Christian Filipino Society Approaching the 21st Century

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At the beginning of the 20th century Philippine anthropology was "characterized by a nearly exclusive concern for two primary interests, culture history and non-Christians, especially the so-called "tribal peoples . . . The most dramatic change (since 1940) . . . has been the trend toward studies of lowland rural communities." This article summarizes, from an anthropological point of view, the known cultural contours of contemporary Filipino society.

In the past two decades Fil-American scholars have made a notable advance in better comprehending the complexities of Christian Filipino culture and society. At the beginning of the 20th century Philippine anthropology was ". . . characterized by a nearly exclusive concern for two primary interests, culture history and non-Christians, especially the so-called 'tribal' peoples . . . The most dramatic change [since

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1940] in Philippine anthropological research strategy . . . has been the trend toward studies of lowland rural—and lower-class urban—communities."[1] Scholarly publications on the structure and function of Christian Filipino society and culture now are proliferating in book, monograph, periodical, and dissertation. Yet broad summaries of contemporary Christian Filipino culture and society are scarce.

This article summarizes the known cultural contours of contemporary Christian Filipino society. Kroeber's remarkable **Peoples of the Philippines** (first published in 1923) emphasized Philippine primitive societies, reflecting the then major interest of cultural anthropologists. Several decades later Tangco published an important monograph on Christian Filipinos (1951) but it summarized existing information before the energetic investigations of the later postwar era. The **Handbook of the Philippines** (1956), the joint product of numerous contemporary specialists on the Philippines, massed detailed data and analysis in four volumes. This study, however, was never published, its circulation was limited, and its content, of course, do not reflect more recent research.

Since this summary is written by an anthropologist, it reflects professional interests and biases. It does not cover every facet of multifaceted Christian Filipino ways of life. It is hoped its publication will provoke others to correct and augment this bird's eye view of Christian Filipino society as it moves inexorably toward the 21st century. For the specialist on Christian Filipinos, this article may either weary or disconcert. Possibly it may also excite and entice the neophyte into investigation of the intricacies of the known or the beckoning unknown.

The Philippine population may be divided into three broad cultural categories: Christian, Muslim (Moro), and pagan (primitive). "Filipino" when used generically refers not only to lowland Christians but also to highland primitive groups and the Islamized people of southern Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago.

In the past Filipinos occupying the coastal lowlands and plains of Luzon and the central Philippine islands were subjected to similar ecological and acculturative influences, including Christianization. Considerable but not complete cultural leveling occurred among these lowland Filipinos, who are designated as cultural-linguistic groups (for their basic differentiation is not racial).

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[1] William G. Davis and Mary Hollnsteiner, "Some Recent Trends in Philippine Social Anthropology," **Anthropologica**, Vol. 11 (1969), pp. 60, 64.

The cultural diversities of the various segments of the population of the Philippines are manifold. When the referent for "Filipino" is limited to Christian Filipinos, this cultural diversity is restricted. However, considerable differences distinguish the various Christian Filipino groups. "The use of a model called 'Filipino' is practicable, nevertheless, when attempting to obtain an over-all picture of the basic social characteristics of the dominant Philippines peoples, rather than specific knowledge of one or another group."[2] Finally, the more rural the milieu the greater is the applicability of most of the following generalizations concerning Christian Filipino culture and society.

The major Christian Filipino cultural-linguistic groups, ranked according to size, are: Cebuan (Sugbuhanon or Cebuano), Tagalog (Tagal), Ilokan (Ilocano), Panayan (Ilonggo or Hiligaynon), Bikolan (Bicolano), Samaran (Samareno, Waray-waray or Samarnon), Pampangan (Kapampangan), and Pangasinan.[3] A generic name for Cebuano, Panayans, and Samarans is Bisayan (Visayan).

Minor Christian Filipino groups are: Aklan and Hantik (Panay), Ibanag (Luzon), Ivatan (Batangas and Babuyan islands), Kuyonon (Cuyo and Calamian islands and Palawan), Sambal (Luzon) and Gaddang and Tinggian (Luzon: parts of these last two groups remain pagan).

Although the Spanish conquistadores were quick to comment on Filipino physical characteristics and although some anthropometric studies of local groups were published during the late 19th century, modern, systemized data on Philippine physical anthropology are scarce. Future study may be stimulated by the recent fossil and tool finds from the Tabon caves that "are yielding a detailed chronology for Palawan of over 30,000 years."[4]

Christian Filipinos belong to a branch of the Mongoloid race characterized by such physical traits as brown skin, straight black hair, a flat face with a wide nose, medium thick lips, slender build, and sparse body

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[2] Fred Eggan, ed., **The Philippines,** Vol. 1 (New Haven, Connecticut: HRAF Press, 1956), p. 414.

[3] **Ibid.**

[4] Robert B. Fox, "Excavations in the Tabon Caves and Some Problems in Philippine Chronology," in Mario Zamora, ed., **Studies in Philippine Anthropology** (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1967), p. 113.

hair.[5] These physical characteristics have been modified in many Christian Filipinos through intermixture with Chinese, less so with Europeans (mainly Spaniards) and Americans. Persons with this mixed ethnic background are called **mestizos.**

Differences among various lowland Filipino groups had been subjected to a cultural leveling process prior to the Spaniards' arrival, initiated mainly by the introduction of lowland wet rice agriculture and coastal trade. The major consolidating forces in this process, however, were post-Hispanic; the over-arching governmental and ecclesiastical systems, literacy, the rise of urban centers, money and commerce, and the unifying effects of the anti-Spanish movements of the people.[6]

Philippine languages are similar in grammatical and phonetic structure; all belong to the Malayo-Polynesian family of the Austronesian phylum of languages.[7] Philippine languages are most closely related to many of the languages of Indonesia.[8] A preliminary classification of Philippine languages distinguished 75 main linguistic groups, including numerous sub-groups.[9] This linguistic diversity should not obscure the fact that the mother tongue of most Christian Filipinos is either Cebuan, Panayan, Samaran, Ilokan, Tagalog, Bikolan, Pampangan, or Pangasinan.

Until recently more Filipinos spoke English as a second language than any other tongue. Today a slightly larger percentage of Filipinos speak Pilipino (the national language based on Tagalog) than English.[10] Spanish was never extensively spoken in the Philippines, although many

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[5] Jerome Bailen, "Studies in Physical Anthropology on the Philippines." in Mario Zamora, ed., **Studies in Philippine Anthropology** (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1967), pp. 527-558; A. L. Kroeber, **Peoples of the Philippines,** Handbook Series No. 2, 2nd and revised edition (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1943); and R. B. Bean, **Racial Anatomy of the Philippine Islanders** (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincot Company, 1910).

[6] Felix M. Keesing, **The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon** (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), p. 326.

[7] Douglas Chretien, "A Classification of Twenty-One Philippine Languages," **Philippine Journal of Science,** Vol. 41 (1962), pp. 485-506; Robert B. Fox, Willis E. Sibley and Fred Eggan, "A Preliminary Glotto-chronology for Northern Luzon," **Asian Studies,** Vol. 3 (1965), pp. 103-113.

[8] Isidore Dyen, "The Lexicostatistical Classification of the Malayo-Polynesian Languages," **Language,** Vol. 38 (1962), pp. 38-46.

[9] Eggan, **op. cit.,** pp. 321-355.

[10] Ernest J. Frie, **The Historical Development of the Philippine National Language** (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1959); O. D. Corpuz, **The Philippines** (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966).

