

ATOMIZATION IN THE SOCIAL RELATIONS IN A PEASANT COMMUNITY OF RIZAL PROVINCE, THE PHILIPPINES*

— A Case Study of Sitio Pulong Kumanoy, Lagundi, Morong, Rizal —

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PREFACE

THE LOOSELY STRUCTURED village community and the dominance of hired labor for agricultural work, two features related to each other, are assumed to be characteristics of the lowland Philippine peasantry. These characteristics are intensified in a community with little arable land, yet having the possibility of sending part of its population to urban areas for employment. In this monograph, one of the *sitios*¹ in Rizal Province was chosen for a case study of the features of one type of atomization of social relations in Philippine peasant society.

There are several monographs on Philippine peasant society and it is possible to form a tentative typology of village society according to the region and thus according to socio-economic structure (for instance, see [22, pp. 310-311]). This article is an attempt to add one type of Philippine peasantry to the literature.²

* I came to live in Manila as visiting lecturer in the Japanese Studies Program at the Ateneo de Manila University from 1969 to 1970, and this article is a by-product of that period. Professor N. Satō of the International Christian University in Tokyo kindly accompanied me on the fieldwork. On Saturdays and Sundays from June to December in 1969 we visited the field when we were free from teaching at the Ateneo, and in 1970 I went back to the field four times. I am deeply indebted to Governor Isidro Rodriguez of Rizal Province for sparing his precious time in finding us a *sitio* suitable for the fieldwork. Likewise to the staff of the Governor and to Mayor San Juan of the Municipality of Morong goes my deep gratitude. Professor Mary Hollnsteiner of the Institute of Philippine Culture at the Ateneo kindly read my draft and gave valuable comments. Mr. Normando de Leon, a graduate student in Anthropology at the Ateneo, helped me with his elegant Tagalog all the time I was in Pulong Kumanoy. Finally, I would like to express my thanks to the people of Pulong Kumanoy who gave me a generous opportunity to learn about their life. I also would like to apologize for my boldness in publishing this article, given the short time I was actually in the field. Every time I visited the *sitio*, I found myself a hasty observer, and the data are not always based on the participant-observation technique. Therefore, any deficiencies in this paper are attributable to my inadequate coverage of the facts.

¹ A *sitio* is a smallest administrative unit. *Sitios* are organized into a *barrio*, *barrios* and one *población* into a municipality, municipalities into a province, and provinces into the state.

² There are the following monographs listed below according to region. Rizal and Laguna: G. M. Guthrie, *The Psychology of Modernization in the Rural Philippines*, IPC Papers

Pulong Kumanoy can be considered a type of village in which land is owned by small resident and non-resident landowners (of not over two hectares) and the villagers depend heavily on work on the neighboring haciendas and on non-agricultural urban employment.

As will be clear in the following I have tried to understand this village through a polarization of the hypothetical "community solidarity" and the tendency toward individuation in several dimensions of life there. In a village with the economic background mentioned above, the dissolution of community solidarity and the resultant tendency toward atomization of social relations are natural phenomena. However, in these phenomena themselves, as well as in their varied social manifestations, there is a type of atomization typical of Philippine peasantry. The looseness of social structure in the village community and the dominance of hired farm laborers are two features internally related in Pulong Kumanoy. On a national basis, these characteristics have been developed especially since the latter half of the nineteenth century, when the Philippines was obliged to take the course of a monocultural country. In this paper, historical aspects are not treated except the history of the village as a part of society, and our major concern is the analysis of a *sitio* society with the above-mentioned characteristics, revealing the problems these characteristics are causing in the society concerned.

I. THE GENERAL SETTING OF THE VILLAGE

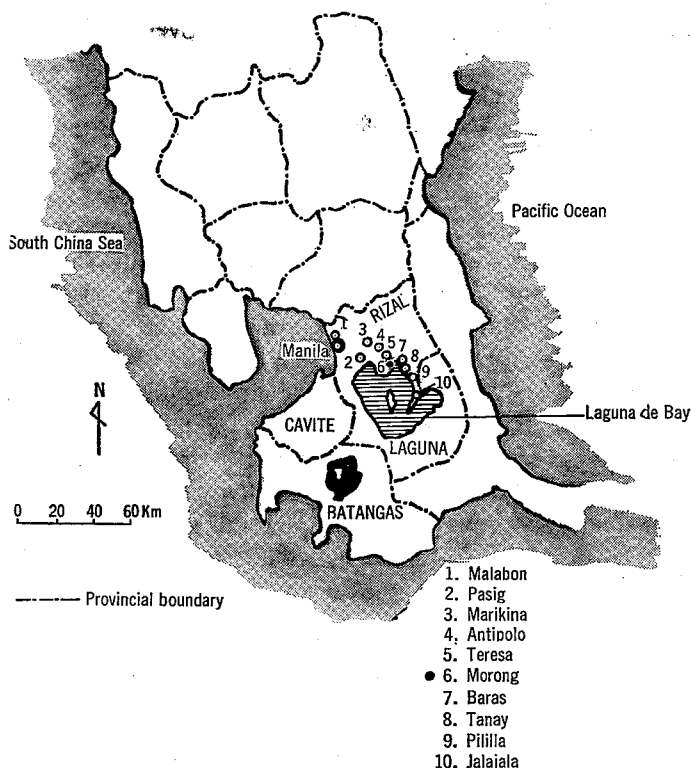
A. Location

Pulong Kumanoy is one of the three *sitios* of Barrio Lagundi which is one of the eight *barrios* belonging to the Municipality of Morong in the province of Rizal (see Figure 1). It is roughly forty-five kilometers, or one hour by car, from Manila. The *sitio* is located on a hazy green flatland with the shining water of Laguna de Bay in the distance. Passing two other *sitios* of Barrio Lagundi, Sitio Libis and Sitio Tabing Ilog, we find Sitio Pulong Kumanoy (see Figure 2).

On both sides of one unpaved road most of the 160 houses stand near one another. The distance between houses is so small that villagers can easily see what is happening in their neighbor's house. It seems as if the *sitio* were a cluster of apartment houses. From the beginning to the end of the *sitio*, it takes about ten minutes on foot. From the end of the *sitio* extends one small pass on a rice

No. 8 (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1970); H. Umehara, "Firipin no beisaku nōson" [A rice-growing village in the Philippines: a case study at Barrio Tubuan, Laguna], in *Ajia no tochi-seido to nōson shakai kōzō: II* [Land system and social structure in Asia: II], ed. T. Takigawa and H. Saitō (Tokyo: The Institute of Asian Economic Affairs, 1967). Bulacan: [9]. [20]. Pangasinan: J. N. Anderson, "Some Aspects of Land and Society in a Pangasinan Community," in *Social Foundations of Community Development: Readings on the Philippines*, ed. S. C. Espiritu and C. L. Hunt (Manila: R. M. Garcia, 1964). Nueva Ecija: [22]. Ilocos: W. F. Nydegger, and C. Nydegger, *Tarong: an Ilocos Barrio in the Philippines*, Six Cultures Series Vol. 6 (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966). Leyte: E. Nurge, *Life in a Leyte Village* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965). Panay: F. L. Jocano, *Growing up in a Philippine Barrio* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969).

Fig. 1.



field leading to a group of six houses. This area, together with the area at the end of the main road, forms a marginal section inside the *sitio* including families from places like Cagayan, Leyte, and Samar, who moved to Pulong Kumanoy because of kinship relations with families who had already settled in the *sitio*.

