

deadlines. An American boss cannot keep on firing his Filipino secretary because of failure to submit the necessary reports on time. Instead, an advanced deadline may have to be set to offset delays caused by fiestas, birthday parties, or any other activity which the Filipino secretary is expected, by her cultural group, to consider highly important.

In the Ateneo Language Center, other values and attitudes are incorporated in the language materials prepared for both English and Tagalog programs of instruc-

tion. In these two language programs, the context of situation approach, which integrates linguistic patterns and non-linguistic behavioral patterns, is used. Linguistic patterns include phonology, vocabulary, morphology and syntax, whereas non-linguistic behavioral patterns include the use of space and time patterns, gestures, values and attitudes, and implied social institutions. An awareness of the interdependence of all these patterns is important for better cross-cultural understanding.

Whither Social Changes

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The significant question of our era is: "Where are we going?" We are faced, so constantly, with the fact and the prospects of rapid social change that we do not know what to expect of tomorrow. Viewed from the perspective of history, this is not the normal human condition. In the historical periods previous to our age, societies manifested a degree of stability which made it possible for them to modify the impact of change through surrounding it with traditional forms. This seems possible no longer. Changes in the conditions of our social life occur at so rapid a rate that we fear their unanticipated consequences may destroy us. Like men carried along by rushing flood waters we have given up any hope for slowing our pace. Our current concern is, not how to stop our progress, but how to control it so as to either reach the type of society we would have, or, at the very least, to avoid a social order which would prevent the realization of our human desires.

Thesis

While we cannot predict the future, we do know that what we do today will bear fruit tomorrow. We know that we can control our destiny to a significant extent if we know how the future is shaped by the past and, more important, if we know what we should want from the future. Thus, the possible solution to our problem is seen increasingly in an understanding of the bases of human behavior. Consequently, the social sciences are challenged, with ever increasing frequency, to offer a better understanding of that behavior.

Social Changes

Social change may be best considered under two heads: Institutional and ideological. Institutional changes are objective modifications in the legal, political, economic, educational, and technological organization of modern society. It may be admitted that these institutional changes are not as rapid in the

Philippines as, for instance, in the United States of America. However, we all are aware of certain effects of this type of change and experience them ourselves almost every day.

Ideological changes are changes in the doctrines on the nature and end of man and of society, influencing the form and functioning of the social order. To clarify this more: To understand social change we must know not only what modifications have taken place in the organization of society but also the changes in the way people, in general, look upon present-day social institutions and their functions. Therefore, change can take place either in the structure of social relationships or in the meaning which these have to the members of society. At this point a rather important factor should be added: the more complex a society is, the more interdependent are its institutions, so that a change in one calls for adaptation and adjustment in others. In this connection could be mentioned also Sumner's observation, the so-called "strain toward consistency,"¹ i.e. a trend towards the integration of the elements of culture. It needs to be said, however, that Sumner does not regard integration as something actually achieved; he thinks of it merely as a tendency to approach an equilibrium, which is commonly interrupted again so that other trends towards new equilibria are initiated.

The question may arise: Is social, cultural change necessary or do we only pre-suppose its necessity? Only one answer seems possible and it is to be taken as a basic proposition: *Change is inherent in every society.* This proposition derives from the nature of every society itself. Society is a unity constituted by a group of men bound together by

their need of mutual supplementation and their aptitude for it. The essence, therefore, of society and of social unity is cooperation for the purpose of complementing the potentialities in human nature for attaining basic human ends. Society is more than a mere aggregate of men, it is more than merely the peaceful co-existence of individuals; it is their active and passive sharing in that mutual supplementation which actualizes their potentialities and, thus, integrates their selves. Society needs man to support it; man is by nature a social being. Man's social nature acts through its impulses which order him toward society. But these impulses do not operate by physical necessity, but through man's self-determination. Therefore, the unity of society is governed by an inner principle, namely by the common end of mutual supplementation, as designed in the reality of man's nature and actualized by the individual members of society.

