingual Education, 1987* (Phil), s.1987). More than 30 years after the 1987 Constitution declared that the Filipino language be "further developed and enriched on the basis of existing Philippine and other languages" (*Philippine Constitution, 1987* (Phil), Article XIV), such development has not ensued, and the opposition to Tagalog-based Filipino as the national language continues to this day (Lorente, 2013).

2.9. The dominance of the English language in Philippine education and culture

The dominance of English in the Philippine cultural landscape started during the American colonisation when the use of English facilitated governance of the colonised. Its wide acceptance was due to several factors (Lorente, 2013):

1) the colonisers' mandate for English as the medium of instruction in public schools;
2) Filipinos' deferential attitude towards the Americans who they believed helped end the abusive Spanish colonialism; and
3) the incentives given by the American colonisers to Filipinos who were adept English speakers in terms of career opportunities in the civil service and in politics.

This was considered to be a masterstroke of colonial policy that finally severed whatever remaining links Hispanised Filipinos had with the pre-colonial past (Constantino, 2002). It also ushered in the development of a new national and cultural identity. According to Constantino (2002), "this was the beginning of their [Filipinos] education. It was also the beginning of their miseducation as they learned no longer as Filipinos but as colonials" (p. 181).

The legacy of the English language subsequently "shaped the landscape of the national language and bilingual education policies" in The Philippines (Lorente, 2013, p. 191).

---

the voiceless labiodental fricative" and other phonological units and features, including from Spanish and English languages (Dawe, 2014, p. 70).

The bilingual education policy[20] mandated Filipino and English in instruction; the former to appease the nationalists, while the latter to ensure that education met the demands of internationalisation. Thus, English became incorporated in the "country's linguistic economy" (Lorente, 2013, p. 192), while ensuring the educated elite's power and interests.

The findings of the Lubuagan[21] project (Dumatog & Dekker, 2003) formed the premise of the mother tongue-based multilingual education (MTB-MLE) framework stipulated in the EBEA of 2013. Results from the Lubuagan project showed that use of the mother tongue – in that study, the Lubuagan language – improved students' literacy skills, performance and attendance, while enhancing parent participation in the learning process. It also strengthened the connection with the community, historical roots and culture (Dumatog & Dekker, 2003).

While acknowledging the importance of using the mother tongue in early education, the resulting law (the EBEA) emphasised that only English and Filipino would be the medium of instruction from Grade 4 and subsequently through secondary education. Early childhood learning in the mother tongue is assumed to facilitate and ensure better learning of Filipino and English in the later years of basic education. It implies the continued primacy of these two languages, while regarding the mother tongue only as a tool that is not equal to Filipino and English (Dawe, 2014; Lorente, 2013).

2.10. Status of First Nations peoples and their struggles

First Nations groups are internationally referred to as Indigenous groups. This term has been used in relation to culturally distinct groups that were affected by the history of colonisation but were able to maintain their "heritage and cultural identity" (Castagno & Brayboy, 2008, p. 944). In The Philippines, the term has been used for non-mainstream groups who continue to live in accordance with their customs, laws, traditions and beliefs, thereby retaining much of their culture despite waves of colonisation lasting for

---

[20] The bilingual education policy was established through Section 7, Article XIV, of the 1987 Philippine Constitution which states that "for purpose of communication and instruction, the official languages of The Philippines are Filipino and, until otherwise provided by law, English".

[21] Lubuagan, Kalinga, is a small municipality where a First Nations group resides that speaks only Lubuagan, their Indigenous language. Prior to the project, the language in the classroom was only English and Filipino, resulting in a high drop-out rate and slow cognitive development.

almost 400 years. This term continued to be used and legitimised with the enactment of the Republic Act (RA) 8371 Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (IPRA) in 1997 and its successful defence before the Supreme Court in 2003 (Theriault, 2019).

2.10.1. The social regard for First Nations groups during colonial times

When the Spanish colonisers arrived in the Philippine islands, they found thriving communities of heterogeneous First Nations groups across different parts of the archipelago. These communities were called *barangays*, or *sultanates* in the case of Muslim settlements (Iglesias, 2003). The communities had their own political, economic, social and cultural systems. The coming of the colonisers disrupted and redirected the history of the country and its socio-political structures. While many of the pre-colonial First Nations groups were acculturated, evolving hybrid Filipino–Hispanised cultural identities, those who could not or who resisted subjugation were excluded from the Spanish-controlled communities and moved to remote areas and the mountains. Because they continued to practise their traditional systems and practices, they were called *remontados*[22] or *infidels* by the colonisers (Ty, 2010).

The American colonisation reified the image of First Nations peoples as savage, primordial and uncivilised (Sit, 2008; Ty, 2010). Those whom the colonisers could not subjugate were discriminated against and marginalised. In world fairs, American colonisers juxtaposed the traditional, primitive way of life of First Nations peoples they featured against Western affluence. By doing so, the Americans were emphasising that colonialism is key to development and modernity. Further, the use of English in education and civil service underpinned the marginalisation of First Nations groups, who were deprived of access to education and basic services.

2.10.2. Disruption of First Nations groups' cultural bond with their land

All over the world, First Nations groups continue to be deprived and discriminated against by the mainstream majority (Craven et al., 2013; Quiling-Arquiza, 2006) who

---

[22] *Remontado* is derived from the Spanish word meaning "to flee". *Remontados* was the name given by the Spanish colonisers to someone who was already Christianised but chose to go back to the mountains. The word ceased to be used when Spain handed over The Philippines to the American colonisers. It is now used to refer to a First Nations group and their language: this group, consisting of five small communities, live in the Sierra Madre mountains on the Luzon island (Lobel & Surbano, 2019).

wield control over power. During periods of colonisation, many First Nations groups had been excluded and deprived of rights, including their ancestral land. In Southeast Asia, First Nations groups are usually found in isolated areas and poorer communities, many of them stripped of their ancestral lands (Quijano, 2005). The 2024 World Bank report about The Philippines showed that the level of inequality varies within geographic areas (Perez-Brito & Belghith, 2024). Nonetheless, this data also revealed that regions where more First Nations groups reside have higher poverty indices and are consistently disadvantaged relative to mainstream groups in the same area.

First Nations groups do not only look at material wealth as a measure of their economic status, but they regard communal well-being and sharing of resources as measures of security. Land is therefore crucial to both their well-being and cultural identities. The historical injustice experienced by First Nations groups is highlighted by the loss of ancestral lands starting during colonialism. Both the Spanish Regalian Doctrine and the American Homestead Act and Public Land Act of 1902 declared the colonised lands as public lands under the authority of the colonisers. Titles were issued as proof of ownership to coloniser-settlers, favoured Filipinos or those who could afford or want to use them (Ty, 2010).

After years of fighting for their rights, First Nations groups were accorded recognition in the 1987 Philippine Constitution. The ensuing Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act in 1997 acknowledged their right to the ancestral lands. Nonetheless, the government required the issuance and registration of a certificate of ancestral domain[23] for First Nations groups to claim such a right. Preceding this law, however, the Philippine legislature passed the National Integrated Protected Areas System Act[24] in 1992 and The Philippine Mining Act[25] of 1995. Both Acts undermined the IPRA and

---

[23] The Certificate of Ancestral Domain is a title formally recognising the rights of possession and ownership of Indigenous cultural communities and Indigenous peoples over their ancestral domain, identified and delineated in accordance with the Republic Act 8371: Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (https://fasps.denr.gov.ph/index.php/resources/glossary-of-terms/certificate-of-ancestral-domain-title).

[24] The National Integrated Protected Areas System Act of 1992 established National Integrated Protected Areas System in The Philippines. These are areas with natural biological and physical diversities and are categorised as protected. The Act was to ensure sustainable use of resources and preservation of ecological processes. All protected areas are managed by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (https://jur.ph/law/summary/national-integrated-protected-areas-system-act-of-1992).

[25] The Philippine Mining Act of 1995 governs all mining operations and related rights in The Philippines, specifically exploration, development and use of natural resources. In areas with Certificate of Ancestral

subsequently resulted in the Supreme Court allowing mining in ancestral domains, providing free and prior informed consent was obtained from First Nations groups. Such a proviso subjected First Nations peoples to harassment and intimidation and other human rights violations by mining operators (Daytec-Yañgot, 2012). Subsequently, many were unable to fully utilise their right to their ancestral lands.

2.10.3. *First Nations children's right to education*

One of the problems that many First Nations groups experience is inaccessibility of educational opportunities. Many First Nations groups have experienced language barriers or inappropriate curriculum, discrimination in the classroom, inadequate social support and difficulty integrating into the mainstream community's culture and way of life (Abejuella, 2019; Alicias, 2017; Soriano & Sandoval, 2007). First Nations groups' knowledge had always been transmitted through sharing stories, apprenticeship and interactions with elders and family members (Adonis & Couch, 2017; Cooke-Dalin et al., 2000). Traditional wisdom passed down generationally helps First Nations groups to rediscover strength and identity (Quiling-Arquiza, 2006). Wisdom is obtained from observation of their environment and from experiences, as well as community interactions. This knowledge, as well as values, traditions, rituals and ceremonies, are passed on by elders to the next generation. First Nations groups value unity, collective work, cooperation, selflessness and peaceful co-existence among community members. Community, therefore, is an essential part of their sense of belonging, values and identity (Sy-Luna & Diaz, 2023; Young, 2006).

While Filipinos, both from mainstream and First Nations groups, value education as necessary to improve their social status and ensure self-determination, they approach education in different ways (Adonis & Couch, 2017; Oakes, 2013). First Nations groups' approach to learning employs community-based education involving elders, parents and the community, passing on traditional knowledge and practices to their children. On the other hand, mainstream groups have formal education that is historically provided by the State or by private enterprises and religious groups. This education follows structured curricula and teaching methods (Champagne, 2009). In

---

Domain title, priority is given to First Nations groups to harvest, extract, develop and exploit its natural resources (https://www.iea.org/policies/16252-philippine-mining-act-of-1995-republic-act-no-7942).

educational settings, many formal education systems are removed from First Nations culture and, when forcibly imposed, they tend to cause identity conflicts, acculturation stress and destroy First Nations children's cultural identity development.

All over the world, First Nations groups have struggled because of the lack of culturally appropriate education. Unable to access the Western-influenced mainstream curriculum, First Nations groups are socially excluded. The idea of social exclusion or the deprivation of skills and capabilities through restricted access to education and training hinders people from interacting freely with others in the community (Sen, 2000; Smith, 2021). Despite First Nations groups' efforts to secure employment and education, they have been disadvantaged. This is because most job opportunities require qualifications and skills dictated by Western-influenced education.

There have been private initiatives to help educate First Nations peoples in The Philippines. In the 1980s, religious organisations such as the Indigenous Peoples Apostolates and Sisters of St. Francis established programs and created interventions to help educate First Nations groups in the Cordilleras, a mountain range in Northern Luzon (De la Reyna, 2007). However, these organisations rely on the availability of resources, so these interventions were sporadic. Meanwhile, First Nations students who had availed themselves of mainstream community schools continued to experience discrimination and racialisation because of the colour of their skin, their culture and language (Lacson, 2004). Consequently, many First Nations children adjusted their language either voluntarily or forcibly (Odango, 2015). Voluntary shift of the language occurred when they had to adjust when speaking to mainstream peers (Antallan et al., 2021; Bonifacio et al., 2021). An involuntary shift happened when government policies dictated the medium of instruction or there was a shortage of trained teachers who could speak First Nations groups' languages in learning centres. This resulted in the decline of First Nations groups' language and culture (Bonifacio et al., 2021). In general, First Nations children have not benefited from the mainstream cultures' standardised education system. Okano (2013) argues that the educational opportunity offered by mainstream cultures' schools is inappropriate because the curriculum is focused on mainstream cultures' educational needs, experiences and work skills needed by mainstream communities.

First Nations groups' cultural identity was developed over time through language, traditions, social behaviour, art, literature and music. It is also deeply intertwined with their land and environment. Cultural identity is linked to well-being, cultural heritage affiliation and sense of belonging (Wexler, 2009). Interaction in schools by diverse groups of children is believed to have significant impact on developing positive cultural identity associated with their ethnicity (Sanchez, 2020). However, acculturation and the assimilationist strategies of previous colonisations have fragmented cultural identities, resulting in identity conflicts and intergenerational trauma evident in Filipinos today (Lacson, 2004).

Filipinos from mainstream culture have since assumed power in the post-colonial Philippines. The years of colonial education converted them to colonial proxies who continue to exercise hegemonic control in their relations with First Nations groups. While the State purported to recognise First Nations groups' rights, in reality, its agencies continue to be complicit in their oppression. For instance, in 2017, the Philippine Government placed the island of Mindanao under martial law, threatening and ordering the closure of First Nations community schools. This was carried out by soldiers who destroyed, burned and vandalised these schools. The order resulted in the closure of at least 176 out of 215 schools (Reysio-Cruz, 2019). Despite the provision of the 1987 Philippine Constitution and succeeding legislation and agreements to protect First Nations groups' rights, this Act deprived First Nations students of education and future opportunities.

2.11. The 1987 Constitution, department orders and laws and the impact on First Nations students' education

Forty years after The Philippines became a sovereign republic, social justice imperatives were undertaken to recognise the rights of all Filipinos. In particular, the stipulations of the 1987 Philippine Constitution recognise and promote the rights of Indigenous cultural communities (*Philippine Constitution, 1987* (Phil), Article II, Section 22). The article on human rights and social justice for all Filipinos (Article XIII) of the Constitution committed the State to enact laws to improve the lives of First Nations peoples (*Philippine Constitution, 1987* (Phil), Article III). It resulted in the enactment of the IPRA in 1997 (*Republic Act 8371 Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act, 1997* (Phil)).

This law provided the specifics for the recognition and promotion of First Nations groups' rights, including their right to education, cultural heritage and their ancestral domain. Recognising that education is crucial to improving First Nations groups' social and economic status, the Philippine Government directed the DepEd to issue DOs to specifically address the need for a culturally appropriate education. In 2013, the Philippine Government enacted the RA 10533 or EBEA. This latter law not only recognised the cultural diversity of Philippine learners, but it also strengthened the implementation of Indigenous education. The salient features of the laws and DOs are summarised here.

2.11.1. Republic Act 8371 or Indigenous Peoples Rights Act

Ten years after the ratification of the 1987 Philippine Constitution, the IPRA was enacted. It was a landmark decision hailed as the first in Asia to recognise the rights of First Nations peoples. Under this legislation, the educational system for First Nations groups was strengthened. Chapter VI (Cultural Integrity), Section 30 of the law describes the creation of educational systems and support for First Nations groups' education:

> The state shall provide equal access to various cultural opportunities to the ICCs/IPs [Indigenous Cultural Communities or Indigenous Peoples] through the educational system, public or private cultural entities, scholarships, grants and other incentives without prejudice to their right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions by providing education in their own language, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning. Indigenous children/youth shall have the right to all levels and forms of education of the state. (*Republic Act 8371 Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act, 1997* (Phil), Chapter VI, Section 30)

The law affirmed the educational and cultural rights of First Nations groups. It was a legislative step that guaranteed the 1987 constitutional provision promoting and enhancing Philippine cultural heritage in public and private sectors, and the establishment of educational institutions. It included the right to education of First Nations peoples in a manner and language the communities determined to be in

accordance with their culture. This was a tacit recognition that the current standardised educational system could not address the cultural uniqueness and needs of every First Nations group. Nonetheless, it promoted the rights of First Nations children to access all educational programs and levels provided by the government.

Section 34 of the same chapter provides First Nations groups with rights to their knowledge systems:

> ICCs/IPs[26] are entitled to the recognition of the full ownership … [of] traditions, literature, designs and visual and performing arts. (*Republic Act 8371 Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act, 1997* (Phil), Chapter VI, Section 34)

This provision acknowledged the right to ownership of First Nations groups' traditional knowledge, cultural and intellectual rights, including regulating their use and development.

2.11.2. The National Indigenous Peoples Education Policy Framework

In 2011, the DepEd issued DO 62 s.2011, adopting the National Indigenous Peoples Education Policy Framework. The framework was crafted after consultation with First Nations groups and it directs all education providers that have sizable numbers of First Nations students enrolled in their institutions. It empowered First Nations groups to exercise their rights in education as duly recognised citizens of the country.

The National Indigenous Peoples Education Policy Framework emphasised the adoption of "appropriate basic education pedagogy, content and assessment", the employment of Indigenous Learning Systems (ILS) and the inclusion of Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Practices (IKSP) in all learning areas (*Department Order 62 Adopting the National Indigenous Peoples Education Policy Framework, 2011* (Phil) s.2011, Section 15b). The framework was intended to promote greater awareness and appreciation of the First Nations science that helped them survive various circumstances for thousands of years before colonisation. These circumstances included their adaptation to environmental and climatic changes, and their interactions with various peoples. Such

---

[26] ICCs/IPs are the abbreviations used in the legislation: ICCs mean Indigenous cultural communities, while IPs denote Indigenous peoples

understanding could contribute to the "eradication" of injustice and "discrimination against First Nations groups in the education systems" (*Department Order 62 Adopting the National Indigenous Peoples Education Policy Framework, 2011* (Phil), Section 15g), and in Philippine society.

2.11.2.1. Indigenous Learning Systems

DO 32 (*Department Order 32 Adopting the Indigenous Peoples Education Curriculum Framework, 2015* (Phil), s.2015) defines ILS of Philippine First Nations groups as a non-formal process by which Indigenous cultural communities educate succeeding generations and youth to the communities' cultural systems, including IKSP. ILS has a "curriculum, pedagogical approaches and teaching strategies, forms of assessment and mechanisms for management of the learning processes" (*Department Order 32 Adopting the Indigenous Peoples Education Curriculum Framework, 2015* (Phil), s.2015). It is offered in formal, non-formal or informal modalities in First Nations communities or schools where the majority of students are First Nations children. It includes elders as teachers, language and the community learning process.

2.11.2.2. Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Practices

The definition of IKSP adopted in the DO 32 (*Department Order 32 Adopting the Indigenous Peoples Education Curriculum Framework, 2015* (Phil), s.2015) is based on Section 6f of the NCIP Administrative Order 1 in 2012. It includes revealed knowledge and interpretation of realities, and knowledge of agriculture, medicine and ways to cope with their environment, which are transmitted orally through practice.

The scope of IKSP included in subsequent Indigenous Peoples Education (IPEd) curriculum was based on a study by the International Labour Organization in 1995. This study focused on three different First Nations groups from major island groups of The Philippines, specifically Ifugaos of the Cordillera (Luzon), Atis of Panay (Visayas) and Bajaos of Tawi-tawi (Mindanao). The knowledge system synopsised by the study emphasised sustainable practices and knowledge of specific First Nations groups to address their farming system, hunting and management of natural resources, animal tending, crafts, herbal medicine and health care.

2.11.3. Enhanced Basic Education Act

In 2013, the Philippine educational reform was approved and legislated. This new educational program, known as "K to 12" or the EBEA, emphasised the existence of culturally diverse learners of the country. The goal of the education reform as stated in the law was to:

> …establish, maintain, and support a complete, adequate and integrated system of education relevant to the needs of the people and country and society-at-large … [It is an] opportunity to receive quality education that is globally competitive … at par with international standards; make education learner-oriented and responsive to the needs, cognitive and cultural capacity, the circumstances and diversity of learners, schools and communities through the appropriate languages of teaching and learning, including mother tongue as a learning resource. (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil), Section 2A and 2C)

This provision emphasised the need to contextualise education and make it more flexible in accordance with the needs of diverse learners. It included the use of language that is comprehensible to students, emphasising that:

> basic education shall be delivered in languages understood by the learners as the language plays a strategic role in shaping the formative years of learners … mother language of first language (L1) refers to language or languages first learned by a child, which he/she identifies with, is identified as a native language user of by others, which he/she knows best, or uses most. This includes Filipino sign language used by individuals with pertinent disabilities. The regional or native language refers to the traditional speech variety or variety of Filipino sign language existing in a region, area or place. (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil), Section 4, paragraph 5 & 7)

As stipulated in this section, basic education can start with the use of a region's spoken language, called "mother tongue". A study by Dumatog and Dekker (2003) showed that,

in teaching basic education, the use of a language understandable to the child facilitates learning as it lays the foundation for future learning (Dawe, 2014). Provisions of the EBEA set down the features of the curriculum, including the use of MTB-MLE in the early years of primary schooling:

> The curriculum shall be learner-centred, inclusive … relevant, responsive … culture-sensitive; … contextualised … [and] adhere to the principles and framework of Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE) which states from where the learners are and what they already knew proceeding from the known to the unknown; …and … flexible enough to enable and allow schools to localise, indigenize, and enhance the same based on their respective educational and social contexts. (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil), Section 5A–H)

Under the Act, educational content or curricula should be arranged according to diverse learners' interests and needs, emphasising inclusivity. A culturally sensitive education should also avoid the use of terms or any unnecessary information that is inappropriate or unethical for any culture or context. The Act also recognised First Nations groups' needs to include their unique culture, ontologies and epistemologies in their children's education.

This use of the mother tongue in early education is a tacit recognition of the ethnolinguistic diversity of Philippine polity. The division of The Philippines into 17 regions is based on similarity of the mainstream groups' languages in the provinces within each region. The 10% to 20% of the population consisting of First Nations and Muslim ethnolinguistic groups are even more diverse, with more than 100 different languages, cultures and knowledge systems. Therefore, the use of the mother tongue in education particularly of First Nations children, recognises the role of language in early cognitive development (Dumatog & Dekker, 2001; UNESCO, 2007). This provision in the law also acknowledges language as crucial to cultural development, since language can capture the nuances of culture (Uribe, 2006), including, in the case of First Nations peoples, their heritage, knowledge systems, spiritual beliefs and practices.

2.11.3.1.   Implementing Rules and Regulations of Republic Act 10533

Implementing Rules and Regulations (IRR) of the RA 10533 are guidelines to clarify implementation of specific provisions of the law. In particular, Section 8 of IRR defined the inclusiveness of enhanced basic education to address the physical, intellectual, psycho-social and cultural needs of learners through the implementation of programs such as Madrasah for Muslim Filipinos and the IPEd program or curriculum for First Nations children. The IPEd program emphasised the teaching of

> key areas of IKSP, and community history, language, ILS, and community life cycle-based curriculum and assessment, education goals, aspirations and competencies specific to the Indigenous cultural communities. It also includes the 'engagement of elders and other community members, assessment, management, recognition and continuing practice of the community's Indigenous Learning System and the rights and responsibilities of the Indigenous cultural communities'. (*Implementing Rules and Regulations of Republic Act 10533, 2013* (Phil), Rule I, Section 8.4)

2.11.3.2.   Policy guidelines on implementation of the language learning areas

After enactment of the RA 10533, the DepEd issued the guideline for the implementation of MTB-MLE for Grades 1 and 2. This guideline clarified that the mother tongue is the regional language familiar to the majority of the students, to be used primarily as the medium of instruction for four major subjects: Mathematics; Araling Panlipunan (Social Studies); the subject cluster of Music, Arts, Physical Education and Health (MAPEH); and Edukasyon sa Pagpapakatao (Values Education). Mother tongue as the medium of instruction will be taught in the first quarter of the first two levels of primary school, while Filipino and English will be introduced in the second and third quarter of the same year level, respectively.

2.11.3.3.   Clarificatory guidelines on implementation of the language learning
              areas

In 2013, the DepEd issued a follow-up clarificatory guideline for the implementation of MTB-MLE for Grades 1 and 2 (*Department Order 31 Clarifications on the Policy*

Guidelines on the Implementation of the Language Learning Areas and their Time Allotment in Grades 1 and 2 of the K to 12 Basic Education Program, 2013 (Phil), s.2013). This guideline modified the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction for four major subjects. The guideline stated that the mother tongue will be used in instruction for the first quarter of the first two levels of primary schooling for four subjects: Mathematics; Araling Panlipunan (Social Studies); MAPEH; and Edukasyon sa Pagpapakatao (Values Education). In the second and third quarter of the same year level, Filipino or Tagalog and English will be introduced consecutively in teaching these subjects.

2.11.3.4.   Guidelines on the conduct of activities and use of materials involving aspects of Indigenous peoples' culture

Additional guidelines were issued by the DepEd for implementation of the EBEA. DO 51 was issued in relation to cultural materials and intellectual property rights of First Nations communities. The guidelines were crafted after a series of consultations with the First Nations groups' leaders, elders and implementors of community-based Indigenous education initiatives. Included in these guidelines was respect for First Nations culture and a strong affirmation to eradicate any form of discrimination and injustice against First Nations groups in the education system. They also incorporated the protection and promotion of First Nations intellectual property and rights to their resources, cultural sensitivity and respect through the ethical use of materials, and the conduct of activities and engagements that involve First Nations groups' art, music, literature and belief systems.

Prior to the issuance of the guidelines, First Nations groups had expressed concerns regarding the representation of their culture and practices in education. These concerns pertained to First Nations groups' cultural expression that had been inappropriately projected (Eduardo & Gabriel, 2021). They railed against the misrepresentation of their cultural expressions, including disregard for the meaning of artefacts and symbols. Moreover, First Nations groups' knowledge was often misinterpreted or misunderstood during class discussions. To achieve an "inclusive understanding of cultural diversity" (*Department Order 51 Guidelines on the Conduct of Activities and Use of Materials Involving Aspects of Indigenous Peoples Culture, 2014* (Phil), s.2014, p. 1), the

guidelines directed schools and learning programs serving First Nations children to relate First Nations' social and educational context appropriately and ethically to the learning materials' content, competencies and practices.

The guidelines also emphasised that "cultural sensitivity and respect for cultural diversity" be considered during events that showcase First Nations groups' culture during presentations, festivals and other activities (*Department Order 51 Guidelines on the Conduct of Activities and Use of Materials Involving Aspects of Indigenous Peoples Culture, 2014* (Phil), s.2014). Included are cultural manifestations such as clothing and accessories, artefacts and symbols, when used in publications, video presentations and other activities. Clothing should not be referred to as costume and its use requires permission prior to wearing, using or taking pictures or video recordings. The DO also stipulates avoidance of inappropriate comparisons, competition and use of financial incentives as motivation for any cultural practices used in presentations and festivals. When showcased during events, a resource person recommended by First Nations groups should be present. Publication of events that utilise First Nations groups' culture should also acknowledge the origin or the First Nations community.

2.11.3.5.   Implementation of the Indigenous Peoples Education curriculum

Pursuant to the goals of the Philippine Government embodied in the 1987 Constitution, the IPRA and the implementation of the National Indigenous Peoples Education Policy Framework, the DepEd issued DO 62, adopting the National Indigenous Peoples Education Policy Framework in 2011. The order, anchored on the constitutional provision recognising the rights of First Nations groups to their learning systems (*Philippine Constitution, 1987* (Phil), Article XIV, Section 2), created the curriculum framework for a culturally meaningful and appropriate basic education for First Nations students. The framework stipulated the recognition of diversity and the promotion of the importance of First Nations culture as a collective expression passed on through generations.

After enactment of the EBEA, the DepEd issued DO 32 in 2015 (*Department Order 32 Adopting the Indigenous Peoples Education Curriculum Framework, 2015* (Phil), s.2015). This DO provided guidelines to address the specific learning context of First

Nations students by implementing ILS and incorporating IKSP in the design of the IPEd curricula. While the curriculum designed by the DepEd is applicable to all, including mainstream groups, the IPEd program combined this mainstream curriculum with ILS, while incorporating IKSP in all learning areas in the different levels of basic education.

While the importance of ILS and IKSP in IPEd cannot be understated, First Nations groups have also acknowledged the importance of learning the skills and competencies of the mainstream curriculum (Adonis & Couch, 2017). Such knowledge can allow them to navigate the challenges of contemporary times to actualise their goal of self-determination. The interface between IKSP, ILS and the mainstream curriculum was determined by the local offices of the DepEd in consultation with respective First Nations groups (*Department Order 32 Adopting the Indigenous Peoples Education Curriculum Framework, 2015* (Phil), s.2015). Dialogue with specific First Nations groups within the local level helped determine the needed interface between IKSP and the competencies required in the national curriculum. The scope of integration and Indigenisation was finalised by the local DepEd after the consultation (Ocampo et al., 2021). It resulted in an IPEd that is flexible according to the culture of First Nations groups and the context of the locality where they are habituated. Such flexibility is in accordance with the provisions of the EBEA.

The formulation of culture-specific IPEd curriculum that is interfaced with the mainstream followed a two-level process: perspective and policy. It created a flexible, Indigenised, appropriate and inclusive education that responds to First Nations groups' needs. The process enabled understanding of First Nations groups' culture as well as mainstream culture, and it sought to eradicate discrimination and injustice while recognising First Nations groups' contribution to the cultural wealth of the country.

The incorporation of IKSP in the IPEd curriculum is important to First Nations groups to address issues such as "displacement and migration, sense of belonging to one's ancestral domain, deep understanding of the community's relationships with the spiritual realms" and "worldviews and the continuing practice of cultural institutions" (*Department Order 32 Adopting the Indigenous Peoples Education Curriculum Framework, 2015* (Phil), s.2015). Learning the IKSP will foster in First Nations students a deep appreciation of their community's values, and strengthen their

relationship with their ancestry, community history and way of life. This appreciation is essential to the development of their cultural identity. An example of localised and Indigenised education is attached as Appendix A.

2.11.3.6.   Guidelines on the recognition of private learning institutions serving Indigenous learners

DO 21 provides implementation guidelines to create a system or process that would help recognise established schools, such as community schools founded by non-profit organisations in First Nations groups' communities. This DO was issued to ensure that education would be accessible and relevant to the students. The guidelines include licensing and its renewal to operate as a government-recognised educational provider in the community. Licensing and its renewal occur yearly through a permit granted for operation or extension by the DepEd. Application is undertaken through the regional office of the DepEd where the school is located. In order to be recognised and operate, the school must follow the minimum requirement set by the DepEd. Additionally, regular visitations are conducted to determine compliance. Recognised schools must follow the standards of education, curriculum and management procedures approved by the department, with flexibility in terms of "scope and sequence, content and competencies as well as teaching-learning methods" (*Department Order 21 Guidelines on the Recognition of Private Learning Institutions Serving Indigenous Learners, 2014* (Phil), s.2014, p. 9). This includes flexibility in learning resources, assessment and the school calendar. Failure to comply with the minimum requirement will result in revocation of the school's license or permit to operate by the DepEd or its regional office.

2.12. Summary of the legislation

The 1987 Philippine Constitution paved the way for the recognition of First Nations groups. It also enabled the enactment of laws to grant distributive rights to First Nations groups. The adoption of the National Indigenous Peoples Education Policy Framework was a landmark policy that opened to First Nations children access to education that addresses their needs. While the National Indigenous Peoples Education Policy Framework was adopted in 2011, the EBEA (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)) strengthened the implementation of the IPEd curriculum,

prescribing Philippine education to be inclusive, Indigenised and localised, thereby ensuring the accommodation of First Nations students in a culturally appropriate education. Succeeding DOs were supplemental guidelines aimed at ensuring respect for First Nations culture in education. These orders also ensured the use of First Nations groups' languages in implementation of the IPEd curriculum. This is critical to the development not just of cognitive skills but also of First Nations children's cultural identity.

2.13. Summary

The Philippines' geographical features of more than 7,000 islands has provided natural boundaries for different First Nations groups to advance while co-existing with other First Nations groups. However, this changed when several waves of colonisers arrived, forcing First Nations groups to live in isolation or be assimilated to the coloniser's culture. Each coloniser brought with them their cultures, beliefs, political and social structure, knowledge and educational systems. While colonisation is both a military and political activity, education was the vehicle by which the colonisers subjugated their subjects (Pihama & Lee-Morgan, 2019).

Intergenerational teaching of the colonisers' way of life, language and ideologies altered and fragmented the identity of colonised First Nations groups. The Philippines patterned their education system on that of the colonisers, even after independence. Because the standardised education did not consider the unique culture and ethnicity of First Nations groups, it was deemed inappropriate and irrelevant. It resulted in the exclusion of First Nations groups from a Western education provided for Filipinos, impeding their access, and exacerbating their poverty, oppression and inability to argue for their rights. The first acknowledgement that provided legitimacy to First Nations groups' rights as citizens was the 1987 Philippine Constitution (*Philippine Constitution, 1987* (Phil)). The Constitution paved the way for other legislation and educational reforms that would purportedly benefit First Nations groups. The DepEd and the State had already made several attempts to reiterate First Nations groups' rights and educational opportunity. However, it was only in 2013 that the government officially enacted the educational reform that committed to Indigenise, localise and provide flexibility in education. It introduced an approach to education that is culturally sensitive, appropriate and

accessible to First Nations students. Examining the interpretation of the EBEA, and textbooks created for primary school students, will enable valuable insights into the implementation of inclusive, and Indigenised education in the Philippines. This research further sought to investigate how First Nations groups are accommodated in this current Philippine education system and why.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

Figure 3.1.

Literature Review
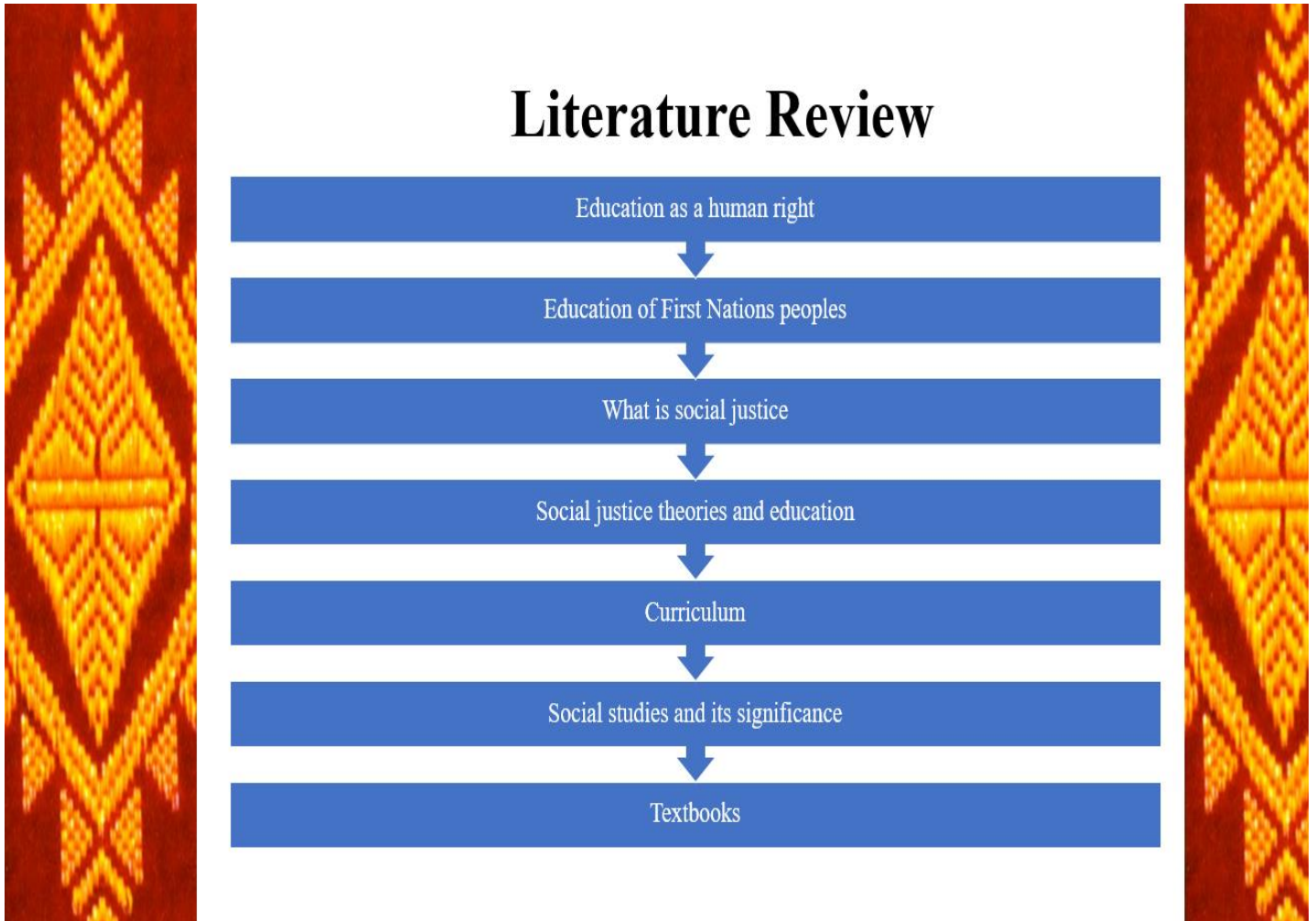
Note. This visual representation outlines how this chapter is structured. The woven cloth image is a traditional design from one of the First Nations groups (Maguindanaon[27]) in The Philippines. This woven cloth image is from Odyssea: Natural, Culture, People[28]

3.1. Introduction

Education is not only a means to improve social mobility and equalise opportunities for people, but it is also an instrument by which the knowledge and culture of peoples are

---

[27] Maguindanaon are First Nations groups living in the south-central Mindanao
[28] https://www.facebook.com/odysseaPH/photos/pb.100071165063775.-2207520000/244505779317137/?type=3

transmitted from one generation to the next. This chapter describes why access and success in education is closely connected with social justice. The chapter reviews the major literature about social justice, particularly as it relates to education and First Nations peoples. It also expounds on the theoretical framework that guided the research, then the concept of social justice in the context of the education of First Nations peoples is discussed.

3.2. Education as a human right

Education is an activity or process by which individuals gain knowledge, skills and values that can be transmitted intergenerationally to ensure the development of societies. In the process, education enables persons to become social and rational beings, able to understand the world around them. Some theorists point to education's significance in also transferring culture and ensuring the preservation of the collective interests of a society (Victor & Yano, 2015).

Education ensures that people's "physical and psychological" security (Bell, 2016, p. 3), independence, voice, equal respect and opportunity allow them to achieve self-determination (Danermark & Gellerstedt, 2004). Through education, students learn values such as acceptance, respect and equality, creating an inclusive culture among them. According to a UNICEF (2017), education in the 21st century must prioritise the advancement of human dignity, equality and well-being. Ultimately, the goal of education is the improvement of individuals to be able to contribute to the advancement of society.

Educational systems are continuously challenged to develop programs that reflect the four pillars of education (UNESCO, 2023b):

1) learning to know;
2) learning to do;
3) learning to be; and
4) learning to live together.

These four pillars are intertwined, enabling a single learning that produces holistic individuals. Education also develops social skills, particularly in a setting where the learners come from diverse cultural contexts and circumstances. In this regard,

educational systems must be responsive, effective and resilient to each society's needs (El-Khawas, 2001). Understanding the different needs of peoples in a society will help decision makers provide quality education, which is equitable for diverse learners and reflects a flexible and Indigenised curricula that is socially responsive and relevant.

3.3. Education of First Nations peoples

Prior to colonisation, First Nations peoples around the world have maintained their own education system (McKinley & Smith, 2019). Their education system consists of their own learning systems and traditional knowledge that was enriched by their experiences and observations of the environment they lived in. These body of knowledge were transmitted by elders to younger generations through communal gatherings, arts and music. and enriched by observations of their environment (Adonis & Couch, 2017; Quiling-Arquiza, 2006). However, colonialism had destroyed First Nations social structures and culture; diminishing or disrupting First Nations knowledge and ways of knowing. Consequently, colonial education that espoused Western ideologies replaced First Nations education systems. This resulted in the fragmentation of First Nations cultural identities (Pihama & Lee-Morgan, 2019). The impact of colonialism continues to be felt in many educational systems across the world even today. First Nations groups find that this type of education provided by the government are often inappropriate and does not address their cultural needs. Moreover, such education is often inaccessible, because it is often delivered in a language that is not familiar to First Nations peoples.

3.3.1. First Nations education in pluralistic societies and in the Global South

All throughout the world, the impact of colonisation is mostly evident in the fragmentation of First Nations cultural identities (Pihama & Lee-Morgan, 2019). This fragmentation was achieved through an education that denied First Nations cultural practices and histories. In addition, colonisation also embedded Westernised education and language that cemented the erosion of First Nations' social and cultural formations (Garcia-Olp, 2018; McKinley & Smith, 2019). Colonial ideologies continued to be pushed through Western literature and media that only showed First Nations images frozen in the past. This included educational resources that did not show representations and continuity of the First Nations' culture from the present to the future. Consequently,

younger generations chose to segregate themselves from their communities (Danbolt, 2011) impeding their cultural identity development.

Until the 19th century, the national agenda for education of First Nations groups had initially been exclusion/segregation. Subsequently, it shifted to the assimilation of First Nations peoples to mainstream society through standard curricula and monolingual language policies (Takeda & Nazumi, 2008; Angelo et al, 2022; Phyat, 2021). Segregation and bias curricula were taught to First Nations groups, such as the experience of the Ainus in Japan and the Samis in Norway (Takeda & Nazumi, 2008). This exhibits the inequality that characterised their education system. Exclusion or segregation was also experienced by First Nations groups in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and in most Spanish-colonised Latin American countries, as well as in the Philippines' during the Spanish rule. Consequently, the end of segregation also ushered the assimilationist agenda of the government. Integration was pursued through uniform curricula and monolingual educational policies in the guise of social harmony and national unity (Takeda & Nazumi, 2008; Phyat, 2021). According to Takeda & Nazumi (2008) the Ainu chose to integrate into the Japanese society because they consider assimilation as a way for the survival in a "culturally exclusivist regime" (p. 85). In Nepal, assimilation to a one-nation, one language policy was the excuse to build strong nationalistic sentiment (Phyat, 2021). These assimilation scenarios were an imposed policy which embedded colonial or western ideologies and language policies (Angelo et al, 2022). This, according to Angelo et al (2022) and Danbolt (2011), had the effect of delegitimising multiculturalism and multilingualism resulting in the destruction of First Nations cultural identities. Even after colonisation, colonial mentality persisted in different countries. Assimilation ensured that First Nations peoples become "civilized, Christian, productive, industrious and integrated into a modern society" (Lopez, 2009, p. 6). First Nations children attend schools where their inability to speak the mandated language resulted in severe impediments to learning, resulting in high drop-out rates and cognitive and skills deficiencies (Danbolt, 2011).

