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VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN A PHILIPPINE
MUNICIPALITY: KABACAN

by

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to describe, in a preliminary way, the nature of voluntary associations in a peasant community in the Philippines, Kabacan. This objective is discussed in the introductory chapter which also presents a general background on the Philippines.

Chapter II discusses some aspects of the fieldwork, the problems the researcher faced in conducting research in his own culture, and a general description of the methodological procedures employed.

Chapter III presents a description of the community studied, its recent history, growth, and development and some features of the social and economic life of the population.

Chapter IV discusses and analyzes some aspects of the culture and social organization. This analysis is necessary as it sheds light on a broader understanding of the form and character that voluntary associations take and the functions they perform in the community.

Chapter V is concerned with an analysis and description of the voluntary associations in the community studied. The analysis here is focused on providing answers

to the following questions: Why do people join voluntary associations? What relationships maintain voluntary associations and what undermine them? What types of associations are found in the community?

Chapter VI, finally, discusses the functions that voluntary associations serve in a peasant community like Kabacan. This analysis is based on the findings reported and described in Chapter V.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

Only a few anthropologists have been concerned with voluntary associations and have recorded their presence and described their character in particular societies. (e. g., Banton 1957; Little 1957; Lowie 1930; Oliver 1955) The reason for this relative neglect is the apparent lack of voluntary associations in preliterate societies (Rose 1954: 53), the traditional concern of anthropologists. Sociology, on the other hand, has been concerned with voluntary associations throughout its history, pursuing an interest stemming from Durkheim (1960: 28) and Simmel (1950; 1955).

In general, voluntary associations tends to be associated with, and can be seen as the product of, the urbanization and industrialization process, the traditional setting of sociological inquiry, and as anthropologists increasingly turn their attention to

urbanizing and industrializing societies, voluntary associations will become a structural phenomenon begging for theoretical explanations as well as ethnographic documentation. At present, however, theoretical work on voluntary associations in anthropology is largely lacking, and the sociological tradition has reached no agreement on the function of voluntary associations in society as a whole. Lowie (1948: 13) despairs of making any general statements whatsoever about the group or individual functions served by voluntary associations, which he terms "sodalities." His list of sodalities is clearly a residual list, including such diverse forms as obligatory age classes, tribal men's clubs, and economic societies as well as voluntary secret societies. As long as voluntary associations remain a residual category, we will be greatly impaired in our efforts to categorize their social functions.

This thesis provides information about voluntary associations in a Philippine peasant community, Kabacan. It is an area which has largely been neglected and this study begins to fill in that gap.¹

To answer and provide information on three related questions about voluntary associations are the primary objectives of this thesis. These are: why do people join voluntary associations? What relationships maintain

voluntary associations and what undermine them? What functions do voluntary associations perform in the community?

To answer these and other related questions, one must look at the larger system of which voluntary associations are a part. And in this thesis, I will argue that to be able to understand the character and form of, and the dynamics involved in, voluntary associations, to be able to answer the question as to why they should occur, an analysis of the culture and social organization of Philippine society is crucial.

The Philippines: The Background

Before discussion of the thesis, some historical framework on the Philippines is necessary as this reflects the relevance of and provides for the broader understanding and development of the following chapters. This is the aim of this section, with special considerations given to geography, governmental structure, population trends, and ethno-linguistic groupings.

Geography²

The Philippine Archipelago, consisting of

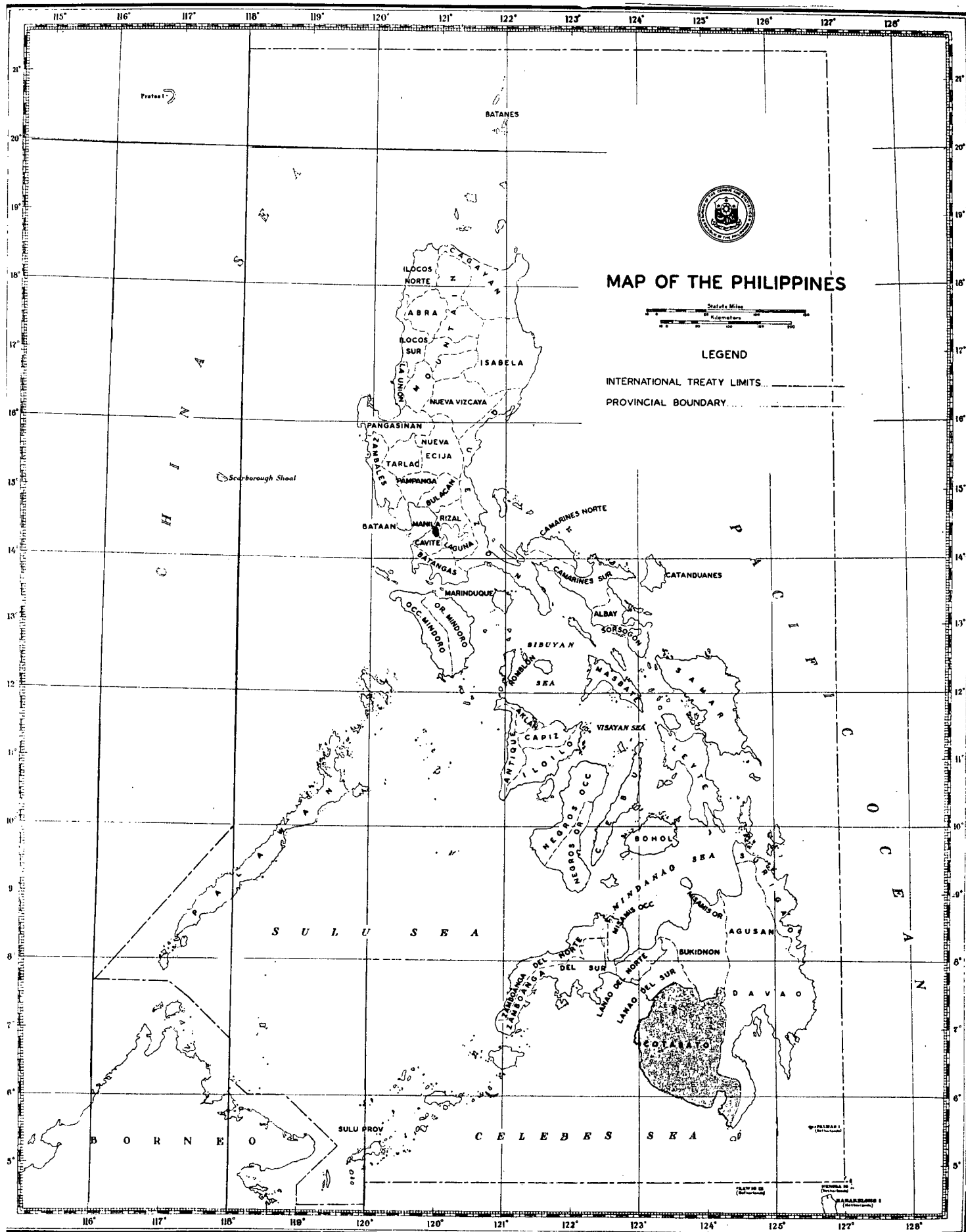
approximately 7,083 islands, is located between the southern tip of Formosa and the northern parts of Borneo and Indonesia. Sibutu, the southernmost island, is located less than five degrees above the equator and Y'ami, the northernmost island, lies at around 21 degrees North Latitude. On the east, the Philippines is bounded by the Pacific Ocean; on the west, by the South China Sea.

The combined area of the Philippines is 115,600 square miles, is smaller than Japan, approximately the size of the state of Arizona, and larger than that of the United Kingdom. The coastline is irregular, extending to a distance of 10,850 miles in comparison with the 12,877 miles of coastline of the United States.

Of the 7,083 islands, only 463 have areas of one or more square miles and only eleven have areas of over 1,000 square miles. The two largest islands, Luzon and Mindanao, account for over 70 per cent of the total land area. The twelve largest islands account for 95 per cent of the total land area.

The climate of the Philippines is tropical and its most important topographical features are characterized by

rugged and irregular coasts providing numerous harbors of all sizes; hilly and mountainous terrain, with ranges generally parallel and in close proximity to the coast lines, a characteristic island-form being the mountainous spine; few large rivers, but many streams which are short and swift; relatively small number of



lakes, with those formed by lava-dams probably constituting a majority; heavily forested mountain ranges; comparatively narrow coastal plains; and broad and flat alluvial plains found between mountains though not strictly inter-montane in character. (Donaghue, Fox, and Sibley 1956: 11-12)

Historical Background³

The Philippines has been changed by her long contact with the west which started in 16th century. Superficially, it is the most westernized of Asian countries. However, the Filipinos of today are basically the result of pre-Spanish influences. As Lynch (1962: 41) has remarked: "If the Philippines is a western nation, then it has been for a long, long time - along with all of Southeast Asia."

The early history of the Philippines is fragmentary. However, it is generally agreed that the oldest element in the population today are the Negritos (the term coined by the Spaniards) who arrived perhaps 6,000 years ago. At one time, they are presumed to have occupied most of the archipelago, living a primitive hunting and gathering life. Today, they remain in isolated spots, primarily in the mountain regions of northeastern Luzon and the interiors of the islands of Panay and Negros.

The next human migration to the Philippines came with the arrival of people of Malay stock, migrants from Malaysia and Indonesia. They forced the Negritos back and

took over the best areas themselves. Their culture and agricultural economy are probably best preserved among the Igorots, Ifugaos, and Bontocs of northern Luzon who have most successfully avoided subsequent contacts. Theirs is the cultural base upon which all subsequent influences fell. Most Filipinos today are of this racial stock or, at least, mixtures of it and more recent migrants.

After the population of the islands by the Malays and Indonesians, there were a series of alien cultural influences with variously lasting effects upon these earlier inhabitants.

The oldest of these influences came from India in the form of Buddhism which flourished in Indonesia from about 500 B. C. until 500 A. D. Brahmanism, also from India, replaced Buddhism and was present until 1,000 A. D. These religions left no integrated effects in the Philippines but only bits and fragments such as place names and words.

Following these, another indirect Indian influence was the Hindu religion. Although this religion became entrenched in southern Indonesia, the effects in the Philippines were, again, mostly fragmentary and unassociated. Metal working, various words, and Sanskrit writing were the most tangible effects of Hinduism. Today, a variant of Indian script is in use among the Bataks in Palawan.

At about the same time, from the 9th to the 13th centuries A. D., the Chinese were carrying on trade with the Philippines. The main influence of China on the Philippines, however, was economic rather than cultural.

The Muslims came through India in the 11th and 12th centuries and progressed eastward to Malaysia and Sumatra where they established sultanates. Muslim colonists were sent from Malaysia to the Philippines and made a strong and lasting influence in the 14th century by converting to Mohammedanism the people they came in contact with. They arrived first in Sulu and Mindanao. Their impact was great. The Moros (from the Spanish word "Moors" which is applied to all Muslims) of Sulu and Mindanao appear today a closely-knit and avid Muslim population unaffected by more recent contacts.

European contacts began when Magellan of Spain "discovered" the Philippines in 1521. Thereafter, the dual aims of Spanish rule in the Philippines were the "saving of souls" (the conversion of the people to Catholicism) and the production of wealth for the Crown. In both endeavors, the Spaniards were remarkably successful - so much so that today Catholicism is the dominant religion in the Philippines and vestiges of resentment at Spanish plundering are still present. Spanish cultural values while evident are limited to the wealthy descendants of Spanish

nationals.

By 1898, the Filipinos had tried to throw off Spanish domination and were on the verge of success when, by a turn of fortune, the Americans took over. Principal American influences have been in political concepts, the switch to English as lingua franca, and the development of economic dependence upon the United States.

Following the war with Japan (1941-1945) and after a ten year transitional period as a Commonwealth, the Republic of the Philippines came into existence and the Philippines obtained her long awaited independence on July 4, 1946.

Basically the modern Filipinos are the product of three influences - the Malayan, the Spanish and the American. The result is an unusual social and cultural pattern that fits into neither an Oriental nor an Occidental straight jacket. In the Philippines, East and West have met and blended. (Malcolm 1951: 38)

The Governmental Structure⁴

The Philippines, then, was one of the first of the new Asian nations to achieve independence after the Second World War. Its constitution⁵ provides for the separation of powers among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. Eligibility to vote is given to all male and female citizens, over twenty-one years of age,

and who are literate.

Executive power is vested in the president. He is elected for a term of four years and may be re-elected. He appoints the heads of the various departments, such as justice, foreign affairs, education, national defense, and labor and ambassadors and other diplomatic officials, with the approval of the Commission on Appointments of Congress. The Bureau of Civil Service, the Budget Commission and the National Economic Council are among the many other offices directly responsible to the chief executive.

The president is also the commander-in-chief of the armed forces and he can take almost dictatorial powers in time of emergency, including the power to place any part or all of the islands under martial law - a power which was used by the incumbent President Marcos for the first time in the country's history last September, 1972. He can suspend provincial governors and mayors, grant pardons and commute sentences for almost all kinds of offences. He can conclude treaties, subject to the approval of Congress, with foreign countries.

The vice-president is similarly elected for a term of four years. He, however, has a largely ceremonial function. In the event of the president's death, he assumes the presidency during the unexpired term of office. When he belongs to the same political party as the president, he is

usually appointed to a cabinet portfolio.

Legislative power is vested in a bicameral congress which is composed of the senate, the upper house, and the House of Representatives, the lower house. The senate has 24 members elected by general suffrage for a term of six years. One third of the seats are contested every two years. The House of Representatives has 120 seats apportioned among the different provinces according to population. A representative is elected for a term of four years and may also be re-elected.

The congress normally convenes in a regular session of 100 days on the fourth Monday of January. The president however may call it to special sessions to consider urgent legislation. The two houses elect their own set of officers. The chief officer of the upper house is the senate president and, in the lower house, the speaker. Congress has the sole power to pass or amend laws with the approval of the president. If the president vetoes a bill, it can still become a law if it is passed for a second time by a two-thirds majority of all the members of the two houses.

Judicial power is vested in the supreme court and in minor courts established by law. Consisting of a chief and ten associate justices, the supreme court rules upon the constitutionality of legislative and executive acts. It, thus, provides checks and balances against unconstitutional

executive and legislative orders. The president appoints the justices of the supreme court with the approval of the Commission on Appointments. It functions also as the Presidential Electoral Tribunal. Moreover, three of its justices serve on each of the electoral tribunals of the Senate and House of Representatives.

Below the supreme court are a court of appeals, courts of agrarian and industrial relations, courts of first instance, and municipal courts of chartered cities and municipalities.

