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A TRIBUTE TO FRANK LYNCH S. J.

Introduction

To pay tribute to Frank Lynch, S.J., an accomplished social scientist, one could single out many aspects of his being — social anthropologist, the archaeologist, the priest, the writer, the teacher, the eagle-eyed editor, the gentle friend of many men and women, young and old. In all, he was consistently one of the best.

The Philippine Social Science Council was one of Father Lynch's numerous concerns and undertakings. From its conception stage until September 1978, when he died, Father Lynch, together with past and present members of the Executive Board, served and spent countless hours for and in behalf of the growth and improvement of the Council.

Exactly two months and 13 days after his death, the PSSC would celebrate the first decade of its existence. Father Lynch, like all of us, would have been proud of this accomplishment. For it was always his dream to see all of the social sciences under one umbrella.

In October 1978, the current PSSC Executive Board decided to dedicate a special issue of the *PSSC Social Science Information* in his honor and in time for the Tenth Anniversary celebrations. This is our humble way of saying "maraming salamat" to a person who unselfishly devoted thirty years of his life towards the advancement of the social sciences in a country he had learned to love as his own and of which he was proud to be an adopted son.

This issue presents selected published and unpublished writings of Father Lynch in an effort to picture his thoughts and ideas on topics that were and are still relevant to Philippine society. We hope that our selections are acceptable to Father Lynch.

We would like to thank Mr. Armand V. Fabella, a co-founder of the PSSC, for writing a short tribute, the director and staff of the Institute of Philippine Culture for taking time off to help us look for the articles printed here, the various persons and institutions who gave us permission to print the articles, the Ateneo de Manila University for providing us with a copy of the talk given by Rev. James F. Donelan, S.J. on the occasion of a memorial service in honor of Father Lynch, and the social scientists and other colleagues of Father Lynch who responded to our request for brief statements on his person.

LORETTA MAKASIAR SICAT
Executive Director

A short biography — Francis Xavier Lynch, S.J.

Frank Lynch was born on April 2, 1921 at Orange, New Jersey, U.S.A. He received his earlier education from Fordham Preparatory and Fordham College in New York, N.Y., and Woodstock College in Maryland. In 1949, he received his M.A. in anthropology from the University of the Philippines. Later he went to the University of Chicago to earn his Ph.D. in anthropology in 1959.

Father Lynch specialized in the field of social anthropology and is well-known for his studies on Philippine values. He had written about one hundred and fifty essays, articles, monographs and books on the Philippines and the Filipino people.

At the time of his death, Father Lynch was resident consultant of the Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University, professor of anthropology and chairman of the, Department of Anthropology, Ateneo, and director of the Social Survey Research Unit, Ateneo de Naga. He also served as consultant of the Project Development Division of the Population Center Foundation. He was also the discipline representative for anthropology to the PSSC Executive Board.

The PSSC and Frank Lynch

ARMAND V. FABELLA

I first met Frank Lynch early in 1967 at a meeting called by Fanny Aldaba-Lim at the Philamlife Building to discuss the organization – or revival – of a proposed National Social Science Council of the Philippines, which subsequently became the present Philippine Social Science Council. The meeting had been scheduled in connection with a lecture by Margaret Mead, and I remember looking at Frank and thinking that he represented a discipline more in line with Margaret Mead's subject; and following it up with the mental question about the role of darker-skinned representatives of that discipline. Finally, I remember leaving that meeting with the impression that the man Frank appeared to know his Filipinos, especially on how to work with them.

In the meetings that followed of an Ad Hoc Committee to set up the Council, Frank and I came to know each other fairly well, along with the other members of the Committee such as Eufronio Alip and Serafin Guingona. Certainly, we represented widely differing backgrounds and personalities, but on a number of points Frank and the rest agreed to certain basic premises for the proposed Council. All of us were concerned about the possible domination of the Council by an institution or by an association, and these concerns have since been reflected in the basic documents of the PSSC.

The amount of time and effort that Frank Lynch put into the Council was substantial. He was a key figure in developing the Council from a shoestring operation into the respected and recognized organization that it is today. Perhaps the major turning point came when financial support became available from a number of funding agencies early in the seventies, and the central role that Frank played there must be recognized. The funds provided, especially by the Ford Foundation, made scholars in the various disciplines sit up and realize that the Council was really motivated by persons whose leadership and professional interests extended beyond the narrower confines of their individual disciplines. It also converted the Council from a small intimate group of Mafiosi into the broad-based respected association of associations.

Another pivotal role played by Frank had to do with the search for a site of the permanent headquarters of the Council. Long discussions were held on this, and it was Frank's constant concern that efforts would have to be conscientiously exerted to keep the Council truly representative, truly inter-institutional, and truly inter-associational in its nature. He recognized the tempting and convenient alternative that permanent location within the University of the Philippines complex would provide, and was largely responsible for the offer of Ateneo de Manila University to provide space on their campus.

The national research network of the Philippine Social Science Council was still another project which was basically due to the efforts of Frank Lynch. Drawing generously upon the system that he had previously developed through his own Institute, the result has been the network of research centers all over the country that we have today.

I have touched upon Frank Lynch and his pivotal role in developing the PSSC, but the success of his efforts would not be completed without taking into account Frank Lynch the man. If any word can be used to describe Frank, I would suggest that word is gentle. He was a gentleman, yes, but more than that he was a gentle man, and this gentleness coupled with a perceptive eye and a sense of timing as to when his input would prove of value kept the various committees and subcommittees with which he was associated effective. He provided balance, and made this balance possible through his soft-spoken approach. I recall a number of occasions when his gentleness and softness provided the right atmosphere at critical points in time.

I am sure that those of us who are still around (?) agree that much of the success that is the PSSC now can be traced to the attention, support, and encouragement that Frank Lynch provided in the decade that saw the rise of the Council from a clutch of like-minded individuals into the well-established professional organization that it is today.

Some empirically-based conclusions about the Masagana 99 Rice Production Program in Camarines Sur

FRANK LYNCH, S.J.

NOTES: This paper was prepared for presentation at the May 7 session of the Population Center Foundation's Secondary Analysis Training Course (April 5 to May 22, 1976). It is in part a revised version of the Conclusions section (pp. 34-38) of the author's *Rice-farm harvests and practices in Camarines Sur: Do compact farms, Masagana 99, and the Samahang Nayon make a difference?* ("SSRU Research Report Series," No. 2; Naga City: Social Survey Research Unit, Ateneo de Naga, January 1974). The findings referred to in this selection are found in the text of the original report, which is currently out of print. Reference copies may be consulted at the Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila, or at the SSRU.

Conclusions result from a mixture of findings, on the one hand, and, on the other, selected additional information such as premises, assumptions, goals, purposes, norms, preferences, or just plain facts. Conclusions vary with the questions which the analyst asks of the data.

Uppermost in my own mind as I contemplated the 16 findings resulting from the SSRU's M99 study were the goals of the Bicol River Basin Development Program. Chief among them are these three, namely, increased income, increased agricultural productivity, and increased employment.

Also in mind was this consideration. A basic principle of the nation's current Four-Year Development Plan (FY 1974-77) is that increments in production must be such as will result in a *more equitable distribution of income.*

Hence this question: *What do the study's findings suggest relative especially to increased agricultural productivity and to increased and more equitable income distribution?*

Conclusions

First, they tell us that *as of mid-October 1973 Masagana 99 loans were benefiting the relatively better-off farmers more than their less fortunate fellows.* This is implied in the fact that M99–assisted parcels are generally bigger than the Non-M99 parcels, and consequently have larger net and gross yields (Findings 6-7). The same conclusions was suggested by a finding published in SSRU Research Report Series, No. 1 (page 16), namely, that M99 farmers have two or more pieces of riceland much more often than do farmers without M99 loans.

That this tendency to favor the more substantial farmers is a deliberate tactic is indicated by the guidelines determining who should receive M99 loans. At least in Camarines Sur, lending operations for Phase I of the Masagana 99 program (regular crop, May-October 1973) gave *official* priority to *irrigated* farms, certified as such by personnel of the National Irrigation Administration or (later in Phase I) by an M99 production technician. Further, of the 23,000 hectares planned for coverage in Phase I, 20,000 were to be irrigated and only 3,000 (13 percent) rainfed. In actual fact, support was given to 29,154 hectares, of which all but 4,680 (16 percent) were irrigated.[1] As of 1973, rainfed riceland represented about *40 percent* of the rainfed-or-irrigated area of Camarines Sur.

Now, irrigated farms, which may be harvested twice or even three times a year, are obviously more productive than rainfed riceland. As a matter of fact, we found that whereas an irrigated farm without an M99 loan averaged 57 cavans of palay per hectare (and presumably could double or triple this in a year's time), an unassisted rainfed farm produced only 44 cavans per hectare—once a year.

It follows that, by giving preference to irrigated riceland, the M99 program is helping the relatively better-off farmers more often than the presumably poorer ones who work rainfed land. From the viewpoint of a conservative lending agency, the policy of supporting irrigated land more than rainfed seems to make good sense, but it does not square with the goal of more equitable distribution of income for the practical outcome of these guidelines is that *the M99 program widens the very income gap which the government has vowed to close.*

Perhaps it might be argued that giving most loans to irrigated farms is not just a question of a low-risk lending policy.[2] It is demanded by the government's commitment to increased agricultural productivity.. Since rainfed parcels are relatively unproductive, loans should not be allowed them except in very special circumstances.

The fact of the matter is—and this is the *second* lesson we learn from the study—*the government's goal of increased rice production will probably be better served by giving preference to rainfed farms.* This statement should not surprise

the reader, for it is implicit in the finding that, while the M99/Non-M99 difference is only three cavans per hectare for irrigated parcels (60 vs. 57), it is 11 cavans 55 vs. 44) for rainfed (Tables 1 and 2). Supporting one rainfed cropping per year can add more to the annual rice production figure than supporting two or even three irrigated crops.[3] Hence if *increase* is the goal, loan preference should be given to *rainfed* farms, because they contribute more to this increment than irrigated farms, and do so at one-half the cost (one loan per year versus two). Helping rainfed farms is more productive and costs less.[4]

There is no doubt that *in the long run* both the nation and the individual farmer will be better served by the multiplication of irrigated parcels. But we should be careful not to confuse growing more rice (with the present distribution of irrigated and rainfed farms) and *creating more* irrigated riceland. The first involves a small-loan program aimed at increased rice production here and now; the second is a long-term infrastructure program aimed at gradual land conversion. Both are important, and both are underway. But they call for quite different approaches.

In the preceding paragraphs I draw two conclusions that seem to follow from the study's findings. The first is that the M99 loan program, by favoring irrigated farms over rainfed, widens the income gap between those who have a little and those who have more. The second conclusion is that the government's rice production program might be better served by giving preferential support to rainfed farms.

If, despite the deficiencies that will certainly be noted in this paper, there appears to be some merit in my argument, perhaps changes in the Masagana 99 program may be called for, at least on an experimental basis. For policy-makers

(Please turn to page 24)

Table 1. Gross harvest per hectare planted (in cavans of palay), by kind of riceland and M99 loan-status of cultivator (Bicol River Basin, Camarines Sur, mid-October 1973)

Measure	Irrigated			Rainfed		
	M99	Non-99	Total	M99	Non-M99	Total
Median	58.60	54.70	56.60	47.90	39.10	42.70
Total n	133	139	272[a]	106	155	261[a]
Mean	60.45	57.03	58.79	54.97	44.29	48.68
S.D.	24.34	26.76	25.61	27.49	23.27	25.57
C.V.	.40	.47	.44	.50	.53	.53
Total n	133	139	272[a]	106	155	261[a]

[a]Sample size was reduced by elimination of respondents for whom appropriate data were lacking, incomplete, or doubtful.