Spanish words and phrases have been incorporated into Philippine languages.[11] The 1960 census reported Spanish was spoken by a little more than half a million Filipinos. Several "pidgin" languages have developed through the blending of Spanish with local speech forms, e.g. Chabakano (Spanish-Subanun-Cebuan) and Caviteño (Spanish-Tagalog).[12]

The major regions of the Philippines are Luzon, the central Philippine islands (Bisayas), and Mindanao. Palawan is the westernmost island of the archipelago. The more than 7,100 Philippine islands (most of them are small and uninhabited) have a total land area of 115,600 square miles. With the exception of Luzon and Mindanao, most major Philippine islands are like one another, with a physiographic pattern that has been modified by faulting, volcanic action and hydraulic erosion.[13]

The typical island has a central, usually forested, mountainous highland that gradually changes into rolling uplands and foothills. The coastal margins of narrow lowlands and valleys are drained by relatively short, shallow rivers. Christian Filipino peasants mainly live in these coastal lowlands and valleys.

Luzon is the largest island in the archipelago. Areas of heavy population are northwestern Luzon (the Ilokan region), the Cagayan valley (northcentral Luzon), and the alluvial Central Luzon Plain, the largest continuous Philippine lowland. Major groups inhabiting the densely settled Central Luzon Plain are Ilokans, Tagalogs, Pangasinans, and Pampangans. Tagalogs are the predominant population in Manila.

Southeast Luzon consists of one large, irregular peninsula, the Bikol, with the Bondoc peninsula as a spur; this region varies mainly from volcanic or sedimentary plains to rolling hills. Here live the Bikolans who also inhabit nearby Catanduanes island and northeastern Masbate island.

Between Luzon and Mindanao clusters a group of islands called the Bisayas. The largest of these islands are Panay, Negros, Cebu, Bohol, Leyte, and Samar. Samar and eastern Leyte are settled largely by Sama-

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[11] Keith Whinnom, "Spanish in the Philippines," **Journal of Oriental Studies,** Vol. 1 (1954), pp. 129-194.

[12] Howard P. McKaughan, "Notes on Chabacano Grammar," **The University of Manila Journal of East Asiatic Studies,** Vol. 3 (1954), pp. 205-243; Jose Villa Panganiban, **Spanish Loan Words in the Tagalog Language** (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1961).

[13] Frederick L. Wernstedt and J. E. Spencer, **The Philippine Island World: A Physical, Cultural and Regional Geography** (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

rans, whereas western and most of southern Leyte are inhabited by Cebuans who are also the dominant group on Cebu, Bohol, Siquijor, and eastern Negros. Panay and western Negros are occupied by Panayans. The Christian Filipino population of Mindanao, the second largest island in the nation, is composed mainly of Bisayan immigrants (mainly Cebuans and Boholans).

Most parts of the Philippines have an annual rainfall ranging from 50 to 150 inches. From April to October, the squally southeast monsoon brings rain to exposed coasts of Palawan, Mindoro, Negros, Panay, and western Luzon. From November to January, the northeast monsoon opens the rainy season in eastern Luzon, and in Leyte, Samar and Mindanao. Topography, tropical typhoons, and northeast trade winds produce many local and regional climatic variations. Altitude rather than latitude is the chief temperature determinant in the Philippines. Annual lowland temperatures vary between 75° to 85°F., rarely dropping below 65°F. or rising much above 100°F.

Population figures for the eight major Christian Filipino groups, based on the last official census (1960), are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Eight Major Cultural-Linguistic Groups in the Philippines: 1960

Group	Population (in thousands)	Per cent of Total Population
Cebuan	6,529.8	24.1
Tagalog	5,694.0	21.0
Ilokan	3,158.5	11.7
Panayan	2,817.3	10.4
Bikolan	2,108.8	7.8
Samaran	1,488.6	5.5
Pampangan	875.5	3.2
Pangasinan	666.0	2.5

In the late 16th century the population of the Philippines was an estimated 500,000. By the 1960 census (the 1970 census is unpublished) the population had increased to 27,087, 685; the United Nations estimated the population for the nation in 1968 as 35,993,000. Based on a projected decline of the fertility rate (to 2.8 births per woman of completed fertility by 1995-2000), the population of the Philippines at the start of the 21st century may be an estimated 73,000,000.[14]

[14] Mercedes B. Concepcion, "The Population of the Philippines," in **First Conference on Population, 1965** (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1966), pp. 185-199.

The growth of the Philippine population during the last several centuries is based primarily on natural increases (greater number of births over deaths and not on immigration). In 1929 the death rate of infants under one year old was 161.6 per 1000 population; by 1963 this rate had plummeted to 66.6 per 1000. The corrected estimated 1963 crude Filipino death rate was 10.5 per 1000 population; in 1920 it was 19.2 per 1000. The birth rate, however, has been nearly constant for the past 60 years, fluctuating around 45-50 per 1000 population.[15] As the result of improved sanitation and medical facilities, a better diet and minimization of internal civil disorder, the life expectancy of Filipinos at birth has increased from 46 years (1938) to about 55 years (1965).

Recent projections suggest a Philippine population rate increase of over three per cent annually.[16] Unless this mounting over-population problem can be solved in the near future, the fabric of Filipino life is threatened. Luzon, Negros, Panay and Cebu are the most densely settled islands. Not only has resettlement of Filipinos from densely to thinly populated regions failed to solve regional overcrowding, but Mindanao, once regarded as a population "saftey valve," can no longer provide significant agricultural land for new settlers without radical change in transportation, land tenure, and agricultural methods.[17]

History and Cultural Relations.

Earlier scholars often interpreted the present geographical distribution of Filipinos as mirroring the nation's prehistory.[18] Basic to their approach was a "migration wave" theory that correlated physical, linguistic, and cultural diversity with different immigrant groups. This view has been largely abandoned.[19]

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[15] Wilfredo L. Reyes, "Philippine Population Growth and Health Development," in the **First Conference on Population, 1965** (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1966), pp. 423-468.

[16] Francis C. Madigan, S.J., "Problems of Growth—the Future Population of the Philippines," **Philippine Studies,** Vol. 16 (1968), pp. 3-31.

[17] Frederick L. Wernstedt and P. D. Simkins, "Migrations and the Settlement of Mindanao," **Journal of Asian Studies,** Vol. 29 (1965), pp. 83-103.

[18] Kroeber, **op. cit.**

[19] John L. Phelan, **The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses: 1565-1700** (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959); F. Landa Jocano, "Beyer's Theory on Filipino Prehistory and Culture: An Alternative Approach to the Problem," in Zamora, ed., **op. cit.,** pp. 128-150; Arem A. Yengoyan, "The Initial Population of the Philippines," in Zamora, ed., **op. cit.,** pp. 175-185.

Instead of massive "waves" of immigrants, the Philippines is now believed to have been settled over the centuries by myriad movements of small often kin-related groups. After their arrival such factors as local endogamy, intermixture by marriage, ecological adjustment, trade lanes, and subsequent diffusion of culture probably explain the present biological and cultural differentiation of Christian Filipino groups.[20] Chinese influence has been extensive in the Philippines,[21] but the archipelago's geographic isolation from mainland Southeast Asia minimized direct and extensive cultural donations from India.[22]

Spanish Period (1521-1898). Ferdinand Magellan discovered the Philippines for Europe in 1521; Miguel Lopez de Legazpi established the first permanent Spanish settlement (and fort) in Cebu in 1565.[23] Spanish administrators and friars had a lasting influence on many aspects of the present structure of Philippine culture and society.

