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McARTHUR, Harold Jerome, Jr., 1941-
ADOLESCENT PEER GROUPS AND SOCIALIZATION
IN THE RURAL PHILIPPINES: A SOCIO-
ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE.

University of Hawaii, Ph.D., 1977
Anthropology, cultural

University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

ADOLESCENT PEER GROUPS AND SOCIALIZATION IN THE RURAL PHILIPPINES:
A SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN ANTHROPOLOGY
DECEMBER 1977

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ABSTRACT

This study demonstrates how male adolescent peer groups (barkadas) affect attitudes and behavior in the rural Ilocos area of the Philippines. Since the problems and pressures presented by the environment affect the form and extent of a barkada's socializing influence, groups were studied in two contrasting settings--a remote village (barrio) and a small town. The effects of several interrelated social and ecological factors upon peer group structure and activity patterns are highlighted by this comparative approach.

The guiding theoretical basis of this research is derived from John Bennett's (1969) concept of ecological adaptation. Focus is upon mechanisms developed by adolescent peer groups for coping with an environment which includes physical and social elements both within and external to the community. Three factors, each arising from complex interaction between social and physical elements, receive major emphasis: land utilization, residential configuration and population characteristics. Although significant in the two settings, these factors do not necessarily represent nor determine the total system.

Variance in membership patterns and group structure is related to differing socio-ecological conditions. In both barrio and town, contrasting patterns of peer group behavior are shown to emerge from differential patterning of relationships between these three socio-ecological factors. A relatively compact and contiguous pattern of land utilization in the barrio enhanced peer group interaction and contributed to a high level of adolescent involvement in agriculture.

In the town a more diverse pattern of land distribution impeded both group interaction and agricultural participation. Manifestations of group identity among peer group members varied in association with population size and housing configuration.

The socializing influence of barkadas in both communities was generally consistent with the norms, roles and expectations of adult society. In rural Ilocos the family and adolescent peer group constitute compatible rather than conflicting social units. These findings challenge the common assumption that peer groups become significant socializing agents only when the family is incapacitated as an adequate socializing agent by rapid social change. Urban studies have associated the rise of peer groups with a decline in family cohesion and influence. But in these stable rural communities, intact families delegate aspects of socialization to adolescent peer groups. Each unit has a distinct sphere of influence, and their roles as socializing agents are complementary.

Little difference was found in basic attitudes and values held by youth and adults in both the town and barrio. This contradicts Patricia Licuanan's (1971) contention that the difference would be greater in the more rural areas because of greater disparity between generations in educational background and professional aspirations.

At a more general level, the study demonstrates the usefulness of the socio-ecological approach in the study of human development and socialization. The approach permits a systems analysis of the interaction between the individual and various physical and social elements in his environment, and makes possible an integration of various theories and

constructs associated with the cultural continuity, impulse control and role learning approaches to socialization.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The great wealth of socialization literature covering numerous cultures in many different parts of the world attests to the interest many social scientists have had in the study of how human beings acquire the skills and knowledge necessary for their effective participation in society. Most attention has been directed towards discovering the dynamics involved in early child development and in ascertaining the effects that particular child-rearing practices have on adult personality. In spite of the fact that nearly 20 percent of the world's population is between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four (Unesco Statistical Yearbook, 1975), relatively little research has focused on socialization during adolescence and early adulthood.

There is no doubt that what a child learns in the early and formative years goes a long way towards defining relationships and patterns of learning and cognition that stay with him for the rest of his life. However, in spite of its undeniable importance, early childhood, like adolescence and adulthood is but a single socially created category in the human life cycle (Glick, 1947).

Childhood is distinct in that it begins a process of socialization that continues through adolescence and adulthood, terminating with old age and death. Within the life cycle, adolescence stands out as a transitional stage during which an individual is expected to pass from a state of total dependence in childhood to one of greater independence and responsibility as an adult. Consequently, the learning that takes place

during adolescence can be considered equally important in the socialization process as that occurring during childhood.

Various studies have shown that the adolescent behavior usually becomes more focused around interpersonal relations with peers as youth begin to broaden their horizons and to seek a wider range of relevant others outside their family and kin unit (Bowerman and Kinch, 1969; Coleman, 1961; Douvan and Adelson, 1966; Dunphy, 1969; Thornburn, 1971). However, relatively little attention has been directed towards understanding the various types of adolescent peer groups that emerge and the roles they play in shaping an individual's mind and behavior for participation in adult life.

With the exception of studies of delinquent and criminal gangs in developed nations, particularly the United States, there has been little empirical research on adolescent peer groups as functioning entities within a larger social system. Existing studies have focused mainly on the dynamics of urban gangs, emphasizing most often factors associated with the causes and nature of deviant behavior.

In the hopes of increasing our knowledge of non-deviant adolescent peer groups and the roles they play in non-urban settings, this study seeks to show how male adolescent peer groups operate as a socializer of youth in lowland Christian farming communities in the Philippines. Research was conducted in the Philippines in order to create a data base for future comparison with Filipino immigrant peer groups in Hawaii. Both research sites were located in the Ilocos Coast region of Luzon because this area has had the heaviest outmigration to Hawaii over the last fifty years.

To the degree that behavior among Filipino adolescents becomes increasingly focused around interpersonal relations with peers outside the family, informal peer groups (known as barkadas) provide an ideal micro-unit through which to study the process of socialization and adaptation. Next to the family and one's best friend, the barkada is a Filipino youth's most important social unit. This informally organized primary group is found throughout the Philippines, from the metropolis of Greater Manila to the smallest and most far-flung rural communities. While not essential for the transition to full adulthood, barkada membership nevertheless appears to be a natural and expected part of adolescent life in the Philippines.

Recognizing that the specific concerns that bring individuals together influence the peer group goals and activities, and even the criteria for membership, vary in different socio-cultural and socio-economic settings (Sherif & Sherif, 1956:7), groups were studied in two contrasting settings--a remote village (barrio) and a small town. Particular attention is paid to the effect of several interrelated social and environmental factors on the structure, activity patterns and subsequent socialization influences of barkadas in the two communities.

Although the barkada is a key focal point of adolescent interaction it does not exist in isolation. The form and extent of its socializing influence is greatly determined by the manner in which it responds to the problems and pressures presented by the environment. Consequently, the barkada's influence as an agent of socialization can only be ascertained through a study of the group vis-à-vis its total physical and social environment.

As a transitional stage through which all individuals pass, adolescence must also be viewed in relation to both child-rearing practices and adult expectations. In the rural subsistence-based agricultural societies like those existing in the lowland Philippines, where children become familiar with the nature of many adult roles at a very early age and where parents have little time for formal instruction, observation and experimentation through imitative modeling are the primary modes for the transfer of cultural knowledge and skills. In such situations peer tutoring within both the child play-group and the adolescent barkada is a major factor in an individual's total social development.

Traditionally, rural socialization research has focused primarily on early child-rearing practices centered on the family unit with particular attention given to the mother-child relationship. Such a narrow focus is not unique to the United States nor has it been confined to any one discipline. It has appeared as a basic frame in ethnographic reports of anthropologists as well as in the more rigorously controlled studies carried out by sociologists and psychologists.

Literature from the Philippines follows the same trend. The few dissertations which have focused on adolescents have dealt with urbanized gangs in the Manila area. The emphasis of such studies has been on the causes of delinquency and violence and what government agencies, schools and social workers can and should do to alleviate the problem (Ashburn, 1965; Kalaw, 1968; Decaesstecker, 1969). Studies in the rural areas have been largely a product of anthropological field work which has generally given only scant attention to teenage youth. Where studies have focused on rural youth the emphasis has most often been on child-rearing, parent-child relationships and the economic utility of children

in subsistence level agricultural communities (Quisumbing, 1963; Nurge, 1965, 1966; Nydegger & Nydegger, 1966; Jocano, 1969).

The result of the largely western-oriented, urban-based research has been a variety of insights about certain kinds of youth groups (mainly delinquent gangs), however only a few rather general and sometimes conflicting propositions have emerged concerning the nature and function of adolescent peer groups in the total socialization process and their role within the larger social system in which they exist.

The present study is exploratory in nature and does not seek to confirm or refute any existing hypotheses. Rather, by investigating non-delinquent peer groups in two non-western rural communities the study hopes to arrive at a set of hypotheses which can be tested in a broad range of environmental settings.

The guiding theoretical basis for this research is derived from John Bennett's (1961) concept of ecological adaptation. The main focus is upon the manner in which barkadas cope with an environment that includes physical and social elements both within and external to the community. The basic working assumption is that constant interaction takes place between the various elements of the environment and human beings. Within this study three factors, each arising from complex interaction between social and physical elements, receive major emphasis: land utilization, residential configuration and population characteristics.

The first part of the thesis consists of a description of two types of rural communities, a barrio and a poblacion in terms of the social-ecological conditions and social institutions which influence the structure and behavior patterns of adolescent barkadas in each location.

The interrelationships and patterns of influence between socio-ecological conditions, various social institutions and the barkadas will be traced and demonstrated in each community.

In the second half of the study a comparative analysis of barrio and poblacion barkadas is presented with specific attention directed to the socializing roles played by the barkadas in each community. Attention is also focused on the potential usefulness of the socio-ecological framework as a means of integrating the various methodologies and constructs associated with socialization studies at different stages in the life cycle.

Background

Although few studies have dealt with peer socialization per se, adolescence has long been a topic of considerable social science interest and research, particularly in the fields of psychology and sociology. In the United States the work of C. S. Hall (1911) established a pattern of thinking which dominated the discussion and research on adolescence for the next twenty-five years. Because Hall's work largely revolved around a theory of recapitulation corresponding to various stages in human evolution, his thinking led to a culture-bound biological approach to youth development. The various behavioral manifestations of youth were attributed to certain in-born physiological conditions which led to a widely held belief that adolescence was a universal period of 'storm and stress' through which all persons must pass.

It was not until Margaret Mead's pioneering field work in Samoa in 1928 that the physiological approach began to give way in the face of

demonstrated cultural relativity. Mead's work and that of other anthropologists who followed her showed that adolescence was not the same throughout the world (as would be expected if it were purely a biological phenomena) and that there were societies in which this period in life was not characterized by 'storm and stress'. The wide degree of variation in observed behavior could only be explained in terms of the social structure and cultural determinants of different societies.

With the acceptance of culture and society as the primary determinants of adolescence the focus of research in the United States shifted to the impact on youth of the breakdown of traditional values and norms associated with urbanization.

In his classic study of Chicago gangs, Thrasher (1927) set forth a number of ideas that have had a profound effect on the development of adolescent gang and delinquency theory in the U.S. He became the forerunner of a dominant trend in the sociological literature by suggesting, even indirectly, a relationship between the breakdown of the family, school and church as primary socializing agents and the rise of adolescent gangs as significant social units to be contended with in urban areas. Thrasher did not claim that gangs were only a product of the city, however, he felt that gang development could best be studied in the urban slum where large numbers of children are brought together in a limited area (1927:26). Thrasher claimed that most gangs emerge from spontaneously organized play groups. The gang itself was seen as "a spontaneous effort of boys to create a society for themselves where none adequate to their needs exists" (1927:37).

Based on three years of participant observation in an east coast Italian slum community, Whyte (1943) conceptualized the urban street corner gang in terms of an organized hierarchy of personal relations evolving out of a system of reciprocal obligations. He placed considerable emphasis on leadership which he noted was often implicit. Although the members of Whyte's "Norton Street Gang" were in their early twenties, somewhat older than the teen-age groups reported by Thrasher, Whyte's work largely affirms many of Thrasher's earlier findings with one important exception. Thrasher found that marriage more than any other factor tended to terminate a boy's interest in ganging while Whyte's street corner boys, both married and single, found their street group more attractive than their homes.

In a series of studies centered around a small mid-western town Hollingshead (1949) and Havighurst and Taba (1949) found that the behavior of adolescents in their formal and informal peer associations was related functionally to the positions occupied by their families in the social structure of the community. Hence, while the peer groups may arise spontaneously as suggested by Thrasher, their membership and behavior patterns were considered to be largely determined by factors of social class position in the larger society.

Eisenstadt (1956) claimed that the transition from childhood to adulthood proceeds smoothly when the value system of the society places heavy emphasis on those principles which regulate family life. In the absence of such societal emphasis on the family values, the transference of identification from the family to other sets of relations that are organized by different criteria becomes disruptive, and age-homogeneous

groups arise to ease the transition. Countering this argument is the present study as well as considerable anthropological data dealing with age sets¹ and the role of age-grading in various societies throughout the world that demonstrate quite convincingly that adolescent peer groups, although they may take different forms as a result of social change, are not in and of themselves a function of decreasing emphasis on family values associated with urbanization.

The notion that adolescents tend to conform to a distinct set of norms and values, hinted at indirectly by Thrasher and Eisenstadt, was developed fully by James Coleman (1961) who argued for the existence of an adolescent subculture. He suggested that in a rapidly changing society, educational processes in the family are replaced by the teenage peer group, which he saw as a distinct social system offering a united front against incursions by adult society.

The concept of a distinct adolescent peer culture in competition with adult society has been questioned by numerous researchers. As early as 1955, Elkin and Westley argued against the existence of an adolescent society on grounds that existing social stratification studies demonstrated a continuity of class-related behaviors and values across generational lines. They claimed that in many areas, adolescents conform more to adult models than to peer group standards. A more middle-of-the-road position was taken by Brittain (1963) who suggested that when faced with parent-peer cross pressures, adolescents tend to be peer-conforming in making certain kinds of choices and parent-conforming in making others.

Argument over the existence of a distinct youth society and sub-culture has become as sterile as the old heredity and environment controversy (Smith and Kleine, 1966:425). Jahoda and Warren (1965) considered the issue unworthy of debate, noting that data can be gathered from any study of adolescents in support of either side (for a discontinuous subculture or a continuous non-subculture) depending on the emphasis and inclination of the reader. Though still alive, the controversy has been collapsed to a question of definition (Schiamberg, 1973).

Aside from the subculture issue, the different types of settings in which adolescent groups are found has received the attention of a number of authors. The neighborhood (street corner), the high school and the college campus appear as the most frequently selected locales for peer group research. Seldom have studies attempted to view the peer group in relation to its larger community environment.

Sherif and Sherif (1964) attempted to combine laboratory and field methodology with various interdisciplinary orientations in an integrated study focused on the individual, the group and the environment. Among the various findings reported by the authors was the fact that the groups (Anglo-American and Mexican-American) tended to be stable over time and in membership. The members of the groups had clear and consistent knowledge of who was "in" and who was "out." And despite the common consensus that they had no leader, it was possible to place each member along a status hierarchy from leader down to the bottom position within the group. Following Whyte's (1943) concept of the gang as an organized hierarchy of personal relations and reciprocal obligations the authors

claimed it is the status differentiation of the members that constitutes the organization of the group.

In a study of adolescent youth groups in Sydney, Australia, Dunphy (1963) found a similar organizational hierarchy. He, however, proposed a slightly different kind of framework, making a distinction between cliques and crowds. Crowds are large groups that can be divided into several cliques that are identifiable by their members. Together, the two kinds of groups are functionally adaptive in facilitating social development and heterosexual behavior among adolescents.

Yablonsky (1962) offers a very different set of findings based on a study of violent gangs in New York City. He found such groups to consist of a small nucleus of sociopathic individuals surrounded by a highly fluid crowd of peripheral adolescents who could participate or withdraw at their own discretion (1962:175). Consequently, there was practically no knowledge on the part of any of the members as to the real size of the gang or who was "in" or "out." The same degree of fluidity in membership has also been reported for certain gangs in Glasgow, Scotland (Patrick, 1973:177).

This review of the literature, however brief and covering only the more important and revealing studies, demonstrates the great disparity which exists with respect to our knowledge of adolescent peer groups. There are groups with high levels of identity and cohesion and others with practically none, some with a fixed membership and others manifesting a high degree of turnover. Some groups are characterized by authoritarian leadership and some by democratic consensus rule; in some the leadership is formalized with elections and titles of office and in others it is

informal and implicit. Some groups are organized around a particular interest or activity while others are unspecialized.

Perhaps the only general assumption on which there is little or no argument among scholars is that adolescent behavior in western society usually becomes more focused around interpersonal relations with peers as youths begin to broaden their horizons and seek a wider range of relevant others outside their family and kin unit (Wagner, 1971; Bowerman and Kinch, 1959). Most studies confirm the view that the general pattern of adolescent development in urban areas involves the gradual replacement of parents by age-mates as the primary socializing agent. "It is the approval or disapproval of peers rather than parents which forms new sanctions for adolescents" (Dunphy, 1969:16). Considerable research centered around middle-class American society suggests that peer groups provide the adolescent with a setting where he can gain a sense of belonging and security. Within the group he can take actions in collaboration with his peers and/or make decisions which he could never make alone (Horrocks, 1965:21).

Data from non-western societies is very minimal. However, there are a few studies which suggest that many of the above findings may not be entirely specific to the United States. La Fontaine (1970) shows in her African data from Kinshasa (Leopoldville) that two types of adolescent peer groups (street gangs and school-oriented clubs) reacted to exclusion from adult society by emphasizing their own exclusive culture and language. The groups served as a focal point for the generation of solidarity relations which derive from voluntary associations rather than from ascribed kinship status. La Fontaine claims that within Kinshasa

society youth groups are considered as part of the normal social organization of adolescence. The findings of the present study strongly suggest that this is also true for Philippine society.

The Barkada: A Gang, Clique, Club or Crowd

In introducing his study of teenage groups in Sydney, Dunphy claimed that no significant body of theory exists that can be supported by the results of either controlled experimentation or field work. He further suggested that the lack of a sound theoretical base has made systematic comparisons of existing studies difficult (1969:x). At the same time it should be noted that such difficulty also arises in part from a tendency to lump the various types of peer groups together with the result that one ends up trying to compare social groupings which are as distinct as apples and oranges. For example, the kinds of groups studied by the Sherifs in Texas and those observed by Yablonsky in New York are worlds apart not only in terms of structure and observable behavior but also with respect to environment and social class.

What constitutes a peer group? Are the differences in group structure and activity patterns reported in the literature to be considered as variations on a general construct or reflections of basic structural and functional differences? In other words, are gangs, cliques, clubs and crowds one and the same kind of grouping, i.e., are they comparable? If not, then what are the defining characteristics of each and which type is the closest approximation of the Philippine barkada? It is necessary to clarify these issues before the barkada can be placed in its proper context with respect to existing and future studies of adolescent groupings

in different cultures and socio-ecological environments. Clarification of the commonalities and variations among peer groups is also necessary as a preliminary step towards formulating a general theory of peer group socialization.

The Primary Group

The concept of primary groups, first introduced by Charles Cooley (1909) provides a starting point in the process of defining the nature and characteristics of the different types of youth groups. Cooley characterized the primary group as one involving intimate face-to-face interaction and cooperation. Obviously the family is a primary group, however Cooley also considered spontaneous play groups and gangs as examples of primary groups. To him, the primary groups are those that are fundamental in structuring the ideals of the individual. While the family is the foremost primary group of children, Dunphy and others have suggested that the peer group assumes this role during adolescence.

Peer Groups

Following from Cooley, a peer group can be considered as simply a cohort-specific primary group involving face-to-face interaction and cooperation among age-mates. Sherif and Sherif (1964; 1965) made the definition a little more specific by adding a time dimension and the requirement that there be some kind of organization and a set of group norms or standards. Thus, they conceptualized a peer group as an association among adolescents maintained by frequent interaction which exhibits some degree of patterned organization and standards. Given this definition, are the different types of human collectives commonly referred

to in the literature as gangs, cliques, clubs and crowds to be considered as peer groups and hence further examples of a primary group?