Table 2. Significance of differences in harvests (Table 1) between respondents of different M99 loan statuses, by kind of riceland (Bicol River, Camarines Sur, mid-October 1973)

Measure	Irrigated (M99 vs. Non-M99)	Rainfed (M99 vs. Non-M99)
Mean[a]	n.s	0.01 (M99)[c]
Median[b]	n.s.	0.01 (M99)

[a]The *t* test for the significance of differences between means was applied.

[b]The Median test for the significance of differences between two samples was applied.

[c]The category enclosed in parentheses has the significantly greater riceland harvest.

Let my people lead: Rationale and outline of a people-oriented assistance program for the Bicol Basin

FRANK LYNCH, S.J.,
JEANNE F.I. ILLO, and
JOSE V. BARRAMEDA, JR.

Note: We would like to express our gratitude to Ms. Jeanne Frances I. Illo, co-author, for granting us permission to print this executive summary. This social soundness analysis was submitted by the Social Survey Research Unit and the Institute of Philippine Culture to the US Agency for International Development in August 1976.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY. The purpose of this paper is threefold: to develop procedures for the construction of a socially acceptable aid program; to illustrate their use by designing such a program for the Bicol River Basin; and, with this program as the norm, to evaluate the *Comprehensive development plan 1975-2000* (1976) of the Bicol River Basin Development Program, or BRBDP. After a discussion of social soundness, each of the three tasks is addressed in turn.

The criteria of social soundness

At the beginning of the Second Development Decade (1970-80) a strategy was adopted by major international assistance agencies. Instead of added transnational capital infusions and continued hope that these measures might eventually benefit the aided nation's poor a decision was made for direct intervention in the problems of the disadvantaged. This was crystallized for the USAID in its so-called Congressional mandate, based on the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973. Henceforth, assistance was to be directed toward the poor majority above all, with special consideration for the role of women in the development process.

Criteria have subsequently been developed by which to judge the social soundness of programs in light of the mandate's requirements. In reference to the Bicol River Basin in particular, five norms appear relevant. A development will be socially sound if it has the following characteristics.

1. It is intended to benefit the poor majority, male and female, of the River Basin population (it is, in other words, *for the poor*);
2. It responds to a need that is felt, and preferably expressed, by these men and women (the idea for the program comes, as it were, *from the poor*);
3. It will, in being implemented, enlist the participation of local men and women, delivering its benefits *through the poor*;
4. It is so designed that it is very likely, not only to "catch on," but also affect favorably the disadvantaged for whom it was intended (it will in fact bring its benefits *to the poor*); and
5. Should it fail literally to fulfill criterion 2 or 3, it nonetheless offers a benefit which experts agree is an *essential prerequisite* for some basic felt need of the poor majority.

Given these criteria, how does one go about the design of an appropriate assistance program? The currently most common approach relies almost excusively on professional opinion. A conceivable but most uncommon second strategy would let the people concerned decide for themselves what should be done. The *third approach to aid-program design*, which is recommended here, combines the people's needs and decision-making with competent technical advice: *the people lead and the experts follow.*

Design and application of the third approach

The third approach assumes that the people's concerns and perceived problems come first. Working together, people and professionals first produce four categories of background information: (a) the main physical features of the target area; (b) the potentials, problems, and constraints which the *experts* see as conditioning the area's development; (c) relevant socio-cultural characteristics of the area's population; and (d) the major problems of the area as the *people* see them.

With these findings as the focus of discussion, the people and their partners proceed to the fashioning of a program outline, assembling in the course of their discussions (a) a review of the problems they face; (b) the goals and projects that should solve them, each with its agreed-on indicators of accomplishment and designated function in the overall plan; (c) a justification, on economic and technical grounds, of the goals and projects that were selected; and (d) a justification, on social-soundness grounds, of the outlined program and its components. Finally, this people's council (with continued assistance as needed and desired) designs and implements a system for the monitoring and evaluating of program and project activities.

With certain necessary revisions, these procedures are applied to the River Basin case and a program outline produced. The first element is a list of 15 concerns, the latter being a composite

inventory derived from the people alone (3 items), the people and the experts in agreement (13 items), and the experts alone (12). For the second element, goals and projects suited to the problems are identified and arranged in hierarchical order. Briefly, the *ultimate goal* of a significant improvement in the quality of people's lives (perceived by the people, verified by the experts) will be attained through *four intermediate goals: increased household income, more equal distribution of income, improved nutri-* increased household income, more equal distribution of income, improved nutrition, and increased and more meaningful participation in community decision-making.

Assisting in various ways in the attainment of these four intermediate aims will be *five immediate goals,* namely, increased production, increased employment, increased productivity, higher wages, and population control. The power behind all these foreseen improvements is to be generated by a multitude of interconnected projects conveniently catalogued under one or another of *five project groups,* labelled water resources, transport services, agricultural development, industrial development, and social development.

An examination of this proposed program from a means-ends view-point (the third element) reveals no major shortcomings. From a social-soundness perspective (the final element of the outline) the individual goals and their related projects pass the test of *intended effects* Were they designed to satisfy the needs of the poor majority, and women as well as men?). A problem arises with the additional test for projects, that of *intended means* (Will the benefits really reach the poor and the women as intended, preferably with the participation and assistance of the beneficiaries themselves?). The second test cannot be properly applied, since the bulk of the projects have not as yet been implemented or even reduced to operational detail. Hence, instead of evaluating the projects, selected principles are offered to illustrate the kind of "cynical concern" which social soundness demands.

Social-soundness critique of the DCP

The present version of the *Comprehensive development plan,* or CDP, scores high on the test of *intended effects.* It addresses itself to 13 of the 16 problems which the people themselves recognize and seek answers to criteria 1 and 2, above. Further, the added problems it schedules for solution are also socially sound selections in that they are prerequisites for the filling of various felt needs of the poor majority (criterion 5). To this extent the program proposed by the CDP is both for and from the poor.

For the reason given earlier, the test of *intended means* cannot easily be applied to the projects suggested by the CDP. Nonetheless, the evaluators feel that the CDP will be substantially improved if its authors will (a) give special attention to the role of River Basin women in development; (b) adjust the plan to take more conscious account of social problems that may seriously impede project performance; and (c) make the people's growth in self-determination a major goal of the River Basin program.

The first suggestion is made in view of there being as yet no adequate provision for the role of women in the River Basin development plan. The second recommendation springs from the evaluators' perception that the CDP fails to recognize and/or come to grips with several social and psychological realities that must be considered in the planning process, specifically, the grinding poverty of the area and the uneven performance of existing institutions and programs. The third recommendation results from the conviction that genuine grass-roots participation in development decisions, and in community affairs in general, is of the *essence* of the BRBDP and must therefore be given a preferred place in the overall plan. The CDP is seen, then, as an excellent first-version draft in search of a second.

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Unless so indicated, the views expressed by the authors of feature articles in this publication do not necessarily reflect the policies of the Philippine Social Science Council.

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On leaving bad enough alone

FRANK LYNCH, S.J.

This is a story to illustrate the suspicion that ordinary people are more conscious of their ties to the environment than are certain experts whose job it is to improve the lives of these people.

The story shows the people's perception of the functional fit that exists between exploitative patterns and the effective environment. It will also suggest to well-meaning innovators that when little people resist their big ideas there may be very sound reasons for that reluctance, and good grounds for second thoughts about the proposed innovation.

The site and the people

The example I present is based on observations made in 1973 in the Bicol River Basin of southeast Luzon, the province of Camarines Sur in particular. The more specific setting is the western portion of Calabanga municipality, where the Bicol River meets San Miguel Bay. In that border zone, where salt water mingles with fresh, a brackish, waterlogged, nipa-and-mangrove tideland results. In that environment three livelihoods predominate: nipa farming, fishing, and (in the drier spots, but only a secondary occupation) the cultivation of lowland rice.

Wherever they live in this 500-hectare expanse, and no matter what they do for a living, the people of the Balongay area (for so this enclave is called) are obviously not well provided for. As a matter of fact, although the minimum needed for a family's sheer subsistence there is an estimated P415 per month, four out of five of the 225 households can scrape together at most *half* that amount, cash and noncash income combined. These are marginal people without a doubt, Filipinos for whom survival is a continual struggle.

Even within this poor population, however, the universal law is honored: some have less than others. As a rule, Balongay incomes vary by primary occupation, here defined as the livelihood to which a household head devotes most of his working time. Since rice farming is, as I mentioned earlier, only a secondary occupation in this area, the distinction we observe is between those who fish for a living and those who cut nipa-palm fronds for their wives and children to fashion into shingles.

Briefly, fishermen make out better than nipa farmers. They report an average income of P160 per month; nipa farmers, only P132 per month–miserable in either case, to be sure, but fishermen's families are less poor than the farmers' are. Reflecting the relative affluence of fishermen is the distribution of above-average households among the three villages of the Balongay area. Punta, the fishing village, has only 23 percent of the area's households, but 43 percent of those households whose income is above the area's median (P130 per month). Conversely, the nipa-farming barrio, Duminorog, has one-third of all residents but accounts for only one-fifth of the better-off households. Balatasan, with a mixed population of fishermen and farmers, has 44 percent of the population and 36 percent of the above-median households.

The proposal and the response

Enter now on this watery, poverty-washed scene a well-meaning development expert, who sees in this tidal nipa swamp the makings of a thriving fishpond estate. From past experience and abundant precedents he knows (and can prove that this innovation, once in effect, will raise Balongay incomes in a most satisfactory manner. Fishponds will solve the people's problems.

But how do *they* feel about this idea?

In a survey done to answer that question we found that only half the household heads went along with the expert. That is, while they all accepted the fact that if they switched to fishponds they would be much better off financially, only half of them favored the change. No matter how one looked at the answers–by age, education, length of residence in Balongay, or even income–the distribution always came out the same: half in favor, half against. However, when the replies were sorted by primary occupation, a difference came through clearly: most fishermen wanted fishponds; most nipa farmers did not. Similarly, the fishing village (Punta) was *for* fishponds, the nipa-farm villa (Duminorog) was against; and Balatasan was in between.

Bakit ganyan? "Why like that?"

The rationale of the response

To begin with, *Balongay-area residents are poor.* Their median annual income of P1554 is less than one-half the income reported by the average Bicolano family. Further, while about one-third of Bicolano families have incomes of more than P3000 per year, the figure is 23 percent for the taga-Balongay, and even less for

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This paper is based in great part on a report produced and published by the Social Survey Research Unit (SSRU) of the Bicol River Basin Development Program. See J. V. Barrameda, Jr., S. S. Roco, Jr., and F. Lynch, "The proposed Balongay fishpond estate: How do the taga-Balongay feel about it?" (SSRU Research Report Series, No. 4; Naga City: Ateneo de Naga, 1974).

The author of the present essay (F. Lynch) is the SSRU's director; concurrently, he is the Resident Consultant of the Institute of Philippine Culture (IPC), Ateneo de Manila University.

The Philippine Social Science Council would like to thank Dr. Juan Francisco, executive director of the Philippine-American Educational Foundation for granting permission to print this paper.

the people of Duminorog.[1]

Poor though they are, the taga-Balongay nonetheless have relatively sure if inadequate sources of income. The nipa and the fish are there for the taking, the ways to harvest them are both familiar and reliable, and the markets in which to sell them are of long standing and ample popularity. Neither fishermen nor nipa farmers need starve.

However, their relative security is precarious. It results from the maintenance of a delicate balance between the natural supply and the people's demands. Both the fishermen and the farmers depend utterly on the continued presence, if not abundance, of the natural resources they exploit. The survival of the fishermen's families is linked to a constant supply of sea and river fish. And without their nipa-palm groves, the farmers' households would suffer acute distress—even with the palms, remember, their average daily income is less than one-third the local bare minimum for food alone.