The Indigenous Bilingual Education (IBE) was implemented in post-colonial history of Latin American countries that were either under Spanish or Portuguese rule (Lopez, 2010). This were either the mother tongue or the mainstream group's language and Spanish as the medium of instruction. The use of mainstream groups' language as

medium of instruction focuses on the language rather than the cultural contexts. This results in a profound change in the cultural identities of First Nations groups (Lopez, 2010). Some Latin American countries continue to implement a transitional bilingual education which follow an "assimilationist political paradigm" (Lopez, 2010, p. 8), rather than an intercultural bilingual education. This is despite their governments recognising their country as multicultural, multiethnic and multilinguistic.

By the end of the 20th century, there has been considerable development in the international movement towards recognising First Nations peoples' rights. Consequently, the educational landscape has also been changing. As international awareness about multiculturalism and First Nations rights, education that considers the diverse cultures and needs are now being addressed through policies and praxis. Current policies and programs have renewed focus on multilingual and intercultural education (Bonifacio et al., 2021; Hornberger, 2009). At the forefront of these changes are national leaders and First Nations groups' academics and activists who had fought for the right to a culturally appropriate education that engages with their beliefs, knowledge systems and language needs (McKinley & Smith, 2019). Thus, even before the United Nations, through the UNDRIP protected the right of First Nations students to education that included their knowledge, ways of learning and language, many nation states have already started working on First Nations groups' education according to their differing cultural contexts (McKinley & Smith, 2019). Legal frameworks and constitutional amendments in countries and/or states in Canada, New Zealand, Australia, Nepal, Norway (Angelo et al., 2022; Phyat, 2021; Takeda & Nazumi, 2008) and the Latin American countries (Lopez, 2010) have enabled the recognition of the rights of First Nations children to schooling that is appropriate to their needs. Consequently, multicultural and multiethnic curricula that teach First Nations groups' traditional values, knowledge systems and ways of knowing balanced with Western science are being taught in schools. According to the report of the Global Monitoring for Education For All (Lopez, 2010) there are historical differences in the evolution of cultural pluralism in education in Latin American countries. These countries have varying First Nations populations ranging from a minority (0.2% of the population) to the majority (66.2% of the population). While there are countries that implement IBE as a national policy, others implement bilingualism as mere programs and projects. Nonetheless, Latin America has moved from IBE or Indigenous Intercultural Bilingual Education

(IIBE) to "intercultural education for all" (Lopez & Sichra, 2008 cited in Lopez, 2010, p. 9). Such education system provides learning that is rooted in each First Nations culture, system of knowledge, ways of knowing, values and practices while appreciating other cultures, knowledge systems and practices.

However, there are still major challenges in implementing multicultural and multilingual education. These constraints include the need for support in the following: 1) First Nations communities, 2) long-term and consistent source of funding, 3) formulation of a language curriculum that ensures bilingualism and multilingualism including the use of the mother tongue, 4) creation of teaching and learning materials, 5) availability of First Nations groups' language teachers and their training, 6) support from the school leadership and policy environments (Angelo et al., 2022). In the latter case, persistence of assimilationists goals by the schools could hinder intercultural education. Assimilation is achieved through submersion of First Nations students to the mainstream groups' language, English or Spanish with the prohibition of the use of their mother tongues.

3.3.2. First Nations education in The Philippines

First Nations groups in The Philippines which was also colonised by the West have similar experiences as those in the Latin American countries in terms of how education for First Nations children is provided. The difference is that The Philippines had undergone 3 colonisations, resulting in repeated fragmentation of Filipino cultural identities. Colonisation by the Americans, rather than the longer Spanish rule, had the most profound impact on altering culture. It was done through a pervasive education that imposed and American curriculum and use English as the language of instruction and civil service. Moreover, The Philippines is also characterised by a diversity of mainstream groups, each with a dominant language vying for recognition in the context of a mandated national language of Tagalog-etymology. In such a milieu, First Nations groups remain marginalised, although they continue to fight for culture-based and appropriate education that addresses their needs.

The 1987 Philippine Constitution and 2 laws passed thereafter, namely Republic Act (RA) 8371 or the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA) and Republic Act 10533 or the

Enhanced Basic Education Act (EBEA) were legal remedies to address First Nations rights to education that is culturally appropriate and relevant to their needs. As the most important reform impacting education, RA 10533 or EBEA, there are key takeaways about the legislation that impact First Nations groups' education and thus is crucial to this research. These include education that is inclusive, culturally sensitive or appropriate, relevant, flexible and Indigenised. The succeeding section will expand on these key words in relation to the questions posed in this research.

3.3.2.1. Inclusive education

While the term "inclusive education" was originally used to refer to education for all, including those with additional needs (New South Wales Government, 2021), some educators and theorists have used the word "inclusion" to broadly refer to an educational system that is designed for diverse students, including those who have been marginalised by society. It includes not only students with impairments but also those who are excluded because of ethnicity, social class, language, gender, culture, religion, migration or displacement status. The inclusion of these groups was meant to correct social injustice that continued to dictate and limit their opportunities in society (Kirschner, 2015; UNESCO, 2023a).

Inclusive education emphasises the learning needs of diverse learners and their right to access quality education in a least restrictive environment, and regardless of social status, ethnicity, race, disabilities, beliefs and cultural differences. The international community signed the agreement to meet the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (UNDESA, 2015) in 17 areas by 2030. Education features prominently in the 17 SDGs. Target 4 aims to "ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all" (UNDESA, 2015). To be considered truly inclusive education, the program must be: 1) available and accessible to all; 2) appropriate and relevant for diverse cultures; and 3) adaptable to and effective for the changing needs of the society (Curtis, 2009; Galleto & Bureros, 2017). Having a program that caters to the needs of diverse learners reduces exclusion and encourages active participation in education.

The key feature of inclusive education is equity, wherein education is focused on every individual reaching their full potential (Ainscow, 2016; Ainscow et al., 2019; Thomas & Loxley, 2001). It cares about accessibility and provision for the needs of each learner to achieve desired outcomes and be a positive addition to society. However, the implementation of inclusive education continues to be challenged many nations around the world. While some countries have been successful in promoting inclusive education programs, it has not been the same in poorer, developing countries (Galleto & Bureros, 2017). This program arises from lack of funding, administrative and policy level support, and trained teachers and support staff to promote inclusive education.

In The Philippines, inclusive education is widely implemented in schools, primarily to comply with the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (Public Law 105-17, 1997). It directed the Department of Education to implement measures focused on educating children with disabilities (Dalanon & Matsuka, 2017; Dapudong, 2013; De Luis, 2016; Galleto & Bureros, 2017; Muega, 2016). The United Nations considers a truly inclusive education to be accessible, equitable and appropriate for diverse cultures. Sustainable Development Goal 4.5 aims to eliminate all forms of discrimination in education (UNDESA, 2015). It implies inclusion of all children regardless of ethnicity, race, gender and religion. This is particularly important for The Philippines, which has more than 100 First Nations groups with diverse languages and cultures. However, while inclusive education had been implemented in the country for more than two decades, there was little evidence of how Philippine education accommodated First Nations children. The EBEA was a legal remedy that committed to inclusivity of Philippine education. Section 8 of the Implementing Rules and Regulations (IRR) Act defines inclusiveness of enhanced education to mean the implementation of programs designed to address the physical, intellectual, psycho-social and cultural needs of leaners (*Implementing Rules and Regulations of Republic Act 10533, 2013* (Phil), p. 2).

3.3.2.2. Culturally sensitive education

First Nations groups have advocated for a "culturally sensitive education" (Okano, 2013, p. 21) that is responsive, appropriate and relevant for their educational needs (Adonis & Couch, 2017; Belgarde, et al., 2002; Castagno & Brayboy, 2008; Yazzie-Mintz, 2007). In The Philippines, a culturally sensitive education would integrate the

diverse cultural knowledge of First Nations groups with Filipino education. This could be taught through culturally powerful pedagogies (Hickling-Hudson & Ahlquist, 2003) to support First Nations groups' cultural and language knowledge in schools, while equipping First Nations students with the mainstream culture's knowledge and skills.

3.3.2.2.1. *Culture*

Culture is described as a set of values, traditions, and social and political relationships formed by a group of people. Culture combines the contents (what), process (how) and agents (who) that share a common history, geographic location, language, social class and religion – it is dynamic, multifaceted, embedded in context (Nieto, 2008) and not homogenous. Nieto (2008) describes culture as dialectic, transmitted and learnt by the society to which it belongs. It is developed through time. It encompasses developments in human history, social activities (spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional), ways of thinking and organising life, lifestyle, rights, values systems, traditions and beliefs (Zhang, 2019).

Culture is a complex and complicated world that does not focus only on religion, history and tradition. Ethnic cultures are equally important and vital in "guiding ethics and morals, forming cultural communities and increasing ethnic cohesion and the sense of identity" (Zhang, 2019, p. 3). Zhang (2019) further explains that education influences and is affected by the diverse cultures present in a society.

3.3.2.2.2. *Culture and education*

Culture is the basis of educational systems, while education perpetuates culture. According to Matusov and Marjanovic-Shane (2017), culture has four "faces" or concepts:

1) culture as pattern;
2) culture as boundary;
3) culture as authorship; and
4) culture as critical dialogue.

Each cultural face possesses unique features, beliefs and perspectives of the group of people or country to which it belongs.

Firstly, culture as pattern refers to traditional or conventional culture. It allows people to act, behave, know, mediate, relate and communicate with others. Culture as pattern views education as a process in which people are shaped to follow and participate in their society. Education helps in spreading culture as a way to survive (Matusov & Marjanovic-Shane, 2017). Culture as pattern was evident during pre-colonisation, and the Spanish, American and Japanese occupations, of The Philippines. Indigenous groups, during pre-colonisation, educated their children about their way of life in order to survive. Then the Spaniards taught Filipinos their culture based on Christian tenets. The Americans reframed Filipino identity through culture by teaching the latter a new language and way of life, and introducing their political and social order. The Japanese forced Filipinos to strictly follow their culture, rules, beliefs, and political and social norms.

Secondly, culture as boundary specifies the limits of a culture while respecting other cultures. Those who understand culture as boundary view education as a means of contacting, tolerating and celebrating cultural diversity and social justice. Students are viewed as sources of knowledge (Matusov & Marjanovic-Shane, 2017). In the 1987 Philippine Constitution, the cultural diversity of learners was recognised, enabling interactions among various cultural groups while maintaining their distinct cultural identities.

Thirdly, culture as authorship understands that culture is constantly changing. Every person is considered an author who contributes to the change. Education is viewed as a venue for creativity and culture making (Matusov & Marjanovic-Shane, 2017). As colonised peoples, Filipinos modified their culture, incorporating what they perceived as an advantage (Mulder, 2013). The Filipino people have undergone several cultural changes as a result of Spanish, American and Japanese colonisation. In each of these periods, Filipinos resisted, adapted and became acculturated, while assuming a hybridity that incorporates these Western cultures while keeping much of their regional norms (You, 2011).

Lastly, culture as critical dialogue changes through experiment and dialogue. Culture is a way to search for the truth about what is best for the society. Education is a way to

critically examine oneself, life, the world and the society one lives in (Matusov & Marjanovic-Shane, 2017). Current educational reform in The Philippines saw the need for dialogue with Indigenous communities to address both their cultural and social needs. However, because of the number of ethnolinguistic groups, incorporating all of these cultures in education is a challenging if not a daunting task.

3.3.2.3. Relevant education

Education that is relevant addresses the needs of every student, thereby allowing interdisciplinary or multiple perspectives to emerge while enabling students to see themselves within education (Banks, 2010). This includes, therefore, intercultural perspectives, including those of First Nations groups. Relevant education uses cultural knowledge, experiences, frames of reference and performance styles (Howard, 2003) of First Nations students to make learning more appropriate and effective for them. Providing education that is relevant to First Nations students will help increase students' participation and engagement in the teaching and learning process (Garcia & Okhidoi, 2015).

The major Philippine education legislation of interest in this study, the EBEA, committed to an education that will be "responsive to the needs, cognitive, cultural capacity and circumstances" of diverse students (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil), p. 2). This includes use of the mother tongue or language that would allow students from various groups to be able to communicate and express their thoughts and ideas. The use of language that is understandable to diverse learners has been shown to improve participation and outcomes (Dumatog & Dekker, 2003; UNESCO, 2007).

3.3.2.4. Flexible learning

Flexible learning is broadly defined as the design and delivery of programs, courses and learning interventions in a manner which addresses student needs for diverse learning styles, variety and access, as well as customisability of the learning experience (Lee & McLoughlin, 2010). As applied to teaching First Nations students, it also involves building relationships between the education provider, learner, kinship, family and community (Keddie, 2012; Te Riele et al., 2023). In The Philippines, flexible learning

has been associated with blended learning using digital tools for the mainstream curriculum. Nonetheless, the design of the IPEd Curriculum, which caters to many ethnolinguistic groups, is a significant departure from the standardised and structured mainstream curriculum. It concretises the commitment of the EBEA for flexible learning to ensure culturally appropriate, inclusive and relevant education for First Nations students.

3.3.2.5. Indigenised education

Various researchers and community groups have used the words "Indigenise", "Indigenisation" and "Indigenising" to emphasise the accommodation of First Nations groups' knowledge and perspectives in education. Indigenisation is a complex process that incorporates First Nations peoples' perspectives (Hauser et al., 2009; Nakata, 2007); it should not involve simply adding First Nations groups' knowledge into the existing education system. Rather, it is a complicated process that involves integration of First Nations groups' knowledge and colonial knowledge that Nakata (2007) refers to as "cultural interface". Indigenisation of education is a symbolic and effective tool to transform education and socio-economic and cultural systems (Horsthemke, 2017) after colonisation.

Indigenisation is more than just going back to the roots and rejecting the Western knowledge that colonisers have imbedded in education. In the case of The Philippines, such a move would be difficult because of the long and complicated history of colonisation. Instead, Indigenisation is an approach that supports diversity (Olsen & Sollid, 2022) and research (Dyll, 2019) of lost culture, languages and knowledge of First Nations groups. It does not disregard or devalue existing education, but rather opens the education space for the local (Horsthemke, 2017) and diverse body of knowledge to widen students' worldviews. It attempts to build and arrange information based on local (including First Nations groups') practices and ideologies (Olsen & Sollid, 2022) in the education system. The important process of Indigenising education allows First Nations groups' identity, heritage, culture and language (Lane & Makihara, 2017) to be accommodated in the education system to address their educational needs.

Education opens opportunities for personal development and social mobility; therefore, access to quality education is closely linked with social justice. Social justice is the view that everyone has the right to economic, political and social or cultural rights. The subsequent section expounds on social justice and how it evolved, as well as Fraser's social justice theory which is the overarching framework for this research. This section will also discuss Connell's and Smith's theories that are relevant for acknowledging social justice in education of First Nations peoples.

3.4. What is social justice?

The concept of social justice is complex, and various theories have been presented by social scientists and philosophers (Bogotch & Shields, 2014). Social justice is described as a concept that targets institutionalised systematic injustice that revolves around power, oppression and the oppressed (Bogotch & Shields, 2014; Mullen, 2020). Injustice produces suffering and deprivation (Sen, 2000) for different groups of people, including those whose education, life, land and history have been impacted by colonisation (Fredericks et al., 2014). Social justice is also a way of identifying opportunities and empowering people or groups of people to realise what is due to them (Rawlinson & Willimott, 2016). Social justice also conceptualises the idea that everyone can participate in a democratic society where people are free and equal (Rawls, 1972, as cited in Chibuikem, 2017). It addresses issue of unequal opportunity, racism, exclusion and poverty. Social justice is a dynamic process of recognising the prevailing power within a society and its impact (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2009). It also includes understanding the inequality in the distribution of privilege and the disempowerment across diverse groups of people. Over the years, the definition of social justice has become more fluid. Pijanowski and Brady (2021) explain that the concept of social justice has grown to be more eclectic, multidisciplinary and multi-action, that is elusive to a single definition.

3.4.1. History of social justice theory

Justice as a social concept had its early beginnings in Greek and Roman societies at a time when European nation-states were still ruled by kings and aristocrats. Virtue and action were central to the Greek concept of justice, while law was moral because it was

considered natural. Plato argued for nation-states to be ruled by educational elites or philosopher-kings since they have the faculties of the rational mind or wisdom. Aristotelian justice emphasises a system of rights and distinguishes between distributive and corrective or rectificatory justice. Justice, therefore, in Plato's view emphasises duties, while Aristotelian justice focuses on the importance of rights (Ebrahimpour et al., 2017; Eveleth, 2022; Hamedi, 2014; Maurya, 2021). The writings of Plato and Aristotle greatly influenced scholars in the social sciences, political philosophy and theology, such as Karl Marx, Thomas Hobbs, John Stuart Mill, St. Thomas Aquinas, John Rawls and other 19th century philosophers.

While social justice theory was a response to the economic conditions in 19th century Europe, these concepts were already being espoused by philosophers as early as the 17th and 18th centuries, when European nation-states were still ruled by monarchies and aristocracies. These philosophers, such as Locke, Voltaire and Rousseau, argued for the natural rights of men and social contracts with government and the people. Their ideas, however, were considered too radical and untenable and were largely ignored (Ornstein, 2017). During the Industrial Revolution in England and Europe, the increasing gap in wealth of an industrialising society concretised ideas about social justice. Thus, the 19th century in Europe saw the rise of sociology and concomitant social justice theory, with social scientists and philosophers advocating for an egalitarian society.

In 1919, the International Labour Organization was created as part of the Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I. It was created to promote social justice and human and labour rights. Its preamble states that "universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice".[29] Rawls's (1971) *Theory of Justice*, became a rallying point for defining what is a just society. In contrast to utilitarianism, his work proposed justice as fairness (Chibuikem, 2017; Udoudom & Bassey, 2018). His three principles – equal liberty, fair opportunity and difference – were mainly focused on distributive justice, to address the widening gap in wealth, property and capital due to inequality and economic conditions during his time. As social justice shifted from a class struggle towards an emphasis on human rights, proponents of a new

---

[29] https://www.un.org/youthenvoy/2013/08/ilo-international-labour-organization/

paradigm led by Honneth (Pada, 2017) sought recognition of identity as central to a just society. This new paradigm was used to seek justice for disadvantaged and marginalised groups, particularly First Nations groups that have historically faced discrimination in society (Connell, 2007; Pilapil, 2015; Smith, 2021).

3.4.2. Fraser's social justice theory

Fraser (1998, 2007, 2009, 2013), in a series of seminal papers, describes social justice as composed of three dimensions: distribution, recognition and representation. The first dimension, distribution, is an egalitarian paradigm on social justice that has its impetus on the unequal distribution of wealth and economic resources (Te Riele et al., 2023). Recognition, the second dimension, is what Fraser (2007) refers to as the status model where members of groups are accorded as co-equal in social interactions. Existing institutionalised hierarchies have deterred groups considered as "Others" from interacting freely as full members of a society with rights equal to other members of that society. They are non-entities and thus are misrecognised. People who are denied or misrecognised suffer from status inequality. This dimension emphasises the status order that was established by the ideology of colonialism relating to race, gender, sexuality, religion, nationality and language. People who have been socially excluded from rights and opportunities being enjoyed by other members of society have experienced an "inability to interact freely with others" or "appear in public without shame" (Sen, 2000, pp. 4–5). This difficulty fitting in is perhaps because of the differences in both economic status and culture, with the underlying stigma that comes with the colonial notion of class and status. Recognition is another concept under Fraser's (2007) social justice theory. It emphasises acknowledging differences among people and striving for equality. Cochran-Smith (2009) claims that tension exists between the concepts of distribution and recognition in social justice because of the differences in focus. Further, she agrees that distributive justice is focused on material wealth and resources, while recognition emphasises the politics of identity and differences (culture, race, gender, religion, ethnicity, language, sexual orientation and ability/disability).

The third dimension, representation, is the political dimension that gives power and rights to groups of people in society (Fraser, 2007, 2009, 2013). According to Fraser, two elements encompass this dimension. The first element is about identifying some

members of a group who are given the right to participate fully as co-equal or peer to the group. When institutional structures deny some members of certain groups that right, the injustice is called "ordinary-political misrepresentation". The second element is called "misframing". This denies certain groups from claiming justice and ignores them in decision making about their fate (Fraser, 2007). Misframing converts groups of people to non-entities devoid of any right to have rights.

The economic, cultural and political dimensions are intertwined and co-imbricated in what Fraser (2007, 2009) calls "parity of participation". Parity of participation is not a quantitative aspect or quota that can be filled by the number of people permitted to engage. Rather, it is a qualitative condition that applies throughout people's social life across spaces and contexts where they can bring their own identities and experiences (Te Riele et al., 2023). Restricting or empowering people depends upon the social context and agreement made by those who are in power. Hence, parity of participation entails the necessary attention to eradicate subordination and injustices (Fraser, 2007, 2009).

As the world proceeded to adopt a globalised economy, the theory of social justice became a process of determining the "what", "who" and "how" of democratic justice (Fraser, 2007, 2009). It assumes a reflexive character that looks at outcomes and processes. The outcome notion refers to having all people participate in decision making as peers in social life. The process notion refers to the legitimacy of the process if all affected are participants in a democratic process of deliberation to create a social and just outcome.

3.4.3. Acknowledging First Nations knowledge and culture as social justice
Connell's (2007) and Smith's (2021) research is crucial to understanding the injustices that continue to be experienced by First Nations groups, whether historically or post-colonially. Their arguments reinforce the social justice claims of First Nations peoples for equal rights and self-determination in matters that will affect their lives.

3.4.3.1. Southern theory

Connell (2007) argues that the unequal power dynamics of the colonised world enables claims of knowledge emanating from the Global North as universal and the only knowledge that is important and relevant. She argues that colonial writings tended to exclude knowledge from the Global South (First Nations groups and colonised people). Further, people from the Global South had lived, struggled and progressed over thousands of years before colonisation disrupted their lives. The accumulation of knowledge should also be acknowledged in consideration of human culture and science. First Nations communities retain ancestral knowledge and ideologies that colonisers have disregarded.

The term "South" denotes the regions of the world that have histories of colonial oppression and anti-colonial, post-colonial and decolonising struggles (Takayama et al., 2016). South is not just a geographical location as opposed to North, but a symbol of people's suffering from capitalism, colonialism, patriarchy and imperialism (De Sousa Santos, 2014). As an example, in Australia, when the colonisers appropriated *terra nullius*, or the "land that belonged to nobody" (Connell, 2007, p. 198), they ignored the rights of First Nations groups who were occupying the land, presuming that

> the only rights in the land were those of the British Crown, and the many
> grants and leases the Crown had made. (Connell, 2007, p. 198)

This manifested in how colonisers claimed their right to the territories they colonised. The presumption of this right was also manifested in the Regalian Doctrine issued by the King of Spain and the Homestead Act and Land Title Act issued by the American government pertaining to the Philippine territories. First Nations peoples who had occupied the land for thousands of years were largely ignored and their ancestral domain expropriated. Colonisation by the Global North disrupted the nexus between First Nations peoples with their land, social order and cultural identity.

The lack of economic and political rights by First Nations peoples extended to their social right to create their own narratives or correct Western perceptions of their culture. Knowledge about First Nations culture, language and traditions were obtained from the

colonisers' experiences and observations of First Nations peoples, albeit from their own lens. The narratives obtained from these observations created theories about human development. Visibly absent in these narratives was the Global North's impact on First Nations peoples' cultural identities and the disruption of their social order due to colonisation.

Southern theory (Connell, 2007) posits that First Nations communities and colonised people's knowledge and practices should contribute to the existing body of knowledge. However, the coloniality of knowledge had reshaped the minds of colonised people and carried forward the "colonising structure" of the Global North (Mudimbe, 1988, as cited in Connell, 2007, p. 198). It led to negation of First Nations peoples' knowledge, while considering Western knowledge as universal, valid and applicable to all cultures. Connell (2007) argues that the knowledge produced by First Nations groups is rich and different from that of colonisers' research which uses standardised data collection and processes. Having diverse information from an array of cultures helps create a better understanding of the world, viewed from different perspectives.

Colonisation has impacted the lives of First Nations peoples through acculturation and forcible displacement from their lands. It led to new cultural identities forcibly imposed upon the colonised by the colonisers. It also led to the disregard of and grand erasure of First Nations groups' ontologies and epistemologies. Education during colonisation imposed only Western knowledge and theories made using the colonisers' cultural lens while claiming this to be universal. Connell (2007) argues that such inequality means that knowledge production was not a democratic process.

3.4.3.2. Decolonising methodologies

As this study investigates how First Nations students are accommodated in the Philippine education system, the significant work about decolonising methodologies is considered next. Smith's (2021) decolonising methodologies reflect the struggle between the Western system of knowing and First Nations groups' ways of knowing. First Nations groups had experienced injustice by being considered as non-entities who were not capable of "being human" enough to understand the world around them. Colonisers collected First Nations groups' knowledge and created narratives through

their myopic lenses, which were then used to create worldviews about the colonised people. Whether by acquiescence that allowed them to be assimilated, or by resistance that resulted in their relegation as marginalised groups, First Nations groups have been historically denied their claims to humanity.

While colonisers provided education, such education was used to further subjugate colonised First Nations groups. It also succeeded in creating an educational elite whose education was subsequently aligned with the coloniser's culture. This benefited the coloniser's economic agenda rather than that of the colonised peoples.

Decolonising methodologies is about

> the struggle for the validity of indigenous knowledges [which] may no longer be over the recognition that indigenous peoples have ways of viewing the world which are unique, but over proving the authenticity of, and control over, our own forms of knowledge. (Smith, 2021, p. 104)

By the late 20th century, a movement developed out of survival strategies (Smith, 2021) to ensure that research about First Nations groups reflected their social realities. A reframing of social realities resulted in academics from First Nations groups institutionalising a research agenda that described narratives of survival, healing, recovery, development, transformation, mobilisation and decolonisation. At the centre of this agency was their goal of self-determination.

Decolonisation, under the social justice context, is dedicated to researching information about "subjugated knowledges", to help give First Nations peoples the voice to challenge colonialism, racism, discrimination and oppression (Smith, 2021, p. 198). It emphasises researching and writing the history that has been forgotten by many from First Nations groups. It involves re-writing and re-righting the history of First Nations groups to aid in rebuilding their integrity, and the roles and contributions of First Nations peoples' lore that had been stolen, lost, negated or altered by the colonisers and mainstream culture communities.

Decolonising methodologies aim to recover First Nations' ideologies, language, history and cultural identity (Hansen, 2007). This does not mean that the world will go back to the pre-colonial period. Rather, it means recognising First Nations groups and giving them respect, acknowledgement and empowerment through equal representation and justice. This idea is supported by Resende (2021), who argues that recognising and acknowledging colonial history and its devastating effects, such as "deterritorialization, political domination, assimilation, exploitation and extermination" (p. 34), is the first step to decolonising our thoughts.

Decolonisation is a long and complex process (Ramone, 2011) that comes first with the willingness and open-mindedness of people to accept the reality of injustices and inequality that has been masked by colonial worldviews. Once people have accepted these issues, communication is the next key step to decolonisation. Having a common ground to meet or talk with First Nations groups can help widen the perspectives and understanding to decolonise people's minds from Western ways and thoughts (Moosavi, 2020; Resende, 2021). This means that there is respect, acknowledgement, representation, and equal rights and services for everyone. Decolonisation is a process that combats discrimination, biases, inequality and exclusion of First Nations groups. This can only be achieved through open dialogue and consultation with First Nations groups, and allowing them to participate and be actively involved in important roles in the country and its institutions. In education, decolonisation of curricula is important to lessen prejudice and cultural biases in diverse societies (Henshall et al., 2023).

Decolonising laws and policies, social systems and educational institutions is central to upholding First Nations groups' rights (Coulthard, 2014; Fredericks et al., 2014; Tabar & Desai, 2017; Tuck & Yang, 2012). Resisting injustice goes beyond equity, opportunity, inclusion and fairness (Mullen, 2021). It focuses on dismantling colonialism and its exclusionary impacts that exist in various societies (McCarty, 2018; Mullen, 2020; Woolford & Benvenuto, 2015), including any forms of colonial assimilation (Windchief & Brown, 2017). Decolonisation is a radical approach to achieving First Nations groups' self-determination (Fredericks et al., 2014; Tabar & Desai, 2017). Fundamentally, decolonising laws and policies, dismantling of oppressive social orders, education and a sustained stand for First Nations groups' rights and

ideologies are central to achieving equality and social justice (Mullen, 2021) for these groups.

3.5. Social justice theories and education

This section discusses social justice as it applies to education. Fraser's tridimensional principles of redistribution, recognition and representation are relevant to the discussion of education as a human right. This section considers these dimensions, emphasising education in general, and those of Filipino First Nations children in particular.

This section starts with education as a human right, followed by a subsection on social justice and education. The next subsection discusses social justice in education for First Nations peoples. Finally, there is a consideration of social justice and First Nations groups' education in The Philippines.

3.5.1. Social justice and education

Education opens opportunities for personal development and social mobility; therefore, access to quality education is closely linked with social justice. Social justice is the view that everyone has the right to economic, political and social or cultural rights. In Fraser's tridimensional theory of social justice, redistribution, representation and recognition are the economic, political and cultural dimensions of social justice that allows all to participate on a par with others in what she calls parity of participation (Fraser, 2007, 2009).

Social justice in education is also often associated with concepts and practices of fairness, social recognition, diversity, inclusion and anti-bias (Pijanowski & Brady, 2021). Social justice serves as a guide to explore ways to deliver fair distribution of education that balances individual and collective responsibilities. Rawls's idea of power, opportunity, social and economic disparity, and distribution of resources are key concepts discussed in social justice (Pijanowski & Brady, 2021). Education plays a vital role in ensuring distributive justice as it provides people with requisite skills and knowledge to access rights and liberty equally. According to Bell (2016), equitable distribution of resources recognises respect and maintains sustainability of all people. It

calls upon a critical work of creating and maintaining socially just and equitable societies that benefit students and the community at large through education (Mullen, 2021; Pijanowski & Brady, 2021).

Gewirtz (2020) posits that social justice in education consists of distributive and relational dimensions. The relational dimension refers to relationships within society. It views the role of power in relation to how individuals in society regard each other. This is consistent with Fraser's dimensions of recognition and representation, which are concerned about how individuals negotiate human relations. Social justice therefore empowers social movements and development through understanding history, current social and cultural context and issues, political mandates and environmental pressures. Further, it helps in conceptualising new social constructs as children progress in their educational experiences (Pijanowski & Brady, 2021).

Social justice in education, according to Rentzi (2024), considers the following:

1) equality of opportunity;
2) equality of outcomes; and
3) equality of position or condition.

The first refers to fair distribution of benefits, including recognition of and respect for human rights. The second refers to providing marginalised groups with equal opportunities for social success which can be achieved through government interventions. The third refers to ensuring equality in arrangement or rules regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, etc.

3.5.2. Social justice in education for First Nations peoples

During and after years of colonisation, First Nations groups continue to be excluded in decision making by those who wield power in society. The inequality and injustices towards First Nations groups are aggravated by government policies, socio-economic structure and dispossession, and gaps in wealth and educational access and information. These factors perpetuate cultural and language barriers that have deprived First Nations groups of self-determination and access, and forced them to live in poverty (McCarty, 2018; Mullen, 2020; Tuck & Yang, 2012).

Most literature has espoused Western ideas while ignoring the knowledge of colonised peoples (Connell, 2007) who can contribute to the existing body of knowledge. Having diverse information from an array of cultures, backgrounds and races helps create better understanding of the world from both First Nations groups' and mainstream cultures' viewpoints. It will support the decolonisation (Smith, 2021) of the mind and re-orientation of worldviews. Decolonising laws and policies, social systems and educational institutions is central to recognising First Nations groups and upholding their rights as co-equal members of society (Fredericks et al., 2014; Mullen, 2020; Tuck & Yang, 2012). Confronting injustice goes beyond equity, opportunity, inclusion and fairness (Mullen, 2021); rather, it focuses on dismantling colonialism and its exclusionary impacts (Coulthard, 2014; McCarty, 2018; Tuck & Yang, 2012; Woolford & Benvenuto, 2015), including any forms of colonial assimilation (Windchief & Brown, 2017) that continue to exist in current societies. Decolonisation is a radical approach to achieving First Nations groups' self-determination (Fredericks et al., 2014; Tabar & Desai, 2017).

Social justice requires a study of historical issues and events to understand and transform the systems of injustices and inequalities (Writer, 2008). This is especially true for First Nations groups who have experienced historical injustices and inequality brought about by the power structures of colonialism and post-colonialism. Education can reduce the impact of colonisation and manifestations of power dynamics that oppress and perpetuate inequality (Bell, 2016). However, the complexity of a just and equitable distribution of quality education means that it can fall short in acknowledging various oppressive systems and fail to recognise ideas that hinder, devalue or create barriers for certain groups of people to access it, especially marginalised groups (Pijanowski & Brady, 2021). Brown et al. (2013) argue that education can therefore play a role in oppressing and destroying First Nations groups' culture and ways of life. Education and society can also subtly contribute to the erosion of First Nations groups' identities and information within the community and in schools (Mullen, 2021).

First Nations students face challenges in accessing quality education (UNESCO, 2019). These include:

1) irrelevant policies; including culturally inappropriate education;

2) decades of assimilationist strategies, particularly in formal education curricula; and

3) lack of access due to a language of instruction that First Nations children cannot comprehend – that is, the absence of mother tongue-based pedagogy.

In creating inclusive education, there is a need to understand that First Nations groups' education is carefully theorised from the realities or experiences of the people, including concepts in educational leadership and justice (Mullen, 2021). It does not mean changing education solely into First Nations groups' ideologies. The assistance of bi-cultural literacy from both First Nations groups and Western ideologies, and the capability of people to navigate different worldviews, will increase their chances of success and contribute to their society (McCarty, 2018; Verbos & Humphries, 2014; Writer, 2017). It is crucial to link the concept of social justice with First Nations groups' culture, values, curricular decisions and practices (Pijanowski & Brady, 2021). However, careful and meticulous competency preparations in education must be considered as these can be steeped in Western values and water down First Nations groups' ideologies and identity development (Mullen, 2021; Reyhner, 2017).

Keddie (2012) argues that representation in education relates to the idea of voice or right to be heard as an equal contributor to ensure participation. When given a voice (Te Riele et al., 2023) to speak about themselves, and their aspirations for self-determination, First Nations students who are immersed in their own cultures and languages have shown positive identity development and self-esteem, as well as retention and attendance (Mullen, 2021). Leaders from First Nations groups and mainstream cultures can therefore work together as allies in revolutionising education to ensure successful experiences and empowerment of both First Nations and mainstream culture students (Robinson et al., 2019).

3.5.3. Social justice and First Nations groups' education in The Philippines

After colonisation, education focused on the "critical exploration and interrogation" of the impact of colonialism towards First Nations groups and their communities (Mullen, 2021, p. 12). The post-colonial period in The Philippines was to be a period of decolonisation, of engaging with the past which had caused the fragmentation of

cultural identities, the quiescence of cultural development and the marginalisation of First Nations groups. For First Nations groups, there was a need to unlearn and relearn the world through their own perspectives. As First Nations groups find their voices in the present, it is important to make education culturally relevant to facilitate the process of decolonisation. The decolonisation process will enable Filipinos to engage with the nation's past and rewrite their histories, before embarking on the task of nation building. It does not mean disregarding the Western or colonisers' knowledge and education. First Nations groups have acknowledged the importance of understanding different perspectives to enable them to navigate society at large (*Department Order 32 Adopting the Indigenous Peoples Education Curriculum Framework, 2015* (Phil) s.2015).

In The Philippines, First Nations groups' misrecognition and experiences of misframing have resulted in the nominal participation of First Nations students in government-run educational systems (Curtis, 2009; Victor & Yano, 2015). Formal education offered by the government has been patterned on education introduced by the colonisers (Musa & Ziatdinov, 2012), and it did not consider nor include the culture, traditions and knowledge of First Nations communities. Furthermore, the persistence of undermining First Nations groups' cultural values and knowledge within policies and education is a new form of colonisation that perpetuates discrimination (Kim, 2015).

Many First Nations students experience discrimination and prejudice in many educational settings, discouraging them from attending formal schooling (Adonis & Couch, 2017; Hare & Pidgeon, 2011). Discrimination results in Othering when First Nations groups are distinguished from mainstream culture through binaries such as "Them" versus "Us" (Akbulut & Razum, 2022; Noor & Syed, 2022). According to Akbulut and Razum (2022), Othering is an exclusionary process that refers to "various constructed notions of (non-) belonging and difference that engender marginality and structural inequality" (p. 1). Categories based on distinctive characteristics and the meanings associated with these categories are social constructs that inevitably result in Othering. Othering implies presence of social groups and projects discursive power asymmetries that manifest in knowledge and other socio-political structures (Akbulut & Razum, 2022). Powell and Menedian (2016), argue that "persistent form of marginalisation and inequality is undergirded by the set of processes that deny full inclusion and membership in society" (p. 34). Othering manifests itself as prejudice

across dimensions of differences. Spivak speaks of three dimensions of Othering: power, inferiority and the inference that knowledge and technology belong to the powerful (Spivak, 1985 cited in Sijpenhof, 2019). In The Philippines, the emergence of social groups has a historical imprint; the colonial past created mainstream and First Nations groups or the Other (De los Reyes, 2016) because of the divergence of their historic paths. Othering of First Nations groups in the post-colonial Philippines has its roots in historically and discursively given power relations starting during colonialism.

First Nations groups recognise that education can provide opportunities for social mobility, which could lessen discrimination and Othering. However, First Nations groups underscore the need for education that reflects the values, wisdom and expectations of the community and wider society (Kelly, 1999). Education should also include traditional forms of knowledge and information that relates to First Nations culture, language and land, and promote local people's engagement with their environment. First Nations groups emphasise the participation of elders who are the repository of First Nations groups' history and culture in their education (Basiwal-Ao-wat & Toyera-Ayang-ang, 2024; Lambe, 2003). Education for First Nations groups emphasises practical learning that includes basic skills, knowledge and attitudes towards their physical and social environment. These skills are learned through watching and participating alongside mentors and practising what they have learnt, which will enable them to function effectively within their communities (Mwanza & Changwe, 2021).

Studies (Adonis & Couch, 2017; Curtis, 2009; Eduardo & Gabriel, 2021) have argued that in The Philippines, the medium of instruction in schools is English, Filipino or the regional languages. The medium of instruction hinders First Nations groups in participating in the classroom socially and actively because these languages are distinct from their own. Moreover, when they have tried to learn the language, First Nations groups' accent and pronunciation have often been criticised or ridiculed, which adds to their low self-esteem while reinforcing discrimination (Adonis & Couch, 2017). For colonised countries, the mainstream culture's language is often also the coloniser's language. Most schools built for and attended by First Nations students are also often placed in remote areas with overcrowded and dilapidated classrooms, limited sanitary facilities and books, and poor teaching instructions (Eduardo & Gabriel, 2021).

In 1997, The Philippines passed the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (IPRA) or Republic Act (RA) 8371 that recognised and protected the rights of Indigenous communities (Curtis, 2009), including their right to education. First Nations groups had been communicating with the Department of Education (DepEd) and advocating for an education that is "sensitive to, and reflective of, their cultural context, aspirations and concerns for decades" (Victor & Yano, 2015, p. 133) before the educational system changed in 2013. Furthermore, Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) reiterate the concern over the differences between mainstream and marginalised educational needs. Mainstream communities have not fully recognised and appreciated First Nations groups' "inter-relationships and interconnectivity" way of learning (Singh, 2013, p. 2).

The Education for All movement (UNESCO, 1990, 2000) identified the need to address First Nations groups' educational needs which had been neglected for years. In The Philippines alone, this global movement to advocate for a complete, free, good quality and compulsory education for all had already been ongoing for three decades (*Department Order 32 Adopting the Indigenous Peoples Education Curriculum Framework, 2015* (Phil), s.2015). However, concerns regarding discrimination because of cultural identity, and respecting and recognising the Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Practices (IKSP) in schools and learning programs persist. First Nations groups had fought for the need to promote and sustain intergenerational relationships and cultural integrity, advancing their cause to the DepEd. Initiatives for community-based education had been designed to address the need for culturally appropriate education for First Nations groups. As a result, the DepEd created the National Indigenous Peoples Education Policy Framework (*Department Order 62 National Indigenous Peoples Education Policy Framework, 2011* (Phil), s.2011), which paved the way for the crafting of the Indigenous Peoples Education (IPEd) Curriculum (*Department Order 32 Adopting the Indigenous Peoples Education Curriculum Framework, 2015* (Phil), s.2015). This was created after consultation with First Nations groups (Ocampo et al., 2021).

The Enhanced Basic Education Act (EBEA) (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)) committed the State to an education that puts importance on inclusiveness and cultural appropriateness. It legalised the IPEd framework and

strengthened its implementation.The sections below discuss pedagogical tools in teaching, with particular emphasis on the social studies subject area.

3.6. Curriculum

Colonial influences have shaped the educational curriculum in schools in The Philippines. A curriculum is a planned sequence of instruction that students need to learn. Its uniformity aims to ensure that every learner is taught the same things (Collins & Yates, 2011). However, uniformity can create issues for diverse learners, particularly those from marginalised groups. A curriculum that subscribes to the needs of diverse learners also addresses issues such as "discriminatory structures and practices" (Mwaipopo et al., 2011, p. 415). Furthermore, the key feature of inclusive education is equity, wherein education is concerned about every individual reaching their full potential (Ainscow, 2016; Ainscow et al., 2019; Thomas & Loxley, 2001). It is concerned about accessibility and provision for the needs of each learner to achieve outcomes and be a positive addition to society. However, curriculum development and implementation remain a challenge due to the competing pressures of globalisation and diversity (Zhang, 2019).

Four elements determine the focus of a curriculum: 1) learning intent, 2) learning content, 3) approach, and 4) evaluation (Beltran-Almazan, 2018). Learning intent contains the aims, goals and objectives of the curriculum that guide the selection of learning content, while learning content contains the knowledge, skills and values that students need to learn. Approach describes the pedagogical methods and strategies used to teach the learning content. Finally, evaluation measures the achievement of the curriculum and the teaching and learning strategies used in achieving the learning intended for the students. The advancement of technology has influenced the evolution of education to student-centred learning, creating a curriculum that focuses on the process of learning rather than the content (Yates, 2011).

3.7. Social studies and its significance

Social studies as a subject is primarily made up of history, geography and civics/citizenship education (Brant et al., 2016). The current study chose to analyse social studies textbooks because, as a discipline, social studies deals with past and present aspects of human relations and analyses complex social issues from different perspectives. Its goal is to instil values such as justice, equality, fairness and diversity, to produce responsible citizens of society. Examining its scope, therefore, is crucial to understanding the accommodation of First Nations students in the Philippine education system.

