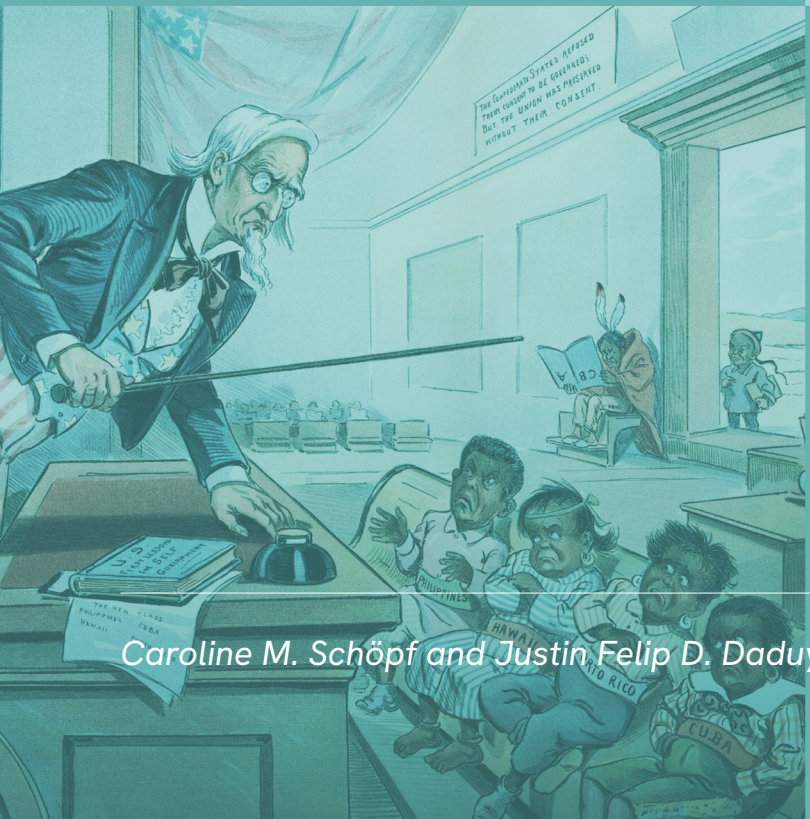
Discussion Paper Series 2025-36

DECOLONIAL STUDIES PROGRAM

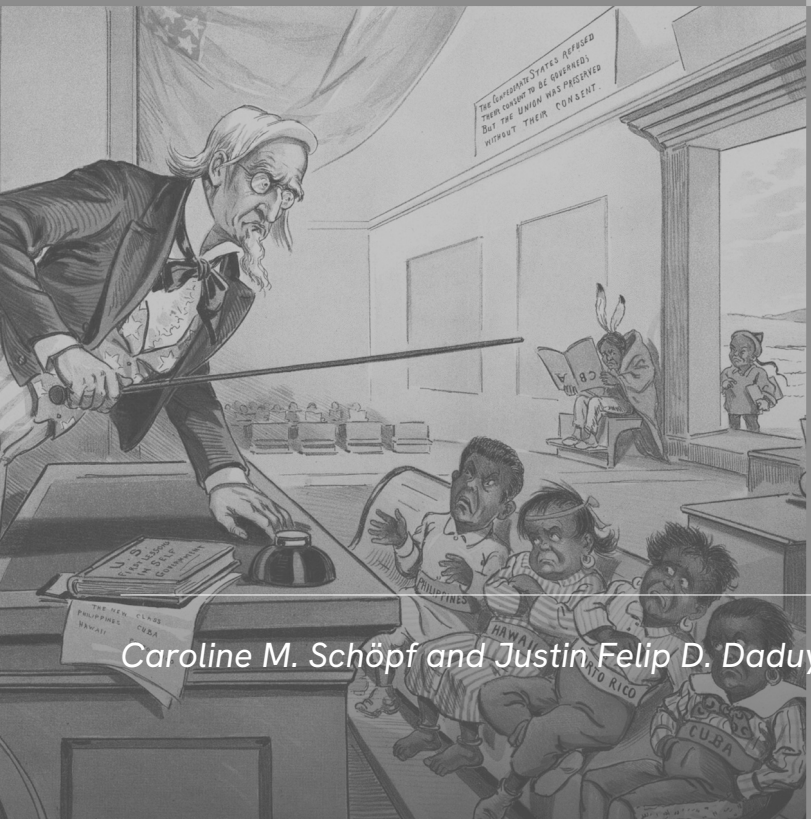
Dismantling Academic Dependency and Intellectual Imperialism in the Academe: Towards Autonomous Knowledge Production in the Philippines



Caroline M. Schöpf and Justin Felip D. Daduya

■ DECOLONIAL STUDIES PROGRAM

Dismantling Academic Dependency and Intellectual Imperialism in the Academe: Towards Autonomous Knowledge Production in the Philippines



Caroline M. Schöpf and Justin Felip D. Daduya

UP CIDS Discussion Paper Series
is published by the

University of the Philippines
Center for Integrative and Development Studies
Lower Ground Floor, Ang Bahay ng Alumni
Magsaysay Avenue, University of the Philippines
Diliman, Quezon City 1101

Telephone: (02) 8981-8500 loc. 4266 to 4268 / (02) 8426-0955
Email: cidspublications@up.edu.ph
Website: cids.up.edu.ph

cids.up.edu.ph

ISSN 2619-7448 (Print)
ISSN 2619-7456 (Online)

Cover image credit
"School Begins"

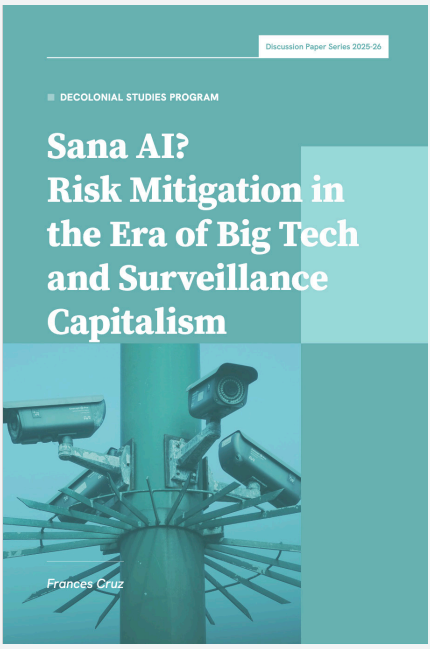
Louis Dalrymple, Puck Magazine, January 25, 1899 https://www.transcend.org/tms/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/Uncle-Sam-Civilization-Class.jpg

Table of Contents

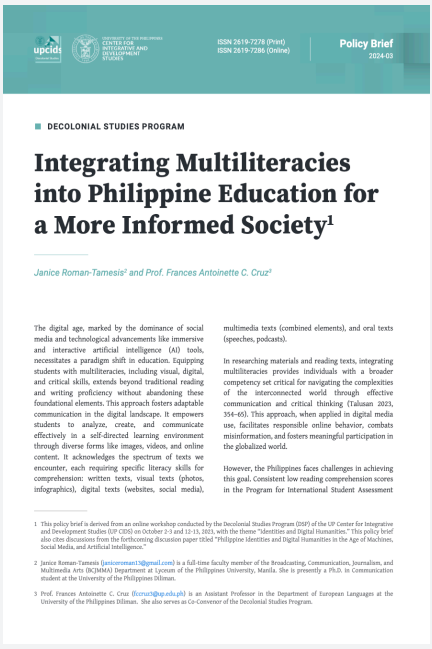
28 Concluding Remarks

29 References

Download related policy papers for *free*



Sana AI? Risk Mitigation in the Era of Big Tech and Surveillance Capitalism



Integrating Multiliteracies into Philippine Education for a More Informed Society

cids.up.edu.ph/collection-database

Get your policy papers published.

Download open-access articles.

The Philippine Journal of Public Policy: Interdisciplinary Development Perspectives (PJPP), the annual peer-reviewed journal of the UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies (UP CIDS), welcomes submissions in the form of full-length policy-oriented manuscripts, book reviews, essays, and commentaries. The PJPP provides a multidisciplinary forum for examining contemporary social, cultural, economic, and political issues in the Philippines and elsewh ere. Submissions are welcome year-around.

For more information, visit cids.up.edu.ph.
All issues/articles of the PJPP can be downloaded for free.

Get news and the latest publications.

Join our mailing list to get our publications delivered straight to your inbox! Also, you'll receive news of upcoming webinars and other updates.

bit.ly/signup_cids

We need your feedback.