In the social reality we do not, therefore, perceive a herd held together by unconscious impulse; neither do we see a unity like an army, organized from without. The order of this social reality is fundamentally predesigned in the reality of human nature. From this viewpoint it is a fallacy to think that man can simply and almost totally organize or "plan" the social or economic order at his own discretion alone. (And how much harm has this fallacy, applied to the actual social reality, already done to our modern society). *The basic order in the social sphere is primarily a matter of seeking after the demands of the essential reality of nature in given circumstances.* This point needs particular emphasis in a discussion on social change. It is true, however, that within the framework outlined by the order of nature very much is left to human planning in accordance with the development of culture, civilization, science and technology. But, any

¹ William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1906), pp. 5-6.

plan which ignores the framework mentioned above is doomed to become another testimony of human frustration.

There is, therefore, an inner formative principle of society which operates through externally uniting forms and bonds into institutions. This inner formative principle depends on these institutions. These unifying forms and bonds are essential for social unity, since social order essentially implies organization. H. E. Barnes describes social institutions as "the social structure and machinery through which human society organizes, directs and executes the multifarious activities required to satisfy human needs."² And McIver speaks of institutions as "the established forms or conditions of procedure characteristic of group activity."³ It seems clear, then, that social institutions establish a self-acting machinery for the coordination of the activity of the individuals, sometimes even independently of the individual's actual intention or even willingness. (We are here reminded of the term "cake of social institutions.") It is upon the institutions that the continuity in the functioning of society depends. (One may think in this connection of the institution of the State which functions through changes of government and even through generations...) Allow me to repeat: institutions are essential for society, for social organization. But — society is much more than organization: it is fellowship of human persons by virtue of their self-determining human nature.

Both aspects, the organizational and the one which is derived from the social relationship reality of human persons, are to be considered in the process of social change. This realistic approach to

social change makes the exposition of historical materialism sound, to say the least, absurd. Engels, for instance in his work *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific* says: "The final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in men's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought, not in the philosophy, but in the economics of each particular epoch."⁴

The importance of the changes in the modes of production and exchange should by no means be overlooked or minimized. But historical facts contradict the postulate that these changes in the institutional and material spheres alone are decisive and final. Facts prove that intellectual and spiritual forces provided much stronger motive forces for changes in the economic and social structure than those afforded by the mode of production. Mention may be made only of W. Sombart and Max Weber who showed by extensive research that it was not changes in the mode of production and exchange which, for instance, created the capitalist mentality which in turn created the capitalist form of production and exchange.⁵ Human experience gives sure testimony that human action and, thus, the mind are the primary motive forces in social reality, though, of course, they operate by applying the laws which man finds in nature and technology for his purposes. Technology and forms of production are means only by which man can serve and develop interests and purposes which are made attainable by technology.

⁴ Friedrich Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific* (London, 1919), p. 45.

⁵ W. Sombart, *Der moderne Kapitalismus*, (1913); Max Weber, *Die protestantische Ethik, und der Geist des Kapitalismus*; reprinted in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* (Tubingen, 1921).

² Harry Elmer Barnes, *Social Institutions* (New York, 1942), p. 29.

³ Robert McIver, *Society* (New York, 1949), p. 15.

Bases of Human Behavior

It cannot be emphasized enough in a discussion on social change that man is a rational animal and not a creature of instinct. He is capable of working out many ways of satisfying his wants and he tends to satisfy them as we have said before, by establishing relatively stable sets of patterned relationships, which we called institutions. It needs to be stressed that these institutions are *relatively* stable. The pattern at any given time will depend on available resources, the way man defines the need to be satisfied and, ultimately, on his concept of the origin, nature, and purpose of himself and society. It follows, therefore, that social systems will differ structurally, that is, in the sets of relationships established to fulfill the various functions which are to be performed in an existing society; and, ideologically, that is in the way men think about these relationships and functions and the values that they assign to them. Therefore, all existing social structures will reflect the state of available resources, current definitions of the basic core of the established institutions and, finally, prevailing concepts of the origin, nature, and purpose of man.

