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VOICES AFTER EXTRACTION WORKING PAPER NO. 8

TRUTH AND JUSTICE HAVE NO RELATIVES
(AUGUST 18, 2025):

TRANSCRIPT OF AN INTERVIEW WITH FR. STAN

採掘のあとに生まれる声

Voices after Extraction

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Abstract: Voices after Extraction is a Working Paper series produced as part of the KAKENHI Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) project “**Creating a Literature of Reparation to Make Slow Violence Visible: Women Living with Mining in Mindanao**” (Project No. 25K15608, FY2025–FY2029). Focusing on a specific mining-affected area in Mindanao, the Philippines—where large-scale extraction has formally ceased but small-scale mining continues intermittently—this series approaches extraction not merely as an economic or environmental process, but as a form of slow violence unfolding across time, bodies, landscapes, and everyday labor. Rather than extracting, summarizing, or representing voices, the series treats listening as an ethical and relational practice, attending carefully to what is spoken, withheld, and carried in silence. Through methodological reflections on *kikigaki* (listening-based narrative practice), field reflections grounded in repeated visits, and minimally edited interview transcripts released on a rolling basis, the series forms an archive-in-the-making. Over the five-year research period, it traces how narratives shift as relationships deepen, foregrounding how women’s voices emerge as sites of endurance, repair, and collective memory in everyday life after extraction.

Keywords: slow violence, *kiki-gaki*, Mindanao, Philippines, mining-affected area

要約：本シリーズ「採掘のあとに生まれる声」は、科研費基盤研究（C）「スローバイオレンスを可視化する回復の文学の創成：鉱害を生きるミンダナオの女性たち」（課題番号：25K15608、研究期間：2025–2029年度）の一環として刊行されるワーキングペーパー・シリーズである。フィリピン・ミンダナオの、鉱山に影響を受けている一地域（大規模採掘の閉山後も、小規模採掘が断続的に行われている地域）を主な舞台とし、本シリーズは採掘を単なる経済的・環境的プロセスとしてではなく、時間・身体・景観・日常労働に分散して作用するスローバイオレンスとして捉える。声を抽出し、要約し、代表化するのではなく、聞くことを倫理的かつ関係的な実践として位置づけ、語られるもの、ためられるもの、沈黙のうちに担われるものに注意深く留まる姿勢を重視する。聞き書きに関する方法論的考察、反復的な滞在に基づくフィールド・リフレクション、そして最小限の編集を施したインタビュー文字起こしを随時刊行することで、本シリーズは生成中のアーカイブを形成する。5年間の研究期間を通じて、関係の深化にともなう語りの変化を追い、とりわけ女性たちの声が、採掘のあとを生き抜く持続性や修復、そして集合的記憶の場として立ち上がる過程を描き出すことをめざす。

キーワード：スローバイオレンス、聞き書き、ミンダナオ、フィリピン、鉱山に影響を受けている一地域

**Truth and Justice Have No Relatives (August 18, 2025):
Transcript of an Interview with Fr. Stan**

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Editorial Note

These working papers present interview transcripts as primary records of voice, generated through long-term field encounters.

The transcripts are published as archival materials rather than as analytical essays. No interpretive framing, thematic organization, or argumentative claims are provided within the transcript itself.

Editorial intervention has been kept to a minimum and is limited to the correction of obvious transcription errors and minor adjustments for readability. These interventions do not alter the meaning, tone, or rhythm of speech.

No translation is provided. Translation is understood as an interpretive act that necessarily involves choice, transformation, and loss. Readers who wish to engage with the transcripts through translation—including the use of machine translation tools—may do so at their own discretion.

These transcripts are part of the ongoing Voices after Extraction Working Paper series. They are offered not as representative accounts, but as situated records of particular encounters, preserved to remain open to future readings, interpretations, and reuses.

Series Information

Voices after Extraction is a Working Paper series produced as part of the KAKENHI Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) project:

Creating a Literature of Recovery: Making Slow Violence Visible among Women Living with Mining in Mindanao
(Project No. 25K15608, FY2025–FY2029)

The series explores listening-based narrative practices in mining-affected areas in Mindanao, Philippines, including methodological essays, field reports, and interview transcripts.

Interview Record

Location: Camanlangan, New Bataan, Davao de Oro

Date: August 18, 2025

Participant: Fr. Stan

Interviewer: Waka Aoyama

Transcription: Husna Lupon, Ateneo de Davao University

Language: Cebuano and English

Interviewer: okay na. Oh. Ahem.

Respondent: pwede? —

Interviewer: kwento. —

Respondent: — Again?

Interviewer: — Oo. Bisan unsa lang.

Respondent: what was it that you noted yesterday? You noted something.

Interviewer: uh spirituality.

Respondent: huh? Spirituality?

Interviewer: oo oh. Mm mm.

Respondent: what did I say again? What is spirituality? I forgot.

Interviewer: spirituality—ay! Gi-note nako ang spirituality. Mmmm. Spirituality.

Respondent: spirituality.

Interviewer: mm mm. Oh —oh dili. For equality of life.

Respondent: huh?

Interviewer: quality of life and food. Spirituality —

Respondent: authority?

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: authority?

Interviewer: uh qua—quality.

Respondent: huh?

Interviewer: quality of life... —

Respondent: mm hmm.

Interviewer: — and food. Oo.

Respondent: poverty?

Interviewer: qua—quality. I'm sorry about my pronunciation.

Respondent: how do you spell? It?

Interviewer: uh q-q-q-u-a-l-i-t-i. t-y.

Respondent: q-u-a...

Interviewer: qua-quality.

Respondent: quality! Yah!

Interviewer: quality. Oh. —

Respondent: oh. Quality of —

Interviewer: life —

Respondent: — life. That's right, that's right.

Interviewer: — and food. Oo. _____ (01:00) kuan ni—ni Marites diay. Sorry.