Have our publications been useful? Tell us what you think.

bit.ly/dearcids

DISMANTLING ACADEMIC DEPENDENCY AND INTELLECTUAL IMPERIALISM IN THE ACADEME

Towards Autonomous Knowledge Production in the Philippines

Caroline M. Schöpf[1] and Justin Felip D. Daduya[2]

1 Department of Sociology, University of the Philippines Diliman

2 Department of Philosophy, University of the Philippines Diliman

INTRODUCTION

This article discusses the insights emanating from the conference *Resisting Intellectual Imperialism and Epistemic Violence: Towards Autonomous Knowledge Production*, which, organized by the Decolonial Studies Program of the University of the Philippines Center for Integrads and Development Studies, took place from Nov 9-10 2023, as well as from the wider literature on Academic Dependency, Intellectual Imperialism, and Autonomous Social Sciences, that form the theoretical background of the conference. We explain the dangers of academic dependency and intellectual imperialism and the harms these can inflict on knowledge production in the Global South, and we critically discuss the historical and contemporary processes and policies that shaped academic knowledge production in the Philippines, orienting it to chase approval of the Global North instead of focusing on serving the people and solving local problems. We explain how the neoliberalization and metrification of higher education, the global university ranking system, global journal rankings, and dependence on Global North funding and imbalanced collaborations orients Filipino scholars away from forming Autonomous Academic Communication Communities (Guillermo 2023) that could focus on, theorize, and solve local issues, and instead pushes them to follow the whims of Global North academic power holders – journal editors and reviewers, collaboration partners, organizers – who may be ignorant and unsympathetic to the problems that Filipino scholars want to prioritize, and who may even have conflicting interests. We identify the specific policies in Philippine higher education that fuel academic dependency. Lastly, we outline several specific policy recommendations that will foster Autonomous Knowledge Production in the Philippines.

ACADEMIC DEPENDENCY, INTELLECTUAL IMPERIALISM, AND AUTONOMOUS KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

Colonialism created both biased knowledge itself, and also established highly unequal power structures of global knowledge production (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2020). Europeans created highly biased theories, such as scientific racism, or evolutionist assumptions seeing Europe as the pinnacle of human "development" and modernity that all other peoples must follow. They also delegitimized, demonized, or erased all other knowledge systems in colonized

territories. Colonial education further planted a "cultural bomb" among the colonized, devaluing their own cultures, knowledges, and heritages (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1986), and often creating 'captive minds' (S. H. Alatas 1972) brainwashed into believing in the superiority of the colonizer and their knowledge systems.

While historically, non-Westerners were almost completely excluded from Western knowledge productions, their research not being published or read and them not being hired at universities, contemporary academia incorporates them, but in secondary, subalternized roles (Kim 2012): As research assistants and as those who teach the knowledge created—predominantly by white males—in the Global North to the global middle classes, who often find themselves employed in roles serving and facilitating Global North economic and political dominance.

The unequal structures and power relations that characterize global knowledge production have been investigated under the concepts 'academic dependency' and 'intellectual imperialism (S. F. Alatas 2002; S.H. Alatas 2000, Altbach 1975, 1977; Gareau 1985, 1988, 1991; Guillermo 2023). The following institutions and social structures are the foundations on which contemporary academic dependency rests (Schöpf 2020): (1) The neoliberalization and metrification of higher education (Guillermo 2023); (2) the university ranking system, which links to the dominance of the Global North in Global graduate training; (3) The (formal or informal) ranking of journals, publishing houses, and conferences; (4) The academic dominance of colonial languages, especially English, (5) The abundance of funding that Global North academic institutions enjoy, compared to their Global South counterparts, and (6) the imbalanced international partnerships this engenders, where the Global South partner can easily end up being dominated by the Global North partner.

Metrification is what pushes universities and academics to chase numerical outputs and pay attention to global rankings in the first place. Metrification, and its larger context, the neoliberalization of higher education, are what orients Global South academic communities towards global ranking systems and to the global academic landscape at large, where the Global North dominates. Without the pressures of metrification, academics would have the freedom to decide for themselves what constitutes academic justice and which problems deserve attention.

The university ranking system, in combination with the abundant funding and resources of the Global North, is a big factor leading to the South-to-North flow of graduate students, as well as to brain drain. Students in the Global South are often advised to take their graduate training in the Global North, which supposedly holds the most advanced knowledge. There, they are often socialized into a body of knowledge that was only ever intended for and tailored to the Global North nation state that hosts the university, and that is often blind to global (neo)colonial exploitation and violence. The most competitive Global South academics frequently remain in the Global North, often teaching at mediocre institutions there, instead of remaining in the Global South where they could make a change.

The global (formal and informal) rankings of journals, publishing houses, and conferences, push Global South. academics to publish in venues hosted and supervised by the Global North. There, they frequently encounter editors and peer reviewers who make decisions based on a Global North academic socialization, often ask to focus on Global North literature, use Global North concepts and theories, and connect to Global North concerns, interests, research agendas, in order to be deemed "relevant." Work that focuses on phenomena or social problems in the Global South is often viewed as 'not relevant' by Global North editors and peer reviewers, and work critiques the Global North in some way is often met with overly harsh feedback. This means that Global North-based journals and publishing houses are not an ideal environment for Global South scholarship to flourish and focus on issues relevant to Global South communities and nations (Schöpf 2020).

The dominance of colonial languages, especially English—in its US and British variants—creates barriers, obstacles, and financial burdens for scholars who do not have perfect mastery of them. Such scholars may need to pay expensive fees for editors or deal with harsh feedback from reviewers, who often confuse language differences with lack of scholarly ability. They may also take longer to navigate and absorb knowledge in English. Conversely, for US or British native speakers, their native language often serves as a glass escalator, helping them formulate even relatively trivial or provincial insights in sophisticated ways that sound more eloquent and convincing to reviewers than the writing of their non-native English speaking counterparts.

Further, a foreign language is simply not a suitable vessel for the development of the conceptual and theoretical apparatus of an academic discipline (Aquino 2013, Thiong'o 1986:ix-33). Since languages are rooted in and reflect cultural contexts, there will always be a major disconnect between important concepts, phenomena, processes, etc., if they are formulated in a foreign language (Aquino 2012). This is conjoined with the problem that educating Global South students in a colonial language, and teaching the mainstream educational archive associated with language, often orients these students towards the colonizing power as the "real" civilization, and casts the Global South country, where the student resides, as an inferior afterthought, thus functioning as a "cultural bomb" that can have a poisonous effect on young minds (Thiong'o 1986).

The vast imbalances of funding that scholars in the Global North versus the Global South have access to further skew the playing field of global academia. This happens in two ways, data collection and analysis, and North-South collaborations. Firstly, their access to abundant funding enables scholars in the Global North to acquire ever more vast datasets, with ever more intricate sampling techniques, and apply ever more sophisticated statistical analyses. Often, a team of highly trained research assistants is hired to carry out the tasks that an individual researcher would be unable to accomplish. Thus, the Global North keeps pushing the "gold standard" of methodological excellence further and further, out of reach of the underfunded academies of the Global South. Hence, even if scholars from the Global South try to mobilize vitally important knowledge claims, trying to alert about grave social injustices, Global North-based editors may give preferential treatment to much more trivial studies from Global North-based scholars, simply because their studies appear more methodologically sophisticated. Secondly, differences in funding greatly impact collaborations: If one partner has greater access to funding, and the other partner is in sore need of funding, the balance of power shifts to the one who holds the funding, which may enable them to determine the research design, the theoretical or conceptual framework, the ways the data is coded, etc etc. Especially if the data is gathered in the society of the partner with less funding, they may feel that the project is carried out in ways that are a poor fit with local concerns, needs, or cultural contexts, but feel pressured to keep silent in order to not lose the funding (Gunasekara 2020). Finally, these disparities may seem like something for institutions in the Global North to try and fix, which they will do in turn by funneling foreign aid to particular

aspects of education in the Global South that catches their fancy. But because they are in control over where this funding is spent, it is often ultimately allocated to areas that benefit them as well, whether for research that is particularly relevant for them, or even providing education for students in the Global South, but specifically in marketable skills that Global North employers need (Riddell and Niño-Zarazúa 2016).

These power structures sustain and reinforce the coloniality of knowledge, i.e., distortions and biases in knowledge:

It centers a white, Western, upper class, male positionality and outlook in knowledge production, together with the interests of this population – thus, knowledge is produced that benefits these populations. They are often depicted in (overly) positive ways, and activities of these groups that negatively impact other people, countries, or the planet of a whole are often downplayed, sidelined, or minimized.

The perspectives of the Global South, of racialized and indigenous people, of the global working classes and lower classes, of women, of minoritized groups are silenced, scattered, or sidelined. They are often scape-goated or victim-blamed, and the extent to which they experience injustices, exploitation, or violence, is often downplayed or minimized (Capistrano forthcoming). The mainstream international media coverage on the genocide of Gaza is a prime example of how coloniality of knowledge manifests. (Dussel 1993; Mignolo 2002, 2009).

Autonomous Knowledge Production can be a remedy against intellectual imperialism and academic dependency. The goal here is to foster Autonomous Knowledge Traditions. Syed Hussein Alatas (1979), for example, envisioned autonomous social science traditions which raise and treat problems arising from local contexts, develop locally suited research methodologies to investigate them, autonomously describe phenomena and create concepts and theories that are suitable vessels to capture them—as opposed to importing ill-fitting theories from supposedly more "prestigious" overseas academic communities—and that relate to other knowledge communities as equals, instead of being dominated by them. Autonomous Knowledge Traditions are developed by autonomous academic communication communities (Guillermo 2023). These must be facilitated by institutions and policies to serve the people and turn towards local needs.