The Gang:--Since the turn of the century the term "gang" has been used to describe youths organized for a vast range of activities--from going fishing or playing ball to stealing and committing aggression and murder. In 1898 Henry Sheldon classified youth gangs according to their activities as: (1) secret clubs, (2) predatory organizations, (3) social clubs, (4) industrial associations, (5) philanthropic associations, (6) literary, artistic and musical organizations, and (7) athletic clubs (quoted in Yablonsky, 1962:118).

For J. Adams Puffer (1905) gangs were essentially boys' clubs and athletic teams. Each of the sixty-six gangs he studied had a high degree of uniformity and was organized around a definite purpose or activity, i.e., to play games, steal, fight with other gangs, etc. Such gangs, he also found, tended to maintain their own particular habitation, i.e., a favorite street corner, store, club house or some other special place.

Thrasher (1927) incorporated both the characteristics of spontaneous organization and face-to-face contact (from Cooley's conceptualization of the primary group) in his definition of a gang but added the element of conflict. "The gang is an intersitial group originally formed spontaneously, and then integrated through conflict" (1927:57). For Thrasher, then, certain kinds of youth groups do not qualify as gangs. A play group, for example, may acquire organization with the emergence of natural leaders and relative standings for the various members but it does not become a gang until it begins to excite disapproval and opposition (1927:30). "To become a true gang the group as a whole must move through space

(linear action) and eventually meet with some hostile element which precipitates conflict" (1927:54). The conflict gang, as described by Thrasher, is considered by Cohen (1955:43) to be the culture-bearer par excellence of the delinquent subculture.

Whyte's Street Corner Society reinforced many of the previous findings of Thrasher and other members of the so-called Chicago School, however, his Norton Street Gang was not centered around conflict. In fact, it was largely associated with constructive social behavior. Whyte found a high degree of permanence and cohesion in the groups he studied which was lacking among Thrasher's conflict gangs. Likewise, Yablonsky's violent gangs were characterized by a lack of precisely those qualities which Whyte found to be core elements of the street corner groups he studied.

It would appear that there are numerous kinds of gangs some of which do meet the requirements of both a peer group and a primary group and others that do not. Certainly the gangs described by Whyte do qualify as both peer groups and primary groups while those reported by Thrasher and Yablonsky lack one or more of the essential criteria such as continuity and cohesion.

The Clique, the Club and the Crowd--The clique is often considered to be analogous to the gang in that it is normally a small, clearly defined and highly cohesive unisex group. The main distinction seems to be that cliques (in the literature) are largely found in middle-class society while gangs are associated most often with lower class slum communities and/or delinquency. Hurlock (1949) suggests that cliques are simply the smaller social units which in association make up crowds and clubs. Cole and Hall (1964), on the other hand, see the clique as a

tightly organized intolerant group which demands a loyalty from its members that largely prevents a wider range of social contact from occurring.

The crowd, according to E. A. Smith (1963), is a larger heterosexual youth group that is transitional between unisex pre-adolescent cliques and normal dating and courting relations in U.S. society. Although the crowd performs an important socialization function, because of its transitory nature, Smith claims it is limited in both unity and duration. Hollingshead (1949) also notes the heterosexual quality of the crowd, describing it as a loosely formed group of adolescents of which both boys and girls are members. Dunphy sees the crowd as a transitional stage between pre-adolescent unisex cliques and fully developed heterosexual cliques which form in late adolescence. A crowd is composed of a number of cliques and "those who do not possess membership in a clique in the crowd were not accepted into the crowd, whether they attempted to relate themselves to it or not" (1969:58). As defined here the crowd is something quite different from the common notion of a large group of unorganized and unrelated people who do not know each other.

The distinction between a club and cliques or crowds seems to revolve around the degree of formal organization and/or adult supervision or approval. Dunphy found in his research that various cliques were also a part of a formalized activity or interest centered clubs at school. Whyte similarly noted in his study that street gangs were often organized into clubs through the intercession of community workers from the local settlement houses. The crucial ingredient of such clubs was their leadership. If the leadership role of a particular individual within the club

was challenged, the group often reverted to its former cliques. Leadership in the club was explicit and the result of an election of a unanimous decision, whereas leadership in the clique usually remained implicit and unstated.

Of all the types of groups discussed thus far, the barkada approximates closest the western notion of a clique. However, the two groups are not synonymous. Barkadas, like cliques, emerge spontaneously at all levels of Philippine society within a vast range of different socio-ecological settings. Consequently, there are many different types of barkadas: some are centered around a particular physical location or social position such as a residential unit, a grade-level in school or a place of work, while others are focused on a specific activity such as bowling, playing cards or drinking.

Depending on the particular socio-ecological environment in which a person lives, he or she may well have more than one barkada. For example, in an urban setting a middle-class male might possibly have three distinct barkadas: one made up of a few office-mates with whom he shares a common interest, a second may be composed of the individuals with whom he plays tennis or bowls on weekends, and the third made up of those persons with whom he enjoys drinking and playing cards. The membership of these groups may or may not overlap. The tennis barkada, for example, may consist of a few friends and/or relatives. The drinking barkada, on the other hand, may be made up of a number of men who live in the same block. The larger a person's personal network, the more likely it is that he or she will have several fairly autonomous barkadas. In the rural areas where one's social networks are largely contained within a small community

the likelihood is greater that a person's various activity groups will overlap in membership comprising perhaps a single multiplex barkada.

The one thing that all barkadas seem to have in common is their relatively small size, ranging from a minimum of about four to a maximum of around twelve. Most informants would not accept a group of three or less as a barkada. At the same time there was general agreement that if a group is so large that all of its members cannot be involved in face-to-face interaction it is not a barkada. In fact, when a number of large groups of adolescents and young adults began to appear on the streets of Manila a number of years ago, manifesting anti-social behavior similar to that described by Yablonsky (1969), they were called "gangs" by the media and by the local social scientists and youth workers to distinguish them from the normal and socially accepted barkada. In contrast to the urban gangs, Jocano (1975) defines the "ordinary" barkada as "an amorphous unit composed of uncommitted youths. It is a spontaneously organized aggregation based on peer group norms and companionship. Sometimes the barkada engages in activities which society may not totally condone but it shuns organized crime" (1975:106-107).

The adolescent barkada is both a primary group and a peer group. In terms of size, its closest approximation is to the western clique. However, with respect to organization, it parallels more closely the street corner gangs described by Whyte. While the clique in western society is seen by many to be the smallest unit in a hierarchy of adolescent groupings including gangs, clubs and crowds, the barkada does not appear to be the primal unit in the Philippine adolescent's social world. The barkada is often made up of various two and three person friendship

groupings. Intimacy and frequency of interaction is higher within these small groupings than it is within the barkada of which they are a part.

It is evident that a number of structural and behavioral characteristics are common to both the Philippine barkada and to the various types of youth groups found in western society. At the same time, there are also a number of important differences. To insure that one is not comparing dissimilar entities it is necessary to place the barkada and the various western groups within a larger, cross-cultural and cross-situational perspective.

Yablonsky (1957, 1962) makes a distinction between what he calls a near-group and a fully-developed social group. He suggests that on a continuum of organizational factors such as cohesion and role definition that near groups fall midway between unorganized mobs and the organized group. The near group usually has a small nucleus of sociopathic leaders surrounded by a highly mobile and largely uncommitted crowd of potential followers. Since such individuals are free to move in and out of the group at will, there is little cohesion and unity. Yablonsky suggests that the violent gangs he studied in New York are good examples of near groups, as compared to the more fully developed social and criminal gangs that are organized around a well-defined, although often implicit, set of roles and norms.

To further distinguish the different types of youth peer groups in terms of both structure and behavior it is possible to divide the group category into formal and informal groups. Athletic teams and officially sanctioned clubs with well-defined roles are examples of formal groups, as opposed to cliques, gangs and crowds which tend to be informal groups.

A major distinction between the two groups can be seen in the leadership structure. In the formal groups the form and manner in which the leadership role is executed is commonly governed by a set of written rules and regulations and the selection of leaders is usually by vote or unanimous decision. In the informal groups, on the other hand, the roles and standards are more implicit in nature. The informal group as envisioned here is largely synonymous with what Boissevain (1968) calls the "quasi-group." He defines such groups as "a coalition of persons, recruited according to structurally diverse principles by one or more existing members between some of whom there is a degree of patterned interaction and organization" (1968:550). Such groups he further notes, "appear to have a core of persons who form the central focus between whom there is a higher degree of interaction and more role relations than with other members" (p. 550).

Within both the formal and informal groups a further distinction can be made with respect to the nature of the group's socio-ecological environment (rural or urban) and whether the dominant behavior patterns are socially acceptable or deviant in nature. Within such a framework (see Figure 1) the three barkadas reported in this study can be classed as informal groups that manifest socially acceptable behavior in a rural community.

There are few, if any, counterpart studies of similar groups in equally rural settings in western society. The closest comparable groups for which adequate data are available would be those studied by Whyte (1943), Sherif and Sherif (1964) and Dunphy (1963; 1969). Although these are all urban groups (ranging in setting from an inner-city slum to

middle-class residential areas) they are characterized by stability, cohesion, well-defined membership, unrecognized but nonetheless implicit leadership, and behavior patterns which generally conformed to socially accepted standards.

With respect to Figure 1, the greater amount of research on adolescent peer groups has been concerned with informal groups in urban settings where the major emphasis has been on deviancy and personality formation. And as previously noted, the least amount of attention has been devoted to non-deviant informal groups in the very rural villages and hamlets of the world. It is precisely to this gap in our knowledge that the present study is directed.

NOTE TO CHAPTER I

1. The Kinshasa peer-groups reported by La Fontaine should not be confused with the age-set groupings found in many East African societies. Age sets are corporate groups composed of people belonging to the same age grade or to a specific part of it (Bohannon, 1966:149). For example, being classed as an adolescent is different from being a member of a social group that holds adolescence as a criterion for membership. In the rural Philippines adolescence or a category known as bumaro in Ilokano designating young pubescent males, is an age grade, however, the peer-groups associated with this stage in the life cycle do not function as age sets. There is considerable difference in participating voluntarily in an age-graded peer group and obligatory entrance into an age set (often through a harsh initiation ceremony) as is the case among many of the East African tribal societies. Unlike certain African age sets, the Philippine barkada rarely, if ever, totally replaces the family as the individual's primary social and economic resource through life.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS, RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

As early as 1927 Thrasher saw a definite relationship between peer groups and certain other social units within the environment when he claimed that gangs arise where the various agencies for adolescent socialization such as the family and the school fail in fulfilling the needs of youth. Adolescent gangs or barkadas, like any other social group, are never totally isolated from their environment. The specific concerns which bring members together, group goals and activities and even the criteria for being accepted vary in different socio-cultural and socio-economic settings (Sherif & Sherif, 1965:7).

Given the importance of environmental variability the first step towards developing a comprehensive theory of adolescent peer group socialization (a task far beyond the scope of this study) is to develop a framework which emphasizes the interaction between the peer group and its total environment. If future studies are to lead us any nearer to a general theory they should be carried out within a framework which allows for the influence of physical as well as social variables on behavior and flow of information within the social system of which the peer group is a part. Such a framework should also be capable of integrating different levels of analysis. Just as there are varying levels at which man is in constant interaction with his environment (man-to-nature, man-to-man, and man-to-the supernatural), so are there multiple levels at which the adolescent peer group is in interaction with its social and physical environment.

The concept of ecological adaptation as elaborated by John Bennet in terms of coping mechanisms (or ways of dealing with people and resources in order to attain goals and solve problems) within an environment consisting of both physical and social elements which are external as well as internal to a given society, provides a guiding theoretical base capable of meeting the above requirements (1969:14).

The basic assumption is that constant interaction takes place between the various elements of the environment and human beings acting both as individuals and as members of societal groupings. Such adaptation at the most elementary level, man in adjustive and exploitative interaction with his environment, has immediate influence on the second level of adaptation--man interacting with other men.

With its primary focus on adolescent youth within peer groups, the present study is largely concerned with human behavior at this level in terms of adaptative strategies and activity patterns of adolescent barkada groups. Some of the behavior to be described, however, involves man-to-nature relationships and in some instances it is possible to extend the analysis to a third level where adolescent behavior patterns have implications for normative constructs and personality formation. This is a level of analysis that has received considerable attention in the literature, particularly within the rubric of culture and personality studies as developed by Kardiner (1939, 1945), Linton (1945), and Whiting and Child (1953, 1966) and others.

While the author suggests a need for a holistic, systems approach to view peer groups in relation to their total environment, it is realized that this entails describing in great detail all the reciprocal

linkages between all the different elements and subsystems in the environment. Such a monumental task is certainly beyond the scope of this study and for that matter is most likely too big an undertaking for any one-person research project.

Given the restrictions on time and resources the present study is limited to an attempt to demonstrate how certain particular physical and social factors influence adolescent group behavior and hence peer socialization in two different environmental settings. While falling short of the need to provide a description of the total system this approach is nonetheless consistent with such a goal as it does seek to isolate and describe a limited number of the many linkages that go to make up the total system. In this sense an analogy can be made to the taking of a statistical sample from some larger population. Similarity, however, ends here since the next logical inference of being able to generalize from the sample to the total universe does not hold for our environmental system. The particular variables selected for analysis here are considered to be significant but not necessarily representative or determinant of the total system.

It must also be stated here that the goal is not to demonstrate or even infer particular lines of causality but rather, as Steward (1955: 3) suggested, to explain certain behavior patterns by reference to various aspects of the environment in which they are found (see also Vayda and Rappaport, 1968:490). With this in mind the primary objective of the study is not to test any existing hypotheses but to generate a data base from which testable assumptions can be formulated with respect to adolescent peer socialization in different environmental settings.

Following from the above stated goal the first part of the thesis deals with the nature and significance of three environmental conditions on adolescent peer group structure and behavior in the two research communities, namely land utilization, residential configuration, and population characteristics.

Land utilization refers to patterns of tenure and usufruct that characterize a community. The specific conditions of land utilization that prevail in a community are the result of interaction between such factors as geological configurations and their distribution, rainfall and other sources of water, soil composition and such socio-cultural variables as available technology, kinship, patterns of previous land ownership and inheritance rules.

Residential configuration refers to the location of dwelling units vis-à-vis one another. Environmental variables instrumental in producing a particular residential pattern include availability of suitable land and the location of necessary resources such as water and building materials. Socio-cultural factors effecting residential configuration include kinship, social class, land ownership, inheritance and any rules or cultural preferences regarding post-marriage residence.

Population characteristics refer to the density and homogeneity of the population. Environmental variables effecting population include availability of land, natural resources and geological configurations; socio-cultural variables include level of technology, marriage patterns (endogamy or exogamy), kinship and residential configuration.

Emphasis is not on the complex interaction between the various social and physical elements which produce the above conditions but rather how

the conditions themselves articulate with one another to produce a distinct environmental configuration that has direct implications for the patterns of behavior that emerge and are perpetuated within a given community.

The three conditions emphasized in this study are by no means the only socio-environmental variables influencing social structure and behavior. In certain settings other factors may in fact be more significant than either land utilization, residential configuration or population characteristics. Steward (1955) for example, stresses the importance of food resources as a key variable affecting subsistence pattern and social organization and Bates (1953) suggests that equal importance be given to parasite and disease factors as environmental variables influencing human development. And in much the same vein Barth (1956) demonstrates the need to consider the presence and possible competition of other human groups as important environmental factors effecting human adaptation.

At a much more restricted level Rogers (1969) has suggested witchcraft as an overriding variable effecting Ojibway population density and social organization (cited in Helm, 1962:638 & Heider, 1972:215). Also, at the psychological level is Rappaport's (1967) study of ritual in the ecology of a New Guinean people. And with an emphasis on values, Wagley (1969:269) claims that each culture has what he calls a "population policy--an implicit or explicit set of cultural values relating to population size" which is closely interrelated with the social structure of each society.

The above examples notwithstanding, the relative importance of land utilization, residential configuration and population characteristics is well supported by the literature. Sahlins (1962) has demonstrated relationship between land utilization and family organization. Frake (1956) and Goodenough (1955, 1956) have carried on a discussion and debate concerning the effects of land tenure on Malayo-Polynesian social organization. Bennet (1944) earlier illustrated the relationships between land tenure, social organization and cultural values in a comparative study of Southern Illinois hill and bottom land farming groups. Mencher (1966) demonstrates the relationship between physical environment and settlement pattern in her comparative study of ecology and social structure in Kerala and Madras, India.

In a study of Nigerian hill farmers, Netting (1968) documents the functional interrelationship of population density, farming technique, land availability, household organization and land tenure. Changes in population densities and the relationship of population to arable land are seen as triggering adaptive changes in a whole set of related technological and social variables among subsistence cultivators.

Further support for the dominance of the man-land relationships and population pressure as key variables in adaptive change is provided by Boserup (1965) and Harner (1969). Boserup elaborated the thesis that agricultural adaptation and innovation are the results rather than the causes of population pressure. Similarly, Geertz (1963) argues that since population size is dependent upon non-cultural as well as cultural factors, cultural development itself, is subject through population size to non-cultural influences. Carniero (1967) also sees population size and

societal complexity as closely related. Dumond (1965), on the other hand, views population size as an independent factor determinative of some of the aspects of cultural development. Population growth, however, is considered to be both a cause and an effect of culture change.

Also concerned with the effects of population, Naroll (1956) and Edmonson (1958) have shown relationships between the number of social statuses in a society and various demographic measures. The relationship between population pressure and social structure, particularly descent group formation has been illustrated by Kelly (1968) in the New Guinea highlands.

In short, there is considerable evidence to indicate that the conditions of land utilization, residential configuration (settlement pattern) and the size and characteristics of the populations are all factors having important implications for various aspects of social organization and group behavior.

Within the two Philippine communities under consideration in this thesis it is assumed that the socio-ecological configuration resulting from the interaction of the three stipulated conditions, influences human behavior both directly and indirectly through various social institutions. In this study the relationships between the barkada and the socio-ecological conditions operation in the community will be traced directly and through two intermediate social institutions, the family and the school.

The barkada receives both direct and indirect influence from the socio-ecological configuration. And as a socializing agent it in turn affects its members who, as a part of the population, are themselves

aspects of the total environment. The influence that the barkada has on rural male adolescents in the two communities studied will be described and explained in terms of activity patterns and the general role of the peer group as a socializing agent.

The proposed framework is illustrated in Figure 2. The lines between the various elements indicate actual and/or potential avenues of influence between the three socio-ecological conditions and the barkada. The inter-relationships between land utilization, residential configuration and population are accepted as givens and will not be dwelt on in the study. Likewise the dotted lines connecting the three socio-ecological conditions with the family and the school will be dealt with only as required in demonstrating the linkages between the family, school and the barkada. The relationships of primary importance to the understanding of the role and function of the barkada in rural Philippine farming communities are those indicated by a double solid line. Each of these linkages and the type of relationship that exists will be traced and explained in detail.

The upward pointing arrows emerging from the bottom of the barkada box indicate the presence of feedback or reciprocal influence from the barkada to the community which will be described in terms of adolescent behavior and attitudes relative to community norms and expectations. It is at this level that questions arise concerning the degree of continuity between adolescent life and the demands of adult society, ie., does adolescence constitute a separate sub-culture within the community with its own micro-environment; and what is the relationship between the barkada and other social institutions in the system?