To people such as these, how must the fishpond proposal have appeared? The estate, as described to them, would be a more reliable, more productive source of income. They were told that the nipa-palm tidelands would soon be replaced by these much more lucrative fishpens, and fishermen and farmers alike would in due time have incomes far above their present levels.

The fishermen's ears fastened on phrases like "more productive source of income," and they voted in favor of the fishponds. But the farmers' ears kept ringing rather with the expert's qualifiers, "soon" and "in due time," and they voted no. This was so because both the fishermen and the farmers perceived that (a) the nipa palms would go before the fishponds would *appear*, and that (b) in the interim, the fishermen would go on fishing and surviving as before, but the farmers would be deprived of their primary source of livelihood.

Small wonder, then, that they voted as they did. Shrewd with the primal wisdom of the sorely pressed, *poor people will not readily exchange a sure source of income, however inadequate it may seem to others, for the promised advantages of some alternative.* They certainly cannot afford such a shift when it will mean being without any foreseeable support in the period of transition.

Conclusion

It follows that the change-over from one resource base to another should be planned, not merely as an end-result, but as a process as well. Indeed, if the details of the transition are not wisely designed, the final goal may never be achieved, or if it is—if, for example, fishponds do in fact eventually replace nipa farms, and the community's and the farmers' incomes are indeed raised—this will have been accomplished at an unnecessarily high human cost. Development planners, like surgeons, are in conscience bound to manage and monitor the life signs of their communities both during and after their remedial interventions.

A postscript In this case, the expert listened to the people, and the idea of a fishpond estate was dropped. When in doubt, he probably reasoned, leave well (or bad) enough alone. And so Balongay's fishermen and farmers continue to this day to exploit their lands and seas as they and their fathers have done for centuries.

This is a happy ending. Or is it?

[1] Another clear evidence of the poverty of the study area is the fact that 90 percent of households have living quarters with 30 square meters.

Some social anthropologists look at Philippine banking

FRANK LYNCH, S.J., et al.

A reply to seven questions posed by the Joint IMF-CBP Banking Survey Commission, submitted by the Institute of Philippine Culture
March 9, 1972

A. In a note dated January 26, 1972, confirming an earlier phone conversation, Dr. Benito Legarda, Jr. asked the opinion of the IPC regarding certain questions on which some of its staff were likely to have some ideas.

B. The questions received from Dr. Legarda (reproduced in Appendix A, below) can be summarized, at the admitted risk of distortion, in these terms:

1. Must one, in view of Filipino family-centrism, accept family-centered unit banks as here to stay, and give up the hope of fostering branch banking instead?

2. Government entities have a bad record in both paying and collecting their loans. Private money lenders seem to do better. Why so?

3. Formal structures for cooperation (e.g., the *bayanihan*) are found and function in Philippine society. "Yet cooperatives have had a record of massive failures in this country." Why?

4. It would be to the nation's advantage if the savings of "net savers" could be lent to "net spenders" through the banking system. Which groups in the Philippines are liable to be net savers or net spenders?

5. Legal limits aside, how high an interest rate are people willing to pay on loans? Is it the same for all creditors? Why so—and with what consequences?

6. What percentage, if any, of the population would tend to trust local branches of foreign banks more than they would domestic banks? Why is this so?

7. Which is better suited to Philippine society—a system of controls, a free market, or a mixed system?

C. We first turn to these questions in the order in which they were presented. Following this we shall summarize our opinion by reorganizing and, hopefully, simplifying what we have to say.

1. *Family-centrism and branch banking.* Presumably we are here discussing *unit* family-owned banks, banks which combine smallness with family ownership. Further, by "family-centrism" is probably meant what others call "Filipino clannishness," the tendency which Filipinos allegedly manifest, at least under certain conditions, to extend help, patronage, and support (a) primarily to kinsmen, and (b) in proportion to the closeness of the connecting bond.

To begin with, there is good reason to believe that this clannishness, if it is understood as an obligation one must invariably recognize and honor, may not be so iron-clad as is commonly thought. First, the *tradition* of clannishness (the folk stereotype) is based on centuries of small-community experience, where one had little choice but to align oneself with kinsmen, since one's neighbors and barrio-mates were almost invariably relatives. Second, it is notable in even some of these small communities, and more so in towns and cities, that (outside the immediate family) claims of kinship may be made only from *one side*, generally from the side that stands to gain by the connection *if* they can "make it stick."

These observations, plus a multitude of others made in various parts of the Philippines, have led to an alternate view of Philippine social organization—the so-called "alliance network model." Lynch (1971:12-14) has summed it up this way:

> It is commonly stated that clannishness, or kin-bias, is a basic and traditional quality of Philippine and southeast Asian societies. This fact is pointed out in innumerable monographs, with the result that the proposition appears to be beyond question. On the other hand, the successful introduction of productive industry and sufficient government, to name only two institutional requirements of a modern state, seems to require the adoption of pragmatic criteria quite opposed to the operation of kin-bias, at least in the choice of *many* kinds of voluntary action partners. But if practical clannishness is indeed an ingrained value in the traditional system, then the transition to modernity so avidly sought by southeast Asian nations is bound to be an extremely difficult one. For not only will the tendency to kin-bias be there as a fact, but—given the manner in which it is currently described as traditional, as the old and honored way—any attempt to challenge it is bound to be branded as tantamount to treachery.
>
> But let us suppose it can be shown that where kin-bias exists, its presence is to be explained less by the inherited inflexible rule that kinsmen come first, than by the more general law that one survives and prospers, materially and spiritually, by a life-long succession of beneficial alliances of more or less permanence, some given and early family of orientation, like those with one's own choice or that of another. Supposing, in other words, that most close kinsmen are prominent in the lives of people, especially in the rural areas, not because they are *kinsmen* but because they are *close*—for whatever reason—or because they happen to outnumber non-kinsmen in the immediate social world, and so must inevitably form a significant segment of any man's body of action partners. These suppositions, if realized, would lead to a new view of Philippine and southeast Asian social organization, one in which the making and unmaking of alliances might legitimately depend on many, many considerations in addition to closeness of kinship.
>
> If such a system were indeed found to be characteristic of the societies with which we are concerned, it would follow that they are far more pre-adapted to modernity than we had realized, and that a conscious understanding and acceptance of the old way would be the best preparation for the new. To be truly modern would in this basic sense be one's best expression of national identity and pride.

In other words, turning now to the context in which the question was asked, if family-owned banks are popular they are probably so *not* because of some inevitable necessity rooted in the Filipino tradition, but because—at the time and place where they prosper—they are seen as better banks than their competitors. The likely reasons behind this favorable view of the family-owned banks are various.

To begin with, *the bank's very smallness may be an important asset.* All other things being equal, the chances of managing a small operation *efficiently* are greater than those of managing a big operation—despite the admitted advantages of branch banking.

Again, the family-owned bank may offer *greater incentives* to its management and may *simplify management-employee relations.* Executives in family-owned banks, compared

to their average opposite numbers in other banks, have more to gain if the bank does well in attracting deposits and loan collections: they receive dividends on the family's investment. Again, given the smallness of the bank, there are probably fewer levels in the organizational structure, thus reducing the distance between employers and employees and increasing opportunities for interaction and the early settlement of grievances. Further, management can more easily and understandably insist on better performance by employees because they are seen as *owners* of the firm.

The family-owned bank has a similar advantage relative to the *public.* The manager or loan officer who insists on certain protections before making a loan, or who pushes for its timely repayment, is seen as insuring or demanding *his own money,* and this is a traditional pattern.

Again the family-owned bank may offer the depositor a *greater sense of security* because the family is known and trusted and/or locally accountable for its performance. There may be a certain fear of the unknown here, or a conviction that swindling or misuse of funds is a distinct possibility, particularly when there are stories rife of swindlers going unpunished by the law, protected by their own pay-offs and/or the interference of powerful politicians.

Finally, it may be to the *depositor's general advantage* to patronize a bank owned by local power figures whose good will is important in both financial and other matters.

In brief, if family-owned banks are popular (this is a question of fact and can be checked by comparing total deposits and depositors in the various kinds of bank within a given community), the explanation is not to be found in an *a priori* commitment to kinsmen. It is to be found rather in *the advantages these banks are seen to offer the depositor.* Where branch banks can match and surpass these advantages they need fear no great competition from family-owned banks. Further, while a case can be made for small family-owned banks' now coexisting with a branch-banking network, we foresee the ultimate phasing out of these family institutions.

2. *Loan-collection records: government vs. private.* The failure of government entities to collect loans satisfactorily is quite likely related to two recognized and often intertwined characteristics found in Philippine society. One is the tendency of vertical economic contractual relationships (upper/lower, richer/poorer, employer/employee, creditor/debtor) to develop into patron/client *utang-na-loob* relationships. The other is the observed tendency of many (not all) so-called public funds and properties as if they owned them, and to use and/or disburse them to suit their personal pleasure, profit, or ambition. Public funds are treated as private risk capital. This tendency, labelled by R.L. Stone (1971) as "PTOPP," or the "Private Transitory Ownership of Public Property," has been allowed to develop to its present almost institutionalized proportions ("What are we in power for?") because of weak internalization of the public trust norm and the erratic application of sanctions for misconduct.

These two characteristics we have mentioned may affect the collection, or non-collection, of loans in at least two ways. In the spirit of PTOPP, a government official or politician anxious to get votes or kickback, may put pressure on a bank or Facoma official to grant a loan for an unsound project, or without adequate collateral. After all, he has nothing to lose, everything to gain. Or the bank official may himself take the initiative to please a friend or get the promised kickback. In both cases the sense of public *servant* and public *trust* have been replaced; at least in these instances, by the sense of private enterprise with public properties.

Again, the little man who gets a government loan may easily reason that the government is much wealthier than he, or is using his own (the people's) money. *Hence* he must pay back his loan in full no more than he must repay everything he owes his landlord or his son, depending on how he construes the situation. If he takes the "landlord-tenant" view, he may be content to pay back something—which shows he recognizes the debt—but may feel he should not be expected to pay back everything. He sees himself as the *client* of the government or, more particularly, of the banker and/or patron-politician who arranged the loan. Here the two tendencies merge—private use of public property mixed with the replacement of strict contractual debt with a patron-client *utang-na-loob* relationship.

The private money-lender, who will lose his own money if his debtors default on their payments, makes very sure that his loans are properly secured. The government "money-lender" is using someone else's money for his own ends, and he wins most by losing: if the borrower has to pay back his loan, or pay it back on time, he is much less likely to feel properly indebted to his patron.

Despite the cultural tendencies we have described, tendencies the origins of which are buried deep in the Filipino's past, when the economy was largely redistributive rather than market-based, there are legal and other safeguards against the problems of bad debts. As in the question of family-centrism, the first remedy on the non-collectibles problem appears to be the *application* of those safeguards, *regardless of who is involved.* Big-scale defaulters can be watch-listed, and action taken against erring bank officials. This should cut down on failures to repay which result from deals made between the loan officer (or his superior) and the applicant.

But for the perennial little-man problem, the small borrower who sees the government as a surrogate landlord or patron, or disappears when dunned, something else is needed. Making his landlord a co-signer passes the problem on to the landlord. But the ultimate solution seems to involve structuring the debts as *horizontal*

(to his peers) rather than vertical. The system now being used in Nueva Ecija and in connection with "compact farming" in Camarines Sur probably provides a solution to this transfer, or re-structuring, problem. Loans are made, not to individuals, but to five-seven (Nueva Ecija) or more (Camarines Sur) farmers who are *mutual co-signers.* Each apparently sees his loan as due as much to his equals as to the government bank or cooperative, so each unconsciously (or consciously) pressures the others to pay up. Collections have been surprisingly good.