CENTURIES OF COLONIAL EDUCATION

Under the thumb of several colonial masters for well over four hundred years, the Philippines is in no way exempt from the globally-stratified and thoroughly dependent nature of the academe in the Global South. If anything, its long history under colonial education policies makes it a paradigmatic example of a system of knowledge production that was designed to serve colonial interests from its very inception. This looking into the history of Philippine education periodizes the development of our academic dependency into three specific stages – the Spanish period, the American period, and the period of globalization –in an attempt to discuss the current state of our education system as directly intertwined with a colonial past and a neocolonial present.

It was under Spanish colonial rule that formal education had its beginnings. It was clear, especially after Spain first landed in the islands in 1521, that the main intent was to cement their political and cultural grip over the newly-found territory by bringing in Christianity. This was immediately actualized by the religious congregations that arrived soon after the first Spanish expeditions, establishing their own schools as soon as they landed: the Augustinians in Cebu in 1565, the Franciscans in 1577, the Jesuits in 1581, and the Dominicans in 1587 (Sanchez 1953).

This drive by the congregations and the Spanish in general was vitiated by the Leyes de Indias (Law of the Indies), the body of laws set out by the Spanish Crown in 1573 to regulate Spain's various colonies in Asia and the Americas and improve their relationships with the natives (Mundigo and Crouch 1977). In this set of laws we see multiple reminders to educate the natives as part of an overall plan to convince them of Spanish superiority and win them over to Catholicism. As such, primary schooling would start almost immediately after colonization, with the congregations setting up parochial schools in all of their territories (Alzona 1932)

But while the establishment of schools was indisputably of Spanish origin, this education system's stratification was evident even as early as these first few years under Spanish rule. While the Spanish did allow primary schooling soon after colonization, it would take more than a century before Filipinos were allowed to even take secondary education, and half a century after that before higher education became accessible to them as well (Santiago 1991). It would

only be in 1772, more than a quarter millennium since Magellan first arrived on the shores of Mactan, before a Filipino was able to acquire a doctorate degree. These newly-minted doctorate-holders would also be some of the first academics to publish their works, which were usually expositions of the Thomistic philosophy drilled into them by the friars (Santiago 1984).

A major shift of note in the history of the country's education policy was in 1863, after a Royal Decree by Queen Isabela II mandated the creation of a free public education system that was open for all, even those without a drop of Spanish blood. Every municipality was enjoined to create two municipal primary schools, where more students were taught the colonial tongue. This decree also made sure that the municipal schools would be under the control of local parish priests, who would be in charge of teaching the pupils about Christian doctrine. Once again, despite the expansion of free education, the goal was still to further dependence by creating, as Hardacker claims, a "cadre of clerks and officials in service of the new, liberal colonial state (2013)."

While more Filipinos did become fluent in Spanish, this may have been a double-edged sword for the Spanish, as it had created a burgeoning intelligentsia that was quickly adopting liberal – and even emancipatory – ideas: the Ilustrados (Majul 2010). This new Filipino-blooded elite was enabled both by the the aforesaid royal decree, as well as other reforms by the liberal government including the developing local economy and the opening of the Suez Canal, allowed for the adoption of European enlightenment thinking, especially among scions of rich families who were sent to Europe for their studies. This new set of intellectuals, in turn, would become major players in demanding Philippine representation in Spanish governance, before subsequently fighting for independence. They did so precisely by participating in knowledge production, especially works of journalism and political theory, using Spanish and borrowing from European concepts (Teodoro 1999; Arcilla 2012).

Overall, the Spanish period would entrench a deeply dependent education system in the country. On one hand, it would do so by spending centuries teaching Spanish and creating a school system that acted, at least to some extent, as the Spanish church's catechetical ministry. On the other hand, it would do so by creating conditions for emancipation that would ultimately be dependent on foreign ideas as well. The immediate adoption of European

Enlightenment thinking among the Ilustrados was, as exemplified in Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, a disavowal of the rigid scholasticism pushed down their throats by the Spanish education system. As such, for both sympathizers of the colonial project and their most vocal opponents, education and knowledge production were still matters of being able to think like the Europeans which were held up as the standard.

The same colonial orientation is easily seen in the colonial education policy under American rule. After Spain handed over control of the Philippine colony to the United States through the Treaty of Paris in 1898, the Americanization of the Philippine education system soon followed, as the Americans hoped, like the Spanish, to secure the subservience of their newly-acquired territory. With the added goal of making sure that the allegiance was to them rather than to the deposed Spanish rulers, the Americans quickly undertook a massive overhaul of the country's system of schooling (Schueller 2019).

One immediate change in the education policy was secularization. In an effort to pry the Filipinos away from Spanish influence, as well as to teach them in light of the enlightenment sensibilities that defined that period of the American empire, one of the first courses of action was to ensure that a free public school system replaced the Spanish parochial schools (Alcala 2012). Another key change was the use of English in schools, obviously replacing Spanish as the language of instruction. Not only did the American teachers not speak Spanish, they also did not wish to learn much Tagalog, believing that it would not only be much easier, but it would even assist in their goal to "civilize" the natives by raising them up in their own image (Bramen 2017). All of this, of course, was under the auspices of the "Benevolent Assimilation" that legitimized the American imperial project. Since the stated goal of their occupation was to bear the white man's burden by leading the natives to civilization, then it was only normal that they made education a focal point (Miller 1984).

These changes would materialize quickly. By January 1901, the colonial government would approve Act No.74, which established a trade school in Manila, and an agricultural school in Negros, and most importantly, the Department of Public Instruction, which would spearhead the education efforts in the country. By July of the same year, they had sent off the USS Thomas, with about 600 "Thomasites" – volunteer soldiers set to serve as

the country's first corps of public school teachers (Hollnsteiner and Ick 2001). From these efforts, the colonial government made public schooling mandatory for all students from six years old to twelve. In these schools, no religious instruction was allowed, and the teachers used English throughout. This, for the Americans, was a testament to their claims that unlike Spain, they only had the best of Filipino interests at heart. As Suri states in his work on American nation-building:

> Imperial powers in other parts of Asia restricted European language instruction to a narrow elite, for the purpose of controlling access to knowledge. The Chinese and Japanese governments traditionally followed similar policies, training only a small literate cadre of loyalists and scholars. The American model for the Philippines was radically different. It was open in its aspiration for universal participation, it was nonsectarian in its rejection of religious dogma, and it was, most important, keyed to citizen mobility through new knowledge acquisition in the language of political power. (2011).

In truth, however, while many of these policies were indeed vastly different from how the Spanish preserved their intellectual hegemony, they still perpetuated a deeply US-dependent academic structure and laid the groundwork for US-oriented knowledge production.

One clear way in which this manifested was making sure that the entire education system was staffed either by Americans themselves or by teachers trained under the American system. The Pensionado Act, for example, was a scholarship program for Filipinos to study in the United States, which was designed for them to administer American ideas unto the islands upon their return (Sintos Coloma 2009). Likewise, they established Universities such as the Philippine College of Commerce (now the Polytechnic University of the Philippines), the Philippine Normal College (now the Philippine Normal University) and University of the Philippines to build their own flock of tradespeople, teachers, and bureaucrats which acted, as a "show window of enlightened colonialism (Lumbera et al. 2008))."

Another – often unexplored – aspect was the racial segregation of the US education system which was specifically brought up by Harrington (2019). As her dissertation demonstrated, contrary to the unitary picture often painted about American colonial education in the Philippines, records show how

education among Muslims and animists, two minorities in the Philippines, was vastly different because Americans struggled to teach them. This, Harrington also showed, has made lasting impacts on the reification of the American understanding of racial differences in the country and, as academic dependency mechanisms often do, reproduced inequalities both between the colonizer and the colonized as well as among the various groups of the colonized.

Ultimately, the entire point of the American colonial education system, as already mentioned, is the core of academic dependency: to hold up the colonizer as the gold standard of knowledge, and education as the quest to be able to be just like them. To quell popular unrest and justify their reign, the Americans had to present themselves as a tutelary government that ought to be emulated, and the dependent Philippine academe has been trying to do so ever since.

A detour of note amid this long colonial history was the brief Japanese occupation during the Second World War. Unlike Spain and the United States, it was not the mission of the Japanese to civilize the Filipinos or to impose their culture upon them. In fact, the major reforms were specifically to remove English as the language of instruction and replace it with Filipino, as well as to start teaching Filipino culture and history in schools. This, of course, was not so much a matter of fighting for Filipino rights as an explicitly anti-American effort to win the population over in line with Japanese interests (Gosiengfiao 1966; (Jose 2020)). But the anti-colonial orientation of this time period was nevertheless interesting.

After the war, however, the country saw a return to the same practices. Despite the United States "granting" the country independence in 1946, their vast influence remained, even in education. One manifestation of this was how the Philippines, forced under American control to focus on the technical vocational skills that allowed them to figure into the labor market, was held up as an example for other Asian countries for its vocational courses (United States International Cooperation Administration 1960). Another example was how despite direct American control as a whole ending, it was well-known that Filipino universities still remained under tutelary relationships with foreign universities (Carson 1961).