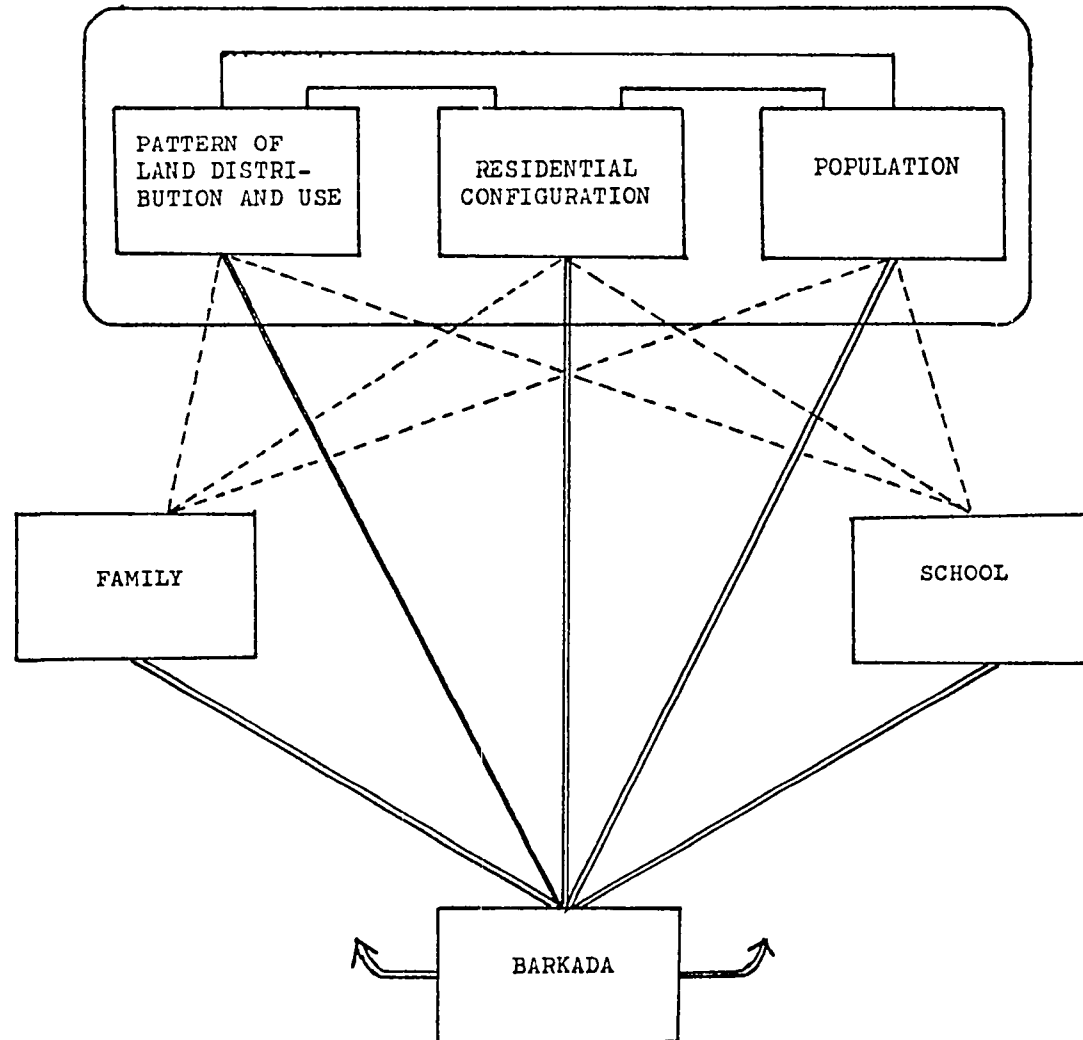


Figure 2. Socio-Ecological Configuration

The role played by the adolescent barkada as an agent of socialization and the form such socialization takes can only be fully understood in terms of a number of multi-level relationships. At one level we are concerned with the relationship between the barkada's influence on its members and the early training which the youths received in the home and at school. At this level questions arise concerning the presence or absence of peer-parent cross-pressure and the role of the barkada in defining the adolescent's role and status in the society. At a different level a comparison must be made between the barkada activity patterns and those of other social units within the system. Is the barkada a peripheral unit or is it functionally related to other social institutions, groupings and behavior patterns within the community? It can readily be seen that regardless of the nature of the data, analysis of interaction patterns at one level will lead to further questions concerning patterns of influence, function and response at other levels within the social system.

Methodology

Since the primary emphasis of the study is on activity and behavior patterns of adolescent peer groups the first stages of the field research were concerned with defining and identifying various groups within the two communities. I entered the field with Sherif and Sherif's concept of a peer group as "an association of adolescents maintained by frequent interaction which exhibits some degree of patterned organization and normative standards" (1964, 1965) as my basic operational definition. The three defining criteria, interaction, organization and normative standards provided an initial basis for isolating actual groups within the

community. The task of identifying peer groups which would be suitable for further study was accomplished primarily by means of systematic observation. Adolescent activity patterns were monitored regularly within both the barrio and the town. Initially this involved walking through the community to observe general activity three times a day, in the morning, afternoon and evening. Records were made for each observation and included time, place, activity and the individuals involved. Names of persons not already known to me from my previous work in the community were supplied by my senior field assistant. Over a period of weeks patterning emerged in the recorded observations. Certain individuals were repeatedly seen together at certain times of the day. After about a month it was possible to construct a rough sociogram of two groups in the barrio based on the recorded observations. The placement of individuals on the diagrams vis-à-vis one another was based on the frequency of their interaction as indicated by the recorded observations and where possible on the kind of interaction. In many instances it was possible to note and record which individuals tended to dominate in certain kinds of activities--who talked the most, who offered suggestions as to group activities, who ordered whom to do what, etc. These diagrams were then compared with a similar set constructed independently by the senior field assistant based on his knowledge as a life-long resident of the community. The main differences between the two sets of diagrams were not in terms of the individuals included in each group but rather in their placement vis-à-vis one another within each group. Both sets of diagrams were consistent in their indication of influence from two variables, kinship and residence pattern. Since the general community

census revealed a high degree of congruence between residence and kinship, the question was which of the two variables, if either, was the major determinant of barkada membership.

Once the barkadas had been tentatively isolated in terms of membership and territory, it was possible to move in for a closer look at the internal organization and behavior patterns within each of the groups. During this period of intensive participant observation, data were collected on interaction patterns and decision-making. At this stage of the research, very little direct questioning was done. Rather, an effort was made to systematically record behavior and activity patterns, topics of conversations, etc.

Although the adolescent peer group members were aware that the author was conducting research in their community, the fact that the focus of research was on their barkada was not widely announced for fear that such knowledge, if generally known, might result in their deliberately modifying their behavior in the presence of the researcher. In almost all circumstances, it was much more difficult talking with adolescents than with adult members of the community. For this reason, maximum time was allowed for the barkada members to become comfortable in the presence of the researcher before any formal interviewing was begun.

During the final stages of the research interviews were conducted with each member of the groups under study. Among other questions, each informant was asked to name his best friend and the individuals he considered to be part of his barkada. Based on these responses another set of sociograms was constructed depicting reported membership and friendship affinity. Those individuals who were named most often by their

peers were considered to be the "core" members of each group. This list was compared with the previous diagrams and also with a list of names provided by parents when asked to name the members of their son's barkada.

As an adjunct to the structured interviews a multiple choice paper-and-pencil questionnaire was administered to members of the senior class at the local high school. This survey had three main objectives: (1) to verify with a larger sample a number of assumptions about barkada membership; (2) to ascertain the degree to which adolescents in both the barrio and the town communities held similar views, similar to those of their parents on a broad range of topics concerning community life; and (3) to elicit those areas in which the local adolescents felt they were most influenced by their peers and their parents and family. A similar survey was conducted among a random sample of adults in both communities.

In addition to the above procedures, general data were gathered on both communities using standard ethnographic methods--family census, household inventories, survey interviewing, participant observation and the use of key informants.

CHAPTER III

SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ILOCOS COAST

The Ilocos region of the Republic of the Philippines occupies a strip of land of varying width extending northward along the northwest coast of the Island of Luzon for about 160 miles from Lingayen Gulf in the south to Cape Bojeador in the north. It is bounded on the west by the South China Sea and on the east by the Cordillera Central mountains which range to altitudes over 10,000 feet as one moves inland. (See Figure 3.)

The total land area of the Ilocos Coast, comprising the provinces of La Union, Ilocos Sur and Ilocos Norte is 7,472 square kilometers or approximately 1.24 percent of the total land mass of the Philippines. A little over one million persons, or about three percent of the total population, make their home along this rugged and frequently dissected coastal plain. Moving inland from the sea the rocky terrain is frequently broken by lines of low rolling hills which quickly give way to Cordillera mountains. The area is drained by six major rivers but only one of these, the Abra River in Ilocos Sur Province, flows year-round.

The climate of the Ilocos coast is characterized by a pronounced dry season from November to April followed by heavy rains from May through August. As a result of this extreme seasonal alternation in rainfall and temperature, flora along the Ilocos coast is predominantly of the monsoon forest type rather than the tropical rainforest variety which is found in the higher more evenly moist elevations to the east (Keesing, 1962:10).

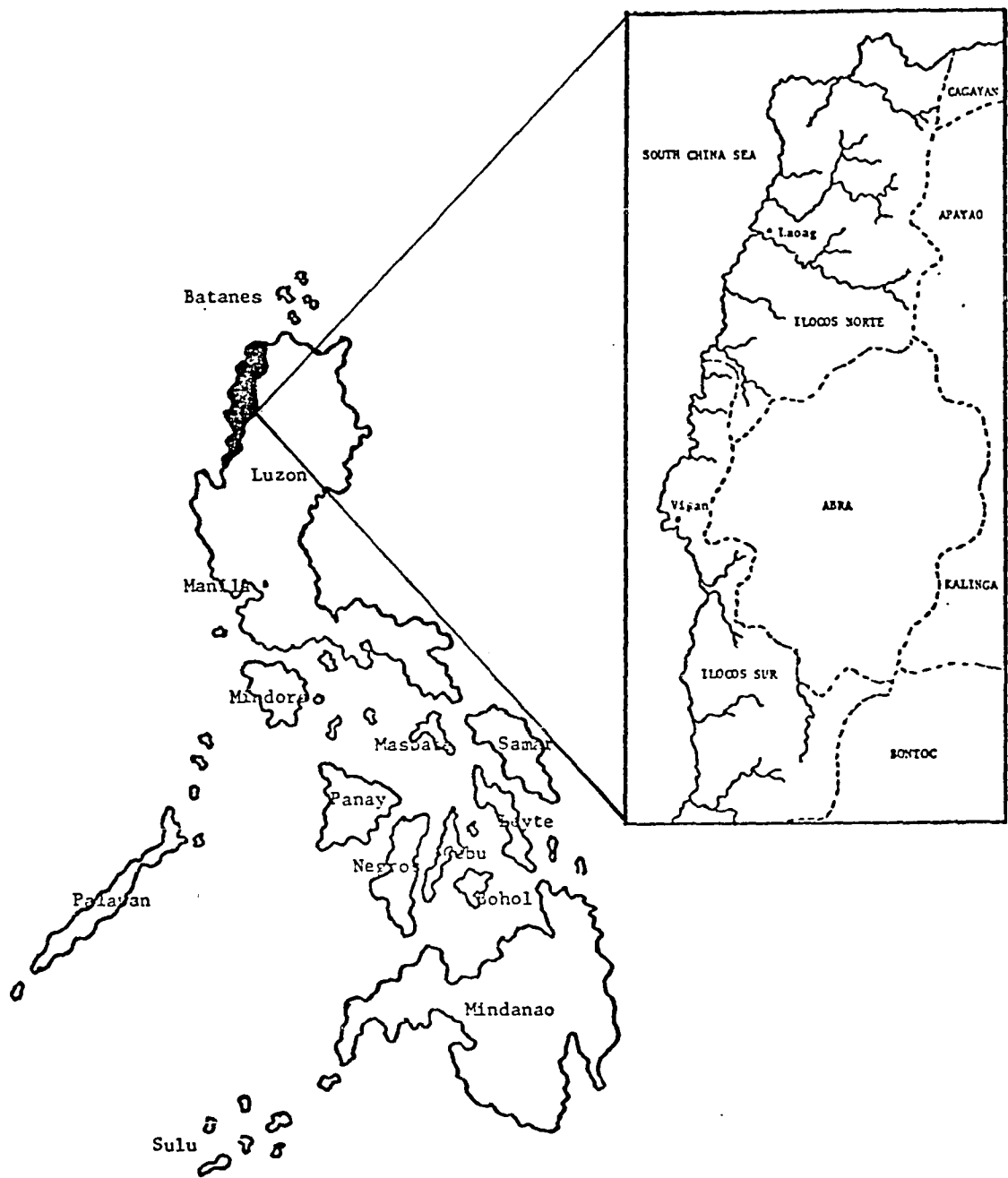


Figure 3. The Philippine Islands

The Ilocos area has long suffered from high population density, a scarcity of arable land, lack of water and a relative commercial poverty owing to the heavy dependence of its people on marginal subsistence level farming (Lewis, 1971:17). As a result of population pressure, the scarcity of good rice land and a high level of seasonal unemployment Ilocano families have been migrating from the Ilocos coast to other regions in the Philippines, particularly to the pioneering areas of Cagayan and Mindanao in search for a better life for at least the last 100 years (Keesing, 1962:11; Lava, 1939:8; Huke, 1963:6, 48; Lewis, 1971:6; Sawyer, 1900:251-252). The Ilocos region has also supplied the greatest proportion of Filipino immigrant laborers to Hawaii, Guam and the U.S. Mainland since the turn of the century (Lasker, 1931; Anima, 1976:40).

According to the 1970 census the average population density for the three Ilocos coast provinces is 166.9 persons per square kilometer (ranging from 250.3 in La Union to 149.3 persons in Ilocos Norte). This compares to a national density of 122.3 persons per square kilometer. While these figures provide a rough indication of the relative demographic differential, a more realistic picture is presented by the figures reported by Wernsted and Spencer (1967:633), which are based on the 1960 census but computed in terms of cultivated lands (including areas listed as temporary crops, lying idle, permanent crops, and permanent pasture).

When one excludes fallow land and permanent pasture area from the calculations the resulting density figures approach even closer the actual situation. In this manner Lewis (1971:18) calculated a density of 2,072.7 persons per square mile of cultivated land in Ilocos Norte

Table 1
Population Density in Relation to Cultivated Land

Area	Persons/sq.mi. cultivated area	Cultivated Area
Ilocos Norte	218.9	1,786.6
Ilocos Sur	339.4	2,335.0
La Union	508.8	2,189.5
Philippines	234.1	991.6

compared with 1,257.7 for the Philippines. In contrast to the Ilocos, Lewis calculated a density of 729.0 persons per square mile of cultivated land of the Province of Isabela on the eastern coast of Luzon. Luna (1963:137) reports that Ilocos Norte, with a cultivated area of only around 705.9 square kilometers out of 3,386.8 square kilometers, has a nutritional density of 413 persons compared to 360 persons for the nation as a whole.

As an illustration of the relatively small amount of land in the Ilocos which is suitable for agriculture, in 1962 only 37 percent of the land area of Ilocos Norte Province was under cultivation (IDC, 1962:2). Today the average farming family in the Ilocos owns around three hectares or less of unirrigated rice land, hardly enough to support a family of six or more. Of the 86,114 individual farms enumerated in the 1971 Census of Agriculture for the three Ilocos coast provinces only 1,506, or less than two percent (1.74), were over five hectares in size. The smallness of the Ilocos landholdings become even more significant in light of the fact that the nation's new land reform law (Presidential Decree No. 27) sets the minimum subsistence level family size holding at five hectares of unirrigated or three hectares of irrigated rice land. It is

safe to say that at least 98 percent of the Ilocos farmers are at or slightly below the subsistence level in terms of the amount of land available for farming.

In the Ilocos, anyone owning more than five hectares of land is considered a big land owner, compared with areas of Central Luzon and the Visayas where wealthy families count their holdings in the thousands of hectares. This situation has led to two socio-demographic situations which are unique to the Ilocos area, a high rate of outmigration and a distinct system of land tenure that varies from that found in other parts of the Philippines.

With many people in need of additional land to farm the few individuals who have more land than they need or can farm themselves can pick and choose their tenants. The poorer farmers find themselves in competition with each other for the right to farm fields belonging to the few "large" land owners. Agreements to farm another person's land in Ilocos Norte are made for specific periods, usually one planting season. The tenant is required to pay a rent of one half or more of the net harvest, considerably higher than the 30-70% sharing agreement required by law.

Coupled with the high population density, the Ilocos area is plagued by poor soil fertility. According to Bureau of Agricultural Economics (BAECON) statistics cited in the 1975 Philippine Almanac (p. 205), the average 1972-1973 palay (rough rice) yields per hectare for the Ilocos area were as much as 15 cavans (a dry measure equal to approximately 75 liters) less than those reported for other areas, including central and southern Luzon and Bicol provinces, and were 9 to 12 cavans per hectare lower than the national average for first and second crops.

Such low yields despite highly labor intensive technology are indicative of the poverty of the area. Traveling northward from Manila, one is struck by the rapid deterioration of the towns in areas of commercial development after passing San Fernando in La Union. The farther north one goes, the poorer the conditions become with the result that Laoag City, the capital of Ilocos Norte Province and the largest urban center in the Ilocos region, is less developed commercially than either Vigan in Ilocos Sur or San Fernando, and certainly cannot compare to the larger towns and cities of central Luzon. Development in terms of commercial establishments is only one side of the picture, however. Other indices of growth show the Ilocos to be on a par or more advanced than many other areas of the Philippines. For example, the Ilocos far exceeds any other area in the country outside metropolitan Manila in number of banks. The City of Laoag alone (with a population of 61,727) has 14 banks. This is related more to income from foreign remittances than locally generated capital. The fact that the estimated 12 million dollars which annually flow into Laoag banks does not find its way into commercial and infrastructure development is an important and interesting question, but one which falls beyond the scope of this study. Suffice it to say that such income, rather than serving to alleviate many of the problems that have traditionally plagued the area, is more an indicator of the continuing role played by overseas migrants in the economic life of the region. The majority of the dollar remittances coming into the Ilocos each year are in the form of pensions and social security benefits for persons who have worked overseas most of their lives.