Respondent: mmmmm.... —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — just like uh you. You are into to qualitative research, di ba? That's... you know, that reminds me of... kining during the COVID... during the... every time there is a calamity, storm or whatever, no... I've telling government even some government officials, "okay. You feed. You always say... the social work department—department, you always brag of, "we have enough food for all of them." "But what food do they have?" I said, "people don't just need to fill their food—ay fill their stomach with anything. Sardines... —

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: — rice... noodles... they are not healthy" Quality less, no? Quality, di ba? —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — It's quality that—and then the government, “oh, all of them were fed.” Sabi ko, “what did you feed them with?” —

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: — That's my point. It's like, there's, “ah, an employment is less now,” I could, “but what kind of work?” Construction work. Contractual work. But that's not quality work.

Di ba?

Interviewer: mmmm.

Respondent: when I was in Manila... I was in a s—in a slam e—community. There I learned about women working as umbrella girls?

Interviewer: aaaah.

Respondent: did you get it? Umbrella.

Interviewer: umbrella girls.

Respondent: there's a nearby golf course.... —

Interviewer: ah oh! Naa pud sa Japan. Oo.

Respondent: — all they do was—is hold up an —

Interviewer: — shady ang —

Respondent: — umbrella for the rich guy —

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: — who is playing. —

Interviewer: oo. Oo.

Respondent: — Golf. And, she holds the umbrella.

Interviewer: oo. Oh.

Respondent: they get, how much was it? 300 for a day or something? —

Interviewer: mmmm.

Respondent: — At least, no? For them to... —

Interviewer: mm mm mm.

Respondent: —But then, some of this... men, they... like the woman.

Interviewer: mmmm.

Respondent: so they get extra work.

Interviewer: aaah.

Respondent: prostitution, no?

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: so murag... some are graduates of this and that but, look at their work. They were—they are not able to make used of what they have learned in —

Interviewer: mm mm mm.

Respondent: — in their studies... just to survive, —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — they were—you are not doing anything just holding an umbrella. No?

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: and it's a reality around. Many of these—now I just read there is—there are too much graduates, and there is no employment available for them. So many of these —

Interviewer: mm.

Respondent: — will just work on something. Like, crew members of these mga Jollibee, this a fast-food. —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — Mag-cook or a waiter, but these are graduaires of some vocational— vocational course like automotive maybe or but because they cannot find any work. —

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: — They just do that. But look at that. But for the government, it's alright because there's employment. But, if you look at these individuals employed, quality-wise, it's not because... they could do better. Di ba? —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — They could perform more. But because its... its survival, that's... just find any work that's *needed* (03:56), no? That was it. Well, it's a its...

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: and for people here they don't question. I said, "are you contented that you just... feed your—your kids like that? Don't you question what you're feeding them with? That's I think more important." —

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: — What do they eat every day?

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: because there have lots of... cases *already* (04:21) of kids having UTI. Yung iba. Because when the kid is crying, kuan, hungry, okay, you buy this chichiria that's very cheap.

Interviewer: oowh.

Respondent: 2, 3 pesos. So, they—its all with salt and too much sugar.

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: they're thinking is, as long as my... my child is not hungry, okay na yan. But... they're eating junk.

Interviewer: aah.

Respondent: di ba? Di ba? That, to me that's what I called quality life too. —

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: — To _____ *you in* (04:50). That... to—to be able to... to appreciate that, you need a certain level of critical thinking di ba? —

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: — Of analysis. Di ba?

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: and many people are deprived of that because of their educational background.

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: tinuod yan. Tinuod yan.

Interviewer: mm mm mm mm.

Respondent: even always say there are many college students... college graduate who... who could not think... on a... on a higher level.

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: it's not that aah, okay, we're saying we can think higher *that it's* (05:18) so that we are superior no? —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — We're just different.

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: we are lucky to have the opportunity to... to go to higher studies siguro, no? —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — We're just lucky. Yah. We are talking about opportunities. Long before I was thinking poverty is about just yan, money, and so. But, more and more it's really true, no?

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: opportunities.

Interviewer: opportunities. Mm mm.

Respondent: to many people here.

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: like this *Jimboy here* (05:43).

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: he had no opportunity to really finish schooling.

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: had he be given that opportunity —

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: — he could have excelled more, no? —

Interviewer: mm mm mm.

Respondent: — What a good person. —

Interviewer: yah.

Respondent: — He could *kaya* (05:54).

Interviewer: I can see.

Respondent: sayang no?

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: if there is a... a special offer on... something like a skill of what, I'll send him
but uh my problem is... (whispering)... he cannot write well.

Interviewer: ah —

Respondent: he's not used —

Interviewer: aaah.

Respondent: — because he just he said he... he only reached sec—grade 2 or grade 3.

Interviewer: ha? Diay? Oh ooh.

Respondent: in the Philippines when you are grade 2 or grade 3 you could you could not right
well. Di ba?

Interviewer: oo. Not yet. Oo.

Respondent: so, when there are papers he has to sign, he brings his wife —

Interviewer: aaaaah.

Respondent: — to—to assist him to write. —

Interviewer: mmmm.

Respondent: — The election, and so forth. —

Interviewer: mm mm mm mm.

Respondent: — I pity him *though gamay* (06:31) —

Interviewer: oo

Respondent: — And he fell a bit shy —

Interviewer: oo. Oo.

Respondent: — and fear about it —

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: — and kuan. Kana no? That—that's one... element in defining poverty in the Philippines, no?

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: those who have no opportunities... —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — to really... develop their skills, their gifts.

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: because here the definition is, they don't have enough food... they don't have uh a decent lo—living aah... condition, what else? They don't have insurance or what. But to me, opportunities.

Interviewer: mmm mmm.

Respondent: that's true. That's why I have a little... what do you call this? Aaah... negative feeling on people who... who I see... are struggling now, but then they have been given

opportunities but they just... took those opportunities for granted. I'll give you a *grant* (07:26) for my brother. Eldest brother. Imagine twice he was sent to the states by my father to look for uhh a good job.

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: and the green card was about to be release, he came home. Just like that.

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: then later I heard from my mother – my mo—father was dead already – my mother financed his trip to Taiwan.

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: college graduate, medical technologist, he went to Taiwan to be a car washer.

Look at that.

Interviewer: oowh.

Respondent: one week only, he came back.

Interviewer: aaah.

Respondent: “too tiring,” all these complaint.

Interviewer: mm mmm.

Respondent: he almost became a doctor. He then passed the... pre-medical exam.

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: but he finished medical technology. —

Interviewer: ah, oo.