The defining factor of this new contemporary period is still dependence, but rather than simply being imposed from without, the centuries of dependence and the continued economic imbalances have allowed it to allure every single administration post-war, pushing them to institute reforms that better align us with globalization.

This is best seen under Marcos, whose educational reforms were expressly in line with his labor export policy. In 1969, in just his second year of office, Marcos signed Executive Order No. 202, creating the Philippine Commission to Survey Philippine Education, which would eventually claim that the education system needed an overhaul in service of economic growth and national development. This led to several Marcosian policies which, among others, gutted the social sciences and humanities to focus on technical and vocational education, because the latter was more marketable abroad (Maca 2018). This also led to the institution of the New Elementary School Curriculum (NESC) – a curriculum that was launched specifically as a precondition of a loan from the World Bank, and using textbooks funded by the same institution.

After Marcos, we do admittedly see a few policies focused on internal growth. The 1987 Constitution, for example, banned foreign ownership of education and focused on instituting local education, reforms in the coming years would quickly return to the foreign orientation (Republic of the Philippines 1987). The Congressional Commission on Education (EDCOM) Report of 1991 was likewise focused on pointing out the mishandling of the education system and its failure to meet the needs of the studentry, pointing out inadequate state allocations for the education sector and even demonstrating that the use of English was hindering educational outcomes (Magno 2010). But these administrations are no saints of emancipatory education either, as seen in the Aquino administration's adoption of the NSEC – which was made under the same principles as the NESC –and the Ramos administrations continuous slashes to public education, as well as the continued interference of the World Bank in every single administration's education reforms (Remollino 2007).

But many of these reforms would quickly change at the turn of the century alongside the growing neoliberal orientation in overall governance. Arroyo, for example, lamenting the lowering English literacy rate, called for a return to English, eventually releasing Executive Order 210 to bring it back as the medium of instruction (Campoamor 2007). It was also under her administration that the

Commission on Higher Education released memoranda explicitly recognizing the need for globalization in education and the necessity of raising local universities to "international comparability (Commission on Higher Education 2003)."

The second Aquino administration was likewise pressed to institute globalizing reforms. This was most obvious in the K-12 program, when the Department of Education, with much support from the World Bank and Asian Development Bank, pushed for a reform of the education system, officially adding two years to align our schooling with that of other countries. This, again, was done under the same logic, with Aquino himself saying that it was done in large part because of how the Philippine diploma was being treated in the global labor market (Barreiro 2013).

Despite the populist rhetoric and anti-Western sentiments that put Duterte into power, it was actually under his regime that the Commission on Higher Education became most invested in internationalization as well. It was in 2016 that CHED released its internationalization framework, and it was under CHED Commissioner Popoy De Vera that they even released an entire book talking about their internationalization efforts (Commission on Higher Education International Affairs Staff 2022).

Under the current Marcos regime, we can only expect more of the same. From his first State of the Nation Address, Marcos already raised several of the same talking points that have contributed to a thoroughly imperialist-oriented education system, with particular emphasis still placed on the ability to speak English and show off marketable skills to foreign employers (Chi 2022).

Ultimately, we can see how centuries upon centuries of colonial education has led to a thoroughly-dependent Philippine academe. Whether in the rigid religiosity of the Spanish period, the Enlightenment-esque liberalism of the American colonial period, or the neoliberal commodification of education in the present day, the imperialist-oriented learning and scholarship in the country persists.

THE IMPERIALIST ACADEME AS IT STANDS TODAY

After almost half a millennium of thoroughly colonial education and knowledge production policies, it is no surprise that the current policy landscape in the country remains in service of sustaining academic dependency. This has intensified in the last few years, with even more policies promoting the commodification and metrification of education. This is true for both the general framework – as expressed in the key documents governing the Philippine academe – and in the specific policies, both of the governing agencies and individual academic institutions. This analysis of the policy landscape so far will begin by looking at two core documents for the current neoliberal education system – the Commission on Higher Education's framework for its internationalization plan, and the globalization of primary and secondary education through the K-12 program. It will then delve deeper into the specific policies that maintain academic dependency, particularly those that reinforce metrification such as rank-based funding and accreditation, the stratification of journals and degrees through grants and incentives based on international indexing, impose inequalities in inter-institution collaboration through blatantly exploitative corporatization, reify language inequalities by favoring the "global standard" of English, and further deprive Global South institutions of adequate funding through state neglect and misprioritization.

In terms of the overall policy framework, while knowledge production has always had its colonial orientation, the last decade has seen the institution of several key documents oriented towards globalization, creating, on one hand, more conducive conditions for the entry of the global education market in the Philippines and, on the other hand, training Filipino students for entering the global education and labor markets themselves, all while ultimately remaining in lock-step with the policies and standards of global education. This is best seen in two key education policies: the Commission on Higher Education's Internationalization Program for tertiary education, and the Department of Education's K-12 program for primary and secondary education.

The first key document is CHED Memorandum No. 55 s. 2016, or the Policy Framework and Strategies on the Internationalization of Philippine Higher Education (Commission on Higher Education 2016). As the name suggests,

this sets out the commission's overall internationalization framework moving forward, claiming that internationalization is "warranted by the demands of integration and globalization which the national higher education system alone cannot adequately meet." It provides a four-tier system to classify HEIs and determine the areas that CHED will support to ensure that institutions are internationalized, and mandates that all HEIs strive towards globalization through an internationalization strategic plan and internationalization resources, which include specific budget allocations, a dedicated International Relations Office, and an International Students Center. This, in turn, is actualized by other policies such as the Internationalization Roadmap 2023-2028, which proposes a four-pillar action plan that focuses on improving the reputation of higher education in the Philippines, strengthening "internationalized" higher education institutions in the country, making sure that Philippine students are "global and future-proof," and adopting globally-aligned standards – policy priorities that were formulated mainly based on general recommendations by foreign studies such as the ANTENA Project's Needs Assessment Study and the results of the Quacquarelli Symonds Assessment (Project Antena 2022).

It is unsurprising that this framework sustains academic dependency. Just from its name, one immediately understands that it facilitates the entry of foreign players into the local education market, particularly through its strengthened push for transnational higher education. It likewise emphasizes outbound student mobility, and building more international linkages. Finally, it also affirms the acceptance of the dictates of the global education market, even making adherence to these standards one of the four main priorities of its most recent roadmap.

Another important educational policy is K-12, a program implemented through RA 10533 or the Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2013, is a major overhaul of the country's education system that mandated 12 years of primary and secondary education, extending secondary education in the country by two years (Philippines 2013). In the act itself, the very first action point in the program's declaration of policy is a call to chase global metrics — to "give every student an opportunity to receive quality education that is globally competitive based on a pedagogically sound curriculum that is at par with international standards." While the program was pushed hard by international monetary institutions and other Global North institutions, it was also pushed despite

local groups railing against its implementation, citing a lack of readiness and a focus on what they deemed to be more pressing concerns such as improving the drop-out rate, building better facilities, and lightening the load for overworked teachers (Lanuza and San Juan 2023).

Once again, expected from the rhetoric that came alongside its institutionalization, the further entrenchment of dependence mechanisms came fast. For one, it quickly ushered in foreign players into a rapidly corporatizing education market, eager to profit off of the inevitable overflow of public school students that need to transfer to private high schools through public voucher systems. The largest player here was Pearson, who partnered with the Ayala group to put up the Affordable Private Education Centers (APEC) schools, a chain of for-profit "low-fee" schools that absorbed millions of public funding, which experts argue could have instead been spent on actually improving the public school system (Riep 2015). At the same time, its alignment with foreign guidelines – including the streamlining of calendars and adding two years to secondary education – were presented as a way for Filipino students to enter foreign institutions as well.

Within this general framework, we can also observe a constellation of specific policies reinforcing the different mechanisms of academic dependency.

The most obvious of these factors can be found in policies that contribute to the metrification of education, in particular the recognition of international rankings as a key component of assessing our academic institutions. Metrification, as explained above, provides quantitative indicators for stratifying global universities, and therefore validating the superiority of some institutions and their practices over others.

In the Philippines, the growing number of institutions subjecting themselves to this ranking is already evidence. The past few years have seen a steady rise in ranked Philippine institutions, with 15 Philippine universities being ranked in the most recent Times Higher Education assessment: Ateneo De Manila University, University of the Philippines, De La Salle University, the University of Sto. Tomas, Mapua University, Cebu Technological University, Central Luzon State University, University of Eastern Philippines, Mariano Marcos State University, Mindanao State University – Iligan Institute of Technology, Nueva Ecija University of Science and Technology, University of Science

and Technology of Southern Philippines, Tarlac Agricultural University, and Visayas State University (Times Higher Education 2024).

A large aspect of this is, of course, a matter of reputation. For private schools trying to secure more enrollees, the ability to brag about international rankings is a selling point. While public schools are not profiting off of enrollment rates, the same rankings can be used to secure more alumni and local government donations. Thus, the drive to secure them is understandable.