At present, the Philippines is divided into fifty-six provinces which consist of cities and municipalities. The province has its own governor who heads a provincial board of two or more other members. The board functions as the legislative organ of the provincial government. The governor and the board members are elected for a term of four years. They, however, have limited authority since the central government makes the appointments to the offices of provincial treasurer, fiscal, health officer, engineer, etc. - all of whom serve their respective departments of the central government.

The governor exercises general supervisory powers over the province. He ensures that laws and regulations of the central government are carried out in the province.

Each municipality of every province consists of a

town center, called the poblacion, and a surrounding area divided into units called barrios. The treasurer, justice of the peace, and chief of police are the municipal officials appointed by the central government. The mayor, vice-mayor, councilors, and barrio lieutenants who are normally responsible to individual councilors in their respective barrios are elected for a term of four years.

Lying outside of this framework are the chartered cities which are "municipal corporations possessing the power to sue and be sued, to raise money by taxation, and to exercise the right of eminent domain." (Romani and Thomas 1954: 86) Chartered cities "derive their form of government and authority from their charters, the provisions of which differ but in few respects from city to city." (Romani and Thomas 1954: 87) The charters of cities come from congress and congress can repeal or amend them. At present, there are thirty-nine chartered cities in the Philippines. Each city council levies and collects taxes in accordance with the law and makes by-laws. It maintains a local police force and is responsible for public works.

Figure I depicts the interlocking relationships of the various agencies and levels discussed above in detail. It is best summarized by Jacobson (n. d.: 32-33):

The principal political division of the

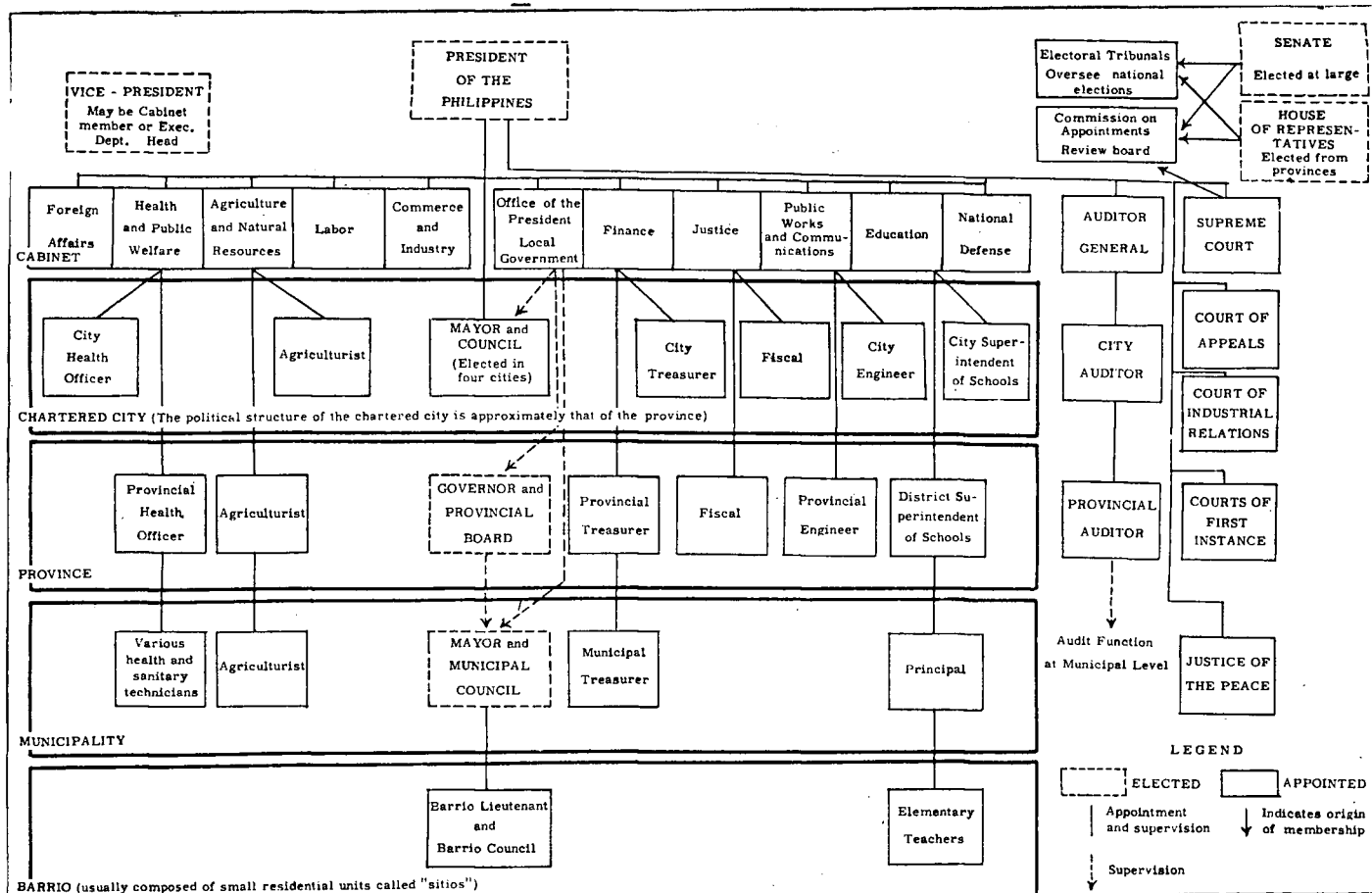


Fig. I Formal Philippine Political Structure
(Source: Nurge 1965: 17)

Philippines is the province. . . A province is one whole administrative unit. . . divided into municipalities. . . Barrios, finally, are the smallest units of political organization into which all areas of the Philippines are divided. . . Each administrative and political level and unit defined so far has its own representative officials who are directly or indirectly responsible to the central government and to the smaller units and their populations. . . Chartered cities stand outside of this administrative hierarchy. Their representatives are responsible directly to the central government and are not under the control of the provincial government as are, ultimately, the other units.

Population Trends⁶

Between 1948 and 1960, the population of the Philippines grew at an average gain of 3 per cent a year. This represents a considerable acceleration of growth over the previous census intervals when the rates of increase were approximately 2 per cent. (See Table I, below.) The present rate of increase is one of the highest in the world and, among Asian countries, equals those of Ceylon, Taiwan, and Malaysia.

This growth has been the result of the excess of births over deaths. The impact of modern means of disease prevention and cure has caused the mortality rate, particularly the infant mortality rate to drop sharply, especially since the Second World War. The birth rate, however, has remained unchanged, continuing at a high and

relatively stable level.

Table I: Population of the Philippines, 1903 - 1960

Year	Population	Average Annual Rate of Increase from Previous Census (in percentages)
1903	7,635,426	--
1918	10,314,310	1.90
1939	16,000,303	2.22
1948	19,234,182	1.91
1960	27,087,685	3.06

Source: Census of the Philippines, 1960: Population and Housing, Volume II, Summary Report, p. 2.

There is a strong likelihood that the rate of population increase will continue to accelerate. In fact, if the present birth and death rates continue, the population of the Philippines is expected to double itself in less than 23 years. (Concepcion 1966: 185) Surveys of the population have noted little appreciable difference in fertility among socio-economic groups or between the rural and urban areas. In view of this, a significant decline in fertility does not seem likely for some years. On the other hand, the crude death rate, though declining, remains high. Continued advances in public health programmes are expected to result in the further reduction of mortality. Many of the diseases now accompanied by high mortality, for

example, pneumonia, tuberculosis, and bronchitis, lend themselves to treatment with modern drugs. (See Reyes 1966)

The increasing population of the Philippines has already resulted, first, in continued growth in established population concentrations and, second, in a significant redistribution of people within the country.

Throughout most of the area of concentrated settlement, the point of population saturation is near, if it has not already been reached. However, there are land resources which are not fully utilized. While the higher and rougher parts of the country are sparsely populated, so also are many of the plains and lowlands in the more remote regions. The largest extent of sparsely populated lowland is on the island of Mindanao. Other lowlands, although smaller in size remain available in other islands.

Despite the availability of these relatively unused lowlands and the intense population pressure in the traditional population centers, only a modest redistribution of the population by internal migration had taken place prior to the Second World War. The post-war period, on the other hand, has been one of large scale and rapid relocation of people. The central government has greatly expanded its road construction programme, particularly in Mindanao, and much of what was previously inaccessible became more attractive.

During the inter-censal period from 1948 to 1960, the population of almost all of the provinces gained in numbers. However, there were significant differences in the rate of growth among the provinces. Generally, the traditional centers of population grew less rapidly than the sparsely populated regions. The areas of least rapid growth were the central Visayan islands, the northern coastal fringe of Mindanao, and the Ilocos coast of Luzon. Without exception, the population in the provinces in these regions grew considerably less rapidly than the national average, indicating a considerable out-migration of people.

Such outward movement is not unexpected. The central Visayan-Ilocos coastal areas contain little cultivable land, not already under cultivation, to absorb population growth. Densities in these regions are high, reaching 2,000 persons per square mile of cultivated land in Cebu.

With the exception of the Ilocos coastal region and metropolitan Manila, most of the provinces in the densely settled areas of Luzon grew at or near the national average between 1948 and 1960. However, there is considerable difference in growth pattern in the areas of dense settlement in Luzon. Of the nine provinces of central Luzon, five had indicated net out-migration while four had an indicated net in-migration. However, in only two

provinces, Cavite and Rizal, were the indicated in migration large which is due to the suburban spread around Manila. In the rural areas of the Central Plain and the Bikol Region, out-migration generally dominated. While the expansion of double-cropping of rice has permitted the area to absorb additional people, the pressure of population on land and the increasing impoverishment of the soil have encouraged a large number of people to seek the urban centers, the hillier margins of the plain, or the more remote but expanding agricultural areas of agricultural settlement. Nearly all the less densely populated areas of Luzon experienced an indicated net in-migration between 1948 and 1960.

The most impressive rates of population growth, apart from metropolitan Manila, occurred in Mindoro and southern Mindanao. Both areas grew at rates more than twice the national average. The four provinces of southern Mindanao (Cotabato, Davao, Lanao, and Zamboanga) absorbed 30 per cent of the national growth.

The island of Mindanao received almost all of its new settlers between 1948 and 1960 from the Visayan area. The islands of Bohol, Cebu, Panay, and Leyte supplied most of the immigrants.

The urban population of the Philippines grew at a more rapid rate between 1948 and 1960 than the total

population. Whereas the total population increased by 42.7 per cent during the inter-censal period, the major urban centers grew by 70 per cent. The growth by class and location of cities, however, was far from uniform. In general, the larger and smaller urban centers registered the most rapid gains while the intermediate urban units grew quite slowly. Moreover cities located in the more remote areas of the Philippines grew more rapidly than the cities of the traditional population centers. The major exception was that of suburban Manila, the satellite cities and communities of which have grown more rapidly than any major cities in the country.

Ethno-Linguistic Groupings

When the term "Filipino" is used, it implies a unified people who possess a common history, belong to the same race, and exhibit a common cultural pattern. But, if there are factors such as these operating to unify, there are also influences that are divisive of the population. There are, then, in Philippine society factors continually operating that make for both homogeneity and heterogeneity.

One of the most generally used broad classification of the Philippine population is by religion. The population is overwhelmingly Roman Catholic (Table II); but, "there

are four significant groupings in which religion extends into a way of life: pagan, Roman Catholic, Protestant and Moslem." (Wernstedt and Spencer 1967: 157-158)

Classification by religion, however, gives only a most general impression of the diversity of the Philippine population. It may also not be a meaningful one since the Christian Filipinos are themselves heterogeneous.

Table II : Population of the Philippines by Religion, 1960

	Number	Percentage
Total Population	27,087,685	100.00
Roman Catholics	22,686,096	83.8
Aglipayans (Philippine Independent Church)	1,414,431	5.2
Iglesia ni Kristo (Church of Christ)	270,104	1.0
Protestants (includes Philippine Episcopal Church)	785,399	2.9
Muslims	1,317,475	4.9
Others	614,180	2.2

Source: Bureau of the Census and Statistics. Census of the Philippines 1960: Population and Housing, Vol. II, Summary Report, Table 19, p. 17.

A more useful classification is by linguistic and cultural groupings. Whether or not language and culture show a close correlation in the Philippines so that we can refer to them as distinct ethno-linguistic groups awaits the findings of further empirical research. The evidence

we have at present indicate that they do. (See, for instance, Lewis 1971.)

More than eighty languages and dialects are listed in the 1960 census, a figure that led Pascasio (1967: 22) to remark: ". . . we do have a complex language situation." All of these languages and dialects, however, are varieties of the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic family, and

Individuals who move from one linguistic area to another, even the uneducated, usually acquire a reasonable facility in handling the new vernacular within a few weeks' or a month's time depending on the extent to which they use the language. (Pascasio 1967: 230)

Table III contains the 1960 data of the Bureau of the Census and Statistics for the number of native speakers of the major languages and dialects. Their geographical distribution is shown in Figure II.

Of the total population of 27,087,685, 44.4 per cent can speak Tagalog, 39.5 per cent can speak English, and 2.1 per cent can speak Spanish. Between 1948 and 1960, there was an increase of 2.3 per cent for English; 7.3 per cent for Tagalog; and 0.3 per cent for Spanish. Pascasio (1967: 228) conjectures that

the total number of Tagalog speaking individuals now exceed English speakers and that the rate of increase of Tagalog will continue to exceed English. However, it is questionable if Tagalog will supplement English in functions which it now serves, at least in the near future.

Table III : Population by Language Speakers, 1960

	Number	Percent of Total Population
Languages Spoken		
English	10,689,171	39.5
Tagalog	12,019,193	44.4
Spanish	588,634	2.1
Mother Tongue		
Bisaya (Cebuano)	6,529,882	24.1
Tagalog	5,694,072	21.0
Bisaya (Hiligaynon)	2,817,314	10.4
Iloko	3,158,560	11.7
Bikol	2,108,837	7.8
Bisaya (Samareno)	1,488,668	5.5
Pampango	875,531	3.2
Pangasinan	666,003	2.5
Others	3,748,818	13.8

Source: Bureau of the Census and Statistics. Statistical Handbook of the Philippines, Manila, 1962, pp. 20-21.