Respondent: — _____ (08:09)? —

Interviewer: mm mm. Mm mm.

Respondent: one failure, he didn't want *anymore* (08:12) to try.

Interviewer: mmmm.

Respondent: may—we said, “you could look for work medical technologist,” “ah, but it so difficult. All these...”

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: one time I had—my sister was a business, he needed—she needed somebody in Manila... to deposit and withdraw money in the bank. That only he has to—he had to do.

After some month, “I’m already tired naman.” He had an allowance of... I said, “mama, look at my brother.” I—I really kind of embarrassed and I do not know. I’ not happy with him because... he has given a lot of opportunities, he just threw them away. —

Interviewer: mm.

Respondent: — While there are other people... they don’t just have any opportunity like—like... what he had, no? To me that’s a lazy person. He’s lazy!

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: parang he is—all his doing now is galivanting, no.

Interviewer: galivanting.

Respondent: I mean, he’s at home... good my mother has some money so every month he gets uh I do not know —

Interviewer: aah oo.

Respondent: — how much. —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — That’s how—what he uses for the food and for the schooling of his two kids and at least they *understand is still* (09:14) working.

Interviewer: mmmm.

Respondent: he goes out with motorbike, go to *shoe mart* (08:17), buys this, comes back.

And and—that’s all he does! I tell you that’s all he does. —

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: — And then he comes home, watches tv, and start... then *it is asked* (09:27),
“can you buy this?” “Okay!” He goes to the market. That’s all.

Interviewer: mmmm.

Respondent: and then the children like him because he’s always there. —

Interviewer: ah oh.

Respondent: — But, they still do not know that there is uhh number one lazy guy. I’m sorry
to say that. *He’s so* (09:41) lazy.

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: lazy as can be. Now you have the brother of Marites. The youngest brother. H
finished college. Then... he was lucky in a way with mining in the beginning. Di ba I told
you about it? —

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: — When he was uhh earning a lot from mining? Marites told him... or
suggested that he... he better invest in farming, no? So, suddenly no more sa mining.

Interviewer: mmm mm.

Respondent: then aah, fortunately, the mayor of New Bataan... was his classmate in college.

Interviewer: mmmm.

Respondent: so he—he could apply for work.

Interviewer: mm mm. Mm mm.

Respondent: so, when he applied for work, they saw that he is a college graduate... —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — “you take this position that,” “no. I don’t like.” “Because with this position
you can hire. What do you like?” “Security guard.”

Interviewer: mm mmmm.

Respondent: so, there is a building build by this mayor na needing... ah... a security guard, only at night. Only at night. From six in the evening till—to six in the morning. That's all he does.

Interviewer: mmmm.

Respondent: he has a little salary. But Marites said, “you...”. The mayor said, “come on. I'll give you this job.”

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: “With the higher salary. Because you're qualified. You are a college graduate. Why do...?” Lazy. Lazy. I saw him when we live there. He likes tv-tv lang. So, when I see him I—I kind of I see the picture of my eldest brother also you know. You know? You know? To me, this people they... they become... they suffer, maybe, or, I do not know. They become *mournful* (11:27) because... they just throw—throw away their opportunities they have. —

Interviewer: mmmm.

Respondent: — I said, “Marites, your brother is not poor, no.”

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: “He has all the opportunities.” No? _____ *ra pud* (11:37). They were even asked—uhh receiving 4Ps.

Interviewer: oowh.

Respondent: in fact, they should not be because they have a big house then kuan. They cannot be kuan. Because they're close to the mayor, they can get it.

Interviewer: aaah, okay.

Respondent: you see? You see? You see?

Interviewer: mm mm mm mm.

Respondent: no? But then at that added more laziness to the to the brother. The more niya sinasabi na he doesn't have to make any effort. Now, that mayor lose.

Interviewer: ah. Oo.

Respondent: he's fired. He has no work. —

Interviewer: mm.

Respondent: — He has no work. —

Interviewer: mmmm.

Respondent: — Look at him now.

Interviewer: mmmmm.

Respondent: he's back to mining.

Interviewer: back to mining? Mmmm.

Respondent: to *studied* (12:12). —

Interviewer: mmmmm.

Respondent: — To studied (12:13). So that's why we took the wife to take care of the tindakan.

Interviewer: mm mm. Mmmm.

Respondent: and now opportunity given to them ha.

Interviewer: mm mm. Mm mm.

Respondent: let's see. Let's see.

Interviewer: aaah. Dili?

Respondent: so these are my... —

Interviewer: mm.

Respondent: — in terms of examples na, there are still many. Na... yah. The—the—the poor... if I will dep—define poor people in the... the Philippines, that's one category I will put in *sight* (12:42). Those who are deprive of many opportunities. —

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: — These are poor people. Really. These are....

Interviewer: mm mm. Mm mm.

Respondent: di ba? I aah... schooling, and kuan, tas, they were not given the opportunity.

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: some were not given the opportunity to study in schools that are... better in quality. Because they don't have this.

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: not they are really _____ (13:08). Di ba? Ana ba. E—it—it's sad to see that, no, na... because... quality gyud. I—I really I am far more for that quality. And quality is beyond money. Di ba?

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: when you say quality, like what we're doing. You cannot pay, there is no price that could —

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: — watch it.

Interviewer: mm.

Respondent: di ba? The joy of eating kuan kapayas every day or, I mean —

Interviewer: aaah

Respondent: — planting and —

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: — wow! The joy of it.

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: kay with the farmers we have now, many. It's not no longer joy, they don't find joy anymore in planting. Except siguro Aning. Because he likes it. —

Interviewer: mm oo.

Respondent: — Pero some, “*unsang trabaho na?* But we have to work because we have in demand.” I pitied them. I don’t blame them, no. —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — Pero sayang no if—if—if only they would reach a stage in their life that—that planting could be an art for them.

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: di ba? —

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: — Not just livelihood. An art.

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: and I remember yes, why we wi—we call it eco-farming, because we were saying... with Ben, even with Ben we were discussing about Marites, “why are we *enrolled* (14:15) in farming?” Because... our main goal was taking care of the earth – *lau datu si* of...

Pope Francis. Di ba? *Ayun* (14:23) —

Interviewer: mm mm. Mm mm.

