The research on which this paper is based was part of the Ateneo-Penn State Basic Research Program, sponsored by the United States Office of Naval Research, with The Pennsylvania State University as prime contractor (Nonr-65 [37]).

DAVID L. SZANTON was born in New York City in 1938. He majored in anthropology at Harvard University where he received a B.A. in 1960. He first became interested in the Philippines in 1962-63 as a Peace Corps Volunteer serving in the Western Visayas. He attended the University of Chicago on a Ford Foundation Study Fellowship for International Development and obtained an M.A. in Social Sciences in 1964. He then entered the doctoral program in anthropology at the University of Chicago, and two years later returned to the Philippines to conduct his dissertation research. Fieldwork was completed in 1968 and he received his Ph.D. in 1970. He has since worked for the Ford Foundation in the Philippines and Thailand and is currently on the staff of the Social Science Research Council in New York.

- 1. For a detailed account of the background of this research and the selection of Estancia as a field site, see Szanton 1967a.
- 2. The Japanese occupation forces maintained a small garrison in Estancia. Because many boats were commandeered by the army and because fuel was unavailable, commercial fishing came to a halt during the war.
- 3. Comparing municipal market-collection records for various periods will not help in this regard because of wide but unknown variations in the efficiency of collections over time
- 4. Equating population growth with productive growth would, of course, bring the rate of economic development to unity, a standstill. However, for our more general purposes, it is not necessary to know whether the rate of new employment opportunities and attendant population growth exceeded, equalled, or lagged behind the rate of increase of productivity. We only need to know that they are directly (not inversely) related.
- 5. Prior to 1962, P2 equalled U.S. \$1. From 1962 up to the time of the study (1968), the exchange rate hovered around P3.90 to the U.S. \$1.
- 6. Pelagic (or migratory) fish in Philippine waters tend not to swim in large schools as those found in the Atlantic and northern Pacific oceans. Lights above the surface, however, have the effect of building up a school.
- 7. This second technique using explosives simply to stun (nahilo) the nearby fish and make them more obedient to the lights of an outfit is also sometimes used by basnigan. The basnigeros find that a small charge used in this manner makes the fish less skittish and less apt to flee an approaching net. Since these outfits fish in relatively deep water to avoid snagging their nets, the small charges they employ have little apparent effect on marine ecology. Officially, of course, this type of "dynamite fishing" is as illegal as palopok.

- 8. For a tantalizing glimpse of the production of binoro in Estancia in 1927 and suggestions for improving the then current technique, see Montalban 1930.
- 9. This is much less the case for large-scale entrepreneurs and women generally, for reasons which will be discussed in the last chapter.
- 10. Ningas kogon, literary "cogon blaze," is a Filipino idiom for any undertaking characterized by feverish initial activity (likened to the early fury of burning cogon) and almost sudden death soon after.
 - 11. See Marketing Horizons 1968 (6): 55-56.
- 12. It is also interesting to note that in 1966, the highest fifth of the families in the United States had cash incomes which amounted to 44 percent of the total family income earned in the country (Bureau of Census [U.S.] 1968:323). This is a much lower proportion than the nationwide figure for the Philippines (55.4 percent) but not nearly so different from the 48.7 percent in Estancia.
- 13. See the relevant articles in Marketing Horizons (1968) which cite the previously mentioned survey of households.
- 14. This is partly due to the fact that the Catholics bulk so large in the total population that they inevitably skew the "Total" figures toward their own.
- 15. As the following 2 x 2 tables indicate, women, and migrants generally, are also significantly overrepresented in the two highest income brackets:

	Income		
	High	Low	Total
Men	802	42	844
Women	147	21	168
Total	949	63	1,012

	Income		
	High	Low	Total
Estancia born	457	21	478
Migrants	492	42	534
Total	949	63	1,012

 $X^2 = 13.6$ Level of

significance: .01

 $X^2 = 5.2$ Level of

significance: .05

Thus, sex and emigration must also be considered in accounting for the local pattern of income distribution, and they carry the interesting suggestion that local-born males have some difficulty in taking advantage of local economic opportunities.

- 16. Although we speak here of lowland Philippine social structure, our data and observation largely derive from the Bongo and larger Visayan regions. Our generalizations should thus be regarded more as propositions or hypotheses concerning structural arrangements in other parts of the Philippines. I believe them to have considerable validity elsewhere, but at this point cannot prove it.
- 17. I have omitted description and analysis of the structure of kinship relations among the Ilongo because they are not central to our concerns here and because they have received adequate treatment in Gonzalez (1965), Jocano (1966), and Sibley (1958).
 - 18. A more extensive account is currently in preparation.
- 19. Carroll, in discussing large-scale Filipino manufacturing entrepreneurs, at least half seriously comments that "every one of them is a character" (1965: 136), and stresses the

wide variety of forces they and/or their families have been subjected to which would tend to disrupt their orientation towards the traditional socioeconomic system (1965: 131-32).

- 20. For discussion of a similar orientation elsewhere in the Philippines, see Tiryakian (1959).
- 21. One can only possibly speculate that the primary concern of the P.C. was the possible anti-government uses to which explosives might be put, though they also manifested a more general interest in imposing the letter of this and many other laws. For example, the closed seasons, *limitacion* (see p. 10), was now being rigidly enforced, even though fishing experts felt that it probably covered the wrong area and the wrong time period.
- 22. This had a sharp effect on the local ice plant, but the reduction in sales was compensated for by an increasing demand for ice for the shipping of *bangus* from a growing number of fishponds located in nearby towns.
- 23. The mayor's disinclination to take personal advantage of the financial opportunities presented by his position-especially in such an economically active community--was further evidenced by the very modest estate he left at his death.