At the same time, however, this is reinforced by the Commission on Higher Education actively institutionalizing the value of these institutions. For one, it is CHED itself that brags about more and more Philippine universities getting ranked (Rirao 2024). At the same time, they themselves institute projects such as the Fostering World-Class Philippine Universities project, which has, as of now, funded 25 universities in their bid to secure a ranking in the Quacquarelli Symonds (QS) assessment (Martinez 2024). Finally, they have even integrated it into certain University assessments, such as CMO 6 S. 2023 (Policies and Guidelines for the Grant of Autonomous and Deregulated Status To Private Higher Education Institutions). Here, Official CHED criteria for autonomous status for private schools consistently places more value (in terms of point valuations) to international standards across multiple indicators, including school linkages, scholarly output, and the specific bonus categories of belonging to global university rankings (Commission on Higher Education 2023).

The same dependency is reinforced by other measures such CHED and Filipino universities uncritically accepting global journal and publishing hourse rankings and pushing academics to publish in highly ranked ones. Here, there is a lack of understanding that these global rankings are only partly about scientific excellence, but partly about power relations and hegemony, and that Western editors and peer reviewers give preferential treatment to articles that resonate with their views, and will force Global South scholarship to conform to Western frameworks, perspectives, and sensitivities. CHED and various Philippine universities misrecognizing these power relations as simply “standards of excellence” contributes to subalternizing and distorting Philippine scholarship and stifling attempts to build Autonomous Academic Communication communities. Of course, it is not CHED nor the various Philippine universities that rank these journals, choosing international ones

over those that are local. But by their uncritical adoption of indexing services that are notoriously skewed towards American and European journals, they are allowing a de facto preference for these foreign journals to persist.

But how exactly is the stratification maintained? The main mechanism is through financial incentives, which in every case gathered during the research process heavily incentivized publishing in Web of Science or Scopus-indexed journals. The CHED Research and Publication Award, Department of Science and Technology International Publications Award, and the Philippine Council for Agriculture, Aquatic, and Natural Resources Research and Development Publication Incentives Program, all government incentive programs, offer incentives that are either exclusively for internationally-indexed journals or offer double the incentives for international publications in comparison to local ones (Commission on Higher Education 2013).

Universities do this as well. The University of the Philippines System, Bataan State University, Far Eastern University, Ateneo De Naga, and De La Salle University all offer tens of thousands of pesos in incentives for students and faculty that manage to publish in journals (San Juan 2024). Once again, these incentives often at least double for international publications. In some cases such as in De La Salle University, the disparity between "levels of publication" can be even larger, with Level 1 publications (Journals in the 99th percentile of Scopus Cite-scores) being worth 200,000 php, while Level 5 publications (Q4 publications in Scimago, or those in the ASEAN Citation Index) are worth only 20,000 php.

It is no wonder that local academics strive for international publications. In a nation with notoriously underpaid academics, where awards for international publication are often worth more than a month or two of their actual salaries, the reification of global journal stratification seems to logically follow from the situation.

We likewise see the continued global stratification of degrees. This aspect of dependency is even more a matter of reputation than the previous one. So far, none of the policies provide straightforward incentives for attaining degrees abroad. However, conversations with junior faculty members reveal that doing MA or PhD programs locally feels overwhelming because of the high teaching loads, and that in comparison, getting degrees abroad feels much

more manageable due to scholarships and low or minimal teaching loads. Much of the appeal of studying abroad also appears to stem from the cultural conditioning that to have had access to foreign education is automatically impressive, or will lead to better employment chances – perhaps an artefact of a culture as early as the Ilustrados.

Despite the absence of outright policies, there are several clear ways in which the educational authorities are reinforcing this as well. The very tone by which the commission talks about student mobility is already telling, as they are consistently framed as opportunities to raise the standard of Philippine education. In the general internationalization framework, for example, the promise of educational mobility is prominently placed as a way for students to access a quality of education that they supposedly cannot access in the Philippines.

We also see several initiatives to draw in opportunities for foreign scholarships and training for companies, with CHED itself acting as a facilitator. This has opened the doors to programs such as UPSKILL, a $1.6 billion grant from USAID to "develop human capital and drive sustainable, inclusive growth by strengthening higher education institutions (HEIs) in the Philippines (US Agency for International Development 2024)," and Internationalization of Higher Education in the Philippines Network ("ANTENA"), a program by the University of Alicante in Spain, the University of Montpellier in France, and the European Foundation for Management Development in Belgium to supposedly streamline the country's education internationalization infrastructure and credit recognition systems, thereby allowing Filipino students to get into "better" universities abroad (Pouza 2024).

We see this dependency reinforced even more in the inequalities that are prevalent in "collaborations" between academic institutions in the core and the periphery. Despite claims in all of the documents about equality in arrangements, the common trend for collaboration is clearly skewed. While the Commission on Higher Education has often packaged international linkages in the language of ASEAN integration, in practice, most international "collaborations" are still tutelary links to bigger and "better" institutions in the Global North.

This can be gleaned simply from looking at who our institutions decide to partner with. In data gathered from CHED and two top universities with publicly-available country-disaggregated data for their linkages, it is clear that universities in the Philippines are specifically seeking collaborations with universities from the Global North. Of DLSU's linkages, only 25 of the 104 are with Global South countries (De La Salle University 2018). Of UP's 465 international linkages, only 95 (109 if China is considered part of the Global South) are with Global South countries (University of the Philippines Office of International Linkages 2025). Finally, of the ten countries that CHED has official partnerships with (as well as the additional 27 when one includes the European Union), only one is a Global South country: Cambodia (Commission on Higher Education International Affairs Staff n.d.).

But this inequality is even more blatant when we look at how transnational education is implemented in the country. Transnational education, while already set out by a CHED memorandum at the start of the 21st century (Commission on Higher Education 2003), was institutionalized in legislation through RA 14488 or the Transnational Higher Education Act of 2019. This provides mechanisms for bringing foreign institutions into the Philippines through transnational higher education arrangements, hoping to internationalize the PH education sector (Philippines 2019).

While the act calls transnational higher education "collaboration" and implies that it could cover both foreign institutions providing services here and Filipino institutions providing degrees abroad, in practice, it is actually a matter of allowing foreign companies to find subsidiaries locally, thus skirting the restrictions found in the Constitution against foreign ownership in education. Much like how Pearson managed to enter the country's education market by partnering with Ayala, the world's biggest universities can now establish their own local subsidiaries as long as they are able to find institutions that are willing to become partners (Pecson 2021).

This is made obvious by the literature surrounding its implementation, where its original proponents consistently use the same language used by advocates of charter change for the education sector. Congressman Ron Salo, for example, one of its principal author's, highlighted its potential specifically in raising university rankings in the country, bringing in more foreign investments, and a supposed "osmosis of competence and high standards

to the other universities. (Luci-Atienza 2019)" It is also corroborated by the heavy support of international actors such as the British Council, who in turn have also packaged it specifically as an opportunity for their schools to start building programs in the Philippines such as the Joint Development of Niche Programmes (JDNP) Project (British Council Philippines 2022).

Another important mechanism that continues to reinforce academic dependency is the language inequalities in the academe. Despite the 1987 Constitution itself mandating that English is only optional as an auxiliary language for instruction, it remains vital for the academe. The rhetoric in defense of this is largely the same as that which motivated the language's retention in the past: its practicality for employers. At the same time, its dominance is supported by a low regard for Filipino and other local languages, which are seen as redundancies under the neoliberal restructuring of education (San Juan 2023) .

In terms of initiatives to boost English skills, CHED has the National Roadmap for Global Competitiveness in Communication Skills, which is a set of action points for improving the country's English in the name of global competitiveness (Cabigon 2024). But a much bigger concern for the perpetuation of English dominance is the systematic removal of Filipino in the general curriculum. Even back when it was just preparing for the K-12 program, for example CHED already released CMO No. 20 s. 2013 or the new General Education Curriculum, which removed the required units in Filipino were removed from the college general education curriculum due to a supposed redundancy with subjects offered in the senior high school curriculum (Commission on Higher Education 2013a). We also saw this in RA 12027, which discontinued the use of the mother tongue as a medium of instruction for students from Kindergarten to Grade 3 (Philippines 2024). Some news outlets have even reported plans by the Department of Education to axe required Filipino subjects in senior high school as well, another demonstration of the low regard for it (Mendoza 2024).

Lastly, specifically in terms of the use of English as the medium of scholarly production, the same structures that have contributed to the stratification in publishing have reinforced the dominance of English as well. As San Juan has thoroughly demonstrated, the academe's scopus-centrism forces Filipino scholars to conform to the standards of the journals within that index – barely

any of whom, as one would expect, accept manuscripts in Filipino, much less other Philippine languages (2024). The stratification of book publishing, naturally, has the same effect.