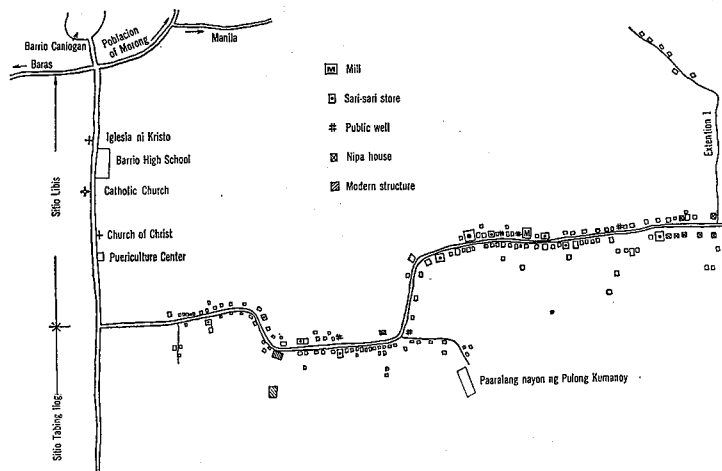
As to the type of houses, there are four. The first is the *nipa* ("palm") house. There are six in number, all of which are found in the above-mentioned marginal section. The second type is a wooden construction with a *nipa* or zinc roof and sometimes with windows of *capiz* shell. This is the majority type. The third is a solid wooden construction with a cement first floor reminiscent of the houses of the rural elite in the nineteenth century. This is a rather expensive type of construction and therefore there are fewer of them. The fourth type is a modern construction of wood and brick, small in size but the same in style and materials as the houses of the middle class in the Greater Manila area. There are only two houses of this type.

Buildings denoted by \blacksquare on Figure 2 show *sari-sari*.³ There are ten in all, and they provide the 160 households with daily commodities.

There are five public water pumps around which housewives gather to wash their clothes. Like the *sari-sari* stores, the pumps are centers for communication.

³ A *sari-sari* is a small shop selling daily commodities.

Fig. 2. Sitio Pulong Kumanoy



These pumps were constructed under the sponsorship of Rizal Province five years ago.

There is a rice mill in the *sitio* owned by a man from Barrio Caniogan, the *barrio* nearest to Barrio Lagundi. In addition, there are two mills in the other two *sitios* in Barrio Lagundi. The people of Sitio Pulong Kumanoy do not always go to the mill in their own *sitio*. Some go to Lagundi or even farther to Baras, which lies between Morong and Tanay.

There is a shady pass extending from the central part of the main road of the *sitio*, and at the end of this pass there is the *sitio* grade school (Paaralang nasyon ng Pulong Kumanoy). After graduating from this school, children go to the *barrio* high school of Lagundi located in Sitio Libis. Other public buildings such as churches and a *puericulture* center⁴ are in the other two *sitios*. For this reason, Sitio Pulong Kumanoy is not an independent community containing all its own cultural facilities.

B. Historical Background

Little is known of the origin and date of appearance of Sitio Pulong Kumanoy on the plain of Laguna de Bay. However, the *población*⁵ of Morong has a long and rich history which dates back to the sixteenth century. A pamphlet published by the Municipality of Morong relates the legendary origin of this town. According to this legend, the name Morong came from a wealthy pirate called "Moro" who became a benefactor to the settlers on the shore of Laguna de Bay. The region around Laguna de Bay was fertile and well settled long before the coming of the

⁴ It is a center for recreation and extra-curricular education for children.

⁵ A *población* is a central district of a municipality. Each municipality is composed of one *población* and many *barrios*.

Spaniards. Morong appears in Philippine history in the sixteenth century. In 1571, the same year that Manila was possessed by the Spaniards, Juan de Salcedo and about one hundred soldiers made an expedition to the region around Laguna de Bay. The region was appreciated for its beauty and it seems that the Spanish missionaries rushed there for evangelization [17]. In the sixteenth century, the people of Morong seem to have been wealthy enough to build a church with funds raised by their silk industry. Usually in those days church construction was supported by three groups, i.e., the Government, the *encomendero*, and the native community, but wealthy towns were sometimes the sole sponsor. Morong was such a case.⁶ As to the colonial history of Morong, information is not available.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Morong again appeared in historical literature, playing an active role at the time of the Revolution. The revolutionary fervor penetrated to Morong and it is said that the leader of the rebels of Morong became a member of the Katipunan⁷ [11, p. 13]. Morong was thus involved in the uprisings against Spanish authority. On February 3, 1893, the military district of Morong was created, including the towns of Cainta, Antipolo, and Bosoboso from the province of Manila, and the towns of Morong, Baras, Tanay, Pililla, Jalajala, and Binangonan from the province of Laguna [17]. In 1897, when Aguinaldo organized the Departmental Government of Central Luzon under the jurisdiction of the Revolutionary Government, the military district of Morong was one of the seven provinces to organize it [11, p. 58]. In 1898, when the revolutionary leaders in Kawit proclaimed the independence of the Philippines, the town president of Morong signed it together with those of Cavite, Pampanga, Manila, Bulacan, Bataan, Nueva Ecija, Laguna, Tarlac, Batangas, Mindoro, Tayabas, Zambales, Pangasinan, La Union, and Infanta [11, p. 112]. The old town hall near the new municipal building is reminiscent of the days of the Revolution. For its continuous support of the Revolution, Morong was given the honor of being symbolized in the national flag designed in Hongkong by the revolutionists.⁸ After the revolutionary days, Morong fell into historical obscurity.

During the invasion of the United States, the area around Laguna de Bay became a battlefield again, and Morong was occupied by General Lawton on July 6, 1899.

In contrast with the rich history of Morong proper, the history of Sitio Pulong Kumanoy is obscure. The name Pulong Kumanoy means an island of soft sand (*pulong* means island and *kumanoy*, soft sand). According to one informant, present Pulong Kumanoy was once a swampy place with several solid spots. It is

⁶ Instructions to Juan de Bustamente, alcalde mayor of Camarines, Manila, September 8, 1585, in San Antoni, *Chronicas II*, pp. 321-22. For an English translation, see H. de la Costa, S. J. [7, p. 28].

⁷ It is a Philippine revolutionary secret society, and was a potent factor in the insurrection of 1896-97.

⁸ "On the left side of the flag of the Philippines, there is a design of a sun with eight rays which refer to the provinces of Manila, Bulacan, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Laguna, Batangas, and Cavite, and the military district of Morong, all of which contributed to the cause of the revolution." [11, p. 103]

not possible to know the exact date when people began to live here. The population census lists the population change only by *barrios*, and therefore does not help in guessing about Sitio Pulong Kumanoy. The following account is a reconstruction based on interviews.

The origin of this *sitio* seems to date back to the years around the beginning of the twentieth century. Around 1910 there seem to have been several families, and those houses stood separated from one another unlike the houses of today, which stand very close to one another. The names of these families are still found in the *sitio*. By matching the names of these families to the ones bearing the same names at present, it became clear that each of these families has many related families with the same name. It is noteworthy to point out, however, that unlike in Japan our informants seem not to have been concerned with the names of the families which supposedly started the *sitio*.

In the 1930s there seem to have been about twenty or thirty houses in the *sitio*. It is the unanimous opinion of the people that the population increased suddenly during the last thirty years, that is, since the 1940s. This impression of the inhabitants in the *sitio* seems to be valid. The intercensal rate of population increase between 1948 and 1960 shows that the population of the Philippines as a whole began to increase during this period more rapidly than at any time before [3, pp. 69-72].

People have a clear memory of World War II, when they suffered from a shortage of food. When the Japanese soldiers appeared, they fled to Hacienda Jalajala or to Laguna. Those who remained in the *sitio* were killed by the Japanese. In regard to social affairs immediately after World War II, however, people have a poor memory.