3. *Cooperatives.* While there have been and are some successful formal cooperatives in the Philippines (we suggest that Fr. Duchesneau, of the Institute of Social Order, be consulted on this), the fact is that many, perhaps most, Philippine cooperatives have failed. In some cases the main reasons behind these failures are those behind the government's bad-debt record (see the previous section). That is, the cooperative's funds were used as the private property of some ambitious (or greedy) individual and/or numbers of its members felt no compulsion to repay because the cooperative was seen as so much wealthier than they.

   But there is another factor to be considered here. The *bayanihan,* the *bataris* or *bolhon* (Tagalog and Cebuano terms, respectively, for round-robin assistance), the highly functional *zangjeras,* or Ilocano irrigation societies, and even the customs of *abuloy* and *ambagan,* grow out of the *existing social unity.* The *bayanihan,* or *lusong,* for instance, is typically a specific-task work group called together by one individual or one household, the recruited participants being close friends, relatives, and—almost invariably—neighbors. When the task is finished, each participant has a claim upon the future similar services of the household he just helped.

   The *bataris* or *bolhon* is a work organization of farmers working fields which are adjacent to or at least nearby one another. An agreement is struck whereby each agrees to give a stated amount of work-time in turn to every one in the group. By this round-robin arrangement work on each farm can be completed more quickly and in more pleasant, less lonely circumstances.

   In these cases of traditional cooperation, as in the several collections to help a bereaved family (the *abuloy* and *ambagan*), the cooperating groups are all members of the same *local unit* (neighborhood, barrio, adjacent or nearby farms) and have a *history* of contact, interaction, and assistance. Irrigation societies (*zangjeras*) are similar in this regard. At times (such as in the setting up of Facomas), this basic fact has been overlooked. These farmers' cooperatives were set up to serve an artificial, politically-defined unit—the municipality. Not growing out of a social unit, as do traditional Filipino cooperatives, they do not generate the grass-roots base, the *involvement* and *sense of shared responsibility* that the culturally indigenous forms do. Where a Facoma has been successful, as in Cabanatuan City (we are told), the chances are great that the members are either marginal to the general lowland rural culture, form a cooperating or interacting group outside the Facoma structure, or are held together artificially (and precariously) by a charismatic manager or leader.

   The Banking Survey Commission would do well to look into successful cooperatives such as the Facoma just mentioned and the apparently very successful Israeli moshav experiment at Llanera, Nueva Ecija. In the latter case agricultural loans due in 1971 were repaid to the cooperative 100 percent, with an additional 30 percent for debts incurred the previous year.

4. *Exchanges between net savers and net spenders.* Information on who are, or are likely to be, members of these two categories could conceivably be gotten in several ways.

   One such way is through the banking system itself—ratio of deposits to loans in the various towns, cities, provinces, and regions throughout the nation. An examination of the Ilocos (high on deposits, low on loans) and Negros (high on loans, low on deposits) patterns may further suggest other clues. The Ilocos pattern results in large part from the great number of Ilocanos abroad (about 80,000 in Hawaii alone) who are remitting dollars to families, kinsmen, and friends in the Ilocos region. This suggests that, Ilocano thriftiness aside, one might also expect to find many net savers among those people who have relatives abroad and earning there. On the other hand, one might examine the Negros sugar-loan situation more carefully and decide that this net-spending pattern may result in many cases from the government's perhaps undue permissiveness in making these loans (why should crop loans be made *every year*?). It is, or was, a common practice (we have heard) for sugarcane planters to get loans much greater than they needed for their farm. One planter said point-blank that his policy—he was a man of honor—was never to spend less than one half of his crop loan on farming

needs.

The location of net savers and net spenders requires both study and imagination. From what we know of sex-typed cultural traits, we might suggest, for instance, that women should tend to be net savers and men, net spenders. From what some observant bankers have told us, we should also expect to find net savers among people who have a *savings* account but do *not* have a checking account. But the best beginning might be an examination of the deposit/loan rates of which we spoke earlier.

5. *Limits on interest rates.* Among people not informed of the legal limits, and among those people, informed or not, who need *ready money* badly or without too many questions, obviously exorbitant rates, such as 20 percent per day or 10 percent per month, may be acceptable. In other words, the tolerable limits on interest are a function of the urgency of need, the anticipated profit for the borrower, and (admittedly) the risk to the lender. The door-to-door vendor who needs starting capital early in the morning to buy his stock at the wholesale market may easily agree daily to return six pesos for five when it is lent to him on request and without collateral everyday. Only a workable cooperative money-lending scheme, or a similarly effective alternative, can compete with such a ready-money system (as indeed a cooperative has done in Cagayan de Oro). In fact, many people in the Philippines are said to pay 10 percent per month to loan sharks for money they need quickly and with little formal investigation of their background.

   The Banking Survey Commission can discover the specific limits people place on interest rates by commissioning an on-site survey of the question in representative places and for representative situations. Like the price of anything else, the cost of money will fluctuate, but such a survey would establish a baseline. Alternatively or additionally, questions on the price of money might be inserted in the monthly inquiry made for the BCS *Consumer's Price Index.*

6. *Foreign vs. domestic banks.* People may in some cases have a preference for foreign banks because of a special service offered there which is not offered, or not offered so efficiently, in a Filipino bank. In other cases, weight may be given to the presence (presumed or actual) of international assets to bail out the local bank if necessary. Again, *some* Filipino-owned banks may indeed be distrusted because of the way family members or cronies of the owners—or the owners themselves—are rumored to play with the depositors' money. But, in general, the reason will *not* be the *ownership* of the bank as such, but *how well and how safely it is run.*

   Family-centrism, we saw, need not block branch banking. Neither should xenophilia—*per se*—damage domestic banks.

7. *Free market vs. controls.* As we understand this question, the mechanisms in question would affect principally an atypical segment of Filipino society. That is, those who earn and use foreign exchange are immersed in the market system and are quite at home in it. Some controls there must be, as there are, but these correct imbalances derived, not from any special Filipino trait, but from the nature of a developing economy.

D. Now for a *summary.* We suggest that the seven problem-areas just listed and discussed call for three different tactics if they are to be satisfactorily answered or solved.

1. *Calling for new research* are what we perceive to be questions of fact: locating net savers and spenders, determining attitudes toward domestic and foreign banks as such, and gauging the compatiblity of controls in the Philippine business and commercial world.

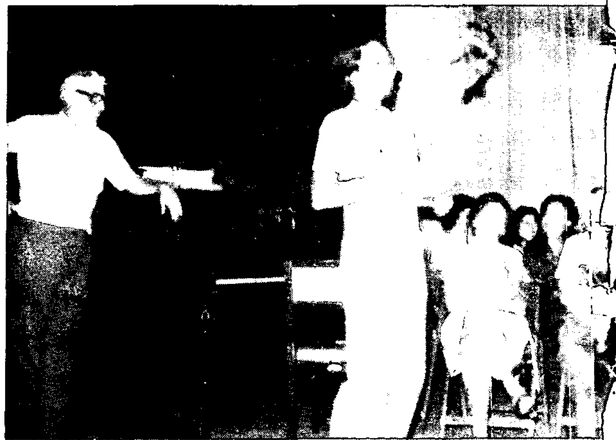
2. *Calling for adaptation of new ideas to old structures* is the multiplication of viable cooperatives for marketing, purchasing, production, and loans.

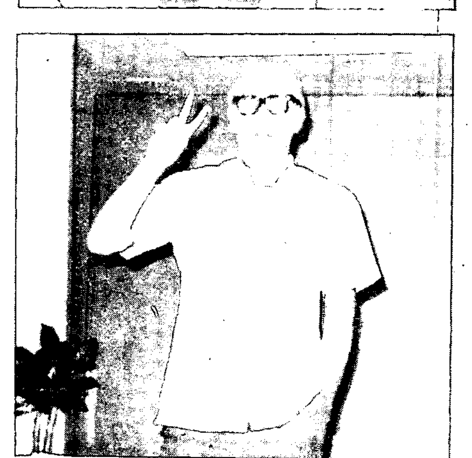
3. *Calling for stricter implementation of existing laws* and structural provisions are the problems related to the alleged preference for family-owned banks, on the one hand, and for foreign banks, on the other. Also largely a question of efficiency and justice is the problem of collectibles. In general, there are few problems of this kind which could not be solved, few reasonably well designed organizations (regardless of ownership) which would not function satisfactorily, if more bank officials could only learn to say these two sentences more often (to themselves as well as to others): (1) "I am sorry, I cannot do that for you"; and (2) "I am sorry, I cannot let you do that."

E. This opinion paper, written from habitual knowledge and without new research, is the joint work of the following social anthropologists: Wilfredo F. Arce, Ph.D. (Cornell); Mary R. Hollnsteiner, M.A. (U.P.); Frank Lynch, S.J., Ph.D. (Chicago); Francis J. Murray, Jr., Ph.D. (Pittsburgh); Romana Pahilanga-de los Reyes, M.A. (Ateneo de Manila).

Frank Lynch wrote the final draft of the report and takes responsibility for the opinions expressed herein.

Fr. Glicerio S. Abad, IPC director and economist, read the report from those two viewpoints. Fr. Michael McPhelin also told us things about economics and enjoyed what we wrote inordinately.





The thought of moral virtue
filled his speech
And he would gladly
learn and gladly teach.

Canterbury Tales

A note on the meaning of the term "intellectual elite" in the Philippines

FRANK LYNCH, S.J.

Writing in 1960, Edward Shils stated (1960:329) that "the gestation, birth, and continuing life of the new states of Asia and Africa, through all their vicissitudes, are in large measure the work of intellectuals." He said further that "In no state-formations in all of human history have intellectuals played such a role as they have in these events of the present century" (*ibid.*). In the course of developing his theme, Shils defined the intellectuals as "all persons with an *advanced modern education* and the intellectual concerns and skills ordinarily associated with it" (p. 322). For practical purposes, his operational definition of the intellectual was simply the college graduate (p. 333). In answer to the obvious objection, Shils had this to say:

> For a variety of reasons, the present definition of the intellectuals is a less selective or discriminating one than we would use to designate the intellectuals in the more advanced countries. This is in no way condescension toward the new states. It is only an acknowledgement of the smaller degree of internal differentiation which has until now prevailed within the educated class in the new states, and the greater disjunction which marks that class off from other sections of the society. It is also a recognition of a means of identification employed in the new states by the intellectuals themselves and by others (p. 332).

When opportunities for higher education are widely extended, in other words, one can no longer apply the simple definition that an intellectual is a college graduate or that every college graduate is an intellectual. As more and more people are better educated, as an increasingly higher percentage of the population receives college training, the definition of intellectual must become more and more discriminating.

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By world standards and UN figures, the Philippines may be labeled economically underdeveloped; by the same criteria it must be considered educationally advanced. For while the per capita Gross National Product of the Philippines is almost exactly the same as the world mean of US$200, the percentage of its total population in secondary and higher education (3.98) is relatively far above the world mean of 2.29 percent. Thus by the first economic measure the Philippines has a rank of 54.5 among the 96 nations so rated; in terms of the educational characteristic cited above, it ranks 16th among 134 countries of the world. In the face of this evidence it is clear that the college graduate is not likely to be the standout here that he might be in a nation with a much smaller number of degree-holders. And this likelihood is confirmed by the experience of those of us who live in the Philippines and move within the academic world. In the Philippines, where probably half a million people are college graduates (over 400,000 were this in 1960), our definition of the intellectual must be a demanding one.