Spain's greatest impact on the Philippines was to transform the archipelago's population into the only Christian (Roman Catholic) nation in Asia. Additionally, slavery was officially outlawed in 1591; however, during the Spanish period debt peonage became widespread. Among Spanish innovations were the introduction of the Roman alphabet, private ownership of land, the Spanish language, and the Gregorian calendar. Numerous plants from the New World (especially Mexico) were brought to the Philippines, among them maize, sweet potato, manioc, pineapple, and peanuts. Although the people were extensively Hispanized, the process of acculturation was dual, involving the Hispanization of much of lowland Filipino culture and the Philippinization of diffused Spanish culture, e.g. the still prevalent folk Catholicism.[24] Many aspects of indigenous lowland Filipino culture resisted modification, e.g. the relative equality of sexes.[25] In pre-Hispanic times women selected the r

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[20] William Henry Scott, **A Critical Study of the Prehistoric Source Materials for the Study of Philippine History** (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1968).

[21] Edward Wickberg, **The Chinese in Philippine Life: 1850-1898** (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1965).

[22] Juan Francisco, "Indian Influence in the Philippines: With Special Reference to Language and Literature," **Philippine Social Science and Humanities Review,** Vol. 27, (1963), pp. 1-310.

[23] Gregorio F. Zaide, **Philippine Political and Cultural History** (Manila: Philippine Educational Company, 1957); and O. D. Corpuz, **op. cit.**

[24] Phelan, **op. cit.**

[25] Encarnacion Alzona, **The Filipino Woman: Her Social, Economic, and Political Status, 1565-1937,** revised editions (Manila: Benipayo Press, 1934).

mates, divorce was possible, and the wife, as today, usually managed the family's assets.

Late in the Spanish period a new sense of national identity was generated among many lowland Filipinos. This nascent Filipino nationalism combined with the failure to solve crushing tenancy problems, the abuses associated with fusion of church and state, and the spread of western democratic concepts among the elite (e.g. Jose Rizal, the national hero) resulted in a Filipino revolution in 1896. Filipinos later made common cause with the United states in the Spanish-American war of 1898.[26] As a result of the complex events of 1898 the Philippines became America's sole possession in Southeast Asia.

American Period (1898-1946)

The United States, publicly announcing its intention of retaining the Philippines only until the people were ready for self-government, quickly shared political power with Filipino leaders.[27] A national public educational system was established, based on the American belief that only an educated electorate could be a democratic one.[28] The language of instruction in the public schools was English.

At the same time church and state were separated and numerous Protestant missionaries arrived. Significant steps were also taken to improve sanitation, expand transportation and medical facilities, and end epidemics.[29] Agriculture and, to a lesser extent, industry were developed, although such developments were usually oriented toward American markets. Less successful were American efforts to help the poverty-stricken tenant farmer, control usury, and create a viable and independent economic system.[30]

In 1935, after a plebescite voted overwhelmingly for independence, American withdrawal was planned to occur over a ten-year period. Before

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[26] Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Oscar M. Alfonso, **A Short History of the Filipino People** (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1961).

[27] Theodore Friend, **Between Two Empires: The Ordeal of the Philippines, 1929-1946** (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965).

[28] Florencio Fresnoza, **Essentials of the Philippine Education System** (Manila: Abiva Publishing House, 1957).

[29] Joseph R. Hayden, **The Philippines: A Study in National Development** (New York: Macmillan, 1942).

[30] Frank Golay, **The Philippines: Public Policy and National Economic Development** (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1961).

this period ended, World War II intervened and the country suffered severely under Japanese invasion and occupation.[31]

Independent Philippines

In 1946 the nation became independent, the first Sountheast Asian colony to gain its freedom.[32] Because of the war damage the new nation faced enormous problems of reconstruction; cities had been leveled, roads and bridges destroyed, and considerable lawlessness existed. Industry and commerce were at a near standstill. Under Presidents Sergio Osmeña, Manuel Roxas, Elpidio Quirino, Ramon Magsaysay, Carlos Garcia, Diosdado Macapagal, and Ferdinand Marcos, the national government began and continued, with technical assistance and financial aid from the United States, the immense task of rebuilding the war-ravaged nation.

One serious problem the nation faced was a Communist-led peasant organization, popularly called the Hukbalahap, that tried to overthrow the government. By the middle of the 1950's the Hukbalahap movement had been suppressed insofar as it was a serious threat to national security.

Efforts were also made to integrate more effectively the various segments of the nation, separated by insularity, distance, religion, and disparate general cultural development. On the whole, Christian Filipinos have minimal contacts with the highland groups and Muslim Filipinos (these two groups are now officially referred to as national cultural minorities) except where geographic propinquity and economic interest encourages or requires such relationships.[33] With some exceptions, especially in the Baguio-Bontok areas of northern Luzon, primitive people remain outside the main stream of national life.

In the Muslim regions, especially southern Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago, relationships historically between Christian and Muslim Filipinos have been marked by mutual distrust and frequent conflict. The popular stereotype of the Moro, still held by many Christian Filipinos, is that of a warlike, violent, and ignorant person.[34]

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[31] Teodoro A. Agoncillo, **The Fateful Years: Japan's Adventure in the Philippines, 1941-45,** 2 volumes (Quezon City: R. P. Garcia Publishing Company, 1965).

[32] John F. Cady, **Southeast Asia: Its Historical Development** (New York: McGraw-Hill Company, 1964).

[33] Jose V. Abueva and Raul P. de Guzman, eds., **Foundations and Dynamics of Filipino Government and Politics** (Manila: Bookmark, 1969).

[34] Peter G. Gowing, **Mosque and Moro: A Study of Muslims in the Philippines** (Manila: Philippine Federation of Christian Churces, 1964).

Bisayan settlement of Mindanao, particularly during the postwar period, resulted in countless disputes, some bloody, between Christians and Muslims over land ownership. Several national government agencies, including the Commission on National Integration and a Tribal Research Center, are working with modest success to improve the socio-economic integration of these national cultural minorities.

Settlement Pattern

The typical rural Filipino may reside in a **poblacion** (a large village or a small or middle-sized town) but more likely in a **barrio** (village; a **sitio** is a segment of a vilage). The spatial arrangement of the building in many **poblaciones** (especially in regions where Spanish influence was extensive) is in a semi-grid system, with the plaza as a focal point. Usually near or facing the perimeter of the rectangular "plaza complex" are the church, public schools, market place, and the **municipio,** i.e. the municipal building housing local government offices, including the post office, telegraph station, and often the jail.[35] The rural elite (clergymen, school teachers, municipal officials, and more prosperous merchants) live in the **poblacion.** Innovations often travel from the big cities to the **poblaciones,** then radiate outward to the surrounding barrios and sitios.

Village spatial characteristics differ, according to land utilization, terrain, proximity to roads, rivers, and cities. In the Central Luzon Plain, a region of intensive agriculture, villages usually are compact settlements.

In the rolling hills of Cebu, where upland farming is typical, most houses are scattered among the fields.

Cities and Urbanization

Although the Philippines is the second most urbanized Southeast Asian nation, only an estimated 14 per cent of Filipinos live in cities over 10,000. More than one-half of these individuals reside in Metropolitan Manila, the first truly "primate" city of Southeast Asia. In the mid-19th century Manila was an old Spanish walled city with an estimated population of 150,000. By 1960 Metropolitan Manila (Manila proper, Quezon, Caloocan and Pasay cities, and the districts of Makati, Manda-

[35] Donn V. Hart, **The Philippine Plaza Complex: A Focal Point in Culture Change** (New Haven: Yale University, 1961), Southeast Asia Studies.

luyong, Parañaque and San Juan) contained eight per cent (2,131,219) of the Philippine's total population.