In the social reality, ideals, values, etc. have functional requisites. Allow me to make this clear by citing a very simple example: When, for instance, Christians support the Legion of Decency, they do this because it represents to them an attempt in the practical order to create a social atmosphere within which it is possible for individual members of society to live up to the exigencies of the Christian ideal governing the relationship between the sexes. Besides, the mere fact that such measures are necessary indicates not only that conflicting value systems are existing, but that they are somehow supported.

In almost every case, social change in one way or another presupposes the concept of conflict. And analysis reveals, if change takes place within the structural part of society, it will lead to some modification in the meaning of the affected social relationships. Reciprocally, a change in meaning leads to a repatterning of the relationships concerned.

It is a difficult problem to ascertain how social change originates. There is, however, a proposition which maintains that the complex social process by which institutions and behavioral patterns undergo change is a product of the dominant group in society. Bierstedt in his treatise "The Sociology of Majorities" says: "It is the majority, in short, which sets the culture pattern and sustains it, which is in fact responsible for whatever pattern or configuration there is in a culture."⁶ If this proposition is true, and historical developments and experience seem to reveal that it points to actual social reality, we must add one very important point: this proposition seems particularly relevant in a complex multiple cultural system. It is not necessary to advance any comprehensive theory of social causality and social change to substantiate further this proposition. But it suffices to call attention to the obvious fact that in a complex multiple-culture society a cultural subgroup is usually not in a position to channel social change in terms of its own value system.

Usually, we tend to evaluate inventions and social changes merely in their unique individual setting without considering their effects on the total system. At this point, I would like to cite some very real and practical instances to illustrate what has been said before.

⁶ Robert Bierstedt, "The Sociology of Majorities," *American Sociological Review*, XIII (December, 1948), p. 709.

Take the invention and wide-spread use of the automobile. It has greatly facilitated transportation; it has created a tremendous and new industry offering employment to numerous workers; it has caused many new products; modified the patterns of man's vacation and leisure time, and social life in general. But it has also vastly increased accidental death and injury; it has seriously modified parental control of youth and in a very real way decreased the significance of local communities — to say nothing of what it has done to family budgets.

Or take the modifications in the institutional order, for instance here in the Philippines, through the ever growing movement to-the-city and away-from-the-rural-areas. It is, probably, partly due to this trend that an ever increasing number of women want to have work experience outside the domestic unit. Some ideological changes are closely related to these modifications in the institutional order. More and more fundamental social institutions such as the church, the neighborhood, and the family, are becoming more relegated to secondary importance in people's thinking. But, not only are the institutions involved here, but the values attached to these institutions are also becoming more and more secondary.

Modern Ideas About Man

It seems that in Philippine society also much popular thinking is characterized by a vague feeling of insecurity. People worry about the time when they can no longer hold jobs. They worry about saving money, since many, under present conditions, find saving beyond their power. Therefore, we notice an anxious search for guarantees of security. The symbols of success have become more and more material: your place of residence, the clothes you wear, the type

of car you drive, whether you are able to afford an air-conditioning unit in your home, etc. There is an almost nervous drive to accumulate these symbols as ends in themselves. In a society which grows more and more complex, people must establish working relationships with such a vast variety of personalities, cultural differences, and value systems that they seem to acquire a type of confused toleration for differences, even in the field of morality. They tend more and more to regulate their conduct according to external controls rather than by inner restraint. An entirely new view of man seems to have emerged, that of someone almost totally guided by the whims and prejudices of the group and incapable of any real self-determination of his destiny. This "groupthink" mentality,⁷ as William White calls it in one of his articles, apparently frees man from moral choice and from uncertainty — he is freed from the hard work of thinking. The group sets the standards. The conformity this new type of human behavior evokes is more than sheer following of the crowd. It is based on ideas which hold that group values are not only advantageous but that they are right and good as well. The new ideal personality type that has emerged is the permissive man who has to base his conduct on group standards rather than on personal convictions. In addition to this, one is constantly on the alert to discern scientific techniques to assure harmonious group functioning and, thus, to reach the ideal, the so-called "democratic way of life."