In The Philippines, the name of the social studies subject has evolved through the years since it was first introduced in the curriculum for primary and secondary education (Brant et al., 2016). During the American period, and until the 1970s, it was simply called "Social Studies". As social studies education focused on being a Filipino, the name of the subject was translated to Filipino, emphasising the different disciplines it included. It became Hekasi – short for Heographiya (Geography), Kasaysayan (History) and Sibika (Civic), then Sibika at Kultura (Civic and Culture), Araling Panlipunan (Citizenship Education) and Makabayan (Nationalistic Education). Most of the changes focused on the title of the subject, but the content, which was based on the American subject of the same title, remained the same. The name change, including the language to be used to teach the subject, to Filipino was made to inculcate nationalism. It also included culture and citizenship, paving the way for the introduction of other ethnolinguistic groups in The Philippines. However, while it included First Nations groups' traditions, knowledge and ways of life, this was limited and the content remained biased toward the culture of the mainstream group.

3.7.1. Definition and scope of social studies

Social studies is a branch of knowledge that deals with behaviour, growth and development, relationships and resources of human societies (Dhandhania, 2019). It is designed to assist primary and secondary students to understand the social context of the society in which they live, and the world in general. Nelson (2001) categorises the scope of social studies into:

1) basic purpose (citizenship, social responsibility and social criticism);

2) knowledge structure (history, law education, social science and humanities); and

3) instructional or curricular criteria (critical thinking, issues-centred and multicultural studies).

The subject encompasses history, geography, cultural studies, economics, political science, sociology, psychology, anthropology and much more within its course content. It thus provides students with information about political ideologies, constitutional laws, economics, citizenship, rights and duties, morals and virtues, social code of conduct, and roles and responsibilities of individuals in social and civic affairs (Dhandhania, 2019). Because Philippine education is patterned after the American system, many of the subjects taught in the country's basic education curriculum, except Philippine History, contain the same scope as subjects in the US system. For social studies, the scope is the same as defined by the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) in America in 1994. In that definition, social studies is

> the integrated study of the social sciences and humanities to promote civic competence. Within the school program, social studies provide coordinated, systematic study drawing upon such disciplines as anthropology, archaeology, economics, geography, history, law, philosophy, political science, psychology, religion and sociology, as well as appropriate content from the humanities, mathematics and natural sciences. The primary purpose of social studies is to help young people make informed and reasoned decisions for the public good as citizens of a culturally diverse, democratic society in an interdependent world. (National Council for the Social Studies, 1994, p. 3)

One of the key themes in social studies is culture. Culture is acquired from exposure to diverse aspects of a community. It is learned from interactions with people, their art, language, traditions and belief systems (Nieto, 2008).

3.7.2. Traditional themes in the teaching of social studies

The teaching of social studies can be summarised into five traditional themes (Nelson, 2001):

1) citizenship (or cultural) transmission;
2) social science;
3) reflective inquiry;
4) informed social criticism; and
5) personal, social and ethical development

The first traditional theme, citizenship, focuses on promoting cultural and social unity, including cultural transmissions (Dhandhania, 2019; Ross et al., 2014). The second theme, social science, focuses on the key rules, principles, generalisation and processes of social science disciplines. It includes history, economics, political science and geography (Dhandhania, 2019; Ross et al., 2014). The third theme, reflective inquiry, equips students with critical skills that hone their decision making and problem solving to uncover answers and solutions regarding the concerns of the world and the society they live in (Ross et al., 2014). The fourth theme, informed social criticism, focuses on challenging the institutionalised status quo in social studies and addresses injustice. Through social studies, students critique and analyse historical and current events and documents (Ross et al., 2014). Finally, the fifth theme – personal, social and ethical development – emphasises the development of positive self-concept and usefulness, grounded in democracy, civics and citizenship, as well as rights and responsibilities (Ross et al., 2014). These themes are very relevant to analysing the accommodation by the Philippine Government of First Nations students in education to correct historical and current injustice.

3.8. Textbooks

This section explains why textbooks were analysed. While the law defines the provisions of educational reform, textbooks serve as a guide to actual teaching and learning. In The Philippines, knowledge generation is controlled by the mainstream groups. Since history is within the scope of social studies textbooks, the discourse and historical narratives written from the viewpoint of mainstream groups could unduly

influence children's understanding of history or cause them to question their own cultural understanding of their own history.

In The Philippines, textbooks remain crucial and central in building knowledge for students in schools (Curaming, 2017; Reyes, 2005). Textbook authors operate within the parameters defined by State institutions and have the capacity to perpetuate personal beliefs and culture. Since the American colonisation, a government-assigned agency oversees the selection, evaluation and approval of textbooks (Curaming, 2017). The demand for textbooks in the mid-1990s lured educators such as social studies teachers to become textbook writers for the subject, because of the lucrative potential of the textbook business. Okano (2013) argues that discourse in social studies textbooks covers relevant issues that are significant in ensuring justice for First Nations groups.

Textbooks are instructional materials created particularly for the purpose and needs of educational institutions (Rehman et al., 2022). They play a vital role in shaping and transferring information, values and culture (Bistrom & Lundstrom, 2021), particularly for those teaching history, civics and moral education (Curaming, 2017; Zajda, 2015). Textbooks also communicate the struggles for cultural and educational independence of developing world and small nations (Curaming, 2017). In the case of social studies, Curaming (2017) and Pingel (2010) report that many international declarations and conventions directly or indirectly attest to the importance of textbooks in providing and teaching official knowledge of history and social studies to inform students about their culture and history. On the other hand, some authors (Molin, 2006; Schrader & Wotipka, 2011; Shannon, 2010) assert that textbooks are commodities or political objects for knowledge and cultural dissemination that could influence readers' worldviews. Risager (2020) argues that textbooks convey intercultural education that is imparted to students through texts. Unfortunately, according to Molin (2006), textbooks also sometimes produce biased information that can perpetuate inequality and injustice.

Textbooks contain both narratives and images. Images play a vital and powerful role in accompanying, clarifying and shaping worldviews, explaining information and developing self-identity (Rehman et al., 2022). Images are "immediate windows" that assist students to understand the reality and experiences (Brown & Habegger-Conti, 2017, p. 16) provided by narratives (Shabiralyani et al., 2015). They also facilitate

remembering and retrieving learned information and constructing self-image, class and status relation within the society in which people are part of. The choice of images in textbooks to support narratives is at the discretion of authors, who decide what is best. Hence, the motivation for inclusion of images is not from the intention of the image creator, but the intention of the author who makes use of the semiotic resources.

Rehman et al. (2022) argues that textbook content aids students' familiarisation and preparations for possible future encounters. However, textbook content can also impart hidden meaning and subjectivity that may reinforce discrimination rather than challenge it (Brown & Habegger-Conti, 2017; Lashari et al., 2023). Qoriah (2020) also cautions that appropriateness and relatedness between images and text are important for the effectiveness of the learning process.

However, Curaming (2017) warns about the dangers of absolving teachers of their own responsibility. Textbooks encourage teachers to structure educational content in accordance with how textbooks are framed. They provide a convenient structure that can drive textbook-centred education, particularly when there is a major change in the system (Hutchinson & Torres, 1994; Smart et al., 2020). Textbooks do not reflect nuanced community or local context, nor do they address students' background and experiences, to help address various needs (Smart et al., 2020). Textbooks can perpetuate barriers or carry new ways of teaching. The latter can legitimise good practices and engage learners (Ensor et al., 2002; Ornstein, 1994) to develop skills such as critical thinking and problem solving that support diversity. Smart et al. (2020) believe that textbooks can help build strong connections in learners' social and emotional positions that enable them to develop mutual respect, address inequality, and contribute to an equitable and peaceful society. But these positions depend on the writing policies decided by authors, publishers and the government-assigned agency or decision makers. Nonetheless, textbooks continue to provide the foundation for basic education and will continue to be the main teaching and learning materials used in schools (Smart et al., 2020).

3.9. Summary

This chapter has reviewed the literature that informed this research. Social justice is a complex social concept that had its beginning in the early Greek and Roman societies. Social and economic changes in Europe during the Industrial Revolution resulted in the rise of theories that argued for equal opportunities and promoted an egalitarian society. Although many theories have been put forward on social justice, Fraser's social justice theory is most relevant in this research. Fraser argues for a social justice theory that is tridimensional – that is, it must include recognition, distribution and representation. These dimensions are intertwined and co-imbricated to ensure parity of participation of all members in a just society. In Southern theory, Connell posits that the Global South, or colonised peoples, have social rights to their own narratives and their knowledge and practices can add to the body of existing scholarship. Smith argues for recognition of First Nations groups' knowledge and practices as well as ways of knowing. Through decolonising methodologies, First Nations groups will be able to recover their rights to their histories, knowledge and cultural identities.

This chapter also further expounded on education as a human right that secures human development. Social justice in education, particularly for the marginalised and including First Nation groups, is associated with fairness and distributive rights, recognition and inclusion. In The Philippines, the long colonial history has impacted education for First Nations students. Recognising the historical injustice endured by First Nation groups, The Philippines enacted the EBEA in 2013 which aimed for an inclusive, appropriate, relevant, flexible and Indigenised education focused on culture. This education reform will enable the accommodation of First Nation students in culturally appropriate, relevant and flexible education by Indigenising the curriculum and the textbooks created to guide teaching and learning.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Figure 4.1.

Methodology Chapter
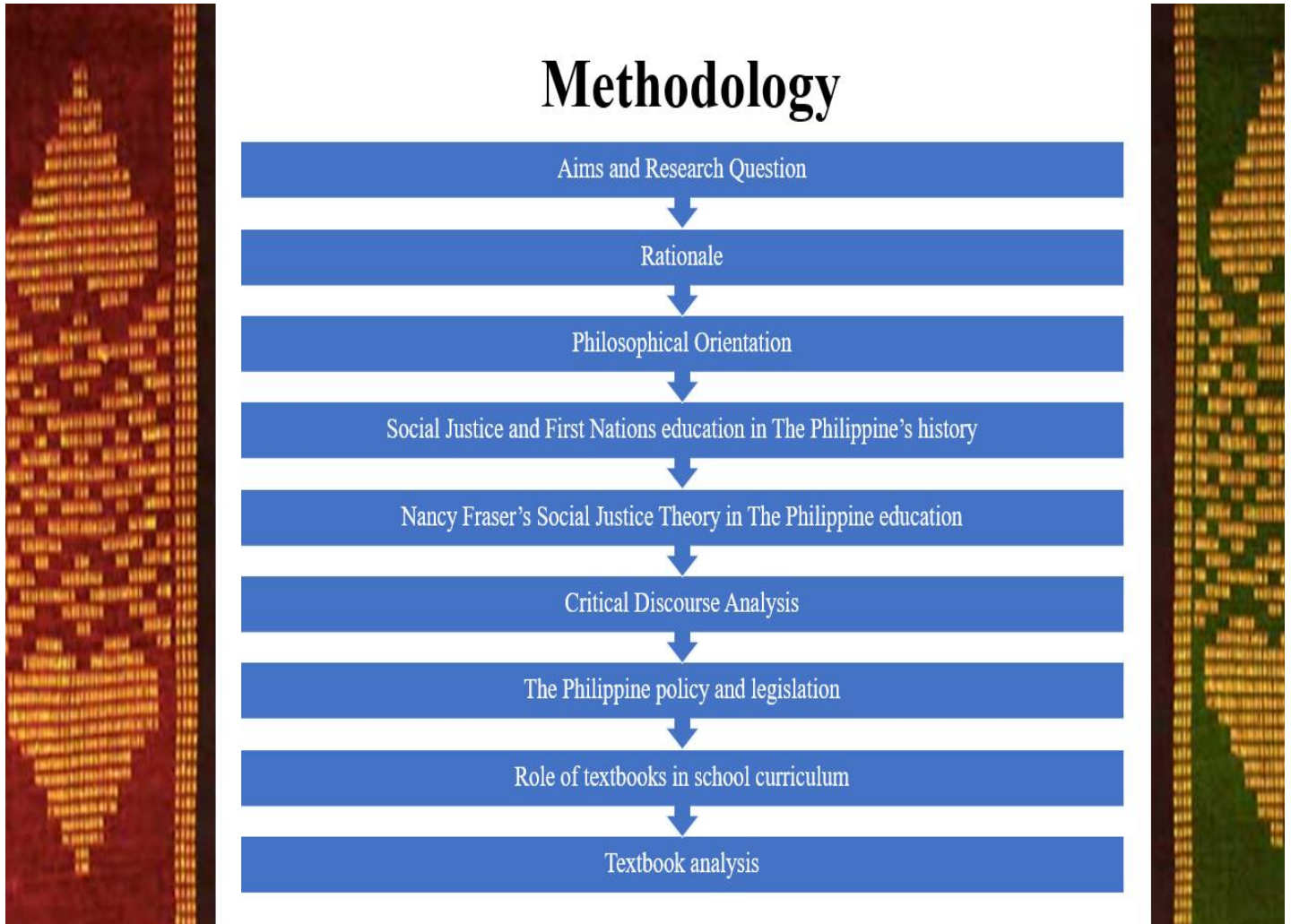
Note. This visual representation outlines how this chapter is structured. The woven cloth image is a traditional design from one of the First Nations groups (Maguindanaon) in The Philippines. This woven cloth image is from Odyssea: Natural, Culture, People[30]

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological approach used in the research that investigated how the Philippine education system accommodates First Nations students. The Enhanced Basic Education Act (EBEA) (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic*

---

[30] https://www.facebook.com/odysseaPH/photos/pb.100071165063775.-2207520000/244503009317414/?type=3

Education Act, 2013 (Phil)) was a major education reform that committed to Indigenise and localise education in The Philippines in accordance with the social context of schools and communities. This education reform, and the Philippine history of triple colonisation and its continuing impact on the diverse social context of First Nations groups, are central to this research.

The chapter begins by outlining the investigation of the Philippine commitment to culturally appropriate education for First Nations students. I also self-reflect on my motivation for undertaking the research. A critical paradigm is introduced and the social justice approach that underpins this research follows. Having introduced Nancy Fraser's theoretical framework of recognition, representation and redistribution in the previous chapter, I then outline how it was used to investigate social justice in education for First Nations students. The chapter then outlines the State's policy commitment in the Philippine education system to accommodate First Nations groups. Finally, the chapter focuses on a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of social studies textbooks for primary-school students, and how this aligns with the State's commitment to education reform.

4.2 Aims and research question

This study aimed to determine how and why First Nations students are accommodated in Philippine education using educational policy such as the EBEA, and social studies textbooks used in primary-school education, as data. The EBEA is the major educational policy of interest in this study. It signalled a major shift in Philippine education, by committing to Indigenise learning to consider the needs of diverse learners. The policy implies an inclusionary position that acknowledges differences. Its implementation, though, requires appropriate changes in both pedagogy and learning materials.

The main research question for the study was: *How does the Philippine education system accommodate First Nations students and why?*

4.3. Rationale

This section explains the rationale for undertaking this research. It provides my positionality on the issues related to First Nations students' accommodation in

Philippine education. It also includes the impetus for my investigation into the education system in place for diverse learners in The Philippines.

4.3.1. Positionality

Ontologically, the research is rooted in historical colonialism and social justice. By the time of the current study, The Philippines had been under colonial rule for 400 years. The subjugation of pre-colonial peoples during this period fragmented their cultural identities and reconfigured social structures for mainstream and First Nations groups. The mainstream groups were Westernised as they acculturated to the coloniser's ideologies and ways. On the other hand, First Nations groups opposed subjugation and moved to remote areas, specifically the mountains. The colonisers considered them as outsiders and ignored them, thereby depriving them of basic services including education. Colonisation resulted in the marginalisation of First Nations groups, and they have remained one of the poorest sectors of Philippine society. Even as the country gained independence, First Nations groups were not given recognition until the late 20th century. Epistemologically, the vestiges of colonialism are still evident, particularly in the education of First Nations students. Before the Basic Education Reform Act, access to education was impeded by a curriculum that was not culturally appropriate and by the use of language that they could not understand.

To explain my stance in this research, I will describe how my many experiences as an educator made me realise that most mainstream Filipino groups fail to recognise diverse cultures and practices within the multicultural contexts of the country. Reflecting on my experience as a teacher in a primary school, I learned that the struggle to achieve inclusion and equality has not been easy for First Nations groups. This is because of the existence of social structures that have favoured the mainstream cultures who were tasked with governance and who hold power over social institutions.

4.3.2. Impetus

When I entered my first classroom in my first primary-school teaching experience after graduating with my bachelor's degree, I heard my colleague shouting "You're disrespecting me! Who are you to disrespect me? Why aren't you paying attention in my class?" Shocked by what was happening, I looked at the child. I noticed that he was

just looking at the floor. After my colleague stormed out of the classroom, I talked to the child alone. I was caught by surprise when the child said, "Ma'am, if I look at you, I'm disrespecting you". Those words kept me thinking for a while before I fully understood that in the child's cultural context, it was disrespectful for young people to look at the eyes of their elders (Purnell & Fenkl, 2019; Uono & Hietanen, 2015).

Unfortunately, many mainstream Filipino groups do not understand such behaviour. This event broadened my perspective about First Nations students' experiences, and the need to understand their contexts and cultural practices. The discrimination and injustice against a young student because of cultural differences made me reflect on what inclusive education means and my role as a teacher. It made me re-examine my views about diversity and motivated me to recognise the social justice claims for education that addresses the cultural needs of First Nations students.

4.4. Philosophical orientation

This section will elaborate on the critical paradigm which was used as an analytical lens to critique Philippine basic education reform and the discourse in social studies textbooks created by mainstream groups. These textbooks guide teaching and learning and influence readers' perspectives of society. An outline of how Fraser's social justice theory provided the framework for analysis of education policies and textbooks is then described.

The beliefs and philosophical assumptions that accompanied this study are based on three basic truisms that continue to be reproduced post-colonially. The first is the ubiquity of power, which some theorists claim is rooted in credentialism or human capacity, such that those with greater capability are able to control power and status in mainstream society (Hagstrom, 2005). To understand how power came to be wielded by mainstream groups requires a reckoning of historical and social context (Jenkins, 2011). The second truism is information, or the interpretation of data. Because this is dependent on the interpreter, information can be used as a means to dominate or subjugate. The third truism is the inequity of rights. Hegemonic power relations of dominance and subjugation result in inequality of rights for subjugated peoples (Henshall et al., 2023).

4.4.1. Critical paradigm

This study critiqued power relations evident in policy and educational literature (Scotland, 2012) used in schools in The Philippines. A critical paradigm can be employed as an analytic lens to challenge the status quo in education with the aim of bringing about transformation (Mustafa, 2011) for marginalised peoples such as First Nations groups through institutional and structural changes. Thus, in the current study it allowed critical examination of the prevailing social structures of power and information distribution that reproduce inequality (Asghar, 2013) in the education of First Nations students. This research focused on education in The Philippines, where social, cultural, political and economic power dynamics continue to be shaped by the country's colonial history, perpetuating discrimination and injustices against First Nations groups. The educational reform legitimised through the EBEA (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)) is significant for First Nations groups as it recognises their right to education equivalent to that provided to all Filipinos, particularly mainstream groups. This research built on the knowledge that people who have experienced discrimination or witnessed injustice strive to challenge the systems of oppression that continue to enslave them (Lincoln et al., 2023).

Ontologically, this research is rooted in historical realism. According to Scotland (2012), "historical realism is the view that reality has been shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender values" (p. 13) and is influenced by internal and external events. Realities are perceived as social constructs that are continuously under flux. In The Philippines, the realities of First Nations groups have been shaped by a history of colonialism that disrupted their cultural development, causing them to become marginalised in Philippine society (Eduardo & Gabriel, 2021). The marginalisation of First Nations groups has been perpetuated post-colonially by the mainstream cultures who took over the governance structure of the country (Rafael, 2018). The 1987 Constitution was the first official document of The Philippines that recognised First Nations groups as citizens (*Philippine Constitution, 1987* (Phil)). Before this, First Nations groups were on the periphery and always ignored. Adopting a critical paradigm enabled an investigation of the social structures that were intended to

provide educational context as well as address the inequality experienced by First Nations Filipinos.

The following two sections will discuss the theoretical lens that informed the research thinking and analysis. They will address social justice in relation to First Nations education, as well as Fraser's social justice theory in the context of Philippine education.

4.5. Social Justice and First Nations education in The Philippines' history

Education has been given significant attention in social justice, primarily because it is considered a means to ensure equality (Te Riele et al., 2023). Education has also been seen to provide required skills, knowledge and opportunities and to enable agency to change and address issues within social and cultural contexts (Pijanowski & Brady, 2021). However, pressures to provide inclusive, equal and standardised education may lead to assimilationist action that endangers differences and the cultural distinctiveness of certain groups of people. In the current study, Fraser's concept of social justice assisted in understanding the tensions and opposing pressures by evaluating the differences between mainstream and First Nations groups according to the three dimensions of her theory (Fraser, 2007, 2009).

The concept of social justice challenges issues of oppression and injustice (Mullen, 2020) that continue to be experienced by groups of people within Philippine society. This is specifically evident for First Nations groups (Adonis & Couch, 2017; Brown et al., 2013; Eduardo & Gabriel, 2021; Victor & Yano, 2015). The unequal power relations between First Nations and mainstream groups evolved during colonialism. Because First Nations groups were considered outsiders and not recognised as Filipinos by the Spanish colonisers, they were deprived of basic services including education. Moreover, the pejorative regard for First Nations groups perpetuated by the colonisers conditioned the minds of mainstream groups about the primitiveness of First Nations groups' culture. Although the American colonisers established a network of public schools for all Filipinos, education was patterned after the American system and used English as the language of instruction. Its immediate impact was to impede access to education. The exclusion of First Nations groups in an education system that did not

recognise their needs deprived them of opportunities for social, political and cultural mobility (Adonis & Couch, 2017; Eduardo & Gabriel, 2021).

The current study focused on the discourse of social justice that is intertwined with Philippine colonial history and the evolution of two main social groups with unequal rights. Even as The Philippines gained independence, the status of First Nations groups did not change; instead, their contexts simply transformed from one hegemonic relationship to another. Continuing control of the social, political, economic and cultural aspects of Philippine society demonstrates the ubiquity of power of mainstream groups. This study examined the institutionalised systematic injustice of power and oppression (Bogotch & Shields, 2014) within Philippine history that has been perpetuated through education (Adonis & Couch, 2017; Eduardo & Gabriel, 2021). Many such education practices, as outlined in this study, are less visible yet continue to impact the historically disenfranchised First Nations peoples. In 2000, the reported literacy level of First Nations children was 70% (Asia-South Pacific Education Watch, 2007), showing that about one third of First Nations students are unable to access education and become literate. When educational reform was enacted, it recognised the specific needs of diverse learners and provided First Nations groups with an opportunity for a culturally appropriate education in accordance with their contexts. This research investigated the current educational reform and discourse in the legislation and ensuing policies, as well as in social studies textbooks. Using the triple history of colonisation as context, and informed by Fraser's social justice theory, this research enables an understanding of how First Nations students are accommodated in Philippine education and why.

4.6. Nancy Fraser's Social Justice Theory in Philippine education

The overarching orientation of this research is the investigation of educational inequality for First Nations students through a social justice lens. The research was informed by Fraser's social justice theory (Fraser, 2007, 2009, 2013). This framework refers to the "social arrangements that permit all to participate as peers in social life" (Fraser, 2009, p. 16). Injustice, according to Fraser (2013), is perpetuated when societal structures enable unequal distribution of opportunities (recognition), resources (redistribution) and authority (representation), and where people are not acknowledged because of their race, ethnicity, gender, economic or social status. Fraser's theory on

social justice have been applied to investigate injustice in education of disadvantaged groups such as migrants, refugees and First Nations students (Cazden, 2012; Keddie, 2012; Naido, 2012). Similarly, Fraser's *participatory parity* lens is relevant in this research as it examines the dimensions of recognition, redistribution and representation to understand the accommodation of First Nations students in Philippine education. Fraser's social justice theory enables an investigation of the ongoing and unequal power relations evident in the education of First Nations groups within Philippine society.

Many scholars argue that the dispensing of social justice for First Nations groups in The Philippines as primarily economic support fails to consider cultural and educational barriers (Adonis, 2011; Eduardo & Gabriel, 2021). Fraser (2007) argues not just for the distribution of material resources and services, including education; rather, First Nations groups should also be represented in decisions that will affect their lives. Using Fraser's argument, First Nations groups should be recognised as equal members of Philippine society and given a voice that will enable them to make decisions that will ensure their self-determination.

The 1987 Constitution, the subsequent human rights law for Indigenous peoples' rights (*Republic Act 8371 Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act, 1997* (Phil)) and the EBEA (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)), recognised the diversity of learners in The Philippines and the need to acknowledge First Nations groups as members of society. The aim appears to be providing First Nations groups with the means to realise equal opportunities, participate in society and take charge of their own lives. This is why Fraser's social justice dimensions of redistribution, recognition and representation are relevant in this study. The Philippine Constitution, laws and policy guidelines were crafted by representatives elected by the people, who regularly consulted with stakeholders including First Nations groups (Rules of the House of Representatives 18th Congress, 2020 (Phil)). On the other hand, the textbooks examined in this study were crafted by mainstream groups who followed the guidelines of the Department of Education (DepEd) but with the capacity to use language and discourse in accordance with their understanding of social realities (Curaming, 2017). Fraser's social justice theory was therefore used to inform this research and guide the analysis of social studies textbooks to determine the implicit and explicit meaning of the language and semiotics used.

4.7. Analysis

Discourse analysis investigates written and spoken language in various forms in relation to social context (Luo, 2023). It examines how language functions and how meaning is created. Language, whether spoken or written, is subjective and must be understood in the context of various situational influences, including the social, political and economic context of the speaker or author. CDA, on the other hand, is also a tool that investigates language or discourse in specific contexts, usually involving social problems. However, it focuses on how discourse enables the inequality of power or domination in the social context (Amoussou & Allagbe, 2018).

4.7.1. Critical discourse analysis

CDA and its application in this research will be outlined in this section. CDA was used to investigate the characteristics and social hierarchies that continue to restrict the distribution of knowledge and educational opportunities for First Nations groups. This study also investigated the language, texts and semiotics in social studies textbooks in the context of Philippine history, and how the language and social meaning of this discourse aligns with the commitment manifest in laws and policy pronouncements by the Philippine Government.

CDA has been used extensively in educational research to describe, interpret, critique and understand the complex relationships between language and semiotics in education (Fairclough, 2013; Hussain et al., 2015; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021; Rogers & Wetzel, 2014; Tannen et al., 2015). This branch of discourse analysis investigates power relations in syntax, language, texts and semiotics. CDA is a transdisciplinary, interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approach that aims to examine relationships between the use of language in discourse as political and ideological processes (Fairclough, 2013). It looks at societal problems in terms of power distribution, dominance and inequality (Catalano & Waugh, 2020). Discourse, according to Wodak (2024), is a "form of social practice" (p. 32). It can be understood in terms of how it relates to a "situation, and the social structures that framed it" (Wodak, 2024, p.32), with the discursive event being shaped by the situation and structures while influencing these in return.

Research employing CDA focuses on capitalism, globalisation, policy, pedagogy, environment and other social problems which show unjust and biased treatment due to differences (Catalano & Waugh, 2020). There are various approaches in CDA (Hussain et al., 2015). Among these, four which are relevant to this research will be discussed here: 1) Fairclough's (2013) socio-cultural approach, 2) Kress and van Leeuwen's (2021) multimodal approach, 3) Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach (2015), and 4) Wodak's (2024) discourse-historical approach.

According to Fairclough, discourse is "ideologically driven and motivated" (Amoussou & Allagbe, 2018, p. 14). The effect of ideology is to produce and reproduce unequal power relations between social classes, including ethnic groups. Hegemony is the dominance of one group over another, which is achieved through ideology. Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach considers social cognition as representations of societal arrangements or status hierarchy. Van Dijk (2015) defines "social power in terms of control" (p. 469). He further argues that those who are able to control other groups presume a "power base of privileged access to scarce social resources such as knowledge, information, culture and other forms of public discourse" (p. 469).

CDA as a tool to study the context of language triangulates social context, cognition and language. Wodak (2024) contends that discourse has both historical and social contexts. Thus, discourse is connected to other communicative events in the present as well as the past (Amoussao & Allagbe, 2018). Kress and van Leeuwen (2021) argue that texts and images convey different epistemological values. CDA is often multimodally realised through various forms of communication that include images. Images are rhetorical, just like in linguistics, which means that texts are represented as visual cues depicting the iconographical and iconological significance of the elements to make sense of meaning (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021).

4.7.2. Social semiotic and visual representations

CDA has moved from analysis of language as written and verbal texts to also look at visual representations including images. Social semiotics uses signs shown in images to reveal the meaning, message and stories communicated by images (Yakin & Totu,

2014). Social semiotics also emphasises the thought process, cultural background and knowledge in images. In addition, experiences influence the construction of images and meaning, which is referred to as semiotic and visual representation (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021; Yakin & Totu, 2014). Social semiotics and visual representation are concerned with the process of understanding and challenging the concept of meaning attributed to visual images (Curtis & Curtis, 2017). They highlight the discourse and social construction of knowledge that is based on the reality of a particular social context (Moerdisuroso, 2014). Therefore, social semiotics is defined as the interpretation of a social group's interactions, culture and worldviews. Researchers conducting semiotic analysis "engage with data and tools of analysis in a highly iterative process" to derive meaning from textual and visual representations (Curtis & Curtis, 2017, p. 22). The interpretation is determined by the analyst's background, knowledge, cultural lens and experiences.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2021) describe the framework for analysing images as semiotic discourse that is combined with language. Multimodal critical discourse analysis uses three visual categories – representation, interaction and composition – to derive the meaning of images (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021). The first visual category, representation, interprets the relational connection of represented figures in an image with one another, through an imaginary vector or through taxonomic or analytic classification (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021). Five processes are used to understand how figures are represented in an image: action (physical action of figures in the image), reactional, speech and mental, conversational and geometrical (Qoriah, 2020; Ping, 2018).

The second visual category, interaction, interprets the relation of figures in an image with the viewer. Three dimensions determine interaction: the image act (the direction of gaze of figures), social distance (distance between figures and viewer), and perspective (the way an image relates to the viewer) (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021; Qoriah, 2020; Ping, 2018). The third visual category, composition, meaningfully connects the first two categories (representation and interaction). That is, it interprets the whole meaning of an image in terms of its internal and external relations. Semiotic analysis understands that there is no one-way process in realising the meaning of an image; rather, it is the "result

of complex inter-relationships" (Curtis, 2009, p. 51) of an individual's culture, society and experiences with the image.

4.7.3. Stages in critical discourse analysis

CDA involves three stages: description, interpretation and explanation of the language used in texts and the meaning it conveys (Hussain et al., 2015). Description requires an objective interpretation of the use of language. It attempts to make overt the implicit relationship between the language or discourse used in various forms of media, power and ideology (Wodak, 2024). CDA uses tools to help categorise and analyse language in relation to the social, cultural and political contexts it reflects (Hussain et al., 2015; Martin & Rose, 2007).

Interpretation refers to a mental picture or representation that the researcher would want to convey and want readers to see in the language, text or discourse (Fairclough, 2013; Van Dijk, 2015; Wodak, 2024). While discourse is never objective, critique in CDA must be value-free and include reflexivity – that is, being self-critical and self-reflective (Mullet, 2018; Wodak, 2024). Researchers must therefore be conscious of their social position and motives and clearly communicate this in a broader context (Van Dijk, 2015). Finally, explanation is where the researcher seeks to show the discourse in the wider socio-cultural context and power relations embedded in the language. The analytical process involving description, interpretation and explanation in CDA requires a systematic methodology as one of its fundamental principles and views language only when used in human interactions (Hussain et al., 2015).

Mullet (2019) describes some guidelines in evaluating qualitative rigor in CDA. These include reflexibility and subjectivity, which I have presented in the positionality section, as well as completeness, adequacy of interpretation, authenticity, consequential validity, accessibility and triangulation (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). The latter, triangulation, ensures trustworthiness in the use of the method.

4.7.4. Critical discourse analysis as an analytical tool in education

CDA allows examination of multicultural values and takes into account the context of language as social practice (Fairclough, 2013; Wodak, 2024) in educational materials

such as textbooks. Discourse is both a process and product that is created, embedded and interpreted depending on social context (Fairclough, 2013). CDA reflects the intentions and uncovers the ideologies that have shaped semiotics and social practices to understand their meaning and purpose (Setyono & Widodo, 2019; Widodo, 2018).

The data used in this study included social studies textbooks used in the primary level of basic education (Grades 1 to 6) in public and private schools. For private schools, only a sample of textbooks used in these schools were included in the analysis, and this was a limitation of the study. The study method used the seven-step general analytic framework of Mullet (2019), summarised into five steps that were undertaken. These five steps consisted of:

1) discourse (how language and images in the textbooks created social constructs that affirmed or negated First Nations groups' quest for social justice through participatory parity);
2) research data and sources;
3) coding and identification of themes;
4) research analysis; and
5) interpretation of data.

The meanings conveyed by the semiotic data were interpreted by triangulation with the context of Philippine history and its alignment with the goals of the EBEA and other State commitments.

4.8. Philippine policy and legislation

This section discusses the policies and legislation that were crucial to the critical analysis of discourse in the social studies textbooks. While Philippine colonial history provided the context for the research, an examination of key legislation and policies affecting First Nations groups' education will assist in understanding how First Nations students are accommodated in Philippine education.

4.8.1. 1987 Philippine Constitution

Recognition of First Nations groups and their rights was included in the 1987 Philippine Constitution (*Philippine Constitution, 1987* (Phil)). Article XIII in the Constitution refers to social justice and human rights, committing the State to

> protect[ing] the rights of all its people and reduc[ing] political inequality
> and cultural inequalities by equitably diffusing wealth and power.
> (*Philippine Constitution, 1987* (Phil), Article XIII, Section 1)

In the Constitution, the State acknowledged that the reduction of inequality can be achieved by providing education that grants all Filipinos the opportunity for social justice and status mobility. It emphasised education in Article XIV, specifying that the State shall

> establish, maintain, and support a complete, adequate, and integrated system
> of education relevant to the needs of the people and society. (*Philippine
> Constitution, 1987* (Phil), Article XIV, Section 2)

The inclusion of the word *relevant* acknowledges the existence of multicultures in The Philippines, where 23 mainstream, seven Muslim ethnolinguistic and 238 First Nations groups reside. Both Muslim and First Nations groups were marginalised as the nation pursued its development. The social justice and human rights provision of the Constitution paved the way for the enactment of laws to correct the historical injustice against First Nations groups. Their rights were also specifically recognised through the enactment of the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act of 1997 (*Republic Act 8371 Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act, 1997* (Phil)).

4.8.2. The Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act

The clear articulation of the State's commitment to education was reiterated in the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (*Republic Act 8371 Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act, 1997* (Phil)). Chapter V of the Act emphasised the State's commitment to education through the National Council for Indigenous Peoples, that is "complete, adequate and

integrated … and relevant to the needs of the children and young people of Indigenous Cultural Communities/Indigenous Peoples" (*Republic Act 8371 Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act, 1997* (Phil), Chapter V, Section 28). To emphasise the importance of this statement, it became the declaration of policy (in Section 2) of the EBEA (*RA 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil), Section 2).

Chapter VI of the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act, on cultural integrity, includes provisions for the protection of Indigenous culture, traditions and institutions, as well as recognition of cultural diversity and First Nations groups' intellectual rights. Section 30 elaborated the State's commitment to First Nations groups' education:

> The State shall provide equal access to various cultural opportunities …
> through the educational system … without prejudice to their right to
> establish and control their educational systems and institutions by providing
> education in their own language, in a manner appropriate to their cultural
> methods of teaching and learning. Indigenous children/youth shall have the
> right to all levels and forms of education of the State. (*Republic Act 8371
> Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act, 1997* (Phil), Chapter VI, Section 30)

4.8.3. The Enhanced Basic Education Act

The EBEA was enacted into law in 2013, providing the legal framework for basic education reform in The Philippines. The Act reiterated the commitment in the 1987 Philippine Constitution and the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act, addressing education "relevant to the needs of the people and society (at large)" (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)). The EBEA therefore explicitly acknowledged the need for a more inclusive education for diverse learners in Philippine society. To ensure an inclusive curriculum, flexible programs were designed to address the "physical, intellectual, psycho-social, and cultural needs of learners" (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)). This included special programs and curricula for the gifted, those in difficult circumstances, those with learning disabilities,

the madrasah[31] for Muslim ethnolinguistic groups, and Indigenous Peoples Education
(IPEd) curriculum for First Nations groups.

Colonial-era Philippine education had been characterised by knowledge and skills
training patterned after the West. Although embraced by mainstream groups, such
education embodied a culture that was foreign to many First Nations peoples. The
EBEA of 2013 led to a major reform of the Philippine education system and a
commitment by the Philippine Government to "localise and Indigenise" education and
provide a flexible curriculum appropriate to learners' educational and social contexts
(*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)).

4.9. Role of textbooks in school curriculum

Education as a universal right is an important means to support human development.
UNESCO (2016) considers textbooks and curriculum design to play an important role
in the effectiveness of educational strategies to realise the goals of educational
programs. Learners, like everyone else, obtain knowledge informally from their daily
experiences and environment. Schools direct this learning more formally to allow
students access to more specialised knowledge, through the teaching–learning process
and the use of textbooks and other learning resources. Young (2008, 2009, 2014) calls
this "powerful knowledge" and states that social justice is crucial to enabling students,
regardless of socio-economic and cultural background, to have access to it.

Traditionally, textbooks have served as a guide to teachers in teaching curriculum
content and to students of what they are expected to know (Curaming, 2017; Smart et
al., 2020). Textbooks help teachers plan what to teach and what strategies to use
(Ornstein, 1994; Torkar et al., 2022). The use of textbooks that contain examples,
illustrations and activities enables better understanding of concepts and helps ensure the
effectiveness of learning (Hutchinson & Torress, 1994). Textbooks are also learning
tools that ensure uniformity of knowledge, skills, attitudes and values learned in a
particular pedagogic development across different students and schools (Curaming,

---

[31] In the Philippines, *madrasah* is a school created by Muslim Filipinos initially to educate their young
about Qur'an. It has evolved to community schools where teaching is based on Qur'an, Islam and moral
values. (Department of Education, Region III https://olongapocitynhs.com/madrasah-education-
programmep-ocnhs/)

2017; Smart et al., 2020). These learning resources are repositories of knowledge that have been researched, collated and arranged thematically or chronologically. They are readily accessible to both teachers and students, making learning more systematic and developmental.

Textbooks, being repositories of knowledge, are essential to teaching and learning about people's cultures. Having information about the diversity of cultures in The Philippines is both insightful and enriching. With the paucity of research, written documents and artefacts about Filipino First Nations groups' culture, language, values and ideologies, school educators need to rely on textbooks for information and guidance. Bistrom and Lundstrom (2021) and Risager (2020) argue that textbooks play a vital role in transferring information and culture to students, which could influence how they view physical and social realities. Moreover, textbooks have been described as a political commodity created by authors who have their own interpretation of events and society which can influence readers about what is truth (Molin, 2006). The authors of social studies textbooks used in Philippine schools are mainly educators who have obtained their post-baccalaureate degrees from abroad or from Western-influenced universities. Their education has given them prestige and status, recognising their expertise in social studies. These authors are also affiliated with various higher education institutions or universities in the country. Their views and discourses have significantly influenced how and what information and worldviews are conveyed within the texts. Therefore, as this current research aimed to analyse the accommodations made to Indigenise education, and with the dearth of written documents pertaining to First Nations groups' culture and ideologies, social studies textbooks were examined and critiqued on how they represent First Nations peoples and cultures.

Philippine private schools[32] also regularly prescribe numerous textbooks every year for students to use while studying in a specific level. Private schools are run either by religious or secular organisations and are funded by grants and collection of fees from students' families. On the other hand, the DepEd mandates the use of approved textbooks for all public schools in the country.

---

[32] Philippine private schools are run either by religious orders (sectarian) or by private entities (non-sectarian).

Three principles should guide the writing, revision and evaluation of textbooks prepared for inclusive, quality education (Fuchs et al., 2020; UNESCO, 2017). These include:

1) emphasising inclusive language;

2) representing diverse identities while combating divisive stereotypes; and

3) integrating human rights.

Textbooks that ensure inclusivity also teach students the values of human rights, fairness and an appreciation for the diversity of learners in school settings.

Countries have different policies for ensuring equal access to quality learning materials, including textbooks for all learners. Textbook development and provision can either be centralised or decentralised (Adebayo, 2018). In the case of The Philippines, textbooks and modules, including supplementary books for use in public schools, are approved and distributed by the DepEd (Curaming, 2017; Hutchinson & Torres, 1994). Regular evaluations conducted by teacher-reviewers from both public and private schools, who are subject experts, are organised by the Instructional Materials Council Secretariat to assess the quality and relevance of these learning materials (*Department Order 192 Regional Cluster Training Programs On Textbooks Evaluation, 2008* (Phil), s.2008; Hutchinson & Torres, 1994; *Republic Act 8047 Book Publishing Industry Development Act, 1995* (Phil)). On the other hand, private schools are free to choose the textbooks they deem appropriate for curriculum delivery (*Department Order 122 Guidelines for Textbooks Adoption for Private Elementary and Secondary Schools, 1991* (Phil), s.1991; *Republic Act 8047 Book Publishing Industry Development Act, 1995* (Phil)). However, to ensure coherence, the DepEd prepares the curriculum guide and learning outcomes of subjects (*Department Order 31 Policy Guidelines on the Implementation of Grades 1 to 10 of the K to 12, 2012* (Phil), s.2012).

To ensure relevant content, UNESCO (2014) recommends that textbooks cater to diverse learners' needs – that is, content should be context-based and inclusive. For social studies textbooks, this means highlighting different perspectives or worldviews. However, when textbooks are prepared by mainstream groups, the content often contains worldviews and ideologies that reflect their own culture (Kodliuk et al., 2021). In this case, the discourse and semiotics of the textbooks could ignore minority views. In regard to First Nations groups, textbooks could show discursive constructs that

belittle their cultures, reifying "status injury". Acknowledging the significance of the broader educational role of textbooks must recognise their place in inculcating cultural values and multicultural consciousness and communication (Curaming, 2017; Hutchinson & Torres, 1994).