Respondent: — Catholic *ta diri* (14:24). Caring for the earth. We even, before *lau datu si*.

But, how do we care for the earth? We can give homilies, nice homilies, we can quote from here and there, but we ourselves, because we want to be hands-on ba. —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — Not just visiting organic farming, encouraging but a—we ourselves... *somebody* (14:41) said, “why can’t we do it through heathy farming? Or eco—ecol—ecological farming? —

Interviewer: mm mmm.

Respondent: — That’s our contribution to take care of the earth.” So, we farm... we farm... as our way of taking care of the earth.

Interviewer: mmmm.

Respondent: so, farming for us is not just about livelihood or —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: —earning money or surviving, but... its more that than. More than that. That’s—
—that’s what we were struggling with now. And —

Interviewer: mmmm.

Respondent: — *pirmi man* (15:06) lisud.

Interviewer: lisud?

Respondent: easy to say it but. In my mind its very clear, no, but in reality —

Interviewer: mm.

Respondent: — its—it’s really tas... it was *bury* (15:14) in whole rotten system, corrupt system in the country. No?

Interviewer: mm mmm.

Respondent: where agriculture is wala. No? —

Interviewer: mmmm.

Respondent: — Because we need... because I realize... you cannot work alone in farming.

In... specially farm. You need uhh the government to help.

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: you really need.

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: kinahanglan. And there are *there’s to* (15:33) help to each other —

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: — kay... yah... ana gyud no? That’s why we—we loan from the government —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — and all kay... we learn from uhh a close friend working in the government, “you know Father... especially in agriculture, there is always... a budget for this and that.” —

—

Interviewer: mm.

Respondent: — “_____ (15:54)! Kay I didn’t know about it.” Ingon sya... —

Interviewer: oo. Oh.

Respondent: — “we don’t tell... —

Interviewer: ay. So, they don’t tell?

Respondent: — if you don’t ask.”

Interviewer: aaaah.

Respondent: you have to ask.

Interviewer: so, you have to... —

Respondent: you have to —

Interviewer: — initiate?

Respondent: — inquire. —

Interviewer: aah inquire?

Respondent: — “Is there? How could you help me in this sir?” —

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: — “ah! Fish? You like Tilapia? Oh yah. We have disposal. Okay, I’ll dispose.”

—

Interviewer: aaaaah. Ana diay.

Respondent: — You have to ask. They don’t come and go around like this, “are you here— have you heard that one? —

Interviewer: mm mm mm.

Respondent: — Oh. Fish. Ana. —

Interviewer: in —

Respondent: — We don't tell people, "oi! There is a budget. You can loan here. And then we don't tell.""

Interviewer: w—why is that?

Respondent: that's the problem.

Interviewer: mmmmm.

Respondent: and it ends up with the budget. "I am an officer of DA, you are my relative... I tell you."

Interviewer: aaaaaah. Aaaah. Basta close lang?

Respondent: but he never said that to me.

Interviewer: aaaah.

Respondent: but me, I analyze it.

Interviewer: aaah. It's not you're selecting to _____ (16:45) really. Just because a relationship.

Respondent: relationship. Oo.

Interviewer: Aaaah. Mmmmm.

Respondent: yah. _____ (16:50).

Interviewer: mmmm.

Respondent: in the Philippines —

Interviewer: walang selection-selection? Mm mm.

Respondent: okay. There are big companies already the suki na, no? —

Interviewer: oo. Oo.

Respondent: — They have suki, no? They really loan there —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — because they pay back.

Interviewer: mm mm mm.

Respondent: but, other project, extra... they go mo—very often, they go to a relative or relatives of an officers or officers of the government agency.

Interviewer: aaaaaaah.

Respondent: that's why you know let say, oh sige, ang one—one issue now in the senate is... many of those who are i—who got involve in flood _____ (17:21) control projects of the cal—of the government... —

Interviewer: mm mm mm.

Respondent: — are themselves. Senators, or uh congressmen, or relatives of —

Interviewer: ah relatives.

Respondent: — lawmakers.

Interviewer: oo. Oo.

Respondent: that's why it _____ (17:32).

Interviewer: aaaaaaah.

Respondent: that's it.

Interviewer: mm mm. Mm mm mm.

Respondent: see?

Interviewer: mmmm.

Respondent: that's where they tell, "oi! —

Interviewer: aaah.

Respondent: — We have—there is a new budget in 2—2026. New budget on this." So, the wife is muana, "sige. We'll make a budget chuchuchuchu." And the wife will organize uhm...

Interviewer: there is no law to prohibit?

Respondent: ha?

Interviewer: kanang... *ang fair* (17:57) competition? Walay—walay balaud?

Respondent: there is. —

Interviewer: there is?

Respondent: — There is balaud.

Interviewer: there is balaud?

Respondent: it's not implemented.

Interviewer: aaah. It's not implemented?

Respondent: for the sake of my family, we can do a lot. For example... I have a wife, I will tell my wife, "you organize a—a cooperative there. —

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: — Don't put your name. Put somebody else's name. But —

Interviewer: aaaah. Nay proxy?

Respondent: But I will release the money to you." Sabi ko —

Interviewer: aaaah. So, proxy-proxy gyud.

Respondent: — "Ano yan?" They can cover up, there is a —

Interviewer: aaaaah.

Respondent: — rule to do it. No?

Interviewer: mmmmmm.

Respondent: yang party list.

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: many of the party list, Duterte no? —

Interviewer: ah oh.

Respondent: — Many of the party list are aah... funded by... big politicians. —

Interviewer: mmmm.

Respondent: — But you don't see their names there in the party list.

Interviewer: mm mm. Mmm.

Respondent: they put somebody else. A dummy.

Interviewer: dummy? Mmm.

Respondent: a friend, or a neighbor, especially relatives.

Interviewer: aaah.

Respondent: all you need is party list. The party list DUMPER. For example, DUMPER.

Drivers. Their woman party list leader, is a relative or a good friend, close friend of the Dutertes.

Interviewer: mmmmm. Uhh so mao —

Respondent: oh.

Interviewer: — gihapon?

Respondent: really, so sad.

Interviewer: mm mmm. Very sad.

