

## PATTERN FOR DEVELOPMENT

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This paper describes the resources and social patterns of the Negritos on the San Marcelino Reservation in Zambales. The description includes the nonexclusive territorial attitude toward land and the socialization processes of the society. The author puts forth basic goals by which to evaluate development in a society and suggests a plan for development on these reservations which will enable the Negritos to integrate and enjoy economic progress without losing their values or sense of identity.

For development to take place with minimal damage to the ecology and to human values, innovators must not only have sound knowledge of the population and its basic resources, but also have a set of goals toward which the development program can be directed. This paper hopes to provide such information on the Negritos of Buag and Baliwet near Santa Fe, in San Marcelino, Zambales. It also presents some specific suggestions for change which innovators might use in the Negrito areas.

The research was undertaken in response to the request of a group of persons and churches concerned over the plight of the Negritos. They established the Zambales Project and provided funds for the research.

### *Resources*

#### *Population*

The population under study is located on the San Marcelino Reservation in Zambales. It is composed of approximately 180 families, or slightly more than 1000 individuals. There is an approximately equal number of Negritos outside the reservation who would also be directly affected by any development program.

Since the people of Baliwet (about 40 families) are mostly mestizos or Negritos married to lowlanders, they form a unique society on the reservation, neither Negrito nor Ilocano. The two societies, i.e., the Baliwet and the Negritos,

are considered separately, with the major emphasis on the larger Negrito society.

#### *Skills*

All the adult population know how to practice swidden farming (*kaingin*) and a third of them also know the techniques of lowland rice farming. Stream fishing is common and a few are hunters, but very few wild animals or birds are available because of excessive logging in the area. Other skills are basket making, making bows and arrows, making guitars, driving trucks, making rope, or weaving, but few of these skills are utilized commercially. Several persons have worked or are working as security guards or as janitors for the sugar planters or on the U.S. military base at Olongapo.

#### *Soil*

Next to the population and skills, the soil is the most important resource available to these people. The soils are mostly deep sand or sandy loam with a few isolated areas of clay. In the Baliwet and Buag areas the sand is coarse and the shallow topsoil is very fine and easily blown or washed away.

### *Social Patterns*

#### *Residence*

Although most researchers have considered the Negritos a migratory people, the Negritos do

not think of themselves in this way. When questioned about their changes of residence, they reply, "We have always lived here; we haven't moved." This they say even though it is evident that the house is new, and experience predicts that eight months later it will be difficult to determine that a house ever existed on the spot. We have used the term "nonexclusive territoriality" to describe this relationship to the land.

The Negrito believes that he belongs to a specific territory. Within their rather extensive territory a move of 15 or more kilometers is not considered a change of residence any more than it would be if I were to move my bed from the front bedroom of my house to the back bedroom. His sense of territory is not exclusive, and he recognizes the rights of other people within that same territory. If required to leave his territory, one or more of his family members will usually become ill and recovery will not take place until they are able to return. It may be said that the Negrito belongs to the land rather than the land to him.

Sixty-seven percent of the population live in small groups of between four and nine families. The remainder is equally divided between smaller and larger groupings. Individual groupings are not permanent and single families move about as they desire. They usually live on the slopes at the edge of the forest. Their attitudes and activities in regard to the natural resources and to illnesses are controlled by their animistic world view.

#### *Sources of income*

The major sources of income for the Negritos are swidden agriculture, gathering of food, and tending animals. A few practice lowland rice farming and a few are employed. The Negrito people are self-sufficient in most of their needs, including staple foods and proteins. They do, however, get some items from outside the area. All buy their knives outside while about 70 percent occasionally buy some rice, and about 20 percent have bought kettles. The few items of clothing they desire are also purchased from the outside in exchange for camote, fresh-water fish, bananas, and forest products. Families

with the highest yearly income show the greatest diversity of sources of income.

The people of Baliwet depend primarily on lowland rice farming, swidden agriculture, and tending animals for their livelihood. Gathering is also a source of income and a few are employed. They are more dependent upon commerce than the Negritos. All of them buy rice from the outside and most of them require *bagoong* although none is prepared locally. They sell vegetables such as squash and beans, papaya, and bananas, and bamboo from the forests. They require more tools and clothing than the Negritos, but their income is presently adequate to provide their demands. Their diet seems less adequate in proteins than that of the Negritos.

#### *Marriage*

Marriages are generally arranged during childhood, occasionally before the birth of the bride, by the parents of the boy. They also make a down-payment on the *bandi* or bride price. The couple begins living together as soon as the wife has had her first menstruation. If the *bandi* has not yet been fully paid, the couple lives with the girl's family. The boy's labor in the household is considered a part of the *bandi*. Every husband interviewed paid a portion of his *bandi* in this manner.

With the exception of a son-in-law whose *bandi* has not yet been paid, it is unusual for a household to include any other person than a member of the nuclear family. Plural marriages are known and accepted but not frequent because of the expense.