In this "advanced-nation" understanding of the term, the requirements for intellectual status are both more restrictive and less concerned with formal training. For when we insist that a college degree is of itself no guarantee that one is an intellectual, we are in effect saying that years spent in a classroom are beside the point. We return, in other words, to a *substantive* interpretation of the term. In the paragraphs that follow, we examine what the contents of the concept generally are.

One essential note in the definition of the intellectual is a *high regard for the things of the mind.* He sees truth and understanding as worthwhile goals for human effort, and sees correctness of reasoning as crucially important in this quest. Truth and logic are highly valued in themselves, and not as means to overpower or overawe fellowmen. This same regard for truth and understanding leads the intellectual to be open to new ideas, not because he feels that every new idea is better than its older alternative—on the contrary. But he gives each new idea he encounters a fair chance of acceptance in the ever present hope of learning something new, and of modifying or perhaps even reversing what he had earlier learned or concluded. The intellectual is an open-minded lover of truth.

This willingness to change in the face of new evidence is so important that it deserves mention as a second criterion of the intellectual, connected though it is with the first. The intellectual is *continually readjusting his conception of reality.* He learns from his experiences. He grows as he perceives, assimilating and making a part of himself the new things he comes upon day by day. His mind is vibrant and alive, never quite the same as it was the day before—most of its changes being tiny modifications and increments, the perception of an old reality from a new aspect or the realization that some judgment is in need of tempering. But every now and then there may be a major change, a big shift in world view. For this possibility the intellectual is always prepared.

To this high regard for the mind and a consequent openness to change should be added a third ingredient: the *creation of new syntheses* for one's self and, when occasion permits or demands, for others. These syntheses are insights of more or less scope which result from the continually shifting conception of reality spoken of above. They occur when the mind, having shifted certain elements into new positions within the intellectual's perception of reality, stops and considers the total meaning of these modifications in the overall view. Ideally, the intellectual will be able to articulate these new understandings of reality to those around him, and the literate intellectual may express himself through the

written word. But the essential note is the synthesis itself.

At least on occasion, these syntheses will be concerned with basic issues that have confronted thinking men for centuries—the meaning of life and death, freedom, authority, the apparent inevitability of human conflict. For the intellectual is not concerned merely with the trivia of human subsistence. He has an abiding, often hidden, *concern about basic human issues.*

As such – and the qualifying phrase is very important the intellectual *does not care to amass power or wealth.* His greed, if we may call it this, concerns things of the mind. His passion is for a better understanding of reality and of the conditions of human freedom and dignity. It is possible, needless to say, that a genuine intellectual may find himself in a position of power. He may even desire and work toward that goal, believing that he can bring to the post a wisdom and outlook that the non-intellectual could not. But if he does so, he plays a role quite distinct from that of intellectual, and runs the risk of feedback from that role into his original detachment from power and the trappings of power. We know such men as these, who have successfully run this risk, but they are rare indeed.

In summary, the intellectual may be defined as a person who has such a high regard for the things of the mind, who places such a high value on the understanding of reality, that he is ever open to the modifying influences of new evidence, ever creating new syntheses for himself and others, new conceptions of reality, particularly reality that touches on basic human issues. Further, this humble, flexible seeker after truth sees power and wealth as purely instrumental values and has no desire for them in and for themselves.

So far, nothing that we have said requires that the intellectual be formally educated or, for that matter, even literate. Hence neither the illiterate in a primitive community, the high school graduate, nor the Ph.D. has any special claim to the classrooms. Intellectual or not is a question to be answered in terms of the intellect.

But most societies do recognize and ordinarily reward in some manner those who have a knowledge of the group's traditions and lore that exceeds the ordinary man's grasp of these matters. In the primitive society, this may mean a knowledge of the unwritten law and mythology and ritual by which the affairs of men are guided. In the peasant society, where the written word can capture and preserve so many things, so many alternatives far beyond the immediate experience of anyone in that society, this person may well have to be literate and educated beyond the ordinary in the formal sense. In an advanced nation, this kind of leader may have to be a college graduate or even more than that, well versed in the outward symbols and skills of the scholar's life—reading and writing, libraries, periodicals, books. At whatever level of societal development these specialists are found—from "specialists" at the primitive level they become just a part of the "educated class" in the advanced nation—they are seen as belonging to a specially favored group, an *elite.*

Yet the fact remains that this so-called elite may count among its members many highly educated individuals whose behavior prevents their being also identified as intellectuals. All thinking men have doubts about themselves in this regard, and so find it an easy matter to recognize the pseudo-intellectual beneath the cleric's sotana, the physician's white jacket, the judge's robe, the university professor's chalk-dusty shirt and tie. But when one finds the genuine intellectual in these roles, he has found a representative of the intellectual elite—a group composed of those who are at once intellectuals as defined earlier and well educated by the prevailing local standards.

To summarize this latter section, while the notion of an intellectual is a matter of the intellect, and is by that token predictably almost a univocal concept when applied to societies at various levels of complexity, the concept of an elite varies considerably from society to society. In this we are reminded that the meaning of a social elite is quite different from place to place, even within a single nation. The upper class in the barrio—the rural elite—would not regularly find itself placed among the elite of the poblacion, let alone the provincial capital or city. So the wise old man of Truk presently considered among the intellectual elite of that area, must look forward to the day fast approaching when he will remain a respected intellectual but not one of the intellectual elite, for this title will soon be reserved for those intellectuals with at least a high school education. In years to come, it will be the college graduate's prerogative.

Needless to say, in the phrase "intellectual elite" the important word is the first. True intellectuals are already an elite far more exclusive than any that might be created by conditions of ready access to higher education.

To be an intellectual in the Philippines demands all the inner quality required of intellectuals in any nation that is educationally advanced. What many of the new states of the post-war era are going through, as portrayed by Shils and others, the Philippines went through long ago, in the latter half of the 19th century. The challenge presented to educators today is to encourage the growth of genuine intellectuals in the most rigorous sense of the term. Nothing short of this kind of person—reasonable, truth-hungry, open to new ideas and capable of integrating them with the old, concerned about the things that will always matter to man, including the right use of power and wealth but not his own amassing of them—can be called a true intellectual. Who gives a college education to this kind of person gives the Philippines an intellectual elite of which it will be proud.

NOTE

Figures are from Ginsburg 1961:88, 44. Data are valid for the year 1957 and 1958, respectively.

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Excerpts from...

Sociological Variations in Catholicism by Frank Lynch, S.J. Lecture delivered at the University of Chicago, Winter Quarter 1955.

There are many propositions which one could consider under the rubric of sociological variations in Catholicism. I shall signalize but two. *First,* that the concrete religious behavior (beliefs, attitudes and practices) of a Catholic is a function not only of official doctrine and practice, but also of the culture in which he was brought up; *second,* that the breakdown of a people's concrete religious behavior into its official and non-official components may serve as a useful analytic tool for deriving or confirming hypotheses regarding the basic orientations which characterize their way of life....

Today's Native is Yesterday's Visitor by Frank Lynch, S.J. Philippine Studies 11(3):1963.

. . . There is a big difference between resistance against something that is alien and bad, and resistance against something that is alien, but good or neutral. My opinion is that the first way of acting is defensible, while the second carries within it the seeds of cultural decay. Cultural growth is nourished by selective receptivity to external influence.

At the present time there are many Filipinos . . . who see modernization in the Western mold as a mixed blessing. This view breeds a certain sensitivity to imports from the West. Sometimes the concern is prompted by an influence clearly recognized as bad. In this case, the outside influence is rejected without hesitation; it is seen as harmful to basic values which (the rejectors feel) should be retained regardless of any change in the social or economic system. Thus we hear outcries against movies and TV shows that glamorize violence, or against an intruding fashionable club of American origin that features scantily-clad hostesses. This kind of concern has probably always been in the Philippines and – in one form or another – it is found in every society in the world. It is part of the cultural danger-warning system. Frontal attacks on cherished values are easily discerned and the posture of defense is correspondingly bold.

There is another kind of concern, however. This worry seems more characteristic of newly independent nations whose reflective citizens wish to be quite sure that they can modernize along lines suitable to themselves. They do not care to be manipulated or pushed around, as it were, by more powerful nations, whether economically, socially, politically, or culturally. A frequent consequence of this fear of untoward influence is a spontaneous but wavering tendency to reject foreign influences wholesale while turning inward in search of the native soul. This search for self-understanding is both necessary and profitable, and many of us are presently engaged in it in the Philippines. But what about the companion tendency to fear foreign introductions as threats to national integrity?

The wonderful thing about foreign introductions is that, if they are worthwhile and well-suited to their host country, they will not be foreign very long. Take rice, or more recently, corn and camote. How many people know that these so characteristically Philippine staples are the offspring of foreigners? So it is with questions of culture. The foreign elements of yesterday (the mestizo dress, Christianity, Islam, and even the jeep) are the native elements of today. At any point in time, Philippine culture is the temporary end-product of development and addition from within and successful innovations from without....

Philippines: Bridge to Southeast Asia by Frank Lynch, S.J. Philippine Studies 15(10):1967.

. . . I may be mistaken in this, and here my Filipino colleagues must set me right, but let me pursue the point for what it may be worth. Just as many Spaniards tend to protest their uniqueness too much, apparently forgetting all they share with the Portuguese so the educated Filipino at times appears to overestimate his own Westernness. He seems to believe what he is told about his having a non-culture, a mixed bag of odd parts from the Malay, Spanish, and American ways of life; he reproaches himself for having abandoned an Oriental heritage which is in fact very much a part of him.

Like it or not (and he tends to like it these days), the Filipino is a bridge to southeast Asia. For as in the social world of the great Philippine cities, so in the watery ocean world there are all kinds of creatures adept at survival and growth. Swift and sure as the rest in this medium, the dolphin competes on equal terms with them all. But when it comes to the privately intimate things in life, like breathing and having babies, the dolphin is not a fish after all, but a whale, a mammal. Down deep, where he lives, the Filipino. like the dolphin, knows who he is.

Beyond the Minimum Wage: Sugarlandia in the Seventies by Frank Lynch, S.J. Philippine Sociological Review 18 (3-4):1970.

. . . By showing the weakness of these traditional explanations for low wages, we force ourselves to face up to a hard fact: human conditions in the sugar industry will not be greatly relieved, nor long improved, *merely* by policing planters and millers to pay the minimum wage. The malady, the root problem, is far less simple, much less manageable than that.

Pay the minimum wage and other benefits – inadequate as they may presently be for even a marginal taste of the good life – this the sugar industry must inevitably do if its leaders are to hold their heads high among men of honor here and abroad. But there are issues of greater moment to be considered, on which depend the continuation of the industry itself beyond the present decade. . . I urge planters and millers of intelligence and good will to give serious thought to several of them in particular; namely: first, the in-service training (or flushing-out) of sub-standard planters; second, the creation (with government assistance, to be sure, and perhaps

inevitably with international financing, of alternative work opportunities off the farm, perhaps in an industrial estate to be situated in Negros Occidental; third, the training of many thousands of sugarcane workers for new job careers; fourth, the subsequent and absolutely imperative decongestion of the farms; and fifth, the adoption by ever more planters of a system of profit sharing whereby workers, always earning the currently accepted *minimum* wage, may, at least on the occasion of an especially good crop, rejoice with their partners, the planters and millers, at God's kindness, the good price of sugar, and their consequent common good fortune.

Philippine Research on Malay Culture: The Viewpoint of a Participant Observer by Frank Lynch, S.J. Paper prepared for the UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines, June 19, 1971.

. . . The future for research on *Philippine* Malay culture is bright, particularly since the current tremendous pressures for social development make investigations of this kind imperative. I foresee nothing but growth in the number of good research organizations of this areal scope, and the expansion especially of those that have found and are exploiting "an ecological niche," as it were, answering felt needs of the Philippine community. . . . .