Respondent: but if you are familiar with the Philippines, you're a foreigner, "wow! Filipinos very... —

Interviewer: _____ (19:04) —

Respondent: — very family oriented." True. —

Interviewer: true? Oo.

Respondent: — That is becoming more negative ha.

Interviewer: aaaaaaah.

Respondent: I'll give you example. Families here, they would steal, they would corrupt, be corrupt, they will use the money of the government just to... send their daughters, their sons to school.

Interviewer: oo. Oh.

Respondent: just... “I don’t care if this money I’ll used, which is supposed to be for these... —

—

Interviewer: mm mmm.

Respondent: — I don’t care if those families who are the beneficiaries —

Interviewer: mm mmm.

Respondent: —will not get it, as long as I’ll be able to let my children, I’ll give them a good future.” That’s it!

Interviewer: mmmmm.

Respondent: at the expense of others.

Interviewer: mmmmm.

Respondent: many yan.

Interviewer: ah so *sense so* (19:45) —

Respondent: I gave a homily —

Interviewer: — the public? —

Respondent: — on that several times.

Interviewer: — Walay—walay sense of kuan, public kuan... —

Respondent: by the outside, apparently Filipinos are very much communal. —

Interviewer: oo. Oh.

Respondent: — It’s not true!

Interviewer: dili. And then, family oriented. Ana?

Respondent: very family oriented. —

Interviewer: oh oh oh.

Respondent: — Relative lang. _____ (20:01) —

Interviewer: then it’s different —

Respondent: — jud.

Interviewer: — from a community? Mm.

Respondent: community for them is more of relatives.

Interviewer: community means relatives?

Respondent: more _____ (20:07).

Interviewer: oh oh oh. Kining community, dili?

Respondent: many relatives.

Interviewer: many relatives also.

Respondent: *Marites, relatives* (20:13).

Interviewer: oh. Oh. Oh. Oh. Mm mm mm.

Respondent: that's why on the... on the positive note like the tindakan, it's better to start with your relatives. Kay... the sisters and brothers of Marites.

Interviewer: oh. Oh. Oh.

Respondent: it's—kami we started at the—it's not because we don't trust the others. It's because... it's new here to invest something like this.

Interviewer: oh oh oh oh.

Respondent: if you... bring in... non-relatives of Marites, and something wrong ha—happens with the investment, that would be a big problem. Unlike if relatives, if we get bankrupt, at least the relatives could—could give a little space of understanding the utang. —

Interviewer: oo. Oo.

Respondent: — “Sige lang. sige lang.” Di ba relative eh.

Interviewer: oh relative man.

Respondent: pero if were not a relative and then we get bankrupt, “oi!” Ang lisod no? —

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: — So we're saying we *risk* (11:01)—we reach first a certain stability... —

Interviewer: oo oo oo.

Respondent: — then we can invite some in. —

Interviewer: oh also. Ah —

Respondent: —that’s the reason why —

Interviewer: mm mm mm.

Respondent: — we are just within. No?

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: but isn’t ideal eh. I—I don’t like it also. But uh I was just thinking, “just to start, okay pud. —

Interviewer: mm mm. —

Respondent: — Sige.”

Interviewer: — Mm mm.

Respondent: just with the workers, with kuan kay, we want to make sure it will work eh. If something happen that’s not—not nice, at least these are close friends and kaun —

Interviewer: mm mm mm.

Respondent: — _____ (21:27) we could have a leeway to kuan. *Tanay* (21:29). It’s very family oriented but it could go to the extreme, *really* (21:34).

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: oh ana gyud. As long as nag—like... I... I also knew later that... honesty... —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: honesty, you know, with quality also and honesty, they are really together —

Interviewer: honesty. —

Respondent: — *Really* (21:47) to quality din.

Interviewer: — Mm mm.

Respondent: honesty and... is y—you can see it in men’s—honesty is the best policy but —

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: — in—in truth... *you don't say* (whispered) (21:58). I'll give you an example.

Let say, my brother got caught... taking shabu.

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: even though there are evidences, I will defend my brother. He's my brother. I will cover up. Very often it's like that in the family. Its rare that a family would say, "yah, my son or my brother is guilty. You give him the... the right..." —

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: — di ba? "penalty or whatever so he could learn." Very seldom yan. Especially when it comes to murder, corruption and so forth. Always, "I'll cover up for my..." So, blood is thicker than water, really. So, in other words, I would say I'm telling you I can be dishonest just to save my family. You got me?

Interviewer: mm mm mm.

Respondent: I can... tell lies... just to cover up for my family.

Interviewer: aaaah.

Respondent: it's true here also, no.

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: so, when you talk about justice and truth here, "oh! That's true Father. You should." But once their relative or—or —

Interviewer: family...

Respondent: — blood relative —

Interviewer: oh oh oh oh.

Respondent: — gets involve... there is no more truth. It's not about truth anymore. It's all— already about shame... —

Interviewer: oh ooh.

Respondent: — about saving my family —

Interviewer: mm mmm.

Respondent: — or saving the family of my brother who is been found guilty or so—that’s—
that’s the truth here.

Interviewer: mm mm. Mmmmm.

Respondent: that’s why in many of my Homilies before, when I talk about truth and justice, I
always start with this, “you know, truth and justice, equality, they don’t have relatives.”

Interviewer: aaaaah.

Respondent: they don’t have relatives.

Interviewer: mm mmm.

Respondent: truth is truth. It’s beyond relative, it’s beyond blood. When we want to look for
the truth... it’s the truth that you prevail not your—not because you’re a brother or you have
a brother who is involve in a... and that’s the painful one for us Christians to accept because
that is Jesus option. Jesus said that!

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: even Jesus will say, “if you want to follow me, it could end—it could lead you
to leaving your own family.” He said that.

Interviewer: mm mm mm.

Respondent: — But, He was not forcing.

Interviewer: mm mm mm.

Respondent: it’s your decision —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — but, He said, “it could,” because during His time... indeed there were those
who followed Him they had to.

Interviewer: leave the family. Mm mm.

Respondent: they were even thrown away.

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: I'm sure of that. Its not in the bible but you can imagine already the conflict there because be—at that time Jesus was in the minority —

Interviewer: oo. Oo.

Respondent: — and they call Jesus crazy. —

Interviewer: oh oh oh oh.