4.10. Textbook analysis

A CDA of textbooks created in accordance with Philippine education reform was undertaken to determine whether the language of the provisions on social justice and the laws recognising the rights of First Nations groups were clearly reflected in these textbooks. Texts, languages and images were analysed in terms of how these represents First Nations groups and the discursive constructs in created. Words and images that are used in the textbooks provide students' worldviews critical to selected themes that deals with First Nations cultural identity and history. The texts, language and images were examined using multimodal critical discourse analysis to understand how First Nations groups were presented, including any evidence of social justice and equality struggles. The analysis interrogated the discourse, both in text and images in the textbooks, to understand how First Nations groups are accommodated in Philippine education. Thus, this research investigated the discursive language and semiotics embedded in social studies textbooks used in Philippine basic education.

Semiotic analysis uses a multimodal approach to understand visual discourse. Using a social semiotic framework of visual grammar design (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021), the images and accompanying texts were scrutinised to interrogate meanings in the social studies textbooks. The analysis applied Kress and van Leeuwen's (2021) three visual categories: representation, interaction and composition. Representation examined the interrelations through vectors connecting the figures in the images, while interaction considered how viewers interacted with the images. Composition explored how participants were presented in the images and how viewers interpreted such arrangements.

Analysis of the textbooks was undertaken in the context of Philippine history and discourse adherence to the goals of the EBEA. These textbooks were created in accordance with guidelines from the DepEd and as part of the implementation of the

EBEA. The textbooks purportedly accommodated issues that were culturally significant to First Nations students (Okano, 2013), enabling Indigenisation and contextualisation of Philippine education. This study thus examined how the Philippine Government's commitment to make education relevant and appropriate for all learners' needs was represented. For instance, texts that discussed who are Filipino is relevant for First Nations students' identity building and correlates with social justice and legislations regarding citizenship and rights. These texts were analysed to understand the meaning it is trying to convey to the students and how First Nations groups are represented and recognised in this context.

The first set of social studies textbooks consisted of two versions. One version was written in English and was used in some private schools in The Philippines. A Filipino version of the Grades 1 to 2 and Grades 4 to 6 social studies textbooks – translated from the English version and entitled *Araling Panlipunan* – was also examined and used to cross-check the representation of culture found in the English textbooks. Both versions were produced by the same publishing company. The second set of textbooks, written in Filipino, was used by all public-school students in Grades 4 and 5. Another two Grade 6 textbooks used in private schools and produced by another publishing company were also analysed. The descriptions and codes of these books are shown in Appendix B.

4.10.1. Coding and data clustering of key words, and phrases in textbooks

After a thorough reading of the 15 social studies textbooks, specific chapters containing texts, language and images relating to First Nations groups were selected. The texts and images were marked and clustered into identified themes. Selective coding was used to segregate the texts and images further into sub-themes that built on the four general themes of identity, community, history and acknowledged heroes that are relevant to the discourse about First Nations culture and history. Inductive coding was used, based on what key words signify or mean. After the initial coding, the labelled texts and images were analysed for similarities, repetitions and overlaps of their "messages." These were then combined or clustered to streamline the sub-themes. The clustered data were analysed in the context of the prevailing social structures of the Philippine society and its history. For example, statements such as "my color is brown" and "curly hair and flat noose are not beautiful" and the corresponding images depicting stereotypes can be put

together under physical imagery that pivot on the discursive construction of First Nations cultural identity and its underlying power dynamics. The texts, language and images in the textbooks were also interrogated to determine how the discourse about First Nations groups was constructed in the context of the EBEA's objectives. Critical analysis of the representations and language of the discourse was undertaken to uncover language that signified power and dominance. Analysis of the language and semiotics was informed by Fraser's social justice theory, focusing on recognition, redistribution and representation.

4.10.2. Synthesis of data

Using the critical paradigm as an analytic lens, and informed by the theoretical framework and philosophical assumptions of the social justice dimensions of representation, recognition and redistribution, CDA was used to investigate the data. The texts, language and images were examined to understand the meaning they convey to the reader in relation to the Philippine colonial history, and the existing power dynamics between the mainstream and the First Nations groups. In addition, Fraser's social justice dimensions of redistribution, recognition and redistribution guided the understanding of the texts, language and images from the textbooks.

These coded data were clustered into the various sub-themes, that builds on the overall themes that summarised implied meaning, cues and discursive constructs. For example, the clustered statements about physical imagery and the analysis of the images that depicts stereotypes and show how the figures in the images interact with the viewers, and with other figures impact First Nations cultural identity. Taking into account the Philippine colonial history and informed by Fraser's social justice theory, the clustered data was examined for evidence of hidden power dynamics and hegemonic relations between the mainstream and First Nations groups.

A critique of the texts and images under each sub-themes were summed up to uncover hidden cues, of how it represents First Nations groups, while probing for inconsistencies with government commitment and asymmetric power relations. Analysis was guided by the overarching question of how Philippine education has accommodated First Nations students and why. Data from the Department of Education's online basic education

information system, as reported by De la Fuente (n.d.), showed that First Nations students represented 9.48% of enrolment in school year 2019–2020. These students were scattered across public schools nationwide. Thus, it was imperative to analyse the discourse in the textbooks used in these schools, as well as in private institutions, to examine how textbooks adhered to the goals of the EBEA reform. EBEA, as well as other Philippine legislations stated the states' commitment to provide inclusive and culturally appropriate education for First Nations students. The provisions of this legislation, the country's colonial history as context and Fraser's social justice theory were the framework that guided the analysis and synthesis of the data. Synthesis of the findings from data analysis were used to validate the research arguments proffered in this research.

4.11. Summary

The objective of this research was to investigate how First Nations students are accommodated in the Philippine education system and why. In this chapter, the methodological approach was outlined. Firstly, the Philippine Government legally recognised First Nations groups in the Philippine Constitution (*Philippine Constitution, 1987* (Phil)) and passed two laws in support of First Nations peoples' rights: the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (*Republic Act 8371 Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act, 1997* (Phil)) and the EBEA (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)). This legislation signified the Philippine Government's commitment to correcting historical injustice. The Constitution's declaration of principles aimed to ensure equality in the distribution of material resources and services, to recognise the existence of First Nations groups as part of Philippine society, and to offer them representation in decisions affecting their lives.

Secondly, to ensure that generations of First Nations students are educated in accordance with their needs and social contexts, appropriate learning programs and practices and textbooks were created in support of education legislation. The current research aimed to analyse the accommodation of First Nations students in education, employing a critical paradigm to examine normative practices to reveal power relations, injustices and accommodations made in The Philippines. Analysis of social studies textbooks used in education was informed by Nancy Fraser's social justice theory. This

theory was used to critique the texts and semiotic data to identify social emplotments[33] and interrogate the historicity of the coloniality of knowledge and unequal power relations manifest in the data. It also sought to determine accommodations made as The Philippines aimed for multicultural education aligned with the diversity of learners and their social contexts. This research also used CDA to examine the discourse in social studies textbooks used by primary-school children in The Philippines. The themes that emerged from coded texts were reflected on and analysed further to perceive their intended meanings and uncover discourse that reproduced power and dominance, including impediments to First Nations groups' right to participatory parity.

---

[33] *Emplotment* means arranging a series of historical events into a narrative with a plot (White, 2020).

Chapter 5: Analysis

Figure 5.1.

Analysis Chapter
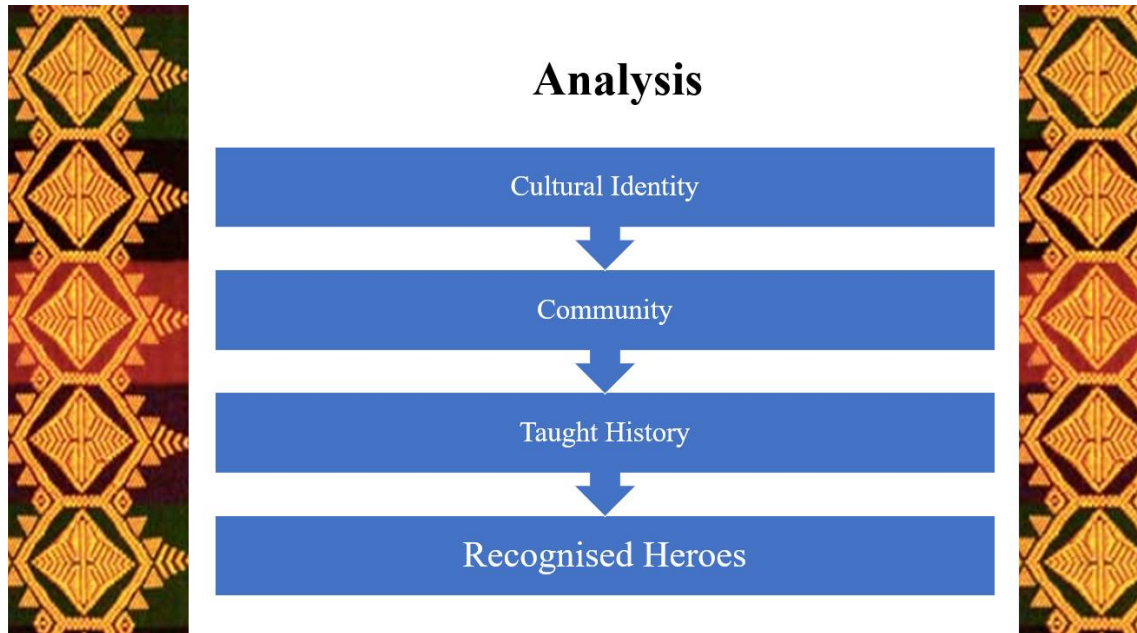
Note. This visual representation outlines how this chapter is structured. The woven cloth image is a traditional design from one of the First Nations groups (Maguindanaon) in The Philippines. This woven cloth image is from Odyssea: Natural, Culture, People[34]

5.1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the findings from the research, including critical analysis of the discourse in compulsory social studies textbooks, Philippine educational legislation and current literature. The textbooks analysed are used in public and private primary-level basic education in The Philippines. These textbooks were chosen because they deal with human relations and topics such as Philippine geography, history, culture and identity that are crucial to the evolution of First Nations groups' status in Philippine society. A brief description of the textbooks is given in this chapter, with a full list provided in Appendix B. The analysis focused on four key themes, which are discussed in the subsections of this chapter. These themes emerged from the clustering of analysed

---

[34] https://www.facebook.com/odysseaPH/photos/pb.100071165063775.-2207520000/244505779317137/?type=3

semiotic data using critical discourse analysis (CDA). The subsections are divided into the following themes: Section 5.2.1: Cultural Identity, Section 5.2.2: Community, Section 5.2.3: Taught History, and Section 5.2.4: Acknowledged Heroes.

The social studies textbooks analysed in this research were created following Department of Education (DepEd) guidelines in response to the Enhanced Basic Education Act (EBEA) of 2013. This law instituted the basic education reform that was the focus of this research. The law committed the State to Indigenising education according to local contexts. Primary level in The Philippines covers Grades 1 to 6 and is where topics about Philippine society and culture are taught. Multimodal critical discourse analysis was undertaken to examine 15 social studies textbooks that are used in all public schools and some private schools. Of these, six books (Grades 1 to 6) were social studies textbooks written in English that were cross-referenced to an equivalent five textbooks (Grades 1 to 2 and 4 to 6) that were written in Filipino. Another two Grade 6 textbooks written in English, as well as two compulsory public-school textbooks (Grades 4 to 5) written in Filipino, were also examined and included in the analysis. The textbooks were coded (see Appendix B) and excerpts were included based on their significance to the research question guiding this study that sought to determine how First Nations groups are accommodated in education.

5.2. Data Analysis

Textbooks, and the mainstream teachers who use them, create contexts that are critical in engendering social constructs about First Nations groups. The EBEA committed the State to providing an inclusive education to enable First Nations groups to access culturally appropriate education that is responsive to their needs. Culturally appropriate education ensures that First Nations students are accorded redistributive, recognitive and representative justice and enables them to participate on a par with the mainstream groups in Philippine society. The multimodal discourse analysis used in this study combined Fairclough's (2004) critical analysis of text as discourse with social semiotics (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021). It focused on the contextual representation of First Nations peoples in primary-level social studies textbooks on key topics: 1) cultural identity, 2) community, 3) taught history, and 4) recognised heroes.

5.2.1. Cultural identity

Cultural identity is introduced and taught in Grade 1 social studies textbooks. The textbooks analysed in this study described a Filipino as any person who has one or two Filipino parents, no matter where they were born or lived. They also described the colour of skin and eyes, type of hair and body build of various ethnolinguistic groups (Textbook 1A, pp. 4–6, 11–12, 46–48; Textbook 1B, pp. 4–7, 12–14, 52–55). The textbooks reinforced statements in the Philippine Constitution regarding who are the recognised members or citizens of the country. The Grade 1 textbooks introduced the various ethnolinguistic groups by describing physical differences. The aim was to use descriptions of appearance to highlight differences and describe The Philippines as a multicultural society.

First Nations groups' cultural identities have developed over thousands of years, involving the interplay of history, culture and dynamics of power (Hall, 1992, as cited in Ouda, 2023). Cultural identity defines First Nations groups. It provides a sense of who they are, what they know, and their values and beliefs (Shepherd et al., 2018). First Nations cultural identity is an amalgamation of language, social norms, community interactions, beliefs and practices. Allen et al. (2022) emphasise that respect of First Nations groups' cultural identities, and acceptance of a social group, particularly in school, helps their psycho-social development and significantly impacts performance and academic achievements because children feel acknowledged, respected and valued by their peers. This research focused on how the cultural identities of First Nations groups are represented in textbooks. It analysed the extent to which the development of First Nations students' cultural identities could be impacted by how textbooks represent them.

The descriptions of First Nations groups in the primary-school textbooks focused on the differences in physical appearance of various groups of Filipinos. Despite repeated emphasis that individuals who have one or both parents born in The Philippines are Filipino (Textbook 1A, p. 12; Textbook 1B, p. 14), the texts and images reify First Nations groups as Others who do not look like the mainstream groups. The conceptual representation of the images of First Nations groups symbolise them as distinct social assemblies whose members belong with each other because of their common features

and identity. This analysis could not find any images that pictured mainstream and First Nations groups together as a cohesive group.

Overall, the percentage frequency rate of the visual categories (see Appendix C), which were communicated by the images, were largely formal and static. The images appeared as formal portraits or paintings, lacking interactions with the viewer and among the figures in the images. Thus, the images were conveyed as simply representative tools useful in the process of learning about First Nations groups. The images and accompanying texts create a discursive construct about First Nations groups as Other that is distinct from the mainstream culture. First Nations groups remain as objects to study rather than subjects with which social interaction is possible. Othering could lead to objectification, which, according to Smith (2021), is a process of dehumanisation.

5.2.1.1. Physical imagery.

The focus on physical attributes in the texts and images are simplistic representations of First Nations peoples' cultural identities. First Nations peoples were presented in forms of stereotypes (Figure 5.2), in terms of their darker skin ("My skin is the color of chocolate"; "My color is brown" [Textbook 1A, p. 12; Textbook 1B, p. 13]), curly hair and build ("I am small but my body is strong"; "I am of medium build") (Textbook 1A, p. 12; Textbook 1B, p. 13), and what they wear in terms of attire, hat and footwear. While the presentation of First Nations groups in the textbooks provides a generalised description that represents stereotypes, with 238 First Nations groups in the country, representations need to be more nuanced as any form of stereotyping could engender Othering.

Figure 5.2.

Representations and Images of First Nations Groups
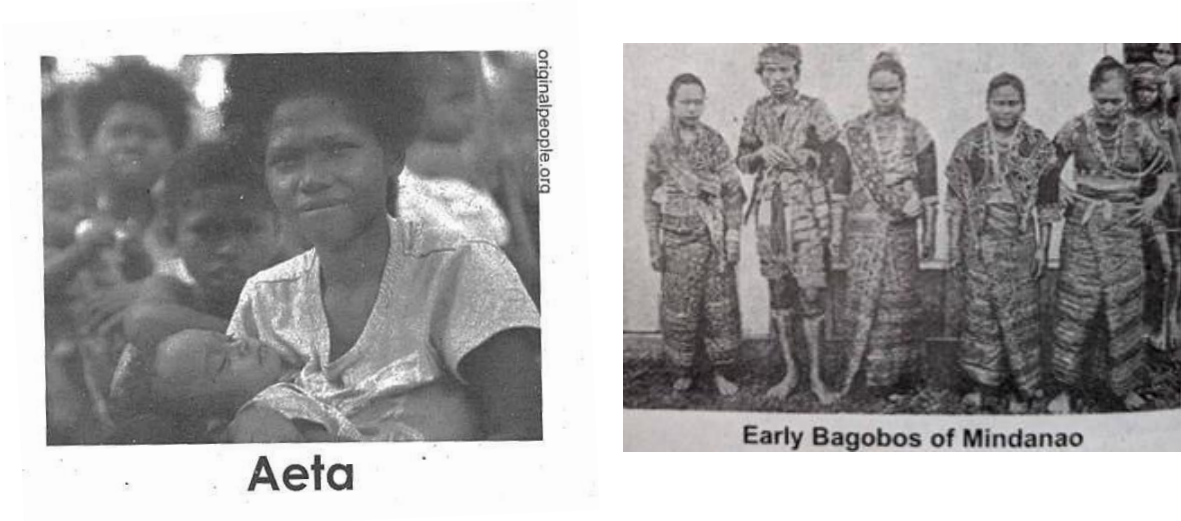
Note. From Textbook 1A & B, 2A & B and 5C; used by children aged 7-11

Further, while statements in the textbooks convey to students that it is not appropriate to disrespect the form, culture and beliefs of others, they were often followed by derogatory messages about First Nations peoples. Excerpts include:

> [Do not] belittle the form, culture and belief of others. (Textbook 3A, p. 196)

> Others belittle the culture and beliefs of indigenous Filipinos. (Textbook 3A, p. 196)

> Their culture is belittled and they are called uneducated and ignorant. (Textbook 3A, p. 160)

> In many instances, they don't give respect to their clothing, way of speaking, kind of lifestyle and indigenous beliefs. (Textbook 3A, p. 196)

Even if the textbooks qualified that the particulars stated were not right, these repeated statements convey explicit messages to students of what is beautiful and what is ugly, based on Western standards:

Being white or fair-skinned is more beautiful. (Textbooks 2A & 2B, p. 83)

…belief that only those with fair complexion are beautiful and that those who are dark are ugly and have no beauty. (Textbook 3A, p. 196)

Another example is the belief that curly hair and flat noses are not beautiful. (Textbook 3A, p. 196)

Some texts overtly highlighted physical appearance as a feature of acceptability. These statements were observed in textbooks that appear to be biased for mainstream culture, and that belittle people because their appearance is not the same as them. Additional examples include:

Do you notice your own and other people's skin color? … [Do you] easily notice the difference of your skin colors? This is because the Philippines is inhabited by different groups of Filipinos. (Textbook 1A, p. 46; Textbook 1B, p. 52)

Respect other cultures and beliefs as a trait that should be continued, as well as giving value to others, whatever their physical forms look like. (Textbook 3A, p. 197)

These statements could inculcate prejudice in young minds about physical differences.

5.2.1.2. Stereotyping

Stereotyping is a covert form of racism (Dudgeon et al., 2014) that results in misrecognition, which Fraser (2009) describes as "status injury". It is a consequence of institutionalised patterns of dominance which devalue First Nations groups' cultural identities as unworthy of respect and esteem. The overwhelming assertion in the textbooks – stating that despite differences, all are Filipinos – subtly imposes a national identity that aims to assimilate First Nations groups with mainstream groups. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the discourse of Othering is perpetuated further by the use of languages foreign to First Nations groups in instruction.

It is widely accepted that White supremacy[35] and colonisation have injected narrow concepts of ideal images (Mady et al., 2022) that tend to ignore individual differences and engender overgeneralisations. Stereotypical images of First Nations groups in the textbooks create limited perceptions of a perceived inferior culture and of the development capacities of First Nations groups. In a classroom made up of First Nations and mainstream groups, the derogatory implications of the statements in the textbooks create pathologising contexts that foster prejudice and discrimination against First Nations children.

5.2.1.3. Language

American colonialism introduced a pervasive education that used English as a medium of instruction. This policy remained even after The Philippines became a sovereign republic, while including a Tagalog-centric Filipino as the national language. Consequently, textbooks used for instruction were written in the State-mandated languages – either English or Filipino. The use of English and Filipino was both a government fiat and mindset that manifested the grip of the language among the mainstream groups, sustained by academics in education (Lorente, 2013). It revealed the hegemony in the creation and distribution of knowledge by the mainstream groups (Dawe, 2014). Thus, Filipinos were forced to learn English or be marginalised without a voice in any national debate. It also devalued First Nations groups' own languages while imposing on them both State-mandated languages. It then compelled them to adapt the mainstream ideology about Filipino identity. Devaluing First Nations groups' languages is committing epistemic violence that hastens their extinction (Kipuri, 2009).

Institutionalised cultural patterns of devaluing were evident in subsequent statements repeated several times in the textbooks. The statements below are evidence of the colonial mentality that is deeply ingrained in the mainstream ethos.

---

[35] White supremacy is the belief that fair-skinned or "white" races are superior to all other races because of colour (Jenkins, 2004).

Filipinos were made to believe that the foreign culture, economy and politics are better and superior to the systems of our ancestors. (Textbook 3A, p. 194)

Anybody who can speak English is more intelligent. (Textbooks 2A & 2B, p. 83)

Foreign things or ideas are better. (Textbooks 2A & 2B, p. 83)

Cultural patterns were reinforced in the textbooks by additional statements, such as:

Treat people of other religion as inferior to them. (Textbook 3A, p. 197)

During the Spanish colonization, they were considered sinful because of their refusal to be baptized into the Catholic religion. (Textbook 3A, p. 159)

Higit sa lahat, maraming Pilipino ang naging Kristiyano at natuto ng wikang Espanol (above all, many Filipinos became Christians and learned the Spanish language). (Textbook 4C, p. 186)

The statements above, which were repeated in two grade levels, create discursive constructs of First Nations groups as "sinful" or "inferior", unlike the many Filipinos who became Christians. Additionally, they imply that during this period, First Nations groups could not be part of society unless they embraced Christianity. Textbook 3A further stated that "their [First Nations] culture is belittled and they are called uneducated and ignorant" (p. 160). The use of the words "sinful", "belittle", "uneducated" and "ignorant" reify perceptions by First Nations groups of themselves as inferior. It also feeds discriminatory and pejorative sentiments toward First Nations groups by their peers who could believe the words in the textbooks to be true even if there is a succeeding statement that says "in reality they are not". The impact of these discursive constructs, alongside other social and cultural constructs in the education space, appear to miss the intent of EBEA. This perpetuates prejudice while impeding

justice claims for recognition of First Nations groups as having equal rights to their culture and its moral worth (Fraser, 2009).

5.2.1.4. Social interactions

Social interactions are important in the development of identity (Crocetti et al., 2022; Koudenburg et al., 2024). In descriptions of Filipino cultural identity in the textbooks, however, the mainstream groups' narratives of activities ignore First Nations groups' social realities with descriptions of what mainstream children do. For example, "celebrations show the importance of family … [for] example, birthdays … weddings … baptism … graduation … this activity is pleasing and unifies the family and relatives" (Textbooks 2A & 2B, pp. 89–90). Below are further examples of such statements and phrases:

> Songs written in a foreign language … playing in the radio or featured in television shows. (Textbook 3A, p. 173)

> Community art is the stage play … The senakulo[36] is a staging of the life of Jesus Christ in which community members participate. (Textbooks 2A & 2B, p. 105)

> Respect to elders is the use of 'po' and 'opo'[37] during conversations and *pagmamano*.[38] (Textbook 1A, p. 32; Textbook 1B, p. 37)

> Filipinos use the words 'po' and 'opo' when talking to parents, grandfathers, grandmothers and other elderly people. (Textbooks 2A & 2B, p. 82)

The latter statements are not even the cultural practices of some mainstream regional groups, particularly in the extreme northern and southern regions of the Philippine

---

[36] *Senakulo* is derived from the Spanish word *cenaculo*, meaning the place of the Last Supper. In The Philippines, it is a play about the Passion (final days) and death of Christ staged during the Lenten season.
[37] "Po" is a Filipino expression signifying respect; it is usually part of a sentence. "Opo" is a polite way of saying "Yes" or "I agree" in Filipino.
[38] *Pagmamano* is an act of respect usually done by young people when meeting the elders in the family or community. It involves the younger member of the family or community taking the hand of the elderly person and putting it on their forehead.

islands (Mallat, 2021). Even the use of the term *bayanihan*,[39] as described in the textbooks, while generally observed by various Filipino groups, are Filipino words with Tagalog etymology. According to Smith (2021), these statements and terms are dangerous to First Nations groups because they do not reinforce values, actions and customs, and they ignore the culture and identity of First Nations groups. Moreover, by describing practices primarily of mainstream groups, the textbooks subtly imply that Indigenous practices are inferior or non-existent.

The textbooks also presented decontextualised and standardised narratives of First Nations groups' cultural identities. While recognising that Philippine society is characterised by the existence of various ethnolinguistic groups, including 238 First Nations groups (Perez-Brito & Belghith, 2024), there was no in-depth discussion of the latter's varied cultures, histories and ways of life. Instead, their narratives continue to be presented from an outsiders' lens or replicated from Western sources (Lacson, 2004). Connell et al. (2016) describe this as "hegemony of the global metropole in domains of knowledge" (p. 21).

5.2.1.5. Diversity

According to the 2024 World Bank report, there are 238 ethnolinguistic First Nations groups in The Philippines (Perez-Brito & Belghith, 2024), making up roughly 10% to 15% of the population (De Vera, 2007; Ting et al., 2008; UNDP, 2013). However, the textbooks, whether used in private schools or mandated for public schools by the DepEd, only listed a few such groups with no differentiation of the breadth of cultural diversity within First Nations groups in The Philippines. The ethnic groups mentioned also constitute the mainstream culture in various regions, with the exception of the most populous First Nations groups in the Cordillera Administrative Region and in Muslim Mindanao (Textbooks 2A & 2B, pp. 66–68; Textbook 3A, pp. 156–161 & 173-177; Textbook 4C, pp. 178–185).

Descriptions of the cultural artistry of First Nations groups were mainly descriptive and simple narratives (Textbook 5C, pp. 86–98, Textbooks 5A & 5B, pp. 46–48). They

---

[39] *Bayanihan* is a Filipino word derived from the Tagalog term *bayan*, which means *town*. It is used to refer to a spirit of communal unity and cooperation.

enumerated Indigenous instruments from different provinces, which "include[d] the Kudyapi, Gangsa, Tambuli[40] and others" (Textbooks 2A & 2B, p. 175). Textbook 2A also described the music and prose created by First Nations groups to "express their feelings on the events that were happening in their lives" (pp. 173–174 & 175–176). There were more detailed descriptions of their life and customs, including their attire, belief in spirits, rituals from birth to death (Textbook 5A, pp. 49–52; Textbook 5C, pp. 88–89), and arts, such as "musika at sayaw [music and dance]" (Textbook 5C, pp. 94–98), but these were based on accounts of the pre-colonial life of First Nations groups in general. Such descriptions, however, are unable to capture the "numerous nuances" of First Nations groups' practices and oral histories, which only "they are privileged to understand" (Louis, 2007, as cited in Barker et al., 2017, p. 71) and express as authors of these narratives.

"Heaping descriptions upon descriptions" (Connell, 2007, p. 214) about First Nations groups' cultural practices, no matter how comprehensive, does not provide contextualised knowledge of the periphery. Instead, this devalues current First Nations groups' practices and reinforces misrecognition of their cultural values. It also perpetuates hegemonic power regimes over knowledge, in which members of mainstream groups and their institutions are complicit. This shows the unequal power relations between First Nations and mainstream groups, with the latter controlling knowledge construction, while impeding First Nations groups' claims for recognition (Fraser, 2007, 2009).

Contradicting statements about pre-colonial music and dance as part of celebrations in different regions of the country aptly reinforce the ambivalence of mainstream groups in recognising First Nations groups' culture. An example of such a statement is shown below:

> 'Isinasagawa ito bilang paggunita sa mga katutubong dating naninirahan sa kanilang pamayanan o bilang bahagi ng Kristiyanong pagdiriwang…' (it is

---

[40] Kudyapi, Gangsa and Tambuli are musical instruments used by some First Nations groups. Kudyapi is a two-stringed boat lute; gangsa is a percussion instrument used in the Cordillera by some First Nations groups, collectively called *Igorots*; and Tambuli is a trumpet-like musical instrument made from carabao horns

performed as a tribute to the indigenous people who once lived in their community or as part of a Christian celebration…). (Textbook 5C, p. 94)

The statement itself is a paradox. While pre-colonial music and dances are performed to honour First Nations groups, the statement continues on to say that these can also be part of a Christian celebration. When textbooks perpetuate misrecognition of First Nations groups' cultural values and present only the practices of mainstream groups as representing Filipino cultural identity, the former are ignored and denied the right to participate on a par with the latter in social interactions (Fraser, 2007, 2009).

5.2.2. Community

Community is another essential aspect that defines First Nations groups' cultural identities. It provides each member with a sense of belonging, enrooting their values, norms and traditions. Community as a topic was discussed mostly in Textbooks 2A, 2B and 3A, targeting students aged 7 to 8. A community refers to people who are usually in close proximity to be able to "interact and support" (Cobigo et al., 2016, p. 192) one another, and bonded by a shared history, language, sense of belonging and/or social and/or economic goals. For First Nations groups, a community "consists of distinct social and cultural groups that share collective ancestral ties",[41] and whose identities, culture, physical and spiritual health, and livelihoods are inextricably linked to their land and its resources.

However, most of the descriptions and images in the textbooks (Textbooks 2 A & B, pp. 14–19) were about mainstream communities – their types, the people living in them, their physical structures and the changes they have undergone (Figure 5.3). Descriptions were also simplistic generalisations that described the mainstream group's interaction with their environment. Discussions of the social bonds inherent in communities focused largely on their involvement in celebrations that highlighted their cultural identities, beliefs and traditions.

---

[41] https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/indigenouspeoples

Figure 5. 3.

Images of Mainstream Communities
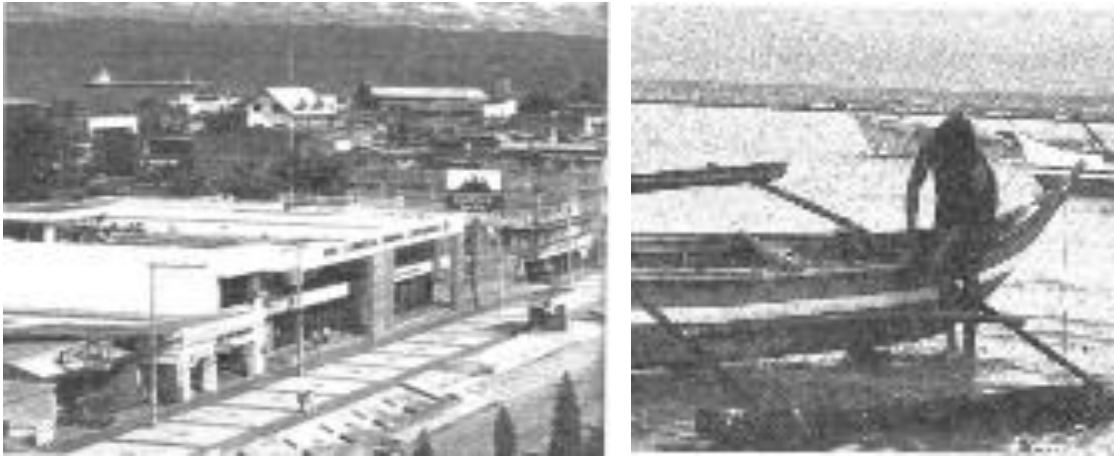
Note. From Textbook 2A

5.2.2.1. Family celebrations

While the textbooks described "celebrations" as "part of Filipino customs", subsequent statements referred to celebrations done mainly by mainstream Christian families such as "…praying…. lavish celebrations like fiestas, sports festivals, parades, processions and the like" (Textbooks 2A & 2B, p. 89). Various activities involving the family were also described. "Family is the smallest unit of our community" (Textbook 1A, p. 57 & Textbook 1B, p. 66) and includes parents, siblings, grandparents and, in certain cases, relatives as members of the extended family. In mainstream cultures, the family is part of communities but is semi-autonomous with more or less limited interactions with other families. However, First Nations societies are founded on complex family and kinship structures which are an indistinguishable part of the socio-political and economic structures of the community (Young, 2006). Elders provide an invaluable "role in preserving Indigenous knowledge" and "intergenerational leadership through their teachings, oral histories and experiences" (Sy-Luna & Diaz, 2023, p. 1236).

In Textbooks 2A and 2B (pp. 89–90), a paragraph is dedicated to outlining various events that are celebrated or remembered by mainstream Christian families. Birthdays, weddings, baptisms, graduations, passing licensure exams to become professionals and death rituals are described as events that serve as "activity … [that] unifies the family and relatives" (Textbooks 2A & 2B, p. 90). Except for weddings and death rituals, no

records state that the other events are celebrated by First Nations groups. Weddings and deaths bring together First Nations groups as communities and are not just events that serve as family reunions.

The phrase "baptism is important",[42] stated in Textbooks 2A and 2B (p. 90), means that this activity is of great significance, particularly for Christian families. However, it may not be generalisable to all people, particularly First Nations groups. Paradoxically, Textbook 5C described the forcible baptism to Christianity of the First Nations groups called Itneg and the Igorots, which led to their uprising in the 17th century during the Spanish rule. During Spanish colonialism, the remaining First Nations groups were regarded as *tulisanes* (bandits) or *taong-labas* (outsiders), because they continued to resist Hispanisation and fled to the mountains to live as free peoples (Textbook 5C, p. 127). The textbook narratives, therefore, ignore First Nations groups, their histories and resistance during the colonial rule. Such insensitivity appears to derive from the hegemonic relations between First Nations and mainstream groups, where the former were regarded as atavistic, historical bystanders and non-agentive participants (Morphy & Morphy, 2013) in the evolution of the Filipino nation.

5.2.2.2. Religious festivals of communities

The textbooks also described religious festivals (Textbooks 2A & 2B, pp. 91–94) which, based on the descriptions, are those celebrated mostly by mainstream Christian groups, while only two Muslims ethnolinguistic groups' religious celebrations, Ramadan and Hari-Raya Puasa, were mentioned and briefly described. These religious festivals, termed *fiesta*, are activities introduced by the Spanish colonisers which celebrate the feast days of patron saints that are models of Christian living. It is a legacy of Spanish colonisation that represents the success of Spanish subjugation of some pre-colonial First Nations groups who acquiesced to the Catholic religion and practices. To ensure acceptance of the foreign religion, Indigenous beliefs of celebrating the spirits and thanking them for various favours were merged with the Christian traditions venerating saints (Textbook 5C, p. 125), producing a hybrid tradition that has acquired a mainstream meaning.

---

[42] In Christianity, *baptism* is a sacrament of admission to the church and symbolises one's acceptance of faith in Jesus Christ.

'Ang tila pagpapatuloy ng mga nakagisnang paniniwala at tradisyon ng mga katutubo ay naging mahalaga sa ikatatagumpay ng Kirstyanismo' (the seeming continuity of indigenous beliefs and traditions became essential to the success of Christianity). (Textbook 5C, p. 132)

Thus, fiestas also became "a way of giving thanks and showing appreciation for an abundant harvest…", whether to the spirits or the saints, as well as a "way of promoting the product for people within and outside the town" (Textbook 3A, p. 181). Mentioned also in the textbooks were national holidays, namely Holy Week, All Saint's Day and Christmas, celebrated throughout the archipelago and attesting to the successful acculturation of many former First Nations groups to mainstream culture during Spanish colonialism. These holidays have become part of the tradition of the mainstream Christian groups that comprise about 90% of the country's population.[43]

The Oxford Dictionary defines *tradition* as the transmission of customs or beliefs from generation to generation.[44] Holy Week, All Saint's Day and Christmas are important traditions of Hispanised Filipinos fiercely loyal to their Christian beliefs (Bauzon, 1991; Lacson, 2004). These traditions therefore represent the mainstream Filipinos' distinct lifestyle and its characteristic ethos rather than a shared collective history with all peoples as one nation. This has produced the current cultural distortions that find mainstream groups regarding non-Christian First Nations groups as Others.

5.2.2.3. Local Fiestas

Many fiestas are also localised to certain regional and island communities, which amalgamated the local First Nations groups' traditional beliefs into Christianity. Nonetheless, the statement "There are also feasts that highlight the culture and lives of the Indigenous Filipinos" in Textbook 3A (p. 184), appears as an afterthought to remind students that The Philippines is comprised of diverse cultures. The examples given were

---

[43] https://geriatrics.stanford.edu/ethnomed/filipino/introduction/religion.html
[44] https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/tradition#:~:text=%E2%80%8Ba%20belief%2C%20custom%20or,of%20these%20beliefs%20or%20customs

the T'boli[45] and T'nalak[46] festivals, where "weavers … showcase their products" (Textbook 3A, p. 182), the Kadayawan[47] festival, and others. However, most of these feasts were initiated by local governments for tourism and/or economic purposes, and to showcase products made by First Nations groups. There was no mention in the textbooks about the cultural significance of the weaves to First Nations groups' rituals and beliefs.

The mention in the textbooks of "feasts that highlight the culture and lives of the indigenous Filipinos" (Textbook 3A, p. 184) can be considered a superficial recognition that subtly denigrates First Nations groups' traditions while presenting their culture in terms of its economic import. The descriptions appear rhetorical, lacking in substance and significance for First Nations groups. There was no mention of the importance of why the feasts were celebrated in relation to cultural beliefs and traditions. This cultural distortion was reified by images and descriptions in the textbooks emphasising the products, attire of performers and trimmings of these festivities (Figure 5.4a & 5.4b). Thus, textbooks that serve as guides to pedagogic practices reinforce the misrecognition of First Nations groups' cultures. Because First Nations groups were not contributors to the writing of the textbooks, they are unable to correct these cultural distortions and devaluing while making claims for cultural recognition (Fraser, 2013).

---

[45] T'boli festival is a feast celebrated by the T'boli group in Mindanao, highlighting inborn ceremonies.
[46] T'nalak festival is a feast celebrated in a province in Mindanao. Its name is derived from the piece of cloth woven by T'boli women.
[47] Kadayawan is a festival celebrated in another province in Mindanao. It serves as a thanksgiving for a bountiful harvest, for the gifts of nature and for the particular First Nations group's culture.

Figure 5.4a.

T'nalak Festival

Figure 5.4b.

T'Boli Tribal Festival

T'nalak Festival

T'Boli Tribal Festival

Note. From Textbook 3A

Two Muslim celebrations were mentioned in the textbook for Grade 2 students, perhaps as a way of recognising the Muslim ethnolinguistic group or realpolitik, since at 6.4% of the Philippine population (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2023), they are the most populous non-mainstream group in the country. Such recognition also extends beyond the Westphalian boundaries of the State, since these are Muslim celebrations worldwide.

5.2.2.4. Civic or non-religious celebrations

Textbooks 2A and 2B (pp. 94–99) briefly describe different civic celebrations which are mainly commemorated by mainstream groups. For example, Linggo ng Wika (Language Week) is to "celebrate the importance of the Filipino language as the national language of the Philippines" (Textbooks 2A & 2B, p. 95). While this is regularly celebrated, Filipino as a language has not evolved from its Tagalog etymology despite a constitutional provision which states that Filipino is the national language but "as it evolves, it shall be further developed and enriched on the basis of existing Philippine and other languages" (*Philippine Constitution, 1987* (Phil), Article XIV, Section 6). Further, while the Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino[48] was created, a lack of logistical support hampered its objective of creating a national language that is "developed and enriched by the lexicon of the country's languages" (*Republic Act 7104*

---

[48] Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino (Commission on the Filipino Language), a government agency tasked with preserving, developing and promoting the various Filipino languages.

Commission on the Filipino Language Act, 1991 (Phil)). Thus, to date the national language recognised and used is primarily a Tagalog-centric Filipino.

In addition, Filipinos commemorate Independence Day[49] as "the country's freedom from 300 years of Spanish colonization". Filipinos now celebrate June 12 as the date when, by their own "valiant battle", they overcame the Spanish forces, and Spain, weakened by another war, left the country after 333 years of colonisation (Textbook 6A, p. 60). However, it was primarily an elite-led revolution by the mainstream groups that celebrated freedom from Spanish colonisation; First Nations groups who continued to resist colonisation have not been acknowledged in these celebrations.

Community is a bond of social integration and commonality that expresses both local and regional practices and traditions (Delanty, 2018). However, most information in the textbooks regarding Philippine communities focused on the mainstream groups' lives and practices and did not reflect First Nations groups' cultures. Discussions of community, and of celebrations, highlight events celebrated by the mainstream cultural groups. This is also perhaps due to a dearth of research about First Nations groups' communities and meaningful practices or because of the authors' own beliefs.

In the textbooks, information regarding celebrations tended to reinforce religious biases that favour the mainstream groups' specific beliefs (Rehman et al., 2022). Descriptions about First Nations groups' cultures and lives were presented from the lens of mainstream groups. The absence of stories from First Nations groups underpins the hegemonic power relations of mainstream groups over First Nations groups. Knowledge about the culture of the Global South (First Nations groups) has effectively been erased or silenced as mainstream groups control the educational and cultural narratives in these textbooks (Connell, 2007; Smith, 2021).

---

[49] Independence Day was originally celebrated on July 4 to coincide with the American celebration of their own independence. This was in 1946 when, after 10 years of the Commonwealth period, the United States granted The Philippines independence. However, in 1964, it was changed to June 12, the day when The Philippines declared their independence from Spanish rule.

5.2.3. Taught History

Philippine history, presented in these textbooks, is the story of cultural and socio-political changes undergone by mainstream Filipinos: from pre-colonial First Nations groups living in their pre-colonial communities in scattered islands to colonised peoples who later became the mainstream cultures of the archipelago. It is a story told from their perspectives and experiences with various colonisers as well as the colonisers' impression of them. Except for the descriptions of pre-colonial life, the remaining First Nations groups who resisted subjugation and conversion to Christianity by the colonial rulers were mentioned sparingly or, as in the case of the Muslim ethnolinguistic groups, were depicted as "bandits" or as "uncivilised" (Textbooks 5A & 5B, p. 128).