Finally, we see how these conditions are maintained by the continued lack of funding for education in general and scholarly work in particular. Admittedly, the economic realities are much a matter of long-standing politico-economic factors rather than matters of simple domestic policy, and we have gone a long way from the levels of funding we had before, but this funding still naturally pales in comparison to the resources available to academic institutions in the global north, and is made worse by poor budgetary priority. To put the first point into perspective, Harvard's 2024 revenue is already half of the entire Philippine Department of Education's budget of P782.17 billion appropriation in the 2025 GAA (Shaw and Rosenberg 2024; (Philippines 2024a). But even when adjusted for the size of economies, education spending in the Philippines is still not up to par, with the country only spending about 3.6% of its Gross Domestic Product on Education, much less than the standard 6% targeted globally (Albert, Basillote, and Muñoz 2021). At the same time, these already low numbers are slashed further year upon year, with slashes to several State Universities and Colleges such as the University of the Philippines, and even the Department of Education itself in this year's General Appropriation Act (Flores 2024) .

This has, again, sustained dependency on multiple fronts. On one hand, the harsh conditions of Philippine academia has worsened the brain drain, forcing scholars who want to actually make a living to try their luck in other countries that spend more on education. On the other hand, it has also necessitated an influx of education-specific foreign aid, which as mentioned above, gives foreign donors – such as about $36.5 million in donations for basic education from Australia and the approximately $44.4 million from the United States (Australian Embassy The Philippines n.d.; Rocamora 2024)– leverage over the structure of education, research priorities, and other related factors.

There are many other mechanisms that, while not fitting neatly into any of the categories above, still sustain the overall dependency of the Philippine academe. Because of neoliberal restructuring, for example, little time in schools is spent on understanding Philippine history and culture, which are seen as useless for the workforce. This, in turn, leaves the imposition of

Western ideas – a crucial element of academic dependency – unchecked (Chi 2024). Likewise, rampant attacks on academic freedom such as red-tagging and campus militarization prevent students, teachers, and other members of school communities from speaking out against critical issues, including the neoliberalization of education that drives academic dependency in the first place (Lanuza 2022).

Taken together, this constellation of dependency mechanisms preserves a policy landscape that retains – perhaps even strengthens – its colonial nature. While there has no doubt been much effort among progressive forces in the education sector to correct these systems, one thing has been made clear: there is much more to be done.

ENDING INTELLECTUAL IMPERIALISM AND ACADEMIC DEPENDENCY

Throughout the conference, a strong call was heard to stop and reverse the neoliberalization of higher education and the metrification of knowledge production, and to opt out of all forms of academic rankings, especially supranational ones. Speakers warned that these shift the focus of scholars from issues of social justice and towards the interests of powerful and privileged groups. Specifically, they urged universities to opt out of global university ranking and to stop promoting the pursuit of global metrics. They also urged to proceed very carefully about international collaborations, especially with Global North institutions, and to ensure that these are fully on equal terms.

Specifically, Carl Marc Ramota criticized the negative influences of neoliberalization and metrification, which distract academics from teaching and community engagement. He highlighted that academic work must focus on benefiting the community and engaging in public service, and that neoliberalization and metrification shifts the focus away from the social and intellectual missions of the university, and erodes its core values. They also burden faculty with excessive administrative tasks, which take away time from teaching, research, and public service. Ramota further pointed out the harm of audit culture: embracing quality assurance systems or accreditation processes create harm rather than benefits. Ramon Guillermo emphasized how administrators blindly celebrate rankings, without scrutinizing the methodologies behind them and their implications for knowledge production.

Speakers agreed on the ill effects of academic rankings. Ramon Guillermo emphasized the systemic bias that Filipino and Global South academics face when trying to publish internationally. Forcing Global South scholarship into Global North journals will lead to Global South Scholarship being judged through a Global North lens, where it will always appear "out of fashion," "outdated," or "behind." Guillermo argued that prioritizing metrics such as scopus listings reinforces academic dependence and further marginalizes local and regional voices. He urged to challenge the inferiority complex that is at the heart of the tendency to value Global North outputs more than local research. Jose Monfred Sy further remarked that the pressure to publish in Global North journals emanates from administrators, not academics. Both Guillermo and Sy called for publication in local journals and Philippine languages. Syed Farid Alatas further emphasized the importance of critiquing institutions for perpetuating intellectual imperialism, particularly through systems like academic rankings.

We follow the urgent call of the speakers to dismantle neoliberalization, metrification, and rankings, to craft knowledge that serves the people, and to prioritizing local social impact as a criterion of "good" knowledge. This should be done by ending policies that orient Filipino scholars overseas, and instead by fostering policies that enhance Autonomous Knowledge Production and foster Autonomous Academic Communication Communities, by creating the infrastructure and incentives that will help such communities thrive. We also call upon informing administrators about the perils of academic dependency and intellectual imperialism. Any programs even remotely associated with measuring or ranking scholarly output should be critically interrogated and discussed by scholars from the social sciences and humanities, instead of being implemented uncritically by administrators.

Indigenization and decolonization of teaching and graduate training

It is recommended that teaching materials such as curricula, syllabi, and textbooks be indigenized and decolonized. Local experts are called on to determine how such indigenization and decolonization should look in detail. Teaching materials may center the diverse contexts, lived realities, and concerns of the Philippines and the Global South, to understanding the Global from a Filipino vantage point, as opposed to a Global North one, and

may critically interrogate oppressive and exploitative global power structures and hegemonies, as Nassef Adiong recommended during the conference. Following Nassef Adiong, we also advocate for teaching materials that validate marginalized voices and do away with Western-centric canons. This could be achieved by decanonization, by constructing pluralistic canons, and/or by incorporating the thought of early Filipino theorists, writers, and social critics into social science textbooks. Local experts are called on to debate and determine how specifically curricula, syllabi, and textbooks can be re-imagined to critically understand Global phenomena from a Filipino vangate point, instead of clinging to the conventional Global North focus (and often US focus) of conventional curricula, syllabi, and textbooks, and how they can truly reflect the issues, phenomena, and relations that are prevalent in the Philippines.

The inclusion of theories, concepts, and thinkers in teaching material should not be determined by how well-known or well-cited they are, but by how well they fit Filipino contexts and how well they are able to critically analyze and explain them. In this vein, we second Nassef Adiong's call for fostering students' theorizing skills and helping them to develop critical theories grounded in local perspectives. This then would call for graduate training to incorporate theory construction and academic writing courses. We also recommend to improve conditions for graduate students locally, to counteract the brain drain of graduate students to the Global North. One important measure here might be increasing local scholarships that lessen graduate students' teaching loads and increase their time for research. In a similar vein, it is also recommended to attempt to lower the administrative load of local faculty and create conditions that foster research and local theory construction. Further, policies are recommended that lower the dependence of faculty on overseas grants, and create conditions where they can focus on research and activities that serve the Filipino people.

Fostering local journals and local publishing houses, delinking from Western ones

Following the discussion, we also recommend policy initiatives that foster Filipino journals and publishing houses, e.g., by providing them with grants or assistance. Further, University policies should stop rewarding publication in Western journals more than in local ones.

It is perhaps here that we can best laud the efforts by the Commission on Higher Education, and affirm that this critique does not imply that they have totally disregarded the task of improving local scholarship. While the thrust towards neoliberalization and globalization are persistent, there are several key programs by the commission that ought to be lauded. Several of their key programs – expansion of grants-in-aid, the journal incentive program and the initiative towards a Philippine citation index – are vital to the development of local scholarship, and ought to be pursued. Of course, these would work better if they were not launched in the context of a system that remains thoroughly globalization-oriented, but they nevertheless deserve to be praised and hopefully improved upon.

Language hegemonies

Speakers also made a strong call to dismantle language hierarchies, both globally and locally. Ramon Guillermo advocated for strengthening intellectual production in local languages such as Cebuano, Illocano, Hiligaynon, etc., whose speakers surpass those of many European states. These languages should be used in theses, journal articles, and book chapters. We join Ramon Guillermo's call for a more inclusive and equitable culture in academia, that fosters and supports intellectual production in various local languages of the archipelago, while challenging the hegemony of English. Policy recommendations could seek to implement this call in primary, secondary, and tertiary education institutions, fostering policies that promote Filipino and local languages, while critically interrogating politics that put a strong focus on English. Financial and other incentives could help those trying to publish or develop teaching materials in the local languages, or those seeking to establish local language journals. Grants for translation and copyediting services may help foster bilingual journals and make scholarly work more accessible to a wider audience.

Epistemic justice for everyone, including those at the margins of the Archipelago

Nelson Dino's talk also called for a focus on epistemic justice for the margins of the Philippines. Dino led a call to investigate how to fight the erasure, devaluation, disruption, and appropriation that local and indigenous knowledge systems suffered through colonialism, such as the people of

the Sulu maritory (maritime territory). Marginalized communities should lead their own fields and craft their own research and theorization to better illuminate their situation, instead of being researched and theorized about in various scattered fields by outsiders. For example, for the case of the people of the Sulu Archipelago, Dino advocated for the formation of a research field of "Sululogy" that centers local voices and perspectives. Policies seeking to fight intellectual imperialism and academic dependency are called to not just focus funding on Manila or other large cities, but to try to disperse funding and attention to empower the knowledges of excluded, marginalized, or disadvantaged communities, such as Indigenous people and non-Catholic people in Mindanao, in the Visayas, and outside the NCR, working class or lower class people, women, LGBTQ+ individuals, differently abled and non-neurotypical people, and thus foster a democratic, multidimensional vision of epistemic justice. Concrete policies could assist such populations to gain access to MA and PhD courses and to foster projects seeking epistemic justice for these communities, such as publications, journals, conferences, or scholar activist projects led by marginalized populations.