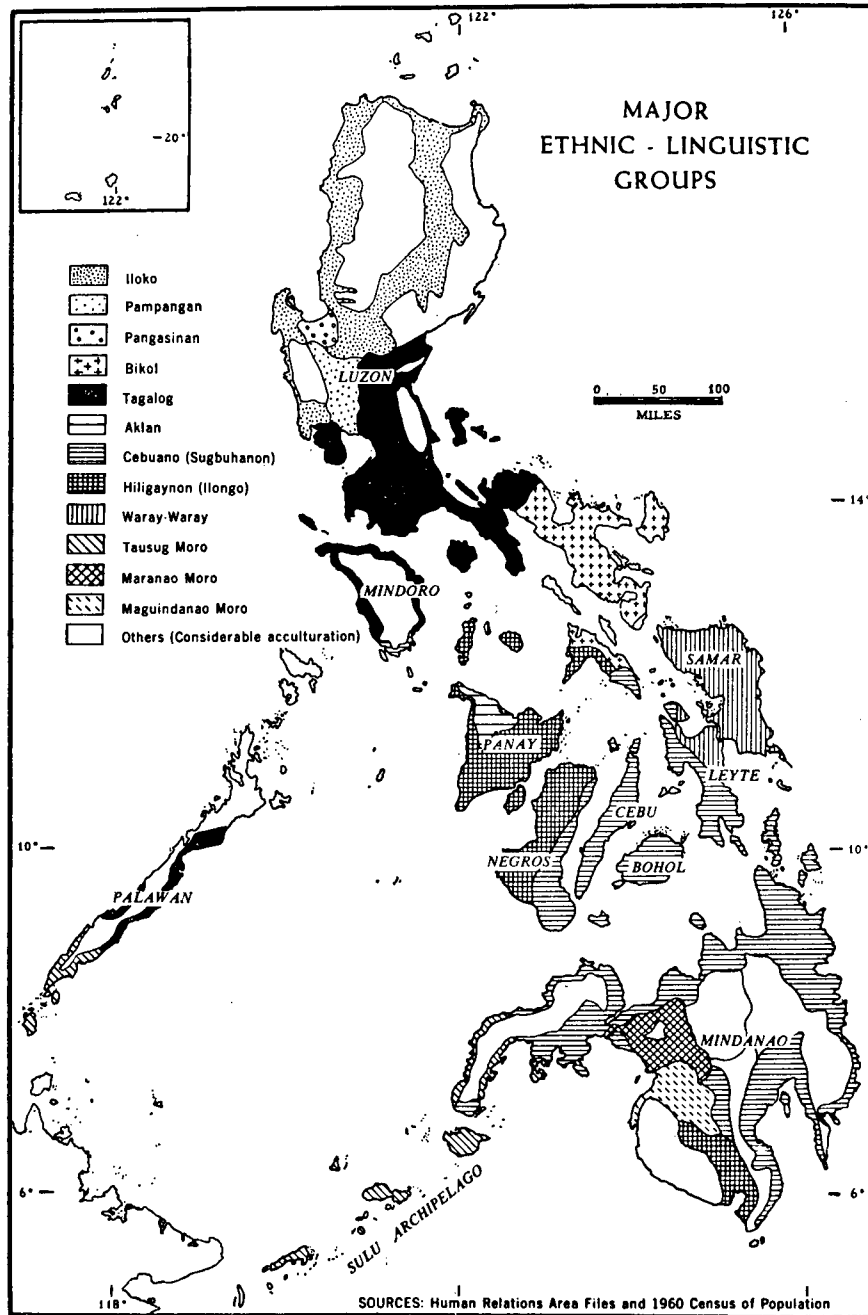


Figure II: Major Ethno-Linguistic Groups

FOOTNOTES

¹A notable exception is Hollnsteiner's study of power in a community on the island of Luzon. Here, she includes a discussion of how power alignments and splits in the community are manifested in voluntary associations. See Hollnsteiner, 1963, especially pp. 111-130. There are only two other studies of Philippine voluntary associations that I know of. These are Styskal's (1967) and Stauffer's (1966). Both of these studies, however, deal with urban based voluntary associations and a set of problems different from that which this thesis is concerned.

²Unless otherwise indicated, the summary data in this introductory statement are based on Donaghue, Fox, and Sibley (1956).

³Unless otherwise indicated, the summary data in this introductory statement are based on Berreman (1956).

⁴Unless otherwise indicated, the summary data in this introductory statement are based on Nelson (1968).

⁵The description presented here refers to the situation during the time of field work. Since September, 1972, the situation has changed considerably.

⁶Unless otherwise indicated, the summary data in this introductory statement are based on Simkins and Wernstedt (1963) and Wernstedt and Spencer (1967).

CHAPTER II

ENTERING THE COMMUNITY: SOME METHODOLOGICAL COMMENTS

When I left Vancouver for the Philippines, I planned to initiate fieldwork for my research project in my own community, Midsayap. I deliberately worked quite slowly at the outset, spending the better part of the first three weeks doing things that may seem only marginally related to my project: attending parties, some of which were held in my honor; visiting family friends, godparents; and so forth. In another sense, however, these activities were important for my project; for, while I avoided talking explicitly about it for fear of "turning people off" so early, it was in these social gatherings where I found out, and selected, who my informants were going to be, whom I should be talking to as sources of information I would need eventually.

This initial strategy apparently became the vantage point of a more formalized and systematic design for collecting information and, in this regard, was instrumental in acquiring a quick overview of the community's history, growth, and development. Because of the almost total absence

of written records, I had to rely on interviews with people who had lived long enough in the community and had seen it grow. It was at this point that the sociological/anthropological predicament of conducting interviews in a participant-observer role became apparent.

One of these problems springs from the fact that the writer is studying a community of which he is a part. It is true, as Graham Johnson experienced, that "one of the problems of conducting research in a society other than one's own, particularly one that is culturally quite distinct, is a certain isolation." (Johnson 1970: 15) On the other hand, it is also true that conducting research in one's own society and culture poses its own problems. Foremost is the problem of familiarity - one consequence of which is the tendency to treat as common sense what may, in fact, be units of special and crucial importance. Moreover, being part of the community means to occupy a particular position in the community social structure. Thus, in accordance with this position, the researcher is expected to behave in particular, but not in other, ways; he can talk to some, but not to all people freely; he may go to some places, but must not be seen in others. In other words, while he has easy access to some sources of information, to others he does not.

Conducting interviews with people I can talk to also

presented problems. These were mostly people who had known me as a "little boy." Many of them simply found it difficult to believe that I had grown. They would, for instance, remark: "Ikaw nga ba? Ang laki-laki mo na!" - that is, "Is it really you? My, you've grown so much!" And to some what was more unbelievable was that I was now in the process of "writing a book." They, then, would usually end up interviewing me, instead of me interviewing them. And, they conducted lengthy interviews indeed!

I realized that this kind of situation would definitely slow down my data gathering. Nevertheless, I thought that it was still possible to collect substantive information within the period of my scheduled stay in the community. But even before I could find out whether it was in fact possible, I was "forced" to leave, and cut short my stay in, the community - at least for the purpose of conducting fieldwork and all what this entails.

Among the persons I felt I had to interview were the mayor of the municipality and, through him, other municipal officials. Here, again, my being part of the community posed itself as a problem.

The mayor and my family belong to two different and conflicting "political factions." In fact, it is common knowledge in the community that my family had given not only financial support to the mayor's opponent in the last

election but had also campaigned actively against him. Nevertheless, after the elections were over, our relations with the members of the other faction and the mayor himself became cordial. I then thought that he would be available for interview and would allow me to look into the municipal documents which may be important to my project. I had, of course, been warned to the contrary. Some people from my family's faction said that asking the mayor such questions and permission to go over the municipal documents would only make him suspect that I wanted such information so that we could use them against him in the coming elections, and so forth. But, I did not give up hope so easily. I thought that I just had to wait for an opportune time. I had started to work toward that goal - having met and talked to him casually on several occasions. It was just a matter of time; then, I would win his "confidence" and "trust". This time, however, never came.

While I was in the community, the mayor was deeply involved in a fund-raising project for the improvement of the town plaza. He brought to the community a circus group from Cebu City to perform in the municipal gymnasium and it was the proceeds from the show which he intended to use for the beautification project. He realized, however, that box office sales alone would not be sufficient to raise the

necessary amount. To do so (as he had always done previous to this), he wrote form letters soliciting support for the project. He distributed these letters to individuals and families, accompanied by tickets to the circus. The amount of the tickets he sent varied and was relative to the individual's and/or family's financial and social standing in the community. It is interesting to note that people, and certainly the mayor, knew just what the position of every family (and its members) was and, thus, how much it could afford. In this regard, if an individual received, say, ten pesos worth of tickets, he could, more or less accurately, predict how much other individuals and families in the community received. These tickets were always considered sold. Some two weeks after the distribution of letters and tickets, the mayor could then expect to collect and solicit payment. He, however, does not do this personally. As with the distribution, a municipal government clerk is sent to collect.

I need not elaborate on the prevalence of graft and corruption in Philippine politics and government. The people know, and seem to accept the fact, that their politicians are involved in them. In my community, it is common knowledge that the greater part of the money raised will not be used for the improvement of the town plaza as claimed. Nobody, however, would dare open his mouth about

it. One of my relatives, however, did. And, this incident became the axe that led me to decide to move from my community and do fieldwork in another.

The decision was not an easy one to make primarily because when this incident happened I had only a little over five weeks left. To transfer to another research site at this time meant that I would have to start all over again. To quote Graham Johnson (1970: 15-16) once more: "In order to achieve whatever the research objectives happen to be the researcher has to rely on his own resources to establish relations with existing networks of communication . . . Without the establishment of communications it is impossible to conduct social research. . . It is essential to dispel an aura of legitimacy prior to embarking on the research." And, it is this aspect of this research which is so difficult to accomplish and which could take much of the researcher's time. However, I felt that the incident had blocked me off from an important and crucial source of information - for it is not only the mayor himself who was involved but also his followers and most of those who belong to his political faction - that is, his allies. It was this point that eventually led me to the decision to move.

After I had made this decision, the next problem in view was where to go. Considering the time I had left, the

community should be one where I would have, more or less, an easy time in establishing channels of communication or know of someone who could facilitate it.

The choice fell on Kabacan, a municipality which is approximately 43 kilometers from Midsayap. The mayor of the municipality is a close friend of the family. I had a preliminary talk with him about the research project. He was enthusiastic about it and even offered his place for me to stay for the duration. In retrospect of my experience in Midsayap, what I had to watch out for now is to avoid being too closely identified with the mayor for, while he could open important channels of communication for me, he could also block others.

Anticipating only a little over five weeks of research in Kabacan, I decided that I would focus my attention only on local history, growth, and development and, second, the emergence of voluntary associations. Parenthetically, some questions of interest were apparent: at what points significant voluntary associations emerged and, specifically, in relation to what kinds of social and political circumstances.

Working on local history, growth, and development was greatly facilitated for me by the mayor of the municipality. Since I stayed at his house, I had ample opportunity to talk with him on this aspect of the project. In this

regard, he became my most important source of information. He also introduced me to the other municipal government officials and to many of those whom he referred to as the "pioneers" of the community - that is, its first Christian settlers. Through interviews with these people, I was able to build-up a workable picture of the recent history of Kabacan.

Shortly after I gained a certain amount of knowledge on this aspect of the community, I began working on the voluntary associations. I thought that the best way to find out about their emergence, form, and functions was, again, by interviewing - those who are most familiar with the associations themselves: the presidents and/or founders.

In this regard, I first drew up a list of voluntary associations in the community, simply by asking people since voluntary associations in the Philippines are not registered with the government as they are, for instance, in Hongkong. (See Johnson 1970.) And there were problems, foremost among which was what voluntary associations are. In any case, I started with those associations which people named most often. I thought that if people think they are, or consider them to be, voluntary associations; then, they must be voluntary associations. Again, I contacted and interviewed many of my informants on the voluntary associations through the mayor of the municipality and his

wife (the latter for those associations for women, especially).

The process of setting-up interviews and interviewing proper could be highly frustrating activities. For example, I thought that it was only proper to make an appointment before I talked to people - especially if I knew that the interview would last long. However, it was not infrequent when people missed appointments. This slowed my work considerably for missed appointments meant "wasting" precious time and having to go through setting-up a new appointment which a number of people still missed! So much so that even while trying until almost on the day of my departure, I was able to gather a more or less detailed information on some ten associations, out of a total of over twenty-five.

Interviews, then, were my most important sources of information. They were by no means the only sources, however. Living in the community for five weeks as a "participant-observer" was also an important one - an invaluable source, in fact, for it was through my daily interaction with people in different situations that I was able to gain some valuable knowledge on life in the community and what life for the people of Kabacan was all about.