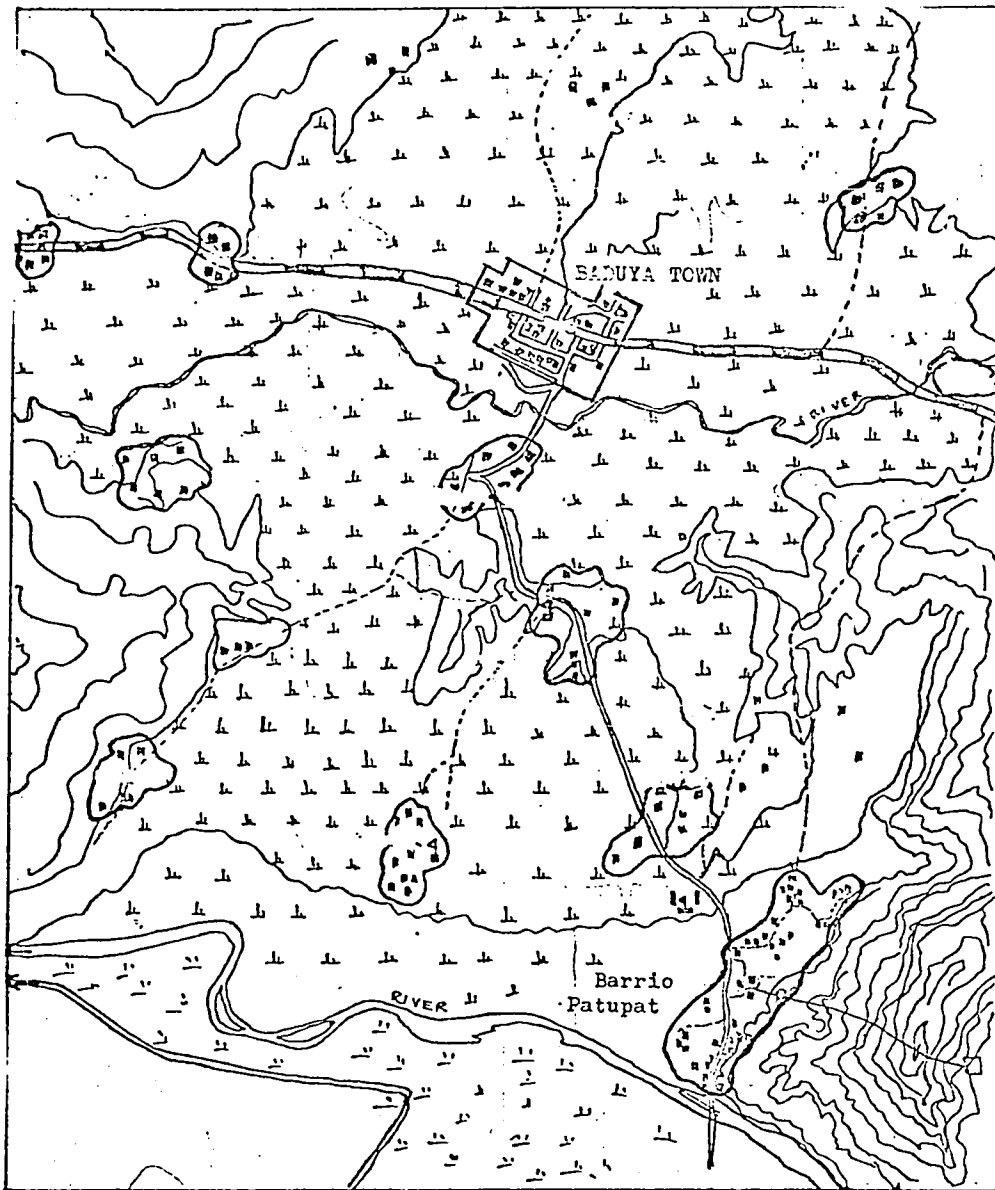
The Research Sites

The poblacion (township) of Baduya* is situated a few miles inland from the national highway as it winds its way along the coast between Vigan and Laoag City. The town proper sits at the head of a narrow valley formed by two lines of rolling hills (see Figure 4).

Upon entering the town via its main paved road one is immediately struck by the almost total stillness. Except for the sound of an occasional rooster crowing and perhaps the bark of a dog or the possible muffled putt-putting of a rice mill, the town appears to be dead. Signs of life are visible in the array of dwellings ranging from single-room bamboo structures with thatched roofs to the more common two-story wooden houses with the sliding capiz shell windows so common throughout the Philippines. As one approaches the center of town a few more substantial buildings appear, including a small store and a brightly painted two-story cement house belonging to a retired plantation worker (pensionado) from Hawaii. A block further up the street one comes to the spacious grounds of the municipal elementary school, and the sound of children reciting their lessons provides positive assurance that the town is indeed inhabited.

Except during the early morning hours between 6:30 and 8:00 A.M., when the children assemble for school and the buses leave for the surrounding market towns, few people are normally seen on the streets until noon, when the children go home for lunch, and then again in the

*Baduya, Patupat and Marunggay are pseudonyms for three communities located along the coast between the cities of Vigan, Ilocos Sur and Laoag, Ilocos Norte.










- | | | | |
|---|-------------------|---|---------------------|
|  | = paved road |  | = rice fields |
|  | = unpaved road |  | = mountain contours |
|  | = outlying barrio |  | = foot path |
|  | = school | | |

Figure 4. Baduya Town

late afternoon when the heat from the sun has begun to dissipate. When not at market the women remain inside tending to the chores of laundry, cooking and house cleaning. The majority of the men who are farmers can be found working in their fields located on the outskirts of town or in one of the surrounding barrios.

Aside from the small Sunday market the center of activity is the small town hall where a dozen or so employees are kept busy keeping records and providing necessary government services for the community. In addition to the municipal clerks who record births and deaths, issue business licenses and various permits, a number of national government officials also maintain an office in the town hall including the postmaster, the tax collector and the local PC (Philippine Constabulary) commander. The rural health officer's office is in an adjacent building which serves as a classroom, dispensary and clinic.

The Municipality of Baduya comprises the town proper, referred to locally as the ili or the poblacion and 23 surrounding barrios ranging from one to 16 kilometers distant from the center of town. The total population of Baduya, according to 1975 municipal census figures, is 12,598. Of this 1,805 persons live in the poblacion or town proper and the other 85 percent reside in the outlying barrios.

Secondary one-lane dirt roads connect most of the barrios with the poblacion; however, there are still a few places that can only be reached on foot, horseback or by pasagad (carabao sled). Barrio Patupat is located approximately 3-1/2 kilometers southwest of the poblacion. For about seven months out of the year, during the dry season from October through April, Patupat is served by two or three daily mini-bus trips

to the poblacion and the surrounding municipalities. During the rest of the year the road is too muddy for the buses and often is not even negotiable in a four-wheel drive jeep vehicle. During such times the only way in or out of the barrio is on foot or horseback and since only one resident owns a horse everyone else either walks or stays at home. Normally the walk to town takes about 45 minutes but after a heavy rain, it often takes more than an hour.

Aside from the higher population density the main physical distinction between the poblacion and the surrounding barrios is in the housing configuration. In town the houses are laid out facing gravel streets that run at right angles to each other. At one time the main streets were assigned names and signs were erected. Presently all but one or two of the sign posts have been destroyed by the elements and hardly any of the residents can recall the names of the various streets. There are no house numbers and directions are usually given in terms of general location and house description. No one person is familiar with each and every family dwelling. With 324 families living in town, most residents know well only those persons living in their immediate area. Often they can recognize the names of certain people living in other parts of town but will not know the exact location of their houses nor the names of others in their families.

In the outlying barrios the houses are not laid out along parallel streets, rather there are a number of housing groups that are usually connected with one another by narrow feeder roads or a series of foot-paths. In Patupat the various residential groupings are organized into three distinct units known as puroks. The three puroks conform to

physical as well as social boundaries within the barrio community. The three units have recently been given names but more often than not the terms amianan (north) and bagatan (south) are used to refer to two of the units while the third is referred to as central. The three puroks are laid out on a general north-south line and the walking time from the northernmost house in amianan to the southernmost house in bagatan is roughly 30 minutes.

Barrio Patupat has a population of 499, comprising 97 families. The North and Central sections each have 27 families and the remaining 43 families reside in the South section. With such a small population divided into visibly distinct residential units, virtually everyone knows every house in the community and most, if not all, of the individuals living in it. Often, it is easier for a resident to identify his barriomates by nickname than by given name.

In succeeding sections these basic differences in demographic and residential pattern will be analyzed in some detail with respect to their significance for social interaction in general, and adolescent behavior in particular.

Although Patupat will be described as if it were an independent unit, it must be remembered that neither the town nor the barrio can be fully understood without taking the other community into consideration. Geographically, politically, socially and economically the two communities are important elements within each other's immediate environment. Together, both the barrio and the town are also important units within an even larger system that includes the surrounding market and commercial centers of the province and ultimately the nation.

At an even higher level, because of heavy outmigration, Baduya and Patupat have been brought into an international system wherein it is possible to establish direct links between the town and barrio and specific localities around the world. Most significant, are the links between Baduya and Hawaii where a group of expatriates have organized the Bawang-Baduya Aid Association of Hawaii (Bawang is the name of the municipality immediately to the south of Baduya). Even in Patupat one does not have to look hard for evidence of international linkages as the cement block wall surrounding the school yard is inscribed with the names of families in Hawaii and Guam who donated funds for its construction.

CHAPTER IV

BARRIO PATUPAT

THE SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL CONFIGURATION:

IMPLICATIONS FOR BARKADA BEHAVIOR PATTERNS

Land Distribution

As indicated previously Fatupat is a small, semi-isolated farming community. The barrio's dominant agricultural base is affirmed by the fact that there are no males of productive age (15-65) presently in the community who are not to some degree involved with farming. The majority of male household heads are full-time farmers; however, a few men have additional skills such as carpentry and masonry which they engage in between the peak periods of farm work (planting and harvesting). The out-of-school adolescents are also involved in farming as helpers to their fathers, neighbors and relatives. Even those youth still attending high school work in the fields on weekends and during vacation.

The majority of the land farmed by the residents of Patupat is located within the barrio. This does not mean that all the barrio land is owned locally. In fact, a large part of the best rice land in Patupat is owned by a family from a neighboring barrio. Much of this land, however, is farmed by Patupat residents as tenants. Most of the farmers of Patupat are worker-owner tenants, meaning that they farm their own land as well as some additional fields belonging to others. Table 2 indicates the relative importance of the different land tenure categories present in the barrio.

Table 2
Land Tenure Relationships in Barrio Patupat

Category	Description	Number	Percentage
Owner-tenant	farms his own land as well as that of others	29	30%
Tenant	farms only land of others	24	25
Owner-worker	farms only his own land	21	22
Landlord	allows others to farm all his land	7	7
Owner-tenant, landlord	farms some of his own land, allows others to farm some and also farms land of others	6	6
Owner-worker landlord	farms some of his own land and allows others to farm the rest	5	5
Share helper	does not take re- sponsibility for the field but helps with work for share of crop	4	4

The first three categories account for nearly 80 percent of the farmers in barrio Patupat. Categories four, five and six, which include the pensionados (retirees from the Hawaiian sugar and pineapple plantations) who were able to buy additional land with their savings, account for 18 percent. The share helpers, mostly elderly widowed women who help their children, relatives and neighbors, make up the remaining 3 to 4 percent.

Much of the tenanted land within the barrio is owned by barrio residents who more often than not are relatives of their tenants. Of the 60 persons who stated that they were tenants, 23 farm parcels were owned by barrio residents and 22 farm parcels were owned by persons living in a nearby community. Another 15 persons farm plots owned by former barrio-mates who are residing in Hawaii. Only about 25 percent of the tenanted land is owned by outsiders since those persons living in Hawaii are still considered as members of the barrio who will ultimately return.

The dominant factor that determines whether or not a land owner will also choose to become a tenant, while at the same time allowing some of his own land to be farmed by others, is distribution. In Patupat, most of the level rice land is located in four general groupings which have been given specific names by the barrio residents. While it is common for persons to own a number of parcels in more than one, if not in all of the field areas, for practical purposes, people make an effort to consolidate the land they actually farm in one or two of the areas. Hence, an individual in the south section of the barrio might well decide to allow someone else to plant a parcel of land he owns in the north section while concurrently being a tenant of another field in the south section

located closer to his own land. Those who own no land have less choice in the matter and will farm wherever there is available land to be tenanted. This pattern of consolidation depicted in Table 3 has considerable significance for the development of particular patterns of social behavior.

Table 3
Land Utilization by Location of Individual Field Plots

Field Location	North	North	Central	South	Other
Designation	Field A [large]	Field B [small]	Field C [medium]	Field D [large]	
North Section 27 families	[1] 16	6	7		3 3
	[2] 2	2	1		3 3
	[3] 8	4	3		2 2
Central Sec. 27 families	[1] 9	8	9	3	1 1
	[2] 5	3	3	1	3 3
	[3] 11	1	6	2	
South Section 43 families	[1] 12	3	7	6	[*] 16
	[2] 2	2	2	1	3
	[3] 3	1	4	19	4

- [1] = Those fields which the individuals own and plant themselves
 [2] = Those fields which the individuals own but let others plant
 [3] = Those fields which the individuals plant as tenants
 [*] = Most of the plots indicated as other for families living in the south section are located across a small river just to the south of their housing area, though actually within the jurisdiction of another barrio in a different municipality.

The figures in Table 3 indicate that 89 percent of the residents in the north section work plots located in Field A (the major north section planting area) with 37 percent for Field B and 37 percent for Field C.

In the central section, 74 percent of the residents plant in Field A, 41 percent in Field B and 44 percent in Field C. For the south section, 58 percent farm in Field D and 47 percent in fields belonging to the "Other" category, located mostly near or adjacent to Field D, in the south section. Only 35 percent of the south residents plant in Field A, 9 percent in Field B and 26 percent in Field C.

The consolidation of land holdings is shown even more clearly by the ownership figures alone. Eighty-one percent of north section residents own land in the north (fields A and B), 78 percent of the central residents own land in either the north or central area (Figure 5 indicates the degree to which field B overlaps the north and central sections). And 65 percent of the residents in the south own land in or adjacent to the south section (fields D and "Other"). (See Figure 5.)

As mentioned previously, this consolidation of land holdings which has emerged partly from convenience and partly as a result of certain physical limitations has a number of very significant implications for patterns of social interaction within the barrio. Although the nuclear family is the primary productive unit, rather than an extended kin or residentially defined work group, the changes are quite high that field-mates (those working nearby or adjoining fields) will be either relatives, and/or neighbors. Such consolidation of land holdings tends to reinforce various social relationships associated with residential proximity and kin affiliation.

An example of this can be seen in the membership of the local irrigation societies called tay-ak.¹ In Patupat there is a separate tay-ak with its own elected officers for each of the four field areas.

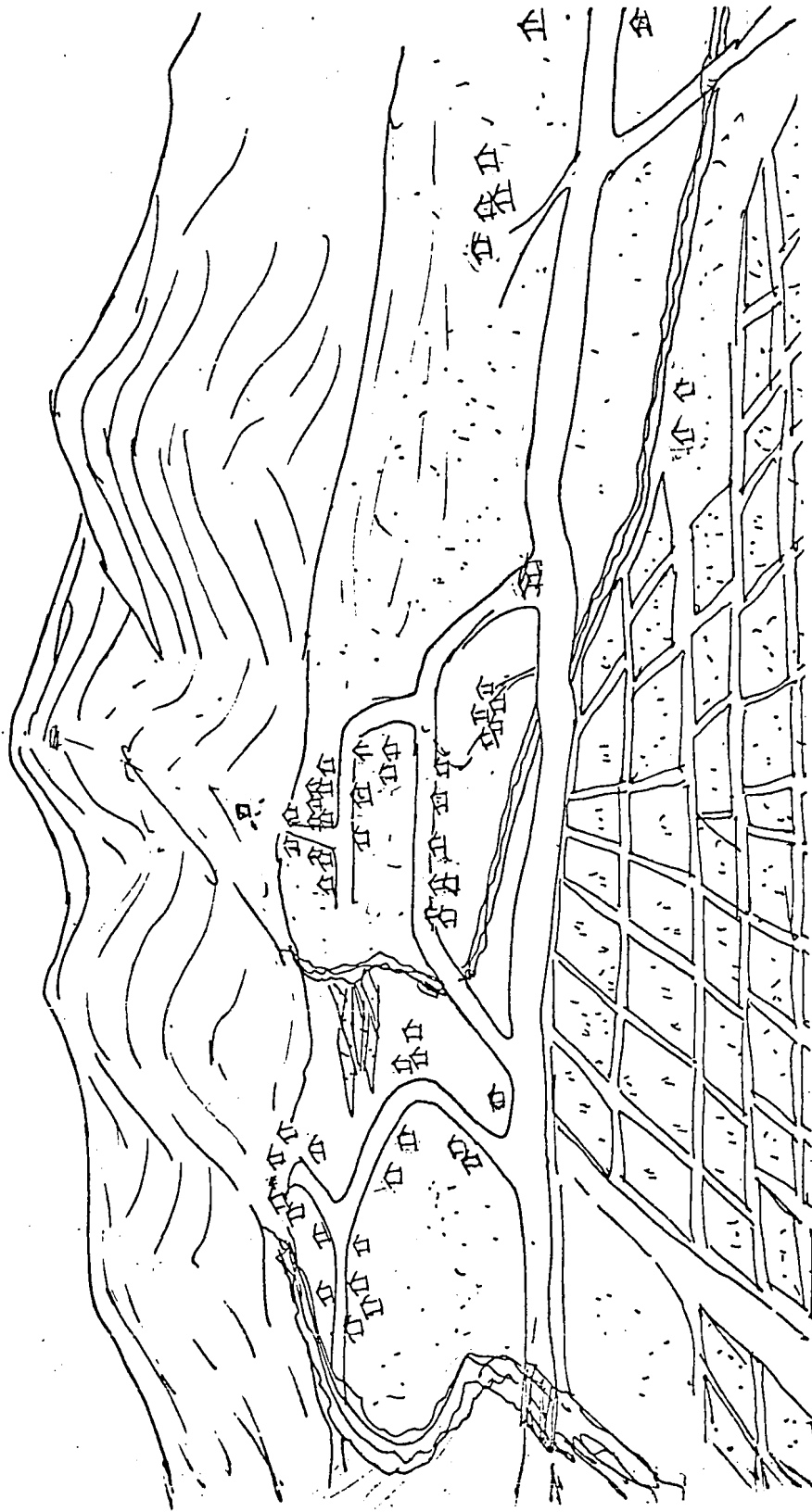


Figure 5. Perspective View of Barrio Patupat Looking East

Membership in each tay-ak is composed of all individuals who are actively farming land within the field boundary. These associations hold several meetings a year with the primary function of organizing work groups to clean and maintain the irrigation channels leading into the field and to each of the individual paddies. Each member or a representative of his household is responsible for a specific amount of labor (usually a half day or a full day) depending on the amount of land he farms within the tay-ak boundary.

The membership in these associations overlaps to a considerable degree with that of one's residential unit (known as purok or sitio). Were it not for the fact that a considerable portion of land in Patupat is owned and farmed by persons living in two neighboring barrios which border field A to the north and west there would be an almost total overlap in tay-ak and residential unit membership, i.e., the members of field A tay-ak being largely residents of the north section of the barrio, while those persons belonging to tay-ak D live in the south section.

The main consequence of this overlap in membership between the residential grouping, the purok and the tay-ak is that it insures a high degree of continuity and frequency of interaction among a particular group of people who have much in common with each other. Relationships with one's friends, neighbors and kin are carried over into purok and field activities.

The significance of this overlap with respect to adolescent behavior is in the fact that the necessity of helping with the family planting, weeding, harvesting, etc. reinforces one's relationships with his barkada-mates. The same group that relaxes and plays together, hangs around

together, drinks together, etc. also frequently works together. Indeed, it is difficult to distinguish between what constitutes economic and recreational activities. Often the youths, in addition to helping their own fathers, will work as a group for someone else either as members of a cooperative work group or as laborers to be paid in kind or in cash.

Members of a particular barkada will also help each other's families as a means of keeping the group together while getting the work done. This kind of effort commonly takes the form of informal garlic cleaning "parties" where on a given night all the group will go to clean and bundle the dried garlic at the house of one of the members. The next evening the whole group will work at a different member's house. Such groupness is also evident during the tobacco curing season. Since it is necessary to monitor the temperature in the curing barn (pugon) and to feed the fire box round-the-clock for the three days that the tobacco leaves are cured, the barkada will often go as a group to sleep at the pugon of one of their members to keep him company and to take turns tending the fire and watching the thermometer.