Philippine Anthropology as of January 1976: Some Observations and Suggestions by Frank Lynch, S.J. Position paper prepared for the Philippine Social Science Council, January 18, 1976.

. . . it is a good thing that graduate anthropology courses are given in only a few Philippine Universities. This very containment of the discipline will allow us, if we wish, to review what we have done to date and perhaps adopt new forms of quality control for the future. For there is little doubt in my mind that the demands placed on students and faculty vary greatly, even among the four best-staffed departments in our list.

In view of this finding, the present might be a good time to bring anthropologists together, first among themselves, and then with university administrators and representatives of one or more accrediting agencies and the Department of Education and Culture. Separate and increasingly demanding guidelines might be framed for programs leading to the A.B., M.A., and Ph. D. degrees.

As a result of this setting of goals and standards, we might move quite naturally to two further developments: first, a scheme for the production of inexpensive but high-quality training materials; and second, an exploration of possible consortia between two or more universities which currently offer anthropology degrees.

Such interdepartmental cooperation will not come easily; we all know the traditional resistance to such action. But we also know how much every existing department stands to gain from the assistance of one or more others. The alternative to this joining of forces is the spectacle of several separate but deficient staffs, like one-eyed men, competing for the crown in a kingdom of the blind.

What a University Research Organization Understands by its Freedom to Publish (December 1969) by Frank Lynch, S.J. Appendix B to A Bittersweet Taste of Sugar, 1970.

. . . The IPC's right to publish springs from its being an integral part of a university. For the purpose of a university is to serve the common good,and it is in recognition of this public trust that universities enjoy privileges before the law. For this reason, the university cannot, like a commercial organization, allow the fruit of its labors to become the exclusive property of those who sponsor those labors. The university can be supported, to be sure, but it can never be bought.

This does not mean, however, that a university-connected research organization will publish everything it finds, or publish at once whatever it decides to publish. . .there are many research findings that are really not worth printing. They are commonplaces of no significance to science, the Philippines, or mankind. More important, there are many findings which would, if published, represent a breach of confidence, particularly where the information was given, or discovered under conditions of trust. In cases of this nature, if one cannot publish his findings without revealing the identity of the individual or individuals involved, he simply must not publish them. . . .

. . . it reserves the right to publish freely the findings of its studies. However, it routinely first submits these findings to those most likely to contribute to their valid interpretation. These consultants may include its sponsors, along with others familiar with the phenomena under study.

Once it has found sufficiently reasonable explanations for the findings it has made, the IPC will publish. If its research has discovered a situation which is immoral or illegal, the publication of which would result in unfavorable judgments regarding those involved, it will not reveal their names. It will eventually publish what it has found, however – it cannot otherwise be true to its trust – but only after informing those who seem responsible for the difficulty, allowing them reasonable time to adopt prompt and effective remedial measures.

The social scientist, the priest, the man

More than Frank Lynch's scholarly contributions to anthropology, particularly in the area of Philippine values, I am sure he would appreciate being remembered as one of the founders of the Philippine Social Science Council.

Frank's obsession was Philippine national development through social science research. In his mind, the national agency for this would be the PSSC, a critical mass of social science organizations whose officers' loyalties would be to their disciplines rather than to their institutions, the quantum leap necessary for fostering professionalism in the social sciences.

I worked closely with Frank in various PSSC committees: the Institutional Development Committee (IDC), a committee for the preparation of sociology materials, the PSSC Building Committee. These activities formed part of a total pattern of commitment to the social sciences and their development in our country.

I would like to think therefore that the best way to perpetuate his memory and the fine work he did would be to contribute to the growth of PSSC and in a few years to find a permanent site whereby PSSC can assume still yet another role, a center of training and study for social scientists with suprainstitutional loyalties sharing their expertise with their fellow professionals.

ANDREW B. GONZALEZ, F.S.C.
President, De La Salle University
Member, PSSC Executive Council

Our relationship began 18½ years ago when he invited me to join the new IPC and the equally new Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the Ateneo de Manila. Serving as his assistant proved to be an invaluable opportunity for academic and personal growth. More than once, his directive that I revise an article one more time (eight revisions for *Reciprocity in the Lowland Philippines*!) reduced me to tears. But the improved outcomes invariably proved him right. As his colleague in nine recent years, I continued to apply his exacting norms to my work and that of my own (sometimes also weepy) students. Frank Lynch lives on in the younger generation of scholars he touched directly and indirectly. We are all poorer for his early death, yet so much richer because he lived.

MARY RACELIS HOLLNSTEINER
Resident Consultant
Institute of Philippine Culture

My long and close association with the late Father Frank Lynch was in his capacity as Director of the Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo University and a renowned social scientist to whom social workers like me ran to as a colleague, a mentor and a friend. Meeting him in conferences and consultations was always a meaningful experience for he unselfishly shared his ideas and every information needed, with all assurances for further materials available. The DSSD's commissioned researches with the IPC and the Bicol River Basin Project were our direct linkage. This was capped by our working together in the PSSC 1978 Executive Board. I treasure a deep admiration for him as a man of high principles; and I will forever remember him as among the most productive researchers in the Philippines, who stood out to assist the Philippine government in its need for survey and related data on Philippine social situation.

ROSITA L. FONDEVILLA
Assitant Minister
Ministry of Social Services and Development

I have been with the IPC for three years now. In two of those years, I have joined Father Lynch in two funerals — the first occasioned by the death of a twenty-one year old IPC research assistant, the second brought about by the death of Aurora Go's mother. Father Lynch celebrated Mass on these two occasions, and in each one he exorted the participants not to grieve too much — in fact, to rejoice that the dead has joined the Lord in heaven. At one point, he even remarked that through her death, Mrs. Silayan, Aurora's mother, is now able to do the "saturday night fever" with her husband, Hilarion.

I think Father Lynch would like us to share in the same spirit — not to grieve too much, if at all, but to rejoice with him and to remember him fondly. I have many such fond memories. He once wrote me a brief letter of introduction which went something like this: Dr. Casaje, give the bearer of this note, my boss, opaque lenses so that he would not see my mistakes." That was kind of him; I committed more mistakes than he did. At another time, I assigned a middle-aged lady to assist him in a research project. He called me to his office and said, "Ricky, what are you doing to me? I can't deal with her. She should work in the community where she belongs." I promptly reassigned the lady to another project. There are many other fond memories, some personal, others risque. But it's still difficult to get over the loss of an ally and a friend. Willy Arce (Dr. Wilfredo Arce, Program Secretary of the Ford Foundation's Southeast Asian Studies Program), a fellow faculty member says it well in a recent letter:

> "As you may know, my relationship with him — as his pupil, colleague and friend — has been long and close and warm. He influenced my life in a very profound and satisfying way; in his generosity, he did more for me than I had any right to expect. In the future, we will surely talk about his contributions to the development of social science in the Philippines; I think this is immense. Right now, I simply miss this great human being and feel a deep

sense of personal loss. Hence, I sincerely appreciate your letting me know of his passing and allowing me at least to mourn for him at this appropriate time even if in private and at this distance."

— WILLY

In 1967, Father Lynch wrote for *Philippine Studies* a memoriam for a fellow anthropologist, Henry Otley Beyer. His concluding statement in that memoriam fits him well: He gave everything he had — skill, knowledge, money, youth, energy, and life itself in the single-minded pursuit of a noble goal, a better understanding of man.

Sumalangit nawa.

RICARDO G. ABAD
Director, Institute of Philippine Culture
Ateneo de Manila University

Coring and I feel the loss of Frank very personally. He was ever kind, helpful and supportive. I was glad I did work for him as Ozzie's go-between in my Ford days in Manila. I recalled to Coring Frank's remark to Ozzie in one of our meetings at the Ateneo: 'Ozzie, just put your money where your mouth is, and everything will be all right.' When I was in Manila last July, I tried to see him but he had gone away to Cagayan de Oro two days earlier. So I could only leave him a note. I wish I had seen him before then. Today I received the last (latest) issue of Social Science Information where I see his picture and an editorial by him.

JOSE V. ABUEVA
Secretary to the University
The United Nations University
Tokyo, Japan

I first met Frank Lynch, S.J., in a post-mass breakfast in a small chapel in Honolulu, Hawaii. Being a Protestant, I had not come for the mass but I wanted to meet this famous anthropologist I had to read in many classes. I also wanted to see if he really ate *tuyo* and *sinangag* with East-West Center students after saying mass every morning. This was the early 1960's, you see, and priests with a reputation for being also human were still very few. Father Lynch was one of them; he was usually ahead of everyone else. His concern for each of us in that group has made that poor man's breakfast, and many others following it, a memorable experience.

My last conversation with Father Lynch related to some articles for the *Philippine Sociological Review.* He had just learned about my new assignment as PSR editor and he wanted to ease the burden by helping me find publishable papers. That phone call was characteristic of Father Lynch. It showed him in his self-imposed task of nurturing younger social scientists of whom I was only one. It also manifested his continuing concern for the growth of the Philippine social science disciplines he has enriched considerably with hard work, long-range vision and, always, his human touch.

LEDIVINA V. CARINO
Professor and Director
Research and Publications Program
College of Public Administration
University of the Philippines

I really doubt if there is a comparable example of a social science field in any country being so shaped by the work, convictions, and stimulations of one man as was anthropology in the Philippines shaped by Frank.

We all profited from our associations with him, and in many ways, I am especially indebted to him because of his demand for rigor — for worrying about how we thought we knew everything.

WILLIAM G. DAVIS
Chairman
Department of Anthropology
University of California — Davis

Frank Lynch meant so much to me as well as to many others whom he had touched! He meant so much because he simply gave himself to others. This, he did even when he was called for professional advice without any reservation or care for his health. In his work as a scholar, he was thorough and yet very human. The Philippine social science community was enriched not only by his scholarly work but also by a perspective very few in our ranks can match.

Those of us who were trained professionally by him and, at times saw him as "a rigorous task master," gratefully acknowlege our *utang na loob* to him. His door was always open to those who knocked on it. They were never disappointed. Personally I remember his judicious advice and suggestions for better anthropological work, his unassuming kindness and brotherly help when the sailing was getting rough. At my wedding, he was both *ninong* and concelebrant at the Eucharistic celebration; at the reception, his jovial, gregarious and helpful self.

What else can I say except that Frank Lynch was beautifully human, truly Christian, warts and all, for he always was himself.

GERARD RIXHON
Program Associate in Southeast
Asian Studies
The Ford Foundation-Manila

The poignancy of the sudden passing of Father Frank Lynch has pointed up for us his true stature as a Philippine social scientist. He was truly a giant in the field of behavioral science. His landmark contributions on social acceptance, smooth interpersonal relationships, and other Philippine values, his work upon social class in the Bikol, his contributions to the planning and the evaluation of many development projects are evidently all of first rank importance. Founder of the Institute of Philippine Culture, Director of the IPC from 1961 — 1968, Editor of the Philippine Sociological Review from 1969 to 1973, vice chairman and member of the Executive Board of the Philippine Social Science Council (1968-1978), President of the Philippine Sociological Society (1961-62), he lent his organizational talents to the benefit of the social science disciplines in numerous important ways.

Father Lynch was distinguished by an exceptionally keen, penetrating mind, a jolly wit, a dedication to causes in which he believed, and a generous interest in others. He was marked by an unfailing interest in, and helpfulness towards

students and associates. Few of the present-day Philippine social scientists can say that they have not been influenced by Father Frank Lynch. Many developed under his guidance. Many others were helped in their more important contributions by his encouragement, his counsel, his suggestions, or his reflections. He was never too tired, even toward the end, to listen to someone who sought his ideas, and never too busy to reflect on what has been discussed and to come up, if not at once, in a few days with a genuinely helpful thought. He was quick to recognize and to encourage the talents of others, to foster their development, and to avoid smothering their contributions under his own ideas. One can truly say of him *brevi valde multa-explevit.* We who knew Father Lynch well are better men for it. May God give us more men like Father Lynch.

