

The animistic elements in this Rice Ritual of Leyte and Samar are evident. They are practiced in barrios distant from the municipality where Catholic influence has been weak. The people are baptized Catholics but mostly uneducated in Catholic doctrine. They have no difficulty in combining their Catholic religion with the spirit worship. It is to be mentioned that these spirits are not adored or venerated in the strict sense. God alone, who is believed to be the creator of these spirits, receives the supreme worship of adoration. The spirits are believed to be powerful; therefore the people like to play safe both with God as well as with the spirits.

Many of middle and high class Filipinos are unaware of this animistic worship; they did not believe the writer until confronted with facts. Some rich landowners were aware that their tenants performed some strange rites, but few had knowledge of what it was all about. They stated that they have to permit their tenants to perform these ceremonies, otherwise they would become worried and unhappy.

There is a Christianized Rice Ritual in Leyte which is only a few steps away from animistic worship. This ritual is better known and has been treated by the writer on another occasion.

## ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF THE CHILD IN THE RURAL PHILIPPINES

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The large part that Philippine children in some rural areas play in the family economy and the extent to which their cumulative efforts aid maintenance in daily life is one facet of culture which strikes the newcomer from America. The writer was impressed with the diversity and number of activities which children engage in, in daily life, when first she began to collect the data for a series of "typical days" for boys and girls in the age span 3 to 10. This article is a brief documentation of that activity.

The material was gathered from half a dozen informants in pointed questioning and from personal observation during a brief stay in a Visayan village in November 1955. The area in which the material was gathered was that of Siaton poblacion in Siaton municipality in southern Negros Oriental. The occasion for gathering the data was a two week preliminary survey conducted in Siaton prior to a more extensive study in another area.<sup>2</sup>

With this brief introduction, then, and within the limitations which the brevity of the study impose on the material, it may be said that in Siaton the child becomes a functioning member of the family as a producing and maintaining unit at about the age of five. The transition from non-productive organism to worker is gradual and the child will begin to accompany its parents or older siblings through their daily tasks much earlier in its life. The youngster is taught by instruction and precept and assumes the appropriate responses through play and imitation.

There is no sharp division of labor between the sexes and this is a situation which is mirrored in adult activity. Boys and girls both carry water. Both pasture and water goats, horses and carabaos, although girls husband the larger animals only rarely, for it is felt that they ought to care only for the smaller and safer animals. Both boys and girls gather vegetables, and both care for the chickens and pigs. Both sexes work in the kitchen helping the mother or older sister by tending the fire, watching the cooking food, washing the ubiquitous dishes, and both males and females cook and serve food. Boys' activities in kitchen domesticity are slightly less common than are girls' activities and this experience is apt to terminate quite early, probably about the age of fourteen. It is noteworthy that this training stands the boys in good stead in later years for it is the men who do most of the ceremonial cooking.

In the main, girls take care of the bedding and the clothes-washing, but again, children of both sexes may act as messengers, as carriers of the many burdens, and as purchasing agents, the last being more important in areas where there is a market. Boys and girls sweep house floors and the ground under the house, and the side, front, and back yards. And

<sup>1</sup> The writer is a Fulbright fellow doing research in the Philippines in 1955-1956.

<sup>2</sup> The writer is indebted to Dr. Donn Hart. Dr. Hart first studied the community of Siaton poblacion and the nearby barrio of Caticugan in 1951.

both boys and girls spend a good deal of time in sibling care. However, a boy will be more apt to have to take on child care if he has no older sister or sisters. Quite early boys and girls are trained to feed, bathe, and dress baby brother or sister. Not only are they adept at caring for the child's bodily wants, they also have stylized, highly effective techniques for stilling a restless baby, for soothing a startled infant, and for distracting the baby an undesired behavior.