Residential Configuration

As previously stated, Barrio Patupat is divided into three geographical and administrative units known as puroks (literally defined as aggregation, cluster or district). Within each of the three puroks are a number of separate housing clusters or mini-neighborhoods. Each of these clusters varies in number of dwellings and physical arrangement. In the central purok, as indicated in Figure 6, the housing clusters are practically adjacent to one another while in the north and south

puroks they are more spread out, often separated by small fields used for growing vegetables, sugarcane and upland rice.

The one thing common to most of these housing clusters is a high degree of kinship affiliation among the residents. In an earlier study of an Ilocano barrio the Nydeggers (1966:13) described such units as "family clusters" consisting of a number of houses that faced and partially surrounded a common yard. So dominant is the kinship factor in many of the residence clusters in Patupat that when the people decided to erect street signs as part of a barrio beautification program the names chosen for the various roads and lanes reflected the dominant family names present in the different clusters. For example, if eight out of twelve families residing in a particular area bore the name of Tolentino, the road or lane leading to their unit was proclaimed as "Tolentino Street." On the map (Figure 6) housing clusters 3, 12, 16, and 18 are examples of such a pattern. In cluster No. 3 both households bear the same family name, in the other three clusters 75 percent of the households have the same family name.

Table 4 indicates the size of each of the housing clusters in terms of the number of dwellings. The average number of houses per cluster is slightly over four with one unit having 13, which actually could be subdivided into two smaller yard-focused units. It is significant that only three houses in the entire barrio are not included in a larger housing cluster.

The location of one's house is dependent on a number of factors including ownership of a house lot, nearness to fields, water, family and friends and as Lewis (1971:100) notes, various beliefs concerning the

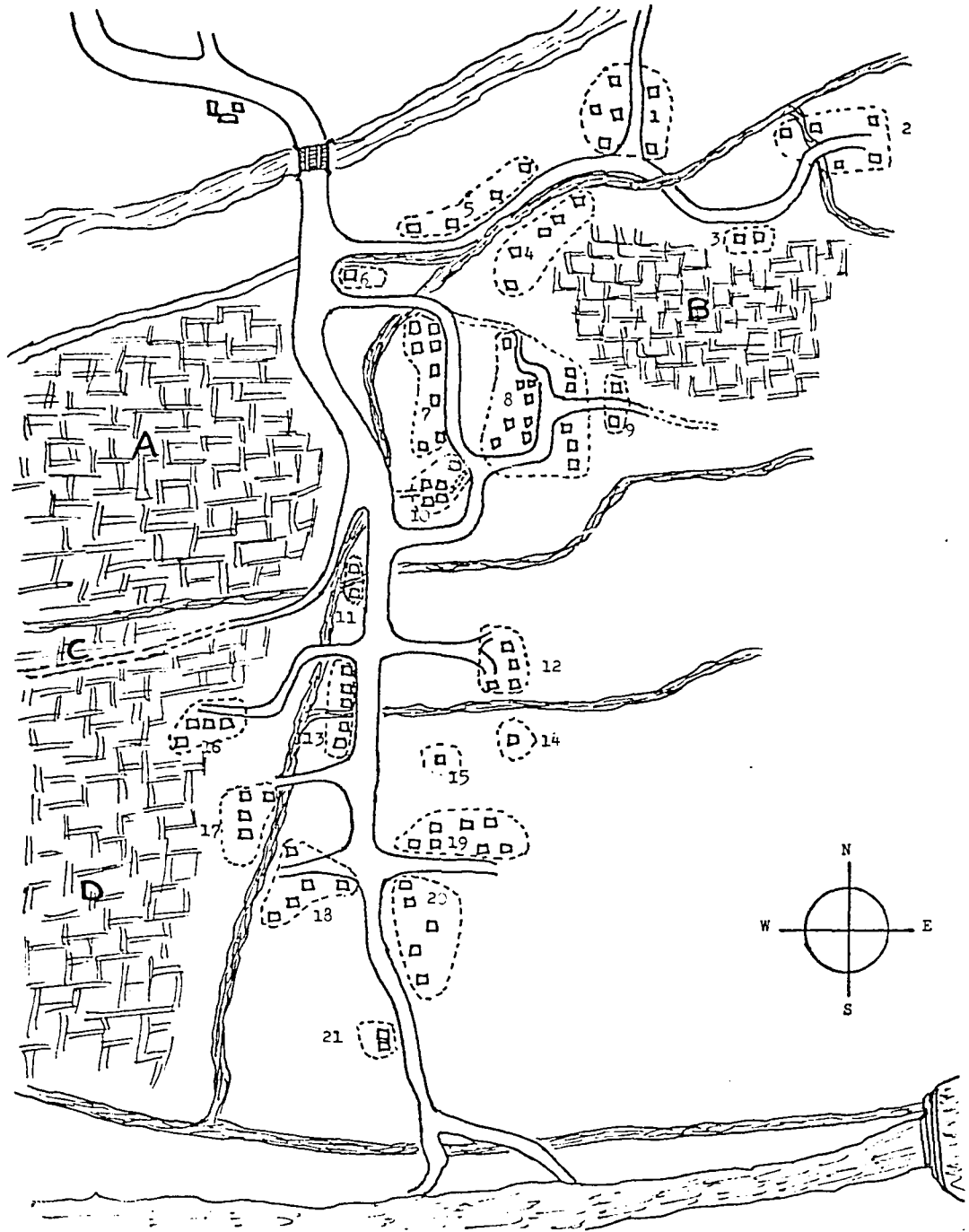


Figure 6. Barrio Patupat

Table 4
Distribution and Size of Housing Clusters in Barrio Patupat

Location	Housing Cluster	No. of Houses	
Purok No. 1 North Section	No. 1	6	
	No. 2	5	
	No. 3	2	
	No. 4	4	
	No. 5	5	
	No. 6	1	23
Purok No. 2 Central Section	No. 7	7	
	No. 8	13	
	No. 9	2	
	No. 10	5	27
Purok No. 3 South Section	No. 11	2	
	No. 12	4	
	No. 13	5	
	No. 14	4	
	No. 15	1	
	No. 16	1	
	No. 17	7	
	No. 18	4	
	No. 19	5	
	No. 20	5	
	No. 21	2	40

power and dwelling place of local spirits. Of these, ownership of a house lot and the wishes of parents and in-laws seem to be the most dominant factors operating in Patupat. Ideally, a newly married couple will build their first house on a lot within or near either the husband's or the wife's family cluster, usually on land which has been inherited or received as part of the sab-ong (male dowry).² Where space is extremely limited in the existing house clusters it may be necessary to build a

house at some distance from other dwellings. This is usually a function of necessity rather than choice and does not indicate that a particular family has been isolated by or has chosen to isolate itself from the rest of the community. In spite of the spatial gap such families do not live in social isolation.

Although the kaaruba (neighbor) tie is a dyadic relationship between one individual and several other persons which is not necessarily location specific, the physical proximity afforded by residence in a housing cluster is one of the most important considerations in one's selecting or being selected as a kaaruba. The actual relationship, however, is defined in social rather than physical terms. As a result, Lewis (1971:101) correctly asserts that while isolated housing clusters may appear to be discrete, closed units with exclusive membership, they do not constitute closed primary groups. In further support of this contention Lewis notes that the Ilocano language has a word for neighbor, kaaruba, but none for neighborhood in the social sense of the word. The purok administrative unit may or may not coincide with certain physical and social boundaries which one commonly associates with the concept of neighborhood.

Although not defined in terms of proximity, most of one's neighbors in Patupat do live in the same or adjacent housing clusters and the interaction which takes place between them establishes basic links which are reinforced through participation in a number of social institutions involving a wide range of reciprocal obligations such as the exchange of food, padigo³ and labor, tagnawa.⁴ These and other institutions will be discussed in more detail in subsequent sections of the study.

With respect to children, the housing cluster sets the physical and social parameters within which most of their primary interaction and socialization takes place. Until the age of seven when they begin attending school, barrio children are not allowed to leave their housing area alone. As a result, the cluster constitutes the effective environment for early socialization both within the family and among playmates, who are almost without exception the sons and daughters of one's neighbors. From about age four to seven, children spend the greater part of their day with their group of age-mates who live in the same immediate area. Their play activities are not usually under direct adult supervision; however, the group is hardly ever out of calling distance of at least one of the mothers. One interesting aspect of the play of barrio children is that it is almost never solitary. The Nydeggers (1966:140) reported that Ilocano children are actively encouraged by their parents to form play groups with the children from adjacent households who more often than not are cousins of about the same age. Thus the children are socialized quite early into the network of personal relations associated with each housing cluster.

Friendships children make within their housing cluster are carried over into school. Sometimes children will even be held back a year by their parents so that they can enter school together with a slightly younger cousin-mate or neighborhood friend. During the elementary school years one's pre-school friendships are reinforced and strengthened to the point that regular play groups are formed between children residing in the same cluster. I have observed children burst into tears when their "group" would proceed to school without waiting for them, or when they

discovered that all the group members were wearing their school t-shirt and theirs was still in the wash.

These housing cluster-centered play groups continue through elementary school. Upon graduation from the sixth grade, the groups begin to undergo a series of transformations which are associated with both the onset of puberty and the new experiences of high school life. At this stage, the play groups are split into male and female groups. The girls' groups continue to be centered around particular housing clusters; however, in the case of the boys, if there are not enough males in a single cluster to form a group of their own, they will usually join up with a group from a neighboring cluster in the same purok. In fact, with the new degree of freedom granted to adolescent males, the territorial dimension of the peer group expands from the individual housing cluster to include the whole purok.

During adolescence the purok, rather than one's own particular housing cluster, constitutes the dominant environment of social interaction for the male peer groups (see Table 5 for distribution of barkada members by purok). In the case of Patupat, the north group was never seen in the south section of the barrio. Their territory encompassed the north purok; however, because two members were from the central section and another member worked as a border-helper for a family living in the central section, the group was generally free to move back and forth between the two puroks. The south group, on the other hand, seldom left its own section except to attend particular barrio functions.

The mobility pattern of the two barkadas conforms completely with the informal but implicit pattern of guest attendance at barrio functions.

Table 5

Distribution of Barkada Members by Purok and House Cluster

Barkada	Name	Purok	House Cluster
North	Basilio	North	No. 1
Barkada	Remigio	North	No. 1
	Ponching	North	No. 2
	Carling	North	No. 2
	Ilyong	North	No. 2
	Tomas	North	No. 3
	Celso	North	No. 4
	Leopoldo	North	No. 4
	Orly	North	No. 4
	Romulo	North	No. 4
	Leandro	North	No. 5
	Doro	Central	No. 7
	Ben	Central	No. 10
South	Manuel	South	No. 12
	Rody	South	No. 13
	Jon	South	No. 13
	Ricardo	South	No. 13
	Turing	South	No. 17
	Fred	South	No. 19
	Julio	South	No. 19
	Ninoy	South	No. 20

(the above are pseudonyms representing actual members)

Formal invitations are not usually given for affairs held within the barrio. The news or announcement is passed by word of mouth and it is understood which families are invited and which are not. If the affair, perhaps a baptism or wedding party is held by a family living in the north then all residents of the north section are automatically invited and the people residing in the central section are also free to come if they wish. Normally, unless they are relatives or have been extended a special invitation, persons living in the south section will not attend parties held in the north section and likewise, residents of the north

will not be present at affairs held in the south. Residents of the central section, however, are free to attend affairs in both the north and the south and the whole barrio is free to come to parties in the central purok.

Conforming to this pattern, the only time that the north and south barkadas come into formal interaction as social units is when both groups attend a party in the central section. The particular behavior which occurs as a result of such encounters will be discussed in subsequent sections. The point stressed here is that residential configuration is one of the primary factors contributing to the particular patterns of barkada membership and mobility in Patupat. Such membership patterns are in fact examples of affirmation or reinforcement of existing social and physical boundaries associated with the purok units.

Unlike the neighbor (kaaroba) relationship between adults which is more a factor of social ties than proximity, the barkada membership is more the result of residence pattern than social affinity. Because the barkada territory encompasses an entire purok there is little relationship between peer group membership and existing kaaroba ties maintained by the parents of the gang members. Within the barkada, however, particular dyadic relationships between two members (any one individual and the person he considers to be his best friend) appear to be more a function of personal affinity than residential proximity. While all barkada members named someone living in their same purok as their best friend, the individual named was frequently not a member of an adjacent household or even a resident of the same housing cluster.

Population Characteristics

The most striking and perhaps the most significant aspect of the population of Patupat is its smallness. As of July, 1975 there were 499 individuals living in the barrio. A breakdown by residential section and sex is provided in Table 6.

Following the general pattern characteristic throughout the Philippines, the population of the barrio is quite young. In Patupat 55 percent of the total population is below 21 years of age. The particular age group with which this study is primarily concerned, adolescent males between the ages of 15 and 20, comprises 6 percent of the total population.

The age pyramid (Figure 7) indicates that the population is fairly evenly divided between the sexes until age 20. Between the ages of 21 and 30 there are nearly twice as many females as males. This imbalance appears to be a combined function of male out-migration (to the army and jobs elsewhere in the Philippines) and the in-migration of females for marriage. There appears to be a general preference for marrying within the barrio, and the high degree of interrelatedness within the population greatly limits the field of eligible spouses (individuals who are at least second cousins and preferably more distant in kin relationship). Often it is necessary to leave the barrio to find a suitable spouse.

Fifty-six percent of all married persons were born in the barrio. Of the remaining 44 percent there is a slightly greater incidence of in-marrying females than males. Of those who have taken up residence in Patupat as a result of marriage (19 males and 25 females), half have come from adjacent or nearby communities. Only 15 individuals now living in

Table 6

Bo. Patupat Population by Purok, Sex and Selected Age Groupings

<u>BARRIO TOTALS</u>				
<u>Males</u>			<u>Females</u>	
0 - 4	34	children	0 - 4	35
5 - 14	72	school age	5 - 14	76
15 - 20	31	adolescents	15 - 20	24
21 - 64	91	labor force	21 - 64	110
65+	10	elderly	65+	16
	<u>238</u>			<u>261</u>
<u>NORTH PUROK</u>				
0 - 4	11		0 - 4	9
5 - 14	18		5 - 14	22
15 - 20	12		15 - 20	8
21 - 64	26		21 - 64	36
65+	4		65+	6
	<u>71</u>			<u>81</u>
<u>CENTRAL PUROK</u>				
0 - 4	13		0 - 4	10
5 - 14	15		5 - 14	26
15 - 20	5		15 - 20	4
21 - 64	25		21 - 64	28
65+	4		65+	5
	<u>62</u>			<u>73</u>
<u>SOUTH PUROK</u>				
0 - 4	10		0 - 4	16
5 - 14	39		5 - 14	28
15 - 20	14		15 - 20	12
21 - 64	40		21 - 64	46
65+	2		65+	5
	<u>105</u>			<u>107</u>

43.48% of the barrio population is below the age of 15

11.02% of the barrio population is between the age of 15 - 20

40.28% of the barrio population comprise the adult labor force

5.21% of the barrio population is over the age of 65

the barrio were born in a different province and of this number, ten migrated from other Ilocano speaking provinces in Northern Luzon.

The population imbalance in favor of women above the age of 60 is most probably an effect of the substantial out-migration of single males during the 1920s for work on Hawaiian sugar plantations. Most of the men who went to Hawaii have returned to the barrio, but a number of others died or elected to stay in Hawaii.

The small size and the high degree of homogeneity of the population have significant implications for social organization and behavior of teenage barkadas in the barrio. The population is small enough that not only is it possible for most individuals to identify all other family heads and their spouses but also to place them by nickname and individual dwelling. Persons living in the north, for example, can identify the residents in the south and vice-versa.

In a community where everyone can be immediately recognized and placed in terms of family and dwelling, the degree of anonymous activity possible for anyone, and particularly to teenagers, is greatly restricted. Since barkada members can be immediately identified by everyone, there is little they can do in the barrio which does not become public knowledge to the residents of their purok, if not the whole community.

In addition, because of the high level of face-to-face recognition in the barrio, there is no need for adolescent groups to create any type of unique symbol of identity such as a particular emblem, group name, tattoo or dress style. Such attributes commonly associated with gang culture in more urbanized areas are not present in the barrio. The mere fact that a barrio youth is seen regularly with the same group of

individuals is enough to identify him as a member of a particular barkada. For the barrio adolescent, there is little autonomy or privacy either as an individual or as a member of a barkada group.

Social Institutions

The Family

There is probably no one aspect of Filipino society that has been more discussed and written about than the family. Dating from the pre-Hispanic times, when the majority of the Philippine population lived in autonomous barangay enclaves comprising a single self-reliant kindred group, the family has been an important locus of social solidarity and security in what has been described as a "culture of insecurity" (Ramirez, 1971:302). With no persons or institutions to rely upon outside the family, close ties developed between family members and kin based on economic interdependence and self-defense against potentially threatening forces of the larger society.

The Filipino family has been most commonly discussed in terms of its various welfare functions and the strong social ties which bind it together as a functioning unit. In its most traditional form, it has been referred to as a fraternity, sorority, social security system, Rotary Club and old folks' home all rolled into one. It was also "sometimes a closed-shop union, frequently a business, and always in part a government" (Friend, 1965:23). While no one family has probably ever performed all of the above-mentioned roles, the description does illustrate the wide range of social relationships and activities which can still be found in varying degrees in the Filipino family.

Traditionally, about anything an individual could want was available within or could be provided by the family--companionship, moral and physical support, economic assistance, a job and even a spouse. The important factor in traditional marriages was the nature and strength of the alliance which was created between the two families rather than love between the bride and groom. At present, however, a preference for individual mate selection appears to be the dominant trend in both urban and rural areas.

For all this support, protection and assistance, the individual family member paid a price in terms of self-determination. In its role as a "government," the family placed certain demands upon its "subjects." Family members were socialized into a system that emphasized respect and deference towards elders and stressed compliance and self-sacrifice over independence and self-reliance. The modal quality of Philippine familism, economic and social interdependence (Pal and Arquiza, 1957:1) was both a means and an end. Such relationships provided the means for achieving economic and social well-being and were also considered to be an ideal state of social affairs.

Against this brief "ideal" overview, we can now look at the barrio family as a social institution that is both a product of, and a reaction to, its environment. The first question to be asked is just who constitutes the family. Household data from Patupat suggest that the extended family is more myth than reality and that even where it does exist, it is only transitory and that the nuclear family unit is the preferred residence pattern. This assumption is further supported by similar findings reported in a recent study of a rural Tagalog community in Central Luzon (Mendez and Jocano, 1974).

There are 87 households in Patupat comprising 97 families. Of this, approximately 81 percent can be classified as nuclear or sub-nuclear and the remaining 19 percent as extended. Table 7 presents a breakdown of the extended households into five different types making distinctions between patrilineal and matrilineal extended and fraternal and sororal joint households.

In any interpretation of the family structure figures it is important to keep in mind that the count presented in Table 7 provides only a statement of family structure in the barrio at one particular instant in time. While the nuclear family appears to be the preferred social unit in Patupat by nearly a 4 to 1 margin (71 percent nuclear to 18 percent extended), one must remember that like individuals, families and households undergo a number of changes throughout a predictable life cycle.

It is quite probable, for example, in rural lowland communities in the Philippines that the first child born to a young couple will enter the world as a member of an extended family where his or her primary socializers include the parents and one set of grandparents. By the time the second or third child is born the parents have most likely been able to establish their own household and a new nuclear family emerges. As the children in this family mature and marry the nuclear family becomes an extended unit for a few years until all the children have established their own separate households. A number of factors, such as inheritance rules and birth order, can alter the course of this cyclical fluctuation between nuclear and extended family forms. In Patupat an only child most likely will not establish his own household while his parents are still alive.