In conclusion, it can be said that apart from the history of the Municipality of Morong as a whole, the history of Sitio Pulong Kumanoy begins around the start of the twentieth century. It is therefore important to bear in mind that the social relations and social problems in this *sitio* are reflections of the social characteristics of the twentieth century Philippines. I assume that in the neighborhood of Greater Manila there are many village communities like this *sitio* which began to expand as the result of the population explosion.

C. Population

It was impossible to determine the exact population of Sitio Pulong Kumanoy since there is usually no household census in the rural Philippines. We tried to take a census of each household in the *sitio* but all we got was about two-thirds of the households. The population data of Barrio Lagundi is available at the municipal office of Morong, and this helps us to guess the population of Sitio Pulong Kumanoy. Each household of Barrio Lagundi has 6.2 members according to our data. On the supposition that the average household has 6.2 members, multiplying 160 by 6.2 yields 992 as the population of Sitio Pulong Kumanoy.

The section "Civilized Population of Provinces and Comandancias by Municipalities and Barrios" in *The Census of the Philippine Islands* gives the changes

in the population of the *barrios* of the Municipality of Morong. The population shows a rapid increase during the fifty-seven years from 1903 to 1960, an increase of 260 per cent for the Municipality of Morong as a whole, and an increase of 310 per cent for Barrio Lagundi during the sixty-five years from 1903 to 1968. This percentage of increase roughly corresponds to 350 per cent, the rate of national population growth during the fifty-seven intercensal years from 1903 to 1960. On the other hand, the population of Rizal Province as a whole increased by 865 per cent during the same period [3, pp. 69-72]. This high rate of increase, however, is mainly due to the population explosion in the Rizal towns incorporated into the Manila Metropolitan area, and it seems that even in Rizal Province *barrio* areas like Lagundi follow the general pattern of national population increase.

D. Economic Background

The people at Pulong Kumanoy depend not only on agriculture but also on various types of small business and labor. They are what Sol Tax called "penny capitalists." Out of the 160 households, a survey of 114 households was made by direct interviews with the members of each household. These households can be classified into four categories according to the degree of dependence on non-agricultural work.

TABLE I
TYPES OF HOUSEHOLDS BY ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

	Number of Households	%
I. Those which depend wholly on agriculture. (Most of them are engaged in work in fields near the <i>sitio</i> as well as on haciendas.)	54	47.4
II. Those which depend only on the haciendas.	11	8.6
III. Those with household heads or members who are engaged in both non-agricultural and agricultural work.	25	21.9
IV. Those which depend on non-agricultural work alone.	24	21.1
Total	114	100.0

Type I includes the households which depend wholly on agriculture, and most of them work in the fields near the *sitio* as well as on the haciendas. This type shows 47.4 per cent of the total number of households, which shows that this *sitio* is still agricultural in spite of its heavy dependence on employment in city areas. There are some households which do not send workers to the haciendas, but they are very few in number according to the interviews. The scarcity of land is the main reason for the fact that the majority of households of this type depend on the haciendas in addition to work in the rice fields in the lowland in and near the *sitio*. Since the land system is the least investigated topic in this research, it is impossible to give any details. But here I will attempt to give a general description based on the fragmentary facts obtained. Under the present method of cultivation, a family of ten members needs about two hectares of rice

field. The agricultural census⁹ provides a list of the names of the owners of arable land in Pulong Kumanoy. This census and interviews with informants show the following facts. Approximately two-thirds of the registered land titles are owned by people living outside the *sitio*, probably by the residents of Lagundi proper or of the neighboring *barrios*. In the same way, it is highly probable that some people of Pulong Kumanoy own land in other *barrios*. Even if each household has arable land, it does amount to one hectare, and it is a rare case that a peasant owns more than two hectares. In spite of the small amount of individually owned land, some lend it to others because of old age or the non-agricultural employment they are engaged in. There are usually no written contracts between landlords and tenants. The harvest share is fifty-fifty when the landlord offers fertilizer and seeds, and one-third in other cases. In any case, the rent is paid in kind.

Type II is the group of households which depend entirely on haciendas. When pushed further from the living condition of Type I, people find themselves totally dependent on haciendas. This is the least favorable choice to the villagers. This is suggested by the fact that the eleven households of this type contain three outsiders, two from Leyte and one from Bicol. There are two haciendas for them to work at. One is Hacienda Punugay, comprising 2,700 hectares extending from Antipolo through Teresa, Morong, and Baras to Tanay. The former owner was Senator Benigno Aquino, who sold it to the present four owners including one Chinese Filipino. The other is Hacienda Jalajala located a little farther away from Pililla to Tanay on the boundary between the Province of Laguna and that of Rizal. Contracts at the haciendas are harsh to the peasants. If they harvest 100 cavans,¹⁰ 70 cavans go to the owner and 30 to the peasants. There is an unwritten contract for leases, but the peasants are afraid that in spite of the customary lease contract a piece of land for lease on the haciendas will be subdivided in three or four years as a result of the population pressure in Rizal Province. According to some peasants, the portion of land in the haciendas leased to them is not large enough to keep them busy. In addition to this problem, one of the present owners of Hacienda Jalajala is planning to build a factory on it, and the people are afraid that they will lose their tenancy there and be compensated with only a small amount of money from the owner.

Type III is a mixture of agricultural and non-agricultural work. Households of this type number twenty-five, and in terms of the number of adults, twenty-nine persons belong to this type. Table II gives the occupation and place of work of these twenty-nine persons. When we checked the above twenty-nine persons and their work, we came to the following conclusion. Those who engage in manual labor as construction workers are family members from Leyte. As already mentioned, they are the ones who tend toward faster proletarianization than the other

⁹ This document is deposited at the Agricultural Productivity Commission of the municipal office. The names of the pairs of landowners, the amount of cultivated area, production of rice, the number of plows, harrows, *carabaos*, pigs, and chickens are recorded.

¹⁰ One cavan corresponds to forty-four kilograms of rice in the husk, and to fifty-seven kilograms of rice. One cavan is composed of twenty-five ganta.

TABLE II

Occupation	Place	Number of Persons
Laborer in Manila (construction worker)	Manila	3
Manual worker	Mandaruyong	1
Carpenter	Pulong Kumanoy, Manila, Laguna	4
Guard	Antipolo	1
Jeepney driver ¹¹ (regular)	Lagundi	1
(irregular)	Lagundi	1
Tricycle driver ¹²	Lagundi	4
Sari-sari manager	Pulong Kumanoy	2
Tobacco company worker	Marikina	2
Mechanic	Makati	2
Merchant (selling corn and chicken)	Pasig	1
Teller at a bank	San Pablo	1
Secretary at a company	Manila	2
Office worker at the land office	Tanay	1
Dressmaker	Morong	1
Clerk	Morong	1
Teacher	Morong	1
Total		29

members of the *sitio*. With one exception, non-agricultural workers are sons and daughters of nuclear families or consanguineal and affinal sons of stem families. Non-agricultural work available for the generation of sons or daughters includes non-manual work as a teller, secretary, office worker, clerk, or teacher. This shows the tendency that the new generation, which is much better educated than their father's generation, can go into the lower sector of Manila's business world. They are the ones who are ready to enter the life of Type IV.

Type IV shows total dependence on non-agricultural occupations, as shown in Table III. Table III shows heavy dependence on the city area and the variety of choices open to the people.

