Northern Illinois University

Center for Southeast Asian Studies

Social Relations in a Philippine Town

Robert J. Morais

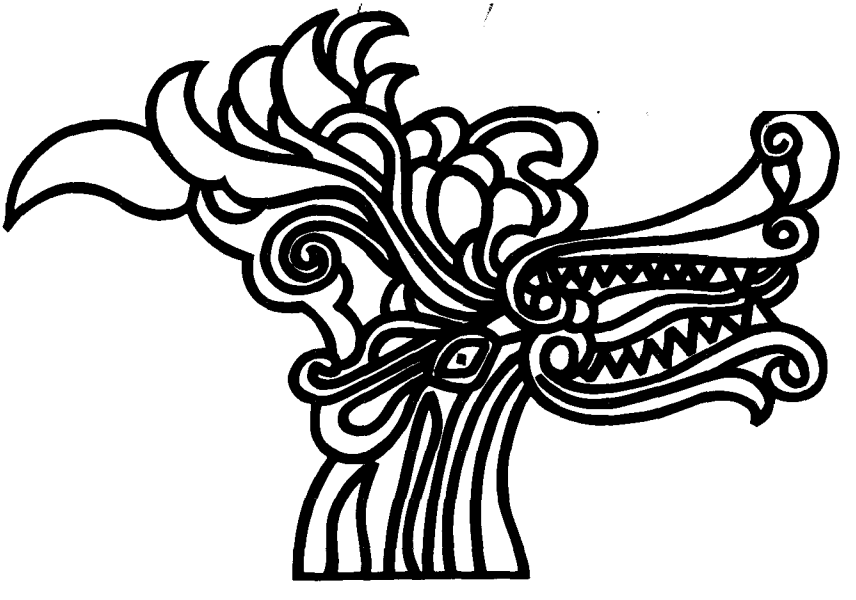
Special Report No. 19, 1981

Northern Illinois
University

Center for
Southeast Asian
Studies

Social Relations in a Philippine Town

Robert J. Morais



Special Report No. 19, 1981

To Ira and Irene Morais--with love and appreciation

© 1981 Northern Illinois University
Center for Southeast Asian Studies

EXCLUSIVE DISTRIBUTION BY

THE CELLAR BOOK SHOP
18090 WYOMING
DETROIT, MICH. 48221
U.S.A.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This monograph is a revision of my dissertation, Dimensions of Interpersonal Relationships in a Lowland Philippine Town, submitted to the Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh (1980). The present study has condensed some ethnographic details from the original work; other sections have been rethought and expanded.

My foremost debt of gratitude is to Dr. Allen L. Tan whose guidance and insight from the inception of this study through its final stages were of immeasurable value. I also thank the other members of my dissertation committee: Drs. John M. Roberts, Herbert Barry, III, Daniel Regan, and James B. Richardson, III. Appreciation must be expressed to Dr. Alexander Spoehr who initially directed me to much of the critical literature on Filipino social organization. Conversations with the late Dr. Frank Lynch while in the Philippines were helpful. I also thank Dr. Donn V. Hart for his support and encouragements in the preparation of this monograph.

For two months in Tanay, I was assisted by Remedios Elarde, Rizalina C. De Vera, and Julie Nitural of the Institution of Philippine Culture, Ateneo De Manila University. This research was conducted while I was a Visiting Research Associate at the Institute. I gratefully acknowledge all those who helped me during my affiliation with the Institute.

Financial support for my fieldwork was provided by a Fulbright-Hays Grant and a National Science Foundation

Doctoral Dissertation Research Grant (BNS 77-20059). The writing of my dissertation was supported by an Andrew W. Mellon Predoctoral Fellowship from the University of Pittsburgh. I thank these agencies for their generous assistance.

The openness, warmth, and kindness of the people of Tanay, Rizal touched me soon after I began living among them. Without their cooperation and sensitivity my research would have been impossible. Rather than thank all of them by name. I acknowledge here my profound gratitude.

R.J.M.