This metropole's estimated 1966 population was 3,075,000. "It is not only the political capital [Quezon city] but the capital of business, finance and commerce, of industry, of education [23 universities and 87 colleges], of the press and communications, of transportation, of medicine, of the arts and architecture, of fashion, fads and recreation."[36] The urban landscape varies widely. Some of its components are upper class communities (e.g. Forbes Park) of enormous air-conditioned mansions with spacious grounds patrolled by private police forces; the bustling Chinese district of Binondo; such middle-class, better housing areas as Ermita; the slums of Tondo; and scattered squatter settlements of make-shift dwellings inhabited largely by recent provincial emigrants.[37]

These squatters, largely of post World War II origin, are estimated to compose 10-20 per cent of Manila's population, and 20-30 per cent of the population of Baguio.[38] Increasingly a large segment of the lower class is emigrating from the barrios to seek a new life or income supplements by working in the cities.

Large cities other than metropolitan Manila have been classified broadly as either regional trade centers (e.g. Cebu city, Iloilo, and Davao) or provincial cities (e.g. Dumaguete, Tacloban and Baguio).[39] These smaller cities, often ports, have fewer residing Euro-Americans and closer socio-economic ties to their hinterland. The 1966 estimated population (based on urban population not charter city boundaries) of some of these cities was: Cebu city, 310,100; Iloilo, 187,300; Davao, 118,000; Bacolod, 114,000; and Baguio, 50,000.[40]

Many middle-sized towns are really urban cores surrounded by

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[36] Michael McPhelin, "Manila: The Primate City," **Philippine Studies,** Vol. 17 (1969), p. 782.

[37] T. G. McGee, **The Southeast Asian City: A Social Geography of the Primate Cities of Southeast Asia** (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1967); and Aprodicio A. Laquian, **The City in Nation Building,** Studies in Public Administration No. 8 (Manila: School of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, 1966).

[38] Richard L. Stone and Joy Marsella, "Mahirap: A Squatter Community in a Manila Suburb," **Modernization: Its Impact in the Philippines, III** (Manila: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila, 1968), pp. 64-91.

[39] Edward L. Ullman, "Trade Centers and Tributary Areas of the Philippines," **Geographical Review,** Vol. 50 (1960), pp. 203-218.

[40] Rand McNally, **The International Atlas** (New York: Rand McNally, 1969).

satellite villages.[41] Recently, however, some of these towns have developed highly urbanized suburbs, inhabited primarily by middle and upper class residents.

Little detailed information is available on the life styles of urban Filipinos. Certainly the majority of the most Westernized Filipinos reside in the large cities. These Filipinos are fluent in English (sometimes in Spanish); many have been educated abroad. One study found for an urban community in Manila (Malate) that the composite, not the nuclear, family predominated.[42] Lower fertility rates occur in the city than in rural areas.[43] Research has shown that lower class residents of Manila often retain basic values associated with rural life—peasants living in the city.[44] Some squatter settlements probably have such positive functions as preparing new rural emigrants for their later, and more complete, entry into the complexities of urban existence.[45]

Housing and Economy

Although house styles and building materials vary, the typical countryside dwelling is a two- or three-room structure raised on piles. The house is built of bamboo (sometimes wood) and is cogon- or nipa-thatched, though increasingly commonly roofed with corrugated iron sheets.[46] Cooking is done indoors over a wood fire, and most occupants sleep on the floor on woven palm mats. Common farm yard animals are water buffalo, pigs, chicken, goats, dogs, and cats. The average village has a primary school, many through the sixth grade, a **sari-sari** (a small general store) selling such basic items as matches, thread, lard, kerosene, and canned fish, and a small chapel but no resident priest.

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[41] Agaton P. Pal, "Dumaguete City: Central Philippines," in Alexander Spoehr, ed., **Pacific Port Towns and Cities: A Symposium** (Honolulu, Hawaii: Bishop Museum, 1964), pp. 13-16.

[42] Nena Eslao, "The Development Cycle of the Philippine Household in an Urban Setting," **Philippine Sociological Review,** Vol. 14 (1966), pp. 199-208.

[43] Madigan, **op. cit.,** p. 20.

[44] Mary Hollnsteiner, "Inner Tondo as a Way of Life," **Saint Louis Quarterly,** Vol. 5 (1967), pp. 13-26.

[45] Aprodicio A. Laquian, **Slums are for People: The Barrio Magsaysay Pilot Project in Urban Community Development** (Manila: University of the Philippines, 1968).

[46] Donn V. Hart, **The Cebuano Dwelling in Caticugan: Its Construction and Cultural Aspects** (New Haven: Yale University, 1959), Southeast Asia Studies.

Typical of its Southeast Asian setting, the Philippines is an agricultural nation.[47] "One simple and significant fact is that Filipino agriculture is not very productive at best; its per-acre and per-capita yields are among the lowest in southern and eastern Asia, and rank low in world comparisons."[48] Recently, however, the new "miracle" rice varieties have made the country self-sufficient in this cereal. Rice occupies slightly less than half the total cultivated land in the nation and is the primary crop on nearly half of all Filipino farms.

Coconuts, cultivated on more land than any other crop except rice, grow throughout the archipelago. Copra (dried coconut meat) is a major Philippine export. Next to rice and coconuts, most farm land is used to raise maize. One out of every five Filipinos daily eats maize as his staple food. (The maize is milled and then boiled like rice.) Other important crops, grown largely for export after processing, are abaca (Manila hemp) and sugar cane. The major sugar-producing areas are Central Luzon and northern and western Negros.

Philippine industry, expanding since a slow start around 1900, made its greatest advance during the last decade.[49] Most of this industry (largely agro-processing) is concentrated in the general Manila area and more than 50 per cent of all Filipino industrial workers are employed in factories here. Some top manufacturing groups, by rank, are food, apparel, textiles, and lumber. Two-thirds of the rapidly diminishing Philippine forests are classified as of commercial value.

Fish are a major source of protein in the Filipino diet, yet present production is inadequate for local needs. Fish are caught not only in the surrounding seas, but also in the rivers and lakes and are raised in fish ponds. Subsistence fishing involves the use of many different types of nets, bamboo traps, hook and line, explosives, and piscicides. Shrimp, crabs, and snails are also caught in the paddies, rivers, lakes, and swamps.

A typical rural diet consists of boiled rice (in much of the Bisayas, maize is a rice substitute), vegetables (tomatoes, eggplant, taro, onions, garlic, and stringbeans), chicken, fresh and dried fish, and a fish sauce

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47 G. P. Sicat, and others, **The Philippine Economy in the 1960's** (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, Institute of Economic Development and Research, 1952).

48 Wernstedt and Spencer, **op. cit.**, p. 179.

49 Robert E. Huke and others, **Shadows on the Land: An Economic Geography of the Philippines** (Manila: Bookmark 1963).

(**patis**) to flavor the cooked rice. For many families the consumption of beef and pork is limited to festive occasions, e.g. the fiesta or a wedding. Some popular fruits are bananas (fresh, boiled and fried), pineapples, chicos, lanzones, and mangoes.