The history of the country is discussed in Grades 5 to 6 of Philippine basic education. Out of the 161 pages of each textbook used in Grade 5 of some private schools (Textbooks 5A and 5B), and 259 pages of the public-school textbook (Textbook 5C), only 34 (21%) and 54 (21%) pages respectively discussed First Nations groups' lives as pre-colonial peoples. Textbooks 6A and 6B include 265 pages of Philippine history, Textbook 6C has 389 pages and Textbook 6D has 404 pages. However, only one page from the latter textbook mentioned First Nations groups. The lack of emphasis on pre-colonial life could be explained by the dearth of written information about Philippine pre-colonial history. In addition, in reckoning the history of The Philippines from colonial times up to the EBEA in 2013, written records have mainly been available for the last 448 years, most of which were under Western colonisation (333 years under Spain, 48 years under the Americans and two years under the Japanese).

Based on the number of years that documentation has been available, it is clear why Philippine history is biased toward colonial experiences. After all, the country has been a sovereign republic only in the last 68 years. There are no written records of pre-colonial life made by First Nations groups, as their method mainly focused on oral traditions. Moreover, research that documents First Nations groups' historical struggles focuses on the period where they resisted colonialism during the 16th to 19th centuries, while current studies focus mostly on their struggles for justice, rights to education (Eduardo & Gabriel, 2021) and ancestral lands (Dacanay, 2020).

As stated above, Philippine history discussed in the textbooks covers mostly colonial history and the changes in the country after achieving sovereignty in the 20th century. The limited information about pre-colonial life is based on few artefacts; most are from accounts of Pigafetta, Magellan's chronicler, and the Spanish friars who first encountered the ethnic groups living in the aggrupation of islands now called The Philippines, and other later accounts about native life particularly in the central islands called Visayas. However, the chroniclers were writing their experiences from the lens of Westerners and from what they understood of the language of the natives of the islands (Scott, 1995). These accounts must also be viewed as a tool to achieving Spain's colonising mission in the archipelago.

5.2.3.1. Pre-colonial history

Descriptions of pre-colonial life of First Nations groups were provided by Textbooks 5A, 5B and 5C (Figure 5.5). These descriptions, however, replicated accounts from secondary sources which were usually English translations of Spanish chroniclers writing from first-person experiences, Western or Western-educated historians, theories by anthropologists, information from archaeologists and other sources (Scott, 1995).

Figure 5. 5.

Images of Pre-colonial Life.

Note. From Textbooks 5A, 5B, & 5C

The textbooks also recognised the existence of multiple ethnolinguistic groups:

> 'Sinasabing may 87 wika ang mga sinaunang Filipino' (It is said that the ancient Filipinos had 87 languages). (Textbook 5C, p. 93)

In contrast, Textbook 5A (p. 46) described 100 languages rooted in the Austronesian or Malay-Polynesian cultures. These statements were made as factual. However, data from a volunteer group, Translators Without Borders, established over 120 spoken languages in The Philippines.[50] On the other hand, the Philippine Commission on the Filipino Language (Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino) listed 134 Philippine languages in its *Atlas ng mga Wika ng Filipinas* in 2016 (Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino, 2016 (Phil)). Differences in the reported number of languages is presumably due to subjectivity in the classification of languages by their sources. However, since these statements were written in textbooks used by all primary-school students in The Philippines, it suggests that the omitted languages are unimportant and can simply be relegated to the "dustbin" of history. It also negates the existence of the different First Nations groups that speak these languages and reinforces the fear of extinction and, along with it, their identities and cultures ("Multilingual Philippines", 2019).

Devaluing of First Nations groups' knowledge systems and practices was also evident in statements in the textbooks, for example:

> 'Hindi pormal ang uri ng edukasyong ginamit noong sinaunang panahon. Sa loob ng tahanan nagsimula ang edukasyon at dito ay isinalin ng mga magulang sa kanilang mga anak ang iba't ibang kaalaman' (The type of education used during the pre-colonial period was informal. Inside the home, education began and here, parents transferred various knowledge to their children). (Textbook 5C, p. 93)

These statements shore up the colonial discourse of an inferior culture that needed to be uplifted. The UNESCO definition of *formal education* is an "institutionalized,

---

[50] https://translatorswithoutborders.org/language-data-for-the-philippines

intentional and planned" education "through public organizations and recognized private bodies" (UNESCO, 2011). This definition, however, is from Western (Global North) worldviews of what recognised education should be and does not include viewpoints from the periphery. First Nations groups' education starts at home with elders and parents teaching their children, who in turn will teach their own children about the essentials of living, and about the community's values, beliefs, traditions and culture (Sy-Luna & Diaz, 2023). Thus, historically there were no institutionalised public or private education providers. Connell (2007) argues that the metropole[51] persist in their systematised knowledge and constructs about the world, assuming superiority of the coloniser's culture, language, arts and socio-political structure (Ashcroft et al., 2002), justifying their colonising mission to uplift the colonised to become civilised societies (Lacson, 2004).

5.2.3.2. Spanish colonisation

Textbook 5C introduced the colonial period with the statement:

> 'Sa panahon ng panggalugad at pagtuklas, naging aktibo ang maraming bansa sa Europe na maglayag at magtungo sa mga hindi pa nararating na bahagi ng daigdig… pagtuklas ng mga bagong lupain' (During the age of exploration and discovery, many European nations became active in sailing and heading to unreached parts of the world … discovering new lands). (Textbook 5C, p. 110)

This statement replicates the Western view that justified colonisation of the lands in the East they "discovered" as *terra nullius* or land belonging to no one. As Smith (2021) mentions in her book, the various islands in the East were already populated by various peoples and did not ask to be discovered by the West. This information also negates anthropologists and Western theories of pre-colonial explorations and peopling of the country. It trivialises the existence of thriving communities and vibrant trade among island communities which were documented by Western colonisers. Such statements, when replicated in textbooks, overtly accept Western claims of discovering the islands

---

[51] *Metropole* is the term given by Connell (2007) to centres of development in the Western world or the Global North.

and denying the existence of First Nations groups. This has the effect of erasing First Nations groups' histories and cultures, which includes the complex relationships with their ancestral lands.

Textbook 5C listed the various expeditions before the successful conquest and subjugation of the Philippine islands under the Spanish crown (Figure 5.6). The activity on pages 113 to 114 asked students to describe the experiences of the various expeditions, and an image of the monument of Urdaneta and Legazpi was also included on page 123. While mainstream groups may find these accounts important to understanding their history, First Nations groups could find recollecting such events traumatic because they led to the loss of their lands and ways of life and threatened their cultural identities.

Figure 5. 6.

Images Portraying Events, People and Structural Changes During Spanish Colonisation

Note. From Textbook 5C

Moreover, Textbook 5C clearly showed the influence of the Christianising legacy of Spanish colonialism with various images such as the planting of the cross (p. 109), the first mass at the island of Limasawa (p. 112), the first baptism in the islands (p. 120), the church of St. Augustine as the oldest church constructed (p. 124) and the church as the centre of the town (p. 126). These images comprise five out of 15 images relating to Spanish colonialism. On pages 123 to 124 of the same book, the various religious orders that arrived in The Philippines and their jurisdiction, together with the establishment of the dioceses, were also enumerated. The images and narratives in the textbook communicate not just the assimilation of Christianity, but they also convey a sense of endearment and gratitude to Spain for the Christian faith which became integral to post-colonial Filipino cultural identity.

While abuses were also mentioned, including the lowering of women's roles and the implied loss of First Nations groups' cultural identities, the narratives about Spanish colonialism were quite deferential. Reinforcing this bias were texts in the same textbook stating that,

> 'may mga hindi rin nagpasailalim sa *reduccion* at nagdesisyon manirahan
> ng malaya sa mga kabundukan, bilang mga tulisan' (there are also those
> who did not submit to *reduccion* and decided to live freely in the mountains,
> as bandits). (Textbook 5C, pp. 133–134)

The textbooks used by all public schools, therefore, convey a sense of attachment to Spain for the gift of Christianity while denigrating First Nations groups for refusing such a gift.

Similar statements were found in Textbooks 5A and 5B, replicating the colonial discourse that

> there are natives who refused to obey *reduccion*. They went to the
> mountains and settled there. They were called *remontados* by the Spanish.
> (Textbooks 5A & 5B, p. 84)

Both public- and private-school textbooks replicated the Western colonial discourse about the former in racialised images and narratives. The term *remontados* describes First Nations groups as atavistic, refusing the colonising mission of saving unenlightened souls from eternal damnation. The racialised discourse was repeated by the texts in Textbook 5A:

> …those who escaped from the *reduccion* went to the mountains like the Cordillera, which was used as basis by Spanish colonisers to dub the region as [a] 'fortress of thieves and criminals.' As the Moros of Mindanao and Sulu were labelled as wild, violent and uncivilised, the natives of Cordillera were also labelled as backward and behaving like animals or *asal-hayop*. (Textbook 5A, p. 128)

Repeated statements that replicated racialised discourses of the colonisers and objectified First Nations groups perpetuate discrimination and pejorative statements about the latter. They could encourage Othering by dichotomising Filipinos into Christian mainstream groups and non-Christian First Nations groups. The latter were considered uncivilised and with ancestral knowledge and ways that were backward. Moreover, these statements replicated the discourse in Textbooks 1A and B about sinfulness being embedded in their cultural identity. When primary-school children read the statement repeated from earlier textbooks, it cements the discursive construct of First Nations groups' sinfulness. This narrative was perpetuated in the consciousness of the colonised and was the root of the historical injustice against First Nations groups.

A key difference in the writing of history in the textbooks is the approach used by Textbooks 5A and 5B versus Textbook 5C. Textbook 5C used a narrative/descriptive approach to tell students what happened during the Spanish colonial time. However, it simply heaped facts and overtly showed bias for the Christianising legacy that Spanish colonisation gave to The Philippines. On the other hand, Textbooks 5A and 5B used a more expository approach by using sources that detailed instances of oppression, albeit against Filipinos who were assimilating with the Spanish culture. For example, the text in Textbooks 6A and 6B (p. 12) stated that '…the *illustrados*[52] also suffered severe

---

[52] Illustrados refer to the educated Filipino elites during Spanish colonisation who were of mixed races.

discrimination at the hands of their Spanish teachers and classmates'. It described the injustices and discrimination experienced by colonised Filipinos under Spanish rule (Textbooks 5A & 5B, pp. 119–120) such that

> there should be assigned clothes to distinguish Spaniards, which should not be used either by the natives or the *mestizos*[53]; the best, it seems, for this purpose is a kerchief around the neck, an adornment rarely put on by the natives. They should not use any other clothing other than that which they themselves have selected: open shirt and a straw head gear. Only the chieftains may wear coats… (Textbooks 5A & 5B, pp. 119–120)

Another statement in the same textbook said that

> …it is necessary to keep … Filipinos in an intellectual and moral state that their numerical superiority be politically less than the Spaniards just as in a balance a pile of hay weighs less than a bar of gold[54]… (Textbooks 5A & 5B, pp. 119–120)

The textbook further described the impact of unjust educational policies that increased the gap between the natives who could not speak Spanish and those who could afford the Spanish-sponsored education. While the textbooks expounded on Spanish abuses, these were abuses suffered by acculturated Filipinos who subsequently became part of the mainstream groups.

What the textbook narratives were embedding in the minds of school children was that only mainstream groups suffered injustice, effectively ignoring the injustice suffered by First Nations groups. The current mainstream groups who suffered historical injustices were oppressed and discriminated against but nonetheless

---

[53] The term *mestizos* in The Philippine context, referred to people of mixed colonised Filipina and Chinese or Spanish descent (Mallat, 2021).

[54] An excerpt from the *Report on the State of The Philippines* (Informe Sobre El Estado de las Filipinas en 1842), made by a Spanish administrator to The Philippines in 1842 (Textbooks 5A & 5B, pp. 119–120).

converted to Christianity. First Nations groups who resisted the colonisers were therefore considered as historical bystanders who remained atavistic and isolated, and therefore did not experience the same oppression. The textbooks stated that these groups remained non-Christians, implying that their souls therefore could not be saved. It is not unexpected then that these First Nations groups continue to be Othered and marginalised.

History has taught the mainstream groups about the historic injustice they suffered as colonised people. After colonisation, however, mainstream groups as colonial proxies then replicated such injustice against First Nations groups. These textbooks, as written, reify First Nations peoples as different, while reinforcing racialised narratives about them. First Nations groups have continued to be misrecognised and discriminated against in schools (Lacson, 2004).

Accounts of "victimhood are one-sided" (Tomasevski, 2003, p. 47) in these textbooks. Experiences of oppression, discrimination, maldistribution, misrecognition and misframing of the colonised are recounted; however, there are no mentions of the severe impact on the un-subjugated First Nations groups who led reclusive lives away from the colonisers and their ancestral lands (Acabado & Martin, 2022; Paredes, 2013). Consequently, they became the most impoverished and marginalised groups in the country. The experiences of the colonised seem to be forgotten by today's mainstream groups who are repeating the same on the remaining First Nations groups. As Tomasevski (2003) argues, "individuals and countries tend to remember the pain they have suffered, not the pain they have inflicted" (p. 47) or continue to inflict.

Fraser's (2007, 2009) social justice theory is relevant in this context where the injustice of omitting the lives of the remaining First Nations groups in taught histories in textbooks as misrecognition. Nowhere was the marginalisation of First Nations groups more evident than when Philippine independence was declared (Textbooks 6A & 6B, p. 60). Because independence was proclaimed in between two wars, the declaration was primarily a unilateral act by Tagalog-speaking mainstream groups with no representative from First Nations peoples or the other island groups (Visayas and Mindanao). In the post-colonial Philippines, First

151

Nations groups have continuously been denied equal standing in many socio-political structures, despite being acknowledged as Filipino citizens.

5.2.3.3. Brief independence, 1898

The declaration of Philippine independence (Figure 5.7) was used in the design of the Philippine Flag, which the textbooks (Textbook 6A & 6B, p. 61) described as:

> Three stars signifying the three principal islands of the archipelago, Luzon, Mindanao and Panay where the revolutionary movement started … the eight rays signifying the eight provinces – Manila, Cavite, Bulacan, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Bataan, Laguna and Batangas – which declared themselves in a state of war as soon as the first revolt was initiated, and the colors of Blue, Red and White, commemorating the flag of the United States of North America, as a manifestation of our profound gratitude… (Textbook 6A & 6B, p. 61)

Figure 5.7.

Images Depicting the Filipino Declaration of Independence from Spanish Colonisation in 1898

Note. From Textbook 6A & 6B.

The narratives in the textbooks, while historically true, reinforced the Manila-centric pattern of dominance and loyalty that characterise Filipino–American relationships to this day. The textbook description above also recognised eight provinces in Luzon which were all Tagalog-speaking. Describing what the design stands for is to constantly remind school children of a flag that cannot symbolise unity. It thus serves as a

continuing symbol of the marginalisation of the other groups, particularly First Nations groups, who resisted and continued to resist colonisation, even before 1896. The recognition of provinces populated mostly by Tagalog groups through a national flag also demonstrates hegemonic relationships between the periphery and a Manila-centric metropole.

5.2.3.4. American colonialism

The textbook narratives about Spanish colonialism centred on Christianity as its most important legacy. On the other hand, the textbooks described the establishment of socio-political structures as American colonialism's impact on Philippine nation building (Figure 5.8). Most of the narratives described the changes to mainstream groups' cultural identities and lives as the colonial masters changed from Spain to the United States. First Nations groups were hardly mentioned in this section except in pejorative labels in the texts that "those who defy the colonisers were labelled as bandits and gangsters" (Textbooks 6A & 6B, p. 99). Thus, textbooks from Grades 1 to 6 continued to repeat the racialised discourse about First Nations groups through pejorative tags that would perpetuate discrimination and prejudice, even among school children.

Figure 5.8.

Images Depicting the Socio-political and Economic Changes Introduced During American Colonisation

Note. From Textbook 6C

The textbooks also mentioned that "American officials also implemented the Homestead Act to assist citizens in having their lands titled" (Textbooks 6A & 6B, p. 99). While the Homestead Act is a historical fact, stating that it assisted the titling of lands to citizens would remind First Nations groups of the dispossession of their ancestral lands as pivotal to the injustice they experienced during the dual colonisations. What the textbooks were describing, therefore, were benefits to mainstream groups but not to First Nations groups. For First Nations children, the mention of this Act as a historical milestone could revive the cultural trauma of losing their identity by severing the nexus with their ancestral lands.

Various descriptions in the textbooks of the American culture introduced to The Philippines serve to further the gap between mainstream and First Nations groups. For example:

> [The] Philippine market was being shaped by US free trade, and American movies, radio shows, automobiles, books, fashion, music and dance, and popular games. Filipinos became familiar with the films of Hollywood and Disney, and softdrinks and other American branded food products became part of the dining table. (Textbook 6A, p. 98)

Such discourse described the trappings of American-style modernity and materialism, that while acceptable to mainstream groups, further marginalised peoples such as First Nations groups. Thus, these narratives about Americanisation may be unfamiliar to First Nations groups whose ways of life and cultures were exceedingly different from the modernity described. These textbook narratives show the further shift of mainstream groups' cultural identities to assimilate with the American way of life.

Textbooks 6A (p. 99), 6B (p. 101) and 6C (p. 96) all described the institution of a network of public schools providing free education to all Filipinos regardless of status. This, according to Constantino (2002), also started the miseducation of Filipinos. Americanised education and the use of English as the language of instruction further marginalised First Nations groups, as their inability to comprehend a new foreign language deprived them of access to this free education. Thus, many remained uneducated, deprived of the chance for status mobility and unable to claim social justice rights. Then as now, this historical injustice impeded First Nations groups' parity of participation with mainstream groups (Fraser, 2009), and the right to claim equality in writing their stories in educational resources. Further, the acceptance and grip of the coloniser's language by the emergent mainstream groups appropriated post-colonial discourse and power to control the process of writing (Ashcroft et al., 2002) and the socio-cultural life of Filipinos, further contributing to the Othering of First Nations groups.

In retrospect, the history of the Filipino people was largely written by colonial authors who were writing from their own lenses and biases. There were a few writings authored by the elite intelligentsia that arose in 1896, towards the end of Spanish colonialism. However, most accounts about The Philippines were written by authors of the colonial government, particularly by the Americans, writing in their own language and from their own cultural and political perspectives. Filipino authors tended to replicate this information as their sources for history books, including textbooks (Lacson, 2004).

Except for a few pages about the history of pre-colonial First Nations groups in the textbooks, history has been written as the evolution of mainstream groups from their pre-colonial beginnings to modern-day Filipinos. While descriptions of pre-colonial life provided common historical antecedents, taught history as recounted in the textbooks was about the assimilation of many pre-colonial First Nations groups to Hispanisation and Americanisation. Spanish colonisation was premised on the centrality of Christianity, starting with stories and images of chieftains baptised to the Catholic faith by Spanish missionaries (Figure 5.9; Textbook 5C, p. 112). As stated in the textbook, "ang relihiyong Kristiyanismo ang isa sa pamamaraang ginamit ng Spain sa pagsasailalim sa Pilipinas sa kolonyalismong Espanya' (the Christian religion was one of the methods [if not the most important ruse] used by Spain to subjugate the Philippines to Spanish colonialism)" (Textbook 5C, p. 120).

Figure 5.9.

Conversion to Christianity Through Baptism of the Chieftain, His Wife and the Community.

Note. From Textbook 5C.

History books describe the battle of Mactan as evidence of a brave First Nations group resisting Spanish colonisation. But Lapu-lapu's exploits were just a hiccup in Philippine history, and the textbooks examined in this study (Textbooks 5A, 5B, 5C, 6A, 6B, 6C & 6D) mostly described the changes to Filipino identity and culture following two successive colonisations that lasted almost 400 years. What emerged from these colonisations was an English-speaking mainstream Filipino identity whose culture identifies with Christianity while enamoured by American materialism and its market-based order. Identity is history (Lacson, 2004). In the case of Filipinos, that history has been obfuscated by colonialism. History is taught from the coloniser's lens, using their language, assumptions and agenda. As the modern-day colonial proxy, the mainstream groups have hijacked the narratives of Philippine history with elites of the academe controlling information and knowledge regimes. Connell (2007) refers to "Westoxicated" intellectuals who replicate Western narratives. These are people who have lost their grounding in their local culture, and who continue historical injustice as colonisers' proxies.

None of the textbooks analysed in this research recounted the experiences of First Nations groups during colonialism. Connell (2007) would describe this as erasure of the experiences and knowledge from the periphery. According to Smith (2021), negation of First Nations groups' histories is part of asserting colonial ideology. Despite their fierce resistance to subjugation by two Western colonisers and one Asian imperialist, First Nations groups' struggles and stories remain unresearched and lack credence in primary-school social studies textbooks. This highlights how First Nations groups are vulnerable to hermeneutical injustice by their exclusion from academic discourse while lacking representation in the process of contestation.

Fraser (2007) argues that the root of injustice for First Nations groups is misrecognition. As shown by the analysis, the negation of First Nations groups' participation in the evolution of The Philippines is not just misrecognition of their cultural value; rather, First Nations groups were also ignored as members of Philippine polity. Their lack of education also deprived them of representation and a voice in writing their narratives in current educational resources. The Western education provided by the colonisers embedded a colonial mentality, enabling mainstream groups' claim to intellectual superiority over knowledge constructions.

5.2.3.5. Philippine independence, 1946

Textbook 6D described the adoption of a bilingual language of instruction that used English and Filipino in Philippine institutions after 1946. These social studies textbooks were written in these two languages. However, the Filipino language used was the language of mainstream culture groups, and no consideration was given to contributions from the more than 100 Indigenous languages in the country. It implied an assimilationist agenda through the mainstream groups' mandate of the Philippine language whose etymology is Tagalog. Moreover, by adopting English as the other language used in instruction and in these books was to perpetuate the American ideology which was instrumental in further eroding and fragmenting Filipino identity. The epistemic injustice of excluding First Nations groups through a language policy that denied access to public deliberations and knowledge distribution deprived them of parity of participation, with no understanding of the "language of democracy" (Dawe, 2014, p. 66). For parity of participation to be possible, Fraser (2007, 2009) argues that participants must be given independence to have a voice, and accorded equal respect notwithstanding cultural differences. Equal access will ensure equal opportunity for achieving social esteem (Fraser, 2007, 2009).

In this context, Fraser (2013) argues that social justice must be three-dimensional, incorporating the political dimension of representation, the cultural dimension of recognition and the economic dimension of distribution. Misrecognition precludes claims of social equality and appreciation of Philippine ethnic diversity while impeding "some people's standing as full members of society" (Fraser, 1998, p. 4). For First Nations groups in The Philippines, the core of the injustice they continue to experience, as well as its historical roots, is misrecognition with the attendant injustices of misrepresentation and maldistribution deriving from that root (Fraser, 2007, 2009).

Fraser (2013) further argues that obstacles to participation in decision making are characteristic of the political injustice of misrepresentation. The inability to communicate in the government-mandated languages, which were foreign to First Nations groups in The Philippines, also denied them representation and access to education that could have emancipated them from poverty and enabled self-

development. Thus, inequality in accessing services is redistributive injustice. Parity of participation, according to Fraser (2007), can therefore be argued to encompass these three dimensions which are co-imbricated and intertwined.

The assimilationist language of the texts was also shown by the statement:

> The Tagalog language was chosen as the basis of the National language … to allow for the unity of the Filipinos … to be taught at all levels in schools. Money will be set aside for the development of art, science and literature … to bring back the folk and indigenous songs and Filipino dances (which) were also given due attention. (Textbook 6D, p. 136)

Although there were mentions of Indigenous songs and Filipino dances in the textbooks, it was not clear what songs or dances were being referred to. In addition, the premise of the use of Tagalog as the national language to allow for unity implies an assimilationist strategy that could lead to the loss of other languages, including those of First Nations groups and cultures.

Textbook 6D also mentioned the creation of a Commission on National Integration, whose goals were to

> '…magkaroon ng higit na pagkakaisa ang mga Pilipino lalo na ang mga nabibilang sa mga pangkat-indigenous. Binigyang-diin ang pagpapatayo ng mga daan, tulay, patubig, elektrisidad, at mga paaralan lalo na sa mga pamayanang indigenous' (ensure Filipinos will have more unity, especially those who belong to the Indigenous [First Nations] groups. Emphasis was placed on the construction of roads, bridges, irrigation, electricity and schools especially in Indigenous communities). (Textbook 6D, p. 234)

While the task of the Commission as described was noteworthy, the repeated mention of unity, particularly to include First Nations groups, conveyed that education was being used to proselytise the mainstream groups' assimilationist schema.

5.2.4. Recognised Heroes

The subject of heroes is first taught to primary-school students in Textbook 3A (Figure 5.10). Lesson 5, "Distinct Heroes of the Provinces", described some of the heroes of The Philippines that the mainstream groups acknowledged.

> The history of the Filipino race is rich. Many extraordinary Filipinos have shown their love for the country. (Textbook 3A, p. 135)

Figure 5.10.

Heroes

Note. From Textbook 3A

The lack of historical records of pre-colonial times limits knowledge of what the text described as extraordinary First Nations peoples who "dedicate[d] strengths, wisdom, skills and life for the motherland" (Textbook 3A, p. 135). As shown in the descriptions in these textbooks, the colonial discourse was simply replicated. Any reference to pre-colonial heroes among First Nations groups based on oral histories, epics and stories by elders were dismissed as myths and non-evidentiary narratives.

One pre-colonial hero mentioned in the section on acknowledged heroes was a First Nations chieftain named Lapu-lapu. His exploits were documented by the Spanish chronicler because they involved a Western coloniser's tragic encounter with a First Nations group. Thus, Filipino narratives in the textbook considered him to be "the first Filipino to lead the struggle" (Textbook 3A, p. 143). Textbook 2A (p. 34) described a

woman hero, Princess Urduja. However, because there were no documents to validate her existence, except a mention in the writings of a Muslim traveller, the exploits of heroes of pre-colonial times like her are mired in the nebulous relations of history and myth and dismissed as figments of people's imagination.

First Nations groups have an oral tradition that is passed on to younger generations through stories elders tell their young about their history, culture and beliefs. The private-school textbook for Grade 2 described epics such as the Ilocano epic, Biag ni [*sic*] Lam-Ang (Life of Lam-Ang); the Bicolano epic, Ibalong; the Muslim epic, Bantugan; and the Ifugao, Hudhud and others (Textbook 2A, pp. 175-176; Textbook 5A, p. 46). These epics are stories spoken through poems several stanzas long of the exploits of warrior-heroes and their deeds, as well as of First Nations groups' laws and decrees. As conveyed by the textbooks, the pre-colonial history, evidence of literacy and systems of order of colonised peoples were "dismissed through a series of negations. Writing was the mark of a superior civilisation" (Smith, 2021, p. 28). Consequently, oral stories do not count as history and "legitimate knowledge" (Smith, 2021). According to Smith (2021), Indigenous histories are "stored through their systems of knowledge – their genealogies, their landscape, weavings and carvings, even in the names carried by persons" (p. 33) in the communities.

Textbooks 5A, 5B and 5C mentioned some First Nations groups and leaders who fought for rights during the Spanish rule. They were termed "revolts", which signifies a violent act against an established government. According to the texts, these revolts were

> 'mahahati ang mga pag-aalsang isinagawa ng mga Filipino sa tatlong
> pangunahing kadahilanan: political, panrelihiyon at ekonomiko' (carried out
> by Filipinos for three main reasons: political, religious and economic).
> (Textbook 5C, p. 232)

The textbooks were essentially replicating the discourse of Spanish ethnocentricity. Thus, the reasons provided, particularly religious causes, might be problematic (Scott, 1995). By labelling the pockets of resistance as "uprisings" or "violent revolts", the textbooks again replicate the coloniality of knowledge about Philippine history and its

heroes. The uprisings enumerated in Textbook 5C (pp. 232–236) included or were led by First Nations leaders, but they were not listed among the national heroes acknowledged by the textbooks.

Significantly, except for Lapu-lapu, there was minimal representation of First Nations heroes in the textbooks that would recognise their contribution throughout Philippine history. Textbook 3A stated that Lapu-lapu asserted his claim to sovereignty of the territory he was ruling by leading "the struggle against the Spanish colonisers" (p. 141). The recognition of Lapu-lapu is a validation of First Nations groups as members of the Filipino race and of their role in shaping Philippine history. However, other than Lapu-lapu, none of the textbooks mentioned the participation of First Nations groups in the revolutionary organisation headed by Bonifacio, an acknowledged hero. Despite their courageous act of resisting colonialism, while other groups were acceding to Hispanisation, First Nations groups were not recognised in the writing of these textbooks. Although Textbook 6C (p. 112) mentioned two datus (chieftains) from Muslim ethnolinguistic groups who valiantly fought the American colonisers, they were not named nor accorded recognition as Philippine heroes. The other eight heroes mentioned in Textbook 3A were all from mainstream groups and chosen from the middle to upper classes of mainstream society and culture. They were also educated in Western ideologies. Thus, the textbooks overtly showed bias in who was recognised as Philippine heroes, primarily acknowledging those from mainstream groups whose education was held in high esteem.

Heroes are important in the development of children's cultural identity (Kinsella et al., 2020). They are role models that children emulate for their perceived accomplishments and contribution to the betterment of their societies. Thus, the exploits and works of heroes are important lessons in character that students, whether from mainstream or First Nations groups, can relate to. However, the analysis of the textbooks for primary-school students showed the underrepresentation of heroes that First Nations children could identify with. The absence of First Nations heroes in the narratives negate First Nations groups' oral histories and belittle their cultures, constituting misrecognition. This is traceable to the current Philippine society's structuring of its status order.

5.3. Summary

The CDA of the texts, language and images contained in 15 social studies textbooks used in primary schools in The Philippines revealed epistemic and normative discourses about First Nations groups that influence their perceptions of themselves and how mainstream cultures with whom they interact in classrooms perceive them. The textbooks revealed a bias for mainstream cultures, permeating topics from cultural identity to community, taught history and those who are recognised as heroes. While First Nations groups were mentioned in the textbooks as part of the ethnolinguistic diversity of The Philippines, they continue to be deprived of parity of participation with mainstream society. As this research shows, First Nations groups remain voiceless and unable to participate in the contestation of their narratives while they struggle for recognition of their diverse cultural identities.

Chapter 6: Discussion

Figure 6.1.

Discussion Chapter
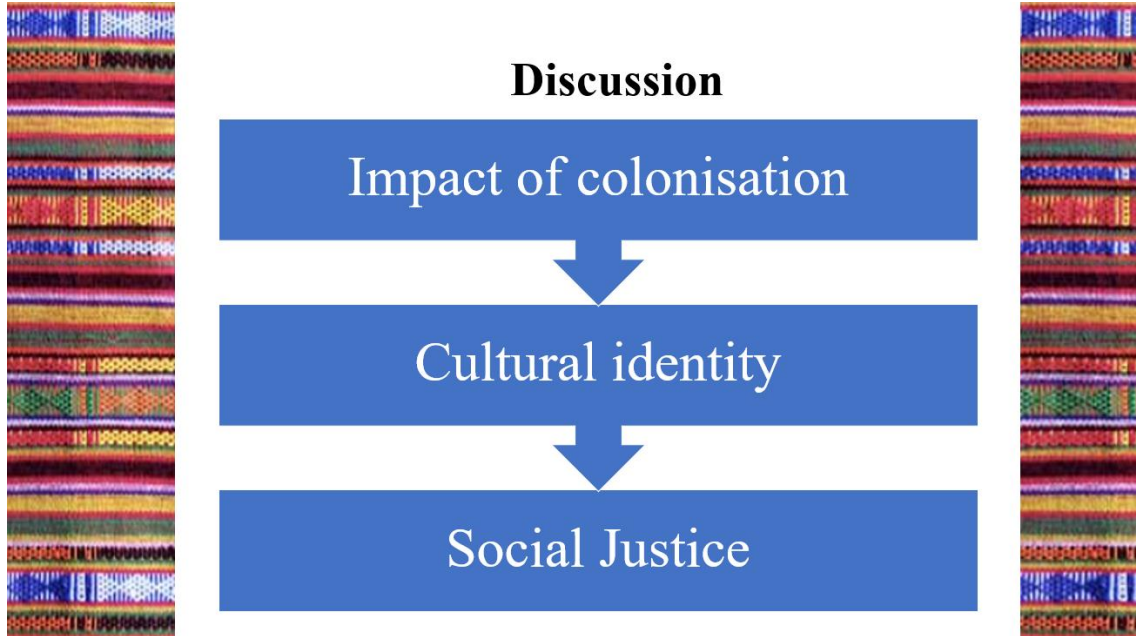
Discussion

Impact of colonisation

Cultural identity

Social Justice

Note. This visual representation outlines how this chapter is structured. The woven cloth image is a traditional design from one of the First Nations groups (Yakan) in The Philippines. This woven cloth image is from Odyssea: Natural, Culture, People[55]

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents a synthesis of the research and a critical engagement with how the Philippine education system accommodates First Nations students. The discussion draws together all aspects of this research, including policy, theory, the influence of colonial history and analysis of current textbooks to address the research question: How and why does the Philippine education system accommodate First Nations students?

The impact of Philippine colonial history has been most relevant to this research and is the context that informed the study. The research also drew on Fraser's social justice theory to address issues of recognition, redistribution and representation of First Nations groups in Philippine educational resources. A critical discourse analysis (CDA) was

---

[55] https://www.facebook.com/odysseaPH/photos/pb.100071165063775.-2207520000/282293612205020/?type=3

employed to analyse language, texts and semiotics in primary-school social studies textbooks and their alignment to the goals of the Enhanced Basic Education Act (EBEA) of 2013. This discussion chapter, therefore, will address the research question by considering how policy, colonisation and current textbooks include First Nations groups in education, focusing specifically on:

1) the impact of colonisation;
2) cultural identity; and
3) social justice.

6.2. Impact of colonisation

Colonisation has drastically altered First Nations groups' histories and ways of life. It brought and imposed a Western education that introduced new language, culture and knowledge, resulting in the silencing of First Nations groups' beliefs, knowledge and learning systems and practices (Acabado, 2017; Acabado & Martin, 2022; Garcia-Olp, 2018). This section discusses the impact of colonisation on First Nations groups' culture as evidenced by the results of the textbook analysis, with the Philippine history of triple colonisation as context. The almost 400 years of colonialism have resulted in: 1) fragmentation of First Nations groups' cultural identity (Herrera, 2015; Rafael, 2018); 2) grand erasure of their history, knowledge, practices and learning systems (Acabado & Martin, 2022; Connell, 2007); and 3) ethnocentricity and the marginalisation of First Nations groups (Acabado & Martin, 2022).

6.2.1. Fragmentation of First Nations groups' cultural identities

The textbooks analysed in this research did not provide a detailed description of the fragmentation of First Nations groups' cultural identities. Instead, they simply described the physical differences, languages and ways of the diverse peoples of The Philippines as though it has always been that way. History is taught as the evolution of First Nations groups to modernity, not as people whose link to their colonial past has been effectively erased by the introduction of new cultures that Hispanised or Americanised them. Instead, the descriptions in the textbooks of the practices and mores of Filipinos were those of the mainstream groups who were largely influenced by the colonisers' cultures and Westernisation.

Prior to colonisation, Philippine society was described as made up of different autonomous First Nations communities living on various islands. Both the historical context and research data show that colonisation disrupted the intergenerational transfer and development of traditional knowledge and culture of First Nations groups and imposed new religion, language and social structures. Through the *Reduccion* policy, Spain silenced First Nations groups' cultural identities by weakening community structures and appropriating their ancestral lands. Education that involved elders and community members passing on their traditional knowledge and practices was no longer possible. Instead, education was provided by the colonisers, who used Western pedagogy to teach new knowledge and a religion different from First Nations groups' traditional beliefs. Further disruption occurred with a second colonisation, this time by another Western country, America, imposing a new language, culture and way of life. The assimilation of this new culture was facilitated by a formal public education provided to all Filipinos. The consequences of the new education system brought by the colonisers weakened the value of First Nations groups' knowledge, languages and cultures. Education was reshaped and transformed in accordance with Western worldviews.

Whether First Nations groups were acculturated or resisted the colonisers, these two colonisations lasting almost 400 years resulted in the fragmentation of their cultural identities. First Nations groups who resisted found that their economic and social development were stifled. These groups were subsequently marginalised, deprived of social services, including education, and racialised. First Nation groups argue that colonisation has left them "misinformed, miseducated, misrepresented, marginalised and … confused" (Dacog, 2003, as cited in Adonis & Couch, 2017, p. 202).

The colonial constructs of First Nations groups as "ignorant, sinful, and inferior" (Textbook 3A, pp. 159, 160, 197) have become entrenched in the minds of the acculturated mainstream groups and continue to manifest in educational resources. However, while mainstream groups consider themselves superior to First Nations groups (Acabado & Martin, 2022; Adonis, 2011; Lacson, 2004), there is a sense of inferiority when comparing Filipino culture to that of the colonisers. This was evidenced by statements in the textbooks analysed; for example, Textbooks 2A and 2B described foreign culture and ideas as superior. Overtly, these statements are due to a

colonial mentality ingrained in the mainstream groups (Mulder, 2013). However, a critical analysis of the discourse showed that these statements appear to be a covert manifestation of power over First Nations groups resulting from the acquisition of a Western-influenced education and the ability to speak English.

6.2.1.1. Cultural values

Analysis of the textbooks showed that mainstream groups continue to have a perfunctory attitude towards First Nations groups, with limited descriptions of their culture. Despite more than 100 First Nations groups with varied cultures, knowledge and beliefs, the descriptions in the textbooks were mere generalisations or stereotypes. When considered alongside the negation of First Nations groups' cultural values, it is possible to see the reflection and Westernisation of the mainstream groups, who consider knowledge from the metropole as universal truth.

Philippine First Nations peoples have oral traditions, thus, they describe their exploits, laws and decrees in cultural expressions, such as in epics. Because there is little documentary evidence that aligns with Western views of historical documents, First Nations groups' epics and oral histories have not been considered as truth. For example, Textbook 2A, quoting an American historian, stated that oral sources about valiant men and women were "figments of the imagination" (p. 34). It has been argued that the Western perspective views writing as the mark of superior civilisation (Smith, 2021). Thus, oral sources such as epics, stories and poems have diminished value in history and are not considered legitimate knowledge. Moreover, the knowledge and practices of First Nations groups such as those in The Philippines, which helped them survive in various environments for thousands of years, have not been considered or categorised as science (Adonis, 2011; Battiste, 2010) and are less valued than Western scholarship (Smith, 2021).

The negation by mainstream groups of First Nations groups' cultures was evident in the textbook analysis, where First Nations groups were mentioned sparingly or in racialised ways. Racialisation was apparent in pejorative labels given to First Nations groups in Textbooks 3A, 5A, 5B, 6A and 6B. This demonstrates the subordinate status of First Nations groups' cultures and contravenes the accommodation of First Nations groups as

participants in Philippine society on a par with mainstream groups. Filipinos in mainstream groups lack a clear understanding of Indigenous learning systems because the current generation have been so far removed from their pre-colonial past (Persoon, 2001). They have also become Westernised by acquiring knowledge from Western pedagogies and education systems.

In contrast to the mainstream groups' individualistic approach to learning, First Nations groups consider their children's education as a community undertaking (Battiste, 2010). Although First Nations peoples had survived for thousands of years using Indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP) to navigate their changing environments, such knowledge is often treated by mainstream groups as myths or philosophical spiritual beliefs (Smith, 2021). This was evident in the textbook analysis, where Indigenous and ancestral knowledge was not portrayed through texts and imagery. Instead, there were nominal and generalised references to First Nations groups' knowledge, histories and cultures. As a result, First Nations children do not see their own knowledge systems and learning practices reflected in textbooks. It could be argued that the textbooks were intended to perpetuate what mainstream groups consider as true and universal information.

This research works to strengthen Battiste's (2010) claim that in the formal mainstream setting, "education is presented as universal and neutral, yet it imposed language and worldviews associated with protecting the colonising ideology that rationalised Indigenous peoples as inferior, unequal and undeserving" (p. 41). Western epistemologies continue to be regarded as superior, universally true, objective and rational, while First Nations groups' ways of knowing are regarded as inferior methodologies (Battiste, 2010; Collins et al., 2021) that are limited in application, static and generally retrogressive (Haverkort & Reijntjes, 2010). These claims continue to persist even a decade after the education reform was implemented.

6.2.2. Grand erasure of First Nations groups' history, knowledge, practices and learning systems

Evidence of pre-colonial history was limited in the textbooks, where history was mostly focused on Philippine colonial experiences. Social studies as a learning area discusses

people, their interactions in society, their culture and history. It is therefore expected that social studies textbooks would be inclusive and include the various peoples of the country. But despite extensive data collected by the early Spanish chroniclers, descriptions of pre-colonial life were generalisations about appearance, socio-political structures and economic activities. With the number of First Nations groups existing in the pre-colonial Philippines, and as the Spanish documents reveal, First Nations groups' cultures are more nuanced and show considerable differences than that portrayed in the textbooks. Underrepresentation of First Nations groups' beliefs and knowledge systems is considered to be an epistemic injustice (Fricker, 2007) that precipitates marginalisation and devalues their culture. According to Coady (2017), the maldistribution of epistemic rights is correlated with the maldistribution of economic rights. Epistemic injustice further deprives First Nations groups of a voice, precluding their representation in decisions about their own narratives.

First Nations groups' cultures, knowledge and practices, meticulously documented by Spanish friars, have been successfully obfuscated by colonialism, including pre-colonial history (Mulder, 2013). History that is taught chronologically focuses on the colonial period, the time when written documents were created. The textbooks in this study devoted more pages to colonial history, focusing on the acculturation of Filipinos, primarily because colonialism in The Philippines lasted for almost 400 years. As a result, the colonial narratives perpetuate the ushering of The Philippines into membership in the modern states. However, it also negates First Nations groups' history, effectively silencing the historical injustice they experienced during colonialism. This erasure of the experiences of First Nations groups continues to deny them their history and membership of the Filipino community (Acabado & Martin, 2022).

The textbook narratives establish a frame (Fraser, 2007) that excludes First Nations groups and leaves them "out of the hegemonic narratives of history and modernity" (Connell, 2007, p. 214). In addition, the textbooks affirm the discursive construction of First Nations groups as "unilinear, evolutionist and ethnocentric" (De los Reyes, 2016, p. 107), implying lack of dynamism and cultural growth (Kipuri, 2009). Thus, while the State committed to inclusive education through the EBEA (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)), the textbook analysis showed that the

learning materials that have been created to implement the law and to guide teaching and learning continue to convey exclusion.