此为试读,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbook.com

INTRODUCTION

Donn V. Hart

The first American anthropologists to the Philippines focused their research on cultural minorities (then called "primitive" groups) residing in isolated regions of northern Luzon and Mindanao. Within several decades an impressive body of literature had been published describing the societies and cultures of the Ifugao, Bontok, Kalinga, Tinguian, Negrito, Subanun, Bagobo, etc. Knowledge of lowland Filipinos consisted primarily of reports by early Spanish and European chroniclers such as Sandé, Loarca, Plasencia, Chirino, Alizina, Virchow, Bulmentritt, Mallot, etc. Scholarly investigations by trained anthropologists of contemporary Christian Filipino cultures did not begin until the early 1950s.

The Filipino sociologist, Agaton Pal, has written that "Before this date [end of World War II] there was almost a total absence of interest in rural communities in the country on the part of national leaders and scholars" (1959:16). From 1900 to 1940 Philippine anthropology was characterized by a "nearly exclusive concern for two primary interests, cultural history and non-Christian peoples, especially the so-called 'tribal people'" (Davis and Hollnsteiner 1969:60). What were some reasons for the "discovery" of Christian Filipinos by anthropologists following the end of World War II?

One explanation is the growing interest of anthropologists in general in peasant societies. In the early 1920s some American anthropologists began to study peasant communities in Sicily, Ireland, and Latin America. A

group of young anthropologists who had no first-hand field experience in studying nonliterate societies emerged. The growing interest in peasant communities came late to Asia. John Embree's classic study of a Japanese village, Suye Mura, based on fieldwork in 1935-36, reportedly is the first anthropological study of an Asian village. In his Preface to Embree's book, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown comments on the expanding scope of social anthropology.

> There is a widespread idea that social anthropology is, or should be, concerned only with the simpler societies. . . and that the study of more advanced societies is to be left to historians, economists, and sociologists. It is true until about fifteen years ago the field researches of social anthropologists were confined to the preliterate peoples of the world (Embree 1939:ix).

The first chair in anthropology was not established until 1914 at the University of the Philippines. It was filled by H. Otley Beyer who dominated anthropology in the Philippines for the following several decades. His interests were primarily in prehistory and in the highland societies of Luzon and Mindanao. I remember my first meeting with him in 1950. He was most unenthusiastic about my plan to study life in a Bisayan village.

Another factor turning the attention of younger anthropologists to lowland Filipino societies was the United States' massive post-World War II program of rebuilding the war-ravaged land of a gallant ally following the defeat of the Japanese. As programs were developed to improve agricultural production, expand the public health system, and reorganize educational institutions, more detailed knowledge of Christian Filipino cultures was required for their effective formulation and administration. American foundations (including the newly-established Fulbright program) encouraged research among lowland Filipino societies. Finally, the establishment of the Philippine Studies Program in the early 1950s by Fred Eggan at the University of Chicago gave an additional impetus to research among Christian Filipinos. As a result of these, and other factors, anthropologists coming to the Philippines in the post-World War II era concentrated on the study of lowland

cultures, with a resulting neglect of research among highland societies--a trend that has not been reversed to this day.

By the early 1960s more information was available on various Christian Filipino ethnic groups than had existed during the previous five decades. As ethnographic knowledge of Filipino cultures expanded, various key concepts were identified, e.g. *utang na loob, hiya, pakikisama,* etc. While studies of these principles of Filipino social organization are still in the process of refinement, they are now as common to the literature on Filipino culture as coconut palms, carabao and rice paddies are to the Philippine landscape.

Social Relations in a Philippine Town represents a newer and increasingly integrative trend in charting the basic cultural contours of Christian Filipino society. In this monograph the author takes these concepts (and adds some that have been neglected in the past, e.g. friendship) that usually have been dealt with separately and synthesizes them into a Gestalt framework. In Tanay, at least, the residents have constructed social networks that, as one evaluator of the original manuscript wrote, are "closer to macramé than to netting."

This monograph describes the cognitive, affective and behavioral content of real and ritual kinship ties, friendship, patron-client bonds, dyadic ties based on debts of gratitude and market exchange partnerships (*suki*) found among the residents of this small provincial town in Luzon. A major contribution of the author is his sociopsychological analysis that stresses the interweaving and mutual definition, and redefinition, of these relationships. His synthesis brings increased order and predictability to the mosaic of lowland Christian Filipino society. The "sticking points" of these relationships, he reports, are reciprocity/assistance and sentiment.