Apart from the occupations mentioned above, there are several temporary odd jobs. There are three temporary vegetable *negociantes* ("middlemen") who sell vegetables to the Greater Manila area. All of them are housewives. This business is transacted on a cash basis. For fertilizer, there is one *negociante*. There is also a temporary group of carpenters. At present two brothers head the group with about eight followers. These followers approach the heads individually, showing individuation in their job-hunting. In traditional rural Japan people depended on kinship bondage to extend social and economic relations, but in this *sitio* people normally seek side jobs on an individual basis. When questioned

¹¹ The *jeepney* is a jeep decorated and furnished with seats for passengers. It is a popular form of public transportation in the Philippines much like a bus. In this *sitio* there are no *jeepney* owners, but only drivers.

¹² The tricycle is also very popular in the Philippines. It is a combination of a motor-cycle with a box with a seat and a roof for the passenger.

TABLE III

Occupation	Place	Number of Persons
Building constructor	Quezon City	1
Guard	Malabon	1
<i>Jeepney</i> driver	La Loma (Q.C.)	1
	Lagundi	1
Tricycle driver	Lagundi	2
Policeman	Morong	1
Factory worker	Pasay	1
Laboratory worker	Pasig	1
Textile company worker	Marikina	2
Mechanic	Pasig	2
Airport worker	Manila	1
Worker at a steamship company	Manila	1
Worker	Manila	3
Lumber selling	Pulong Kumanoy	1
Metal shop keeper	Calero	1
Pig raising	Pulong Kumanoy	1
Chicken raising	Pulong Kumanoy	1
Radio repairing	Pulong Kumanoy	1
Basket maker	Pulong Kumanoy	1
Total		24

whether or not they obtained their work through kinship, the carpenters seemed puzzled and emphasized the individual approach. In Pulong Kumanoy there are also other jobs to do. One can be a collector of money for bingo games, of which there are two. For *jueting*,¹³ there are three collectors.

The order of the four types of households according to economic activities mentioned above is not a hierarchical order in the *sitio* society, since such an order does not seem to exist in this *sitio* community. Because of the extremely small size of landholdings, this cannot be a decisive factor in differentiating some villagers from others. What is more important is the total income acquired through either agricultural work or non-agricultural employment. As has been shown above, the scarcity of arable land, heavy dependence on hacienda employment, combination of various odd jobs, and dependence on non-agricultural work in the Greater Manila area especially by the younger generation, are the general characteristics of the *sitio* economy, all of which offer favorable conditions for the atomization of social relations.

II. THE LOOSELY STRUCTURED COMMUNITY

Here we will attempt to form a hypothesis of the structure of the Philippine

¹³ Presumably *jueting* originates from Spanish *jugar* meaning "bet" in English. People bet amounts ranging from five centavos to one peso so that they may get a prize of 500 pesos. There is a center for *jueting* in Marikina from where the collectors in each village get reports of the results of betting.

peasantry. There are some attempts to describe the social structure⁸ of Latin American peasantry, e.g., those by G. M. Foster [6, pp. 1173-92] and Eric Wolf [23, pp. 1-22], which may be applicable to Philippine peasantry because of the common heritage of the Hispanic community structure and bilateral kinship as a core structure. According to Foster and Wolf, the basis of social structure in Latin America is the dyadic contract of each member of the community with other members, a contract based on the factors of bilateral kinship, *compadrazgo* ("Christian ritual co-parenthood"), friendship, and neighborhood. Setting aside discussions of the social structure for a while, we will start with a description and analysis of the social relations in this small *sitio* society in order to clarify the basis of functional social relations and the problems this society is facing.

A. Family

The following is a generalization of family organization and family formation through an analysis of household composition. The 114 households in the *sitio* are grouped in accordance with their internal organization. There are six types, as shown in Table IV. Needless to say, the nuclear family (Type 1) is composed

TABLE IV
HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

Type	Number
1. Nuclear	84
2. (a) Stem (daughter's)	8
(b) Stem (son's)	6
3. (a) Includes kin (matrilineal)	9
(b) Includes kin (patrilineal)	4
4. Includes non-kin	2
5. Only one member	1
Total	114

of the husband and wife and their children. A stem family based on the daughter's side (Type 2[a]) is a combination of the parents' family and their daughter's nuclear family. In contrast, a stem family based on the son's side (Type 2[b]) is a combination of the parents' family and their son's nuclear family. Type 3 includes personal kin. Type 3(a) includes matrilineally related kin such as the wife's mother, wife's father, wife's brother, wife's mother's sister, or wife's child or children by her first marriage. Type 3(b) includes patrilineally related kin such as the household head's brother, nephew, or cousin. Type 4 includes non-kin. Type 5 is a rare case, in which an old man is living alone although his sons and daughters are in the *sitio* and Lagundi proper. Asked the reason for his living alone, he mentioned geographical proximity to the households of his children who will offer him help any time he needs it. This is a possible way of justification because of the crowded conditions in the *sitio* and the simplicity of the construction of houses, both of which facilitate communication among the people.

The nuclear family is the dominant type in this *sitio*. This type includes 73.7

per cent of the 114 households, or 84 households. Eight out of fourteen stem families have a daughter's nuclear family as the family of the second generation. In a bilateral society like that in the lowland Philippines, people have the alternatives of patrilineality and matrilineality, and the circumstances, mainly economic as well as geographical, determine their choice. In the case of Pulong Kumanoy, the stress on matrilineality is apparently the result of factors which will be mentioned in the discussion of residence rule. This characteristic is also found in Type 3, in which more cases involve the inclusion of matrilineally related kin than of patrilineally related kin.

B. Family Formation

Traditionally, there was a *panhik bulong* for the "arrangement of marriage." *Panhik* means upstairs, and *bulong* means a middleman who comes to the second floor of the girl's house to whisper the name of her suitor. The second floor is the place for formal meetings because there is actually no first floor in the traditionally raised construction houses. The *panhik bulong* was chosen from among the boy's relatives, usually from his paternal uncles, and was the one who functioned as a matchmaker. Now young boys tend to choose their wives according to their own *gusto* ("taste"). The word *gusto* is a common expression in conversation about the choice of a spouse. In this new form of arrangement, young people use the above-mentioned traditional procedure for the formal fulfillment of the choices they themselves have made. It is generally accepted that a proper young man uses a formal channel to approach the parents of the girl, even though the boy and the girl have consented between themselves. In case parents choose a different boy for their daughter, elopement often occurs. On this occasion the relatives of the boy are expected to approach the parents of the girl to appease them for legitimate marriage.

Among the older generation it is agreed that they followed the custom of "bride service." The boy was expected to help his wife-to-be's family by carrying water, getting firewood from the hillside, and working in the field together with the family of the girl. The period for this sort of work was about two months before marriage. This custom was once common, but now people are not following it.

There is no formal rule concerning "economic support for a new couple." But the parents of the groom are expected to give pigs, *carabaos* ("a water buffalo"), land, or a house to the new couple. This is not an inheritance but support to the new couple. They call this practice *paton* (*paton* means "to place" or "to donate") to distinguish it from *mana* ("inheritance"). The above-mentioned practice is an ideal, but there are many cases in which things are handled differently. The parents of the bride expect to get money from the parents of the groom as a sort of pre-marital payment. This is called *dote*, and usually amounts to one hundred to two hundred pesos,¹⁴ which is spent for the bridal gown. The bride's

¹⁴ One peso corresponds to about sixty yen in Japanese currency in 1970 when the Philippine currency followed the "floating rate" because of the devaluation of the peso on the international market.

parents offer pigs or small things to the new couple. This is called *tapa tulong*.