Stimulants consist mainly of alcoholic beverages; **tuba** made from the sap of the coconut, nipa and buri palms; **basi** from sugar cane juice; and, increasingly, bottled beer. Cigarettes and cigars, often made of locally grown tobacco, **are smoked; betel nut** chewing is still widespread but of declining popularity among this generation of Filipinos.

Kin Groups

No unilineal descent groups exist in the Philippines. Descent is bilateral (cognatic) among Christian Filpinos.[50] Filipinos trace membership in their descent group through both male and female links.[51] The structure of the referential terminology is Eskimo, for cousins are equated and differentiated from siblings; vocatively, the kinship terminology type is Hawaiian. The basic kinship vocabulary stresses the generational principal.

Other than parents, all kinsmen in the first ascending generation from Ego are termed either uncles or aunts. All relatives in the second and succeeding ascending generations are called grandparents, with exact generation indicated by modifiers. In one own's generation, all kinsmen but siblings are termed cousins, with the relationship degree indicated by a numeral modifier. No distinction is made getween cross and parallel cousins. In the first descending generation from Ego, all relatives, except children, are called nephews and nieces, and in the second and succeeding generations, grandchildren. Basic referential kinship terms for three major Filipino groups are given below.[52]

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[50] F. Landa Jocano, **Growing Up in A Philippine Barrio** (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969).

[51] Fred Eggan, "Philippine Social Structure," in George Guthrie, ed., **Six Perspectives on the Philippines** (Manila: Bookmark, 1968), pp. 1-48.

[52] Sex is indicated by a qualifier, e.g. Ceb. **igsoon nga lalake** (sibling male = brother) or Ceb. **anak nga babaye** (child female = daughter).

Kinship Category	Cebuan	Ilokan	Tagalog
Mother	Inahan	Ina	Ina
Father	Amahan	Ama	Ama
Sibling	Igsoon+[53]	Kabsat+	Kapatid+
Child	Anak+	Anak+	Anak+
Uncle	Uyoan	Uliteg	Amain (Tiyo)
Aunt	Iyaan	Ikit	Ale (Tiya)
Cousin	Ig-agaw*	Kasinsin*	Pinsan[54]
Grandparent	Apohan+	Apo+	Ninuno[55]
Grandchild	Apo+	Apo+	Apo+

The nuclear family is of importance among all Christian Filipinos. The Philippines has been described as a "familial" society because so many social activities in the community focus on this group. One explanation for the private and public nepotism of Filipino society is the superordination of the family over the individual. Most Filipinos, however, reside in households that contain other members than parents and siblings. Various attempts have been made to classify household types but the data are not sufficient for comparative use.[56] Possibly various types are merely examples of different phases in a household development cycle.[57]

Available data on the nature of the personal kindred, i.e. Ego's personal kinship group, are limited; potential cognate members of the kindred cluster along a lineal axis linking the fifth ascending and descending generations, but only those within four degrees of cousinhood collaterally. Similarly, it is not clear whether or not all Filipino groups include affines as members of the kindred.

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53 Most Filipino languages have different terms for siblings based on relative age but not sex. In Cebuano, **panganay** or **kinamagulangan** is eldest sibling. **Magulang** is any sibling older, **manghod**, any sibling younger, than Ego. **Minanghoran** is the youngest sibling. If a sex qualifier is added to to **panganay** or **minanghoran** (e.g. **babaye,** woman), these terms would then refer to the oldest or youngest sister who might not be the oldest or youngest sibling.

54 Degree is indicated by a numeral qualifier or modifier, as in English, e.g. Ceb **ig-agaw, igtagsa** (first cousin); for Ilokano, **kapidua** (second cousin) and **kapitlo** (third cousin).

55 In Cebuano grandmother is **apohan nga babaye,** grandfather, **apohan nga lalake**. Tagalogs may use **lolong, lolo, inkong** and **nuno** for grandfather, whereas **lolang, lola** and **impo** are terms for grandmother (Lynch and Himes 1967:27).

56 Ethel Nurge, **Life in a Leyte Village** (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1965); Nena Eslao, **op. cit.**

57 Davis and Hollnsteiner, **op. cit.**

Another key concept of Filipino social structure is the personal alliance that is differentiated primarily from the personal kindred because the former includes non-kinsmen.[58] The membership of an individual's personal alliance is integrated through kinship (real and ritual), reciprocal obligations, associational ties, and proven friendship. Such personal alliances form a crucial link between the average citizen and the country's elites. Some regard the personal alliance concept as the "**sine qua non** to discussions of [Filipino] interpersonal relations."[59] A definitive statement on Christian Filipino residence rules awaits additional research. Generally, however, residence is initially optiolocal with secondary neolocal residence.

An important and neglected aspect of Filipino social organization is the type of ritual kinship based on the Roman Catholic concept of godparenthood.[60] In the Philippines, compadrazgo, or ritual co-parenthood, is emphasized. Major stress is placed on social bonds between godparents and parents. The major occasions for the creation of ritual kinship ties are baptism, confirmation, and marriage. Ritual relationships (often called **kumpari** = **compadre** = godfather) based on baptism are regarded as the most important.

Although existing knowledge on Filipino social classes is imprecise, and its exact nature is disputed, the great majority of the people fall into two classes: the upper ("Big People") and lower ("Little People") classes.[61] Social class is based mainly, but not solely, on land and inherited wealth. In most barrios the residents belong to a single class, with social differentiation primarily as gradations from prosperous small holders to poor tenants. A symbiotic relationship, often exploitative but sometimes mutually beneficial, exists between the upper and lower classes. The "Big People" own land, possess political power, lend money and provide other essential services to the "Little People" who serve as their tenants and political supporters, and are recipients of their favors or aid during personal emergencies. In large urban centers a middle class is emerging, composed mainly of prefessional and government personnel. For the middle class, education is a major factor facilitating social mobility.

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[58] Mary Hollnsteiner, **The Dynamics of Power in a Philippine Municipality** (Quezon City: Community Development Research Council, 1963).

[59] Davis and Hollnsteiner, **op. cit.**, p. 68.

[60] Hollnsteiner, **op. cit.**; Eggan, ed., **op. cit.**, Vol. 1.

[61] Frank Lynch S. J., "Trends Report of Studies in Social Stratification and Social Mobility in the Philippines," **East Asian Cultural Studies**, Vol. 4 (1965), pp. 163-191.

Marriage and Family

Marriage is monogamous: divorce (but not legal separation) is virtually impossible in the Catholic Philippines. Marriage of cousins closer than third or fourth degrees is generally regarded as incestuous. Bride service rarely occurs today; when it does, it is in a mild form in which the young man voluntarily "helps around the house." On the whole, sororate and levirate second marriages are uncommon and generally disapproved when they occur.

Marriage negotiations, especially in the rural areas, often are complicated, sometimes long, and frequently anxiety-laden.[62] Steps in the most common form of marriage negotiations are: 1) young man tells his parents (or a close male relative) he wishes to wed; 2) his parents go directly to the girl's parents, or his parents' emissaries make contact with a close relative of the girl; 3) the two groups soon meet to discuss the possibility of a wedding; 4) if the proposal is acceptable, the dower is negotiated and delivered; 5) the couple obtains their marriage license at the **municipio** and makes necessary arrangements at the church; 6) the wedding is held in the morning; 7) the bridal group returns to the girl's dwelling for a celebration; and 8) that afternoon the newly wedded couple is escorted by some of the groom's relatives to his residence for a similar reception.