These are some of the ideological and institutional changes which, particularly in our modern complex society, must have far-reaching influence on other institutions and patterns of social behavior.

⁷ William F. White, "Groupthink," *Fortune*, XXV (March, 1952), pp. 114-117.

To mention one such institution: the basic unit of all social living, the family. Great changes have taken place in this institution, even here in the Philippines. These changes resulted in alterations of basic family relationships, for instance, relationships between husband and wife, parents and children, the family unit itself and its extended circle of relatives. These changes led also to modifications of the meaning these relationships have to the members of the family. Here again we meet the reciprocal influence and activity of institution and value system. To mention only this one point, the belief that marriage is dissoluble often promotes careless entry into marriage and cannot really supply any motivation for adjustment under difficult circumstances. Another effect of the changes mentioned above on our modern families involves the marriage contract. The marriage contract comes to mean what people want it to mean. Divorce, though not legally approved in Philippine society, has become somehow not only possible but acceptable. (It is admitted that in this society the desertion of the spouse is actually not a divorce in the legal sense of the term, but the individual behavior pattern amounts to the same thing.)

The ever growing trend away from the rural area and towards the city, as we have mentioned before, has weakened the community's control over its members. In rural society, the individual's actions are subjected to almost constant scrutiny. In the urban environment anonymity becomes possible, so much so that people are scarcely acquainted with their next-door neighbor. This does have serious effects on the family and also on other social institutions, since social controls have always been strong safeguards.

Also the Filipina's role in the family and in society has been redefined. A modern Filipina is less hesitant to choose

independence and self-support if marital experience does not conform to expectations. Often this has serious implications for society as a whole and, above all, for its basic unit, the family.

Modern individualism and the competitive spirit characteristic of an industrial society has to a large extent also invaded Filipino society and wider kinship bonds which traditionally supported and strengthened the individual conjugal unit have seriously been weakened; individualistic and selfish striving for personal happiness and satisfaction of personal needs alone have become prevalent and widely accepted.

Many more points referring to change could be mentioned — but only one more may be touched upon here — a point of greatest importance and far-reaching implications: religious authority has declined in society—and very much true in Filipino society. This needs to be mentioned especially since the Filipino people have always been oriented to religious values and convictions. Now the whole social order seems to reflect the decline of religion so that many behavior patterns formerly adverse to traditional values become socially acceptable. In a secularized society the pursuit of happiness and comfort replaces, for all practical purposes, the pursuit of eternal salvation.

Constructive Steps to be Taken

Modern society is continuously confronted with these and similar types of social changes and, in our modern situation, in rapid succession. Though, as was said in the beginning, these rapid changes are not healthy symptoms of a socially healthy situation, it helps very little to theorize about the "good old days" when life was supposedly easier and less complex.

Social changes should be evaluated by an honest attempt of the individual members of society to understand what should be done, this includes purposes and ends, and how things can be done, this would include the social means at the disposal of the individual members.

In general, one may safely say that most men attempt to preserve traditional structures or sets of relationships sometimes even long after they have ceased to fulfill the purposes for which they were originally established. When it comes to what we call "vested interests," people tend particularly to defend the status quo and to oppose change; not because they are primarily interested in the common good but because they want to retain their privileges. This attitude may have dangerous consequences. Thus, for instance, if a certain social structure becomes outmoded because of changes in the social order, and the dominant group still persistently clings to it, other members of society may reject both the structure and the purpose and meaning for which it existed. (Think of the socialists' attitude after the Industrial Revolution. Growing industries concentrated tremendous financial power in the hands of the owners of productive property but these owners refused to assume their social obligations. Therefore the socialists not only rejected the contemporary social structure, but also the *principle of private ownership.*)

In general one may also say that when social means and purposes are confused there is always the tendency to overstress the social means and forget altogether the end they was supposed to serve.