In order to give some body to the generalizations offered above, the writer will present now some examples of typical days for three children. A typical day is a generalized account of the activities of a normal routine day. These three are chosen from among twenty three. While collecting the data on typical days, an attempt was made to get the approximate time and duration of the activity in which the child was engaged, the place of the activity, and the people normally present.<sup>3</sup> The times cited must be treated as rough approximations as rural Filipinos are not yet a particularly clock-minded people. However, once the child enters school, he must begin to pay some attention to the time, even if it is only to protest against having to go to school and his family must pay some attention in order to send him. A further word of caution in reviewing these typical days is in order. It must be remembered that what is a typical day for a child in the wet season will be somewhat different in the dry season and these examples were collected at the end of the wet season. In the dry season it would be necessary to fetch more water, gather more fuel (as at this time there is more firewood that is dry), and to go further afield for grass for forage. With the exception note, animal care as well as the tasks in the house would remain about the same. If anything, there is increased activity in the dry season.

#### Daily Routine of a Five Year old Boy

He is the third in a family of six children: a boy of 8, a girl of 7, ego, a girl of 4, a girl of 2-1/2, and twin boys of 1-1/2. Mother and father are both living.

- 6:00- 7:00 Alone in the house with the mother. He gets a bolo and makes a slingshot. Mother interrupts him and commands him to get fuel and water.
- 7:00- 8:00 Alone at the river. Takes a bath, plays, and fetches water.
- 8:00- 8:30 In the house with every member of his family. Eats.
- 8:30-10:40 He goes to the field where he meets playmates. They shoot birds.
- 10:40-11:40 In field with his playmates. Gathers fuel and brings it home.
- 12:30- 2:00 Under a tree near the house. Alone, he makes such toys such as a dart or a sling.

<sup>3</sup> The collection of routine activities during typical days for children in the age span 3 to 10 is part of a larger study on socialization which the author is now in the process of doing in barrio San Joaquin on the island of Leyte. This barrio study is the sixth in a series of similar studies, all guided by the *Field Guide for a Study of Socialization in Five Societies* as compiled by Whiting, J. W. M., et. al., available in mimeograph.

In the Philippines, Mr. and Mrs. W. Mydeggar have concluded a year's research in Ilocos Sar doing the same study.

- 2:00- 3:00 At the river alone or sometimes with neighboring boys and girls of his age. He fetches water in bamboo tube making trips to the river to do so.
- 3:00- 5:00 In field with the father. Helps the father bring the carabaos to the river to drink. Then brings them to pasture.
- 3:00- 6:40 In the house with mother, sister, and brothers. Helps mother keep the chickens in place
- 6:40- 8:00 At home with all the family. Eats supper. Plays indoors. Sleeps.

#### Daily Routine of a Seven Year Old Girl

She is the third child of six, a boy 12, boy 9, ego, girl 6, boy 5, and a boy 2. Both parents are living.

- 5:30- 7:30 Rises. Goes to the river alone taking own dresses which she washes. Returns home and waters the garden. Fetches her own goat from the neighboring field and gives him salt. Brings fuel to the kitchen from under the house and kindles the fire. Washes pots and boils water. Calls mother to watch boiling water while she (girl) goes to feed pigs. (Girl is alone on errands but when in the house, mother and younger sister are present.) Watches baby sister while mother cooks breakfast. Whole family eats.
- 7:30- 8:00 Watches baby sister again. Prepares for school. Goes to school with older sister. Both play with classmates at school ground. Classes begin.
- 8:00-11:00 In class with teachers and classmates. Recess at about ten.
- 11:00- 2:00 Returns home. Goes to the river with sisters to get water. Helps older sister in the kitchen. Watches baby sister while family eats. Then eats alone. Washes dishes, feeds dogs and cats and starts for school. Alone to school where she plays in schoolyard until classes begin.
- 2:00- 4:00 Classes with teachers and classmates. Recess at about three.
- 4:00- 5:30 Returns home with older sister. Mother takes baby commanding girl to buy fish in the market. Goes alone and returns and helps older sister cook. Waters garden and washes baby sister again.
- 5:30- 8:30 She and baby sister and neighboring children with their younger siblings play in one of several backyards. At six she re-dresses baby sister, prepares baby's bedding, and goes on minding baby. Feeds baby. Everybody eats while she minds baby and then she eats alone. Washes dishes.