Respondent: — He's a crazy guy. No? Claiming to be God. "**Ooh! This** _____ (24:29)" —

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: — Di ba? So, those who followed Him... I'm—I'm sure many of them were rejected the whole family —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — and so forth, no? So, I—does it—it truth and justice here? Mm mm mm.

These are all just be *gorge* (24:42) by in actuality, it's so difficult.

Interviewer: mmmm.

Respondent: so difficult. So difficult. Relatives. Basta relatives na involve?

Interviewer: mmmmm.

Respondent: one time this Jojo, the younger brother... punch somebody else. They were drunk.

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: Marites—its was just Marites who said, among the siblings, "if my brother should be... in prison, put him in jail."

Interviewer: ah! Sya?

Respondent: sya.

Interviewer: ni-ingon sya? Aah.

Respondent: she said, —

Interviewer: mm.

Respondent: — “put him in jail. Because what he did was wrong.”

Interviewer: mmmmm.

Respondent: “why should he be... drinking and drinking until he gets drunk when he knows that he is aah... a hot-tempered ill—uh short-tempered kaayo. —

Interviewer: oh oh oh.

Respondent: — Short-tempered yang pikon ba. Pikon —

Interviewer: pikon?

Respondent: — in bisaya, no.

Interviewer: mm mm mm.

Respondent: he easily gets irritated and irritated and violent, no? He’s quite violent, no.

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: several times he had been... —

Interviewer: mmmmmm.

Respondent: — would involve in... in punching and kuan somebody. Pero Marites did not defend him ha. —

Interviewer: wow.

Respondent: — She did not defend him. —

Interviewer: she’s really something.

Respondent: — She said, “if you find,” in the barangay, “if you find my brother guilty, ah! Give him the right aah... —

Interviewer: ooh.

Respondent: — penalty.”

Interviewer: penalty. Mmmm.

Respondent: yah. They just said, “no. but he’s our brother. He is a family.” “Aah! But he is guilty, no.” She can do it because —

Interviewer: ah.

Respondent: — she came from the madre eh.

Interviewer: oo. Madre.

Respondent: like me I can do it because I came from the, di ba? —

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: — I do not know ha if had I not enter the seminary I’ll become priest, I do not know if I’ll like it, I doubt.

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: I doubt. I doubt. That just one thing I recover. I—I—I—I... I discovered that... here in this like this level no sa mga Filipino. Honesty... specially to admit that they made a mistake, particularly nobody ha... even if it’s so obvious already they made a mistake, they will still find a way to... to excuse themselves. “I don’t *steal* (26:39) —

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: — the money. *Al these* _____ (26:40)” —

Interviewer: oh. Daghan excuses. Never apologize. That’s how I actually excuse my *mass* (26:47). Oo. Uh daghan og ano excuses —

Respondent: they will —

Interviewer: — excuses —

Respondent: they will never say sorry.

Interviewer: oo pero they never sorry, no? Oo. Oo.

Respondent: see? It’s not —

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: — even _____ (26:25). —

Interviewer: kana.

Respondent: — _____ (26:57).

Interviewer: oh oh oh. So, okay na. Naanad ko. Mm. Sige.

Respondent: there were once in the parish we... kind of adopted uh a young girl, nga medyo ang mother I'm—not here ang mother —

Interviewer: mm mm mm.

Respondent: — and *with* (27:08) so many men siguro. So, we took her. She was... she was kept growing up na and murag dalaga na. Hmph! One time I came from somewhere, ingon ni Marites something wrong got happen with the inverter, I said, they had an inverter, _____ (27:23) na kuryente, “Why?” “It doesn't work anymore.” *I said, “oh my God.”* (27:27).

Somebody... placed—if you have negative—negative, positive, no? —

Interviewer: mm mm mm.

Respondent: — Somebody touched it and tried—instead of putting this... wire on the positive —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — was put on the negative. And the other one, phang! (making a sound).

Interviewer: ooh.

Respondent: and who made the mistake? That girl.

Interviewer: mm mm. Mm mm.

Respondent: so, I asked her, “did—did you make—” “No Father. I did not. I did not even touch it.” “Come on. Just—” I said, “I will not get angry. —

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: — Just tell me honestly.” “No really, Father. Oh, no really.” Sabi ko, “come one. They told me it's you.” “No, I was not the one, Father.” I said, “I will not be angry with

you. I will not punish you. Just tell me honestly.” “No, no, Father.” You know I gave her a chance and then sabi ko later, I said, “but Marites, can we send her home? —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — Because I can’t—I find it helpless a little bit. She is so young but she is like that. I’m not the ma—the papa and so I don’t like to be responsible for that. Can you just send her home?” We send her home. I really got so frustrated.

Interviewer: aaaaah.

Respondent: I really was disappointed.

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: so young and she just could not admit.

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: ay! When she was defending herself, she was like somebody pa nga she was her—absolutely riot —

Interviewer: oo. Oo.

Respondent: — and she... and then later on... I heard na, ‘sya gyud daw Father ang nag _____ (28:53).”

Interviewer: mm mm. Luoy sad. Mm mm.

Respondent: then I was thinking, maybe, may ha... authority problem siguro pud, no?

Interviewer: oo oh. Siguro. Oo.

Respondent: that’s why she—she—she covers up kay, maybe when she was younger she made all this kuan but then she was beaten because of the —

Interviewer: ah oo. Oo. Oo.

Respondent: maybe no? —

Interviewer: maybe. Oh —

Respondent: — Authority. That’s why —

Interviewer: — traumatic experience.

Respondent: — I was very nice to her. —

Interviewer: oo. Oo.

Respondent: — I said, “I won’t—I will not be angry. —

Interviewer: oo. No punishment. Ana. Oo. —

Respondent: — I just want to know if —

Interviewer: — Mm mm.

Respondent: — you kuan because —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — it’s alright. I will teach you how to do it right —

Interviewer: oo. Oo.

Respondent: — this time.” “No, Father.” That one I could not admit anymore. —

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: — Several times, how many times I repeated. She kept on denying —

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: — and denying and denying. Even she knew that I knew what was... —

Interviewer: oo oh.

Respondent: — what—what was really hap—what really happened... to me that—that broke my heart eh.