The author, Robert Jay Morais, received his doctorate in anthropology in 1980 from the University of Pittsburgh. During 1978-79 he lived in Tanay where he collected data by participant observation, questionnaire, and in-depth interviews. This monograph is a thoroughly revised and,

in some instances, an augmented version of his dissertation. At present he is a consultant on Southeast Asia for Overseas Briefing Associates Division, Moran, Stahl, and Boyer, Inc., a management consulting firm in New York City.

Dr. Morais is the author of numerous publications, including a chapter on "Football Games and Rock Concerts: The Ritual Enactment of American Success Models" in William Arens and Susan P. Montague, editors, *The American Dimension: Cultural Myths and Social Realities,* and other articles published (or in press) in *Philippine Studies, Journal of the Philippine Studies Association, The Philippine Journal of Psychology, Anthropology,* and other journals.

The Center for Southeast Asian Studies at Northern Illinois University is pleased to add his monograph to its series, not only because of the new insights it furnishes regarding Filipino social relations, but also because of the important questions it poses for future research.

The Center for Southeast Asian Studies
Northern Illinois University

Davis, William G. and Mary R. Hollnsteiner. Some Recent Trends in Philippine Social Anthropology. *Anthropologica*, n.s. (1969) 11: 59-84.

Embree, John. *Suye Mura: A Japanese Village*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1939.

Pal, Agaton. Rural Sociology in the Philippines. *Current Sociology* (1959) 8: 16-32.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iii

INTRODUCTION: Donn V. Hart xi

Chapter

I INTRODUCTION 1

The Problem 1

The Setting 2

The Research Method 5

II SOCIAL RELATIONS IN TANAY I: DESCRIPTION 18

Introduction 18

Interpersonal Skills and Values 19

The Personal Alliance System 22

Real Kinship 22

Ritual Kinship 29

Debts of Gratitude 36

Market Exchange Relationships 45

	Patron-Client Relationships	55
	Friendship	60
	Kinds of Friendship	69
	Close and Real Friendship	70
	Social Friendship	74
	Idealized Friendship	77
	Fake or Superficial Friendship	79
	The Functions of Friendship in Tanay	79
	Conclusions	80
III	SOCIAL RELATIONS IN TANAY II: INTEGRATION	85
	Conceptual Framework	85
	The Incidence of Merging	89
	The Effects of Merging	93
	The Combination of Relationships	95
	The Sequence of Merging	96
	Core Relationships	97
	The Function of Sentiment	99
	The Quantity of Relationships for Individuals	100
	Social Fields and Merging	101
	Social Networks of Four Individuals	102
	Conclusions	108

此为试读,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbook.com

IV	RECIPROCITY AND SOCIAL RELATIONS	109
	Introduction	109
	Attitudes Concerning Mutual Aid	110
	Who is Summoned for Help and Why	112
	Sentiment and Reciprocity	118
	Forms and Contexts of Reciprocity in Tanay	119
	Conclusions	122
V	CONCLUSIONS	124
	PHOTOGRAPHS	128
	APPENDIX: TANAY QUESTIONNAIRE	130
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	136
	INDEX	147

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Table		
1	*Characteristics of the Neighborhood and the Questionnaire Sample*	9
2	*Tagalog Kinship Terminology in Tanay*	24
3	*Daily Activities of a Husband and Wife*	26
4	*Frequency Percentages for Five Words Which Best Describe a "Good" Ritual Kinsman*	31
5	*Frequency Percentages for Five Words Which Best Describe a "Bad" Ritual Kinsman*	32
6	*Expectations from Ritual Kinsmen*	32
7	*Ritual Kinship and Other Relationships*	33
8	*Income of Respondents by Income of Person Asked by Respondent to Become Ritual Kinsman*	35
9	*Reasons for Selection of Ritual Kinsmen*	35
10	*Definitions of Debts of Gratitude*	38
11	*Feelings Toward Person Owed Debt of Gratitude*	38

12	*What One Should Do When One Has a Debt of Gratitude*	40
13	*Kinds of Debts of Gratitude*	40
14	*Debts of Gratitude and Other Relationships*	42
15	*Expectations in Debts of Gratitude*	43
16	*Definitions of Market Exchange Partnerships*	46
17	*Kinds of Market Exchange Partners*	46
18	*Frequency Percentages For Five Words Which Best Describe a "Good" Market Exchange Partner*	48
19	*Frequency Percentages For Five Words Which Best Describe a "Bad" Market Exchange Partner*	49
20	*Expectations in Market Exchange Partnerships*	51
21	*Reasons for Selection of Market Exchange Partners*	53
22	*Market Exchange Partnerships and Other Relationships*	54
23	*Patron-Client Bonds and Other Relationships*	58
24	*Definitions of Friendship*	61
25	*Expectations of Friends*	61
26	*Reasons for the Selection of Friends*	63
27	*Friendship and Other Relationships*	65
28	*Kinds of Friendship*	69