Table 7
Patupat Household Structure

Purok	Nuclear		Vertical			Horizontal		Comb.	
	Sub-Nuclear	Nuclear	Patrilineal Extended	Matrilineal Extended	Grandparent- Grandchild	Fraternal Joint	Sororal Joint	Combination Vert.-Horiz. Extended	
North	1	13	4	2	1	0	1	0	2
Central	2	18	1	3	0	0	1	0	25
South	5	31	2	1	0	0	1	0	40
Total	8	62	7	6	1	0	3	0	85
Percent	9	71	8	7	1	0	3	0	99

(percentages do not total 100 because of rounding error)

Sub-Nuclear Household -- Limited to the presence of two or more individuals of the same generation without children.

Nuclear Household -- Presence of a woman and/or her spouse and their unmarried children. Also considered as nuclear is a household composed of a childless couple and one or more adopted children.

Patrilineal Extended Household -- Presence of a man and his spouse, with or without his children, living with one or both of his parents.

Matrilineal Extended Household -- Presence of a woman and her children, with or without her spouse, living with one or both of her parents.

Grandparent-Grandchild Household -- Presence of one or more unmarried children living with either their paternal or maternal grandparents.

Fraternal Joint Household -- Presence of two or more married male siblings and their families, or one or more single siblings living with a married brother and his family.

Sororal Joint Household -- Presence of two or more married female siblings and their families or one or more single siblings living with a married sister and her family.

Joint Vertical-Horizontal Extended Household -- Any combination of vertical and horizontal extension present within a single household that does not fit the above categories, i.e., two or more married siblings living with any combination of parents and/or grandparents; a married couple and their children plus one or more nieces or nephews of either spouse.

NOTE: The above classification reflects two criteria of expressed importance to the residents of Patupat and Baduya, namely the presence of women and children in the household. The classification of a married couple without children as sub-nuclear reflects the local feeling that a household without children is incomplete.

The nearly equal division between patrilineal and matrilineal extended household types (Table 7) is indicative of the fact that there does not seem to be a preferred pattern for post-marriage residence. While the neolocal nuclear family unit is the cultural ideal, few individuals can afford it right after marriage. Unless the groom has worked overseas he will normally not own a lot or have the money to build his own house. During the first year of marriage the couple will live with either set of parents and it is common for them to move back and forth between both families. Usually the new family does not take up neo-local residence until after the first child is born. At the time of the Patupat census (July 1975) there were very few married couples who had not already made the transition to neolocality and the nuclear family unit.

The importance of the nuclear family as the primary unit of social and economic viability is demonstrated in the practice of informal adoption known as agyan. Under this arrangement, parents give one or more of their children to be raised by another couple who have no children of their own. Agyan arrangements are usually initiated at the request of grandparents who wish to have the company of a child in their home. However, married couples who have no children of their own may also request to raise the child of a close relative or very good friend. One case in Patupat involves a twelve-year-old boy who has lived with a maternal aunt and her husband since he was two. In another case, the first-born child, a girl, was sent to live with her maternal grandparents immediately after she was weaned. This individual stayed in the household of her grandparents until she married.

There are no formal agreements or contracts involved in the transfer and the child's name is not changed. In fact, the child, even a minor, has the right to object to the arrangement and is free to return to the home of his parents anytime he or she chooses. Very few children ever move back because being the only child in the adopting family, they usually receive better care and treatment than they would if they lived with their other brothers and sisters. If a child decides to remain with his adopted parents, he is expected to help them in any way he can as he grows older. When the child eventually marries it is his adopting parents who will have first responsibility for sponsoring the wedding. The married child in turn is expected to care for his foster parents in their old age.

Another practice very common in Patupat, which also relates directly to the viability of the nuclear family unit, involves taking in an additional person into the household as a boarder-helper, known as a katulongan. The relationship involved is more than that of a live-in maid or servant. The katulongan, if he is a male, receives his clothes and cigarettes in addition to lodging, meals and a small salary at the end of each year. In this arrangement, the key factor is production. Where the agyan child is taken in very early in life, a katulongan is usually not taken in until he or she has at least finished elementary school and can give a full-time effort to household chores and/or field work. Katulongan helpers are usually recruited by small nuclear families who have only one or two small children not yet able to help with the family work.

If the katulongan stays with his employer for a long time the benefits he receives are similar to those of the agyan, i.e., being treated as a

member of the family of his employer. It is often the case that when a katulongan gets married, say in his mid-twenties, after having worked for maybe ten years, his employer will offer to sponsor his wedding as if he were his own son. At the time this research was conducted, one member in both the north and south barkadas was living with another family as a katulongan.

The family and the social world

It was noted in the previous discussion of residential configuration that the kaaroba or "neighbor" relationships involve individuals in a particular type of reciprocal alliance. Though spoken of in terms of individual obligations, such ties are for the most part actually between families within the community. Each individual's social network emanates from that of their family. The play-group relationships children are encouraged to make (Nydegger & Nydegger, 1966:140) are usually with children of adults who are part of the parents' kin, compadre (fictive kin) and/or kaaroba network.

As one moves through life he does not ordinarily acquire new social networks. Rather, the one into which he was socialized, his family's network, is systematically enlarged to include different kinds of people. Until adolescence, relationships within the family are mostly vertical in nature: between ego and a set of older consanguine and affinal kinsmen, and between ego and his or her younger siblings, cousins, aunts and uncles.

During adolescence barkada membership expands one's network of social relationships horizontally. In addition to the fact that these relationships are between peers, it is important to note that they are ego-initiated

for the most part. For the first time in his or her life, the adolescent is in a position to mold a set of relationships independent of those that have been acquired through the family. Peer relations are achieved, rather than ascribed. It is this aspect of expanded social identity that, more than anything else, sets off adolescence in the Philippines as a significant stage in one's life.

The expanded adolescent identity may take a number of forms. A student who is academically motivated may see his identity in terms of a profession (teacher, doctor, lawyer) that would make him something more than just a member of the family. But most rural adolescents do not have such opportunities, and they assert new identities through "best friend" relationships and barkada membership. Ramirez (1971:302) claims that Filipino adolescents often take recourse to intimacy in friendship groups to compensate for feelings of isolation that develop within the family at a point when the child realizes he or she is no longer the center of the home. At a point when he begins to feel that he is thought of more as an instrument of his family's honor than an individual with a unique personality, he will strive for an avenue of greater freedom and self-expression.

In the course of this thesis, the rural family and barkada are viewed as complementary rather than conflicting institutions, particularly with respect to socialization. Consequently, a brief survey of early child-rearing practices within the Filipino family is essential to understanding the values, attitudes and behavior patterns the adolescent carries over into the barkada. Without such a base, it is difficult to evaluate the effect barkada membership has on the attitudes and motivations of its members.

Family and Socialization

The literature on Philippine socialization and child-rearing varies greatly in quality and methodology. Nevertheless, a number of basic trends and stresses can be identified that make possible the construction of a generalized picture of the Filipino child's environment. Such a composite portrayal is an abstraction and as such has utility only as a frame of reference in viewing actual against expected behavior.

The Philippines has been referred to as a child-oriented society where having children is considered the central purpose of marriage. Children are seen as assets to the family and thus the failure or inability to have children has serious social and economic implications (Guthrie, 1966:57). Stoodley (1957) reports that Filipino children are highly prized and indulged. He notes that toilet-training and nursing are relaxed and that authority appears to be equally divided between parents. Arjona (1965) claims that despite a certain degree of indulgence, the Filipino child grows up in an adult world, with "other-directed and adult-oriented" goals. She reports that, "The child rearing practices do not put emphasis on self-reliance and independence training. The Filipino family is authoritarian and child-centered. The child grows under a hierarchy of authority imposing on him certain rights and obligations. He is, therefore, given many opportunities to depend on adult guidance and indulgence. The consequence of this relation sets a high premium on conformity and obedience and the curtailment of initiative to plan, organize and execute" (Arjona, 1956:550).

Fe Domingo (1966) notes that compliance is rewarded while overt competition is suppressed. Responsibility training is relaxed, with tasks

being carried out because of their importance and not out of a fear of punishment. Quisumbing (1964) suggests that the dominant characteristics stressed by the Cebuano family in child socialization are over-protectiveness of children, close cooperation between family members and participation within a far-reaching kinship system.

Emphasis on indulgence, gradualness and overprotectiveness is noted in Ethel Nurge's (1966) study on child-rearing in a Leyte village. She finds that succorance is emphasized for both males and females and is fairly consistently rewarded until about the age of five. Aggression in all forms is deplored and is particularly intolerable when directed against elders. "Training for suppression of aggression begins early . . . Mothers are unanimous in deploring the quarrelsome child in the play group and in praising the peaceful one. They are, in fact, monotonous in their repetition that an active, assertive child is a troublemaker and a quiet, quiescent, submissive, noncompetitive child is a good one" (Nurge, 1966:84). Achievement and responsibility are not emphasized. Children are regarded as helpless and lovable innocents who gradually grow up and, somehow begin to develop and exhibit natural maturative abilities. With regard to sociability, Nurge reports that deference and respect are emphasized in relations with adults much more than in relations with peers. Concerning discipline she notes that "anyone older than ego, regardless of sex or relation, is a socializer with power of punishment" (Nurge, 1966:84).

The Nydeggers (1966) report that in the Ilocos barrio they studied major emphasis is placed on togetherness and that in adult life, living alone is considered immoral. Just to be physically alone is an uncomfortable and sometimes fearful experience for barrio residents. Fear of

the unknown is not unique to the Philippines; however, it is significant that Filipino children in the rural areas are not actively discouraged by their primary socializers "from fearing or believing that being alone constitutes an undesirable state" (Hollnsteiner, 1975:444). Consistent with the positive value placed on companionship, the Nydeggers report that Ilocano mothers actively encourage their children to form play groups within their residential area (1966:140).

Drawing from the data of these and other studies, it would appear that Filipino child-rearing practices tend to put a high premium on compliant and respectful behavior. Protectiveness and a feeling of belonging is emphasized over self-reliance. The base of socialization tends to be large and the child in fact appears to gain a sense of security from knowing there are always people around who can help him.

All of the above studies whether by American or Filipino authors, seem to share in common a set of assumptions and hypotheses that grew out of work done on child-rearing and personality at Cornell, Harvard and Yale during the early 1950s (see Whiting and Child, 1953). Research designs were developed to study the effects of child-rearing on personality structure. In these early studies emphasis was placed on measuring the relative degree of "dependence or independence inherent in the early child by reference to such variables as succorance, achievement, nurturance, responsibility, sociability and dominance (Whiting et al., 1966:9-10).

No matter how rigorous and refined one's methodology, certain problems arise with the use of the above-listed variables and concepts. For one thing, the whole notion of "dependency" is very much culturally loaded

both in terms of what it is and how it is perceived. In some cultures, children learn they can rely on their parents for most of their needs through adolescence and well into adulthood and this is considered as a natural and desirable state of affairs. In another culture, the same behavior would be labeled as excessive "dependency" and looked upon as highly undesirable.

One way of avoiding such problems, for the most part, is to recast the existing ethnographic data on Filipino child socialization within a framework that emphasizes the areas of parental concern and approval rather than on a specific set of western-derived variables and assumptions. As in all societies there are some areas in which formal training is relatively lax and others where definite expectations are set down very early in life. On these the need is not to generalize but to state as precisely as possible the exact content. The questions that should be addressed are not whether one society emphasizes more or less training for responsibility and self-reliance than another but what is the focus and content of such training and how it relates to the overall needs of the society.

The Family and Child Socialization in Patupat

The typical Patupat household provides a largely anxiety-free atmosphere for the newly-born infant. There are usually plenty of people around to care for him so even if the mother is busy, the child never lacks for attention. As the infant progresses to the toddler stage, he does not have to worry about how to amuse himself, nor are the parents concerned with providing him toys as there are plenty of people around--older brothers and sisters, grandparents, aunts and uncles--to

keep him entertained. The fact that the modal household is nuclear in composition does not greatly reduce the number of socializers as the immediate relatives (grandparents, aunts and uncles) usually live very close by and are frequently present in the house.

As the child grows older, the primary concern of parents appears to be on teaching the child the proper behavior for interacting with different members in the immediate and extended family. Considerable importance is placed on the child's learning of a complex set of address terms that indicate his position vis-à-vis everyone else in the family.

A child between the ages of three to six years of age may not be punished for failure to carry out a particular task but he will be sharply rebuked and corrected if he fails to address an older person in the family with the appropriate respect and the proper address term. Since the child's foremost resource in life is his family (his own personal kindred, it is only logical and natural that a high level of importance be attached to learning the prescribed behavior patterns for interacting with persons occupying different positions in the family.

Children under seven years of age have few, if any responsibilities within the family. What they do in terms of helpful activity--sweeping, helping with housework, attempting to carry water, taking care of younger siblings, etc. is done largely because they want to and not because it is expected of them. When describing daily activity schedules for pre-school children, mothers consistently qualified their statements with "if he/she wants to." Under the age of seven or eight, children are not forced into helping with household chores, and when they do engage in such activity, no instruction is offered as to how the task should be

done. Such skills are learned through observation, imitation and practice. By the age of ten or eleven, children have mastered the skills involved in simple household tasks and are held responsible for chores such as cutting grass for the carabao, pasturing the goats, polishing floors with coconut husk, dishwashing, laundry, etc.

One area where Filipino children are often expected to assume responsibilities far beyond what would be expected or even allowed in many American families is in caring for younger siblings. By the time a boy or girl is eight or nine years old (assuming they are not an only child or the last child in the family) he or she will commonly be charged with a major portion of the care of a younger infant.

After weaning infants enter a sort of "hip-rider" stage where their safety and welfare is largely in the hands of an older brother or sister who carries them around (slung on the hip). The grade-school children take their younger brothers and sisters wherever they go after school. On many an afternoon I observed eight to ten-year-old children who were intensely involved in some group game, stop the action for a couple of minutes to run to the sideline to remove a pointed stick or other sharp instrument from the hands of an infant who had been put in their care.

Another area in which children are given considerable responsibility is in caring for the house when the mother has gone to the fields. On one occasion I observed a girl of nine being sharply scolded by her mother for not having kept a better watch over the house in her absence. The young girl left the house for a few minutes to play in the courtyard with her friends and in the meantime the family dog entered the kitchen and ate the cooked pork that was in a dish on the table. The family's ration

of meat for a whole week was gone in the sight of a few minutes because of the young girl's carelessness.

Children are also involved at an early age in helping to carry out many of their family's social obligations within the community. Mention has already been made of the role of padigo food exchange in the kaaruba (neighbor) relationship. Here young children are commonly involved in delivering the food on behalf of their parents to other families. Announcements of parties and special events (except those concerning meetings of the barrio council, etc.) are almost always conveyed through children.

The above examples indicate that responsibility training as well as a certain degree of achievement behavior and self-initiative are not absent in the Filipino family as some of the earlier-mentioned studies seem to imply. Rather, such efforts are directed for the benefit of the family unit and hence are less visible at the individual level.

During adolescence, family chores become more sex specific, with the boys involved almost totally with the care of animals (except for pigs, which are women's responsibility) and field labor, while the girls assist with cooking, washing and ironing. In many households, teen-age girls have full responsibility for such tasks, freeing the mother for other activities. The adolescent who does not go on to high school is considered old enough and physically able to perform full-time domestic or agriculture labor for the family. Those youths who do attend high school are excused from many of the daily chores. However, their weekends are largely devoted to productive activity on behalf of their families.

Almost without exception, informant mothers did not mention time spent with friends and barkada mates in describing their children's daily activity schedules. One possible explanation is that the question "What does your child do during the day?" was interpreted as meaning only economic activity. This explanation, however, would seem to be inconsistent with the high positive value placed on sociability. If companionship is valued in a society that places high importance on social relationships, then why was there no mention of peer-group activity on the part of the mothers?

Another possible reason no mention was made of barkada activity has to do with how teen-age peer groups are perceived in relation to the family and the rest of the community. As previously stated, the family and the barkada are viewed as complementary institutions. The organization and function of the two are, to a certain degree, overlapping in that both institutions provide companionship and support for their members. Most important, however, is that in terms of socialization, the barkada is perceived as an extension of the family. It appears that there are certain areas of learning that have been delegated, at least with respect to males, to the barkada. Among the behavioral domains over which the barkada has near exclusive influence are sex education, including circumcision, proper heterosexual behavior and courtship. In these areas, the barkada plays a vital role as both a socializer and agent of social control. It is suggested that parents tacitly recognize and accept this function of the barkada. Hence, the fact that mothers did not mention peer group activities may not be so much a factor of their not knowing such activity occurs, but more the operation of a

cultural norm that constrains adults from acknowledging these aspects of adolescent socialization.

The same situation appears to be the case among the rural Tagalog mothers studied by Mendez and Jocano (1974:136). They had no knowledge (or would not publicly reveal their knowledge) of when their teen-age sons first started courting. As long as barkada behavior remains within acceptable limits set by community standards, parents apparently show no awareness of what is going on. Another way of looking at this type of relationship might be in terms of a balancing of rights of intrusion. Within the age-ranked family, children do not have the right to intrude in a range of activities reserved for adults. In this case, intrusion is not conceptualized in terms of physical presence, as children are omnipresent in the barrio, but rather in terms of verbal aggressiveness. The assertive, vociferous child is punished. On the other hand, with respect to teen-agers, parents abrogate their right of intrusion into barkada activities. There is a feeling on the part of parents that they do not have much real power to change their child's behavior and barkada associations even if they wanted (see Appendix VI, item 9). Adult perceptions will be dealt with in more detail in subsequent sections of the thesis. The point emphasized here is that socialization within the barkada is in part a function of what occurs within the family.

The School

The barrio school is unique in that it is both an institution of the local community and an arm of the national government. Its size, location and function are the result of the interplay of a number of socio-ecological variables and elements of the natural bureaucratic

system. The location and size of the school are related in part to the availability of suitable land within the community, the physical arrangement of the various residential clusters and total population size.

In the case of Patupat, the barrio population is not large enough to support its own school. The problem was solved by establishing a school that would serve both Patupat and the adjoining barrio to the north. The location of the school was then directly influenced by the fact that it would be serving the people of two communities. Ideally the people would have liked the school to be located right on the dividing line between the two barrios. Since this was impossible the closest available place was on a plot of land just inside the north boundary of Patupat which was not being farmed by any local residents. It was also significant that the particular piece of land selected by community residents was owned by an absentee landlord who resided in a different municipality. The residents of Patupat were successful in their efforts to have the land donated by the owner, and thus the school was established without entailing a loss in land to any residents in either Patupat or the adjoining barrio.

The present school, comprising three hollow-block and cement classroom buildings, was built by barrio residents with materials supplied by the government. Aside from the initial building materials, the government provides salaries for five teachers and a minimum of essential books and classroom supplies which get funneled out to the various barrio schools after the needs of the "central" school in the poblacion have been met. Barrio teachers are pleased and often amazed if they eventually receive half of the textbooks and supplies they request.

One aspect of the school that unites the residents of the two barrios it serves is maintenance. Local communities have complete responsibility for maintenance, repair and improvement of the school. The daily janitorial chores of sweeping the rooms, cleaning the blackboards, weeding and raking the school yard are done by students every morning before classes begin. Major work such as building a wall and adding a new room is done by adult members of the community organized into work groups under the direction of the head teacher.

Teachers spend a good deal of their time calling meetings of the PTA, organizing fund-raising programs and supervising work projects for the school. The community contributes both time and money in support of their school, but it is up to the teachers to provide the organizing drive. The teachers must tell the community what needs to be done and ask for their help.