In the past most marriages were parentally arranged. Today the boy often courts and wins the girl, and then informs his parents he wants to marry. Although parental approval is most important, and the procedures for negotiation of the marriage often remain traditional, effective authority in the selection of a spouse largely has passed from the parents to the young folks. Common-law marriages occur but are less frequent today than in the past. Inheritance is equal among heirs, with no restrictions based on age or sex. Adoption occurs, but rarely in its legal form; Filipinos frequently "adopt" a relative, often a sibling's child.

Filipinas enjoy an equality with males typical of Southeast Asian societies. The frequency of sex-neutral terms in Tagalog kinship terminology suggests "an equivalent social evaluation of male and female."[63] Spanish Catholicism and colonization was to restrict this equality of

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[62] Agaton P. Pal, "A Philippine Barrio: A Study of Social Organizations in Relation to Planned Cultural Change," **The University of Manila Journal of East Asiatic Studies,** Vol. 5 (1956), pp. 331-486.

[63] Bartlet H. Stoodley, "Some Aspects of Tagalog Family Structure," **American Anthropologist,** Vol. 59 (1957), p. 238.

women, whereas American influence restored the basic equality women had with males during the pre-Hispanic period. Although the Filipina is ". . . denied some of the adventurous freedom of the male, she may be even better prepared for economic competition." Segregated role relationships within the nuclear family give most wives primary authority over such family activities and resources as health, money, food preparation and child control.[64] They are the most active and faithful participants in their religion, be the activities held in the church or the home.

Socio-Political Organization

The largest Philippine geo-political unit, excepting the nation, is the province.[65] Most large islands are divided into several provinces, whereas some (e.g. Cebu) are one province. The provincial governor and board members are elected, but some provincial officials are appointed by national officials. The province is politically subdivided into municipalities. The town mayor and other local officials are elected.

Until 1956 the official village leader was appointed by the municipal council. In that year formal political democracy was extended to the village level; the barrio captain and council members now are elected. Their taxing and political powers, however, are very limited.

National executive power is vested in the office of the President whose powers are greater than those of its American counterpart. The bicameral Congress consists of a Senate and a House of Representatives. Today the two major political parties, separated more by the personalities of their leaders than by substantive issues, are the Nacionalistas and Liberals. Since independence, Filipinos have changed their office holders by democratic procedures, although election violence occurs.[66]

Religion

The Spaniards Christianized lowland Filipinos but were less successful with the highland people and Muslim Filipinos. However, many Filipinos retain the pre-Hispanic belief that normally invisible spirits of the land and their deceased ancestors' souls influence their lives for good

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[64] William T. Liu, Arthur J. Rubel and Elena Yu, "The Urban Family of Cebu: A Profile Analysis," **Journal of Marriage and the Family,** Vol. 31 (1969), p. 400.

[65] David Wurfel, "The Philippines," in George McTurnan Kahin, ed., **Governments and Politics of Southeast Asia** (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1959), pp. 421-508.

[66] Carl Lande, **Leaders, Factions, and Parties: The Structure of Philippine Politics** (New Haven: Yale University, Southeast Asia Studies, 1965); and Jean Grossholtz, **Politics in the Philippines** (Boston: Little, Brown, 1964).

or ill.[67] As a result Philippine folk Catholicism is an intricate and unique blend of the faith of the Spanish conquistadores and the viable animism of the ancient past.

For administrative purposes, the Catholic church divides the Philippines into six ecclesiastical provinces, with each province subdivided into smaller units down to the parish. In rural areas the parish priest, usually an individual of considerable local importance, resides in the **poblacion.**[68]

The religious calendar of Catholic Filipinos lists an elaborate and colorful complex of activities whose functions are a mixture of ritual, recreational, and socio-political. Some of those events are a festive Christmas, the rich drama of the Lenten season, All Souls Day, when the cemetery is visited to pray for the dead, and the patron saint's fiesta. Nearly all communities have adopted a patron saint who watches over the residents' welfare. The annual fiesta, usually held on the saint's feast day, is a gala event of religious services, feasting, athletic contests, games of chance, cock fights, and social dancing.

Extensive Protestant missionary activities in the Philippines did not begin until the American period. Although the record is uncertain, probably the first Protestant service of worship in the Philippines occurred in August, 1898.[69] The first American Protestants to arrive were the Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists. Today there are several hundred different Protestant denominations in the Philippines.

The Protestant Filipino group remains a significant if slow-growing minority.[70]

Major Filipino Christian religious affiliations, according to the 1960 census, are given below:

Religion	Membership (in thousands)
Roman Catholic	22,686.1
Aglipayan (Philippine Independent Church)	1,414.4
Protestant	785.4
Iglesia ni Cristo	270.1

[67] Donn V. Hart, "The Filipino Farmer and His Spirits," **Solidarity,** Vol. 1 (1966), pp. 65-71.

[68] Gerald Anderson, ed., **Studies in Philippine Church History** (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1969); and Peter G. Gowing, **Islands Under the Cross** (Manila: National Council of Churches in the Philippines, 1967).

[69] Peter G. Gowing, **Ibid.**

[70] Douglas J. Elwood, **Churches and Sects in the Philippines: A Descriptive Study of Contemporary Religious Group Movements** (Dumaguete City, Philippines: Silliman University, 1968).

The Philippine Independent Church (**Iglesia Filipina Independiente**), known popularly as the Aglipayan Church, was founded in 1902.[71] The ritual is largely of Catholic derivation, although each congregation is self-governing and priests marry. It is now allied with the Episcopal Church. The **Iglesia ni Kristo**, established in 1913 by Felix Manalo, a Catholic converted to Protestantism, rejects the mass, the primacy of the pope, confession, and saints. Its doctrine is derived largely from American Protestantism.[72]

Illness and Medicine

Filipinos support two, often competing, medical systems.[73] When ill they may consult both the indigenous shaman and a Western-trained physician. Certain illnesses usually are assigned to natural causes such as over-eating, poor diet, excessive drinking or exposure to the elements. These sicknesses are treated with home remedies, usually herbal.

The cause of many ailments is assigned to supernatural agents—invisible spirits, angered ancestral souls, witches, preternatural animals, or persons with the evil eye. If the patient either does not recover or worsens, he seeks the advice of various folk medical specialists. Therapy also includes massage, "fumigating" the patient with incense, prayers at both the Catholic household altar and the church, magical incantations, use of amulets, and giving food offerings to the spirits. Some part-time traditional medical specialists limit their practice to specific types of affliction, e.g. boils, fractures, or mental aberrations.[74]

Depending upon the individual, his financial resources, and the illness, modern Western drugs may be used and hospitalization sought in the provincial hospital. Advance in public health and relatively burgeoning medical facilities during the past half century have made the Philippines one of Asia's healthiest countries. Malaria has been reduced from

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[71] Pedro S. de Achutegue and Miguel A. Bernad, **Religious Revolution in the Philippines**, Vol. 1, 2nd ed., revised (1961), Vol. II, 2nd edition, revised (1968), Vol. III (1969) (Manila: Ateneo de Manila Press).

[72] Sister Mary Dorita Clifford, B.V.N., "Iglesia Filipina Independiente: The Revoluntionary Church," in Gerald Anderson, **op. cit.**, pp. 223-255; and Joseph J. Kavanagh, "The Iglesia ni Cristo," **Philippine Studies**, Vol. 3 (1955), pp. 19-42.

[73] Richard W. Lieban, **Cebuano Sorcery: Malign Magic in the Philippines** (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

[74] Donn V. Hart, **Bisayan Filipino and Malayan Humoral Pathologies: Folk Medicine and Ehnohistory in Southeast Asia** (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Studies, Cornell University, 1969).

first to tenth place among the leading causes of death. The three main causes of death are pneumonia, tuberculosis, and beri-beri.