#### Daily Routine of a Nine Year Old Boy

He is the second child of five, a boy of 13, ego, a girl 5, a girl 4, and a boy 2. Both parents are living.

- 5:00- 6:00 Two trips to the river alone to get water. Gets carabao from the pasture and brings it to the river for water.

- 6:00- 7:00 In the house with sisters and mother. Cuts fuel and brings it to the kitchen and kindles the fire. Cooks rice, feeds the pigs and waters the garden.
- 7:00- 8:00 To the river alone or sometimes with friends and takes a bath. Returns home and eats with all members of the family. Starts to school alone or with neighboring children.
- 8:00-11:00 In class with teachers and classmates. Recess about ten.
- 11:00-12:00 Returns home alone or sometimes with friends. Cuts fuel. Goes to the river for water. Cooks rice. Purchases fish and vegetables in the market by himself. Returns and helps mother cook.
- 12:00- 1:20 In the house with all members of the family present for dinner.
- 1:20- 2:00 Walks to school alone or with friends. Plays in schoolyard.
- 2:00- 4:00 Classes with teacher and classmates. Recess at about three.
- 4:00- 5:20 Returns home with friends. Cuts fuel and brings it to the kitchen where sister and mother are working. Cleans the garden and fetches water from river to water plants. Goes alone to the field for the carabao and waters it and returns it to pasture.
- 5:20- 6:00 To the market alone to buy fish and salt. Returns home, feeds the chickens, and then plays with friends.
- 6:00- 7:00 In the house with father, mother, and sisters. Helps in the kitchen either washing dishes or watching the boiling pots.
- 7:00- 8:10 In the house with the whole family. Helps father in making ropes for carabao.
- 8:10- 9:45 In the house with whole family. Eats. Reads his lesson either aloud or silently with sister helping. Sleeps.

Because of the possibility that the children for whom the writer was gathering "typical days" might be paragons of industriousness, examples of "lazy ones" were also gathered. It turned out that the "lazy ones" were not actually lazy as we understand it; rather, they were a bit slower in undertaking and completing their tasks and they might not do as much. But the routine copied for a nine year old girl who is reported "lazy" shows that she performs these chores in an ordinary day: goes to the river and fetches water three times, waters the plants, washes the dishes twice or three times, and gathers fuel.

The fact that this girl is called "lazy" in Filipino society, when she would receive a much more commendable appellation in American society, points out the need for the clarification of concepts cross-culturally. It can be safely stated that what the members of a society call "industriousness" or "laziness" is a relative matter. It is a matter which will differ from group to group. It is a matter which must be referred back to actual behavior before the value judgment of the speaker or writer can be evaluated by the reader or listener. When interpreting actual behavior, it is necessary to have "anchor points," clear, concise reference points, which may be distinguished and differentiated from similar points. Thus when we say a child is "a worker," we must amplify this statement

with a recital of the activities which comprise "work" as separate from those which are play, or those which are not even remarkable enough to be noted.

Furthermore, the establishment of some norms to qualities, such as industriousness and laziness, is desirable. These norms ought to be fairly independent of cultural context. The establishment of such norms is no easy matter, but it is possible that they might be set up in terms of frequency of the undertaking of the task, in terms of energy output, and in terms of time put into a task. Still another problem which must be given consideration in the establishment of norms is whether or not it is relevant to the researcher and to his analysis that the task be interpreted by the actor as a task; that is, whether the actor would call it "work" before it becomes an index to industriousness.

In summary, an attempt has been made to indicate that the Filipino child in a rural setting takes a far larger part in family maintenance activities than does an American child. No data have been presented on the American child. Some of the problems met in endeavoring to make cross cultural comparisons have been mentioned. It has been suggested that further research into the meaning of concepts like "work," "industriousness," and "laziness" should be studied in many societies in order to clarify the terminology for scientific use and to add perspective to our understanding.