An explanation should also be given of the "marriage circle." According to the data of the household survey, *sitio* endogamy and *barrio* endogamy hold in the majority of cases. Through the attitudes and conversation of the informants, it is apparent that the primary unit for marriage is not *Sitio Pulong Kumanoy* but *Barrio Lagundi*. The records of marriage at the Morong Catholic Church for 1945, 1955, 1960, and 1968-69 give the following facts. Municipality endogamy was the majority, 88.9 per cent in 1945, 90 per cent in 1955, 80 per cent in 1960, and 70.3 per cent in 1968-69. Among cases of municipality endogamy, *barrio* endogamy is very common. Other cases are classified into two kinds: people living in the Municipality of Morong marrying people outside the municipality, and young men and women originally from Morong but now living outside marrying outsiders or people who live outside Morong but whose origin is Morong. The details are not known from the records because only their present addresses are registered. But these records suggest the nature of the marriage circle. In terms of the names of provinces, Laguna, Rizal, and Cavite are the areas open for marriage of the people of Morong, showing a high percentage of marriage to people of the towns and villages on Laguna de Bay. As to the preference for marriage, older people tend to prefer endogamy. The younger generation also practices endogamy but takes it for granted that the first consideration in marriage is the financial condition and the qualities of the potential spouse. The origin of the spouse is of secondary concern.

The ideal "residence rule" among the people gives priority to the neo-local (a couple who have formed a new residence on marriage), then to the viri-local (a couple living in the husband's group), and finally to the uxori-local (a couple living in the wife's group). This is the ideal or custom, but practice is the opposite. As already mentioned in the discussion of household composition, we find more cases of uxori-local than of viri-local. This choice is mainly a result of economic convenience according to most of the informants. They mention financial requirements as the reason for the prevalence of uxori-locality. Young people who go back and forth between *Pulong Kumanoy* and Manila show more flexible attitudes towards the residence rule. The residence rule for them will be determined by economic factors and the *gusto* of their wives-to-be. In the life of this *sitio*, the logic of convenience and the logic of *gusto* are prevalent. This is one of the remarkable characteristics of life here.

It is hard to generalize about practice in regard to "inheritance," especially in the case of land inheritance. The ideal is equal inheritance among children at the time of the death of the parents. However, most of the people do not have much property and therefore all they can do in most cases is to educate and take care of their children until they grow up and to give financial support on the occasion of their marriage, as mentioned above. On the other hand, children are expected to help their parents when they begin to work until they start married life. Some parents with ten children said that they are *masaya* ("happy") to have so many children, and it is generally recognized as a form of security to have many children. Needless to say, however, this tendency produces a vicious cycle

of family life. Without getting financial support from parents, young people seek a life outside the *sitio* if there is a chance, and those who do not have the chance tend to remain in the *sitio* without significant work. On the basis of the interviews, four examples of inheritance will be given in the following.

1. Eufracia's son, Julian, has a piece of land which Eufracia received from her deceased husband, Ciriaco. This is *paton* ("temporary borrowing") and she understands that Julian, her son, will take care of this piece of land. Adelaida, her daughter, does not have any *paton* now because the son is favored, but Eufracia intends to give some of the land to Adelaida, whose husband Sergio Baustista is a migrant from Laguna, and whose future is not very bright.

2. Elena Francisco did not get anything from her parents except dresses, and neither did her husband, Francisco. The house they own now is on a lot which still belongs to Elena's mother. Her husband works on a hacienda as well as on the land of his mother. This arable land is lent to him, so the couple must return rice to the husband's mother. According to Elena, the couple can expect something from the mothers of both sides when they die.

3. Cristina Gregoria is living with her husband from Teresa. Their house is just behind the house of her brother, Cipriano Gregorio. The houses and lots where Cristina and Cipriano live are *paton* to Cipriano by his mother, who inherited it from her parents. This land is still owned by the parents of Cipriano and Cristina. Cristina and her husband could not afford a house and lot in the husband's town, Teresa, and her husband came to her village. He is a truck driver working outside the *barrio*.

4. Jose Lantecan is from Los Baños, Laguna. His wife is from Pulong Kumanoy and she inherited a rice-field and the lot where they live now. He inherited a piece of land in Los Baños, which he sold. He has two children, Roberto and Pastora. His household is a stem-family type based on his daughter's line. Pastora's husband is an engineer working outside and Pastora manages a *sari-sari* together with Jose Lantecan, who wants to give equal inheritance to Pastora and Roberto. He wants to make the present house into a duplex for Pastora and Roberto. However, his son Roberto is still young and he wants to become an engineer or doctor. Therefore, they cannot predict their future.

Like marriage, a "funeral" is an expensive ritual. Expenditure varies from family to family, but it usually ranges from three hundred to four hundred pesos. The *lamayan* ("funeral service") is attended by relatives, neighbors, and friends. They contribute rice or money, one to two pesos to the *namatayan* ("the family in which one of the members died"). This contribution is called *abuloy*. Coffins used to be made by the people of the *sitio*, but now they are purchased. For the poor who cannot afford them, relatives, neighbors, and friends make them. The cemetery is near the municipal center, five to six kilometers from the *sitio*. Those who can afford it engage the services of the funeral parlor in Morong, and they even hire a brass band to march from the *sitio* to the cemetery, which costs them about fifty pesos. Those who cannot afford it take the coffin to the cemetery themselves. Relatives and friends carry the coffin on their shoulders by turns

because Morong is far from the *sitio*. The son of the deceased person is not expected to do this, because he is in mourning. Usually families have their own lots at the cemetery, and those without them ask the municipal official to give them space. The wake is attended by relatives, neighbors, and friends. This meeting for the wake is called *makikidamay*. The ninth day after the funeral is called *padasal*. In the morning they pray, and in the evening they hold games to entertain the grieving family. To this relatives, neighbors, and friends gather. After one year, people stop mourning. This is called *pagbabang-luksa* ("change of dress"). The one year rule usually involves only the death of spouses and parents. Mourning clothes are removed earlier for others. Every year on All Souls' Day, November 1, family members are expected to visit the cemetery to give prayers and flowers to their dead.

C. Kinship, Circle, Neighborhood, and Friendship

Each ego of a family has the personal kindred of third cousin range. No two persons, except siblings, have the same kindred, and kindred will thus endlessly overlap. Here we must consider two factors influencing the category of kindred: the high percentage of *barrio* endogamy and the proximity of households in the *sitio*. Because of these two factors the three categories, kindred, neighborhood, and friendship are supposed to be intertwined and overlapped until finally the personal kindred of far range comes to be merged into relations based on neighborhood or friendship. Kinship can be a factor in the formation of one's alliance group, but in a small endogamous community like Pulong Kumanoy, other factors, especially economic ones, influence the circle of one's alliance group to favor non-relatives over socially distant relatives. This tendency is confirmed by the reports of Lynch and Hollnsteiner.¹⁵ The people of the *sitio* mention the names of kin, neighbors, and friends everytime they are asked about the kind of people who are supposed to gather on certain occasions. Some even give such an answer as, "Oh, oh. Everybody who wants to come will come."

D. *Compadrazgo*

In Latin America, when the natives encountered the Spaniards and experienced the disintegration of their society, people accepted *compadrazgo* as a mechanism to adapt to the new situation, thus developing social relations among the natives or with the Spaniards. In the Latin American case, the pre-Spanish native society had a ritual kinship which, we suppose, could pave the way for the introduction of the Spanish *compadrazgo*.¹⁶ The same can be said of the Philippine case. According to Jocano, the Tagalogs had *sandugay*, the ritual kin through a blood-brotherhood pact or another form of ritual kin produced on the occasion of the traditionally sanctioned food-feeding ceremony [10, p. 72]. The origin and practice of *compadrazgo* in Latin America have been studied by Mintz, Wolf, and Foster

¹⁵ As to the publications of Lynch, I cited from Hollnsteiner [9, pp. 68-83].