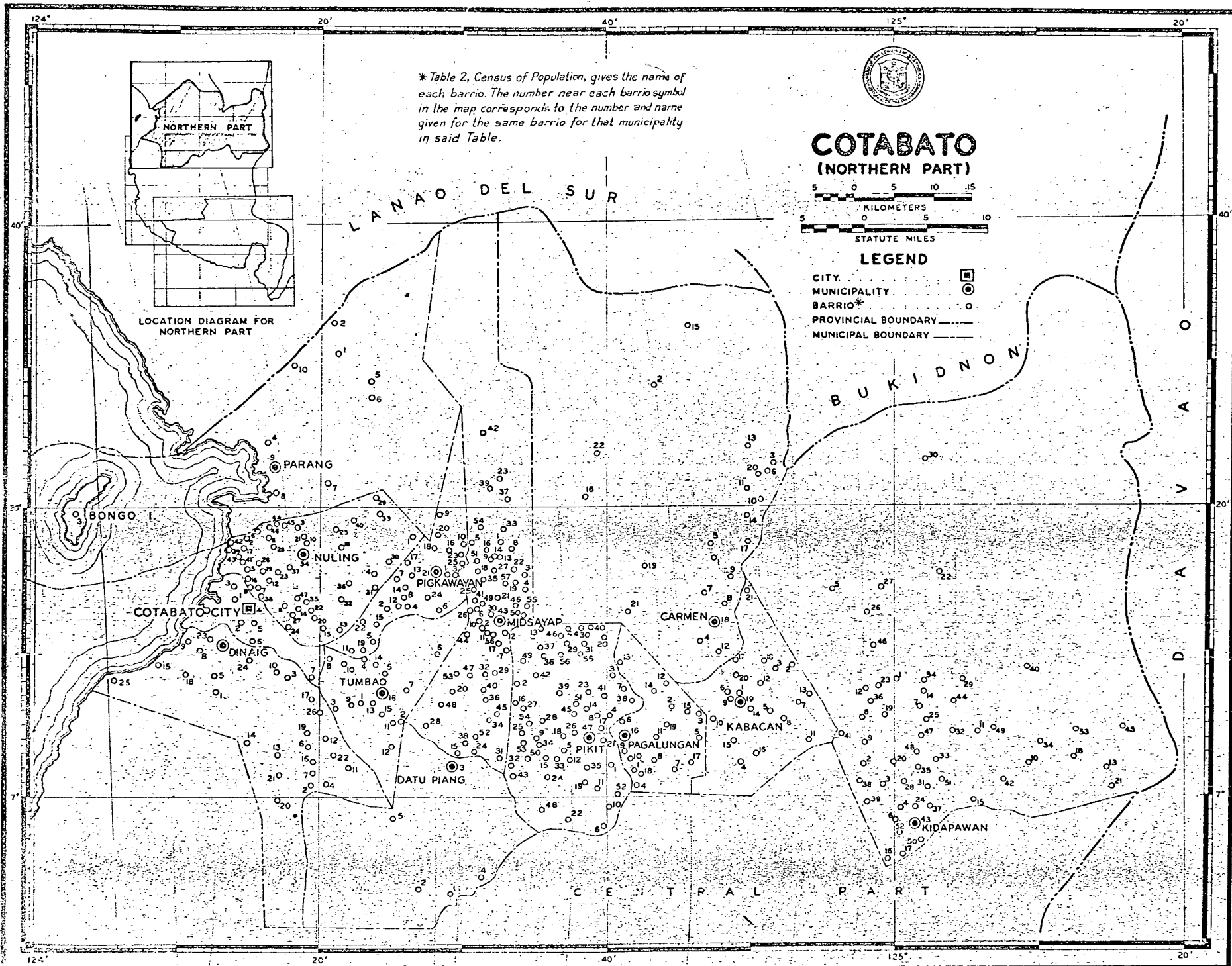
CHAPTER III

THE COMMUNITY: THE BACKGROUND

Kabacan is a municipality of the province of Cotabato, one of over a dozen provinces in the island of Mindanao, the second largest island of the Philippines. The whole province coincides with the region which Wernstedt and Spencer (1967) call Southwestern Mindanao. (See Figure III and Map II)

The municipality is located in one of the Cotabato lowlands, the Carmen Basin which, in turn, is located upstream from the main Cotabato Valley in the northeastern corner of Cotabato province. It lies along the major trunk system serving the region, the Cotabato-Davao National Highway, and the poblacion, or town center, is approximately 91 kilometers from the City of Cotabato, the capital of the province.

Kabacan is crisscrossed by the Pulangi, Kabacan, and Dalupuan rivers which serve as its natural drainage. The terrain north of the Dalupuan river is hilly and mountainous, part of the Central Mindanao Highlands, where good timbers abound. The southern portion, the Carmen Basin itself, is flat.



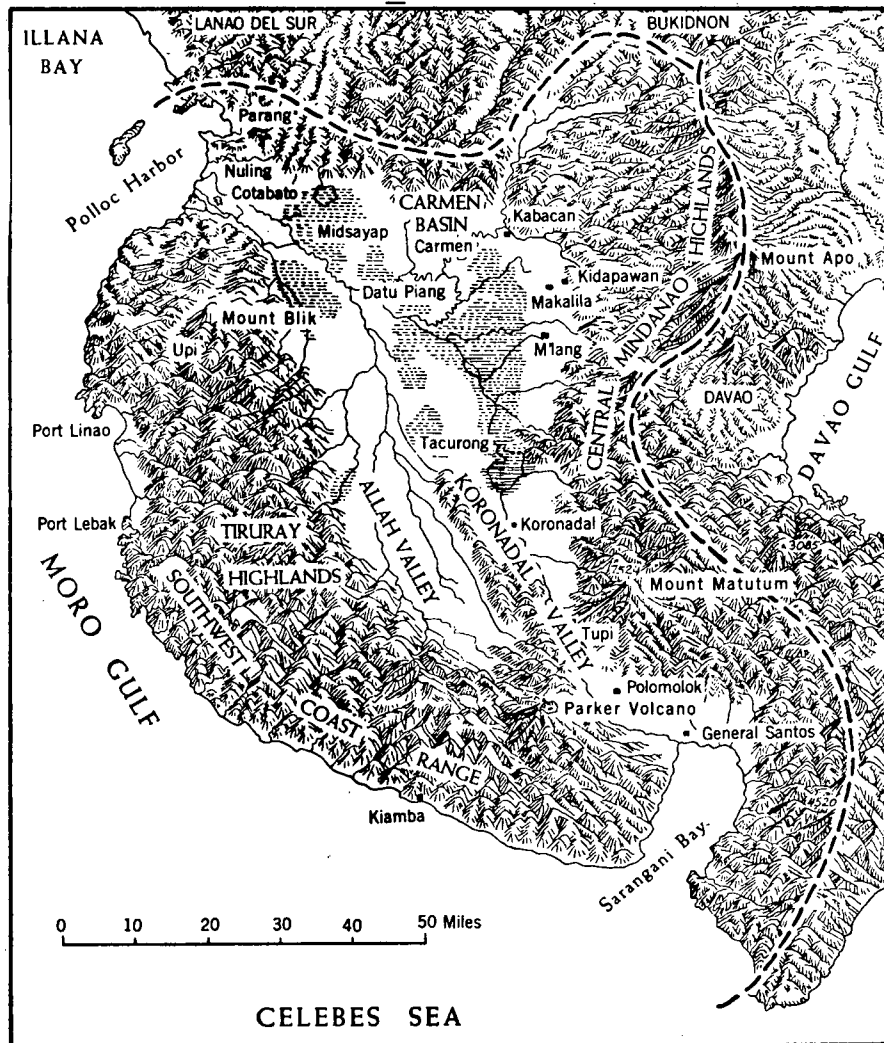


Figure III Physiography of Southwestern Mindanao
(Source: Wernstedt and Spencer 1967: 543)

The name of the municipality, Kabacan, is a Moslem word whose root is pagatacan which means granary or, generally, a place where one gets anything in abundance. The rulers of the province during the early days shortened the name to Kabacan. There are others, however, who say that the name of the municipality originated from the word abaca. Abaca plants (hemp) used to be grown abundantly along the Kabacan river. The first interpretation, however, is traditionally the more popular one.

Kabacan was created a municipal district on March 8, 1917 under Executive Order No. 9 issued by the then Acting Governor Ponciano Reyes of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, the government office which administered the region. It was composed of the barrios of Katidtuan, Timbalod, and Pedtulasan. It was created a regular municipality on August 18, 1947 by virtue of Executive Order No. 82 issued by the then President Manuel Roxas. Its territory covered the municipal districts of Kabacan, Carmen, Litubud, and Banisilan. President Ramon Magsaysay, by virtue of an executive order issued on November 15, 1956, created the municipal district of Carmen into a regular municipality and on December 29, 1961, President Carlos P. Garcia carved the barrios of Marbel, Malamote, Kilada, and Kidama out of Kabacan and these were annexed to the new municipality of Matalam. Due to these, the land area of the municipality of

Kabacan has been reduced to its present approximate area of 25,000 hectares. It is now officially composed of 24 barrios whose population range from 185 (Salupangan) to 5,277 (Poblacion).

These rapid civil divisions that Kabacan has undergone has been characteristic of the whole province - where twenty-six new municipalities have been created since 1948 in response to population increase resulting from large-scale migration. (Wernstedt and Spencer 1967: 555)

The growth of the Southwestern Mindanao region is indded phenomenal especially when one considers that the region was initially one of sparse Moslem settlement, with a scattering of non-Christian tribal groups in the uplands. Since 1943, but particularly since 1945, large numbers of Christian Filipinos, migrants coming from all parts of the Philippines, have moved into the region, so that now these migrants outnumber the original Moslem settlers. (Wernstedt and Spencer 1967: 544)

Moslem Filipinos constituted approximately 35 per cent of the population of Cotabato in 1960, a decrease in ratio of nearly 20 per cent since the 1939 census. Christian Filipinos now make up approximately 55 per cent of the population as compared to only 35 per cent in 1939. The non-Christian tribal groups living in the Tiruray Highlands and other inaccessible territory constituted nearly 9 per

cent of the population in 1960 and Chinese made up the balance. Thus, as Wernstedt and Spencer (1967: 548-549) have remarked, ". . . in a demographic sense the Southwestern Mindanao region can be viewed as a sort of Philippine melting pot, where Christian, Moslem, and pagan live together; one hopes in peace."

The large waves of migration were first set in motion by the selection of the Cotabato lowland as one of the principal sites for a number of resettlement projects financed by the national government. It felt that the increasingly acute problem of congested land settlement in Central Luzon, along the Ilocos coast, and the Central Visayan Islands could receive some benefit from the opening of new agricultural lands in Cotabato. In its early stages, the government-sponsored resettlement projects were generally a failure. The widespread prevalence of malaria, the general inaccessibility of the region, and the known or imagined hostility of the Moslems combined to discourage settlement. (Wernstedt and Spencer 1967: 550, 551) The earliest Christian settlers of Kabacan, for example, recall that they had to get under their mosquito nets as soon as darkness set in so as to avoid being swarmed by mosquitoes. They also remember the launch, small crafts, barge, dugouts, and particularly, the S. S. Hall, a flat-bottomed boat, which navigated the river to and from Cotabato City

and were used to transport people, supplies, and much of the surplus rice, corn, and other produce. The rivers were their primary, if not the only, means of transportation until 1935 when the national highway linking the cities of Davao and Cotabato was constructed.

As long as the above mentioned deterrents were present, Cotabato's population increased at a rate considerably less than that of other parts of the island. Between 1919 then and the beginning of hostilities of the Second World War in 1941, the national government made several attempts toward making the lands of Mindanao more attractive to settlers by embarking upon the construction of major trunk roads that would link the major cities and settlement areas of Mindanao. (Wernstedt and Spencer 1967: 551)

It was between these years too when Kabacan received its first migrant settlers. It was in 1921, to be exact, when the first group of Christian settlers and homeseekers arrived in Kabacan from Aringay, La Union, and settled in the barrio of Katid Tuan which they later renamed Aringay. Aringay then became the springboard for the founding of other barrios - as the settlers who arrived later had to stay for a year or two in Aringay before settling the lands they had acquired.

Before the first group of Christian homeseekers from Luzon arrived in 1921, there were Visayans working for the

Rio Grande Rubber Estate Company. There were also a few Chinese traders who were engaged in the buying and selling of rice, corn, copra, and other agricultural products. The Moslems who were the inhabitants of the area before the Christians began to arrive, sold their land to the latter and moved out of the town center.

Mention has already been made of the acute problem of congested land settlement along the Ilocos coast and other parts of Luzon and the Visayan islands and the national government's efforts to encourage out-migration into the sparsely populated regions of Cotabato. The Christians who came to Kabacan, then, did so, as one informant puts it, "in search of greener pastures." The national government provided free transportation and food up to their destination. They came in groups composed primarily of friends, relatives, and townmates. The husbands and male members of the family usually came first and after they had acquired a parcel of land to farm, they fetched the rest of their family members. Again, free transportation and food up to the destination were provided by the national government. These earliest settlers had to start from scratch. And, to make the brief period of pioneer life less difficult, they helped each other build houses and till the farms.

The importance of the various attempts to attract

settlers to the empty lands of Southwestern Mindanao through government subsidies lies not in the actual numbers of people who participated in the programs but in the tremendous stimulus these first projects gave to subsequent voluntary migrations. Literally hundreds of thousands of Filipinos have migrated to Mindanao at their expense since the initial resettlement programs. (Wernstedt and Spencer 1967: 551)

To Kabacan, in particular, there were no more than two dozens families who came to settle in 1921. But these people demonstrated that the region was safe to occupy, that pionner life was not to be feared, and that the rewards of individual land ownership merited considerable sacrifice and more followed them. This growth may be seen in the following census figures:

Table IV: Population of Kabacan, 1903 - 1970

Year	Population	Percentage Increase
1903	78	-
1918	5,394	7000
1939	8,659	60
1948	13,119	51
1960	21,043	60
1970	23,293	10

Sources: Census of the Philippines 1960: Population and Housing. Volume I, Report by Province, Cotabato, p. 2; Census of the Philippines 1970. Advance Report No. 22, Cotabato, p. 1.

Regarding the figures in the above table, it is important to note that the 1948 figure includes the population of the barrios of Carmen, Kilada, Limayong, Libpas, and Malapog which were transferred to the municipality of Carmen in 1956. In addition, the 1960 figure still includes the combined population of the barrios of Kidama, Kilada, Malamote, and Marbel which became part of the municipality of Matalam on December 29, 1961. Thus, the growth of the municipality in terms of population is, in fact, greater than what the figures in the table show.

Approximately 70 per cent of the people of Kabacan are Ilocanos; 20 per cent are Moslems. Combined, Cebuanos, Ilongos, Tagalogs, and other ethno-linguistic groups make up 10 per cent of the population. As is the case with the rest of the Philippines, the Christians are predominantly Roman Catholic. There are, however, other Christian religious sects in the community: Methodist, Iglesia ng Kristo (Church of Christ), the United Church of Christ in the Philippines, and Seventh Day Adventists. Table V shows this distribution.

Table V: Religious Affiliation of the Population, 1960

	Number	Percentage
Roman Catholic	9,414	45 %
Protestant	3,411	16 %
Aglipayan	1,299	6 %
Iglesia ni Kristo	416	2 %
Moslem	5,918	28 %
Others	585	3 %
Total	21,043	100 %

Source: Census of the Philippines 1960: Population and Housing. Vol. I, Report by Province, Cotabato, p. 17

Rice farming is the main occupation of the people; but corn, rubber, vegetables, and other food crops are also grown abundantly. A small percentage of the population is in the government service - as teachers and clerks, for example. Aside from the government service, there are very few employment opportunities open in the municipality. And even those who are regularly employed, store owners, and those in the professions do some farming to supplement their incomes. Industries in the municipality are small and designed to serve local needs. They include family-operated shops which make furniture, hollow blocks, and lumber.

Around 4,300 hectares of the farm lands in Kabacan receive their source of irrigation water from the National Irrigation Administration, the establishment of which in 1969 has resulted in increased productivity and, in turn, was largely responsible for the rise of Kabacan from a

fifth class municipality in 1947 to a third class municipality in 1969, with an annual income of 245,000 pesos. In addition to this irrigation system of the National Irrigation Administration, there are three communal irrigation systems operating in the municipality. Combined, they irrigate an additional 700 hectares of farm lands. These communal irrigation projects were started by the Presidential Arm on Community Development. Since 1964, however, all three have been turned over to the barrios and have since then been managed by the barrio councils.