In addition to providing leadership for school projects the teachers are saddled with the job of organizing local-level government programs in the two barrios such as the farmers' association, the agricultural cooperative, the green revolution program, barrio beautification projects and adult literacy classes. They also act as census enumerators and election officials. Teachers are required to attend special seminars in connection with such programs which greatly reduces the amount of time they can devote to classroom instruction. Since there are no substitute teachers, classes must be canceled when the teachers attend their seminars and orientation meetings in the poblacion and the province capital. During the researcher's residence in Patupat many of the elementary students were averaging around three full class room days per week.

Traditionally, teachers are said to enjoy considerable prestige in the barrio because of their education and their social status. Most teachers come from middle and upper class poblacion families who can afford a college education. With such backgrounds teachers are often looked upon as de facto leaders within the communities they serve (Nydegger & Nydegger, 1966:100).

In the case of Patupat, four of the teachers are from the poblacion and one is from the province capital. The teacher from the province capital boards in the barrio during week days and returns home on weekends. The other teachers commute daily from the poblacion to the barrio, even during the rainy season when the road is passable only by foot or on horseback. The fact that the teachers are not present in the evenings or on weekends when most barrio meetings take place limits their role as community leaders. The one teacher who does board in the barrio is young and single, which works against her being accepted as a community leader.

A second factor that greatly reduces teachers' influence on community decisions in Patupat is that when they initiate such projects as green revolution gardens and barrio beautification contests, the people recognize the teachers' involvement as that of government officials and not as community residents. Where teachers have firm personal commitments to the barrio community, the situation might be different, but such is not the current situation in Patupat.

Education and Socialization

Many barrio residents feel that the school is not adequately fulfilling its duties as an institution committed to the proper education

and socialization of the children. Education for most barrio adults is measured by one's ability to speak, read and write the English language. The current emphasis on nationalism through the increasing use of Pilipino (a version of Tagalog which has been declared the national language) as the medium of instruction, and the amount of classroom time presently devoted to handicraft skills, has little relevance for the parents or barrio life in general.

The argument that adult expectations are an unrealistic carry-over from the colonial era is immaterial. What is important is that the children are lacking in qualities that the parents perceive to be important. People are constantly talking of the fact that many adults who have only a fourth grade education can speak better English and can add and subtract better than their children, who are elementary and high school graduates. Local teachers are aware of this problem, but say there is little that they can do about it. The head teacher at Patupat elementary school noted that the present national curriculum requires the so-called "new math" to be taught in grade five. Teachers had to attend special seminars to learn how to teach it and even the brightest students who understand the concepts are lost when it comes to handling the everyday problems of addition and subtraction necessary in market transactions.

Much of what is being taught in school is not reinforced by parents in the home. The value of academic excellence and the need to complete homework assignments is not emphasized by parents. While parents are pleased if their children excel in school, this is something that parents do not push. For many parents, particularly the older adults, intelligence

(academic excellence) is perceived as an inherent quality that some people are born with and others not. Beyond burying the umbilical cord of a newborn infant in a small clay pot with a pencil and a piece of paper, there is little that parents believe they can do to instill studious behavior on the part of their children. For one thing, once children progress beyond the third or fourth grade, there is really little assistance that most parents can give them. Another factor that works against significant parental involvement in education is lack of time. The farmers' work does not stop at four or five in the afternoon. During the evening hours, there is garlic to be cleaned, sorted and tied, tobacco kilns to be fired, seed to be prepared for the next day's planting, irrigation pumps to be fueled and tended. Consequently, any assistance with a child's assignments is likely to come from elder siblings and not the parents.

Also, if a parent were to actively force his or her child to study, it might be perceived that both the parent and child were overly competing with other children and families in their kin group and residential unit. Direct competition could result in the achiever showing up other members of his peer group, and this would be in opposition to the high value placed on kasayaatan (getting along well with others).

Such competition or striving for excellence also brings with it the possibility of failure. While failure is unpleasant under any circumstances, it is made even worse when it involves members of one's reference group, be it the family or the barkada. The easiest way to minimize the unpleasantness of failure is to avoid those situations that increase its possibility.

A case that demonstrates a strategy for maintaining group solidarity while minimizing the possibility of failure involved three teen-age girls who were planning to enter college together. All three decided they wanted to be secretaries and planned to enroll in a four-year commerce course. In 1973, with the implementation of new educational reforms, it became necessary for the first time to pass a national college entrance examination in order to enroll in any four-year college course. The girls bought a study guide and for more than a month reviewed together. They paid the examination registration fee in advance but at the last minute, they all decided not to take the test. They later enrolled in a two-year secretarial course which did not require the national exam. This solution allowed the girls to continue school, which they all wanted to do, while avoiding the possibility that one or all of them might fail the examination. Failure by one or two of the girls would have been a damaging blow to the solidarity of their group, and failure by all three would have been embarrassing when it became common knowledge to other peers in the barrio.

The pre-school play-group friendships a child forms within his housing cluster provide a great deal of security for entering first-graders during their first days in school. Entering school for the first time, in a group, is not nearly as traumatic an experience as when one has to do it alone. Patupat parents noted that in past years teachers used to sometimes allow a child to enter school a year early so that he would not be separated from a slightly older play-group companion.

Presently, Department of Education rulings are more strictly enforced and children may only enter school after they have reached

their seventh birthday. Such inflexibility has resulted in some children getting left behind for a year as their peer-group enters the first grade together. In some cases, the younger child is very anxious to go to school and eagerly looks forward to the day when he or she will be able to go to school with the others.

On the other hand, for those who are not firmly attached to an elder sibling or a group of friends already in school, entering the first grade can be a frightful experience. Such children commonly break into uncontrollable fits of crying and often refuse to enter the classroom, even when accompanied by their mothers. Such behavior is perceived by the mothers to be more amusing than annoying, and they patiently bring their child to school and sit with him or her for as many days as it takes the child to adjust to his new surroundings. Other children freeze up completely and refuse to communicate with even their mother until taken out of the classroom. I have observed both kinds of behavior on two opening days of classes involving different children. It is quite common for the mothers of new students to remain at the school, either in the back of the classroom, or just outside the door for more than a week.

The primary mode of classroom instruction during the first two years, oral recitation, places an emphasis on group rather than individual performance. First graders are seated on one side of the room and second graders on the other side. Each group has its own songs and lessons, and when one group is reciting the other is supposed to be practicing their "seat assignments" (such as writing their names and the letters of the alphabet on ruled pads). In the third, fourth, fifth and sixth

grades, more and more individual performance is required by the teachers. Such participation is rarely volunteered, and when called on, it is always with a great deal of hesitation that the student finally responds.

With respect to the school curriculum and its relevance to the barrio community, it has already been mentioned that "new Math" apparently is not providing the students the basic arithmetic skills needed for simple market transactions. Health, sanitation and nutrition are other areas where the material presented in class often has little meaning for barrio life. The students, for example, memorize lists of foods and write essays on a balanced diet, including many foodstuffs that are not available in the barrio and that they have never tasted. Green Revolution gardens are required of each child to increase vegetable production and to instill a sense of individual responsibility and pride. But parents usually end up doing the work themselves so they and the child will not be embarrassed when the teachers make their house-to-house inspections. Seldom are the gardens cared for after the teachers' visit.

During the elementary school years, the housing-cluster play-groups become the unit through which children begin to relate to outsiders (students from other parts of the same or the adjacent barrio). In the school yard, groups from different housing units interact with each other in informal games. By the time children graduate at age 13 and prepare to go to high school, it is well known where everyone lives and who their friends are.

During adolescence, such friendship groups form the nucleus of what become separate male and female barkadas. In this sense, the barkada is

nothing new or unique. It is the logical extension of a socialization process begun in the family and extended to the housing cluster with the formation of play groups that are positively reinforced throughout the elementary school years.

The Filipino family provides continuing security and support for each of its members but in return, the child is expected to fulfill certain expectations and duties. Such compliance should not be viewed as an alternative to self-reliance but as the primary context in which individual initiative and achievement are expressed.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. In Patupat and Baduya the term tay-ak refers to the local cooperative irrigation societies whose manifest function is the provision of an adequate supply of water to fields located in a particular area, which are farmed by the members of the society. As such, tay-ak membership is independent of residential groupings such as the barrio and sitio or purok. Often membership in a tay-ak will be restricted to residents of a single barrio but as Lewis (1971: 28) points out, such restrictions are incidental. Most tay-aks, like the ones operating in Patupat, have members from several barrios. Tay-ak associations, also known as zangjeras (Lewis, 1971:128-142) have a long and unique history in the Ilocos region. Not found in other areas of the Philippines, irrigation societies have been documented in the Ilocos as early as 1620 (Keesing, 1962: 145, 305-307).
2. The sab-ong is a type of male dowry wherein the bridegroom's parents give a certain amount of land and/or other material resources such as a carabao or cash to the soon-to-be-married couple. The amount of the sab-ong depends both on the wealth of the bridegroom's family and on the desirability of the marriage in the eyes of both families. After the parents of the prospective bride and bridegroom have agreed that the marriage should take place a series of meetings are held where the representatives of the two families determine the exact amount of the sab-ong. The usual strategy is for the girl's family to set high demands as a starting point in the negotiation over what will be included in the dowry. The more desirable the girl is as a prospective wife and the more valuable is perceived the future link between the two families, the larger will be the sab-ong. In Patupat it is customary to formalize the final sab-ong agreement in the form of an official written "contract" which is announced several days before the actual wedding takes place. For a detailed discussion of the social and economic significance of the sab-ong see Lewis (1971:89-93).
3. In the Ilocos the term padigo refers to the exchange of food between neighbors. In the rural communities this exchange serves as a means of redistribution of surplus food that cannot be preserved and as a symbolic reinforcement of the social ties (of the kaaroba relationship) between neighbors. Lewis (1971:103-105) suggests that the gift, which usually consists of prepared meats or a plate of glutinous rice cakes, is treated in a casual manner as the visiting and socializing that accompanies the exchange is actually more important than the food being exchanged.
5. Neighbor ties are also initiated and reinforced through participation in another form of social exchange known as the tagnawa. The tagnawa involves the cooperative assistance of several or more persons that exceeds the regular performance of favors and food exchange. The most common form of tagnawa in Patupat occurs when

one person calls upon a number of individuals to come on a designated day to help in the construction or relocation of a house. The work lasts for one day and the family receiving the assistance provides food and drink for the workers who may number as many as 25 or 30. In addition, the person who called the tagnawa incurs a future obligation to come to the assistance of each and every person who helped him if and when they should call a tagnawa in the future. Lewis (1971:106) notes that "the obligation to assist in such a work project may derive from any close social bonds which an individual may have and can involve consanguineal kin, in-laws, friends, barrio compadres, work-mates and neighbors.

CHAPTER V

THE BARRIO BARKADAS

It was previously noted that there are two male adolescent barkada groups in Patupat, one associated with the north purok and the other with the south. The few male adolescents living in the central purok associate with the north group as peripheral members during public gatherings such as benefit dances, baptisms and wedding parties. The closer relationship between the central youth and the north gang is the result of residential proximity, the distance being much shorter between the central and the north than between the central and the south purok, and the existing network of social relationships. The central families have more frequent interaction with residents in the north than they do with residents in the south (excluding relatives). It was noted in the discussion of residence pattern that residents of the central but not the south purok are automatically invited to functions in the north. An additional fact of significance with respect to the relations between the youth of the two puroks is that the members of the north barkada, during the time of the author's residence, frequently spent their evenings sitting around the front of a sari-sari store¹ located in the central purok.

Having established the relationship between residence pattern and barkada membership and activity patterns (refer to Table 5 in Chapter IV) we can now look at several other variables associated with barkada organization, namely age, education, marital status and kinship.

With respect to age we see from the profile that the north group is slightly younger than the south group. The mean age of the north group is 17 while that of the south group is 21. Associated with the younger age of the north group is a higher incidence of school attendance. In the north, eight out of twelve, or 66 percent, of the group's members were attending school, compared with one out of eight, or 13 percent, for the south barkada. In the north, all but three members, nine out of twelve (75 percent) have received at least one year of high school training while in the south group only three out of eight members (38 percent) have any high school education. This difference in educational attainment is more a factor of the five year average age difference between the two groups than any significant difference in terms of individual or group motivation. The number of barrio youth attending high school is increasing every year. Six to seven years ago when most members of the south barkada were finishing elementary school few of their barrio-mates were going on to high school in the poblacion. The situation today is considerably changed as the increased cash cropping of garlic and tobacco provides income which can be used for school tuition, uniforms, books, etc. This is but another example of the various ways in which patterns of land use can affect human behavior in general and most particularly adolescent activities.

In terms of marital status, with one exception in the south group, all the barkada members in the barrio were single during the field work period (from May 1975 to February 1976). The one married member of the south barkada is still active in the group but his position in terms of influence is less central than before he was married. While he was

single he was the leader's nearly constant companion and right-hand man. Presently the two are still good friends but another member of the group has taken up the role of companion to the leader. In the north, one married individual who was previously active with the barkada now associates, for the most part, only during public functions. While he will appear with the guys from time to time, he no longer is a member of the regular evening group.

In the barrio, marriage appears to initiate the process of transition to full adulthood which culminates with the male eventually assuming full duties as head of his own nuclear household. As a married man, the young male will be drawn more and more into full-time agricultural work with either his father or father-in-law, depending on whose house the couple choose to reside in. He is also expected to begin acting like a family man, particularly after the first child is born. And eventually he and his wife and children will move into their own house and he will assume the major, if not full, responsibility of providing for his family. Associated with this process is a change in the individual's barkada relationships. He is slowly drawn away from the social activities of his former teen-age group and into a new set of relationships which are more work focused.

In most cases the new relationships will not involve a totally new set of individuals. It is quite likely that as individual A marries and begins the transition to full adulthood, individuals B and C who were members of his youth barkada will shortly follow the same path themselves. The transition is perhaps most difficult for the first person who marries and the last person. The first to marry tends to resist being pulled

away from his barkada companionship and the last to marry may find that in the transition period, the barkada has left him behind: it has become focused around the needs of married men while he is still single.

Ideally, the group would move through this transition period at about the same pace so that it is more the context and content of relationships rather than the membership that changes.

With respect to kinship we see by referring to Table 8 that in the north group only three of the twelve members are not directly related to at least one other person in the barkada. Likewise, in the south barkada only one individual, Turing, who is a boarder-helper and not a native of the barrio, is without kin ties within the group.

A tally was made of the number of kin linkages between members of each of the barrio barkadas. In preparing Table 9 each relationship between two individuals, uncle-nephew, brother or cousin was counted as one kin linkage.

The fact that the cousin relationship dominates in both barkadas is indicative of a residence pattern which favors married siblings, particularly sisters, living within the same purok unit. And when this occurs one's kin and neighbor networks will tend to overlap with one another. And this pattern, as can be seen from Tables 8 and 9, is replicated within the adolescent barkadas where one's barkada-mates are also one's relatives. Because of this overlap it is difficult, if not impossible, to demonstrate which of the two factors, residential proximity or kinship, is the more important influence on interaction patterns within the barkadas.

Table 8
Patupat Barkada Profiles

Barkada	Member	Age	Education		Marital Status	Relatives in Group	Housing Unit
			Grade	Studying			
NORTH	Basilio	17	2 H.S.	no	S	0	No. 1 House 2
	Remigio	14	2 H.S.	yes	S	0	No. 1 House 4
	Ponching	17	4 H.S.	no	S	U1, C ¹ 1	No. 2 House 7
	Ilyong	15	2 H.S.	yes	S	C ³ 1	No. 2 House 10
	Carling	17	3 H.S.	yes	S	J1, C ¹ 4	No. 2 House 11
	Leandro	14	2 H.S.	yes	S	0	No. 4 House 12
	Tomas	13	1 H.S.	yes	S	N2, C ¹ 1, C ³ 1	No. 3 House 14
	Orly	22	5 grd.	no	S	C ¹ 1	No. 4 House 15
	Leopoldo	23	6 frd.	no	S	C ¹ 1	No. 4 House 16
	Celso	16	6 grd.	yes	S	B1, N1, C ¹ 2	No. 4 House 17
	Romulo	19	4 H.S.	yes	S	B1, N1, C ¹ 2	No. 4 House 17
	Doro	16	4 H.S.	yes	S	N1, C ³ 1	No. 7 House 27

SOUTH	Manuel	16	4 H.S.	no	S	U1, C ² 3, C ³ 1	No. 12 House 52
	Ricardo	19	3 H.S.	no	S	U1, C ² 2, C ³ 1	No. 13 House 56
	Rody	22	6 grd.	no	S	B1, U1, C ¹ 1, C ² 2	No. 13 House 57
	Jon	18	6 grd.	no	S	B1, U1, C ¹ 1, C ² 2	No. 13 House 57
	Turing	20	6 grd.	no	S	0	No. 17 House 65
	Julio	20	3 H.S.	yes	S	U1, C ¹ 2, C ² 2	No. 19 House 75
	Fred	20	5 grd.	no	M	N6	No. 19 House 76
	Ninoy	22	2 H.S.	no	S	U1	No. 20 House 84

U = uncle

C¹ = first cousin

N = nephew

C² = second cousin

B = brother

C³ = third or fourth cousin

example: B1, U1, C¹1, C²2, C³4 = 1 brother, 1 uncle, 1 first cousin
2 second cousins and 4 third cousins

Table 9

Barkada Kin Relationships

North Barkada		South Barkads	
Brother	1	Brother	1
1st cousin	9	1st cousin	2
2nd cousin	0	2nd cousin	7
3rd cousin	2	3rd cousin	0
uncle-nephew	4	uncle-nephew	6

Thus far the two groups have been compared and contrasted with respect to age, level of education, kinship and marital status as aggregate qualities. The next step is to look at how these variables affect the social organization within the groups. Figures 8 and 9 depict internal relationships within the north and south barkadas on two different levels. The "A" sociograms are based on observed patterns of interaction. The arrows here indicate what appear to be the dominant paths of influence within each barkada.