The colonial discourse of civilising missions that ushered The Philippines into modernity continues to this day. This includes the obscuring impact of colonisation on First Nations groups, including the severance of connections with their land. The result was the quiescence of cultural development by the colonising presence that subsequently shaped the quality of First Nations groups' lives. This was evident in the Grades 5 and 6 textbooks, which described Spanish and American colonisation respectively. However, the textbooks ignored the cultural development of First Nations groups, as evidenced by narratives that disregarded them or repeated the pejorative labels made by the colonisers.

In these textbooks, oral histories and narratives were dismissed as myths and legends, and negative, often distorted stereotypical pictures of First Nations groups were presented (Textbooks 2A, 2B, 5A, 5B & 5C). Despite extensive archival data (Mallat, 2021; Scott, 1995) on Spanish translations of the languages in the islands, which revealed information about First Nations groups' science and philosophies, the textbooks made no mention of these. The mainstream groups' Westernised education, promoted as universal, rational and progressive, appeared unable to comprehend such cultural and theoretical differences. A dismissive attitude to First Nations groups' knowledge systems and practices resulted in very little research that can be drawn on to engage First Nations groups' learning. As the textbook analysis also showed, the entrenched colonial mentality has normalised the peripheralisation of First Nations groups, with bias towards mainstream groups' Westernised culture.

Connell (2007) describes "characteristic textual moves in the writings of Northern theorists" (p. 46), two of which are the exclusionary nature of their writings and the grand erasure of knowledge from the periphery or the Global South. Mainstream groups' colonial education has embedded the Western ethos that considers First Nations groups' culture, knowledge and practices as inferior. They write as Northern theorists whose claims of universality of Northern knowledge diminishes First Nations groups as contributors of knowledge. This was evident in the textbooks, which tended to be exclusionary. Smith (2021) describes the continued denial of First Nations groups as

creators of their own culture, knowledge and ideas. This cultural devaluing was evident in the current study, particularly in the textbook analysis, which showed how mainstream groups continue this epistemic injustice.

6.2.3. Ethnocentricity and the marginalisation of First Nations groups

The textbooks portrayed First Nations groups using the same types of images and descriptions as from pre-colonial times. Such constructs imply a stagnant, atavistic culture that has been incapable of self-development (Acabado & Martin, 2022). Mainstream groups, educated in Western philosophies, continue to describe pieces or fragments of the cultural practices of First Nations groups that diminish their cultural value. The narratives also focus on mainstream groups continuing the pattern of inequality that perpetuates the marginalisation of First Nations groups. Furthermore, Smith (2021) refers to the impact of social institutions denying First Nations groups their place in history and of historical injustice as the root cause of their "impoverished material condition" (p. 14). Despite devoting approximately 400 pages to the history of the Filipino people, narratives in the textbooks about the history and struggles of First Nations groups were few and difficult to find. This research showed that First Nations groups were included only in: 1) the discussion of pre-colonial life which included all First Nations groups, 2) their refusal to be Christianised and subjugated which led First Nations groups to move to the mountains, and 3) their present traditions and beliefs.

What the textbooks failed to describe is the trauma of collective loss experienced by First Nations groups that is central to the history of colonisation. Connell (2007) describes this loss as including land, and its concomitant impact on social order and cultural identity. The mainstream groups' indifference to First Nations groups' experiences is, according to Connell (2007), the "mark of the Westoxicated" (p. 214).

The almost 400 years of Philippine colonial history not only indentured the country to the colonisers, it also severed its link with the past. With the exception of a few artefacts and the rigorous work of the first chroniclers and Spanish friars, who documented pre-colonial life and languages, there are limited works that connect The Philippines to its past. The exception was First Nations groups that resisted subjugation, acculturation and assimilation and retained the culture of their ethnos (Scott, 1998, as cited in Lacson,

2004). However, First Nations groups' cultural development during the years of colonialism was hardly mentioned in the textbooks. Instead, the textbooks largely described how the mainstream groups resisted, adapted and were acculturated by the colonisers. First Nations groups were considered historical bystanders unable to contribute to the building of the Philippine nation. Therefore, First Nations groups were marginalised not only in terms of access to basic services but in Philippine historical narratives.

6.3. Cultural identity

Philippine history and geography contributed to the rise of multiculturalism (Song, 2020) in the Philippine islands. After almost four centuries of colonisation, the diverse peoples of The Philippines can be classified into two general groups: mainstream and First Nations. The former were acculturated and dominated in power in various socio-political structures, while the latter became marginalised and impoverished. Nonetheless, First Nations groups have fought for recognition and culturally appropriate education to enable status and social mobility. Acknowledgement of First Nations groups and their social justice rights were included in provisions of both the 1987 Philippine Constitution and the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (*Philippine Constitution, 1987* (Phil); *Republic Act 8371 Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act, 1997* (Phil)). However, the provisions show that these address mostly distributive rights, whether equitable distribution of wealth or services.

6.3.1. Language and cultural identity

Language is an integral component of cultural identity. It is fundamental to understanding values, beliefs, mores and "other intangible aspects of culture" (Kipuri, 2009, p. 57) that enable individuals to communicate, participate in and access knowledge of a specific community. The EBEA (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)) and succeeding Department of Education (DepEd) orders mandated the use of the mother tongue only in the first three years of primary school, together with English and Filipino. The medium of instruction in subsequent years follows Philippine bilingual policy which requires the language to be either Filipino or English depending on the subject. These were also the languages used in the social studies textbooks examined in this study.

This policy underpins the marginalisation of First Nations students in education and impedes their access to mainstream education and learning resources. The various ethnolinguistic groups in The Philippines, including First Nations groups, have their own languages. However, the textbooks did not incorporate words from these languages nor were there mother-tongue translations available. The use, therefore, of languages foreign to First Nations students impedes the development of their cultural identities, as well as access to education to improve their status in society. The research showed that language is deeply intertwined with the colonial mentality that the mainstream groups acquired as a consequence of colonialism. These two factors, language and colonial mentality, remain the biggest impediment to accommodating First Nations groups in education.

Children are also relearning the mainstream language to be able to communicate with their peers in school (Adonis & Couch, 2021; Bonifacio et al., 2021). These factors have aided the assimilationist schema while hastening the loss of language and culture. In the literature, one First Nations group's leader stressed the need to develop strategic identities to allow people to navigate between their own and mainstream culture (Alejo, 2018).

6.3.2. Impediments to accommodating First Nations groups in education

This research found two major impediments to realising the State's commitment to accommodating First Nations groups' needs in education. The first is the enduring legacy of American colonialism that embedded the English language as the dominant and unifying language of Filipinos. The second is the colonial mentality deeply ingrained in mainstream groups' consciousness (Mulder, 2013; You, 2011). This section discusses these impediments, which were implicit in the languages used in the textbooks and the narratives that were biased towards mainstream groups' history and ethos.

6.3.2.1. The grip of English in Philippine education

The first impediment to accommodating First Nations groups in education is "the grip of English on the structural, historical and social formations of the country" (Lorente, 2013, p. 188). Philippine colonial history, particularly describing the American period,

discusses the American directive on the use of English as the medium of instruction in the public education system they instituted. The imposition of English in education is an American legacy that became a source of both privilege and pride for those who could speak the language. As a result, English became the determinant of one's socio-economic status and power (Lorente, 2013). Despite qualifying statements that children should exhibit an appropriate attitude towards other groups, the textbooks in this study overtly stated that intelligence is related to one's ability to speak English.

The mainstream groups that governed after independence continued the legacy of using both Filipino and English in education. As a result, English and Filipino were the primary languages used in writing the social studies textbooks. The focus on English, a language that First Nations groups are not proficient in, impedes their access to learning materials used in basic education. Therefore, Indigenisation, an expressed goal of the EBEA (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)), as well as the provision in the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (*Republic Act 8371 Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act, 1997* (Phil)) for First Nations peoples to establish their own education system and provide education in their own language, were not supported by the languages used in the textbooks. Thus, First Nations peoples are unable to participate well in education or tell their narratives in an environment of hermeneutical inequality (Eduardo & Gabriel, 2021; Veñegas et al., 2023).

This imposition of the national language and English, therefore, ignores the cultural and linguistic diversity of The Philippines. It also espouses an assimilationist strategy that could lead to the neglect and subsequent loss of First Nations groups' languages. Research (Bonifacio et al., 2021) has shown that languages are lost when succeeding generations of First Nations children transition to the use of either regional languages, English or Filipino because it enables them to communicate with their peers in school. The continued use of English and Filipino as the medium of instruction diminishes the objective of education reform to Indigenise education.

This government language policy is an institutionalised national obstacle to the participation of First Nations groups. It results in unequal access to educational and social opportunities between First Nations and mainstream groups. Such inequality results in the inability of First Nations groups to claim the right to participate on a par

with mainstream groups as full partners in knowledge distribution. The imposition of English as the language of instruction removes First Nations groups' voices and accords them a subordinate status that hinders the development of self-esteem. This is borne out by textbook narratives about one's inability to speak English as a measure of inferiority. Thus, the language barrier impedes First Nations children's access to learning resources and education that could uplift their economic and social standing in society.

In addition, the language and imagery used in the textbooks did not recognise Philippine cultural diversity. As implied in the textbooks, and as evidenced by reports in the literature, First Nations groups are forced to assimilate both with languages and mainstream culture. When educational policies impose the use of a language foreign to First Nations groups, children are forced to learn the new language, relegating the use of their own language to their homes and communities. It also means their needs cannot be accommodated because the purported culturally appropriate curriculum is undermined by the use of language that is exclusionary.

6.3.2.2. Western discourse and superiority

The mainstream groups have continued the discourse of Western superiority which, according to Connell (2007), "claims universality for a metropolitan point of view" (p. 47). As shown by the textbook analysis, this erases the experiences, knowledge and philosophies of First Nations groups. Being educated by Western-influenced curricula, the mainstream groups have thus become colonial proxies. As a result, they write in the same way as the Global North social theorists, which Connell (2007) states is based on the "geopolitical assumptions" (p. 28) of the universality of knowledge from the metropole.

The colonial mentality of the mainstream groups, as well as their inability to engage with and understand the nuances (Barker et al., 2017) and differences of First Nations groups' cultures, dictate how they theorise and write. Mainstream groups replicate the colonial view that civilised society is assessed based on its literacy with written documents as records of legitimate knowledge (Smith, 2021). Philippine learning resources thus replicate the Western discourse that pre-colonial societies were uncivilised, while crediting the colonisers for the transformation to modernity. This was

evident in the literature (Joaquin, 1988) and implied in the deferential regard for the colonisers in the narratives in the social studies textbooks. Despite the injustices experienced by colonised Filipinos, their loyalty and deference towards Western ideologies remain resolute.

6.4. Social Justice

This section elaborates on social justice imperatives of the State as an accommodation of First Nations groups in education. It further presents arguments on whether the semiotics in social studies textbooks align with this commitment. Finally, it will make explicit the discourse in the textbooks, created as teaching and learning guides in the implementation of the EBEA (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)), in regard to correcting historical injustice endured by First Nations groups since colonisation.

6.4.1. State commitment

The State, through the EBEA, committed to accommodate First Nations groups in education that is inclusive, localised and Indigenised (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)). The enactment of this law in 2013 reiterated the State's commitment to create opportunities for equitable distribution of resources and opportunities for all Filipinos, as enshrined in the 1987 Philippine Constitution (*Philippine Constitution, 1987* (Phil)). Subsequent enactment of the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act in 1997 (*Republic Act 8371 Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act, 1997* (Phil)) recognised the rights of First Nations groups to culturally appropriate education relevant to their needs, including education in their own language.

The EBEA aimed to achieve the inclusion of First Nations groups in education that is culturally appropriate to their regional differences. It included a provision to use the mother tongue as a language of instruction, albeit only in the first three years of education, alongside Filipino and English. This provision acknowledged regional differences, to be addressed by localisation of pedagogic strategies and use of the regional language in primary education.

6.4.1.1. Inclusive education

The enactment of the EBEA (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)) in 2013 was a landmark step in education to accommodate the diversity of learners in Philippine society. It was also a watershed moment for First Nations groups, who had long fought for a culturally appropriate education that addressed their needs. Through the law, the State committed to the creation of a curriculum that adheres to "sound educational principles" that include "inclusivity", "culture-sensitivity" and "contextualis[ation]" – words and statements which are important for First Nations students (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)). An inclusive curriculum would mean that all Filipinos, including First Nations groups, would be provided equal access to opportunities and resources that the latter have otherwise been deprived of. Moreover, a culturally appropriate and contextualised curriculum would acknowledge First Nations groups' cultures and histories, while accommodating their beliefs, values, knowledge and learning systems. This was an opportunity for First Nations students to access education that would enable self-development and social mobility.

Because The Philippines comprises multicultures that include 238 First Nations groups, seven Muslim ethnolinguistic groups and 23 mainstream groups, the enhancement of special programs in the curriculum tailormade for different groups became a necessary accommodation. For First Nations groups, this resulted in strengthening the Indigenous Peoples Education (IPEd) curriculum to include IKSP, implemented through Indigenous Learning Systems (ILS) that involve First Nations communities. The IPEd curriculum also provides education in different languages in accordance with those used by First Nations groups. This education reform was a realisation of the aspirations of First Nations groups which they have long fought for. It was also an acknowledgement to correct the historical injustice endured by First Nations groups, as subjugated peoples who were also marginalised and deprived of opportunities for social mobility.

6.4.1.2. The use of mother tongue

The EBEA required the use of mother tongue in early primary education to improve learning in the formative years. However, its ultimate goal was to subsequently ensure the development of proficiency in English or Filipino in both the formal and Indigenous

Peoples Education curricula (*Department Order 32 Adopting the Indigenous Peoples Education Curriculum Framework, 2015* (Phil), s. 2015). This reinforces Lorente's (2013) and Dawe's (2014) claim that English and Filipino are prioritised over other languages, including those of First Nations groups. While the EBEA emphasised a culturally sensitive curriculum, both the law and the social studies textbooks underpin the importance of languages that make ineffectual an education that accommodates First Nations students' needs.

6.4.2. The Social justice discourse in First Nations groups' education

This section elaborates on social justice discourse that continues to exclude First Nations groups in education. Despite recognition of rights by the 1987 Philippine Constitution and the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act, First Nations groups continue to endure marginalisation that impedes their self-development and improvement of their status.

6.4.2.1. Historical injustice

Educational injustices are deeply rooted in Philippine colonial history. Fraser (2007, 2009, 2013) argues that the roots of injustice experienced by First Nations groups can be understood as misrecognition. In The Philippines, its historical antecedence is First Nations groups' resistance to subjugation. Movement to the mountains did not only deprive First Nations groups of basic services; their connection with their land was also lost, while their cultural identities fragmented (Paredes, 2013). Aside from pejorative labels that the colonisers used against them, First Nations groups were also deprived of education. "The colonial nature of our education has perpetuated Othering constructions of Indigenous identity that reify internal colonialism by foregrounding the mainstream (e.g. Tagalogs and Visayans)" (De los Reyes, 2016, p. 122) and relegating First Nations groups to the background.

6.4.2.2. Culturally responsive education for First Nations groups

The EBEA mirrors Fraser's social justice dimensions of redistribution, recognition and representation, by aiming to allow First Nations groups to participate on a par with broader Philippine society. Redistributive justice ensures equal access by all Filipino students to education as a social service. The declaration of principles that foreground

culture as crucial in ensuring inclusive education is a recognition of the diversity of cultures in Philippine society and their various needs. Provision for the creation of a flexible curriculum that considers local contexts enables the inclusion of content and pedagogic modes in accordance with the social context of students and schools.

The educational principles declared in the Act resulted in strengthening of the IPEd curriculum. The curriculum was crafted after extensive consultation with First Nations communities, support groups and the DepEd, allowing representation in decisions on curriculum content. Indigenisation does not only accommodate the needs of First Nations students, but it also ensures inclusivity. The IPEd curriculum became the mechanism for inclusion of IKSP and employing Indigenous Learning Systems in learning areas at all levels.

The curriculum aims to enable First Nations children to learn about their culture and practices, resulting in increased participation and better outcomes. A culturally responsive education increases attendance while decreasing drop-out rates and improving cognitive and psychomotor performance (Dumatog & Dekker, 2003; Quality Education Design-Aptissimi Development Innovations Inc. Partnership, 2021; Villaplaza, 2021). It is also an opportunity for all students to gain insight about other cultures and participate in cross-cultural exchanges of what Connell describes as knowledge from the *peripheries*.[56] Culturally responsive education also starts the process of decolonisation for First Nations groups by providing the opportunity to share their narratives, thoughts and stories.

6.4.2.3. The implementation of culturally responsive curriculum

The education reform was a tacit acceptance of the multicultural nature of Philippine society. Implementation of the IPEd curriculum began to address inclusiveness and Indigenisation of Philippine education to accommodate diverse learners. As evidenced in the research, two issues constrain the implementation of inclusive education in accordance with the commitment of the State: 1) the asymmetric interfacing of the IPEd curriculum with the mainstream curriculum, and 2) the lack of culturally sensitive

---

[56] *Peripheries* refer to First Nations groups or the Global South. These are peoples who have experienced years of subjugation under colonialism.

textbooks that include First Nations groups' beliefs, knowledge, values and learning systems.

The first concern relates to how the IPEd curriculum was implemented, which was only for schools with predominantly First Nations students. In later years, the IPEd curriculum aimed to interface with the mainstream curriculum through the incorporation of 21st century skills. However, the mainstream curriculum will not incorporate or teach IKSP to mainstream students (*Department Order 32 Adopting the Indigenous Peoples Education Curriculum Framework, 2015* (Phil), s. 2015). This asymmetric interfacing with the IPEd curriculum feeds into the assimilationist schema of the State as it integrates First Nations groups into Philippine society. It also devalues Indigenous knowledge and practices, as well as the capacity of First Nations groups as creators of knowledge.

The research showed little evidence of learning materials and textbooks that are culturally appropriate. Thus, the second issue is the lack of textbooks that incorporate First Nations groups' cultures, beliefs and knowledge systems. The sheer number of First Nations groups (238) and their population sizes, as well as little documentation of First Nations groups' information, have made it hard to create specific textbooks that address various cultural needs. Nonetheless, the textbooks that were created after enactment of the EBEA were expected to be more inclusive, enabling understanding of the various ethnolinguistic cultures existing in the country. They were expected to incorporate First Nations groups' knowledge and learning praxis in key lessons. Instead, the narrow and limited focus of the narratives about First Nations groups in the textbooks have contributed to pejorative sentiments and indifference by mainstream groups.

Moreover, as shown by the textbook analysis, the learning resources mainly included the narratives of mainstream groups, nullifying the objective of creating an Indigenised and inclusive education. The lack of discussion about First Nations groups' knowledge systems and philosophies also deprives mainstream groups of the opportunity for cross-cultural understanding while negating the scholarship of First Nations groups. Indigenisation could have lessened discrimination and prejudice while fostering multicultural exchange and inclusion. Implicit in this arrangement is the continued

misrecognition of First Nations groups and the devaluing of their knowledge and practices by mainstream groups.

Connell (2007) describes the embeddedness of mainstream groups' perspectives, particularly in academic programs that will eventually produce the mentors of the next generations. It is not surprising, therefore, that mainstream views are deeply ingrained in Philippine curriculum and pedagogy since, as stated in Chapter 2, the country's education system is patterned after the American system. Such a system has created rules of inclusion and exclusion based on the assumption of the superiority of Western knowledge and practices. These mainstream views persist regarding First Nations groups' knowledge, beliefs and traditions as illegitimate because they do not follow metropolitan methodologies.

Thus, the findings of this research reveal that the social studies textbooks perpetuate the distinction between mainstream and First Nations groups. This narrow cultural lens further suppresses First Nations groups' cultures and identities. It also contributes to the misrecognition of cultural value, which Fraser (1998) describes as status injury. Fraser (1998) argues that status injury results from being devalued and denied equal participation as a consequence of "institutionalised patterns of cultural value" (p. 3). Misrecognition has relational consequences. It fosters prejudice and discrimination and overtly establishes a status hierarchy between mainstream and First Nations groups.

It has been argued that misrecognition of First Nations groups' ethnic individualities and cultures in textbooks also engenders perceptions of inferiority and impedes the development of cultural identities (Acabado & Martin, 2022). In addition, First Nations groups have been subjected by the mainstream metropole (Connell, 2007) to epistemic injustice by denying them the opportunity to contribute to knowledge generation through their own narratives. Because their narratives, ontologies and epistemologies have not been given credence in these textbooks, First Nations groups have been misframed and denied the right to their own narratives.

6.4.2.4. Textbooks as a cultural tool for inclusion or exclusion

The EBEA of 2013 and the strengthening of the IPEd curriculum were legal remedies to accommodate First Nations students in culturally appropriate education. However, the law is ambiguous about this commitment in textbooks. Section 10.3 of Implementing Rules and Regulations (IRR) of Republic Act (RA) 10533, the EBEA (*Implementing Rules and Regulations of Republic Act 10533*, 2013 (Phil), Section 10.3), simply "encourage[s] the production and development of local produced textbooks, the approval of which was devolved to regional and division units" of the DepEd. The task of textbook development was allocated to the private sector (*Republic Act 8047 Book Publishing Industry Development Act, 1995* (Phil)), which is comprised mainly of mainstream authors. Because it only encouraged the production of local textbooks, this resulted in the creation of textbooks that reflected publication biases while negating stories from the peripheries. Moreover, the law, including the IRR of RA 10533 (*Implementing Rules and Regulations of Republic Act 10533, 2013* (Phil)), and the subsequent department orders (Do)s (*Department Order 32 Adopting the Indigenous Peoples Education Curriculum Framework, 2015* (Phil), s.2015), did not provide clear guidance for Indigenisation in all aspects of implementation to address the needs of the multicultural polity of Philippine society.

Although the policy purportedly addresses the needs of First Nations groups, as shown by the analysis of social studies textbooks, the implementation provides a continued imbalance of culturally appropriate education that only tackles mainstream groups' educational needs and standards. Despite DOs to respect First Nations groups' cultures, the textbooks have continued the cultural misappropriation of First Nations groups' knowledge, beliefs and practices. Narratives from their own perspectives have also been excluded from the textbooks, resulting in flaws, negations and underrepresentation of First Nations groups' cultures and histories (Acabado & Martin, 2022). This has implications for how both mainstream and First Nations groups see themselves in relation to each other. Misrepresentation also promotes maldistribution, particularly when the languages of the textbooks impede First Nations groups' full access to education that would have ensured their social mobility and participation in the country's linguistic economy.

The lack of representation limits First Nations groups' access to education. When education does not include First Nations groups' cultural expressions, knowledge and learning systems, their educational outcomes are not achieved. In the modern world, jobs require credentials that are usually obtained through education. The ubiquity of power is a major driver of educational outcomes in the world today. It enables individuals to rise in social standing. However, with limited education, First Nations groups have minimal ways to improve their social standing. Language and cultural inappropriateness impede access to education that will enable First Nations groups' social mobility. It then becomes a vicious cycle of misrepresentation resulting in misrecognition.

6.4.2.5. Coloniality of knowledge

Evidence in this research shows the perpetuation of the coloniality of knowledge that claims superiority of Western views and ideologies. While the EBEA (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)) committed the State to providing an inclusive and Indigenised education, the analysis of the discourse and images in the textbooks showed that these learning resources have continued the colonial ideology which excludes First Nations groups as a source of knowledge. The State's acknowledgement of First Nations groups in the 1987 Philippine Constitution was an assurance that First Nations groups would be given redistributive justice. The EBEA was also a recognition of the distinctiveness of varied groups, including First Nations groups. Nonetheless, as shown by the research analysis, these textbooks, created to implement the law in the current Philippine education system, have continued what Connell (2007) describes as the coloniality of knowledge.

After generations of acculturation, the Filipino elites have become a Western hybrid (You, 2011). Their hybridity has given them the privilege of having the superiority of knowledge derived from the in-betweenness of two cultures, including understanding their differences (You, 2011). Thus, the textbooks showed a devaluing of First Nations groups' knowledge and practices because they do not fit a Western concept of pedagogical praxis. They also implied a colonial mentality that dichotomises Western knowledge as superior while denigrating knowledge from the Global South or the peripheries as inferior.

The continuation of the coloniality of knowledge in the current Philippine education system is evident when First Nations groups' beliefs, values, knowledge and learning systems are not captured by educational resources. Western educational philosophies and epistemologies have become ingrained and normalised as education that is modern and internationally acceptable (Connell, 2007). This is also because First Nations groups' knowledge, beliefs and learning systems are different or in contrast with those understood by the intellectual elites who belong to mainstream Philippine society. The textbooks analysed for this research used Western sources (Lacson, 2004; Scott, 1995) and codified Western narratives about Philippine history, including its transformation to modernity.

6.4.2.6. Stories from the peripheries

Connell (2007) and Smith (2021) argue for the experiences, science, traditions and beliefs of the colonised to be included in research and learning resources as knowledge from the periphery. Connell (2007) emphasises the contribution of the Global South or what she calls the periphery, to the body of knowledge and cultural wisdom generated by the West, generating a more comprehensive social science discipline and "remak[ing] the world" (p. 92). This will also help to decolonise the thinking, beliefs and discourse instilled by the colonial past. In this research, as evident in the Philippine textbooks, pre-colonial Philippine communities were described as having their own socio-political system that maintained order, a truism in other pre-colonial societies (Smith, 2008). However, this system, by Western measures, does not count as a characteristic of civilised society. The Western view is that their colonising missions led to the advancement of The Philippines via membership in civilised society. In replicating Western views, the textbooks overtly ignored or negated First Nations groups' knowledge and practices, which is antithetical to Connell's and Smith's views.

Social studies as a subject has undergone various cosmetic changes, primarily the name of the subject, to inculcate nationalism, a sense of pride and a motivation for a Philippine national identity that will foster unity. However, The Philippines remains a fragmented nation of many ethnolinguistic peoples, including First Nations groups. Indigenisation, as committed to by the EBEA, could start the process of decolonisation.

This would require education to acknowledge Philippine society as comprised of a plurality of cultures. The varied beliefs, values and traditions, including those of First Nations groups, must be recognised and reflected in educational resources. While the EBEA was a substantive divestiture of colonial education, a divestment of the narratives that have covertly perpetuated the supremacy of the colonisers' epistemologies would also be beneficial. Ideologically, this means thinking outside the box to incorporate knowledge from the peripheries in education and critically examining what has always been considered by Western and American narratives as superior scholarship.

6.4.2.7. Racialisation of First Nations groups

Indigenisation and localisation of the curriculum, as committed to by the State through the EBEA, were not supported by the textbooks, which continue to ignore the knowledge, cultures, values, beliefs and struggles of First Nations groups. Instead, the textbook narratives replicate the written accounts of the colonisers from old literature up to the current day (Lacson, 2004; Mulder, 2013). The colonisers' accounts, experiences and interpretations have been taken as legitimate knowledge, albeit through their own cultural lens.

It has been argued that Western narratives reflect the imperialistic manner by which knowledge was collected and interpreted, then codified in theories and learning resources of the colonised (Smith, 2021). Textbooks such as those analysed in this research replicate the racialised discourses and pejorative labels such as "bandits, sinful, inferior and primitive" (Textbooks for Grades 1, 5 and 6), or show First Nations groups as stereotypes and objectify them. These forms of injustice were repeated in different levels of these learning resources. Since textbooks are the major learning resource in education in The Philippines (*Republic Act 8047 The Book Publishing Industry Development Act, 1995* (Phil); EDCOM 2, 2023), the narratives and discourses they convey may foster either positive or negative attitudes among learners, particularly children. Repeating stereotypes and disparaging statements could affirm mainstream groups' prejudice while creating permanent distortion of First Nations groups' self-image. The pathologising view of First Nations groups evokes a sense of inferiority that could further erode the self-development of their cultural identity.

Racialisation is a social construct of racial categories which, according to Sijpenhof (2019), can either be expressed through Otherness using a one-sided attribution of "stereotypical identities" (p. 132) or through narratives of sameness. The latter is shown in the textbooks' statements claiming that all are Filipinos, thereby denying First Nations groups their different cultural identities. As with other instances of oppression, it is about asymmetric power relations (Collins et al., 2021; Phoenix, 2021). Despite repeated narratives that anyone born to at least one parent who is a Filipino citizen is Filipino, the emphasis on differences and ethnicisation work in the same way as racialisation (Lewis & Phoenix, 2004, as cited in Murji & Solomos, 2005).

The repetition of pejorative words in the current literature and in textbooks misrepresents First Nation groups' cultural identities and histories. The use of pejorative language against First Nations groups is a form of racialisation that has its roots during colonialism. However, despite recognition of First Nations groups, mainstream groups continue to patronise First Nations ways while repeating the colonial narrative of an ethnocentric and stagnant culture (Acabado & Martin, 2022). Literature shows that mainstream groups' power over knowledge creation and distribution has aided First Nations groups' marginalisation and inability to participate socially. It has been argued that low self-esteem, confidence and self-determination continue due to the epistemic injustice and institutionalised stance of mainstream groups towards First Nations peoples. This continued treatment has perpetuated biases and discrimination and maintained what Yuval-Davis (2010) calls the "Us and Them" dichotomy.

While the Philippine Constitution recognised claims for human rights and justice, racialised discourse about First Nations groups has persisted, ironically perpetuated by the same society that acknowledged these rights. The racialised discourse about First Nations groups, reified as images and written constructs in the textbooks, constitutes a lack of respect for difference. Here, Fraser's (2007, 2013) question of what constitutes equal respect is relevant as it brings to mind the matter of cultural recognition. The mainstream groups have addressed these claims, focusing mainly on distributive rights, which refer to equitable distribution of wealth and services, including education and the right to ancestral domains. However, justice, according to Fraser, must be three-dimensional. There can be no distributive justice without also cultural (recognition) and

political (representation) dimensions of social justice, as they are irreducible and co-imbricated.

6.4.2.8. Status inequality

There is evidence of asymmetric relations between mainstream and First Nations groups with regard to control of power. This research showed that First Nations groups continue to suffer from what Fraser (2001) calls status inequality, with its roots in institutionalised patterns of cultural value. The mainstream groups' exposure to Western knowledge and pedagogies appears to have engendered a colonial mentality that belittles First Nations groups' knowledge and learning systems. First Nations groups are usually described in generalisations, with no apparent attempt to show individual group's nuances and differences. According to Fraser (1998), this is misrecognition that portrays the Other as subordinate and lacking self-esteem. This was shown by the images and narratives in the textbooks, which project First Nations groups as stereotypes and engendering Othering (Sijpenhof, 2019).

Smith (2021) describes racialised discourse about First Nations groups that has been propagated by the West. The Oriental or the East were concepts of Others that were created by the West and reified through depictions of primitive cultures of inferior intellects (Smith, 2021). This shows a generalised and insufficient understanding of the nuances of cultures encountered by those who interpret their experiences with these groups through their Western cultural lens. On the other hand, Fraser (2007) talks about setting the boundary on who will be included or excluded – that is, who will be accorded representation in a social group. Representation is an entitlement to have a voice in the political community. Misrepresentation or exclusion of certain groups therefore engenders an Us and Them (Others) dichotomy (Yuval-Davis, 2010).

The current research showed that, while the IPEd curriculum was a key feature in accommodating First Nations groups' cultures and ways of knowing, textbooks used in primary education of Filipinos remain exclusionary. The textbooks showed erasures, flaws and underrepresentation of First Nations groups' knowledge and contributions to the evolution of the Philippine nation. Their narratives and images revealed a token

recognition of First Nations groups that may result in the misrepresentation of First Nations students who would not recognise themselves in the textbooks.

The research also suggests that the State's understanding of justice is focused on equitably providing access to resources – in this case, educational opportunities that will emancipate First Nations groups from a cycle of poverty and oppression. However, this view of redistributive justice is limited while recognitive justice is tokenistic and superficial. While recognising the need for a culturally appropriate curriculum, the State is not willing to surrender its "political space" (Keddie, 2012, p. 274) while allowing mainstream groups to craft the curriculum, albeit with consultation from First Nations groups. In this matter, the State is also replicating the colonial discourse about the subordinate status of First Nations groups. Fraser refers to this as political injustice, which arises when "groups are not accorded equal voice in decision making" (Keddie, 2012, pp. 264–265).

6.4.2.9. Suppression of nationalism

There was very little evidence in the textbooks of First Nations groups' participation in resisting colonialism and in nation building. As described in the literature, the American educational agenda perpetuated colonialism while contributing to the suppression of nationalist sentiments. It ingrained a colonial mentality that was evident in the narratives of the textbooks. The almost 400 years of Philippine colonial history not only indentured the country to the colonisers, but it also severed the link with its past. Pre-colonial Philippine history has been constructed from a few artefacts and the rigorous work of the first chroniclers and Spanish friars who documented pre-colonial life and languages. Other than these, The Philippines' connection with its past are the First Nations peoples who resisted subjugation, acculturation and assimilation and retained the culture of their ethnos (Scott, 1998, as cited in Lacson, 2004). Unfortunately, the colonial history, although traumatic to remember (Lacson, 2004), is still presented in the textbooks, from the mainstream perspective, as the time of transformation into a Christianised and civilised nation. This was evident in the narratives in the Grades 5 and 6 textbooks.

Armed and political resistance to Spanish and American colonisation, some by First Nations groups, was described by the social studies textbooks as "revolts" or "uprisings", replicating the colonisers' discourse. Both these terms allude to violent acts and treachery against those in power or an established government. This terminology repeats the discursive constructs of fierce and ungrateful people described in the Grade 1 textbooks, which could engender prejudice against groups that historically continued to resist the colonisers.

As shown by this research, the historical narratives detail the evolution of the mainstream groups from pre-colonial inhabitants of The Philippines to the present times. Similarly, the analysis showed that discourse in the textbooks about colonialism centred on the Spanish religious imprint and American educational and socio-political altruism. Because First Nations groups resisted the religious overtures of the colonisers, they were excluded in the socio-political restructuring of The Philippines. However, there were historical accounts of their resistance, called "revolts", and their lack of Western education prevented them from participating in the country's political capital. They were, therefore, considered historical bystanders with non-agentive roles in nation building. Their exclusion denied them their right of representation in the Philippine evolution to a nation-state. Thus, while legal remedies to correct historical injustices and recognise First Nations groups have been undertaken, mainstream groups who author textbooks that are critical in children's cultural development continue to deny them recognition. The textbooks become instruments of exclusion rather than accommodation.

The struggles of First Nations groups, their determination to resist subjugation and their cultural growth during colonialism have been excluded from educational materials, perpetuating a continuous "cycle of erasure and devaluation of their knowledge" (Omodan, 2023, p. 1). This also shows the asymmetric power relations between First Nations and mainstream groups, with the latter controlling the power of knowledge creation and distribution. While First Nations groups were mentioned in discussions about identity as Filipinos together with all other groups, their experiences during colonialism as colonised peoples were underrepresented or downplayed in the historical narratives. The analysis revealed the discourse of power that presents only mainstream cultures' history and historiography.

The section on heroes also described the lives and accomplishments of valued individuals who were mainly from the mainstream groups, who were also intellectual elites. Thus, there was overt bias in the narratives about Filipino heroism. Whatever claim First Nations groups have about heroes whose bravery and exploits were celebrated in their songs, epics and poems were negated and regarded as myths. Such denial of First Nations groups' cultural models shows how even the absence of information can be used to subjugate and hinder social development, particularly of school children whose cultural identity is inextricably linked to their communities and the people they relate to.

The collective act of resisting colonisation by First Nations groups was not mentioned in the textbooks and acknowledged as heroism. For almost 400 years, First Nations groups were able to retain their cultural identities while resisting, adapting and thriving under various colonial imperialists and their colonial proxies. However, the textbooks instead stoked the colonial discourse about First Nations groups as uncivilised and regressive, projecting them in stereotypes characteristic of pre-colonial appearance and singularity. While revolutionaries such as Rizal and Bonifacio (Herrera, 2015; Rafael, 2018), who, after years of subjugation, finally resisted Spanish colonialism, were acknowledged as heroes, First Nations groups' continued resistance to colonialism was dismissed as banditry, ferocity or atavism.

The Indigenous Learning Systems, that is different from Western-influenced pedagogy, could become a threat to the supremacy discussed above and was thus negated. Discursive constructs that First Nations groups' knowledge and practices are non-rational and invalid epistemologies are colonial discourses that persist to this day. Prior to the EBEA, the standardised colonial-influenced education system that mainstream groups have continued and provided to First Nations groups exemplifies what they consider as normal distributive justice. Any challenge by First Nations groups, who continued to clamour for culturally appropriate curriculum, was an anomaly that reinforced perceptions of their fractious nature. Looking through the lens of Fraser's (2008) social justice framework, this distributive justice cannot remain normal as long as other groups are not "heard or understood on their own terms" (p. 396). The

inequitable distribution of information that privileged only the mainstream groups is distributive injustice against First Nations groups.

The concentration of power by the mainstream elites perpetuated this injustice, rooted in their ideological bias, resulting in the misrecognition of First Nations groups as knowledge sources. Thus, the textbooks currently used in the education of primary-school children exclude or negate knowledge from First Nations groups' perspectives; instead, students learn only the mainstream groups' viewpoints. The question of "who" should participate, as highlighted by Fraser (2007, 2009, 2013), underscores the "what" and "how" of the political dimension of social justice. Aside from the mainstream groups, First Nations groups constitute the "who" that needs to be accorded equal respect and participation on a par with others. Thus, the debates surrounding the implementation of the EBEA, including the compartmentalisation of inclusion, were precisely rooted in the continued grip on power of the mainstream groups.

This research demonstrates how the mainstream groups in The Philippines have relegated parts of their colonial past to the "dustbins" of history. This may be because years of oppression and abuses proved to be too traumatic to remember (Lacson, 2004). With this level of intergenerational pain still evident in 2024, it is unfortunate to reflect that colonial history is still presented as the time of transformation into a Christianised and civilised nation.

Years of colonisation have reconfigured, moulded and reshaped the mainstream groups into the Western colonisers' image. These groups, particularly the intellectual elites, have continued the coloniality of knowledge, which insidiously embeds the colonial discourse about the colonisers' superiority. The evidence of this was apparent in the textbook analysis where there were limited narratives and images about First Nations groups. Moreover, these narratives were usually generalisations about First Nations groups which showed little respect for differences.

6.5. Summary

In this chapter, a critical engagement and discussion of the research showed that the mainstream groups continue to control the educational directions of The Philippines.

Education in the country has been greatly influenced by Western viewpoints, particularly from America, since it evolved under tutelage from the colonisers. The Western-influenced education and the use of English as the language of instruction has impeded First Nations groups' access to education that could have uplifted their status. Thus, they remain marginalised and misrecognised. While the State committed through education reform to provide flexible and inclusive education appropriate to the culture of all Filipino, the lack of textbooks that contain Indigenous knowledge, beliefs, values and sense of community continue to impede First Nations groups from being accommodated in education that addresses their social and cultural needs. Therefore, their claim for social justice, including the dimensions of recognition, redistribution and representation, remain elusive. First Nations groups are still unable to be included in what Fraser (2007) refers to as parity of participation with the rest of Philippine society.

Nonetheless, the State, through the EBEA (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)), committed to providing a culturally appropriate curriculum. This included allowing Indigenous Learning Systems to be taught in the IPEd curriculum and the sharing of IKSP. The approach aimed to accommodate First Nations groups' beliefs, values, knowledge and practices as communities while lessening discrimination and prejudice. However, as this research showed, IKSP and Indigenous Learning Systems will be taught only in the IPEd curriculum, which will subsequently interface with the learning of 21st century skills taught in the mainstream curriculum. This asymmetric interfacing is part of the unfinished business of assimilating ethnolinguistic groups into a Filipino national identity. It will also enable First Nations groups to learn skills necessary for the economic agenda of globalisation, while involving them in the task of nation building.

Despite the State's commitment to a culturally appropriate curriculum, the implementation of textbooks as a guide to teaching and learning that includes the diversity of cultures and languages across The Philippines is problematic. This research showed that while the government encouraged the writing of textbooks and provided general guidelines for content and linguistic accuracy, it appears there was minimal control over the narratives contained in these textbooks. Specific guidelines to ensure inclusion of First Nations groups' knowledge and practices, as well as to eliminate racialised and exclusionary discourses, were not communicated.

Social justice imperatives to rectify historical injustices were not evident in the discourse in the textbooks. Parity of participation, in accordance with Fraser's (2007) dimensions of social justice, was not evinced by the textbooks' erasure of First Nations groups' narratives. This is akin to what Connell (2007) describes as the Global North's regard for the colonised as inferior. It is the same limited view that mainstream groups, as colonial proxies, have for First Nations groups and their cultures. The rhetoric about equality of all Filipinos is contravened by the mainstream groups' continued devaluing of First Nations groups' cultural worth, knowledge and practices. Misrecognition and misrepresentation continue to be perpetuated by the mainstream groups, whether in social institutions or in education (Acabado & Martin, 2022). The language of the textbooks and their exclusionary narratives may subsequently impede First Nations groups' participation in and access to education, which is their distributive right.

This research undertook a multimodal critical discourse analysis of primary-school textbooks in The Philippines. It revealed that the mainstream groups control not just the power to dictate the narratives in various textbooks but they also control its consequences. Connell (2007) aptly states this not just in terms of minor omissions but as erasures of the narratives and histories of First Nations groups. This also brings into question the validity of the claims and accounts which are based on generalised arguments of universality. Theories and worldviews formed from such exclusivity have driven much of the Western discourse that the mainstream groups have replicated. The pejorative sentiments and racialised discourses about First Nations groups have been normalised through repeated engagements with educational resources (Acabado & Martin, 2022).

While the State has enacted educational laws, policies and other initiatives in their commitment to accommodating First Nations students' needs, an inclusive education must consider incorporation of the beliefs, values, knowledge systems and practices of First Nations groups to evince participation and interactions among social groups. State-sponsored policies of inclusion in both curricula and learning resources that manifest cultural appropriateness are needed. Understanding the philosophy of inclusion and Indigenisation will facilitate the implementation of an inclusionary educational practice that will have a profound impact on cognitive- and self-development, particularly of

First Nations students. Indigenisation also fosters inclusion. Despite legal and social recognition of First Nations groups in The Philippines, social justice claims remain a contested reality. In practice, social justice imperatives also require decolonising methodologies (Smith, 2021) that will enable mainstream groups to reconstruct their own cultural identities as Filipinos, and fully recognise First Nations groups, particularly in education, and give the latter a voice to participate on a par with the rest of Philippine society.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Figure 7.1.