The Life Cycle and Value System

Filipinos know that conception results when the man "plants the seed in the woman."[75] During pregnancy, women watch their diet and avoid some foods and activities believed, through imitative magical means, to promote difficult delivery or still-birth. Most women, and often their husbands, suffer "morning sickness." Prenatal birth influences are commonly accepted. Birth occurs in the residence, although some women may receive medical care in a provincial hospital if complications appear. Most infants are delivered by the local traditional midwife (male or female). "Mother roasting" is practiced extensively by Ilokans; Cebuans consider the custom injurious to the new mother.[76]

During infancy the child spends most of his time in the dwelling, under the supervision and care of the mother or an elder sibling. By the time children are 7-8 years old, they are assigned various household duties. The majority of Filipinos complete the first several grades of elementary school, although many do not graduate and fewer attend high school.[77]

During their early teens, sons begin to spend more time with their father and elder brothers, assisting with farm tasks, fishing, etc. Daughters help their mothers with child care, cooking, washing, ironing, and marketing. During this period a strong sibling bond is forged that endures for a lifetime. Most boys are voluntarily circumcized shortly before or at puberty; imitative magic practices often are associated with a girl's first menses.

Courting begins in the late teens, and often is kept a secret, especially from the girl's parents. Since most teenage girls are chaperoned, the most favorable occasions for meeting and courting are such community affairs as the fiesta, harvest, and the social activities associated

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[75] Donn V. Hart, "From Pregnancy Through Birth in a Bisayan Filipino Village," in Donn V. Hart, Phya Anuman Rajadhon and Richard J. Coughlin, **Southeast Asian Birth Customs: Three Studies in Human Reproduction** (New Haven: HRAP Press, 1965), pp. 1-113.

[76] William F. Nydegger and Corinne Nydegger, **Tarong: An Ilocos Barrio in the Philippines** (New York: Wiley, 1963); and Hart, 1965, **op. cit.**

[77] Arthur Carson, **Higher Education in the Philippines,** Bulletin No. 29 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1961); and Florencio Fresnoza, **op. cit.**

with the rites of passage. The "double standard" in sexual behavior is a generally accepted code of conduct for most males, particularly prior to marriage.[78] Generally, Filipinos are married by the time they are in their early 20's. A childless marriage usually is regarded with pity. Since most Filipinos honor their aged, these persons receive considerable deference and respect.

On death, funeral rites usually are held in the home (where most religious activity occurs in the rural areas). Kinsmen and neighbors help build the coffin, prepare the funeral feast, carry the coffin to the poblacion church for the last rites, and then to the cemetery for burial. Catholic derived ceremonies for the deceased continue for, at least, one year after death.[79]

Socialization processes early inculcate in children, and enculturation reinforces, the fundamental values of Christian Filipino society. **Utang na loob** (a "sense of gratitude" or an unpayable "debt of gratitude"), an aspect of the pervasive reciprocity of Filipino social life, defines the lasting moral obligation created when one accepts a voluntary gift or service.[80] Another crucial value is the concept of shame or "loss of face" (Tagalog **hiya**).

> **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 action and maintains cultural expectation.[81]

This complex of values helps explain the frequent massive indirection characterizing Christian Filipino behavior.

Another associated value is the avoidance of conflict, termed "Smooth Interpersonal Relationships" (SIR) or **pakikisama** (getting along.)[82] The

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[78] Pal, 1956, **op. cit.**

[79] Francisco Demetrio, S.J. "Death: Its Origin and Related Beliefs Among the Early Filipinos," **Philippine Studies,** Vol. 14 (1966), pp. 355-395.

[80] Charles Kaut, "'Utang na Loob': A System of Contractual Obligation Among Tagalogs," **Southwestern Journal of Anthropology,** Vol. 18 (1961), pp. 256-272.

[81] Hollnsteiner, **op. cit.,** p. 79.

[82] Frank Lynch, S.J., "Social Acceptance," in **Four Readings on Philippine Values** (Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1964).

exact nature, operation and spread of these various values among various Christian Filipino groups is imperfectly known; in fact their relative importance has been challenged.[83]

In summary, social existence among most Christian Filipinos is much concerned with intragroup cohesion; the individual receives sustenance and security within this system in return for its defense. The nuclear family is the most secure and highly integrative unit in their social structure. Supposedly the one Filipino value that occupies "the largest area in the total field of values" is the emotional closeness and security generated within the nuclear family.[84]

Research on the Filipino's basic (or modal) personality configuration is too limited and controversial to be utilized for summary comments.[85] However, many Filipinos, based on stereotypes unsubstantiated by research, distinguish Christian Filipino groups according to prominent socio-cultural traits. As would be expected, these "cultural folk caricatures" often are conflicting and imprecise.[86] Tagalogs (and sometimes differentiations are made between northern and southern Tagalogs) supposedly are proud, talkative and boastful; they have a snobbish attitude toward other Filipino groups. Unlike Bisayans, Tagalogs are unusually fussy about their food.

Bikolans are less adventurous than Tagalogs and Ilokans, more indolent and improvident. Few Bikolans live outside their home region except in Manila. Pampangans are noted gourmets, independent and self-centered, highly materialistic, and unusually loyal to their superiors. Ilokans, known as the "Yankees of the Pacific," are believed to be inordinately hard-workers, willing to sacrifice present comforts for future benefits. Perhaps because of these alleged traits, and certainly because of the relatively restricted agricultural potential of their region, Ilokans have settled throughout the Philippines (as well as Hawaii and mainland

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[83] F. Landa Jocano, "Rethinking 'Smooth Interpersonal Relations,'" **Philippine Sociology Review.** Vol. 14 (1966) pp. 282-291; and Davis and Hollnsteiner, **op. cit.,** pp. 59-84.

[84] Jaime Bulatao, "Philippine Values I: The Manileño's Mainsprings," **Philippine Studies,** Vol. 10 (1962), pp. 45-81.

[85] Robert Lawless, **An Evaluation of Philippine Culture-Personality Research,** Monograph Series No. 3 (Quezon City: Asian Center, University of the Philippines, 1969); and George M. Guthrie and Pepita Jimenez Jacobs, **Child Rearing and Personality Development in the Philippines** (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1966).

[86] Marcelo Tangco, "The Christian Peoples of the Philippines," **Natural and Applied Science Bulletin,** Vol. II (1951), 115; and Eggan, 1956, Vol. 1, **op. cit.**

United States). In the Philippines they are often itinerant traders. Ilokans are said to be unusually religious and to adjust easily to new environments.