The establishment of these irrigation projects resulted in increased productivity since they made it possible for farmers to plant two crops a year. Other factors instrumental to the growth in agricultural productivity include the introduction of new high-yielding varieties of rice, the use of insecticides, modern farming methods, the utilization of modern, mechanized implements like tractors and threshers, and the availability of credit facilities.

Kabacan has become an important educational center of the province since the establishment of the state-run Mindanao Institute of Technology in 1954. The institute offers courses in agriculture, agricultural education, home economics, industrial education, agricultural engineering, elementary education, technical trade, rubber production

technology, and farm mechanics. In 1971, the institute had a student population of 2,301.

There is, however, added prestige for being able to send a child for a college education elsewhere and parents are willing to sacrifice - spend savings, mortgage or even sell some property, or borrow - to be able to send a child to greater urban educational settings, like Davao City, Cebu City, or even Manila for schooling.

Aside from the Mindanao Institute of Technology, the other high school in the poblacion is the Notre Dame of Kabacan which was established in 1956. It started out as a parochial school under the direct supervision of the parish priest. In 1960, the Oblates of Notre Dame, a religious congregation for women, took over the administration of the school. In 1971, it had a student population of around 450 boys and girls. While the Mindanao Institute of Technology also operates a high school, children of the upper-class families of the community attend the Notre Dame school.

Every barrio in Kabacan has at least a primary school (grades 1 to 4); a substantial number have a complete elementary school (grades 1 to 6); some even have barrio high schools. The following table shows the educational attainment of the population of the municipality.

Table VI: Educational Attainment of the Population, 1960

	Number	Percent
No Grade Completed	10,729	51%
Elementary, 1 to 5	5,402	26%
Elementary, 6, to High School, 3	3,328	16%
High School Graduate to College Graduate	1,584	7%
Total Population	21,043	100%

Source: Census of the Philippines 1960: Population and Housing. Volume 1, Report by Province, Cotabato, p. 13.

The above table shows that more than 50 per cent of the population of Kabacan, in 1960, did not complete any grade at all. However, 59.7 per cent of the population, 10 years of age and over, are at least literate. This figure fares quite well in comparison with the other municipalities of the province - the highest being 81.5 per cent (Koronadal) and the lowest, 22.6 per cent (Tumbao).

The poblacion which is, among others, the seat of the municipal government as previously noted, was formerly called Barrio Sayugan. Before the outbreak of the Second World War, the residents of the barrio renamed it to Osias, to commemorate the visit of Senator Osias to the barrio. When the municipal district of Kabacan was created a regular municipality on August 18, 1947 and after a survey of the area was made by the Bureau of Lands, the seat of

the municipal government was established in Osias which name was later changed to Poblacion. To retain the name of Barrio Osias, a settlement about a kilometer east of the poblacion was called Barrio Osias.

It is in the poblacion where the Catholic parish church, the pilot elementary school, the Mindanao Institute of Technology, the Notre Dame of Kabacan, and the municipal hall are located. At present, however, the mayor and other municipal officials hold office in the bus terminal building in the market place while awaiting the completion of a new municipal building being constructed. The other government offices though, like the Bureau of Internal Revenue, the Post Office, and the Bureau of Health, continue to occupy the old municipal building.

While there are stores to be found all over the poblacion - stores selling food, clothing, hardware, and medicines - many are concentrated in the market. The market is open every day but on so-called market days, Sundays and Thursdays, it is busier than all others. It is during these days when vendors from other municipalities come. More people from the barrios too come to the poblacion during these days. It is usually a multi-purpose trip that the barrio people take: to sell chickens and vegetables; to buy salt, canned goods, dried fish, kerosene, and other items which are not available or are more expensive in the barrio;

to see the doctor, dentist, lawyer, or a government official; to visit friends and relatives residing in the poblacion; to recreate; and so forth.

Transportation between poblaciones is provided for by large private companies. Within the poblacion and nearby barrios, people travel by means of motorized tricycles and calesas. Jeepney service is available for travel to more distant barrios where the roads are accessible; otherwise, people use carabao-drawn carriages or simply walk to the nearest jeepney stop. Privately owned automobiles are very few and are limited to the upper-class families of the municipality.

Many families own transistorized radios or have easy access to them - that is, their neighbors'. Television has become available from Davao City since 1971, but very few own television sets. One reason for this is that very few can afford to buy them. On the other hand, those who can afford to buy them give the electric power problem as one important reason for not doing so. The electric power in the poblacion is provided for by a cooperative. Service is limited from early evening until early morning. The service, however, leaves much to be desired. The generator is not in working condition, more often than not. Also, the power generated is very low. Moreover, it is very expensive.

Daily newspapers are available in the poblacion. These

are flown from Manila to Cotabato City and are, in turn, brought to the community by bus.

The broad outline I have sketched in this chapter is a town center, the poblacion, of 5,000 people serving a surrounding area, the barrios, of 16,000.

The major activity of this complex is the production and distribution of food. Other major enterprises are transportation and education. In spite of the busy round of activity, the whole picture is one of subsistence marketing in which individuals seek enough to carry them through the day. There is virtually no saving or growth in these enterprises. (Guthrie 1970: 27)



Plate I: The Old Kabacan Municipal Hall



Plate II: The Catholic Parish Church



Plate III: Road Leading to a Barrio



Plate IV: A Barrio School



Plate V: The Kabacan Market



Plate VI: Another view of the Market



Plate VII: The Bus Terminal Building



Plate VIII: A Tractor Along the Market Road



Plate IX: A Typical Lower-Class Farmer's House



Plate X: An Upper-Class House in the Poblacion



Plate XI: A Carabao-drawn Carriage (Karomata)



Plate XII: Horse-drawn Carriages (Kalesas)



Plate XIII: Jeepneys



Plate XIV: Tricycles

CHAPTER IV

CULTURE AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

No discussion of voluntary associations in the municipality of Kabacan is possible without taking into account the community's social structure. An analysis of the crucial aspects of the culture and social organization is necessary. This is the task of the present chapter.

The Alliance System

For our purposes, a relevant model to use in viewing and discussing Philippine culture and social organization is one which Lynch (1959) has formulated and called the "alliance system." Although the model is based on empirical data gathered from a different area, the Bikol region in Luzon, it can be applied to Kabacan as well.

In defining the structural relationships involved in the alliance system, Lynch (1964: 19-20) first posits the principle of segmentation which stipulates that the social world is divided by various criteria into segments. Segments are defined either absolutely or in relation to the

individual. For instance, an individual's consanguineal kinsmen form one segment; his affines another. Neighbors, speakers of the same mother tongue, and members of the same religious group constitute still other segments that are recognized. These, however, do not exhaust all the possibilities of affiliation. On the other hand, it is evident that each individual is a member of many different segments. While loyalty to the kindred is normatively enjoined, actual interaction is not confined exclusively to kinsmen. On the contrary, interactors come from different segments which include non-kinsmen. On a conscious level, a preferential judgement on an interactor reflecting segmental loyalty may be expressed by a remark such as "He is my relative" or "We are neighbors."

Out of a number of individuals who have shown mutual preference for each other as interactors, a new group then emerges whose members are bound by emotional ties of closeness:

To be close is to be on intimate terms, friendly, affectionate, attentive, and actively interested in each other. It is the quality of a good friend. Its opposite is to be distant, which suggests a coolness of feeling between the two, or unfriendliness, uneasiness, disinterest, and perhaps even complete estrangement, whether the persons be blood relatives or not. (Lynch 1959: 53)

Emotional ties are, in turn, maintained by frequent interaction and by exchange of favors in goods and services

among members. Their relationships are governed by a see-sawing "debt inside oneself" reciprocity. From the viewpoint of the individual in this group, the members are "one's allies. . . the people one can count on." Hence, Lynch appropriately calls the group the alliance system.

This model of the alliance system can be applied to Kabacan as well. Kinship provides the primary universe from which allies are selected; for the strong cultural emphasis on loyalty to the kin group is complemented by residence norms and patterns that favor an indwelling extended kindred. But, the bilateral kinship structure creates overlapping kinship ties among a great number of inhabitants in the community and smaller groupings which develop must be rationalized on other bases. On the other hand, the same principles open up membership in the alliance system to non-kinsmen. And,

While the boundaries between kin and family, and kin and non-kin, may be clearly demarcated, they are not absolute in the sense that they do not always cover the same range in the former case and that kinship models may be used for friendship relationships in the latter. For example, close relatives can be defined to include or exclude different ranges of cousins, some people drawing the line at the first cousin range and others at second cousins. In the context of friendship ties, some friends are like 'brothers and sisters.' What this means in operation is that there is a considerable amount of flexibility in the mode of recognition of both kinship and friendship ties. (Jacobson, n.d.: 36-37)

By the same principles, the lower-class individual seeking the favor, assistance, and protection of the wealthy individual is provided with a consciously palatable, culturally approved rationalization for preferring the wealthy individual as an ally.

In other words, an individual forms his alliance systems by selecting from among those already joined to him by "bonds of kinship, ritual kinship (*compadrazgo*), reciprocal, or associational ties." (Hollnsteiner 1963: 83) Some of these will be discussed further below.

Kinship

In the Philippines, descent is bilaterally reckoned which means that a Filipino recognizes relationships with both his father's and mother's consanguine kin. Thus, he has a vast number of relatives. When he gets married, he acquires another kinship set as his wife's relatives become his as well, and vice-versa, and his number of relatives is further augmented.

Filipinos inculcate a strong sense of family loyalty which spreads beyond the nuclear family of parents and children. Family obligations extend to cousins several times removed and to in-laws. The ties are just as strong whether the relationship is through males or females. No one, thus, alone; rather, each stands ready to give or receive help

from the members of that group when he reckons his family.

It is important to note, however, that the kinship system is flexible, that the relationships among distant relatives especially, may be implemented or not as the individual chooses. Among close relatives, it is expected that the obligation system operate more or less rigorously. With distant relatives, however, there is a choice of implementing or not implementing the relationship; making it alive, so to speak, or leaving it in a sort of limbo. As Hollnsteiner (1963: 68) writes:

In a system of bilateral descent, the individual can trace a blood relationship to so many people that to care equally about all of them becomes impossible. He must draw a line somewhere and select consciously or unconsciously those among his relatives with whom he will associate closely.

Those whom he chooses become members of his alliance group. Lynch (1958: 16) expresses this selectivity very well when he writes: "Relatives are important, but their importance is relative."

Compadrazgo

Compadrazgo "designates the particular complex of relationships set up between individuals primarily, though not always, through baptism." (Mintz and Wold 1950) Briefly, the relationships are set up when parents of a child who is to be baptized, confirmed, or married ask certain

adults to act as the child's sponsor for the event. Baptism is the most important event in terms of compadrazgo and marriage, second. Confirmation is relatively unimportant. About the situation of the institution in Latin America, Foster (1953: 167) writes:

The complexity of compadrazgo in the New World surpasses that of Spain, and appears in very considerable measure to be the result of local elaboration to meet felt needs in the emergent social structure of Post-Conquest America.

The statement might equally apply to the development of compadrazgo in the Philippines.

According to traditional Christian teaching, the sponsors or godparents at baptism are supposed to make sure that the child is raised as a Christian in the event that something should happen to his parents. This doctrinal aspect of compadrazgo, however, seems to be poorly understood in Kabacan; although the godparents' obligation to provide the child's baptismal clothes is almost universally articulated. The major role of the sponsors is not as godparents, but as co-parents of each other. Thus, besides the parent-child relationship, three kinds of dyads are present in compadrazgo: godparent-godchild, godparent-parent, and godparent-godparent. Special terminology is used to describe these relationships and is used by the parties to them in addressing one another. The same terminology is used by the parties to a marriage compadrazgo

relationship.

At baptism, there are usually just two sponsors, one male and one female. At marriage, there are several sponsors. Although Catholic practice does not provide for sponsors at weddings, the idea of sponsorship seems to have extended to witnesses so that, as Hollnsteiner (1963: 65) points out, the "wedding makes the witness-couple relationship that of godparent-godchild." There can be as many as twelve to sixteen of these sponsors, although six or eight is more common, usually divided between the sexes.

Hollnsteiner (1963: 70) states that "the compadre system in the Philippines provides an institutionalized means of formalizing a friendship between status equals or for bringing closer together sponsors of high and low status. By virtually incorporating a non-relative into one's kin grouping, one is in effect dispensing with the need for extreme care in one's dealings with that individual, allowing a more relaxed attitude in his presence as one would with a socially close relative." This holds true for Kabacan where compadrazgo plays a role in giving the community social unity.

The co-parent relationship in both its forms, parent-godparent and godparent-godparent, like kin relationships, can be extended. Thus, a co-parent's kin extending out "as far as third cousins" are potential co-parents or compadres,

showing that selectivity enters-in among consanguine kin as has been discussed above. As in the case of kin relationships those persons must be available as neighbors or in some other way in order to activate the relationship.

The selection of co-parents is not restricted to the community but relationships with one's co-parents within it are more intensive and are considered more important. The compadrazgo ties within the community are generally between people of more or less equal status. The people of the community are more apt to ask a favorite kinsman - a brother, sister, or cousin, or a close friend, neighbor of more or less the same age and social status - to be the sponsor at baptism than to ask the landlord or some other influential person.

For weddings, however, there is more of a tendency to ask non-kin and persons of higher status and influence to be the sponsors. This bear out Arce's (1961: 26) findings that marriage sponsors usually come from a class higher than that of the parents of the bridal pair, in contrast to baptismal sponsors who may be of equal or superordinate status.

The godparents has few obligations towards the child except, perhaps, to give the child Christmas presents and a wedding present. The child also has few obligations except to show respect to his godparents and to pay them a visit

at Christmast if they are available. Co-parents, however, can be called upon to do favors and they must not refuse. When there is a difference in status, there is a tendency toward exploitation. When the parties are of the same status "exploitation of the relationship does not lurk so prominently as it does in cross-class compadrazgo. Special treatment is still expected of each other, but the potential reciprocal favors tend to be more or less of the same type." (Hollnsteiner 1963: 70)

Reciprocity

Another relationship which provides a vehicle whereby important, close, and enduring links can be established is the system of reciprocal obligations. Lynch (1964; 1970) identifies it as an operational principle in Philippine society and Hollnsteiner (1964; 1970) enumerates three basic types, namely, contractual, quasi-contractual, and utang na loob. Because of its immediate importance and relevance for this thesis, only the third type will be discussed here. It is important to note, however, that all three types are important mechanisms of exchange in Philippine society, in general, and Kabacan, in particular.