¹⁶ This was suggested by E. C. Parsons, Robert Redfield, and Paul Kirchhoff. See [16, pp. 341-68].

[16] [5, pp. 1-28]. The Philippines shares the same tendency with Latin America in the practice of *compadrazgo* when it stresses the relations and ties between the parents of godchildren and *compadres* rather than those between godparents and godchildren. Phelan finds further similarity in the practice of proliferating the occasions to choose *compadres*, thus increasing the number of people involved [18, p. 77]. However, this generalization is against the ethnographic data of the Philippine *barrio* life available at present.¹⁷ Although the Philippine case of *compadrazgo* is not well documented in history, it seems that *compadrazgo* rapidly spread at the time of the Conquest. Phelan is doubtful about the possibility of reconstructing the historical process by which *compadrazgo* blended into or replaced the pre-Conquest kinship relations, and he is of the opinion that the *compadrazgo* can be studied in a contemporary setting by social anthropologists [18, p. 78].

The *compadrazgo* in Pulong Kumanoy is very loosely structured. The registration time for baptism is usually one to two years after birth according to the baptismal records preserved at the Morong Catholic Church. The custom is to choose a single set of godparents who are considered *compadre* and *comadre* to the godchild's parents on the occasion of baptism. This is very different from the general practice in Meso-America, where *compadres* are chosen on the four occasions of baptism, confirmation, marriage, and death, although the practice varies from region to region. In Central Mexico, in Tepoztlán for example, there is the phenomenon of proliferation of *compadres* who are chosen on any occasion, like a football game or dance when financial help is needed. Proliferation of this kind is not found in Pulong Kumanoy.¹⁸

Usually two different person who are not married are chosen as *compadre* and *comadre*. In some cases, only one sponsor is chosen, godfather (*ninong*) for a boy and godmother (*ninang*) for a girl. There are fewer cases of choosing one sponsor of the opposite sex of the child. There are some cases when a married couple is chosen as *compadre* and *comadre*. These four types of selection are mentioned above in order of frequency. Informant generalizations on the selection of *compadres* is certified by the baptismal records at the Church. Sometimes one person, especially a person of popularity like a teacher, seems to be chosen as the godparent for several children. There is one record of a baptism at which a godmother sponsored a group of girls on the same day. In addition to the cases mentioned above, sometimes two *compadres* are chosen, one as the *compadre* for the head, another as the *compadre* for the feet, and this practice is called *makatuan*. Friends, neighbors, and kin beyond second cousin are chosen as *compadres*.¹⁹ As is pointed out below, the obligations of *compadres* are not

¹⁷ See the monographs in footnote 2. *Compadrazgo* is not well documented also in the social anthropological literature.

¹⁸ As to the various forms of the practice of *compadrazgo* in Meso-America, see my summary in [12].

¹⁹ According to Hollsteiner, this is not a hard and fast rule but merely a lower-class pattern. Upper-class patterns include having relatives and even first cousins serve as godparents.

financially heavy and therefore people seem to choose *compadres* according to their *gusto*.

Compadres are expected to pay about five pesos for baptism and to give one peso, candy, or a dress on Christmas. Usually this is the start and end of the obligations of *compadres*, and parents of children are not expected to do much to reward the contributions of *compadres*. In this *sitio* people do not develop a strong and enduring bondage on the basis of *compadrazgo*. Some parents tend to forget even the names of the *compadres* for each of their children. A different pattern of *compadrazgo* is reported from a town in Bulacan province studied by Hollnsteiner, showing a case of "cross-status *compadrazgo*" of highly regulative character as a class-bridging mechanism, exploitable especially in the political arena [9, pp. 70-83]. A similar class-bridging aspect is reported by Arce in his study of a Bicol community, where marriage sponsors usually come from a higher class than that of the parents, in contrast to baptismal sponsors, who are chosen from equal or superior status.²⁰ The looseness of *compadrazgo* in Pulong Kumanoy is attributable to the classless character of this society. Along with this, the popularity of the Protestant and Aglipayan churches is one of the factors weakening *compadrazgo* in this *sitio*.

E. Religious Affiliation

The Spanish *cofradía* ("cofraternity") was rooted in Meso-American soil as a fiesta-sponsoring organization designed for the psychological and social consolidation of the native community. Meso-American rural society accepted and made use of this social organization of Spanish origin for community solidarity far more effectively than Philippine society under the overwhelming wave of Hispanization in the New World, where it is called *cofradía* in Guatemala and *mayordomía* in Mexico [5, pp. 1-28] [18, pp. 73-74] [2, pp. 397-414]. According to Phelan, in the Philippines the Jesuits used the *cofradía* as a means of consolidating Christianization. The members of the *cofradía* practiced two acts of charity: to visit the sick and the dying to solicit their baptism and to attend funerals to discourage ritual drinking.²¹ However, as to the practice of *cofradía* as a fiesta complex we do not have either historical documents or ethnographic records for the present communities.²²

The point of interest is to know to what extent the fiesta complex as found in Meso-America exists in this *sitio*. Once Jose Rizal depicted a sinister and compulsory procession in his *El Filibusterismo*, but now in Pulong Kumanoy Catholicism neither has compulsory power nor offers solidarity to the people. The reason for this may be attributable to the following facts: the economic situation, the peripheral position of the *sitio* in its relation to the center of Morong, the modern origin of the *sitio*, and the popularity of non-Catholic religions. There

²⁰ [1]. I cited [9, p. 70].

²¹ [18, p. 74]. The original is Colin Pastel's *Labour Evangelica II*, p. 117; Murillo Velarde's *Historia*, p. 219; Morga-Retana's *Sucesos*, p. 248.

²² There is one exception among the social anthropological monographs. Richard W. Collier [4]. Unfortunately, I could not get a copy of this book in Tokyo.

are five religions represented: Catholic, Iglesia ni Kristo, Church of Christ, Baptist, and Aglipay. Unfortunately, owing to a mistake in the interviews on religious affiliation we could not get exact data on the percentage of each religion in terms of population. However, there seem to have been many Protestants and Aglipayans and a few followers of Iglesia ni Kristo. Baptist is the newest religion and there are about thirty-seven followers in all. The priest lives in Baras, the neighboring *barrio* on the way to Tanay from Morong. The followers are going to build a church. The Church of Christ and Iglesia ni Kristo have their churches in Lagundi, and it seems that they have many meetings. Aglipayans do not appreciate church going. When they need a church, for example, for a marriage ceremony, they go to the Aglipayan Church in the center of Morong. Iglesia ni Kristo has a new towering white-plastered church in Sitio Libis. In contrast with this, the Catholic Church in Lagundi is a shabby chapel with a garden filled with weeds. Besides these, there is a group of ten old women having prayer meetings every Sunday in one of the houses of its members.

I took an example of the Catholic fiesta and tried to observe the group solidarity at the moment of religious commitment. On the day of Santa Cruz (May 31) there is a procession starting from the Catholic church of Lagundi and touring the *barrio*. This is a *barrio*-level fiesta. Three years ago the people of Lagundi began to cooperate with the center of Morong for a fiesta on the municipal level. This Morong town fiesta is held on the first Sunday of February every year. The procession is held in the center of the municipality for two days and each family of the *sitio* kills pigs, invites relatives, and has a feast. The committee of the fiesta is composed of the mayor, the vice-mayor, and some men who travel around the *barrios* of the municipality to get donations for the occasion. This committee sends a letter for donations to each family. Each family writes down the amount of donation on the envelope and hands it to the collector. They usually donate two pesos to five pesos. People of other religions are not expected to donate for the fiesta, but some donate since they feel it a sort of common community activity. In any case, with the plurality of religions, it seems very hard to have a sense of community unity, as one of the informants pointed out.