Conclusion Chapter

Conclusion

Note. From: This woven cloth image is a traditional design from one of the First Nations groups (T'boli[57]) in The Philippines. This woven cloth image is from Odyssea: Natural, Culture, People[58]

Recognising the importance of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 4 (UNDESA, 2015), The Philippines has taken steps to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education for all. Education that has both quality and inclusivity is believed to be an important and integral right of every person to develop autonomy and ensure equity (OECD, 2023). The Philippine education system was therefore reformed towards compliance with this viewpoint. This educational reform also aimed to acknowledge the historical injustice that First Nations groups have endured. Thus, the Enhanced Basic Education Act (EBEA) (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)) placed Indigenous culture at the centre of its provisions for an Indigenised, localised and flexible curricula. However, my analysis of social studies textbooks created for primary-school students found that they continue the exclusionary discourse around First Nations groups. To understand why exclusion continues, this chapter will consider the underlying power structures that still shape knowledge production in The Philippines. It will also reflect on how the hegemonic relationship of mainstream Filipinos toward First Nations groups continues a colonial legacy that views Western knowledge as superior and First Nations groups' cultures, ways, knowledge and

---

[57] T'boli are First Nations groups residing in South Cotabato in Mindanao

[58] https://www.facebook.com/odysseaPH/photos/pb.100071165063775.-2207520000/243610522739996/?type=3

practices as inferior. The chapter concludes the research focusing on how and why First Nations groups are accommodated in Philippine education.

The enactment of the EBEA in 2013 could be seen as both a legal and economic initiative by the Philippine government for its peoples. It was an adherence to the provisions of the 1987 Philippine Constitution and the subsequent Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (*Republic Act 8371 Indigenous Peoples Rights Act, 1997* (Phil)). It aimed to correct injustice by providing legal remedies to "remove cultural inequalities" and ensure redistributive justice by "equitably diffusing wealth and power" (*Philippine Constitution, 1987* (Phil)). By providing education that is culturally appropriate for First Nations groups, the Act eventually aimed to develop "productive" citizens with "essential skills" that will help in nation building (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)).

Educational policy is where social justice concerns are best argued (Keddie, 2012). The Philippine education reform and its emphasis on Indigenisation of education was a departure from the legacy that propagated the supremacy of the colonisers' ideologies. The legislation, although authored by mainstream groups, understood the social justice claims of First Nations groups for redistribution and recognition of their rights to ensure parity of participation (Fraser, 2007) as co-equal members of Philippine society. The EBEA was therefore both a matter of cultural recognition as well as a redistribution of resources by enabling access to educational opportunities, particularly for First Nations students. The Indigenous Peoples Education (IPEd) curriculum created the appropriate learning environment to enable equity. It allowed First Nations students to learn Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Practices (IKSP) to connect with their cultures and histories. It also included Indigenous Learning Systems, providing the flexibility for students to share their stories, thoughts and hopes for the survival of their cultures, languages, beliefs and histories, without fear of discrimination and prejudice. In addition, in crafting the IPEd curriculum, extensive consultation with elders, communities and other stakeholders was conducted, thereby giving representation or a "voice" to First Nations groups.

However, while the State committed to accommodating First Nations students with a culturally appropriate curriculum through the EBEA, there have been major

impediments to its implementation. The first is the asymmetric interfacing of the IPEd curriculum with the mainstream curriculum. The second is the exclusionary context of the textbooks that were written or created to guide teaching and learning in both private and public schools.

With the enactment of the EBEA, the State committed to accommodate First Nations students' needs and to provide equal opportunities for all Filipinos. It was also legislated to prepare students for "career opportunities in a rapidly changing and increasingly globalised environment" (*Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act, 2013* (Phil)). This motivated the interfacing of the IPEd curriculum with the mainstream curriculum. The policy statement from the Department of Education (DepEd) (*Department Order 32 Adopting the Indigenous Peoples Education Curriculum Framework, 2015* (Phil), s.2015) stipulated a gradual interfacing of the IPEd curriculum with mainstream curriculum content. The interfacing will only apply to the Indigenous curriculum, but the mainstream curriculum will not include the IKSP of First Nations groups. This asymmetric interfacing will therefore result in First Nations groups subsequently sidelining their own knowledge and learning systems to learn skills necessary for jobs in the 21st century. Moreover, it will result in the assimilation of First Nations groups' cultural identities, legitimising epistemic violence against them (Omodan, 2023). The asymmetric interfacing also means that mainstream students will not learn about First Nations groups' cultures, knowledge and pedagogies, values, beliefs and practices. This State policy explicitly segregates education of First Nations groups from mainstream groups in terms of differences in knowledge and learning approach. It will therefore continue to perpetuate an Us and Them dichotomy and the consequent discrimination of First Nations groups. Thus, while there is legal and social recognition of First Nations groups in The Philippines, social justice claims remain a contested reality.

Fraser (2007, 2009) argues that social justice requires dismantling barriers to full recognition of a disadvantaged group by society. Enabling cross-cultural enrichment of curricula of both mainstream and First Nations groups would allow stories from the peripheries to be discussed, enabling understanding of the philosophies of the Global South (Connell, 2007) and minimising discrimination. In the case of The Philippines, however, the State's educational policy explicitly aims to "overcome differences" by

integrating First Nations groups in mainstream culture, instead of allowing differences to develop (Naido, 2012). Despite the social justice commitment of the EBEA, the State's assimilationist schema to address the developmental needs of the country and national unity continue to impede First Nations students from social justice claims. This integrationist policy alludes to "hegemonic interventions" (Henshall et al., 2023, p. 997) to forge national unity and a Filipino identity and "foregrounds a subtextually racialised culturalism" (Henshall et al., 2023, p. 1000).

To support inclusiveness and Indigenisation of education as envisioned by the EBEA, textbooks have been produced to guide teaching and learning in accordance with the objectives of the education reform. However, the cultural diversity characteristic of Philippine society, as well as the archipelagic nature of the country where its people are scattered across various islands, challenge governance structures. While the mother tongue is mandated to be used in early education, numerous textbooks could not be created for the various cultures of the different ethnolinguistic groups. Instead, textbooks were created by mainstream groups in the language mandated by law – that is, English and Filipino.

This research analysed these textbooks created for use in the social studies learning area in the primary levels of private and public schools. Findings from this research focused on the meaning of significant texts and images regarding 1) cultural identity, 2) community, 3) taught history, and 4) acknowledged heroes. Using the critical paradigm as the analytic lens, and Fraser's social justice theory, the research aimed to understand how and why First Nations students were accommodated in Philippine education through the EBEA.

Colonisation has fragmented the cultural identity of Filipinos and impacted them in two main ways. One part of Filipino society was acculturated and assumed a hybridity that is both Westernised and Filipino. They became the mainstream groups that controlled power in the post-colonial Philippines. The other resisted the colonisers, retaining much of their culture despite being removed from their lands. At the hands of the colonisers, they have endured the erasure of their histories in textbooks and other Western mediums, and pejorative labels, due to the ethnocentricity they purportedly exhibited. They are the First Nations groups who became marginalised during and after

colonisation. This social order determined the discourse of power that remains evident in textbooks today.

The results of the analysis show that the narratives and imagery in the textbooks do not align with the State's commitment through the EBEA. Instead, the textbooks are biased toward the mainstream groups' narratives, while information about First Nations groups' knowledge and cultures is limited, thereby reflecting the same asymmetry as with the IPEd curriculum. Moreover, the textbooks also communicate narrow and contextualised images and narratives of First Nations groups that devalue their cultures while reifying Othering, racialisation and epistemic injustice. The analysis shows that the language and images in the textbooks reify these colonial discourses about First Nations groups, reinforcing discrimination and the negation of their history. These textbooks still present Western epistemologies, while underrepresenting or erasing the knowledge, beliefs, values and practices of First Nations groups and their communities. Coloniality of knowledge is perpetuated through replication of the superiority of Western thought as well as narratives about The Philippines' colonial transformation to a civilised society. Further, the use of English and Filipino as textbook languages perpetuates distributive injustice by impeding access to these learning resources for anyone who uses any other cultural language in The Philippines, further marginalising First Nations groups.

Colonialism has left a colonial mentality that considers Western ideologies and epistemologies as superior compared to any endeavour at Filipino philosophising. Despite independence, the colonising structure left by almost 400 years of Spanish and American colonialism has not been diminished. Power – such as authority, wealth and other privileges – is arranged by the elites of the mainstream groups in order to influence the norms of society, as well as its governance. Fanon (1963, as cited in Roque, 2015) asserts that colonialism has "inculcated into Indigenous minds an appeal to reproduce whatever was European in character" (p. 202). Misrecognition continues to deny First Nations groups the right to their own narratives by the mainstream groups, who devalue the former's culture while claiming ownership of the process of knowing, including about First Nations groups' cultures and knowledge systems.

Currently, First Nations groups continue to be among the poorest and most marginalised groups (UNDESA, 2009), while the mainstream groups hold the power that exercises control over the economic and socio-political institutions in Philippine society. Nonetheless, legal and policy initiatives aimed at ensuring equity and social justice for all Filipinos, including First Nations groups, have been created. However, as this research shows, the narratives in the textbooks do not align with the goals of the EBEA to Indigenise and localise education in accordance with the social context of the regions in The Philippines. The research further reveals how the compulsory textbooks serve to perpetuate the unequal power relations between mainstream and First Nations groups, with the former controlling knowledge regimes. The consequences of the mainstream groups' control of knowledge distribution are evident in the diminished status accorded to First Nations groups in the textbooks, perpetuating a self-fulfilling prophecy of their inferiority. Implied in the narratives is the misrecognition of First Nations groups who are presented in atavistic stereotypes, and whose cultures and histories are generalised, presented as flawed or negated. Textbooks have therefore become a political commodity (Molin, 2006) that continue to portray a narrow and ethnocentric view of the cultures and knowledge of First Nations groups, engendering discrimination and prejudice among mainstream groups. It therefore contravenes the State's commitment, through its policy and legal initiatives, to accommodate First Nations groups in Philippine education.

The history of Filipinos has long been told and written for them "by (Western) outsiders" (Smith, 2021, p. 33). The Spanish chroniclers wrote about Philippine pre-colonial cultures, while Spaniards and Americans authored the colonial history. Except for the few works of the intellectual elites during the end of the Spanish colonisation, Filipino histories replicate the narratives of these foreign authors writing Philippine history from their own perspectives. But "history is also about justice" (Smith, 2021, p. 34). The EBEA was a departure from the Western narratives about The Philippines and allowed for the writings of local histories to re-right the history of Filipinos. Currently, however, the textbooks are exclusionary and show "grand erasures" (Connell, 2007, p. 46) of the knowledge of First Nations groups. Nonetheless, including the knowledge and practices of First Nations group in the Philippine education system may yet start the decolonisation process.

This study shows that the promised culturally appropriate education to accommodate diverse learners and attain the goal of inclusive education for First Nations peoples is still a work in progress. Culturally sensitive education requires mainstream institutions to understand the philosophy of inclusiveness to facilitate the implementation of an Indigenised curriculum that addresses diverse learners needs. While the State has provided the policy framework to accommodate First Nations groups in Philippine education, it is also pursuing an assimilationist schema. This is explicit in policy statements and directives as well as the discursive constructions of First Nations groups in the textbooks as atavistic stereotypes that require tutelage to modernity. Fraser (1996, as cited in Naido, 2012) argues that "assimilation to the mainstream culture is no longer the way to equal respect" (p. 96). Instead, Naido (2012) posits the "acceptance of the otherness of the 'Other'" (p. 88). In The Philippines, this means relinquishing the agenda that persists on recreating First Nations groups' cultural identities by finding commonality with all Filipinos.

The analysis of the textbooks shows that they continue to reify misrecognition of First Nations groups, impacting students' cultural identity development and the creation of their self-image. Both the State's assimilationist strategy and the textbooks' underrepresentation of their cultural identities, and erasure of their experiences and histories, deny First Nations groups recognition as co-equal to mainstream groups in Philippine society. Fraser (2001, as cited in Naido, 2012) argues that such misrecognition denies disadvantaged groups the ability to re-create their self-image so they "can become full partners in social interactions" (p. 87). While State policy has acknowledged the need for education systems that are inclusive and recognise First Nations groups' cultural distinctiveness, the textbooks remain exclusionary. Because the textbooks were authored by mainstream groups, they show bias toward mainstream narratives while communicating a narrow view of First Nations groups' cultures and histories. Thus, the discursive constructs of First Nations groups in the textbooks remain the status quo, characterised by the coloniality of knowledge, even though a culturally inclusive education requires a different approach.

While the State has committed to correct redistributive and recognitive injustice through legal frameworks and education, First Nations groups continue to struggle for recognition of their cultures based on equality in a society predominated by Westernised

mainstream cultures. What this research therefore reveals is the unequal power relations between mainstream and First Nations groups, with the textbooks exemplifying that hegemony. It also shows the embeddedness of the colonial ethos in mainstream groups who are replicating the civilising mission through an assimilationist strategy to assist the transitioning of First Nations groups to modernity. Thus, claims for social justice in education cannot be realised unless there is willingness by both the State and the mainstream groups to revise the status order for cultural recognition as well as to grant First Nations groups equitable representation in educational policies and resources.

References

Figure 8.1.

References

References

Note. This woven cloth image is a traditional design from one of the First Nations groups (Yakan) in The Philippines. This woven cloth image is from Odyssea: Natural, Culture, People[59]

Abejuella, R. III (2019). *Indigenous education in the Philippines: A case study of the Sagu-Ilaw school of Indigenous knowledge and traditions* [Course presentation]. http://docplayer.net/58403704-Indigenous-education-in-the-philippines-a-case-study-of-the-sagu-ilaw-school-of-indigenous-knowledge-and-traditions.html

Acabado, S. (2017). The archaeology of pericolonialism: Responses of the "unconquered" to the Spanish conquest and colonialism in Ifugao, Philippines. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology, 21*(1), 1–26. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10761-016-0342-9

Acabado, S., & Martin M. (2022). *Indigenous archaeology in the Philippines: Decolonising Ifugao history*. University of Arizona Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv2c3k1bm

Act No. 74 Department of Public Instruction in the Philippine Islands, 1901 (USA). https://elibrary.judiciary.gov.ph/thebookshelf/showdocs/28/15605#

Adebayo, B. R. (2018). Curriculum and textbook program development provision comparison in China, Mexico, the Caribbean and Nigeria: The way forward. *Library Philosophy and Practice.* https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/libphilprac/2039/

[59] https://www.facebook.com/odysseaPH/photos/pb.100071165063775.-2207520000/243609156073466/?type=3

Adonis, D. (2011). *The community development concepts of the Igorot Indigenous Peoples in Benguet, Philippines* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Australian Catholic University. https://doi.org/10.4226/66/5a961d63c6866

Adonis, D., & Couch, J. (2017). "The trails to get there": Experiences of attaining higher education for Igorot Indigenous Peoples in the Philippines. *Australian Journal of Adult Learning, 57*(2), 197–216.

Aggabao, B. A., Aggabao, N. T., Antiado, D. F., & Castillo, F. G. (2018). Educational transformation in the Philippine education system: Towards global competitiveness. *The International Journal of Business Management and Technology, 2*(2), 66–70. https://www.theijbmt.com/archive/0920/238971531.pdf

Agoncillo, T. (1990). *History of the Filipino people.* (8th ed.). Garotech Publishing.

Agoncillo, T., & Mangahas, F. (2010). *Philippine history.* C & E Publishing.

Aguas, J. J. (2019). Catholic education in the Philippines. In M. Peters (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of teacher education* (pp. 1–7). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-1179-6_147-1

Aguilar, F. (2005). Tracing origins: Illustrado nationalism and the racial science of migration waves. *The Journal of Asian Studies, 64*(3), 605–637. https://doi.org/10.1017/S002191180500152X

Ainscow, M. (2016). Diversity and equity: A global education challenge. *New Zealand Journal of Education Studies, 51*(2), 143–155. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40841-016-0056-x

Ainscow, M., Slee, R., & Best, M. (2019). Editorial: The Salamanca statement: 25 years on. *International Journal of Inclusive Education, 23*(7–8), 671–676. https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2019.1622800

Akbulut, N., & Razum, O. (2022). Why Othering should be considered in research on health inequalities: Theoretical perspectives and research needs. *SSM – Population Health, 20.* https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmph.2022.101286

Alejo, A. (2018). Strategic identity: Bridging self-determination and solidarity among Indigenous peoples of Mindanao, The Philippines. *Theses Eleven, 145*(1), 38–57. https://doi.org/10.1177/07255136187

Alicias, M. D. (2017). *The socially-excluded groups in the Philippines: A context analysis for Voice Program.* Baseline Report for Hivos Peopls Unlimited, OxFam and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands. https://knowledge.hivos.org/sites/default/files/voice-phl-baseline-report-2017_0.pdf.

Allen, K., Gray, D., Baumeister, R., & Leary, M. (2022). The need to belong: A deep dive into the origins, implications and future of a foundational construct. *Educational Psychology Review, 34*, 1133–1156. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10648-021-09633-6

Amoussou, F., & Allagbe, A. (2018). Principles, theories and approaches to critical discourse analysis. *International Journal on Studies in English Language and Literature, 6*(1), 11–18. http://dx.doi.org/10.20431/2347-3134.0601002

Angelo, D., Disbray, S., Singer, R., O'Shannessy, C., Simpson, J., Smith, H., Meek, B. & Wigglesworth, G. (2022). Learning (in) Indigenous languages: Common ground, diverse pathways. *OCED Education Working Papers No. 278.* https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/e80ad1d4-en

Antallan, M., Antallan, I. L., Banguis, L. L., Beltran, N. J., Buna, S. P., & Bonifacio, R. (2021). Language and cultural ethnolinguistic: The revitalization of Talaandig tribe – Binukid language (variety from the province of Bukidnon). *Journal of Emerging Technologies and Innovative Research, 8*(12), 619–633.

Asghar, J. (2013). Critical paradigm: A preamble for novice researchers. *Life Science Journal, 10*(4), 3121–3127.

Ashcroft, B., Griffith, G. & Tiffin, H. (2002). *The empire writes back: Theory and practice in postcolonial literatures* (2nd ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203426081

Asia-South Pacific Education Watch (2007). *Philippines: Summary report: Mapping out disadvantaged groups in education*. Asian South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED533598.pdf

Banks, J. (2010). Approaches to multicultural curricular reform. In J. Banks & C. A. Banks (Eds.), *Multicultural education: Issues and perspectives* (7th ed., pp. 233–258). John Wiley & Sons.

Barker, L. Nye, A., & Charteris, J. (2017). Voice, representation and dirty theory. *Postcolonial Directions in Education, 6*(1), 54–81.

Barnhardt, R., & Kawagley, A. (2005). Indigenous knowledge systems and Alaska Native ways of knowing. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 36*(1), 8–23.

Basiwal-Ao-wat, M., & Toyera-Ayang-ang, C. (2024). Roles of Indigenous peoples' leaders in the Indigenisation of education: Basis for an Indigenous peoples education. *Religion and Social Communation, 22*(1), 58–86. https://doi.org/10.62461/MBCT091523

Battiste, M. (2010). Indigenous knowledge and Indigenous peoples' education. In S. Subramanian & B. Pisupati (Eds.), *Traditional knowledge in policy and practice: Approaches to development and human well-being* (pp. 31–51). United Nations University Press. https://doi.org/10.18356/aa0ced95-en

Bauzon, L. (1991). Influence of the Spanish culture [Firipin bunka eno Supein no eikyo]. In S. Suzuki & S. Hayase (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Southeast Asia: Philippines [Firipin bunka eno Supein no eikyo]* (pp. 195–196). Tonan Azia No Jiten Firipin, Dohosha.

Belgarde, M. J., Mitchell, R. D., & Arguero, A. (2002). What do we have to do to create culturally responsive programs? The challenge of transforming American Indian teacher education. *Action in Teacher Education, 24*(2), 42–54. https://doi.org/10.1080/01626620.2002.10734418

Bell, L. (2016). Theoretical foundations for social justice education. In M. Adams, L. Bell & P. Griffin (Eds.), *Teaching for diversity and social justice* (3rd ed., pp. 3-26). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003005759

Bellwood, P. (2007). *Prehistory of the Indo-Malaysian Archipelago.* Australian National University Press.

Bellwood, P, Fox, J., & Tyron, D. (2006). *The Austronesians: Historical and comparative perspectives.* Australian University Press. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt24hf81

Beltran-Almazan, R. (2018). Analysis of factors affecting the changes in the Philippine elementary art education curriculum (EAEC) in 1982 through 2013. *Alipato: A Journal of Basic Education, 9,* 81–98.

Bistrom, E., & Lundstrom, R. (2021). Textbooks and action competence for sustainable development: An analysis of Swedish lower secondary level textbooks in geography and biology. *Environmental Education Research, 27*(2), 279–294. https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ1285174

Blust, R. (1984-1985). The Austronesian homeland: A linguistic perspective. *Asian Perspectives, 26*(1), 45–67. https://www.jstor.org/stable/42928105

Bogotch, I., & Shields, C. (2014). Introduction: Do promises of social justice trump paradigms of educational leadership? In I. Bogotch & C. Shields (Eds.), *International handbook of educational leadership and social (in)justice* (Vol. 1, pp. 1-12). Springer.

Bonifacio, R., Zaman, D. J. M., Prantilla-Arambala, M., & Zarate, M. (2021). Effects of Indigenous language conversation skills enhancement program among Bukidnon and Talaandig youths in the Philippines. *Ampersand, 8.* https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2215039021000047

Bonifacio, R., Caliba, C., Dag-on, Z., Gregorio, M., Hernandez, R. (2021). Multilingualism: Opportunities and challenges among the Indigenous cultural communities. *Journal of Emerging Technologies and Innovative Research (JETIR), 8*(12), c86-c102.

Brant, J., Chapman, A., & Isaacs, T. (2016). International instructional systems: Social studies. *The Curriculum Journal, 27*(1), 62–79. https://doi.org/10.1080/09585176.2015.1134340

Brown, C. W., & Habegger-Conti, J. (2017). Visual representations of Indigenous cultures in Norwegian EFL textbooks. *Nordic Journal of Modern Language Methodology, 5*(1), 16–34.

Brown, E., Craven, R., & McLean, G. (2013). Series editors' introduction. In R. Craven, G. Bodkin-Andrews, & J. Mooney (Eds.), *Indigenous peoples* (pp. xi-xii)*.* Information Age Publishing.

Caraccilo, D. J. (2005). *Surviving Bataan and beyond: Colonel Irvin Alexander's odyssey as a Japanese prisoner of war.* Stackpole Books.

Castagno, A., & Brayboy, B. M. J. (2008). Culturally responsive schooling for Indigenous youth: A review of the literature. *Review of Educational Research, 78*(4), 941–993. https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654308323036

Catalano, T., & Waugh, L.R. (2020). *Critical discourse analysis, critical discourse studies and beyond, perspective in pragmatics, philosophy and psychology.* Springer Nature. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-49379-0_1

Cazden, C. (2012). A framework for social justice in education. *International Journal of Educational Psychology, 1*(3), 178-198. https://doi.org/10.4471/ijep.2012.11

Champagne, D. (2009). Contemporary education. In *State of the world's Indigenous peoples* (pp. 130–154). United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), United Nations. https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/SOWIP/en/SOWIP_web.pdf

Chibuikem, O. (2017). An insight into the notion of social justice following Plato and Rawls. *International Journal of Advances in Philosophy 1*(2), 25–30. https://doi.org/10.5923/j.ap.20170102.02

Coady, D. (2017). Epistemic injustice as distributive injustice. In I. J. Kidd, J. Medina, & G. Pohlhaus, Jr. (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of epistemic injustice* (pp. 61– 68). Routledge.

Cobigo, V., Martin, L. & Meheimech, R. (2016). Understanding community. *Canadian Journal of Disability Studies, 5*(4), 181–203. https://doi.org/10.15353/cjds.v5i4.318

Cochran-Smith, M. (2009). Toward a theory of teacher education for social justice. *Second International Handbook of Educational Change, 23,* 445–467.

Collins, C., & Yates, L. (2011). Confronting equity, retention and student diversity. In L. Yates, C. Collins, & K. O'Connor (Eds.), *Australia's curriculum dilemmas: State cultures and the big issues* (pp. 107–126). Melbourne University Publishing.

Collins, P., Gonzaga, E., Da Silva, E., Furseth, I., Bond, K., & Martinez-Palacios, J. (2021). Intersectionality as critical theory. *Contemporary Political Theory, 20*, 690– 725. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41296-021-00490-0

Cooke-Dallin, B., Rosborough, T., & Underwood, L. (2000). The role of elders in child and youth care education. *Canadian Journal of Native Education, 24*(2), 82–91. https://doi.org/10.14288/cjne.v24i2.195885

Commonwealth Constitution 1935 (Phil). https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/constitutions/the-1935-constitution/

Connell, R. (2007). *Southern theory: The global dynamics of knowledge in social science.* Allen & Unwin.

Connell, R., Collyer, F., Maia, J., & Morrell, R. (2016). Toward a global sociology of knowledge: Postcolonial realities and intellectual practices. *International Sociology, 32*(1), 21–36. https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580916676913

Constantino, R. (2002). *The miseducation of the Filipino.* In A. Shaw and L. H. F (Eds.), *Vestiges of war: The Philippine-American war and the aftermath of an imperial dream 1899–1999* (pp. 177–192). New York University Press.

Constantino, R., & Constantino, L. (2008). *A history of the Philippines: From the Spanish colonization to the second world war.* NYC Press. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv12pnqbf

Coulthard, G. S. (2014). *Red skin, white masks: Rejecting the colonial politics of recognition.* University of Minnesota Press. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctt9qh3cv

Craven, R., Bodkin-Andrews, G., & Mooney, J. (Eds.). (2013). *Indigenous peoples.* Information Age Publishing.

Crocetti, E. Albarello, F., Meeus, W., & Rubini, M. (2022). Identities: A developmental social-psychological perspective. *European Review of Social Psychology, 34*(1), 161–201. https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2022.2104987

Curaming, R. (2017). Hegemonic tool? Nationalism in Philippine history textbooks, 1900–2000. *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints, 65*(4), 417–450. https://doi.org/10.1353/phs.2017.0031

Curtis, B., & Curtis, C. (2017). *Social research: A practical introduction*. SAGE. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526435415

Curtis, M. (2009). A world of discrimination: Minorities, Indigenous peoples and education. In P. Taneja (Ed.), *State of the world's minorities and Indigenous peoples* (pp. 12-23). Minority Rights Group International.

Dacanay, J. (2020). The struggle of Philippine indigenous peoples. *International Journal of Advanced Research (IJAR), 8*(5), 1263–1270.

Dacumos, R. (2015). *Philippine colonial education system.* https://doi.org/10.13140/rg.2.1.2507.7600.

Daes, E. (2000). Prologue: The experience of colonization around the world. In M. A. Battiste (Ed.), *Reclaiming Indigenous voice and vision* (pp. 3–8). UBC Press. https://doi.org/10.59962/9780774853170-004

Dalanon, J., & Matsuka, Y. (2017). Filipino teachers sense of efficacy in inclusion classes. *Asia Pacific Journal of Research, 1*(58), 339–343.

Danbolt, L. (2011). The challenge of bilingualism in a multilingual society: The Bolivian case. *Journal of Intercultural Communication, 11*(3).

Danermark, B., & Gellerstedt, L. C. (2004). Social justice: Redistribution and recognition – a non-reductionist perspective on disability. *Disability & Society, 19*(4), 339–353. https://doi.org/10.1080/09687590410001689458

Dapudong, R. (2013). Knowledge and attitude towards inclusive education of children with learning disabilities: The case of Thai primary school teachers. *Academic Research International, 4*(4), 496–512.

Dawe, C. (2014). Language governmentality in Philippine education policy. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics, 26*(1), 61–77.

Daytec-Yangot, C. (2012). FPIC: *A shield or threat to Indigenous Peoples' Rights? A summary*. UNREDD Programme. www.un-redd.org

De Guzman, A. B. (2003). The dynamics of educational reforms in the Philippine basic and higher education sectors. *Asia Pacific Education Review, 4*(1), 39–50.

De la Fuente, J. K. (n.d.). *The education situation of vulnerable groups in the Philippines*. https://www.teacherph.com/education-situation-vulnerable-groups-philippines/

De la Reyna, P. (2007). *Indigenous peoples education: From alienation to rootedness* (Consolidated report by the Episcopal Commission on Indigenous Peoples). Human Rights Education in Asian Schools.

De los Reyes, E. (2016). Distant savages, urban agents: Discursive construction of Indigenous peoples in social studies textbooks (2002–2008). *The Cordillera Review: Journal Philippine Culture and Society, 6*(2), 97–133.

De Luis, E. C. (2016). Inclusive education in Spain: Promoting advocacy by legislation. *National Association for Special Education Needs, 31*(2), 164–176. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9604.12120

De Sousa Santos, B. (2014). *Epistemologies of the south: Justice against epistemicide.* Paradigm Publishers.

De Vera, D. E. (2007, August 20–26). *Indigenous peoples in the Philippines: A country case study* [Paper presentation]. RNIP Regional Assemby, Hanoi, Vietnam. http://www.iapad.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/devera_ip_phl.pdf

Delanty, G. (2018). *Community.* Routledge.

Delfin, F. (2015). The population history of the Philippines: A genetic overview. *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints, 63*(4), 449–476. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24672407

Department of Education, Region III (Phil). https://olongapocitynhs.com/madrasah-education-programmep-ocnhs/

Department Order 21 Guidelines on the Recognition of Private Learning Institutions Serving Indigenous Learners s.2014 2014 (Phil). https://www.deped.gov.ph/2014/04/22/do-21-s-2014-guidelines-on-the-recognition-of-private-learning-institutions-serving-indigenous-peoples-learners/

Department Order 25 Bilingual Education Policy, s.1974 1974 (Phil), https://www.scribd.com/document/639128434/Untitled#:~:text=25%20from%201974%20which%20established,as%20the%20mediums%20of%20instruction.

Department Order 31 Policy Guidelines on the Implementation of Grades 1 to 10 of the K to 12 s.2012 2012 (Phil). https://www.deped.gov.ph/2012/04/17/do-31-s-2012-policy-guidelines-on-the-implementation-of-grades-1-to-10-of-the-k-to-12-basic-education-curriculum-bec-effective-school-year-2012-2013/

Department Order 31 Clarification on the Policy Guidelines on the Implementation of the Language Learning Areas and their Time Allotment in Grades 1 and 2 of the K to 12 Basic Education Program s.2013 2013 (Phil). https://www.deped.gov.ph/2013/07/16/do-31-s-2013-clarifications-on-the-policy-guidelines-on-the-implementation-of-the-language-learning-areas-and-their-time-allotment-in-grades-1-and-2-of-the-k-to-12-basic-education-program/

Department Order 32 Adopting the Indigenous Peoples Education Curriculum Framework s.2015 2015 (Phil). https://www.deped.gov.ph/2015/07/29/do-32-s-2015-adopting-the-indigenous-peoples-education-curriculum-framework/#:~:text=Recognizing%20the%20right%20of%20indigenous,indigenizing%2C%20and%20enhancing%20the%20K

Department Order 51 Guidelines on the Conduct of Activities and Use of Materials Involving Aspects of Indigenous Peoples Culture s.2014 2014 (Phil). https://www.deped.gov.ph/2014/12/19/do-51-s-2014-guidelines-on-the-conduct-of-activities-and-use-of-materials-involving-aspects-of-indigenous-peoples-culture/

Department Order 52 Policy on Bilingual Education, s.1987 1987 (Phil). https://www.deped.gov.ph/1987/05/21/do-52-s-1987-the-1987-policy-on-bilingual-education/#:~:text=The%20Policy%20on%20Bilingual%20Education,in%20Grades%20I%20and%20II.

Department Order 62 National Indigenous Peoples Education Framework s.2011 2011 (Phil). https://www.deped.gov.ph/2011/08/08/do-62-s-2011-adopting-the-national-indigenous-peoples-ip-education-policy-framework/

Department Order 122 Guidelines for Textbooks Adoption for Private Elementary and Secondary Schools s.1991 1991 (Phil). https://www.deped.gov.ph/1991/11/05/do-122-s-1991-guidelines-for-textbooks-adoption-for-private-elementary-and-secondary-schools/

Department Order 192 Regional Cluster Training Programs on Textbook Evaluation s.2008 2008 (Phil). https://www.deped.gov.ph/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/DM_s2008_192.pdf

Détroit, F., Dizon, E., Falguères, C., Hameau, S., Ronquillo, W., Sémah, F. (2004). Upper Pleistocene Homo sapiens from the Tabon cave (Palawan, The Philippines): Description and dating of new discoveries. *Complete Rendus Palevol, 3*(8), 705–712. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.crpv.2004.06.004

Dew, A., Barton, R., Gilroy, J., Ryall, L., Lincoln, M., Jensen, H., Flood. V., Taylor, K., & McCrae, K. (2019). Importance of land, family and culture for a good life: Remote Aboriginal people with disability and carers. *Australian Journal of Social Issues, 55*(4), 418–438. https://doi.org/10.1002/ajs4.96

Dhandhania, T. (2019). The importance of social studies in the school curriculum. *The Progressive Teacher, 3*(5).

Dittoe, J. (2013). *A short story of the attack (Pearl Harbor).* Pearl Harbor Notebook. http://www.genealogycenter.info/military/images/dittoediary/Dittoe-Diary-Pearl-Harbor-History-Speeches_2.pdf

Dudgeon, P., Wright, M., Paradies, Y., Garvey, D., & Walker, I. (2014). Aboriginal social, cultural and historical contexts. In P. Dudgeon, H. Milroy, & R. Walker (Eds.), *Working together: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander mental health and well-being principles and practices* (2nd ed., pp. 3–24). Commonwealth Government of Australia.

Dumatog, R., & Dekker, D. (2003, November 6–8). *First language education in Lubuagan, Northern Philippines* [Paper presentation]. Conference on Language Development, Language Revitalization and Multilingual Education in Minority Communities in Asia, Bangkok, Thailand. www.sil.org/asia/ldc/parallel_presentation.html

Durban, J., & Catalan, R. D. (2012). Issues and concerns of Philippine education through the years. *Asian Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities, 1*(2), 61–69.

Dyll, L. (2019). Methods of "literacy" in Indigenising research education: Transformative methods used in the Kalahari. *Critical Arts, 33*(4–5), 122–142. https://doi.org/10.1080/02560046.2019.1704810

Ebrahimpour, P. Golshani, A., & Malaekeh, H. (2017). Aristotle's justice theory. *Specialty Journal of Politics and Law, 2*(3), 73–80.

EDCOM 2. (2023). *Green paper on basic education: Learning resources.* The 2nd Congressional Commission on Education. https://edcom2.gov.ph/media/2023/10/EDCOM2_Green-Paper_05-Basic-Ed-Learning-Resources_231005.pdf

Eduardo, J., & Gabriel, A. (2021). Indigenous peoples and the right to education: The Dumagat experience in the provinces of Nueva Ecija and Aurora, in the Philippines. *SAGE Open,* 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244021100949

El-Khawas, E. (2001). Higher education re-formed. *High Education Policy 14,* 93–95. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0952-8733(00)00030-1

Elliott-Groves, E. & Fryberg, S. (2018). "A future denied" for young Indigenous people: From social disruption to possible futures in E. McKinley & L. Smith (Eds.). *Handbook of Indigenous education* (pp. 1-19). Springer Nature Pte Ltd. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-1839-8_50-1

Ensor, P., Dunne, T., Galant, J., Gumedze, F., Jaffer, S., Reeves, C., & Tawodzera, G. (2002). Teachers, textbooks and pedagogy: Studying matchs for all in primary classrooms. In *Proceedings of the SAARMSTE Conference* (pp. 30–38). University of Natal.

Eveleth, L. (2022). Plato and the justice that is harmony. *Faculty and Staff – Articles & Papers, 79*. https://digitalcommons.salve.edu/fac_staff_pub/79

Fairclough, N. (2004). Semiotic aspects of social transformation and learning. In R. Rogers (Ed.), *An introduction to critical discourse analysis in education* (pp. 225–235). Lawrence Erlbaum. https://doi.org/10.1075/z.184.77fai

Fairclough, N. (2013). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language* (2nd ed.). Routledge.

Fraser, N. (1998). *Social justice in the age of identity politics: Redistribution, recognition, participation*. [Working paper]. Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung. https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-126247

Fraser, N. (2007). Re-framing justice in a globalizing world. In T. Lovell (Ed.), *(Mis)recognition, social inequality and social justice*. Routledge.

Fraser, N. (2009). *Scales of justice: Reimagining political space in a globalizing world.* Columbia University Press.

Fraser, N. (2013). *Fortunes of feminism: From state-managed capitalism to neoliberal crisis.* Verso.

Fredericks, B., Maynor, P., White, N., English, F., & Ehrich, L. C. (2014). Living with the legacy of conquest and culture: Social justice leadership in education and the Indigenous Peoples of Australia and America. In I. Bogotch & C. Shields (Eds.), *International handbook of educational leadership and social (in)justice* (Vol. 1, pp. 751–780). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-6555-9_39

Fricker, M. (2007). *Epistemic injustice: Power and the ethics of knowing*. Oxford University Press.

Fuchs, E., Otto, M., & Yu, S. (2020). *Textbooks and inclusive education, Part III* [Background paper prepared for the 2020 Global Education Monitoring Report]. UNESCO. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000373693

Galleto, P., & Bureros, N. (2017). Estimating vulnerability in promoting inclusive education in the Philippines. *American Journal of Educational Research, 5*(3), 332–337.

Garcia, G., & Okhidoi, O. (2015). Culturally relevant practices that "serve" students at a Hispanic serving institution. *Innovative Higher Education, 40*, 345–357. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10755-015-9318-7

Garcia, K. A., & Pantao, J. G. (2021). Cultural sensitivity and classroom management of teachers. *International Journal of Professional Development, Learners and Learning, 3*(1), ep2108. https://doi.org/10.30935/ijpdll/11093

Garcia-Olp, M. (2018). *How colonialization impacts identity through the generations: A closer look at historical trauma and education* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Denver]. University of Denver Digital Commons. https://digitalcommons.du.edu/etd/1487/

Gewirtz, S. (2020). Conceptualising social justice in education: Mapping the territory in Nancy Fraser. In C. Vincent (Ed.), *Social justice and education* (pp. 27-45). Routledge. https://www.perlego.com/book/1502777/nancy-fraser-social-justsice-and-education-pdf

Gonzales, I. M. (2016). Colonialism and resistance: The Filipino American and Pacific Islander women professorship experience. In B. Taylor (Ed.), *Listening to the voices: Multiethnic women in education* (pp. 33–48). University of San Francisco.

Gray, R. D., Drummond, A. J., & Greenhill, S. J. (2009). Language phylogenies reveal expansion pulses and pauses in Pacific settlement. *Science, 323*(5913), 479–483. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1166858

Hagstrom, L. (2005). Ubiguity of power and the advantage of terminological pluralism: Japan's foreign policy discourse. *Japanese Journal of Political Science, 6*(2), 145–164. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1468109905001817

Hamedi, A. (2014). The concept of justice in Greek philosophy (Plato and Aristotle). *Mediterranean Journal of Social Science, 5*(27), 1163–1167. https://doi.org/105901/mjss.2014.v5n27p1163

Hansen, J. (2007). *Linda Tuhiwai Smith and decolonizing methodologies: The significance of "research" to Indigenous intellectuals and their communities in*

Potiki and Pears from the willow tree [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of Iowa.

Hare, J., & Pidgeon, M. (2011). The way of the warrior: Indigenous youth navigating the challenges of schooling. *Canadian Journal of Education, 34*(2), 93–111.

Hauser, V., Howlett, C., & Matthews, C. (2009). The place of Indigenous knowledge in tertiary science education: A case study of Canadian practices in Indigenising the curriculum. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education, 38*(1), 46–58. https://doi.org/10.1375/s132601110000082x

Haverkort. B., & Reijntjes, C. (2010). Diversities of knowledge communities, their worldviews and sciences: On the challenges of their co-evolution. In S. Subramanian & B. Pisupati (Eds.), *Traditional knowledge in policy and practice: Approaches to development and human well-being* (pp. 12-30). UN University Press. https://doi.org/10.18356/f69d7617-en

Henshall, C., Prosser, H. & Sanjakdar, F. (2023) Empty Britain? Hegemony and ambiguity in British education policy. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 44*(6), 996-1017. https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2023.2220928

Herrera, D. (2015). The Philippines: An overview of the colonial era. Southeast Asia in the Humanities and Social Science Curricula. *Education About ASIA, 20*(1), 14–19. https://www.asianstudies.org/publications/eaa/archives/the-philippines-an-overview-of-the-colonial-era/

Hickling-Hudson, A. R., & Ahlquist, R. (2003). Contesting the curriculum in the schooling of Indigenous children in Australia and the United States: From Eurocentrism to culturally powerful pedagogies. *Comparative Education Review, 47*(1), 64–89.

Hornberger, N. (2009). Multilingual education policy and practice: Ten certainties (Grounded in Indigenous experience). *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics, 24*(2), 1-18.

Horsthemke, K. (2017). Transmission and transformation in higher education: Indigenisation, internationalisation and transculturality. *Transformation in Higher Education, 2*(0), a12. https://doi.org/10.4102/the.v2i0.12

Howard, T. (2003). Culturally relevant pedagogy: Ingredients for critical teacher reflection. *Theory into Practice, 42*(3), 195–202. https://jstor.org/stable/1477420

Hunt, C. (1988). Education and economic development in the early American period in the Philippines. *Philippine Studies, 36*(3), 352–364.

Huseman, J., & Short, D. (2012). "A slow industrial genocide": Tar sands and the Indigenous peoples of northern Alberta. *The International Journal of Human Rights, 16*(1), 216–237. https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2011.649593

Hussain, S., Jote, A., & Sajid, S. (2015). Critical discourse analysis: Demystifying the fuzziness. *The International Journal of Humanities & Social Studies, 3*(10), 242–249.

Hutchinson, T., & Torres, E. (1994). The textbook as agent of change. *English Language Teaching Journal 48*(4), 315–328.

Iglesias, S. (2003). Colonial and Indigenous influences on local power structure in The Philippines. *Asia Europe Journal,* 1, 541–549. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10308-003-0061-9

Implementing Rules and Regulations of Republic Act 10533 2013 (IRR RA 10533, 2013) (Phil). https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2013/09/04/irr-republic-act-no-10533/

Instruccion Primaria Para Filipinas 1863 (Sp). http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/3534434

Jenkins, C. (2004). *Addressing white privilege in higher education* (Faculty & Instructional Leadership Development in the Institute for Instructional Engagement & Development). Houston Community College System.