Hollnsteiner (1964: 28) translates utang na loob as "a debt inside oneself or sense of gratitude." She defines it as a situation where "a transfer of goods or services

takes place between individuals belonging to two different groups." Since in these situations

one does not ordinarily expect favors of anyone not of his own group, a service of this kind throws the norm into bold relief. Furthermore, it compels the recipient to show his gratitude by returning the favor with interest to be sure that he does not remain in the other's debt. (Hollnsteiner 1964: 28-29)

It should be emphasized that

Every Filipino is expected to possess utang na loob; that is he should be aware of his obligations to those from whom he receives favors and should repay them in an acceptable manner. Since utang na loob invariably stems from a service rendered, even though a material gift may be involved, quantification is impossible. One cannot actually measure the repayment but can attempt to make it nevertheless either believing it supersedes the original service in quality or acknowledging that the reciprocal payment is partial and requires further payment. Some services can never be repaid. Saving a person's life would be one of these; getting a steady job, especially for an unskilled laborer at a time when employment is scarce and unskilled laborers abound, might be another. (Hollnsteiner 1964: 29)

Utang na loob, thus, is an obligation which cannot be repaid in money, but which has to be paid in services and should be paid upon request. If a person helps a friend's nephew to go through school, for example, he has a claim, so to speak, upon both the friend and his nephew. At some future time, they can be asked to do something and they are expected to comply. Because some services, however, can never really be repaid

. . . a spiral of reciprocal favors is built up

for when the favor done is a service which can not be repaid in kind or which can not be measured quantitatively, one cannot really tell when one's debt has been discharged. (Hollnsteiner 1963: 66)

According to Hollnsteiner (1964: 31-33), utang na loob debts characterize intra-family as well as extra-familial and non-kin obligations and relationships. But, they tend to be extended selectively. Which relatives are closer than others are determined by such factors as geographical proximity, traditional family and personal preferences. It is, thus, one means of implementing kinship with distant relatives. It is also a means of establishing working relationships with neighbors and with trading partners. It is also one basis for the landlord-tenant relationship and "one reason why the landlord-tenant relationship in areas where it operates properly does not cause the difficulties that it does in other areas." (Eggan 1968: 11)

Hiya

"Hiya," according to Lynch (1964: 17), "is a universal sanction in lowland Philippine society, for it enforces conformity with all aspects of the social code, whether the end in view is acceptance by society in general or by the individual with whom one is dealing at the moment." The term is most commonly translated as "shame," but much is lost in the translation. It involves a feeling of

inferiority, embarrassment, shyness, and of alienation which is experienced as acutely depressing by Filipinos.

Hiya is incurred for failure to ensure correct reciprocation. (Jacobson, n.d.: 48) It is thus closely related to utang na loob and both are moral forces which regulate behavior and keep the social system in good working order:

Utang na loob defines any situation harboring it since each person has an approximate idea of where he stands in relation to the other. Hiya seems to stem either from the non-existence or non-observance of utang na loob. In the case of non-existence an undefined situation is created where each actor is not sure of what his responses ought to be, while in non-observance, hiya develops or should develop from a person's sense of not having lived up to the utang na loob expectation of another. Both are powerful elements of the value system and provide the strong moral compulsion which initiates actions and maintains cultural expectations.
(Hollnsteiner 1963: 79)

For a Filipino, hiya is a very painful reaction. It is learned in the third to fifth year of life which can be a very serious experience in a child's life because it may lead him to leave school, avoid certain desirable activities, or change his outlook on life. The development of the capacity for hiya is encouraged in the family and the threat of the experience is held over a child to obtain approved behavior. To suggest that a child is without hiya is a very serious reproach to both parent and child.
(Bulatao 1964; Guthrie 1968)

Hiya can be publicly or privately reinforced or both, and an individual will always try to avoid the stigma of being recognized as a person "without shame," walanghiya, who fails to meet obligations. (Jacobson, n.d.: 48) As the Tagalog proverb puts it: "Hindi baleng huwag mo akong mahalin; huwag mo lang akong hiyain" - that is, "It does not matter if you don't love me; just don't shame me." The situation is summed up by Hollnsteiner (1963: 31) as follows:

By not settling an obligation when the opportunity arises, the Filipino violates a highly valued operating principle and experiences a consequent hiya. To avoid this painful experience he makes every effort to repay his obligations.

Social Acceptance, Smooth Interpersonal Relations,
Pakikisama, Intermediaries, Amor Propio

A Basic postulate with regard to social life in the Philippines is that interpersonal relations should go on without too much friction. Filipinos have set up a series of cultural expectations, behavioral expectations in particular situations, and enforce, in varying ways, conformity to this system. Therefore, the attempt to make relationships run smoothly is a primary social value in the Philippines. (Eggan 1968: 9) Lynch (1964: 15) calls this theme in Philippine culture "social acceptance" which is

the desire "to be accepted by one's fellows for what one is, or would like to be, and be given the treatment due to one's station."

Lynch (1964; 1970) identifies "smooth interpersonal relations" as an intermediate value in the attainment of social acceptance. Abbreviated SIR, smooth interpersonal relations is defined by Lynch (1964: 8) as

. . . a facility at getting along with others in such a way as to avoid outward signs of conflict: glum or sour looks, harsh words, open disagreement, or physical violence. It connotes the smile, the friendly lift of the eyebrow, the pat on the back, the squeeze of the arm, the word of praise or friendly concern. It means being agreeable, even under difficult circumstances and of keeping quiet or out of sight when discretion passes the word. It means sensitivity to what other people at any given moment feel, and a willingness and ability to change tack (if not direction) to catch the slightest favorable breeze.

In turn, "SIR is acquired and preserved principally by three means: namely, pakikisama, euphemism, and the use of the go-between." (Lynch 1964: 8) For our discussion, only pakikisama and the use of the go-between are relevant and will be elaborated here.

Pakikisama is a Tagalog word. Its root, sama, means "accompany" or "go along with." Lynch (1964: 9) formally defines the concept as "giving in, following the lead or suggestion of another; in a word, concession. It refers

especially to the lauded practice of yielding to the will of the leader or majority so as to make the group decision unanimous. No one likes a hold out." As Guthrie and Azores (1968: 22) put it, an individual who is "magandang makisama or mabuting makisama, who practices pakikisama, is game, 'okay,' not a kill joy, follows the will of the group, shares his successes, helps on special occasions, and is generally good-natured and cheerful toward others."

Because relationships among members of an alliance group are highly personalized, frequent use is made of go-betweens or intermediaries - another means by which SIR is preserved or restored. Here, a third party is used and called upon "to assuage a bruise, heal a wound or prevent injury." (Lynch 1964: 13) The go-between is also used in situations like an embarrassing request or complaint to avoid shame, hiya, of face-to-face encounter or bad feeling. Go-betweens and intermediaries, finally, are utilized "to remedy an existing state of conflict or tension." (Lynch 1964: 13) Thus, even when relationships have been severed, there is always the possibility of reconciliation between the feuding parties; negotiation is possible and this is achieved through an intermediary or go-between.

The same pattern obtains in family disputes where a relative who is not involved in the difficulty becomes the middle-man for two fellow-kinsmen who are not on speaking terms

with each other. This is considered his duty, provided he has the other qualities that make him desirable as a go-between: smooth speech and wit above all. (Lynch 1964: 14)

We have discussed hiya as the universal sanction that ensures proper reciprocation and enforces conformity. Lynch (1964; 1970), however, identifies another sanction, "more limited in scope, a special defense against severe interpersonal unpleasantness." He calls this sanction amor propio or self-esteem which is sensitivity to personal affront." It is important to note that

This sensitivity is not, like smooth interpersonal relations, for the attainment and enhancement of social acceptance; it serves rather to retain the acceptance one already has. It is an emotional high-tension wire that girds the individual's dearest self, protecting from disparagement or question the qualities he most jealously guards as his own best claim to others' respect and esteem. (Lynch 1964: 17)

Although amor propio resembles losing face in the Oriental sense and social insecurity in the Western sense, it should not be equated with either. A central element of amor propio is the need of the Filipino to be treated as a person, not as an object. His fragile sense of personal worth and dignity leaves him especially vulnerable to negative remarks from others and lead him to be vigilant to the signs of status which will indicate how he stands in his group at the moment. The various Philippine languages and dialects are replete with numerous expressions which state that almost any fate is to be preferred to being

criticized. Thus, it is not surprising that such a person will experience extraordinary difficulty in admitting mistakes. Since all members of the society is aware of these conditions, criticism is offered with extreme deference. It is tempting to equate amor propio with insecurity, arrogance, or irritability since it takes each of these forms on occasion. The common element, however, is a sense of individual dignity and worth which one violates at his peril. (Guthrie 1968: 61-62)

Summary of Main Concepts

"An alliance system may be held together by the framework of kinship, compadrazgo, and reciprocal obligations." (Hollnsteiner 1963: 66) Once formed, an alliance system is nurtured by frequent contact and reciprocal service. Its continuance is guarded by sanctions discouraging behavior which is disruptive of the relationship. These sanctions include hiya and amor propio. The alliance system manifests one of the main themes in Philippine culture - that of social acceptance which is achieved by means of an intermediate value, smooth interpersonal relations (SIR). SIR, in turn, is achieved by means of pakikisama and the use of go-betweens and intermediaries.

CHAPTER V

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

One of the central concerns of this thesis is to describe the form and meaning of voluntary associations in a Philippine rural community. An underlying assumption here is that, while voluntary associations have been found in practically all types of societies, the form and meaning they take vary from one type of society to another. To answer such questions, for instance, as why people join voluntary associations, what relationships maintain associations or what undermine them or, in fact, why and under what circumstances they should occur, an analysis of the particular society's culture and social organization is in order. The last chapter discusses some aspects of Philippine culture and social organization. For its part, the present chapter will do two things. First, it will describe some aspects of voluntary associations in a Philippine municipality. This description is based on the results of field work carried out in Kabacan. Second, it will answer some of the problems raised and questions asked

above as well as earlier in this thesis.

I should like to emphasize at this point that the amount of time I spent in the field was short - five weeks. The account I will present here therefore is largely impressionistic; the conclusions, tentative. It is hoped that future research will provide quantitative data to check on conclusions reached here by more qualitative techniques.

Voluntary Associations: Some Problems of Definition

As has been noted, voluntary associations are common to almost all types of societies. However, the frequency with which they occur differs from one society to another. It is generally believed that the more complex, western, industrial societies tend to have the highest number of associations. On the other hand, the simple isolated societies have the least. Thus, voluntary associations have generally been regarded as a product of western culture and social scientists have studied their occurrence in this area where they are most numerous. Definitions of voluntary associations, as a result, have been based on those types which are found in western industrial societies. A brief review of these definitions is deemed necessary.

Robert Lowie (1927), recognizing the importance of

that cut across kinship lines, used the term association to represent these groupings and defined the term as "social units not based on the kinship factor." (Lowie 1927: 257) In a later work, he used "sodality" as a descriptive term for associations that would include "pairs of congenial comrades and groups of noddledehoys, stock companies and trade unions, scientific societies and the Y.M.C.A., congregations of churches and bridge clubs." (Lowie 1948: 14) It is the former term that seems to have survived in the literature. It is, in fact, this term which Herskovits (1952: 306) retains in discussing some of the factors that draw the members together: namely, propinquity, community of interests, possession of the same skill, and the establishment of status by exclusiveness.

The interest here in Kabacan associations is in the formal type, that which sociologists like Williams (1959: 499) would call "voluntary fraternal" or "civic associations." This type of association is characterized by contemporary social scientists as follows:

Tsouderos (1958) describes voluntary associations as a group of people having some sort of formal organizational structure with membership open to all who have a particular occupation or profess a common aspiration or interest and in which people become members of their own decision. Generally, these organizations are organized to achieve some goal or to change in a limited way a segment of the community as a whole.

Nelson and his associates (1962: 225) state:

As autonomous groups become larger they tend to introduce formal structures with roles defined, written constitutions, membership lists and often a formal alliance with some state or federal association with similar interests. These groups are often referred to as interest groups, voluntary organizations or formal organizations.

Finally, Rose (1954: 52) defines a voluntary association as

a small group of people finding they have a certain interest in common, agree to meet and act together in order to satisfy that interest or to achieve that purpose. As a social structure they have distinct features of formal leadership, specialized activities, rules of operating, place and time of meeting.

The most significant difference between formal associations and informal groups is the relationship between members. The formal groups are organized around a special purpose, formally chosen officials, and written rules. The informal groups have no written regulations although the norms and sanctions which guide them may be specific. They may have a recognized structure of leadership but leaders are not elected nor referred to as officials. Cliques, friendship groups, and gangs are examples. (Loomis 1963)

Along these concepts, Anderson points out:

Participation is considered formal when individuals associate with others on a voluntary directed basis in arranged situations that involve defined individual roles. . . In informal participation, individuals take part on a voluntary directed basis but the roles are not so defined that there is a fixed patterning, definite obligations or

stratification of participants.

Lundberg, Schrag, and Larsen (1954: 405) make a similar distinction between the two types of association:

In formally organized groups expectations as to behavior of members are prescribed and usually defined independently of the person who happens to be in a given position within a group. That is, role prescriptions are formed around the position and are applied to any individual who happens to occupy it. . . This contrasts with informally organized groups where social roles tend to develop around the particular individual occupying a position within the group, and around the position itself.

When I first started to draw up a list of voluntary associations in Kabacan, I was guided by, and used, the criteria and definitions discussed above to distinguish between voluntary associations and other kinds of groupings. It did not take me long to discover, however, that if one followed such criteria for defining voluntary associations, the one conclusion that can be arrived at is that voluntary associations do not exist in Kabacan. There are a number of reasons for this. I would like to consider four.

First of these is the criterion which Lundberg, Schrag and Larsen (1954: 405) consider crucial to voluntary associations - that is, ". . . expectations as to behavior of members are prescribed and usually defined independently of the person who happens to be in a given position within the group. That is, role prescriptions are formed around the position and are applied to any individual who happens to

occupy it. . ." The implication here is that a change in the person who occupies a given position does not affect the nature of the role prescriptions formed around the position. This criterion, I found, is not applicable to the voluntary associations in Kabacan where, in fact, role prescriptions are formed more importantly around the individual who happens to occupy a given position rather than around the position itself. That is, expectations as to behavior of officers, especially, change as individuals who occupy them change. In fact, as I will show later, in many associations a change of officers often leads to the dissolution of the associations themselves.