There might be several ways for coping with the rapid changes of our times. This paper offers one suggestion on the basis of the previous discussion. In no case can there be any question of merely defending the status quo. What is required is a clear understanding of basic

purposes, ends, meanings of established behavior patterns, as we have said before, and an understanding of the socially adequate means to implement these purposes and ends. New orientations must be developed. New social environmental features must be reconciled to human purposes and ends, and new purposes must be brought into harmony with reality. This reconciliation is a constant process. It is achieved only by constant choice and decision making in which man and society are dynamic factors. It is a process in which man is a causative factor and in which his purposeful orientation towards reality is a means to this adjustment. Hence, to recapitulate: Basic ends and purposes remain the same as they are predesigned in the reality of human nature and, consequently, society's nature also, but changes in the social system may require the development of new social means to implement them. The individual members of society must be prepared and led to formulate solutions according to convictions based on natural law exigencies.

It is, in particular, education's task to train men and women who are versatile and self-renewing. It must in addition develop imaginative innovators. Innovation is not change for the sake of change. It is change to cope with change. It is change to bring principles to the solution of new problems, to adapt to a society which is dynamic.

We need to study adaptation, looking not just to the past and present but to the future as well. We need to consider how to stimulate creativity, how to develop imagination, how to motivate students to renew civilization for the greater glory of God.

Planning for the future requires insight and an innovational approach by our leaders. Realization of the neces-

sity for new models to provide the pattern for future development should be

high on the priorities of thinking men of today.

Promissory and Deft Aspects of the Folk Ritual in Misamis Oriental

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One of the most important but least-studied aspects of Filipino rural life is the folk-ritual system.¹ Yet in the writer's opinion the success of plans to develop the Philippine agricultural economy in the face of the national "population explosion" depends, to a large extent, upon a keen understanding of and an appropriate adaptation to this ritual system. This paper will discuss the debt and promissory aspects of several more important types of rituals in Misamis Oriental all of which have some

connection with crop production. The data presented is the result of a year of field study in this province.

Systematic and Legal Aspects of the Ritual System

Human activities connected with economic sufficiency, self-preservation, general welfare and begetting of kind are closely intertwined with ritual performance. The people are equipped with systematized practices to meet the problems attendant on their daily activities such as fishing, farming, hog and cattle raising. Sicknes, accidents, or community epidemics are readily avoided or overcome by ritualism.

⁰ The Research Institute for Mindanao Culture gratefully acknowledges the financial support of the Misereor Foundation of the West German Bishops and people for the Folk-Rituals Research Project. This paper is based on data from the project.

¹ Folk rituals generally include four significant divisions and parts. First, the introductory prayers done before the chicken is slaughtered, and aimed at informing and inviting the spirits to the offering. Secondly, the spirit meal offered which consists of cooked rice, boiled chicken (saltless), tuba, water, cigarettes, tobacco, biscuits and cheap wine (*Kulapo*). Odd-numbered plates hold these ritual objects. Cigarettes, tobacco, and biscuits are always served in odd numbers. Thirdly, the *Pamalabag* during which the supernatural animals, like dogs, cats and chicken of the spirits, are fed with feathers, entrails, food, and viand. These unseen animals are very ferocious and must be fed lest they attack the people. The spirit masters are also offended if their animals are neglected. Fourthly, the conclusion of the ritual in the form of *throwing* little bits of each of the food offering out of the window for the bashful invalid, blind, and deaf spirits. The spirit latecomers also get a share. Lastly, water is poured on the ground to signify the end of the meal—the washing of the hand of the spirits.

Most people believe in the existence and rights of "spirits" (*mga ginlilinan, dili ta parehas, inkantados* and others). Some believe that they were the first invisible creatures who sinned against God and were consequently punished and exiled. Whatever the universality of this "punishment" concept, almost all the folk believe that these "spirits" occupy every corner of this earth. Here, they have assumed the right of ownership and perhaps the duty also of protecting their respective habitats. Thus, the "spirits of the sea" own the sea, the fishes and the plants that grow therein. The "spirits" are believed to protect their