Since the involvement of the people of the *sitio* in the fiesta is minimal, their sense of obligation to the church is also shallow. People neither donate anything for the repair of the chapel in Lagundi nor send helping hands for the work. All the repair workers are paid in cash. People consider this rational, and it is a common feeling among them that church business is not their concern.

F. *The Sitio as a Community*

As is clear from the preceding discussion, Sitio Pulong Kumanoy is a part society of Barrio Lagundi and the Municipality of Morong. A factor to unify the *sitio* as a whole, if there is such a thing, is locality, that is, the fact that the 160 households are in the same area. There is surprisingly little *esprit de corps*. The most influential factor orienting the people in this direction is the lack of

community land, both for the *sitio* and for the *barrio*.²³ When we first visited the *sitio*, the main road of the *sitio* (see Figure 2) was unpaved and muddy. In November 1969, this was paved. The laborers were hired from among the villagers. People said, "This is a provincial road, so the repairing is for Governor Rodríguez to do." As to the other small passes like extension 1 (see Figure 2), people said, "That is a municipal road, so Mayor San Juan must repair it." The repair of the bridge is also the Mayor's responsibility. Workhands are hired from among the villagers and usually six pesos a day is paid for ordinary workers and nine pesos for the master carpenter. Let us see how people handle a *pilapil*, a footpath between the rice fields, which is one of the controversial problems in rural Japan. People in Pulong Kumanoy are carefree about the footpath. There have been no problems as to the footpath, and nobody cares for it. Their agriculture is extensive in nature, and people have not yet felt the necessity to develop definite rights and duties as to their land and agriculture. Sitio Pulong Kumanoy, as do the other two *sitios* of Barrio Lagundi, has its *sitio* grade school (see Figure 2) for students up to the sixth grade, which was constructed in 1964. Most of the children start schooling at this school. Those who want to attend kindergarten go to the center of Morong. After grade school they attend the *barrio* high school, which was started early in 1942. Parents must pay six pesos a month, so not all the children can attend the school. Parents are recruited for the minor repairing of the school building, but the major repairing is done by the governor, according to the informants.

Sitio Pulong Kumanoy as a political and administrative unit is also a part society of Barrio Lagundi and further of the Municipality of Morong. Every four years on the first Saturday of January, the mayor, councilmen, and *barrio* captains are elected. Six councilmen are elected from Barrio Lagundi. Out of the six, five are from the other two *sitios*, and only one from Pulong Kumanoy. In the past eleven years Sitio Pulong Kumanoy sent only four to the municipal council. This fact gives them a justification for their claim that Sitio Pulong Kumanoy is an independent *barrio*. As to the *barrio* captain, people of the *sitio* also have complaints. Now Alejandro Feliciano of Sitio Libis, the biggest and oldest *sitio* with the high school building, is *barrio* captain. *Barrio* captainship is not hereditary, but the other two *sitios* have had a high percentage of captains from their *sitios*, while Sitio Pulong Kumanoy has contributed only three men. This is the second reason for their claim for *barrioship* for the present *sitio*. The final reason for their claim is the population of the *sitio*, which is large enough to constitute a *barrio*.²⁴

²³ As far as the checked monographs of the villages are concerned, there are no reports of the community land in any villages studied. For a discussion of the historical development of the land problem in the Philippines, the following article offers a good summary: M. McClennan [15, pp. 651-82].

²⁴ The average number of households and residents in *barrios* of the Philippines are 150-200 and 1,000, respectively. [19, p. iv].

III. THE ADVENT OF "HIRED" LABORERS

In the preceding, we have seen a great deal of the symptoms of individuation in the life of the people. The Philippine peasants have been noted for their famous *bayanihan* ("co-operative work bee"),²⁵ but to the people of Pulong Kumanoy *bayanihan* means help on the three occasions of marriage, changing residence, and plowing and planting. (This means help for planting which goes side by side with the work done by the *kabisilya* ("foreman") and her planting group, as will be mentioned below.) Neighbors and friends help a new couple by giving chickens or food on their marriage. Help for moving or repairing a house is asked only on the last day of construction work. Most of the work is done by hired carpenters, and this help on the last day is a kind of ceremony as a remnant of the tradition of the total co-operation of the villagers for the construction of the house of each member of the community. The owner of the house reciprocates the helpers on the last day with food and drink. When some neighbors cannot join, they ask someone to join for them, but still they are not free from feeling *walang hiya* ("shame") according to some informants in the *sitio*. For instance, a midwife in the *sitio* complained that she cannot join the helpers, and she tries to find a solution through the service of midwifery at a reduced rate or free of charge. This is a residue of the sentiments of the old days. In this part, we would like to see how people organize a group for group activity when it is needed for agricultural work. First, the agricultural year cycle will be presented.

Double cropping has become popular, especially since the introduction of the IR species (called "miracle" rice in the Philippines) three or four years ago. There are two seasons for rice growing. The hot and dry season, roughly from January to May, is called *tag-araw* and the season with natural rainfall, from August to November or December, is called *tag-ulan*. Every season starts with a series of processes of seeding, cultivating, and planting, which require more or less one month. It takes about twenty-one days to produce seedlings in the case of miracle rice, and about one month in the case of ordinary species. After the planting of seedlings in the rice field in February for the *tag-araw* and in September for the *tag-ulan*, people have the most leisurely days, and some look for jobs outside the *sitio*. Three months are necessary for growing miracle rice, and five months for the ordinary species like Macan, Wagwag, and Intan. The ordinary species are preferred during the *tag-ulan*, because they can expect a good harvest of delicious rice in the season in which they have enough natural water supply. The miracle rice is planted during both the *tag-araw* and the *tag-ulan*, but more during the former than the latter. People do the harvesting in May for the *tag-araw* and in November for the *tag-ulan*, but in years like 1969, when there was a cold wind from the north, the harvest season is delayed.

For "plowing" and "harrowing" people do not ask help from the other family members. But sometimes for plowing of the lowland, which is different from the

²⁵ For a discussion of reciprocity in the Philippines, see [8, pp. 22-49].

mountain *kaingin*²⁶ system of rice growing on the hilly side of the mountains, male help is recruited from among relatives, friends, and neighbors. Those who come for reciprocation of labor and others are paid in cash, about eight pesos a day. In the latter case, laborers are expected to use their own *carabaos*.

"Planting" is one of the high times in the rhythm of the peasant life. This is the time when intensive working is most required. However, most of the families of Pulong Kumanoy are not able to meet this necessity because they have already lost some of the family members to extra-agricultural economic pursuits. As a result, people have to depend on the labor of a semi-professional planting group by an organizer called a *kabisilya*. To be a *kabisilya*, one needs to be broadminded as the head of the group, and at the same time a person of experience in estimating the size of fields for planting and making contracts between the group and field-owners. Usually a *kabisilya* is a woman. She has to look for field-owners who request planting. She is very popular among the people and anybody in the *sitio* who wants to join the group approaches her personally. The group is usually composed of forty to fifty members who are mainly women, but there are five or six men, too. Traditionally, planting has been the work of women and cultivation and harvesting the work of men. Some members are semi-regular and others temporarily join the group. The payment for the work is in cash. Temporary members are paid four pesos a day and semi-regular ones two pesos a day or rice of the same value. The latter seems to be ill-considered as far as daily payment is concerned, but they are guaranteed regular work and therefore regular and ample income on the whole. Everybody in the group is paid except the father, mother, brothers, and sisters of the field-owner to whose land their help is given. The *kabisilya* gets the same wage as that of the regular members. She also plants with the other members, but she is more absorbed in looking for new contracts with field-owners. The group works even outside the *sitio*. They have a busy schedule starting in June and ending in October or November. In June and July they work in Marikina, in August in Pulong Kumanoy, and in September, October, and November in Tanay and other places near Tanay. In each of these places they have regular contracts through the introduction of the *kabisilya* there. The *kabisilya* in each place sets the schedule and finds them lodging. The *kabisilya* and her group in Marikina or Tanay do not come to Pulong Kumanoy for planting. They plant only in their places. In Marikina there are many shoe companies and a large textile company. These absorb the surplus labor there and this is the reason why the planting group is introduced from Pulong Kumanoy to supplement the capacity of the planting group there. Formerly, the *kabisilya* and her group also worked in the harvesting, but they were replaced by migratory workers for harvesting called *nagsasuwanga*, who will be mentioned later. The payment in cash to planters is a custom many years of age according to the informants. However, it was impossible to determine exactly when they started this work group and cash-oriented management in this *sitio*. It is surprising, almost shocking, to find such a professional planting group with cash-basis manage-