A second important criterion for defining voluntary associations is that "individuals associate with others on a voluntary directed basis." (Anderson 1953: 28-29) In Kabacan, however, individuals, frequently, join associations not on a voluntary directed basis. Rather, they do so because of pressures that are a function of the social structure and culture, as discussed in the preceding chapter. It is interesting to note that only one individual I interviewed said that he joined associations because "he wanted to." Many joined for a variety of other reasons which one can hardly describe as voluntary. Again, I will discuss and elaborate on these below.

A third criterion in the definition of voluntary

associations which is not applicable to many of the associations in Kabacan is that associations are organized around a special purpose. Some associations in Kabacan, in fact, are multifunctional. Many are even organized without any definite aims and objectives at all.

Finally, many associations in Kabacan have no written rules, constitutions, or membership lists - the existence of which is another important criterion. There are a number of associations that do have these but they are not purely local associations but are part of a network set up on a national basis. Pressure, thus, is being exerted on them from the outside.

It is apparent from the discussion above that one can not just apply definitions of voluntary associations based on those that exist and are found in western, industrial societies to those that are found in other types of societies, in this case, Kabacan. For Kabacan, I considered as voluntary associations those that people thought are, and named as, such and are thought of by their members and officers as more than cliques, friendship groups, or gangs. A primary characteristic of these associations is that they are an intermediate kind of grouping. That is, they are neither primarily kin based nor yet predominantly associational. Riggs (1954: 21), impressed with this particular blend of kin and association ties in the rural

areas of the Philippines, coined a special term for it: "clect." On this special term, Hollnsteiner (1963: 112-113) comments: "Primary ties do function effectively in the context of Philippine associational structures. But whether they deviate so far from the pole of non-kin, strictly associational behavior as to warrant a special term is doubtful." I agree since "the common interest factor, a collective jockeying for power, keeps formal local groups well within the range of the standard definition of an association." (Hollnsteiner 1963: 113) I then retain the term voluntary association, with the above-mentioned limitations, to refer to the associational groupings found in Kabacan.

Why People Join Voluntary Associations

One of the questions I was most interested in with regard to voluntary association membership in Kabacan was: why do people join voluntary associations? To elicit responses that would provide answers to, and shed light on, the question, I first asked as many of the presidents-heads and/or other officers of the various associations as I could the following question: how they recruit their members and how one could join their respective associations. I also asked a number of the members of various associations

to describe the process by which they became members of the associations to which they now belong. Finally, I interviewed some residents of the community who were not members of any associations and asked them why they did not belong to, or join, any associations at all.

The common response given by the officers to the question, how they recruit their members or how one joins their associations, was that they invite people to join them and become members. The process by which this done most interesting. Most associations in Kabacan have a membership committee of some sort to which an officer and present members can submit the name of a potential member. The committee first screens the candidate before his name is presented to the association at large for a vote on whether to accept him or not. If the association votes positively, a group of officers and members, including the individual who recommended him, approaches the potential member who, often, is not even aware that he is being considered for membership, to formally invite him to join their association. Depending on a number of factors which will be discussed below, he may accept or refuse the invitation.

It is important to note here that while "ordinary" members can suggest names of potential members for consideration by the membership committee, often, they do

not. Two reasons may be given for this. First, members are often not interested in the activities of the associations to which they belong. They themselves may have just been "forced" or "pressured" to join or become members. Secondly, and related to the first, associations in Kabacan, for the most part, as I will show, are typed by those who head them. The associations are their "club in a very real sense," as Hollnsteiner (1963: 125) puts it. They run the associations by themselves. They make all the decisions regarding the association's activities and projects. They decide whom to invite to join as members.

The responses of the members to the question, how they became members of the association(s) to which they belong, confirm and support this response from the officers - that is, they joined primarily because they were invited to join. As I have noted earlier, only one individual I interviewed responded that he joined associations in the community out of his own initiative and volition - that is, he joined because he believed in the associations' aims and stated objectives. What usually happens then is that many individuals accept the invitation and become members but do not participate actively in the association's activities and affairs. The officers seem to be satisfied with the arrangement. There are, however, exceptions to this, depending on the type of association involved. I

will discuss this in the sections that follow.

Non-members responded that they did not join any associations at all because no one asked them to or because they do not know the officers and members of such and such an association. Thus, even when they meet and possess the qualifications for membership and even if they wanted to join a particular association, unless they are invited to do so, they do not.

It is important to draw attention here to the four factors outlined by Herskovits (1952: 306) that draw people together to form associations. These factors do operate in Kabacan. For instance, the Poblacion PTA (Parents and Teachers Association) restricts its membership to the adults of the poblacion, to the parents of the children attending, and the teachers of, the poblacion elementary school - propinquity. Interest in cooking, sewing, and home improvement lead housewives and women of the community to join the Rural Improvement Club - community of interests. Skill in playing a musical instrument leads to the formation of a community brass band - possession of the same skills. And, graduates of the Notre Dame of Kabacan and the professionals of the community, the Y's Men - by which they establish their status by exclusiveness. However, these factors - propinquity, community of interest, possession of the same skill, and the establishment of

status by exclusiveness - are only the minimum requirements for membership. Thus, one must first be able to play a musical instrument before he can join the brass band or he must be a professional (doctor, lawyer, or university graduate) before he can become a member of the Y's Men. A more important consideration, however, is that an individual, over and above the minimum qualification for membership, must be invited by the officers and members of a particular association before he can become a member. Thus, even if he possesses the necessary minimum requirements such as possession of the skill, he will not personally apply for membership. He has to wait for the crucial invitation. The importance of this is emphasized by the fact that there are instances when individuals who do not possess the minimum requirements for membership have been invited to become a member of the association. The mayor of Kabacan, for example, is a member of the Poblacion Parents and Teachers Association, and he is neither a parent of a child attending, nor a teacher in, the elementary school. Because of the prestige and influence that the mayor possesses, however, the requirement has been waived since to have the mayor's name in the list of members would bring the association prestige too.

On the other hand, individuals possessing the minimum qualifications for membership and who are extended an

invitation do not, and usually can not, refuse the invitation - even though they may personally be reluctant to join. Many stated that they joined associations practically against their wishes; but, again, could not refuse the invitation. Very often, the persons extending the invitation were a compadre or comadre, a neighbor, close friend, relative, or one to whom he owes some "debt of gratitude," utang na loob. To refuse a person with whom one is in such a relationship means that sanctions would come into play. To refuse, they responded, would be, for example, nakakahiya (shameful). In addition, they know that if they refused, they would be branded as hindi marunong makisama or walang pakikisama (does not know how to get along with others) or walang utang na loob (does not know how to pay a debt of gratitude). Fearing these sanctions, they are then forced and pressured, though in a subtle way, to accept the invitation and become members.

Officers of associations, it must be emphasized, extend invitations for membership primarily to those with whom they already maintain ties of compadrazgo, kinship, friendship, and reciprocity. They invite those whom they know "they can count on." On the other hand, those who are invited view their acceptance of the invitation as one means of repaying a debt of gratitude, of strengthening and reinforcing further bonds of friendship, kinship,

compadrazgo, and reciprocity. It is, in short, the mechanisms of the alliance system at work.

The "Ningas Kugon Effect"

Upon close examination of the associations in Kabacan that people named and of the dates they gave as to when these associations were formed, one of the most striking features that emerges is that associations presently found in the community have been organized very recently. They are very "young," so to speak. Many of them were organized within the last four or five years. The Rio Grande Lodge (Masons), for example, was organized only in 1968; the Ryrat Improvement Club in 1971; the Catholic Women's League in 1968 - to cite some examples. Only a few associations in the community were organized earlier: the League of Puericulture Center which was founded in 1959 and the Boys Scouts, founded in the early 1950's, to name two. At the same time, people recall and remember a number of associations that existed in the community in the past and were active for a while. But, they also noted how these associations "died" just as quickly as they arose. The question that poses itself then is, how does one explain this phenomenon? Hollnsteiner (1963: 126) calls it the "ningas kugon effect" which is a term derived from the way

cogon grass burns very brightly and rapidly when first put to the torch, but then dies out almost immediately," a phenomenon which she also found to be common to the associations of a community in Luzon which she studied. One explanation may be found in the nature of the leaders and leadership of the associations in Kabacan, in particular, and in the Philippines, in general. To a discussion of these aspects, then, we now turn our attention.

Voluntary Associations: Formation, Growth, and Decline;
Leaders and Leadership

I have already noted briefly the fact that most associations in Kabacan are identified by those who head them. This identification, it must be emphasized, runs from the time of the associations' inception until their decline. But how, first of all, are associations formed in Kabacan? The following seems to be the common pattern. The first step is usually taken by a man who conceives of the idea of forming an association. His reasons for forming one are usually lofty and quite ambiguous - to improve or change some aspect of the community, for example, and are, almost always, never achieved. This person then talks the idea over with those whom he thinks will approve of the idea

and will join him. It is important to note here that, at this stage, the founder invites only those persons with whom he already has existing or maintaining ties - whether it be compadrazgo, friendship, reciprocity, or kinship. And because, as has been noted earlier, a person in such a relationship with another does not usually refuse the other or his requests, the founder knows that the people he chooses will approve of his idea and will join him. They then become the core group of the association and the association will draw its future members from people with whom they maintain the same ties and relationships. The core group of the association usually belong to the same social class, "upper," and status, "elite." The future members, on the other hand, are drawn from the members of the lower class. Associations in Kabacan, then, assume the character of an alliance system and cross-cut the basically two-class system of stratification, joining specific upper-class, with specific lower-class, individuals.

It is also from the core group that the first set of officers of the association is chosen, with the founder assuming the position of president. And, if the association should live for a number of years, the same set of people are elected or re-elected to the positions available. They just rotate the positions among themselves. For instance, an individual may serve as the secretary for one year,

vice-president the next, and president for the third year. Sometimes, new positions are even created so that all of the core group members could assume an official leadership role. Elections are held, of course. But, who will be elected to which position is known beforehand. The core group has already talked the matter over and agreed among themselves on this well before the elections. Elections, then, are held only as a formality - to abide by the association's constitution and rules, for example, if such exist at all. It is also during elections when the majority of the members, who may not have attended any meetings during the year at all, are present. Elections thus serve the function of bringing members and officers together, for once. Before the meeting, however, members have been approached, told of the coming elections and whom to vote for which position by the same person(s) who invited them to become members.

This passivity and non-involvement in the association and its activities are seen by "ordinary" members as part of their role, as "part of the deal." They view their acceptance of the invitation to join an association as a means of repaying a "debt of gratitude" and all that is expected of them is to be passive followers of their upper-class allies, in this case, the officers of the association.

From its inception, then, an association essentially tends to be identified by who leads it. And, "it is his club in a very real sense. For if he should for some reason drop out of it, his following of kin, compadres, and friends also tends to go with him. The entire organization then collapses." (Hollnsteiner 1963: 125) In contrast to the associations in the community which Hollnsteiner studied, however, leadership in the associations of Kabacan is plural - that is, it is shared rather than limited to one individual.

This is illustrated by the Kabacan Inter-Fellowship Club. The club's formation was conceived by one man and its main manifest objectives to promote "brotherhood" and to bring together people from the community's various church groups. This purpose, like those of most other associations in Kabacan, aimed at was quite ambiguous. At that time, however, ecumenism was a popular word so that the formation of the association was welcomed by the leading members of the various churches, who also became the association's first set of officers. The association grew, drawing its members from the allies of the core group. It was active for a while - that is, meetings were held regularly and these were well attended. Ecumenical church services, one of the major projects of the association, were well attended too. For how long this was sustained, no one I

I talked to remembers for sure; but, it started to fizzle out when the founder of the association found employment in Davao City and, since then, came to Kabacan only occasionally.

Another example, a more typical one, is the Y's Men, an association organized by a group of, and open to all, male professionals (university graduates) of the community. It was, like the Kabacan Inter-Fellowship Club, active for a couple of years but, as one former said, "just started to die after that." In interviews, its founders and former officers traced the reason for the association's failure to go on to the lack of interest shown by the members. They said that "they just got tired of doing all the work of the association and footing the extra bills." These extra bills were incurred during the first officers induction ball - always a gala affair in Kabacan. Monetary contributions for the affair were supposed to have been collected from each and every officer and member but actual contributions were given only by the officers. One member's reason for not contributing his share was: "I already joined them; what more could they ask for?" The officers, thus, not only had to make their individual required contributions but also had to foot the amount which was supposed to have been collected from the members. Non-involvement of the members in the scholarship for needy

but deserving students project of the association further discouraged the officers and led to their own non-involvement and, eventually, to the decline of the association. The following pattern then follows:

Rather than try to resuscitate a dying organization which drew all its strength from the retiring president's following, aspiring presidents will allow the club to die and then create a new one. In this manner credit for the new organization will go completely to the new president, whereas if he successfully revives the old club, he must still share the honors with the first president. Far better to have a new set of officers, a club with a new name, and no taint of failure, even though its states aims may be exactly the same as its predecessor. (Hollnsteiner 1963: 126)

And indeed, from the ranks of the Y's Men, several associations were formed: The Masons, the Knights of Rizal, among others.

Another reason for the "ningas kugon effect" lies in the nature of the alliance system itself. Membership in a given alliance system is not permanent. It is, in fact, continually shifting, as upper-class leaders and lower-class followers align and re-align themselves. Since it is my argument that voluntary association membership is based on the alliance system, then, any changes that occurs in the alliance group membership brings a consequent change in the voluntary associations - not only in terms of membership but, in fact, as has been noted above, resulting in the emergence and formation of a new association.

This phenomenon is illustrated by the Kabacan Motorized Tricycle Drivers and Operators Association (KMTDO), headed by the mayor of the municipality. It is this association with whose members and officers I had the most contact during my stay in Kabacan for the simple reason that the mayor is its president and meetings were held at the mayor's house where I was also staying. The mayor is neither a tricycle driver nor operator. That he, again, belongs to an association whose minimum qualification for membership he does not meet illustrates the class bridging aspect of the alliance system.

There was, before this new association under the mayor was formed, an association of tricycle drivers and operators. The drivers I talked to, however, complained that they had no idea where the dues collected from them by their former president were spent. Moreover, they said that their former president was not much of a help in solving their problems and they, in fact, would go to the mayor for a solution to these problems. It was because of these that they got together and decided to form a new association and to make the mayor himself their president. The mayor agreed, realizing himself how vital the position would be politically. And at the time of field work, all but two of the drivers and operators and members of the former association had joined the new one under the mayor.