FRANCIS C. MADIGAN, S.J.
Director
Mindanao Center for Population Studies
Research Institute for Mindanao Culture
Xavier University

". . . This is both a tremendous loss to those institutions with which he was connected and in which he served so well; also a poignant loss to us who knew him personally. . ."

EMMANUEL Y. ANGELES
President
Angeles University Foundation

Frank Lynch has left a legacy never to be erased from Philippine studies. Besides his own influential research, especially on Bicol, he has contributed to future generations of scholarship through his personal encouragement and, frequently, financial support to students pursuing undergraduate, graduate, and post-graduate studies on the country he loved and died in.

BENEDICT J. KERKVLIET
Visiting Research Associate
Institute of Philippine Culture

As a fellow Jesuit priest and social scientist, who lived with him many years, my lasting impression of Frank is how he united these two focuses of his life. For him, the priesthood did not mean a concern for narrow "ecclesiastical interests." It meant to give oneself for others, to try to bring to all men and women a truly human life, since this was the message and mission of Jesus Christ, for whom Frank worked. This he felt he could best do by directing his professional scientific competence toward the achievement of structures in society calculated to bring justice to the individual Filipino and respect for his human dignity as a son of God. In this way, he could contribute to the building of the Filipino nation, of which he was proud to have become an adopted member. May others to whom he gave this vision carry on his work.

JOHN N. SCHUMACHER, S.J.
Professor of History
Ateneo de Manila University

Forty years ago at Fordham Prep in New York City, Frank Lynch impressed his classmates as a serious, active and concerned person. For the past 30 years, in the Philippine scene, he never ceased exercising these talents as an effective scholar, working at times even from the hospital room, yet never too busy to help someone who entered his life.

JOHN PHELAN, S.J.
Ateneo de Naga

A tribute to Frank Lynch is to recognize the warm and deep concern he expressed to so many people in his lifetime. Although his scholarly contributions in the field of social science, especially Philippine culture, remains as eloquent witnesses to his dynamism and capacity for work, I hesitate to speak about these achievements. Frank Lynch's scholarly assets have long been appreciated in Philippine social science circles. The honor and the privilege was to touch and be touched by his presence.

I vividly recall Frank's visible concern and interest last year when I told him about a young polio victim whom I came to know during the course of my fieldwork. My dilemma at that time was whether or not to be more a "participant" than an "observer" to my respondent-family's problems. But Frank did not hesitate. He personally interceded for the first sizable check toward the child's operations. The project was amazingly blessed with favorable results from that moment. Two weeks before Frank's death the boy, who is now with straightened legs, was fitted with braces in order to take his first steps. I am sure that to those who have been touched by Frank Lynch during his lifetime, his passing leaves a void in the heart. We mourn not so much the passing of the scholar and the anthropologist, but that the voice of a friend has been stilled.

JOSEPH A. VANCIO
Research Associate
Institute of Philippine Culture
Ateneo de Manila University

". . .It is hard to accept the reality of death, coming unexpectedly as it did to someone like Father Lynch who looked hale and healthy the last time I saw him . . . and who still has so much to give. It is amazing how much he has accomplished in his relatively short lifetime. We shall certainly miss him very much, and his easy, approachable ways. . ."

LOURDES ROMERO
Director, Research Center
St. Paul College of Tuguegarao

Fr. Lynch stands out as a man genuinely committed to the development of people. His belief that everyone should have a say in the planning of his future drove him into advocating a development planning strategy with the people leading the way and the experts following. The same principle seems to underlie the manner in which he had trained and helped launch many a social scientist in their respective careers. Although the expert, Fr. Lynch encourages the neophyte to decide on the course he wants for himself. Having settled this, Fr. Lynch would then help in the realization of the dream. He would be critical, yes. But he would also, and always, be supportive. This concern for other people is one legacy which can be a person's way of saying "Thank you" to a great teacher-developer.

JEANNE FRANCES I. ILLO
Research Associate
Institute of Philippine Culture

A good man for the journey

REV. JAMES F. DONELAN, S.J.

(A talk given by the former Rector-President of Ateneo de Manila University on the occasion of a memorial service for Rev. Francis Xavier Lynch, S.J. on October 12, 1978)

The morning after Father Frank Lynch — whom I shall henceforth call Frank — died, there was an article in the Bulletin Today. I clipped it out, for whatever reason, and wrote on the top three lines of three words each: A great priest — a great scholar — a great friend. It was my own personal eulogy — all that I intended to say — all that I felt I could say. The night before I had stood at Frank's coffin and it was a unique personal experience. Unique because of the nature of my Jesuit life. I have never yet assisted at the death bed or the funeral of a member of my family, or of any one I loved. In all my adult life I had shed tears of sorrow but once, when in February of 1950, in Davao, a month before I was to return home I received word that my father had died. On Friday night as I blessed Frank's body with holy water I cried in sorrow for a second time. I wept as I remembered how often he and I had tired the sun with talking and sent it down the sky. He and I. For our friendship was not a public affair. Few people, except for Jesuits, were aware of it. It was a private personal understanding of each other. Months could go by without our talking — and yet each one knew that he could ask the other whatever he would, and it would be given. It was not merely a matter of being friends in need and therefore friends indeed. "For the inner meaning of that simple rhyme, is that a friend is what the heart needs all the time." The simple knowledge that Frank was my friend, that I had his affirming, unconditional love, has from the early years of my Jesuit life made me feel a much better person that I am — gave me courage to do things I wouldn't have attempted otherwise. Such is the power of love.

So I shall not speak now of Frank Lynch, the scholar. Our friendship was not professional. Nor shall I speak of Frank Lynch, the priest, for others have already done so. Rather I shall speak of Frank Lynch, my friend, and perhaps in so doing let you see through my eyes what his scholarship and priesthood meant in his life, and what it meant to me to be his friend.

It is hard to define the precise moment when friendship is formed — or any kind of love for that matter. It is as in filling a vessel drop by drop, there is at last a drop which makes it run over. At what point in my relationship with Frank my cup runneth over I cannot really say. It all began so many years ago — thirty seven years. Time seems to be one of the constitutive elements of friendship — the time it takes to make a tree grow — the time it takes to transform carbon into diamond. Thus close friendships are rarely formed late in life — for it is life itself that shapes and forms and gives them substance, and tests the quality of that substance in the crucible of time.

And friendship within the Society of Jesus has its own unique quality to it. For we are already a band of brothers — and by virtue of our brotherhood we can ask of each other what someone in the world asks only of a friend. It is a tribute to that brotherhood that often when a Jesuit dies, one will ask the other — who is his best friend? — and often the question goes unanswered. For we are all brothers.

Frank and I, however, were blessed. We were given that gift of Time. We travelled much the same path down the years — diverging here and there, as paths do in the woods, but always coming back together again. We were at the Novitiate of St. Andrew-on-Hudson together — together, then, for two years at Woodstock, Maryland. In 1946 Frank left for the Philippines. I followed a year later. We saw much of each other the year Frank lived at Ateneo on Padre Faura, while studying at U.P. under Otley Beyer, a man who had great influence in Frank's life as a scholar. No one who studied under Otley Beyer could ever be a Sunday supplement anthropologist. Intellectual honesty and integrity — the qualities these two men shared brought them close together.

For his theological studies Frank was sent to Woodstock, Maryland, and I to Weston in New England. But as Providence would have it, after one year Frank joined me there, Woodstock's climate proving too hard on his asthma. There in New England we walked the autumn woods together — along the old stone walls that make good neighbors and among the white birches that are bent from young boys' swinging.

After Theology, our paths diverged again. I sailed overseas to Europe — to Oxford to study English Literature — and Frank went to the University of Chicago for his doctorate in Social Anthroplogy. During those four years, though we corresponded fairly often, I saw Frank only once. In June of 1958.

A few years ago, while we were sitting on the beach at Poro Point, San Fernando, just the two of us, talking the sun down the western sky — Frank asked if I remembered the trip we took that time. Frank never asked an idle question and I wondered where this one would lead, though I suspected.

Our being on the beach at Poro Point was itself an illumination of a part of Frank's character that not many people ever realized. His perceptive charity. He was a man who saw the needs of others rather than proclaimed his own. The Frank Lynch that most people saw, was, despite his Irish name, (he had a German mother) — the scholarly, hardworking, meticulous, demanding Director of the Institute of Philippine Culture. Demanding, yes, for his standardi was

excellence. Yet he never asked anyone to work as hard or as long as he did, or even more than he thought they could, and as much as he asked of his friends — unabashedly — he was always willing to give more in return than he had received. Had he not, he would still be with us.

Almost every telephone call I received from Frank these past seven years have all been requests to help him help someone — a student, a visiting professor, the janitor's daughter, the cook's niece, the driver's son — to help get someone out of prison or get someone into the Kidney Center or the Heart Center. His care and concern reached out to all. There was no winter in his bounty. It was all autumn.

On this occasion what brought us to Poro Point was a simple act of thoughtfulness. One of Frank's students was leaving in two days for the States to begin her doctoral studies. (Has anyone ever counted the number of bright young men and women Frank helped and inspired into a life of scholarship — that alone is an imperishable monument to his memory.) The girl's father lived in Ilocos — was old and ill and it was not likely she would ever see him again. But all of Central Luzon was a vast lake — no cars — no buses — no Philippine Airlines. Frank asked if I could borrow a small plane and fly her somewhere within jeep distance of her home. As I said he asked for favors unabashedly! We managed to make it — never flying higher than four or five hundred feet — skirting squalls and local storms and finally landing at Poro Point, where a Lepanto jeep was waiting. The young lady went on to her home and Frank and I stayed at the beach house that night. We swam, ate dinner, sat on the beach and talked. I said earlier, we had the gift of Time — but we had it in a special way — again and again by Fate or Chance or simple mutual desire we found ourselves together — just the two of us — the kind of moments friendship needs — all love needs — if it is to grow.

It was then in the quiet of that evening that Frank asked if I remembered our trip in 1958. As if I could ever forget it! It was the end of Trinity term and the following week I would take my final examinations — what at Oxford, in their esoteric language, is called Schools. There are ten examinations in all — six hours a day for five days. The atmosphere is something like the Last Judgment. Everyone is required to dress in black! On the last day, after the last exam, the students pour out into High Street — champagne corks pop like a barrage of Bofor guns — and fragile glasses are smashed against the ancient stone walls — some in joy — some in despair.

It was that previous weekend that Frank arrived, came up from Spain where he had been studying the social structure of a quaint barrio near Ronda. He took one look at me, a poor wretch awaiting execution, and said — "Enough, close the books and come, show me England." So I put aside my Chaucer, Shakespeare and Milton. We hired a small car — bought a bottle or two of Scotch and started off on a five day journey into forgetfulness. We started West towards Surrey, where Chesterton's great White Horse still gallops across the green hills, then down to Winchester — to the cathedral where the ancient Kings of England were crowned and are buried — where Jane Austen lies in quiet peace — Winchester — legendary home of Camelot, of Arthur and his Round Table, then on to Wells and Glastonbury — where Joseph of Arimathea brought the Holy Grail, and Arthur and Guinevere lie buried — or so say the legends.

As we drove along England's winding hedge-bordered roads, it was I who talked and talked and talked — for this was my world — these were my people — and Frank listened. There never was a better listener — a better companion for the journey. For Frank's mind was as broad as it was deep. He could say with the Latin poet — "Homo sum — humani nil a me alienum puto" — "I am a man and reckon nothing human sa alien to me."