Jenkins, L. (2011). The difference genealogy makes: Strategies for politicisation or how to extend capacities for autonomy. *Political Studies, 59,* 156–174. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2010.00844.x

Joaquin, N. (1988). *Culture and history: Occasional notes on the process of Philippine becoming.* Solar Publishing Corporation.

Kawahara, T. (2016). A study of literacy in pre-Hispanic Philippines. *Language and Linguistic in Oceana, Special Issue: South East Asia Linguistics, 8*(1), 22–35.

Keddie, A. (2012). Schooling and social justice through the lenses of Nancy Fraser. *Critical Studies in Education, 53*(3), 263–279. https://doi.org/10.1080/17508487.2012.709185

Kelly, M. J. (1999). *The origins and development of education in Zambia: From pre-colonial times to 1996: A book of notes and readings*. Image Publishers.

Kim, E. J. (2015). Neo-colonialism in our schools: Representations of Indigenous perspectives in Ontario science curriculum. *McGill Journal of Education, 50*(1), 1–25.

Kinsella, E., English, A. & McMahon, J. (2020). Zeroing in on heroes: Adolescents' perceptions oof hero features and functions. *Heroism Science* (Article 2)*, 5*(2), 1-45. https://doi.org/10.26736/hs.2020.02.02

Kipuri, N. (2009). *Culture. In state of world's Indigenous peoples*. United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs (UNDESA). https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/SOWIP/en/SOWIP_chapter2.pdf

Kirschner, S. (2015). Inclusive education. In W. George Scarlett (Ed.), *SAGE encyclopedia of classroom management* (pp. 1-17). SAGE.

Kodliuk, Y. Bibik, N., Kodliuk, I., Kodliuk, L., & Radchenko, O. (2021). School textbook as an object of pedagogical research. *SHS Web of Conferences, 104*(02009). https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/202110402009

Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino (2016). *Atlas ng mga wika sa Filipinas* (Phil).

Koudenburg, N., Jetten, J., Enz, K., & Haslam, A. (2024). The social grounds of personal self: Interactions that build a sense of "we" help clarity who "I am". *European Journal of Social Psychology, 45*(1), 77–87. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2070

Kress, G., & van Leeuwen, T. (2021). *Reading images: The grammar of visual design* (3rd ed.). Routledge.

Lacson, R. (2004). *Text and transformation: Refiguring identity in postcolonial Philippines* [Master's thesis, University of San Francisco]. Scholarship Repository. https://repository.usfca.edu/thes/1215.

Lambe, J. (2003). Indigenous education, mainstream education and native studies: Some considerations when incorporating Indigenous pedagogy into native studies. *American Indian Quarterly, 27*(1/2), 308–324.

Lane, P., & Makihara, M. (2017). Indigenous peoples and their language. In O. Garcia, N. Flores, & M. Spotti (Eds.), *Oxford handbook of language and society* (pp. 299–330). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190212896.013.7

Lashari, A., Shah, W., & Memon, T. (2023). Are we equal citizens? A critical discourse analysis (CDA) of language textbooks and minority faith learners' insights in Pakistan. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1080/02188791.2023.2270176

Lee, M. J., & McLoughlin, C. (2010). Applying web 2.0 tools in hybrid learning designs. In F. L. Wang, J. Fong, & R. Kwan (Eds.), *Handbook of research on hybrid*

learning models: Advanced tools, technologies & applications (23rd ed., pp. 371-392). Information Science Reference.

Leyes de las Indias 1573 (Sp). http://fama2.us.es/fde/ocr/2006/leyesDeIndiasT1.pdf

Licen, N., Lihtenvalner, K., & Podgornik, V. (2012). The non-formal education and migration of the Aeta, an Indigenous tribe in the Philippines. *Anthropology Notebooks, 18*(3), 25–40.

Lincoln, Y., Lynham, S. & Guba, E. (2023). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions and emerging confluences, revisited. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research* (6th ed., pp.163-191). SAGE Publications.

Lobel, J., & Surbano, D. (2019). Remontado (Hatang-Kayi): A moribund language of the Philippines. *Language Documentation and Conservation, 13*, 1–35.

Lopez, L. (2010). Reaching the unreached: Indigenous intercultural bilingual education in Latin America. *Paper commissioned for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2010, Reaching the marginalized.* efareport@unesco.org.

Lorente, B. (2013). The grip of English and Philippine language policy. In L. Wee, R. Goh, & L. Lim (Eds.), *The politics of English. South Asia, Southeast Asia and the Asia Pacific* (pp. 187-204). John Benjamin Publishing.

Luo, A. (2023). *Critical discourse analysis: Definition, guide and example*. Scribbr. https://www.scribbr.com/methodology/discourse-analysis

Mady, S., Biswas, D., & Paul, R. (2022). A whiter shade of pale: Whiteness, female beauty standards and ethical engagement across the three cultures. *Journal of International Marketing, 31*(1). https://doi.org/10.1177/1069031X221112642

Magnusson, G. (2019). An amalgam of ideals – images of inclusion in the Salamanca Statement. *International Journal of Inclusive Education, 23*(7–8), 677–690. https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2019.1622805

Mallat, J. (2021). *The Philippines: History, geography, customs, agriculture, industry and commerce of the Spanish colonies in Oceania* (P. Santillan-Castrence, Trans.). National Historical Commission of the Philippines.

Martin, J. R., & Rose, D. (2007). *Working with discourse: Meaning beyond the clause* (2nd ed.). Open Linguistics Series. Bloomsbury.

Matusov, E., & Marjanovic-Shane, A. (2017). Many faces of the concept of culture (and education). *Culture & Psychology, 23*(3), 309–336. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354067X16655460

Maurya, S. (2021). The concept of justice in reference with philosophies of Plato and Aristotle: A critical study. *Journal of Liberty and International Affairs, 7*(3). https://doi.org/10.47350/JLIA21370250m

McCarty, T. (2018). So that any child may succeed: Indigenous pathways toward justice and the promise of Brown. *Educational Researcher, 47*(5), 271–283.

McKinley, E. & Smith, L. (2019). Towards self-determination in Indigenous education research: An introduction. In E. McKinley & L. Smith (Eds.). *Handbook of Indigenous education* (pp. 1-15). Springer Nature Pte Ltd. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-1839-8_77-2

Memmi, A. (2013). *Colonizer and the colonized.* Taylor & Francis Group.

Mijares, A. S., Detroit, F., Piper, P., Grun, R., Bellwood, P., Aubert, M., Champion, G., Cuevas, N., De Leon, A., Dizon, E. (2010). New evidence for a 67,000-year-old human presence at Callao Cave, Luzon, Philippines. *Journal of Human Evolution, 59*(1), 123–132 https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhevol.2010.04.008

Milligan, J. A. (2005). *Islamic identity, postcoloniality, and educational policy: Schooling and ethno-religious conflict in the southern Philippines.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Moerdisuroso, I. (2014). Social semiotic and visual grammar: A contemporary approach to visual text research. *International Journal of Creative and Arts Studies, 1*(1), 80–91.

Molin, L. (2006). *Space, curriculum space and morality: About school geography, content and teacher's choice* [Doctoral dissertation, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis]. Digitala Vetenskapliga Arkivet (DiVA). https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2%3A168366&dswid=-8037

Moosavi, L. (2020). The decolonial bandwagon and the dangers of intellectual decolonisation. *International Review of Sociology, 30*(2), 332–354. https://doi.org/10.1080/03906701.2020.1776919

Morphy, F., & Morphy, H. (2013). Anthropological theory and government policy in Australia's northern territory: The hegemony of the "mainstream". *American Anthropologist, 115*(2), 174–187.

Muega, M. A. (2016). Inclusive education in the Philippines: Through the eyes of teachers, administrators and parents of children with special needs. *Social Science Diliman, 12*(1), 5–28.

Mulder, N. (2013). Filipino identity: The haunting question. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs, 32*(1), 55–80. https://doi.org/10.1177/186810341303200103

Mullen, C. (2019). De/colonization: Perspectives on/by Indigenous populations in global Canadian contexts. *International Journal of Leadership in Education, 23*(6), 671–690. https://doi.org/10.1080/13603124.2019.1631986

Mullen, C. (2020). Mentoring epistemologies beyond Western modalities. In *The Oxford research encyclopedia of education* (pp. 1–28). Oxford University Press.

Mullen, C. (2021). Pedagogies for decolonizing education in theory and practice. In C. Mullen (Ed.), *Handbook of social justice interventions in education* (pp. 11-37). Springer.

Mullet, D. (2018) A general critical discourse analysis framework for educational research. *Journal of Advanced Academics, 29*(2), 116–142. https://doi.org/10.1177/1932202x18758260

Multilingual Philippines. (2019, September 3). Our languages are in trouble, so what? *Rappler.* https://www.rappler.com/voices/thought-leaders/239109-philippine-languages-in-trouble-so-what/

Murji, K., & Solomos J. (2005). *Racialisation: Studies in theory and practice.* Oxford University Press.

Musa, S., & Ziatdinov, R. (2012). Features and historical aspects of the Philippines educational system. *European Journal of Contemporary Education, 2*(2), 155–176.

Mustafa, R. F. (2011). The P.O.E.Ms of educational research: A beginner's concise guide. *International Education Studies, 4*(3), 23–30. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1066545.pdf

Mwaipopo, R. N., Lihamba, A., & Njewele, D. C. (2011). Equity and equality in access to higher education: The experiences of students with disabilities in Tanzania. *Research in Comparative and International Education, 6*(4), 415–429. http://dx.doi.org/10.2304/rcie.2011.6.4.415

Mwanza, C., & Changwe, R. (2021). Indigenisation of the school curriculum: Connecting classroom and community experiences. *Multidisciplinary Journal of Language and Social Sciences Education, 4*(1), 127–136. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/355065091_Indigenisation_of_the_School _Curriculum_Connecting_Classroom_and_Community_Experiences

Nadeau, K. (2008). *The history of the Philippines.* Greenwood Press.

Naido, L. (2012). How do pre-service teachers cope with a literacy intervention program in a remote Indigenous Community? The community action support program in the Northern Territory, Australia. *Australian Journal of Teacher Education, 37*(10). https://doi.org/10.14221/ajte.2012v37n10.8

Nakata, M. (2007). The cultural interface. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education, 36,* 7–14. https://doi.org/10.1017/s1326011100004646

National Commission on Indigenous Peoples. (2010). *Indigenous peoples in The Philippines: Continuing struggle.* https://www.hurights.or.jp/archives/focus/section2/2010/12/indigenous-peoples-in-the-philippines-continuing-struggle.html

National Council for the Social Studies. (1994). *National Curriculum Standards for Social Studies: Introduction*. https://www.socialstudies.org/standards/introduction

Nelson, J. (2001). Defining social studies. In W. Stanley (Ed.), *Critical issues in social studies research for the 21st century* (pp. 15–38)*.* Information Age Publishing.

New South Wales Government. (2021). *What is inclusive education.* https://education.nsw.gov.au/campaigns/inclusive-practice-hub/all-resources/primary-resources/other-pdf-resources/what-is-inclusive-education-

Nieto, S. (2008). Culture and education. *Year Book of the National Society for the Study of Education, 107*(1), 127–142. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-7984.2008.00137.x

Noor, E., & Syed, M. (2022). Othering. In P. Ballamingie & D. Szanto (Eds.), *Showing theory to know theory: Understanding social science concepts through illustrative vignettes* (pp. 310-317)*.* Showing Theory Press. https://doi.org/10.22215/stkt/ne29

Oakes, A. (2013). Not an educational institution: Native American boarding schools in the 19th and 20th centuries. In. Craven, G. Bodkin-Andrews, & J. Mooney (Eds.), *Indigenous peoples* (pp. 71-92). Information Age Publishing.

Ocampo, D. J., Rufino, R., & Gonzales, J. F. (2021) Participatory policy formulation on Indigenous peoples education in the K to 12 basic education program in the Philippines. In J. Lalas & H. L. Strikwerda (Eds.), *Minding the marginalized students through inclusion, justice, and hope (International perspectives on inclusive education, Vol. 16)* (pp. 211–242). Emerald Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1108/s1479-363620210000016012

Odango, E. (2015). May sasabihin ang Kabataan "The youth have something to say": Youth perspectives on language shift and linguistic identity. *Language, Documentation & Conservation, 9*, 32–58. http://hdl.handle.net/10125/24628

Okano, K. (2013). Indigenous Ainu and education in Japan. In R. Craven, G. Bodkin-Andrews, & J. Mooney (Eds.). *Indigenous peoples* (pp. 3-26). Information Age Publishing.

Olsen, T., & Sollid, H. (2022). *Indigenising education and citizenship*: *Perspectives on policies and practices from Sapmi and beyond.* Scandinavian University Press. https://doi.org/10.18261/9788215053417-2022-02

Omodan, B. (2023). Unveiling epistemic injustice in education: A critical analysis of alternative approaches. *Social Sciences & Humanities Open, 8*(1), 100699. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2023.100699

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2013) *Equity and inclusion in education: Finding strength through diversity.* https://doi.org/10.1787/e9072e21-en

Ornstein, A. (1994). The textbook-driven curriculum. *Peabody Journal of Education, 69*(3), 70–85.

Ornstein, A. (2017). Social justice: History, purpose and meaning. *Social Science and Public Policy, 54,* 541–548. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12115-017-0188-8

Ouda, M. M. (2023). Stuart Hall's three conceptions of cultural identity. *Bessie Head's when rain clouds gather (1968) and Nadine Gordimer's the Pick Up (2001), 89*(1), 21–40. https://mkmgt.journals.ekb.eg

Pada, R. T. (2017). *Axel Honneth's social philosophy of recognition: Freedom, normality and identity.* Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Paredes, O. (2013). A mountain of difference: The Lumad in early colonial Mindanao. *Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Studies Program Publication.* https://doi.org/10.4000/moussons.2953

Paredes, O. (2016). Rivers of memory and oceans of difference in the Lumad world of Mindanao. *TRaNS: Trans-Regional and National Studies of Southeast Asia, 4*(2), 329–349. https://doi.org/10.1017/trn.2015.28

Perez, A. (2020). Philippine Indios were European constitutional Spaniards: Filipino Reception of the Cadiz constitution, 1813–1814. *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints, 68*(1).

Perez-Brito, C., & Belghith, N. B. (2024). *No data, no story: Indigenous peoples in The Philippines*. World Bank Group. http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/099052324121538298/P50101011ca779 0361ab3a1f75cbf185366

Persoon, G. (2001). Introduction: An overview of Philippine Studies in the Philippines: Historical and social studies. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, 157*(3), 451–469.

Philippine Constitution 1943 (Phil). https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/constitutions/the-1943-constitution/

Philippine Constitution 1987 (Phil). https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/constitutions/1987-constitution/

Philippine Statistics Authority. (2023). *Ethnicity in The Philippines* (2020 Census of Population and Housing). https://www.psa.gov.ph/statistics/population-and-housing/node/1684059978

Phoenix, A. (2021). Humanizing racialization: Social psychology in a time of unexpected transformational conjuction. *British Journal of Social Psychology 61,* 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12517

Phyak, P. (2021). Epistemicide, deficit language ideology and (de)coloniality in language education policy. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 267-268*, 219-233.

Pihama, L., & Lee-Morgan, J. (2019). Colonization, education and Indigenous peoples. In E. A. McKinley & L. T. Smith (Eds.), *Handbook of Indigenous education* (pp. 19–27). Springer Nature. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-3899-0

Pijanowski, J., & Brady, K. (2021). Defining social justice in education. In C. Mullen (Ed.), *Handbook of social justice interventions in education* (pp. 59–82). Springer Nature.

Pilapil, R. (2015). *Recognition: Examining identity struggles.* Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Ping, K. (2018). A visual grammar analysis of Lesaffre's website. *Advances in Lanuage and Literacy Studies.* http://dx.doi.org/10.7575/aiac.alls.v.9n.6p.38

Pingel, F. (2010). *UNESCO guidebook on textbook research and textbook revision* (2nd rev. ed.). UNESCO.

Plant, R. (2002). *Indigenous peoples/ethnic minorities and poverty reduction regional report.* Environment and Social Safeguard Division Regional and Sustainable Development Department. Asian Development Bank. https://www.adb.org/publications/indigenous-peoples-ethnic-minorities-and-poverty-reduction-philippines

Porio, E., & Roque-Sarmiento, E. (2019). Barangay. In A. Orum (Ed.), *The Wiley Blackwell encyclopedia of urban and regional studies* (pp. 1-5). John Wiley & Sons. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118568446.eurs0016

Powell, J. A., & Menendian, S. (2016). The problem of Othering: Towards inclusiveness and belonging. *Othering and Belonging: Expanding the Circle of Human Concern, 2*, 14–39. https://www.otheringandbelonging.org/the-problem-of-othering/

Public Law 105–17 Individuals with Disabilities Education Act 1997 (USA). https://ectacenter.org/~pdfs/idea/pl105-17.pdf.

Purnell, L., & Fenkl, E. (2019). *Handbook for culturally competent care.* Springer Nature. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-21946-8

Quality Education Design-Aptissimi Development Innovations Inc. Partnership. (2021). *Basic Education Sector Transformation (BEST) end of program study.* https://www.dfat.gov.au/sites/default/files/basic-education-sector-transformation-program-end-of-program-evaluation.pdf

Qoriah, M. (2020). An analysis of visual social semiotic in English textbooks. *Edukasi: Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Pengajaran, 7*(1), 6–18. https://doi.org/10.19109/ejpp.V6i2.5518

Quijano, A. (2005). The challenge of the "Indigenous movement" in Latin America. *Socialism and Democracy, 19*(3), 55–78. https://doi.org/10.1080/08854300500258011

Quijano, A. (2007). Coloniality and modernity/rationality. *Cultural Studies, 21*(2), 168–178. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502380601164353.

Quiling-Arquiza, M. S. (2006). Philippine ethnic and Muslim minorities: Educating children the traditional way. *Mountain Research and Development, 26*(1), 24–27 https://doi.org/10.1659/0276-4741(2006)026[0024:PEAMME]2.0.CO;2

Rafael, V. (2018). Colonial contractions: The making of the modern Philippines, 1565–1946. *Oxford research encyclopedia of Asian history.* Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277727.013.268

Ramone, J. (2011). *Postcolonial theories.* Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-230-34407-5

Rawlinson, C., & Willimott, M. (2016). Social justice, learning centredness and a first year experience peer mentoring program: How might they connect? *Journal of Peer Learning, 9*, 41–48.

Rawls, J. (1971). *A theory of justice.* Harvard University Press.

Recopilacion de leyes de los Reinos de las Indias 1841 (Sp).
   https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&cad=rja&
   uact=8&ved=2ahUKEwjaz5Kipq3lAhUM63MBHSjoCg0QFjAAegQIAhAC&url=ht
   tp%3A%2F%2Fwww.cervantesvirtual.com%2Fresearch%2Frecopilacion-de-leyes-
   de-los-reinos-de-indias-mandadas-imprimir-y-publicar-por-la-magestad-catolica-
   don-carlos-ii-tomos-2-777027%2Fb808338a-8b0a-40e4-9444-
   f52ae70a0748.pdf&usg=AOvVaw0BD4QzRTa954OIKnfmVMv8

Rehman, M. F, Hussain, R., Khan, M. A., & Ullah, S. (2022). The power of images in
   the school textbooks: Analyzing the impact of textbooks images on the minds and
   learning of students. *Journal of Positive School Psychology, 6*(9), 10553–10565.

Reid, L. (2009). Who are the indigenous? Origins and transformations. *The Cordillera
   Review Journal of Philippine Culture and Society, 1*(1), 3–24.

Rentzi, A. (2024). Social justice in education: Creating an inclusive culture at schools
   through critical multicultural theory. *European Journal of Education and Pedagogy,
   5*(1), 94–96.

Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act 2013 (Phil).
   https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2013/05/15/republic-act-no-10533/.

Republic Act 7104 Commission on the Filipino Language (Phil).
   https://chanrobles.com/republicactno7104.html

Republic Act 8047 Book Publishing Industry Development Act 1995 (Phil).
   https://chanrobles.com/republicactno8047.htm.

Republic Act 8371 Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act 1997 (Phil).
   https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1997/10/29/republic-act-no-8371/

Resende, V. (2021). Decolonizing critical discourse studies: For a Latin American
   perspective. *Critical Discourse Studies, 18*(1), 26–42.

Respall, D. L. (2010). *ILO in Indigenous and tribal peoples in The Philippines.*
   https://www.ilo.org/resource/ilo-indigenous-and-tribal-peoples-philippines

Reyes, C. M., Mina, C. D., & Asis, R. D. (2017). *Inequality of opportunities among
   ethnic groups in the Philippines* (Discussion paper series no. 2017-42). Philippine
   Institute for Developmental Studies. https://doi.org/10.35188/UNU-
   WIDER/2017/380-6

Reyes, P. (2005). The nation's interrupted path: The Pacific war in Philippine history
   textbooks. *International Institute for Asian Studies,* Newsletter 38.

Reyhner, J. (2017). Affirming identity: The role of language and culture in American Indian education. *Cogent Education, 4*(1), 1–7.

Reysio-Cruz, M. (2019, July 15). DepEd shuts down 55 "lumad" schools. *Inquirer.* https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/1141670/deped-shuts-down-55-lumad-schools

Risager, K. (2020). Language textbooks: Windows to the world. *Language, culture and curriculum, 34*(2), 119–132. https://doi.org/10.1080/07908318.2020.1797767

Robinson, I., White, R., & Robinson, D. (2019). Indigenous women in educational leadership: Identifying supportive contexts in Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey. *International Journal of Leadership in Education, 23*(6), 691–711. https://doi.org/10.1080/13603124.2018.1562103

Rogers, R., & Wetzel, M. M. (2014). *Designing critical literacy education through critical discourse analysis: Pedagogical and research tools for teacher researchers.* Routledge.

Roque, R. (2015). Mimesis and colonialism: Emerging perspective on a shared history. *History Compass 13/4,* 201–211. https://doi.org/10.1111/his3.12229

Ross, E. W., Mathison, S., & Vinson, K. (2014). Social studies curriculum and teaching in the era of standardization. In E. W. Ross (Ed.), *The social studies curriculum: Purposes, problems and possibilities* (4th ed., pp. 25–50). Suny Press.

Rufino, B. (2013). Valuing local languages and cultural knowledge. *Bendum Conference*. https://apupalamguwancenter/essc.org.ph/?p=203

Rules of the House of Representatives 18th Congress 2020 (Phil). https://www.congress.gov.ph/download/docs/hrep.house.rules.pdf

Sanchez, G. K. (2020). Reaffirming Indigenous identity: Understanding experiences of stigmatization and marginalization among Mexican Indigenous college students. *Journal of Latinos and Education, 19*(1), 31–44. https://doi.org/10.1080./15348431.2018.1447484

Schrader, C. E., & Wotipka, C. M. (2011). History transformed? Gender in World War II narratives in US history textbooks, 1956–2007. *Feminist Formations, 23*(3), 68–88 http://www.jstor.org/stable/41301673

Scotland, J. (2012). Exploring the philosophical underpinnings of research: Relating ontology and epistemology to the methodology and methods of the scientific, interpretive and critical research paradigms. *English Language Teaching, 5*(9).

Scott, W. (1995). *Barangay: Sixteeth-century Philippine culture and society* (2nd ed.). Ateneo de Manila Press.

Sen, A. (2000). *Social exclusion: Concept, application and scrutiny.* Asian Development Bank.

Sensoy, O., & DiAngelo, R. (2009). Developing social justice literacy an open letter to our faculty colleagues. *Phi Delta Kappan, 90*(5).

Setyono, B., & Widodo, H. P. (2019). The representation of multicultural values in the Indonesian ministry of education and culture-endorsed EFL textbook: A critical discourse analysis. *Intercultural Education, 30*(4), 383–397.

Shabiralyani, G., Hasan, K., Hamad, N., & Iqbal, N. (2015). Impact of visual aids in enhancing the learning process case research: District Dera Ghazi Khan. *Journal of Education and Practice, 6*(19), 226–233.

Shannon, P. (2010). Textbook development and selection. In P. Peterson, E. Baker, & B. McGaw (Eds.), *International encyclopedia of education* (3rd ed., pp. 397–402). Elsevier.

Shepherd, S. Delgado, R. H., Sherwood, J., & Paradies, Y. (2018). The impact of indigenous cultural identity and cultural engagement on violent offending. *BioMed Central Public Health, 18*(50). https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-017-4603-2

Sijpenhof, M. (2019). Racialized narratives in Dutch history textbooks: A critical race examination. *Historia y Memoria de la Educacion, 10*, 131–174. https://doi.org/10.5944/hme.10.2019.22223.

Singh, N. K. (2013). Globalization and multilingualism: Case studies of Indigenous culture-based education from the Indian sub-continent and their implications. *International Journal of Multicultural Education, 15*(1), 1–20.

Sit, M. (2008). The Filipino "exhibit" at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, Missouri. *MAI Review, 2*. Santa Cruz Report.

Smart, A., Sinclair, M., Benavot, A., Bernard, J., Chabbott, C., Russell, S. G., & Williams, J. (2020). *Learning for uncertain futures: The role of textbooks, curriculum and pedagogy*. Paper commissioned for the UNESCO Futures of Education report. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000374078

Smith, L. T. (2021) *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples*. Zed Books.

Soares, P., Trejaut, J., Rito, T., Cavadas, B., Hill, C., Eng, K. K., Mormina, M., Brandão, A., Fraser, R., Wang, T., Loo, J., Snell, C., Ko, T., Amorim, A., Pala, M., Macaulay, V., Bulbeck, D., Wilson, J., Gusmão, L., Pereira, L., Oppenheimer, S.,

Lin, M., & Richards, M. (2016). Resolving the ancestry of Austronesian-speaking populations. *Human Genetics, 135*, 309–326.

Solly, M. (2019, April 11). A new human ancestor species was discovered in the Philippines. *Smithsonian Magazine.* https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/paleontologists-unearth-fossils-belonging-previously-unknown-species-ancient-human-180971941/

Song, S. (2020). Multiculturalism. In E. Zalta (Ed.), *The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy*. Stanford University. https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2020/entries/multiculturalism/

Soriano, C., & Sandoval, C. (2007). Indigenous peoples' education in the Philippines. *Asia South Pacific Association for Basic and Adult Education.* http://www.aspbae.org/sites/default/files/pdf/IEP%20Philippines%20Case%20Study.pdf

Sy-Luna, G., & Diaz, L. (2023). The inner voices of the changing times: The journey of the Mangyan elders in governance practices. *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Analysis, 6*(3), 1228–1248. https://doi.org/10.47191/ijmra/v6-i3-45

Tabar, L., & Desai, C. (2017). Decolonization is a global project: From Palestine to the Americas. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society, 6*(2), i–xix.

Takayama, K., Amazon, R., Heimans, S., & Maniam, V. (2016). Doing Southern theory: Towards alternative knowledges and knowledge practices in/for education. *Postcolonial Directions in Education, 5*(1), 1–25.

Takeda, N. & William, J. (2008). Pluralism, identity and the state: National education policy towards Indigenous minorities in Japan and Canada. *Comparative Education, 44*(1), 75-91.

Tannen, D., Hamilton, H., & Schiffrin, D. (2015). *The handbook of discourse analysis* (2nd ed.). John Wiley & Sons.

Te Riele, K., Corcoran, T. MacDonald, F. Baker, A., & White, J. (2023). Education, youth justice and social justice. In K. te Riele, T. Corcoran, F. MacDonald, A. Baker, & J. White (Eds.), *Incarcerated youth people, education and social justice* (pp. 1-37). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-23129-2_1

Theriault, N. (2019). Unravelling the strings attached: Philippine Indigeneity in law and practice. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, 50*(1), 107–128. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022463419000018

Thomas, D. (2011). Asal usul orang Austronesia [Origins of the Austronesian peoples]. In N. H. S. Abdul Rahman, Z. Ramli, M. Z. Musa, & A. Jusoh (Eds.), *Alam melayu: Satu pengenalan* [*Malay world: One contribution to knowledge*], (pp. 13–21). Institut Alam Dan Tamandun Melayu, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Thomas, G., & Loxley, A. (2001). *Deconstructing special education and constructing inclusion.* Open University Press.

Thomas, D., & Quinlan, K. (2022). Reimagining curricula: Effects of cultural (in)sensitivity of curricula on racially minoritized students' engagement. *Studies in Higher Education.* https://doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2022.2134332

Ting, M. Bagsic, A. Eguilos, M., Jaen, R., Respicio, M., & Tan, C. (2008). Modernity vs culture: Protecting the Indigenous peoples of The Philippines. *European Journal of Economic and Political Studies, 1*(1).

Tomasevski, K (2003). Racism and education in dimensions of racism. *Workshop Proceedings of the UN OHCHR & UNESCO, 39.*

Torkar, G., Kovac, M., & Sebart, M. K. (2022). Editorial: The role of textbooks in teaching and learning processes. *Center for Educational Policy Studies Journal, 12*(2), 7–10. https://doi.org/10.26529/cepsj.1479

Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society, 1*(1), 1–40.

Ty, R. (2010). Indigenous Peoples in The Philippines continuing struggle. *FOCUS, 62*. HuRights Osaka.

Udoudom, M. D., & Bassey, S. A. (2018). Plato and John Rawls on social justice. *Journal of Arts, Science and Commerce, IX*(3), 110–114. https://doi.org/10.18843/rwjasc/v9i3/13

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA). (n.d.). *UNPFII mandated areas – economic and social development*. United Nations. https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/mandated-areas1/economic-and-social-development.html

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA). (2009). *State of the world's Indigenous peoples*. United Nations. https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/SOWIP/en/SOWIP_web.pdf

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA). (2015). *Sustainable Development Goals.* United Nations. https://sdgs.un.org/goals

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2013). *Fast facts: Indigenous peoples in The Philippines.* https://www.undp.org/philippines/publications/fast-facts-indigenous-peoples-philippines

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (1990). *World Declaration on Education for All and Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs.* https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000127583

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (1994). *Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action on Special Needs Education: World Conference on Special Needs Education: Access and Quality.* https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000098427

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2000). *Asia Pacific Conference on Education for All 2000 Assessment* (Conference report). https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000120022

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2007) *Mother tongue matters: Local language as a key to effective learning* (Programme and meeting document 48). https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000161121

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2011). *International Standard Classification of Education* (ISCED 2011). UNESCO Institute for Statistics. https://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/international-standard-classification-of-education-isced-2011-en.pdf

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2014). *Textbooks and learning resources: A global framework for policy development.* https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000232222

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2016). *Textbooks pave the way to sustainable development: Global education monitoring report: Policy paper 28.* http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/002467/246777E.pdf

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2017). *Making textbooks content inclusive: Focus on religion, gender and culture.* https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000247337.locale=fr

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2019). *Indigenous peoples' right to education.* https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000369698

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2023a). *Inclusive education: An imperative for advancing human rights and sustainable development* [Side event (symposia) of the Conference of State Parties (CoSP) to the United Nations]. https://www.unesco.org/en/articles/inclusive-education-imperative-advancing-human-rights-and-sustainable-development

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2023b). *The right to education.* https://www.unesco.org/en/right-education

United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF). (2017). *A child is a child: Protecting children on the move from violence, abuse and exploitation.* [Report]. https://www.unicef.org/media/49571/file/UNICEF_A_child_is_a_child_May_2017_EN.pdf

Uono, S., & Hietanen, J. (2015). Eye contact perception in the west and east: A cross-cultural study. *PloS ONE, 10*(2). https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0118094

Uribe, J. (2006). A study on the relationship between Canadian Aboriginal peoples and the Canadian state. *Focal: Canadian Foundation for the Americas,* 1–40.

Van Dijk, T. (2015). Critical discourse analysis. In D. Tannen, H. Hamilton, & D. Schiffrin (Eds.), *The handbook of discourse analysis* (2nd ed., pp. 352-371). John Wiley & Sons.

Veñegas, S., Dacela, M., Mangudadatu, B., & Takata, B. (2023). Epistemic injustice and Indigenous education in The Philippines. *Educational Philosophy and Theory, 1*(10). https://doi.org/10.1080/00131857.2023.2190018

Verbos, A., & Humphries, M. (2014). A native American relational ethic: An Indigenous perspective on teaching human responsibility. *Journal of Business Ethics, 123*(1), 1–9.

Victor, M. L., & Yano, B. (2015). Actualizing the inclusion of Indigenous Peoples' Rights in education: A policy initiative in The Philippines. *Human Rights Education in Asia-Pacific, 6,* 133–161.

Villaplaza, L. (2021). Level of implementation of Indigenous Peoples education program in Agusan del Sur, Philippines. *Asia Pacific Journal Contemporary Education and Communication Technology, 7*(1), 20–33.

Wallenfeldt, J. (2024). Encomienda. *Encyclopedia Britannica.* https://www.britannica.com/topic/encomienda

Wexler, L. (2009). The importance of identity, history and culture in the wellbeing of Indigenous youth. *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth, 2*(2), 267–276. https://doi.org/10.1353/hcy.0.0055

White, H. (2020). *Figural realism: Studies in the Mimesis Effect*. John Hopkins University Press. https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/book.72311

Widodo, H. (2018). A critical micro-semiotic analysis of values depicted in the Indonesian ministry of national education-endorsed secondary school English textbook. In H. Widodo, L. Canh, M. R. Perfecto, & A. Buripakdi (Eds.), *Situating moral and cultural values in ELT materials: The Southeast Asian context* (pp. 131–152). Springer.

Windchief, S., & Brown, B. (2017). Conceptualizing a mentoring program for American Indian/Alaska Native students in the STEM fields: A review of the literature. *Mentoring & Tutoring: Partnership in Learning, 25*(3), 329–345.

Wodak, R. (2024) Critical discourse analysis/studies. In C. Leung & J. Lewkowicz (Eds.), *The Routledge companion to English studies* (2nd ed., pp. 31-44). Routledge.

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2016). Critical discourse studies: History, agenda, theory and methodology. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse studies* (3rd ed., pp. 1–22). SAGE.

Woolford, A., & Benvenuto, J. (2015). Canada and colonial genocide. *Journal of Genocide Research, 17*(4), 373–390.

Writer, J. (2008). Unmasking, exposing and confronting: Critical race theory, tribal critical race theory and multicultural education. *International Journal of Multicultural Education, 10*(2), 1–15.

Writer, J. (2017). Sustaining the essence: Community values, knowledges and ways of being. *Kappa Delta Pi Record, 53*(4), 168–173.

Yakin, H., & Totu, A. (2014). The semiotic perspectives of Pierce and Saussure: A brief comparative study. *Procedia-Social and Behavioural Sciences, 155*, 4–8.

Yates, L. (2011). Re-thinking knowledge, re-thinking work. In L. Yates, C. Collins, & K. O'Connor (Eds.), *Australia's curriculum dilemmas: State cultures and the big issues* (pp. 25–44). Melbourne University Publishing.

Yazzie-Mintz, T. (2007). From a place deep inside: Culturally appropriate curriculum as the embodiment of Navajo-ness in classroom pedagogy. *Journal of American Indian Education, 46*(3), 72–93.

You, W. (2011). *The wandering nation: A research on the discursive construction of Filipino identity* [Master's thesis, Lund University]. Lund University Libraries. https://lup.lub.lu.se/student-papers/search/publication/1966944

Young, A. (2006). *Elders' teachings on Indigenous leadership: Leadership is a gift* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of British Columbia.

Young, M. (2008). From constructivism to realism in the sociology of the curriculum. *Review of Research in Education, 32*(1), 1–32.

Young, M. (2009). What are schools for? In H. Daniels, H. Lauder, & J. Porter (Eds.), *Knowledge, values and educational policy: A critical perspective* (pp. 10–18). Routledge.

Young, M. (2014). Powerful knowledge as a curriculum principle. In M. Young, D. Lambert, C. Roberts, & M. Roberts (Eds.), *Knowledge and the future school: Curriculum and social justice* (pp. 65–88). Bloomsbury Academic.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2010). Theorizing identity: Beyond the "Us" and "Them" dichotomy. *Patterns Prejudice, 14*(3), 261–280. https://doi.org/10.1080/0031322X.2010.489736

Zaide, G., & Zaide, S. (1987). *Philippine history and government.* National Book Store.

Zajda, J. (Ed.). (2015). *Nation-building and history education in a global culture*. Springer Netherlands.

Zhang, J. (2019). Educational diversity and ethnic cultural heritage in the process of globalization. *International Journal of Anthropology and Ethnology, 3*(7), 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1186/s41257-019-0022-x

Appendices

Figure 9.1.

Appendices
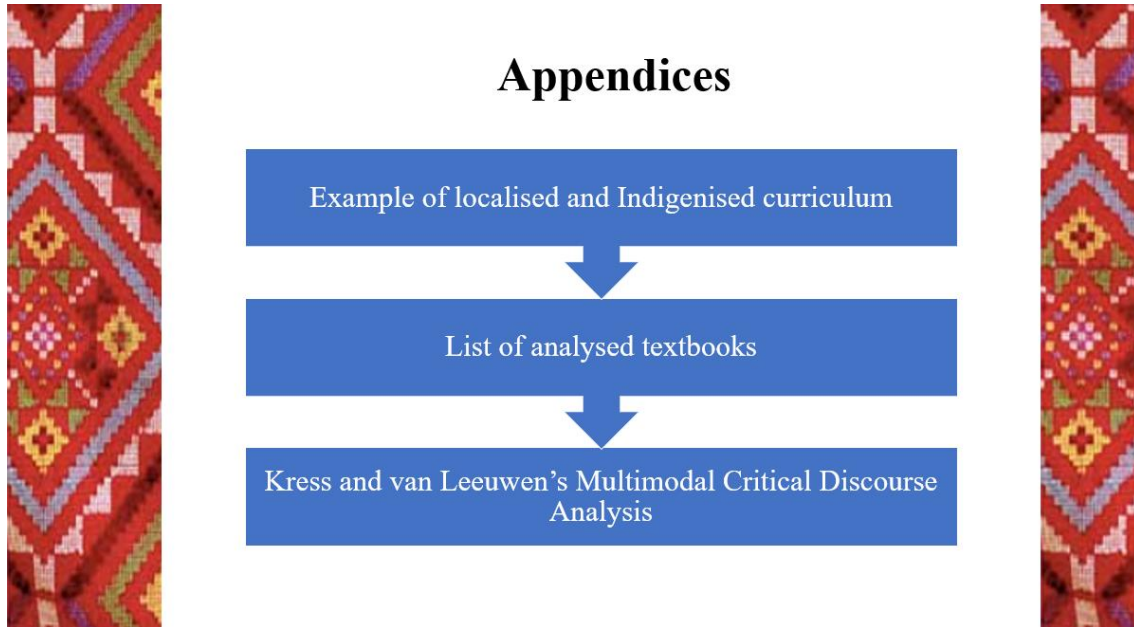
Note. This woven cloth image is a traditional design from one of the First Nations groups (Yakan) in The Philippines. This woven cloth image is from Odyssea: Natural, Culture, People[60]

---

[60] https://www.facebook.com/odysseaPH/photos/pb.100071165063775.-2207520000/243613796073002/?type=3

Appendix A: Example of localised and Indigenised curriculum

Table A1

Example of localised and Indigenised curriculum

Science: Grade 3, Second Quarter

Content	Content Standards	Performance Standards	Learning Competency	Code
3. Living things 3.1 Plants	Learners demonstrate understanding of … Characteristics of living and non-living things	The learners should be able to … Illustrate the difference between living and non-living things	Compare living with non-living things	S3LT-IIe-f-11
✎ Indigenization by including the context and values of the community				
	☞ *Characteristics of living and non-living things based on the community's perspective* ☞ *Characteristics of living and non-living things based on the perspective of Western science*	☞ *Illustrate the difference between living and non-living things based on the community's perspective* ☞ *Illustrate the difference between living and non-living based on the perspective of Western science*	☞ *Compare living with non-living things based on the community's perspective* ☞ *Compare living with non-living things based on the perspective of Western science*	

Note. From *Department Order 32 Adopting the Indigenous Peoples Education Curriculum Framework, 2015* (Phil), s.2015

Appendix B: List of textbooks, grade level and school usage

Table B1

List of Coded Textbooks

Grade level	Textbook	Written language	Schools using the textbook
1	Textbook 1A	English	Private
	Textbook 1B	Filipino	Private
2	Textbook 2A	English	private
	Textbook 2B	Filipino	Private
3	Textbook 3A	English	Private
4	Textbook 4A	English	Private
	Textbook 4B	Filipino	Private
5	Textbook 5A	English	Private
	Textbook 5B	Filipino	Private
6	Textbook 6A	English	Private
	Textbook 6B	Filipino	Private
	Textbook 6C	Filipino	Private
	Textbook 6D	Filipino	Private
4	Textbook 4C	Filipino	Public
5	Textbook 5C	Filipino	Public

Appendix C: Kress and van Leeuwen's Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis

Table C1

Percentage Frequency Rate of the Visual Categories According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006)

Visual category	Frequency	%
Composition (connectivity among participants in the image)	34	25
Interaction (relations between participants in the image and with the viewer)	68	50
Representation (relations between the people, places and things depicted in the images)	34	25

Table C2

Percentage Frequency Rate of the Sub-Categories of the Composition Category

Composition	Sub-category	Frequency	%
Information value	Centre/margin (nucleus/subservient)	19	55.9
Salience	Foreground/background	4	11.8
Framing	Present (connectiveness)	11	32.4
	Absent (detachment)	0	0

Table C3

Percentage Frequency Rate of the Sub-Categories of the Interaction Category

Interaction	Sub-category		Frequency	%
Attitude	Vertical angle	Low (inferiority)	2	2.9
		Eye level (equality)	8	11.8
	Horizontal angle	Oblique (detachment)	10	14.7
		Frontal (attachment)	8	11.8
Social distance	Long shot		10	14.7
	Medium shot		4	5.9
	Close shot		4	5.9
Gaze	Offer (absence of gaze)		11	16.2
	Demand (contact with viewer)		11	16.2

Table C4

Percentage Frequency Rate of the Sub-Categories of the Representation Category

Representation	Sub-category	Frequency	%
Conceptual (participants in terms of their class, structure or meaning)	Symbolic (what a participant means or is)	7	20.6
	Classificational (groups of people, places and things together)	8	23.5
	Analytical (connects participants as part of a whole structure)	7	20.6
Narrative (participants as actors in an action)	Reactional	5	14.7
	Action	7	20.6