Interviewer: ah oh. Oh.

Respondent: so, I just told Marites, “please tell her... I cannot help.” I—I do not like—I do not like... I—I’m not a savior here, and I—I said I do—I don’t like something like this. It—it—it’s... “I do not know,” I said. “I don’t like perfect people,” I said, “but... with this one, a very simple mistake, and a young girl not admitting, I just cannot... tolerate it. —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — Sorry. Let her go, —

Interviewer: aaah.

Respondent: — let her go na lang. —

Interviewer: mm mm mm.

Respondent: — I do not know what happen to her na.

Interviewer: mmmmm.

Respondent: and later on, I then knew that the whole family is like that.

Interviewer: as a whole family like that? Aaaah.

Respondent: yah. And the other families are also like that.

Interviewer: ah aah.

Respondent: nobody admits.

Interviewer: mmmmm.

Respondent: nobody. Murag I said, honesty is not a value.

Interviewer: mmmmm.

Respondent: murag in that community. —

Interviewer: mmmmm.

Respondent: — ang honesty —

Interviewer: ngano man no?

Respondent: and it's a pity, no?

Interviewer: pity. Oo.

Respondent: it's a pity.

Interviewer: mmmmm.

Respondent: so, it's not a value.

Interviewer: mmmmmmm.

Respondent: honesty.

Interviewer: mmmm.

Respondent: so, how could you... let them know about imporchan—important of truth?

When honesty is not even —

Interviewer: ah oo.

Respondent: — valuable to them, no?

Interviewer: li—lisod. Oo.

Respondent: lisod.

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: lisod. Lisod gyud. Lisod gyud.

Interviewer: mmmm. Mmmm.

Respondent: even this is—Isoy? We had to teach him to admit his mistake because from the beginning he was my God. Now he could say, “sorry Father ha? Sorry.” And the—the... the papa teaches, he also when he makes a mistake.

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: “it’s alright to make a mistake, Isoy. As long as you know also learn to be humble and to admit. When you made a mistake, then sigé, sorry. And know that’s better.” H—he’s learning in a way.

Interviewer: mmmm.

Respondent: pero I mean, the culture eh. Nobody admits. Its so hard for them to admit the mistakes. —

Interviewer: mmmm.

Respondent: — Shame siguro no. —

Interviewer: so I —

Respondent: — Shame culture.

Interviewer: — interpret kung sige sila mag-excuse, ah! Sige apologizing. That’s how I interpret. *That’s just* (31:40) in a different way of apologizing. Mm mm.

Respondent: I think there are two reasons why they *didn’t see to admit* (31:46). Shame... —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: and authority problem.

Interviewer: authority problem.

Respondent: mm.

Interviewer: Mm mm.

Respondent: many of the Filipinos, specially men, have problems with authority.

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: I noticed. Because I was assigned in the seminary and... grabe gyud. Grabe.

When there’s authority (making sound effects)...

Interviewer: ah owh. Na... hadlok sila? Ah! Mm mmm.

Respondent: but, when the authority turns her—his back, (making sound effects)...

Interviewer: aaaaah.

Respondent: _____ (32:16) in offices, in the seminaries, even specially ha sa mga pari, with the bishop? In front of the bishop, all smiling. But once the bishop turn, (making sound effects).

Interviewer: okay. Mmmm.

Respondent: here in the diocese of Davao eh. I have another way of dealing with the bishop. I talk to bishop like that, the diocesans will look like (making faces), and one of them will say, “sipsip ka kang bishop no?”

Interviewer: sipsip?

Respondent: “anong sipsip? —

Interviewer: sipsip —

Respondent: — I just know how to deal with him.” —

Interviewer: oh oh oh.

Respondent: — Relax ako eh. —

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: — Although I had not so much a good relationship with my father... but because I was help in a way to deal with it earlier siguro, I could deal with authority like this one. Why should I be scared of this bishop? He’s a bishop. He is a servant also of the Lord. —

—

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: — He serves people. —

Interviewer: tama.

Respondent: — So wha—what’s wrong? But I’d discover later on why they feel envious with me, because they have authority problem.

Interviewer: ah oo oo oo. Oh.

Respondent: from their childhood up to now. What’s —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — that’s why when they become parish priest, “wah!”

Interviewer: aaaah.

Respondent: — When they hold —

Interviewer: oo oo oh.

Respondent: — authority, wow! —

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: — Look at them. Most all of them are.... —

Interviewer: oooooowh.

Respondent: — dictators.

Interviewer: to become another also _____ (33:27)? Ah oh. Oh ooowh.

Respondent: kana.

Interviewer: kana.

Respondent: lisod ang authority.

Interviewer: mmmmmmmmm. That makes me remember si Marcos. Authoritarian —

Respondent: *that's* (33:40) so many, it will _____ (33:41) Marcos. —

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: — Because they want to be dictated on rather than —

Interviewer: aaah.

Respondent: — to be their own ba.

Interviewer: ah ah. Oo.

Respondent: you know why?

Interviewer: mm mmm.

Respondent: if I—there are people who just want to follow commands. Because if something gets wrong... —

Interviewer: aaah.

Respondent: — _____ (33:56).

Interviewer: aaaaah. Oo. Mao to gipahawa siya sa kuan —

Respondent: oh. —

Interviewer: aaaaaah.

Respondent: — And many people are like that with authority.

Interviewer: aaaah.

Respondent: “gisugo man ko ni Father. Si Father man. Di man ako.”

Interviewer: ah dili ako. Ah oh oh oh.

Respondent: so if something gets wrong... —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — it's the fault of the authority. —

Interviewer: ah oh.

Respondent: — I can wash my hands. —

Interviewer: so magpa... hawa na lang.

Respondent: — lusot ako. —

Interviewer: oo. Ipahawa na lang ang —

Respondent: — So, you can connect again authority —

Interviewer: oo oo oh.

Respondent: — and responsibility no?

Interviewer: impeachment, ana.

Respondent: oo.

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: _____ (whispering something) (34:20).

Interviewer: aaaaah.

Respondent: so there are people who really like —

Interviewer: so daghan —

Respondent: — to be dictated. —

Interviewer: — people revolutionary.