To many people, to his professional colleagues and students, Frank was a social scientist, a specialist — a cultural anthropologist whose concern was the social patterns, conventions, values and mores of human society. But beneath that he was also a man of the Renaissance — well-versed in the great literatures of the world. He was a social scientist who could write Greek hexameters — who had read — in Greek — the Iliad of Homer, the histories of Thucydides, the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides, the speeches of Demosthenes, the philosophy of Aristotle and Plato. An anthropologist who could deliver a speech in Latin, scan a line of Vergil, delight in the wit of Horace and the biting satire of Juvenal, who had read Chaucer, Shakespeare and Milton. Long before he opened a book on social anthropology he had learned from Hamlet what man is: how noble in reason, how infinite in faculty, in form and moving, how express and admirable, in action, how like an angel, in apprehension how like a god."

And he had learned from Ignatius of Loyola what man's purpose is in life — to praise reverence and serve God our Lord and by this means to save his soul — and to use all other things — anthropology and English literature — to serve that purpose. Frank was birth, education and intellectual formation what Teilhard de Chardin, speaking of himself, called "a child of heaven," at the same time becoming, because of personal temperament and professional studies, a "child of earth." It was the challenge of Frank's life to effect a harmony between these two selves.

After Glastonbury we drove up to Wales, to a Jesuit house of formation, high on a mountain, called Ben Rus — where I had lived for a year — in the room of Gerard Manley Hopkins — overlooking the green valley of the Clwyd and the Elwy — and then we drove up through Wordsworth's Lake country — on a rare sunny day — then southeast through York and Durham, and down through Lincolnshire and Essex to Canterbury — England's primal see, where Thomas lies, slain by the command of the King who had loved him.

It is a fitting place to end a pilgrimage with Frank — for when Chaucer sketched his portrait of the Oxford scholar in his Canterbury Tales, he could well have had Frank in mind, the University of Chicago notwithstanding. For Frank, through most of his life, had the lean and hungry look that characterized Chaucer's hard working scholar.

> "His only care was study and indeed"
> He never spoke a word more than
> was need./"

How like Frank who once complained to me he had no talent — or patience — for small talk.

"Whatever money from his friends he took// He spent upon learning and another book// And prayed for them most earnestly returning// Thanks to them for thus paying for his learning."

Any Foundation who gave Frank a grant knew it would be spent honestly to the last centavo.

"The thought of moral virtue filled his speech// And he would gladly learn and gladly teach."

"Gladly learn and gladly teach" – how better could one summarize the life of Frank Lynch? In one of his early letters another Jesuit scientist whom Frank resembled in many ways, Pierre Teilhard wrote "I am more keenly aware that for the rest of my life my task is to develop in myself, humbly, faithfully, doggedly, and at the same time to impart it as much as possible to others that form of spirituality which makes one seek for God in every single thing and in all one's activity." And in another letter that he wrote, he posed the problem that faces the priest who is a scientist: "I have not tried to erect any walls between these two areas in my life – faith and science – I have found that far from destroying each other, each has served to reinforce the other. Today I believe more in God than ever – and I certainly believe more than ever in the world."

Then Teilhard asked a question that has peculiar pertinency in the life of Frank Lynch.

"Do we not," he wrote "find here, in the life of a single individual the outline of a solution to a spiritual problem which at present disturbs humanity." For the secret and the source of Frank's amazing energy, his complete dedication, his boundless yet hidden charities was that, like Teilhard, when he looked at the world, he saw not mankind in its nameless unlovable collectivity but with the face and heart of Christ. He saw his vocation – and that of all Christians – to recognize and find Christ omnipresent in the world, that divine personal Omega who is alone capable of drawing all men to Himself and of changing this world into a better, happier place by the power of His love.

It seems to me that Frank's life is a fulfillment of this hope of Teilhard. For Frank was not a priest just for those minutes each day that it took him to say Mass and read his prayers. His life of scholarship and teaching was an extension of his priesthood. The Eucharist was not only the center of his priestly life, but by its very sacramentality it became a focus of that unity between God and the material world which was his vocation as priest-scientist to bring about, to achieve what Teilhard called cosmic and Christic unity. That is why he would gladly learn and gladly teach until the day he died. This is the "moral virtue" that filled his speech.

From Canterbury we drove back along the pilgrim's route to London. Frank went back to Spain and I went to my examinations and that final glass of champagne.

And now on the beach of Poro Point, some 15 years later Frank was asking if I remembered that trip. What he was asking actually was – had I forgotten the hopes and ideals which we had set – not for ourselves – but for the Ateneo.

Beginning with his return to the Philippines from Chicago and for the next 20 years, Frank was so closely identified with the IPC – for he was its creator – that few people realized, and it was only as Dean of Ateneo College and then as President that I myself realized that it was the Ateneo not the IPC that was the center of Frank's life. He saw the function of the IPC as serving the University, as it is the Society of Jesus' function to serve the Church. During that trip through England – I talked by day – but at night by the fireside in ancient English inns it was Frank who talked about his dream for the Ateneo – of forming a true community of scholars – a *universitas magistrum et scholarum* – serving the Church and the nation. He would recite the names of the great men and women already here and of the many more who were coming. He spoke of them as Arthur would, sounding the roll call of his brave knights, and ladies fair.

Thus the next ten years were very happy years for Frank, as the Ateneo became a university and the roster of its lay and Jesuit scholars grew longer and longer – and more impressive, and its reputation for scholarship took on international dimensions as did his own personal reputation as a scholar. He saw Ateneo as a focal point, an integrated center of Filipino learning and scholarship and he welcomed the coming to the campus of the Manila Observatory, Loyola House of Studies, San Jose Seminary, the East Asian Pastoral Institute. And he dreamed of a National Social Science Center here on the Ateneo campus.

It was understandable, then, that the events at the turn of the decade saddened him. The loss of so many of Ateneo's scholars – some lay but many Jesuits – grieved him, and the lack of interest in the intellectual academic life on the part of young Jesuits he found hard to understand, though, as was his character, he never passed judgment on either those who left the University or the Society or the Philippines or on those who were not inclined to join in the intellectual apostolate. And he worked harder than ever.

His question there on the beach also had a personal aspect to it. It was one of many gentle reminders I received from him since I left the Ateneo seven years ago that he felt it was there I belonged. His motive was not selfish, but care and concern for me. He did not think I could be happy away from the Ateneo and the Jesuit community. He had in his own mind put me there long before I myself ever thought of being there. Back in 1952 when I put down on one of those "what do you want to be when you grow up" questionnaires – which Jesuits fill out late in life – when I put down "high school teaching in Davao" – Frank shook his head and said, as if he had seen it written somewhere "No! You are going to be Rector of the Ateneo" – Two years later, my Jesuit studies finished, I was told to go, not to Davao, but to Oxford. So much for questionnaires. When I resigned as President in 1969 Frank was the only person I discussed the matter with beforehand – and he agreed it was a proper and timely act of trust and confidence – but he never accepted my leaving the campus. The pros and cons of that decision are not relevant here, but the way he felt is an example of his own deep love and commitment to the Ateneo and his unceasing care and concern for a friend.

If anyone were to ask me what quality in Frank's character I was most impressed by – besides the depth and loyalty of his friendship, it would be his constancy. An unwavering commitment and dedi-

cation to an ideal no matter what the cost. Those of you who remember the Canterbury Tales will recall that constancy was the moral of the Oxford scholar's story. I said above Frank was saddened by the loss of friends and Jesuits – but he was never discouraged. The ideals and aspirations he had set to achieve early in life remained unchanged, shining there on the horizon of his life. The University would go on, and grow and prosper. His work log would show that the past year has been as productive as any previous year and more than most.

When we used to fly together to Poro, Borocay, Lubang, Calapan or Culion – Frank rarely took the controls but he delighted in navigation. He would plan every stage of the trip, set our course out on one VOR signal, bisecting it at intervals with another, establishing precise fixes at every stage along the way. Whenever I would ask him where he could put a dot on the map and say "here."

So with his life. The true course he flew out on, what a Jesuit calls his election, the main heading and unwavering direction of his life was his vocation as a Jesuit priest. The other bisecting signal was his scholarship as it manifested itself here at Ateneo. These were the beacons that told him where he was, where he had been and where he was going. He was, all told, a good man to go on a journey with – whether to Poro Point, to Canterbury or to the end of time and space. Those of us who have travelled with him will always consider it one of the great blessings and graces of our life.

SOME EMPIRICALLY-BASED CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE M-99 PROGRAM

(Continued from page 3)

are surely agreed that increased agricultural production must be accomplished with the least possible expense and the greatest possible closure of the income gap.[5]

Epilog

The findings and conclusions presented in the SSRU's study of M99 Phase I (above) received considerable attention both in Camarines Sur and at the national level. As recently as early 1976 government officials involved in the M99 program (now in Phase VI) were referring more recent reports to me for my information and comments. Some general observations will be made on these reports in the course of the PCF session.

FOOTNOTES

[1]These guidelines and data were made available by Nicanor S. Clasio, NFAC Provincial Program Officer. He and Mr. San Jose were interviewed September 16, 1974, by J.V. Barrameda, Jr., SSRU Publications Officer.

M99-loan applicants were by the official guidelines supposed to belong to a *selda*, or compact farm, whether their riceland was irrigated or rainfed. Since in both the ACA and RB formulas it is stipulated that CF members must work *Irrigated* land, I confess to a little confusion here (see Item A.2 in Table 1 on page 6 of the Appendix to the source of this selection). However, as will become clearer in subsequent paragraphs, I applaud the granting of M99 loans for rainfed parcels.

[2]As of August 30, 1974, M99 farmers with irrigated land had a much better loan-repayment record than those with rainfed land. The percentages are these: fully paid up were 75 percent of irrigated farmers but only 51 percent of rainfed; partly paid up were 17 and 22 percent, respectively.

[3]The M99/Non-M99 difference in yield is not significant for irrigated parcels (finding 8). The same observation has been made for a sample of irrigated farms in Cavite, where the average harvest was 49 cavans of palay for M99 farms and 42 for Non-M99. See Marlin Van Der Veen, "The Philippine Masagana 99 rice production program of 1973: A cursory view from Cavite rice paddies" (ms., July 1974), page 26.

[4]A hypothetical example may help. Suppose we have 1000 hectares of riceland, 500 of which are irrigated and 500, rainfed. Assume that the productivity of all farms follows the average figures we derived from our study, and that loans are given twice a year for irrigated farms or once a year for rainfed, always at P700 per hectare.

If we give no loans at all, the total production for the 1000 hectares over a six-year period (say, 1974-80) will be 474,000 cavans (342,000 from the irrigated hectares and 132,000 from the rainfed). Now, if we give loans twice a year for the irrigated parcels, this will up the total six-year production figure to 492,000 cavans, an increase of *only 18,000 cavans.* Further we will have done this at a cost in loans of P4,200,000. In othe words, we will have paid for this increment in production at a rate of P233 per cavan.

However, if we support the rainfed parcels only once a year for the six-year period, the total production figure will be 507,000, an addition of *33,000 cavans.* Further, this will have been accomplished at a loan cost of only P2,1000,000, or P64 per added cavan. Clearly, supporting rainfed parcels adds more to the total harvest than supporting irrigated parcels, and does it more cheaply, repayment records being equal.

[5]Copies of an earlier version of this report were sent to the Executive Director (Oscar M. Ravanera) and Deputy Directors (Benjamin Gaon, Salvador P. Pejo, and Crisanto A. Gimpaya) of the Bicol River Basin Development. While I profited from their comments and those of Douglas Tinsler (USAID), the conclusions are my own.

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