Dismantling Dependency Beyond the Academe

Above all, throughout the conference, there was a recognition that everything discussed had its roots far beyond the academe. Academic dependency, after all, is never strictly academic. As demonstrated by the thorough history of colonial education policy above, academic dependency is rooted in centuries upon centuries of economic dependency and other structural inequalities which not only lead to the development of dependent epistemic infrastructure, but necessitate such development as well. The message therefore was clear: If we want to dismantle intellectual imperialism and academic dependency, it is imperative that we dismantle dependency beyond the academe as well.

In practice, this means scholarship that is not only aware of the systems of oppression that keep us at a disadvantage, but actively strives to expose and oppose it. We as decolonial scholars, through both our academic work and our participation in broader political movements, must demand an end to global stratification and imperialist plunder. We must amplify calls for colonial reparations and a more equitable restructuring of global institutions (both epistemic and economic). We must stand with all of the world's oppressed peoples and demand global justice.

In other words, decolonization must, above all else, serve the people.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this paper, we discussed ways forward for the Philippine academe as it strives towards autonomous knowledge production, drawing from the insights by leading decolonial scholars during the *Resisting Intellectual Imperialism and Epistemic Violence: Towards Autonomous Knowledge Production* conference organized by the CIDS Decolonial Studies Program. We contextualized the discussion in the broader literature on academic dependency and intellectual imperialism. After this, we looked at how these concepts manifested in the Philippines. We did this first by looking at the long colonial history of the country's education system, demonstrating how the country's colonial past and continued neocolonial orientation is intertwined with the current state of academic dependency. We then analyzed the country's current political landscape, looking for policies that contribute to academic dependency by reinforcing metrification, the stratification of journals and degrees, inequalities in institutional collaborations, language inequalities, and deprivation of funding. Finally, we proposed concrete ways to address this policy landscape, contributing to the dismantling of dependency and imperialism both in the academe and beyond it.

REFERENCES

Alatas, Syed Hussein. 1972. "The Captive Mind In Development Studies. [Part 1]." *International Social Sciences Journal* 24(1): 9-25.

Albert, Jose Ramon G., Lovelaine B. Basillote, and Mika S. Muñoz. 2021. "We Need to Invest More in Learners, Learners, Learners!" *Philippine Institute for Development Studies Policy Notes*.

Alcala, Angel C. 2012. "Higher Education in the Philippines." *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints* 47(1). doi: 10.13185/2244-1638.4349.

Alzona, Encarnación. 1932. *A History of Education in the Philippines*, 1565-1930.

Arcilla, José S. 1984. *An Introduction to Philippine History*.

Arcilla, José S. 2012. "The Enlightenment and the Philippine Revolution." *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints* 39(3). doi: 10.13185/2244-1638.4950.

Australian Embassy The Philippines. n.d. "AusAID290808-Basic Education." *Australian Embassy The Philippines*. Retrieved January 20, 2025 (https://philippines.embassy.gov.au/mnla/AusAIDRD.html).

Barreiro, Victor, Jr. 2013. "Aquino Signs K-12 Bill into Law." *RAPPLER*. Retrieved January 20, 2025 (https://www.rappler.com/philippines/29249-aquino-signs-k-12-bill-into-law/).

Bramen, Carrie Tirado. 2017. *American Niceness: A Cultural History*. Harvard University Press.

British Council Philippines. 2022. "Philippine-UK Transnational Education." *British Council*. Retrieved January 20, 2025 (https://www.britishcouncil.ph/tne).

Cabigon, Mike. 2024. " Revisiting the State of English in the Philippines." *Philstar.Com*, November 27.

Campoamor, Gonzalo, II. 2007. "The Pedagogical Role of English in the Reproduction of Labor." in *Mula Tore Patungong Palengke: Neoliberal Education in the Philippines*, edited by B. Lumbera, R. Guillermo, and A. Alamon. IBON Foundation.

Carson, Arthur Leroy. 1961. *Higher Education in the Philippines*.

Chi, Christina. 2022. "Marcos Reveals Ideal Education System: English-Speaking Students Good at Science and Math." *Philippine Institute for Development Studies*. Retrieved January 19, 2025 (https://pids.gov.ph/details/news/in-the-news/marcos-reveals-ideal-education-system-english-speaking-students-good-at-science-and-math).

Chi, Cristina. 2024. "Why the Loss of a History Subject in High School Causes Ripple Effect in College." *Philstar.Com*, January 17.

Commission on Higher Education. 2003. CMO No. 6 s. 2003 *Policies and Guidelines on Transnational Education*.

Commission on Higher Education. 2013a. *CMO No. 20 s. 2013 General Education Curriculum*.

Commission on Higher Education. 2013b. *CMO No. 23, Series of 2013 – Reformulated Guidelines for the CHED Research and Publication (Republica) Awards*.

Commission on Higher Education. 2016. *CMO No. 55 s. 2016 Policy Framework and Strategies on the Internationalization of Philippine Higher Education*.

Commission on Higher Education. 2023. *CMO 6 S. 2023 Policies and Guidelines for the Grant of Autonomous and Deregulated Status To Private Higher Education Institutions*.

Commission on Higher Education International Affairs Staff. 2022. IZN PHL HEI: The Internationalization of Philippine Higher Education. Commission on Higher Education International Affairs Staff.

Commission on Higher Education International Affairs Staff. n.d. "Partnerships." *iEducation Philippines*. Retrieved January 20, 2025 (https://ieducationphl.ched.gov.ph/partnerships/).

De La Salle University. 2018. "Linkages." *De La Salle University*. Retrieved January 20, 2025 (https://www.dlsu.edu.ph/linkages/).

Flores, Dominique Nicole. 2024. "39 State Universities Call for Restored P14.48-B Budget for 2025." *Philstar.Com*, September 18.

Go, Julian. 2006. "The Provinciality of American Empire: 'Liberal Exceptionalism' and U.S. Colonial Rule, 1898–1912." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 49(1):74–108. Doi: 10.1017/s0010417507000412.

Gosiengfiao, Victor. 1966. "The Japanese Occupation: 'The Cultural Campaign.'" *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints* 14(2). doi: 10.13185/2244-1638.2433.

Hardacker, Erin P. 2012. "The Impact of Spain's 1863 Educational Decree on the Spread of Philippine Public Schools and Language Acquisition." *European Education* 44(4):8–30. doi: 10.2753/eue1056-4934440401.

Harrington, Shaunna. 2019. "The U.S. Colonial Education Project : Race, Citizenship & Schools in the Philippines, 1901-1916." Northeastern University Library.

Hollnsteiner, Mary Racelis, and Judy Celine A. Ick. 2001. *Bearers of Benevolence: The Thomasites and Public Education in the Philippines*.

International Qualifications Assessment Service, Government of Alberta. 2007. *International Education Guide For the Assessment of Education in the Philippines*. Government of Alberta.

Jose, Ricardo T. 2020. "Accord and Discord: Japanese Cultural Policy and Philippine National Identity during the Japanese Occupation (1942–1945)." Pp. 249–69 in *Imperial Japan and National Identities in Asia*, 1895–1945. Routledge.

Lanuza, Gerardo. 2022. "Neo-Fascism as the Apparatus of Neoliberalism's Assault on Philippine Higher Education: Towards an Anti-Fascist Pedagogy." *Kritike: An Online Journal of Philosophy* 16(1):145–70. doi: 10.25138/16.1.a7.

Lanuza, Gerardo, and David Michael San Juan. 2023. "Counter-Hegemonic Discourses and Responses to Neoliberal Restructuring and Neocolonial Education: A Critical Evaluation of K–12's Development and Implementation in the Philippines." in *Education and Power in Contemporary Southeast Asia*. Taylor & Francis.

Luci-Atienza, Charissa. 2019. "Solon Hails House Approval of Bill on Transnational Higher Education." *Manila Bulletin*. Retrieved January 20, 2025 (https://mb.com.ph/2019/01/19/solon-hails-house-approval-of-bill-on-transnational-higher-education/?amp).

Lumbera, Bienvenido, Judy Taguiwalo, Roland Tolentino, Ramon Guillermo, and Arnold Alamon, eds. 2008. "Introduction." in *SERVE THE PEOPLE Ang Kasaysayan ng Radikal na Kilusan sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas*. Quezon City: IBON Foundation.

Maca, Mark. 2018. "Education in the 'New Society' and the Philippine Labour Export Policy (1972-1986)." *Journal of International and Comparative Education* 7(1):1–16. doi: 10.14425/jice.2018.7.1.1.

Magno, Carlo. 2010. "A Brief History of Educational Assessment in the Philippines." *Educational Measurement and Evaluation Review 1*.

Majul, Cesar. 2010. "Rincipales, Ilustrados, Intellectuals and the Original Concept of a Filipino National Community." *Asian Studies* 46(1–2).