29	*Sentiments Associated With Close Friendship*	71
30	*Frequency Percentages for Five Words Which Best Describe a Close Friend*	73
31	*Respondent's Relationship to Best Friend*	74
32	*Summary of Basic Attributes of Social Relations in Tanay*	81
33	*Frequency Percentages for Merging of Social Relationships*	90
34	*Attitudes Concerning Mutual Aid*	111
35	*Frequency Percentages for Persons Asked for Economic and Personal Advice*	114
36	*Reasons for Asking Certain Individuals for Economic and Personal Assistance*	115

Figure

1	*Likelihood and Sequence of Merging Social Relationships in Tanay*	98

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

For over 20 years students of Filipino peasant social organization have been discussing the "personal alliance system" (Lynch 1959; 1973a; Schlegel 1964; Davis and Hollnsteiner 1969). As Hart noted, the personal alliance system includes "kinship (both real and fictive), reciprocal obligations, associational ties, and proven friendship" (1971: 37). Most of the components of this system have been described in some detail. Lowland Filipino kinship has been the focus of studies by Stoodley (1957), Fox (1961), Kaut (1965), Hollnsteiner (1967), Eggan (1968), Murray (1973a; 1973b; 1973c) and Hart (1980). (See Lynch 1973b for a bibliography of studies on lowland Filipino kinship.) Ritual kinship *(compadrinazgo)* received its first extensive analysis from Lynch and Fox (1956) with subsequent work done by Arce (1973) and Potter (1974). Hart (1977) calls Filipino ritual kinship *compadrinazgo*. *Padrinazgo* (or spiritual godparenthood) stresses the vertical relationships linking godparents and godchildren. *Compadrazgo* (or ritual co-parenthood) emphasizes the horizontal relationships binding adults. *Compadrinazgo* subsumes both sets of these ritual bonds (Hart 1977: 1).

Special debts of gratitude, known widely in the literature as *utang na loob,* have been the subject of studies by Kaut (1961), Hollnsteiner (1973), and Mercado (1976). Regular market exchange partnerships *(suki)* have been discussed by Anderson (1969a), Davis (1973), and

Szanton (1972), while patron-client bonds have been described by Landé (1965) and Hollnsteiner (1963a). Friendship has been mentioned briefly by Lynch and Fox (1956), Ashburn (1965), Mendez and Jocano (1974), and Jocano (1975a). While Kiefer (1968; 1972) has described friendship among the Muslim Tausug of Jolo, there are no similar extensive studies on Christian Filipino friendship patterns.

One fact emerges from this impressive inventory of studies: though many components of the personal alliance system have been described, there has been no analysis of the system in its entirety. Anderson (1969a), Davis (1973) and Szanton (1972) have looked at the linkage between market exchange partnerships and ritual kinship. Landé (1965) and Hollnsteiner (1963a) have analyzed the association between patron-client bonds and special debts of gratitude. Few studies, however, have investigated sufficiently the interrelationships among all the components of the personal alliance system.

The objective of this monograph is to describe real and ritual kinship, special debts of gratitude, market exchange partnerships, patron-client bonds, and friendship in a Tagalog community stressing the interweaving of these relationships. This monograph also explores the function of sentiment in initiating and perpetuating social relationships. It also documents personalized exchange (reciprocity) as a foundation for and a consequence of social relations. Additional attention is paid to interpersonal values and psychological factors that affect interpersonal relationships (Nydegger and Nydegger 1963; Nurge 1965; Guthrie and Jacobs 1966; Guthrie 1968; 1970; Guthrie and Azores 1968; Jocano 1969; Lynch 1973c; Bulatao 1964; Barnett 1966).

This investigation links the orientations of social and psychological anthropology. With this perspective, it is possible to describe personal alliances in the spirit that they were initially defined--as a *system* of social relationships.

The Setting

The field research was conducted during 1978-79 in Tanay,

此为试读,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbook.com