Respondent: — That's why they like Marcos. —

Interviewer: a

h oh.

Respondent: — They like uh a leader like Duterte who just, "psst! You do this. You do that."

—

Interviewer: murag —

Respondent: — Militaristic ba.

Interviewer: militaristic ug papa gyud.

Respondent: oh.

Interviewer: Ah. Oh. Amahan daw pud.

Respondent: oh amahan lang.

Interviewer: oo oh.

Respondent: pero, dictator.

Interviewer: ah oh oh oh oh.

Respondent: they could not find it yet the value of a—a—a father or... an authority who—
who consult, or—they don't—they—they scared of consultation because they take
responsibility eh.

Interviewer: basin ana sila. Di ba —

Respondent: ana pud. Plus, responsibility ba.

Interviewer: ah responsibility. Murag —

Respondent: — Kay if something gets wrong, ah ikaw pud responsible. —

Interviewer: oo oo oo.

Respondent: — But for them, “sya oh. Si Duk—si Duterte nag-sugo sa ako eh.” Like Bato
and so forth. They will all blame Duterte no. “Wala yan. —

Interviewer: oh oh oh oh.

Respondent: — Sure yan.”

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: they will not admit.

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: di ba? —

Interviewer: mm. *Parang may last 3 minutes* (35:12).

Respondent: — Authorities. No? —

Interviewer: mm mm mm mm.

Respondent: — There is a —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: may last _____ (35:15) sige lang. Mahuman na. —

Interviewer: oh ma-last. Oo.

Respondent: kanang... even the sabong? —

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: — I was trying to analyze it. How come many men likes sabong? Authority problem.

Interviewer: mmmmm.

Respondent: plus, immaturity. —

Interviewer: ooh.

Respondent: — That's the _____ (35:25) —

Interviewer: oh oh oh.

Respondent: — mixed all. Mixed up.

Interviewer: mm.

Respondent: *ngano* (35:28)? If I was telling you... during early childhood, the first who learns about responsibility is the girl not the bak—boy. —

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: — In a typical family, Filipino.

Interviewer: mm mm mm.

Respondent: ana. Pero now it's changing. It's changing. Boys are also taught also to—to clean the house. Mostly, before specially my generation, ang babae, “you clean, you sweep.”

Di ba you clean, you cook. —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — Ang lalake, “okay you can play. Unya na lang ka. You will just get—fetch water. That’s all. Or uhh... gather firewood.” Very limited ang lalake responsibility. Its more ang babae. And then the babae, the eldest, “you take care your... siblings ha. Your younger siblings.” It’s always the babae. Di ba?

Interviewer: mmm.

Respondent: responsibility wise. So... ang maturity of the Filipino takes a longer time.

Interviewer: mmmm.

Respondent: the playfulness... and the taking of responsibility. Because one sign of immaturity is that, no? We don’t take responsibility, diba? —

Interviewer: mm mm mm.

Respondent: — *that’s one thing* (36:33). So, what is sabong? That reinforces the... the playfulness of the _____ (36:38).

Interviewer: playfulness. Aaaaah. Oo.

Respondent: and the kuan of the *responsibility* (36:41). “I don’t reply. I—I kuan responsibility.”

Interviewer: mmmm.

Respondent: “I take *down* (36:47). I do away with the responsibility. I just play.”

Interviewer: sa karon lalake no, magsabong? Mm mm.

Respondent: sabong?

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: “I just play.”

Interviewer: aaaaah.

Respondent: ana sya. I—I connect it. “How come you like it?” sabi ko. That’s it, no. Uhh, ang pinoy lalake, dugaaaaay mag-mature. And that pa-sabong worsens that. Worst gyud. Mas mature—dali mag-mature ang mga babaeng pinay.

Interviewer: mm mm mm mm.

Respondent: that’s why many pinays are more responsible, more kuan.

Interviewer: oo. Kasagaran. Oo.

Respondent: oh! Ang lalake? —

Interviewer: mm mm.

Respondent: — That’s why there are many programs na women, women, women. —

Interviewer: aw oh. Women na lang. —

Respondent: — Because women are more —

Interviewer: — Oo. Kay —

Respondent: — are more.... —

Interviewer: — dali sila mulihok. Oo.

Respondent: — are more credible. —

Interviewer: oh oh oh.

Respondent: — Ang lalake, if you have a project, mga lalake, where do they do? Inum. —

Interviewer: aah.

Respondent: — Sabong. —

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: — Sugal.

Interviewer: oo.

Respondent: so... the—before proj—many projects were with men. Mga ku—wala. —

Interviewer: Wala? Babae na lang?

Respondent: — *Giwala kay* (37:37) they were all gone somewhere else. —

Interviewer: mm.

Respondent: — And all these bisyo. So, that's why there are more women.

Interviewer: mm mmmmm.

Respondent: but that's a little bit changing but uh now you have sabong *also* (37:50). That's why I—I really don't support sabong because this sabong worsens everything.

Interviewer: mm mm mm mm.

Respondent: there's much domestic violence. I'm very sure with people, with men who are involving sabong—in—in uhh... —

Interviewer: sabong?

Respondent: — in sabong. In sabong. Sabong. *Merón. Grabe gyud* (38:09). Violence against their wives, violence against their children also. They love more the chicken... the rooster than their chil—kids.

Interviewer: ay.

Respondent: they could spend...no matter how much, for the medicine, for the chicken.

Interviewer: mmmmmmm.

Respondent: ah for the rooster.

Interviewer: mmmmm.

Respondent: grabe.

Interviewer: grabe no?

Respondent: even some wives would say, “haay, it's better for this... I—I prefer to become a rooster somewhere. Why? Because at least I'm always *tapping* (38:42) my... —

Interviewer: aaaah.

Respondent: — my head and my shoulder, and I'm uhh —

Interviewer: kugos?

Respondent: — and I'm always hugged by kuan." Because when the husband comes home?

The first thing he looks for is the chick—the—the rooster —

Interviewer: aaah.

Respondent: — and not the wife. Something like that. Jokingly but it's true.

Interviewer: jokingly? Oh oh oh. Pero it carries certain truth. Oo. Sige. Salamat, Father. —

Respondent: off na yan.

Interviewer: daghan na.

(end of the interview)