²⁶ *Kaingin* means slash and burn agriculture.

ment in contrast to the low-level technology and the low economic level.

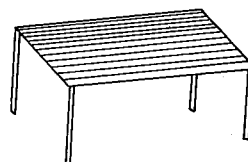
At present, people do not hire helping hands for "weeding." This does not mean that the difficult work of weeding is completed by the individual family, but that weeding is not very widely practiced. People weed usually by hand and some use chemicals, especially for the IR species. In some nearly *barrios*, helping hands are hired for weeding, and they are paid about 2.50 pesos a day.

Employment in planting provides cash income to the women of the *sitio*, as mentioned above. On the contrary, on the occasion of "harvesting," the field-owners of the *sitio* lose part of their wealth to migrant harvesters. Harvesters from outside come in November or December for the harvest of the *panag-ulan* ("rice growing in the rainy season"). In the *panag-araw* ("rice growing in the dry season"), rice is planted only on irrigated fields which are small in size, and therefore professional harvesters are not needed. These professional migrant harvesters are called *nagsasuwanga*. They are from Laguna, Cavite, and Batangas. The total number of harvesters coming in one season is more or less one hundred persons, most of whom are men, but the same persons do not always come. One group is composed of three to six members and each group has a sort of speaker for the group. Almost 80 per cent of the total harvesting in the *sitio* is completed by these *nagsasuwanga*. Traditionally, harvesting was done by the people of the *sitio* themselves until about 1964. The advent of the *nagsasuwanga* seems to parallel the introduction of the IR species in the surrounding areas of Rizal, Laguna, Cavite, and Batangas, which happened around 1965. The new species of rice, generally called "miracle" rice in the Philippines, have been an agent of technological innovation, and some social changes were introduced to the areas where the IR species were planted. In the case of Pulong Kumanoy, with the IR species came the *nagsasuwanga* and in due course the fragmentation of the work of the peasantry began to permeate further than before. Before, the people of the *sitio* were satisfied with simple harvesting, that is, simply cutting rice stalks from the rice field. The *nagsasuwanga* could give more satisfaction by separating the rice from the stalk. This process of the separation of rice from the stalk is called *giik*. Because of this service, the *nagsasuwanga* have become popular. Besides this new service, they show proficiency in their work by using a new instrument for harvesting. The instrument used in the old days was a *pan-hatao*, which is a composite tool composed of two bamboo sticks with a rectangular cut bamboo between them (see Figure 3). By beating this simple instrument on the rice stalk, it is possible to separate the rice grains from the stalk. The instrument the *nagsasuwanga* introduced is called a *hampasan*, which is a rectangular stool-like threshing floor composed of several bamboo poles as the surface and four legs (see Figure 4). This instrument is more efficient than the old *pan-hatao*. The payment to the *nagsasuwanga* is not in cash but in kind. One cavan out of every six goes to them. This is calculated by using a kerosene can which contains five ganta. Each group of *nagsasuwanga* has neither a permanent base nor a regular contract with any family. Each group just comes, makes contracts, and finds lodging in a house it knows. They are provided with food by the field-owners by whom they are hired. The practice of inviting *nagsasuwanga* introduces one

Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



of the crucial problems Pulong Kumanoy is facing. The problem is in the fact that they accept laborers from outside when they have a great number of jobless young men. Harvesting does not offer a regular job, but still it is a job. When the people need work, they should exploit every chance available. I was curious to know the reason why they do not recruit helping hands from the jobless men in the *sitio* even though the *nagsasuwanga* are more efficient. The question was "why do you give work to outsiders when some of the people of the *sitio* are suffering from lack of work?" People answered, "Because I pity those migrant workers. *Kawawa naman* ('they are miserable'). We accept migrant workers, but we do not go out for migratory works. This is our tradition. When we have transportation, we do not walk. For the same reason, we accept *nagsasuwanga*. It is a matter of convenience."

Contrary to the traditional image of Philippine peasant society, where family labor and mutual help among the community members are supposed to be common features, the dominance of hired agricultural labor and the advent of migratory laborers are two characteristics not only of this *sitio* but also of other villages, as shown by Takahashi and Umehara. Both of them attribute the cause for these characteristics to the tenancy system, in which the tenants do not have the incentive for agriculture managed almost entirely for the benefit of the landlord. Thus, rather than spending their total family labor on agriculture, peasants tend to work as hired laborers for others to get income which is free from any claim by the landlords [20, pp. 88, 123, 126] [21, p. 258].

In conclusion, I would like to present two tentative views or impressions. The first concerns the basic factor in uniting the *sitio* society. In the preceding pages, kinship, *compadrazgo*, friendship, neighborhood, and community have been discussed with special reference to their function. All together, they form the social structure of this community. As to the theory of the social structure of the peasantry of Hispanic cultures, the writer agrees with Eric Wolf and G. M. Foster that an individual in such societies depends on a "dyadic contract" exploiting the available factors of social organization like the four mentioned above. But what is more important is the fact that this is the start and not the end of the problem in the case of a specific community. The real problem is the fact that in Pulong Kumanoy group formation for action, as in the case of the recruitment of planters and harvesters, depends not on the traditional social structure but on a new logic, the logic of city life. In this *sitio*, where there are a great number of non-agricultural employees and penny capitalists living on various odd jobs with a strong trend toward urban values, the basis of group formation exists in the logic of

penny capitalists, the simple logic that "I may hire somebody for my field, but at the same time I need to be hired by someone else." Thus, what is noticeable in this *sitio* is the sharp discrepancy between the traditional social structure and the logic of social organization at work in the present community.

Secondly, I would like to point out the gap between the reality of this *sitio* society and the image the people have towards their own society. As far as I can determine through conversation with the people, they do not have any illusion about the logic of human relations at work in their own society. They recognize that theirs is not the *bayanihan* spirit but the cold logic of *Gesellschaft*. On the other hand, the people's image of their society is different from reality, especially in economic respects. This *sitio* society is facing many problems. To mention only a few, they are as follows. (1) In spite of the great number of hacienda workers, one of the haciendas is going to be closed. (2) The lowland field needs modern management for higher productivity, but there are many difficulties in its realization. For the realization of this aim, the peasants must take risks. They must introduce fertilizer, machines, and irrigation. Above all, they must overcome the difficulty in shifting from sharecropping to lease-holding. (3) There are many unemployed young men waiting for employments, especially as workers in the urban area near or in Manila. The first two problems are not seriously considered by the people, and only the last problem seems pressing to the *sitio*. But all these problems are too serious for them to solve in a short time.

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