This example brings out very clearly several points regarding the alliance system. First is that the alliance system joins specific upper-class individuals (the mayor and the former association president) with specific lower class individuals (the tricycle drivers and operators). Secondly, alliances are nurtured by frequent contact and reciprocal service which develop a binding sense of gratitude between the participants. On the one hand, the members of the associations must faithfully contribute fees and show respect to their president; on the other hand, the president must show a deep concern for his followers, manifested primarily by a serious effort in trying to solve their problems. Finally, failure by one party to the alliance group to live up to the expectations of another could lead to the dissolution of the group and the formation of another.

Voluntary Associations: Outside Pressure and Prestige

There are a number of associations in Kabacan, however, that have existed for as long as they have despite changes in their officers. I have already mentioned the case of the League of Puericulture Center and the Boys Scouts. To this exception, Hollnsteiner (1963: 126) suggests that "one answer would be the institutional

nature of these clubs. They are purely local but are part of a network set up on a national and international basis with pressure thus being exerted from outside to keep them going." Membership in these associations is also highly prestigious as it is restricted to the elite members of the community. The Rural Improvement Club, for example, is also pressured from outside - by paid agents of the Agricultural Productivity Commission of the national government. Membership in the Rural Improvement Club, however, brings little prestige to its members. The expenses involved also discourage many women from joining - expenses for such things as cloth, needle, thread, etc. for sewing and the ingredients needed for a cooking demonstration. Because of these, associations like the Rural Improvement Club are especially vulnerable to the "ningas kugon effect." On the other hand, because the associations that grew out of the Y's Men, namely, the Masons and the Knights of Rizal, are linked to a national network and membership in them brings prestige, I have reason to believe that they will continue to function or, at least, survive longer than the purely local ones. Membership in these associations are still based on the alliance system; but, the outside pressures offset the disruptive effects that may arise from shifts in the alliance group membership.

Economic Associations

In addition to the associations pressured from the outside and membership in which is prestigious, there is another type of association in Kabacan which do not display the pattern attributed to the "ningas kugon effect." An example is the Irrigators Association. While it is a purely local association with pressure being exerted from outside, by the National Irrigation Administration, membership in the Irrigators Association brings little prestige. On the other hand, it has existed for a number of years and shows no sign of decline.

The Irrigators Association was organized by the personnel of the Kabacan office of the National Irrigation Administration. The primary reason for its formation is to regulate the distribution of irrigation water from the main canals to the individual farm inlets. The major problem hitherto faced by the National Irrigation Administration personnel was "water stealing" - that is, some farmers were diverting the flow of water into their farms before or after they were scheduled to have done so. This results in the disruption of the agricultural cycle and, sometimes, the failure to plant altogether. While the regulation of water distribution should have been performed by the NIA personnel, the government office simply do not

have enough men to do so effectively. Thus, the association was organized so that its members could take over some of these functions. In addition, the Irrigators Association acts as a liason between the NIA and the farmers. For example, rather than deal with the problems of the farmers with regard to irrigation individually, the association pulls these together and presents them to the NIA collectively, if the association itself is unable to solve the problems. Finally, again due to the lack of personnel, the NIA is able to maintain only the main irrigation canals. It thus delegated to the association the maintenance and repair of the inlets to the individual farms. To accomplish this, the members work in groups under an assigned group leader.

While the establishment of the Irrigators Association did not totally eliminate "water stealing," the problem has been greatly reduced which, in turn, reduced unnecessary delays in planting. Delays caused by damaged dikes and canals have also been minimized.

All farmers whose farms are irrigated by the NIA are "forced" to become members of the association. The pressure exerted on them to join is great. The sanctions used for a farmer reluctant to join is the blocking of water from his farm. The same sanction is applied on members who refuse to do their expected share in the maintenance and repair

of the dikes and canals. (A similar situation occurs in Taiwan. See Pasternak's (1972) description.)

Another association that is similar to the Irrigators Association is the "new" Kabacan Motorized Tricycle Drivers and Operators Association, headed by the mayor, which has been discussed briefly earlier. The drivers and operators claimed that the new association had done them "a lot of good" since the mayor was in a position to help and solve many of their problems. For instance, during the time of my field work, one of the complaints brought up at a particular meeting was that the jeepneys were giving them stiff competition. The mayor, their president, brought this matter up at the municipal council session immediately and an ordinance was consequently passed by the council to the effect that jeepneys would only operate between the jeepney terminal in the market and the barrios (not within the poblacion) while tricycles would operate within the poblacion (and not to and from the barrios). The ordinance was accepted by both jeepney and tricycle drivers and operators alike.

Other problems which the drivers faced and which they said the mayor could, and did, easily solve were a petition for fare increases and problems with the Land Transportation Commission.

These two associations display a different pattern

from those associations described earlier in terms, first of all, of the recruitment of members and, secondly, of the nature of the leaders and leadership. They are, as a result, not vulnerable to the "ningas kugon effect." The reason for this invulnerability, however, does not lie in the fact that they are part of a national network of associations nor in the fact that membership in them is prestigious. They have survived, and I believe will continue to function effectively, because these associations provide an insitutional framework whereby felt and real needs could be fulfilled - in the case of the Irrigators Association, for example, the need for water for the farmers' rice fields. In other words, it is on the associations that the members' livelihood and economic survival depend. In this sense, these associations perform a concrete and "real" function. Because of this, the members in this type of association are drawn not on the basis of the alliance system - although most of the members are linked to each other by ties of kinship, compadrazgo, reciprocity, and friendship - but, primarily, on occupation and livelihood. Thus, even if an individual does not belong to the alliance group to which most of the tricycle drivers and operators belong, he will be pressured to join the association if he is a driver or operator of a tricycle.

Voluntary Associations: A Typology

On the basis of the preceding discussion and analysis, we may classify the voluntary associations found in Kabacan into three main types. The first two types fall under the rubric of civic-religious-fraternal-neighborhood associations. Combined, these two types are the most numerous in Kabacan. They include, among others, the Y's Men, the Catholic Women's League, the Legion of Mary, the Laymen, the Women's Auxiliary Corps of the Philippine Independent Church, the Purok (neighborhood) Saranay Association, the Parents and Teachers Association, the Knights of Rizal, and the Masons. These two types of voluntary associations draw their membership on the basis of the alliance system. Their manifest organizational aims and objectives are "lofty" and ambiguous and, often, never achieved.

What distinguishes these two types from each other is their vulnerability to the "ningas kugon effect." The first type is especially prone to it. Its membership, based on the alliance system, cross-cuts the basically two class stratification system of the community. Any shifts in the membership of the alliance group, and it is continually shifting, therefore affects the membership in

these associations very greatly - usually leading to their dissolution and the formation of new associations.

The second type is relatively less vulnerable to the "ningas kugon effect." Its membership while still based on the alliance system does not cross-cut classes. It is drawn from allies belonging to one class - usually the upper-class. Membership in these associations, therefore, is highly prestigious. Moreover, these associations are set up on a national basis, with pressure thus being exerted from the outside to keep them going. This outside pressure offsets the disruptive effects that may arise from shifts in the alliance group membership.

The third type of association found in Kabacan is what I have called the economic associations. They are distinguished from the first two types on two factors. First is membership - that is, membership in this type of association is based not on the alliance system but, primarily, on occupation. Most of the members of the Kabacan Motorized Tricycle Drivers and Operators Association are linked to each other by ties of friendship, compadrazgo, and reciprocity; however, it is not these ties that have brought them together to form the association but their common occupation and source of livelihood. Secondly, this type of association has very specific aims and objectives which are economic in nature,

as discussed earlier. Because of these two factors, organizational basis and objectives, this type of association is, I believe, less vulnerable to the "ningas kugon effect" than the first two types. They are, however, a very recent phenomenon in the community and this conclusion can only be validated in time.

The implications of this typology and a discussion of the functions of voluntary associations in a community like Kabacan is discussed below.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The main objective of this thesis is to describe, in a preliminary way, the character of voluntary associations in a Philippine peasant community, Kabacan. In this way, it hopes to make some contributions to the theories which have attempted to explain the development and nature of such associations.

Among the more important of these theories is the one according to which the development of voluntary associations is related to the growth of such related processes as social specialization, differentiation, urbanization, modernization, and industrialization. This type of theory attempts to explain the functional place of voluntary associations undergoing or have undergone any or all of these processes. Kenneth Little (1954; 1957), for example, posits the hypothesis that in a society experiencing industrialization and urbanization, voluntary associations play a significant role as an adaptive mechanism. He writes:

The newly arrived immigrant from the rural areas has been used to living and working as a member of a compact group of kinsmen on a highly personal basis of relationship and mutuality. He knows no other way of community living than this, and his natural reaction is to make a similar adjustment to urban conditions. (Little 1957: 592-593)

Little (1957: 593) then argues that

This adjustment the association facilitates by substituting for the extended group of kinsmen a grouping based upon common interest which is capable of serving many of the same needs as the traditional family or lineage.

Graham Johnson's argument runs in a similar vein. To quote him at length:

The emergence of an industrially-based society involves a reorganization of the rules of behavior into a more complex framework. Such a society is characterized by the emergence of discrete sets of norms which have a particular focus - the organization of production, the allocation of political power, education, relationship to the supernatural, and the like. These several distinct foci or norms represent societal problems that are no longer capable of solution within the confines of one all-embracing institutional area. Similarly, there emerge distinct social structures such as factories, political parties, schools, churches and so on. With economic change the harmony of the former system is destroyed or becomes irrelevant. The 'family-community' complex is no longer a self-contained whole but is part of a much wider structure. And with economic change there is a real problem of cooperation between the various newly specialized segments. Given these new sectors of participation, the former principles of integration which ideally rested on the local kinship and community structure no longer suffices.

In other words, there is a necessarily wide gap between the

values and norms of pre-industrial society, on the one hand, and those of industrial society, on the other. "There is thus a need for bridging mechanism across the gap which will carry groups from the old society into the new."

(Johnson 1971: 5) Using data gathered in a rapidly industrializing area in Hongkong, Johnson (1971: 5) argues that "it is voluntary associations - institutionalized groups in which membership is attained by joining - that are important as bridging mechanisms and the function of these associations is overwhelmingly integrative."

Similar conclusions are reached by Manning Nash (1960) in his study of kinship and voluntary association in Cantel, Guatamela and Jinja, Uganda. He writes:

Voluntary associations directly connected with wage work, chiefly labor unions and recreational clubs and sometimes political parties, are important agents in promoting ideologies and sentiments that tie workers to their jobs and make the new occupational niche especially meaningful.

A developed labor force depends on the proliferation of ties and social relations connected with industrial work. Such ties are fostered by voluntary associations. (Nash 1960: 325)

Kabacan, however, is neither an industrial nor an industrializing society. While forces of modernization such as the introduction of new farming technology and methods, schools, television, radio, newspapers, and more efficient means of transportation and communication are

effecting changes in the society, traditional forms social organization are sufficient and still efficient in providing the necessary principles of integration. In view of this, it can be expected that the nature of voluntary associations in such a society would differ greatly from the nature of voluntary associations in mature industrial and rapidly industrializing societies. And, I argue that in a society like Kabacan, voluntary associations, in fact, merely serve to reinforce the traditional bases of social organization which are still functional integrative mechanisms in contrast to the situation in mature industrial and rapidly industrializing societies where voluntary associations serve to integrate the social structure which the forces of industrialization tend to dislocate and threaten to fragment.

The discussion in Chapter 5 makes this assertion apparent where it was shown that the recruitment of voluntary associations in Kabacan is based on ties that already bind people together - namely, kinship, compadrazgo, and reciprocity. What this means is that rather than create new links between people, voluntary associations merely provide an institutionalized framework whereby links that already exist between people are formalized.

Kinship, compadrazgo, and reciprocal ties, however,

are in themselves very strong bonds and they become stronger when they culminate in the structuring of an alliance network, the primary basis of associational formation in Kabacan. It is because of this that there is only minimal participation in voluntary associations since the links between members and their common identification of interests do not need to be validated or structured further. Thus, a pattern described in the preceding chapter obtains - that is, the way a new group grows very rapidly when first formed, is very active for a short time, then dies out almost as quickly as it arose. A closely related cause of this phenomenon is the fact that voluntary associations in Kabacan do not serve any needs that are not capable of being served by kinsmen, friends, neighbors, compadres, or the alliance group. In the urban areas

. . . the migrant's participation in some organization such as tribal union or a dancing compin not only replaces much of what he has lost in terms of moral assurance in removing from his native village, but offers him companionship and an opportunity of sharing joys as well as sorrows with others in the same position as himself. . . Such an association also substitutes for the extended family in providing counsel and protection, in terms of legal aid; and by placing him in the company of women members, it also helps find him a wife. It also substitutes for some of the economic support available at home by supplying him both sickness and funeral benefits, thereby enabling him to continue his most important kinship obligations. Further, it introduces him to a number of economically useful habits and

practices such as punctuality and thrift and it aids his social reorientation by inculcating new standards of dress, etiquette, and personal hygiene. Above all, by encouraging him to mix socially with persons outside of his own lineage, sometimes tribe, the voluntary association helps him to adjust to the more cosmopolitan ethos of the city. (Little 1957: 593)

In kabacan, most of these functions of voluntary associations are and can be served and fulfilled by friends, kinsmen, compadres, neighbors, or the alliance group. Thus, in the absence of serving any real functions or fulfilling felt needs not already served by the above-mentioned individuals or group, voluntary associations in Kabacan tend to be unstable and can not and do not maintain themselves for over a long period.

There is, however, a new type of voluntary association that is emerging in the community - a type which I have called economic associations. This type of association recruit on very different principles from the first two types of associations described earlier. Economic associations are organized to resolve a new set of problems that have emerged and are no longer capable of solution within the confines of traditional institutions. In this sense, economic associations can be seen as adaptive or integrative mechanisms.

With the introduction of an irrigation system, for example, there arose an accompanying set of problems which

were not present when the farmers were solely dependent on rain for water. (See Wickham, 1972.) To meet these problems, the farmers banded together and formed an irrigators association. Similarly, the introduction and consequent rise in the use of motorized tricycles as a means of transportation created a new form of work, not present before - that of tricycle drivers and operators. To meet the problems that stem from this new occupational group, the Kabacan Motorized Tricycle Drivers and Operators Association was organized.

These two examples show that voluntary associations can be "one important source for dealing with the problem of new technologies and new methods of work." (Johnson 1971: 9) This seems to indicate that as the forces of modernization - such as new technologies and new forms of work - continue to affect Kabacan and disrupt the traditional bases and principles of integration or make them less effective, this new type of association will multiply and its function will predominantly be integrative.

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