Martinez, Almira Louise. 2024. "CHED: PHL Students 'Globally Competitive.'" *BusinessWorld Online*. Retrieved January 20, 2025 (https://www.bworldonline.com/economy/2024/11/14/635099/ched-phl-students-globally-competitive/).

Mendoza, Ralph. 2024. "Asignaturang Filipino Sa SHS Binabalak Alisin, Bawasan?" *Balita*, October 14.

Miller, Stuart Creighton. 1984. "*Benevolent Assimilation": The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903*. Yale University Press.

Mundigo, Axel I., and Dora P. Crouch. 1977. "The City Planning Ordinances of the Laws of the Indies Revisited: Part I: Their Philosophy and Implications." *Town Planning Review* 48(3):247. doi: 10.3828/tpr.48.3.g58m031x54655ll5.

Pecson, Pierre. 2021. "A National Push for TNE: The Philippine Experience." *Universities UK*. Retrieved January 20, 2025 (https://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/universities-uk-international/insights-and-publications/uuki-blog/national-push-tne-philippine-experience).

Philippines. 2013. *Republic Act 10533 Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2013*.

Philippines. 2019. *RA 14488 Transnational Higher Education Act of 2019*.

Philippines. 2024a. *General Appropriations Act FY 2025*.

Philippines. 2024b. *RA 12027 An Act Discounting the Use of the Mother Tongue as Medium of Instruction from Kindergarten to Grade 3, Providing for Its Optional Implementation in Monolingual Classes, and Amending for the Purpose Sections 4 and 5 of Republic Act No. 10533, Otherwise Known as the "Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2013."*

Pouza, Laura. 2024. “Internationalisation of Higher Education at the Philippines Network (ANTENA).” *EFMD Global*. Retrieved January 20, 2025 (https://www.efmdglobal.org/international-projects/internationalisation/internationalisation-of-higher-education-at-the-philippines-network-antena/).

Project Antena. 2022. “Philippine Higher Education Internationalization Roadmap 2023-2027*.” *Antena Project*. Retrieved January 20, 2025 (https://www.antena-project.eu/resources/philippine-higher-education-internationalization-roadmap-2023-2027).

Remollino, Alexander Martin. 2007. “Philippine Education in the Neocolonial Period.” in *Mula Tore Patungong Palengke: Neoliberal Education in the Philippines*, edited by B. Lumbera, R. Guillermo, and A. Alamon. IBON Foundation.

Republic of the Philippines. 1987. “The 1987 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines – Article XIV Education, Science and Technology, Culture, and Sports.” *Official Gazette*. Retrieved (https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/constitutions/the-1987-constitution-of-the-republic-of-the-philippines/the-1987-constitution-of-the-republic-of-the-philippines-article-xiv/).

Riddell, Abby, and Miguel Niño-Zarazúa. 2016. “The Effectiveness of Foreign Aid to Education.” *International Journal of Educational Development* 48:23–36. doi: 10.1016/j.ijedudev.2015.11.013.

Riep, Curtis. 2015. *Corporatised Education in the Philippines: Pearson, Ayala Corporation and the Emergence of Affordable Private Education Centers (Apec)*. Education International.

Rirao, Ralph Harvey. 2024. “CHED: More Philippine Unis Make It to 2025 Times Higher Education World Rankings.” *Manila Standard*. Retrieved January 20, 2025 (https://manilastandard.net/news/314508457/ched-more-philippine-unis-make-it-to-2025-times-higher-education-world-rankings.html).

Rocamora, Joyce Anne. 2024. “US Gives Add’l P485-M Aid to Advance Basic Educ in PH.” *Philippine News Agency*. Retrieved January 20, 2025 (https://www.pna.gov.ph/articles/1234702).

Salisbury, Joyce E. 2013. “Do Animals Go to Heaven? Medieval Philosophers Contemplate Heavenly Human Exceptionalism.” *Athens Journal of Humanities & Arts* 1(1):79–86. doi: 10.30958/ajha.1-1-7.

San Juan, David Michael. 2023. *Language and Education Policies in the Philippines: Critique and Alternatives*. Polytechnic University of the Philippines Center for Philippine Studies.

San Juan, David Michael. 2024. “A Critique of Scopus-Centrism in Philippine Universities and Educational and/or Research Agencies: Why Filipinos Should Write Research in Filipino.” *Humanities Diliman* 21(2).

Sanchez, Evergisto Bazaco. 1953. *History of Education in the Philippines: (Spanish Period, 1565-1898)*.

Santiago, Luciano. 1984. “The First Filipino Doctors of Ecclesiastical Sciences (1772-1796).” *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 12(4).

Santiago, Luciano. 1991. “The Beginnings of Higher Education in the Philippines (1601-1772).” *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 19(2).

Schueller, Malini Johar. 2019. *Campaigns of Knowledge: U.S. Pedagogies of Colonialism and Occupation in the Philippines and Japan*. Temple University Press.

Shaw, Jonathan, and John Rosenberg. 2024. “Harvard’s Finances in a Challenging Year.” *Harvard Magazine*. Retrieved January 20, 2025 (https://www.harvardmagazine.com/2024/10/financial-report-fiscal-2024).

Sintos Coloma, Roland. 2009. “‘Destiny Has Thrown the Negro and the Filipino Under the Tutelage of America’: Race and Curriculum in the Age of Empire.” *Curriculum Inquiry* 39(4):495–519. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-873x.2009.00454.x.

Suri, Jeremi. 2011. *Liberty’s Surest Guardian: American Nation-Building from the Founders to Obama*. Simon and Schuster.

Teodoro, Noel V. 1999. “Rizal and the Ilustrados in Spain.” *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 8(1–2):65–82. doi: 10.1177/011719689900800104.

Times Higher Education. 2024. “World University Rankings.” *Times Higher Education (THE)*. Retrieved January 20, 2025 (https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/latest/world-ranking#!/length/25/locations/PHL/sort_by/rank/sort_order/asc/cols/stats).

United States International Cooperation Administration. 1960. *A Survey of the Public Schools of the Philippines: 1960*.

University of the Philippines Office of International Linkages. 2025. “System-Wide Agreements – UP Office of International Linkages.” *University of the Philippines Office of International Linkages*. Retrieved January 20, 2025 (https://oil.up.edu.ph/guidelines/agreements/system-wide-agreements/).

US Agency for International Development. 2024. “U.S. Launches Php1.6-Billion Program to Boost Philippine Higher Education.” *U.S. Agency for International Development*. Retrieved January 20, 2025 (https://www.usaid.gov/philippines/press-releases/feb-20-2024-us-launches-php16-billion-program-boost-philippine-higher-education).

THE UP CIDS DISCUSSION PAPER SERIES

The UP CIDS Discussion Paper Series features preliminary researches that may be subject to further revisions and is circulated to elicit comments and suggestions for enrichment and refinement. They contain findings on issues that are aligned with the core agenda of the research programs under the University of the Philippines Center for Integrative and Development Studies (UP CIDS).

CENTER FOR INTEGRATIVE AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Established in 1985 by University of the Philippines (UP) President Edgardo J. Angara, the UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies (UP CIDS) is the policy research unit of the University that connects disciplines and scholars across the several units of the UP System. It is mandated to encourage collaborative and rigorous research addressing issues of national significance by supporting scholars and securing funding, enabling them to produce outputs and recommendations for public policy.

The UP CIDS currently has twelve research programs that are clustered under the areas of education and capacity building, development, and social, political, and cultural studies. It publishes policy briefs, monographs, webinar/conference/forum proceedings, and the Philippine Journal for Public Policy, all of which can be downloaded free from the UP CIDS website.

THE PROGRAM

The **Decolonial Studies Program (DSP)** focuses on the varying dimensions of coloniality/modernity that continue to impact the Global South societies and hinder their institutions from achieving their liberating potential. The term modernity/coloniality is often used with reference to continuing and often deleterious processes, conditions, and altitudes brought about by the colonial period that, Anibal Quijano and Walter Mignolo argue, are inextricably linked to the epistemology of modernity.

Get your policy papers published. Download open-access articles.

The Philippine Journal of Public Policy: Interdisciplinary Development Perspectives (PJPP), the annual peer-reviewed journal of the UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies (UP CIDS), welcomes submissions in the form of full-length policy-oriented manuscripts, book reviews, essays, and commentaries. The PJPP provides a multidisciplinary forum for examining contemporary social, cultural, economic, and political issues in the Philippines and elsewh ere. Submissions are welcome year-around.

For more information, visit cids.up.edu.ph. All issues/articles of the PJPP can be downloaded for free.

Get news and the latest publications.

Join our mailing list: bit.ly/signup_cids to get our publications delivered straight to your inbox! Also, you'll receive news of upcoming webinars and other updates.

We need your feedback.

Have our publications been useful? Tell us what you think: bit.ly/dearcids.

UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES
CENTER FOR INTEGRATIVE AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
Lower Ground Floor, Ang Bahay ng Alumni, Magsaysay Avenue
University of the Philippines Diliman, Quezon City 1101

Telephone (02) 8981-8500 loc. 4266 to 4268
(02) 8426-0955

Email cids@up.edu.ph
cidspublications@up.edu.ph

Website cids.up.edu.ph