#### *Enculturation and values*

Enculturation, or socialization, processes take place within the nuclear family. The parents care for their children personally. Older children may assist their parents but the parents are always near. Since the adults do not commute to their work but merely abandon or move their houses whenever their work requires it, the children are involved in all parental activities. Although the parents may sometimes instruct their children in certain crafts, most of the learning is done by imitation and practice without formal instruction. Moral and ethical instruction is implanted the same way during the regular

interpersonal relations of the parents with the children.

Honesty and hospitality are among the primary social values instilled in the children. Disputes are notoriously absent within the society with the exception of an occasional wife-stealing occurrence. We had hoped to locate the leadership patterns in the society by locating the individuals who were most active in settling disputes. We failed in this, since there were no disputes to settle.

Economic well-being is also rated high as a social value, especially being able to provide bandi for their sons and being able to share without undue hardship. The person who has wisdom and good public relations is highly respected.

#### *Education*

Education is not a cultural value to them. In fact, the Negritos of this area feel quite strongly that formal education teaches people how to cheat and exploit others and interferes with the education of children in the essentials of earning a living and raising a family. This attitude is based upon their own experience and although we might be inclined to disagree with them, we cannot reject their evidence.

Eight percent of the Negrito families claimed to have some literate members but none was discovered to be functionally literate. In Baliwet 85 percent of the families claimed literacy but only 11 percent were found to be functionally literate.

The use and ownership of radios is more common in Baliwet than in the Negrito society, with language preference in both societies equally divided between Iloko and Tagalog. The Negrito community prefers news broadcasts but the Baliwet people prefer dramas.

#### *Social organization*

No community organization is evident other than the nuclear family. Since cooperative labor is unnecessary to their present technology, and since there are no disputes and no interest in warfare, they have had no motivation for developing any community organization. At the request of the government they have elected barrio or sitio captains in some areas but these

officials are not necessarily leaders, serving primarily as communication links with the outside societies.

The actual power of community decisions resides with the heads of families, i.e., the husbands. Women characteristically refuse to take part in deliberations and do not make important decisions, even in the absence of the husband.

In an effort to stimulate cooperative concepts, some carabaos were lent to the Negritos more than two years ago. Each was entrusted to a caretaker with the understanding that they were to be used by the entire community. After two years most of the carabao have changed hands as bandi in marriage negotiations and the caretakers are reluctant to lend them to other Negritos for labor. It is apparent that the animals are considered private property. Cooperative concepts have not yet developed and apparently will not in this way since ownership of animals is already defined as private in their culture.

Although there are neither social nor economic classes in Negrito society, the researchers made rough categorizations of the population according to relative prestige and according to total yearly income. Low, middle, and high prestige categories were used. Yearly income was categorized as low (P0-325), middle (P326-649), and high (P650 or higher). These categorizations revealed that the Baliwet population had a larger proportion of low income and low prestige families than did the Negrito population.

#### *View of outsiders*

Negritos of both societies seem to categorize outsiders as either land-grabbers, of whom there are many encroaching on their lands, or as philanthropists (dole-givers) of whom there are also many. It is apparent that the Negritos do not appreciate the former. They appreciate, of course, the latter and perhaps some of the gifts have been helpful to them, but they have not stimulated any amount of self-dependence — in fact the contrary has clearly been the case.

Recently the Negritos complained about the sugar planters encroaching on the reservation,

so now the sugar people have joined the philanthropists in order to avoid a confrontation and protect their investments. This recent development has blurred the distinction between the two types of outsiders. Since many official actions of government agents have strengthened the position of the sugar people at the expense of the Negritos, the government is also seen as a philanthropic land-grabber.

### Goals

Defining goals is extremely difficult. During the Baguio Religious Acculturation Conference in December 1973, all the speakers, with the possible exception of the theologian, side-stepped the problem of defining development. Outlined below are some goals for improving the Negrito situation.

#### *Human welfare*

Under the heading of human welfare four goals are included. First is *physical health*, toward which most economic changes are directed. Second is *mental health* for which the maintenance of self-respect is of prime importance. Third is *protection*, both for physical safety and for property. Fourth is *cultural continuity*, lest changes undermine the socialization and social control processes of the society. Please note that cultural continuity is dynamic rather than static and provides for new patterns growing out of the old.

#### *Cultural integration*

Cultural integration is already a specific goal of our government by virtue of Republic Act 1888. It does not mean assimilation, however, but rather a cooperative pluralistic society which respects cultural differences.

Much research has been accomplished on this subject, and at least four criteria are accepted as essential for effective integration. The first criterion is *acceptance*. If the dominant society discriminates by action or attitude, or forces the minorities to change customs or language for the sake of uniformity, the results will be strife and separation rather than integration. The second criterion is *functional replacement* of any customs or beliefs which are lost or modified drastically during the process of acculturation.

The third criterion is *continuity* of the cultural framework. Drastic alterations which upset the continuity can only cause confusion which results in anomie. The fourth criterion is *emotional closeness* in the society. Most governments attempt to accomplish integration by insisting upon the elimination of differences in language, dress, and customs. Eisenstadt (1952) and others have demonstrated, however, that to disallow the uniqueness of a people is to threaten their existence as a group and usually causes such emotional insecurity among them that they become defensive thus making effective integration impossible.