Pangasinans are supposedly one of the most conservative and sedentary of Christian Filipino groups; they are said to have a tendency toward fanaticism. As for the Bisayan, "He is a happy-go-lucky man more interested in [the] here and the now than in the past or the future. He exceeds the Tagalog in his love of the finer things of life [including clothes and jewelry], so much so that, in contrast with the Samtoy [Ilokan] he is ready to spend his last peso to enjoy life to its last drop. . . . The Visayan is a hedonist. . . .He is a lover like the Tagalog, but he expresses his consuming passion in music, not in poetry."[87] Bisayans supposedly are the bravest of all groups; most Filipino professional fighters are Bisayans.[88]

Christian Filipino Literature

Key conventions in pre-Hispanic lowland Filipino folk literary forms made Spanish imports seem less foreign.[89] Such stylized dialogue-exchange as the Bisayan **balitaw** (usually a verse debate between a man and a woman), the Tagalog **duplo** (rimed, unscanned and without a fixed stanzaic pattern) and **karagatan** (often accompanied by songs and dances) resemble the "two voices" of the **pasion** (verse chants of the life and suffering of Christ still communally recited or sung during the Lenten season), novena litanies and similar responses, and the **moro-moro**, a stereotyped dramatized love story set against a background of Christian-Muslim conflict.[90]

The same literary continuity, between indigenous and introduced traditions of simplistic oppositions, is seen in the epistolary format and sharp division of rural-urban values of Fr. Modesto de Castro's **Urban at Felisa** (1863) which contrasts city corruption with pastoral innocence.[91] Similarly, the didactic aspect of local proverbs ("A widow can be wooed

[87] Agoncillo and Alfonso, **op. cit., p. 16.**

[88] Tangco, **op. cit.**

[89] Miguel Bernad, S.J., **Philippine Literature: A Two-Fold Renaissance** (Manila, 1963); and Leonard Casper, "Elitism: The Hazards of Being a Vernacular Writer," **Philippine Studies,** Vol. 17 (1969a), pp. 283-296.

[90] Arsenio E. Manuel, "Notes on Philippine Folk Literature," **The University of Manila Journal of East Asiatic Studies,** Vol. 4 (1955), pp. 137-153.

[91] Leonard Casper, **Literature East and West,** Philippine vernacular issue, Vol. 13 (December, 1969b).

on her return from the funeral") prepared the way for the first book printed in the Philippines, the catechetical **Doctrina Cristiana** (1593).

Native literary forms also facilitated the transition to the fixed instructional formulas and stock phrases of the versified metrical romances (**awit** and **corrido**) which relate fantastic and legendary tales whose themes are mostly of European origin. Even the most inventive of the metrical romances, Francisco Baltazar's mid-19th century **Florante at Laura,**[92] subordinates its political satire and parables of moral progress to the pure pleasure of declaiming romantic sentiments.[93] Such extravagant mannerisms have been memorialized by jousts of versified wit known as **balagtasan** (after Baltazar who is best known as Balagtas).

Since 1900, didacticism accompanied by conventionalized plots and simplified characterizations has remained evident even in the more accomplished vernacular works. The **zarzuela,** a three-act musical comedy introduced by the Spaniards, exemplifies this trend. During the early American period this literary form "emeged as a dramatic town crier and a sounding board of public opinion."[94] The **moro-moro** was judged by some Filipinos as irrelevant for this era of stress when the theater might better serve "as a living newspaper and a public forum."[95]

But the worth of many a zarzuela was weakened by superficial analysis of social issues and by over-reliance on melodrama, emotionalism, and coincidence. (It was through the **zarzuela** that the Tagalog **kundiman,** a type of sentimental love song, was popularized). Only the most famous zarzuelistas, such as Juan Crisostomo Sotto (**God is Dead,** 1902) and Mena Pecson Crisologo **(Neneng)** are memorable, in that they "advanced character through song, instead of using character as mere occasion for song."[96]

The peculiar mixture of romanticism and polemicism in this era of Filipino literature is epitomized by Lope K. Santos' Tagalog novel, **Banaag at Sikat** (1906), whose heroine lives in a hovel with her seducer while her best friend teaches communism to his tenants. Similarly, Vicente Sotto's Bisayan sketches of American rule (**Mga Sugilanong Pilipinhon,**

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92 Bienvenido Lumbera, "Florante at Laura and the Formalization of Tradition in Tagalog Poetry," **Philippine Studies,** Vol. 15 (1967), pp. 545-575.

93 Casper, 1969b, **op. cit.,** p. 217.

94 Eggan, 1956, Vol. III, **op. cit.,** p. 1133.

95 Nick Joaquin, "Popcorn and Gaslight," **La Naval de Manila and Other Essays** (Manila: Florentino, 1964), p. 50.

96 Casper, 1969b, **op. cit.,** p. 233.

1929) praise anti-American turn of the century guerrillas and satirize inept **poblacion** officials, without managing to make the people seem as real as the issues.

The gradual emergence of a free press liberated vernacular writers from the task of representing fixed political positions and allowed them to probe human subtleties with greater seriousness. To rid themselves of literary cliches, since 1950 they have turned more carefully than before to Jose Rizal's novels, **Noli Me Tangere** (1887) and **El Filibusterismo** (1891). These most famous of Filipino novels, translated from the Spanish, now read less as incitements to independence than as expositions of the intense dilemma of peaceful reformers on the brink of revolution.

Thoughtful young novelists have also been influenced by the pioneer works of the Panayan writer Magdalena Jalandoni whose **The Thorn of a Flower** (**Ang Mga Tunuc Sang Isa Ca Bulac,** 1910) used the device of a narration within a narration; the Ilokan novelist Marcelina Pena Crisologo whose **Pinang** (1915) is a complex portrait of a Filipina; and by the diversity of European and American models in English.

Other contemporary Filipinos have demonstrated that English itself, and not just the rich variety of its techniques, can be adapted successfully to the experiential presentation of the Filipino's sense of ethnic identity-crisis.[97] Frustration of the Filipino ideal of mutual dependency (kinship alliances; **bayanihan** togetherness; and integrated nationhood) is reflected in obsessive images in the novels of N. V. M. Gonzales (**The Bamboo Dancers**), Nick Joaquin (**The Woman with Two Navels**), Bienvenido Santos (**Villa Magdalena**), and Linda Ty-Casper (**The Peninsulars**). From their work emerges an implicit system of symbols, signifying loss, betrayal, exile, irresponsibility, evasiveness, dislocation; reflecting the Pinoy's or **ilustrado's** confusion of loyalties; or representing the different values of each generation, and the divisiveness of classes and various regions.

The difficulties of defining a collective identity for Filipinos are equally apparent in the epic poems of Alejandrino Hufana (**Poro Point**) and Ricaredo Demetillo (**Barter in Panay**). Such works are no less cautious and critical, as they grope for historical continuity or social homogeneity,

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[97] Miguel Bernad, S.J., **Bamboo and the Greenwood Tree** (Manila: Bookmark, 1961); and Leonard Casper, **The Wounded Diamond** (Manila: Bookmark, 1964) and **New Writing from the Philippines: A Critical Anthology** (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1966).

than individualized portraits in Edith Tiempo's **The Tracks of Babylon** or Demetillo's **Mask and Signature.**

Even the poems of Jose Garcia Villa **(Selected Poems and New)**, by the very absence of national circumstance, can be read as a peculiar kind of wary protest. His reliance on devices of negation and rejection, the nearly solipsistic alienation of the poet-protagonist, parallels the Filipino's occasional desperate passion for self-determination by isolation. The egotism of Villa's verse may well express the over-compensatory self-enlargement of a people reduced, by both Spaniards and American, to colonial status for centuries.

More typical than such exclusiveness, however, is the yearning for coalescence in the novels of F. Sionil Jose **(The Pretenders)** and Kerima Polotan (**The Hand of the Enemy**) or the stories of Gregorio Brillantes (**The Distance to Andromeda**), Andres C. Cruz (**The White Wall**), and Gilda Cordero-Fernando (**The Butcher, the Baker, and the Candlestick Maker**). These writers use cultural stress among depressed intellectuals, or rising entrepreneurs, to suggest the strains of transition in Filipino society at large, compelled by habits of solidarity to try, again and again, reconciliation of past and present, West and East.

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