Margaret Mead points out (1955: 287) that "from the standpoint of mental health, the hazards of change are actually not as great for those who are involved . . . as they are for their children." We must not assume, therefore, that integration has been achieved if the present members of the society seem comfortable and cooperative in a new situation. Changes must be made in such a way as to maintain stable relationships within the Negrito family and to keep their social control and enculturation processes intact. Only then is it likely that the coming generations will be able to undergo change without serious damage.

There are already pressures for modernization through the mass media. It is hoped that by instituting guided changes on the reservation, the Negritos will be able to choose among more constructive alternatives than chance would offer.

### *A Suggested Plan of Approach*

*Expedite the resolution of land problems.* Most of the reservation lands suitable for sedentary agriculture are now being used by sugar planters rather than by Negritos. Large tracts have been plowed, thus removing all of the brush and grass cover and many fruit-bearing trees planted by the Negritos. Erosion of the denuded soil has begun. Some of the planters are merely squatters, but others have contracts with the Commission on National Integration. We are not now questioning the legality of the contracts, but the alienation of these lands from the Negritos and the deep plowing of the fields

are detrimental to both the natural resources and the rights of Negrito citizens.

Cooperative ownership of the land would be a source of strife in the future but continued reservation status would make the Negritos more dependent. Only private ownership of large farm lots by the Negritos holds promise of success, but the land titles must be nontransferable for a long period of time.

*Continue the decentralized residential pattern.* For the Negritos to live in a barrio would seriously interfere with their customary enculturation processes. They should continue to live close to their work and continue to provide training for their children as they have in the past.

*Relate formal education to the Negrito situation.* Any teachers who anticipate working in the reservation area must learn enough of Negrito customs to have a genuine appreciation of them. They should be allowed adequate freedom to adjust the curriculum to make the education suitable to the culture.

It is also important that formal education not begin before 10 or 11 years of age. I hope that professional educators will not be shocked by this suggestion, for there are several important reasons behind it. Within Tagalog society uneducated *yayas* or cousins usually take care of the children, and so it is essential that children begin formal education early to avoid prolonging this miseducation. In the Negrito society, however, the parents personally care for the children, training them in the high ethical standards of the society and providing them with adequate skills for earning a living. If this process is disrupted, we may expect a moral breakdown within a short time. By the age of 11, however, the cultural values should be adequately internalized and a child can benefit from the formal education to become literate and involved in the larger Philippine society.

*Provide for a functional replacement of the animistic cosmology.* The animistic cosmology is being broken down by the forces of modernization. Replacement is essential for maintaining an integrated world view. Christian teaching would accomplish such a replacement, but

competition between Christian groups must be avoided.

*Encourage a producer-consumer cooperative.* Fruits and root crops seem to be the most suitable crops for the reservation, and thus their production and marketing should be encouraged. Cooperative marketing will probably succeed most readily through investment by the Negritos in a motor vehicle to provide the necessary transportation. The first organization should have only a titular chairman and an agent as officers, with all interested heads of families as the board of directors. To elect only a few individuals for directors and manager at this time would open the doorway to exploitation which would quickly destroy the entire project. It must be organized among the Negritos outside of Baliwet.

*Provide medical care.* Medical care should be provided but it does not need to be free. It is proper for the Negritos to pay for their medicines. It is not advisable to encourage the Negritos to limit their families at this time because population is still an important resource to them. It is also likely that the Negritos would interpret fertility control at this time as a type of genocide sponsored by the land-grabbers.

### *Conclusions*

Many aspects of development in this area are discouraging, especially the land situation and the difficulty of organizing cooperative activities. The Negritos' cultural values will, however, support the above suggestions. There are no vested interests in the society to hinder their acceptance.

If the New Society is going to strengthen the Filipino people for both moral and economic improvement, it must strengthen a pluralistic society. The Negritos also have an important contribution to make toward the New Society.

### *Note*

This article is a revised and shortened version of a

paper presented at the National Convention of the Philippine Sociological Society, held at Bocobo Hall, University of the Philippines, Quezon City, on January 20-21, 1973. It is part of an expanded report to be prepared for the Christian Institute for Ethnic Studies in Asia in collaboration with Mr. Rufino Tima. The Reverend Rice is a missionary of the United Church of Christ in the Philippines stationed at Imugan, Santa Fe, Nueva Vizcaya.

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# A Catalog of Filipiniana at Valladolid

*Edited by* HELEN R. TUBANGUI

A helpful guide for researchers and scholars interested in writings on the Philippines, this catalog lists 2,834 dated and undated materials found in the Filipiniana Collection of the Augustinians at Valladolid, Spain. Dated works in the catalog include those produced from the later 1500's to the earlier half of the 1900's. The items in the collection, several of them rare today, were written in the major Philippine languages, as well as in other languages of the world. Based on the original listing prepared in 1956 by National Archives Director Domingo Abella, the catalog is Bibliographical Series (Occasional Papers) No. 4 of the Ateneo de Manila University's Department of History.

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