The downward facing arrows in Sociogram A of the north barkada indicate that suggestions and ideas from Romulo are generally acted upon by the rest of the group. While discussion does take place, the group appears to look to Romulo for clues. On occasions when the barkada has gone visiting or has decided to just sit and talk or drink at the sari-sari store, the members follow Romulo in terms of behavior. Even if they arrive in smaller groups of two or three, nobody leaves until Romulo makes a move to return home. I have observed some of the younger

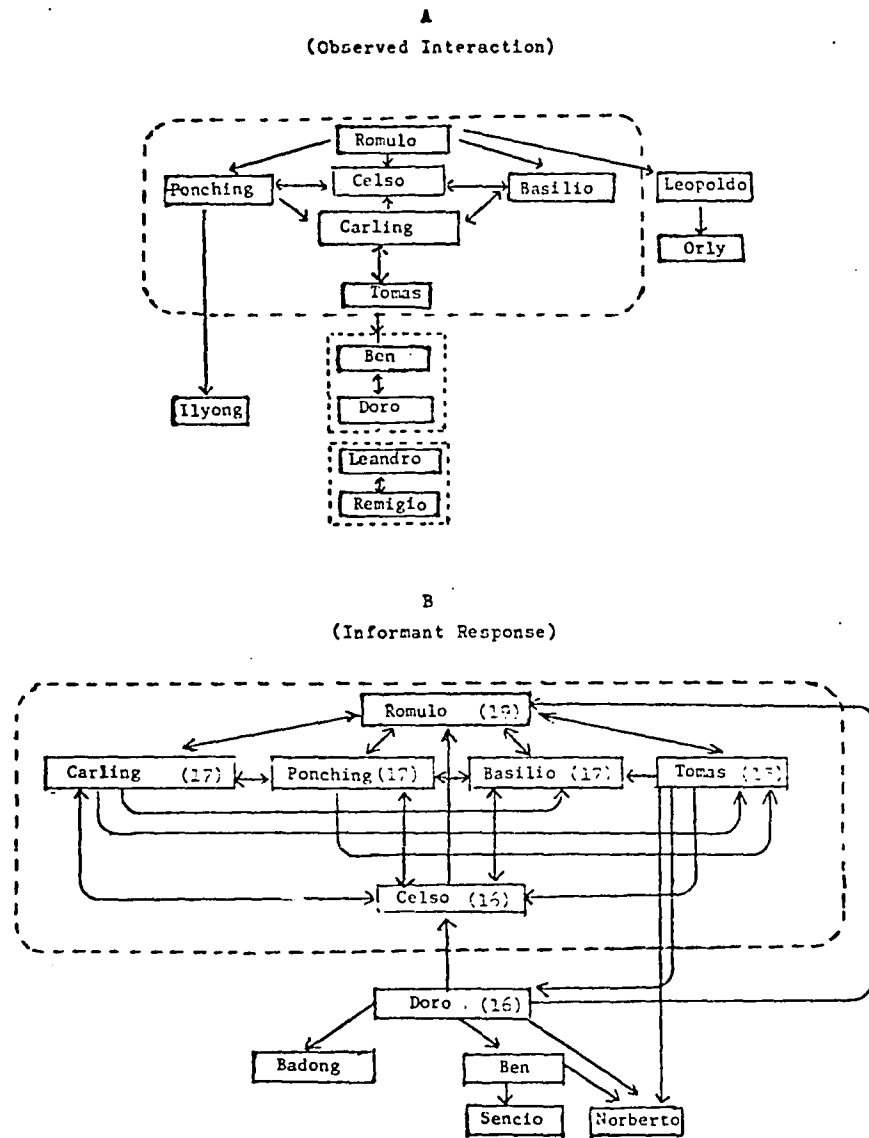
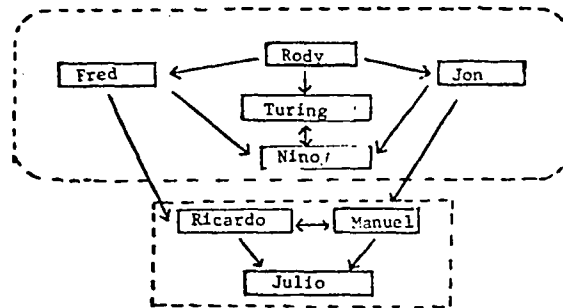


Figure 8. North Barkada Sociograms

A
(Observed Interaction)



B
(Informant Response)

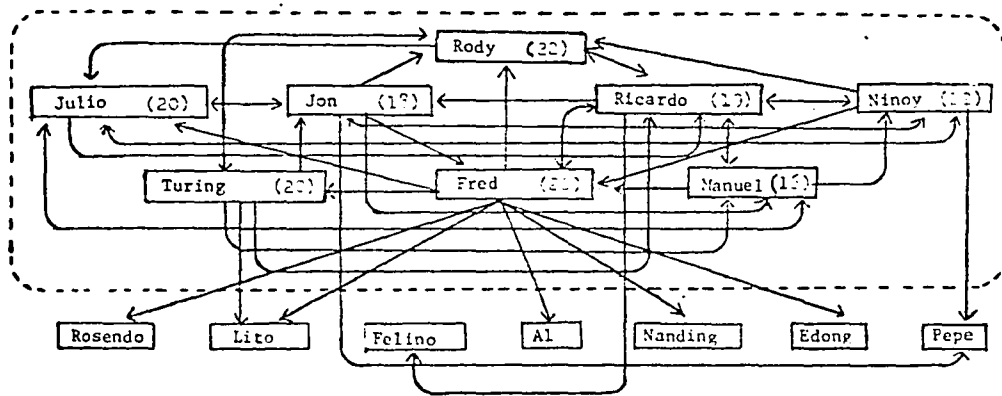


Figure 9. South Barkada Sociograms

members actually fall asleep at such gatherings waiting until it is time to go.

The relationship between Ponching, Celso and Basilio (reflected in the double-ended horizontal arrows which connect these individuals) is more reciprocal in nature. For one thing, Ponching and Basilio are close friends and spend much time together outside of their activities with the larger group.

Frequency of interaction and group participation (regular attendance) is much greater among the core members (within the dotted box) than between them and the more peripheral individuals such as Ilyong, Leopoldo and Orly. The smaller dotted boxes around Ben and Doro, and Leandro and Remigio signify strong friendship ties between the respective individuals. In some ways, the four younger boys could be considered as a sub-group within or attached to the north barkada.

The B sociograms are based on informant responses to two questions: Who is your best friend; and who are the other members of your barkada? Here, the arrows between individuals indicate the persons which each informant voluntarily identified as members of his group. A double-ended arrow indicates that the respective individuals have named each other as members of their respective groups. It must be stressed that the arrows in the B sociograms are not a measure of interaction. When an individual, such as Romulo, names Carling, Ponching, Basilio and Tomas as members of his barkada but does not include his brother Celso or Doro, this does not mean that he has no interaction with the others.

It is difficult to say exactly what the informant responses are measuring. To be sure, they are not measuring interaction. Likewise, an

analysis of the response data summarized in Appendix I indicates that they are not measuring kinship distance as there are within both barkadas 25 instances where certain relatives have not been mentioned by the informants as members of their group. Similarly, it does not appear to be an indication of residential proximity as there are numerous individuals not mentioned who live closer to the informant than some of the persons which were included. However, the responses were generally purok specific, with only two exceptions where one individual in the north included a youth from the central purok in his group and where the person from the central section named two members of the north barkada as members of his group. This is an example of the previously discussed relationship where youth from the central purok often attach themselves as peripheral members to the north barkada. No such purok-crossing occurred in the responses of members of the south barkada.

It is evident, however, from a comparison of sociograms A and B for both groups that the informant response data consistently support the observational findings with respect to identification of the core members of each barkada. In both groups, the informants did not include any individual in B who had not already been listed in A and vice-versa, no individuals were included in A who were not subsequently included in B. Hence, it can be claimed with a fairly high degree of certainty that Romulo, Celso, Ponching, Basilio, Carling and Tomas do constitute the active nucleus of the north barkada while Rody, Jon, Julio, Ricardo, Ninoy, Turing, Fred and Manuel comprise the core membership of the south barkada.

Having identified the core membership of both barkadas (with two separate measures) it is now possible to compare and contrast the two

groups and to discuss their position and role vis-à-vis other social units in the community. Except for a brief description of the structural characteristics and leadership strategies found in each of the groups, primary emphasis will be on inter-, rather than intra-barkada relationships. Our main concern is not so much a study of small group behavior focused on the barkada as it is the role played by barkadas within the larger community social system.

With reference to network theory the two barkadas can be analyzed individually and compared in terms of a number of structural and interactional criteria. The two structural variables most relevant for comparing our groups are reachability and density. Reachability refers to the degree to which individuals within a network can contact other people within the same network and reciprocally, the extent to which people who are important to a particular individual in the network can contact him.

Reachability is usually measured in terms of the number of steps it takes each individual to reach all the other persons in the network. When a large proportion of the people in a network can be contacted within a relatively small number of steps the network is said to be compact in comparison to one in which a smaller proportion of individuals are reached in the same number of steps (Mitchell, 1969:15). Often, the number of steps required of each individual to reach the other persons in this network are used to construct a distance matrix from which the average number of persons reached per mean-step-per-person can be computed as a rough measure of reachability or compactness. Such a method assumes that individuals only communicate with each other in the manner

indicated by the connecting arrows on the sociogram and that the absence of a connecting line indicates actual physical and social distance. This assumption does not hold for either of the barkadas in Barrio Patupat. Regardless of the informant responses plotted on sociogram B, all the members of each barkada can and do interact directly with each other. In this respect, it can be stated that each of the barkadas, unlike some more complex groups, are characterized by total compactness.

Density, on the other hand, is a measure of connectedness between the individuals within a given network. The implication here is that where a high proportion of individuals within a single network actually know each other that the network as a whole is dense. With respect to just knowing and interacting with each other, again both barkadas receive a maximum score. However, by considering the number of reciprocal friendships, where A claims B as a friend and member of his group and B likewise claims A, in relation to the total possible number of relationships it is possible to compute differential scores for each barkada. Applying the measure of density proposed by Barnes (1969:63-64), $\frac{200a}{n(n-1)}$, where "a" refers to the actual number of links and "n" to the total number of persons involved, the north barkada with a score of 60 has a level of density more than twice that of the south barkada with a score of 25.

The general group dynamics and behavior of barkada members vis-à-vis one another may also be analyzed in terms of a number of interactional characteristics. The immediate criteria most relevant to our analysis are: content, directionality, intensity and frequency of interaction.

In its most simple form, content refers to the meaning and purpose which individuals attach to their relationships. "The links between an individual and the people with whom he interacts come into being for some purpose or because of some interest which either or both of the parties consciously recognize . . . , therefore we can speak of the content of linkages which may be among other possibilities, economic assistance, kinship obligations, religious cooperation or simply friendship" (Mitchell, 1969:22).

Within the two barrio barkadas, there is a convergence of several contents within each and every relationship to the point that it is extremely difficult to clearly isolate the different meanings. At one and the same time, the relationship between two barkada members can involve friendship, kinship obligations, economic assistance, moral and physical support, neighborliness and companionship. Suffice it to say that all the relationships between the core members of each barkada are multiplex in nature. For example, in the north barkada, Ponching, Celso, Romulo, Carling, and Leopoldo are all first-cousins as well as friends. Within this group, Carling and Romulo are schoolmates. Basilio and Ponching, while not related, are the best of friends, frequently observed playing dama (a Philippine game similar to Chinese checkers), or practicing basketball. As one of the younger members, Tomas, at 13, is very much a follower and looks towards the other youth. He follows the older members around and attempts to mimic their actions. If they smoke, he smokes; if they drink, he will also try a sip, etc.

The aspect of economic assistance involves one or more youth helping the family of one of their barkada-mates to complete a particular job,

e.g., cleaning garlic. Companionship as well as mutual support are present in both the individual best friend dyads and in the larger barkada unit evidenced by the frequency with which agricultural chores such as gathering grass for the carabaos and weeding rice fields are done in the company of several of one's friends and barkada-mates.

Following from the work of Kapferer (1969:213) such multiplicity can be taken as an index of the strength of the relationship. The assumption here is that the more strands of meaning contained in a relationship, i.e., the more multiplex it is, the more securely are the individuals bound together.

Directly related to the strength of the relationship is the concept of directionality. Some types of relationships such as that between employer and employee are largely unidirectional. Other kinds of relationships--for example, kinship and friendship--are much more reciprocal in nature. Even with regard to friendship, as we have seen in the B sociograms, a person may choose another individual as his friend without having his choice reciprocated, thus making the relationship largely unidirectional. One of the assumptions inherent in the concept of network theory is that reciprocal or bi-directional relationships are inherently stronger than unidirectional ones. We have already shown with reference to the discussion of density that the two Patupat barkadas differ considerably in the number of reciprocal relationships among their members.

Of all interactional characteristics intensity is perhaps the most elusive and most difficult to measure. The level of intensity within a given relationship is supposed to reflect the willingness with which the

parties are prepared to forego other considerations in carrying out the obligations associated with their relationship (Mitchell, 1961:22). In this sense, intensity can be seen as another measure of strength of the ties that bind people together.

Frequency is undoubtedly the most visible interactional characteristic and the most amenable to simple qualification. Frequency is obviously related to other characteristics such as intensity but regularity of contact or high frequency does not always imply a high level of intensity. It may be that the informant responses (sociogram B) come closer to measuring frequency and perceived strength or intensity than any other behavioral or interactional characteristic.

The only other primary characteristic not yet discussed is durability. This refers to the extent to which a given set of linkages remain useful over time or conversely, the extent to which individuals develop new links involving new rights and obligations. With respect to the barkada as a social unit, durability is concerned with the group's life-history. Does it persist over time and if so, how does time affect its membership? It has already been noted at the beginning of this section that barkadas which emerge out of elementary school play groups usually endure with little if any turnover in membership through adolescence. And, as also suggested, it can be proposed as a hypothesis for further testing that if adolescent members of the barkada remain in the same purok after marriage that their former group will continue to function with the major changes occurring not in the links between individuals but in their content, with the inclusion of agricultural assistance, cooperative labor, etc. as meaningful aspects of the relationships.

What implications do the above findings regarding compactness, density, content, directedness, intensity and durability have for leadership strategies within the barkadas? First, the conditions of high level of compactness and density mean that it is easy for a leader to have direct and immediate influence over the members of the group. The fact that the two networks are small and everyone does know everyone else precludes the need for much formal organization, particularly with respect to leadership. In both barkadas the patterns of leadership are very informal. In fact, the various members don't even think in terms of a particular person as a leader because they have not held elections or deliberately chosen someone to be the head of their group.

There is a spirit of "sameness" among the members which may be in response to the institutionalized hierarchy of status and authority within the family. The aura of equality is evidenced at one level by the preference for consensual agreement on all decisions affecting the group as a whole. However, in spite of this "egalitarianism" there does exist a definite pattern to the flow of information and influence within each group which follows, as close as can be determined from observation, the lines indicated in the sociograms.

Romulo and Rody were placed at the top of the sociograms of their respective barkadas because first they seemed to always be the ones to make the first suggestions which were usually accepted by the others without much discussion, as immediate indication of the following that each has in his respective group. What is it about these two individuals that puts them apart from the rest of the members of their groups?

The only thing the two appear to have in common is relative age; each is the eldest in his group. Being the eldest undoubtedly gives

them a slight edge over the others in terms of influence and authority in spite of the outward appearance of equality. I suspect that even when participation in peer group activities is viewed as a reaction to "oppressive" authoritarianism within the family (Ramirez, 1971) that it still may be difficult to completely abandon the familial model of hierarchical organization. In fact, in numerous ways the organization and behavior observed in the two Patupat barkadas is parallel rather than in opposition to that found within the family.

Given this base, what kinds of strategies have the two leaders employed to maintain their support and what implication does this have for general organization and normative standards within the barkada? Romulo has built on his position as the eldest member of the north barkada in two ways. First, he makes himself practically omnipresent with respect to barkada activities. He is always around to offer a suggestion or comment and he is not afraid to speak up. Secondly, he gains a following by his willingness to sponsor the first bottle of gin or basi (unrefined sugarcane wine) when he has a little extra cash. After the first bottle is finished he usually suggests that everyone contribute for a second bottle.

Rody, on the other hand, doesn't appear to spend much on the other members of his group. What he lacks in money he makes up for in sheer bravado. He is without a doubt the number one spokesman within the south barkada. He can almost always be found in the evenings telling a story, singing, or cajoling the other members in the group. He asserts his authority by making simple demands on the others, such as requesting cigarettes or sending the younger members on errands. The south group

seems to enjoy Rody's antics and apparently find him entertaining and fun to be with, but only up to a point. If he pushes too far, the members, instead of challenging him directly, will just break into smaller groups and go their own way. This dividing into smaller groups seems to be indicative of a lesser degree of unity within the south barkada as compared to the north group and this again is consistent with the differential scores of density and directionality within the two groups.

Unlike Romulo who has reciprocal friendships with all but one member of his core group, Rody has similar relationships with only two out of seven other core members of his barkada. In fact, the cluster of reciprocal friendships in the south barkada reflects fairly consistently the observed pattern of factionalism. Ricardo, Ninoy and Manuel, for example, constitute at times a mini-group within the barkada, as do Rody, Turing and Jon. Such splitting is less frequently observed in the north barkada.

While leadership style is at one level largely the result of individual personality, at another level, as evidenced here, it can be considered as both a response to and a reflection of two main dimensions of the group structure, size and the nature of the relationships between members. Romulo, for example, has a smaller core group than Rody and the relationships between the members appear to be much stronger than in the south barkada. Consequently Romulo doesn't need to exert a strong, aggressive style of leadership because he already has the close friendship of all the members. Rody, on the other hand, must actively demonstrate his abilities as a spokesman and organizer in order to earn the respect of those who don't necessarily consider him to be among their group of best friends.

Inter-group Relations

Within the barrio the two barkadas keep pretty much to themselves. Except for attendance at certain "public" functions (such as school programs, fund raising dances, parties, weddings and funerals) barkada activity is for the most part purok specific. When attendance at a barrio-wide gathering does bring the two barkadas together they seem to make every effort to keep out of each other's way. Often, at big gatherings the north group will stand together in one corner of the yard while the south barkada huddles together in the opposite corner. When it is time to eat, determined largely by a status and age hierarchy (honored guests and visitors first, followed by senior men and then regular adults, teenagers and finally the women and children) one group will tend to gravitate to one end of the "long table"² while the other group positions itself at the opposite end.

On one occasion, both barkadas attended an evening birthday party given for an older man living in the central purok. For most of the evening the two groups took turns visiting with the celebrant and a number of teenage girls inside the house. While one group was inside the other group sat around outside talking and drinking. After a while, as if on a signal, the inside group would leave to be replaced within a matter of minutes by the other barkada. During the evening the two groups reversed positions at least twice.

Normally, such distance keeping is sufficient to preclude any serious confrontation between the two barkadas, however, under certain conditions, particularly when one or more members of either or both barkadas have had too much to drink, what might normally pass as a joking

comment can arouse anger leading to an exchange of hostile words and possibly fists. Usually other members of the groups and the older males present will quickly intercede to keep the protagonists apart. Such clashes occur most commonly at benefit or ribbon dances where gifts are auctioned off to the highest bidder to raise money for king and queen candidates at school programs. The "gifts" are usually a bottle of gin and a bottle of coke with a little something to eat (a piece of dried fish or fried chicken) and it is the rival barkadas that tend to try and out-bid each other for the gifts. The whole affair can become a touchy situation as the sponsors realize that the more the youths drink the more they tend to bid for subsequent boxes as the night moves on. At the same time, the more they drink, the higher the tension rises between the two groups and the more they tend to want to show off in front of the girls. On the one hand, money is raised which is consistent with the norms of sharing and helping other barrio-mates when in need but, on the other hand, the values stressing the maintenance of good relations and the avoidance of violence are tested, sometimes to the breaking point.

On an individual basis members of the two barkadas socialize with one another on certain occasions. When outside the barrio and when without other gang-mates, members of the north and south barkadas interact with each other. I suspect that when members of the two barkadas meet on the road or in town that their identity as barrio-mates (residents of Patupat) takes precedence over their barkada, purok, and residence cluster affiliation.

In town the adolescent from Patupat has two identities which may be operationalized depending on the situation and circumstances. First, as a barrio resident he is lumped by the town people into one category including all those people who do not live in the town proper. Within this category he can be further classified as a "southerner" because his barrio is one of the four which lie along the road that leads south from the town. Away from the municipality his identity becomes that of one from Baduya town. And, of course, when in Manila and interacting with a Tagalog his identity is that of Ilocano.

By looking at activity patterns in both the barrio and the town, it becomes evident that barkada behavior is the result of a combination of situationally defined roles, and the barkada itself is the defining element in one or more of the situations. When a youth is with his barkada in the barrio or elsewhere his role is defined differently than when he is not with his group. When a youth from the north, for example, takes his carabao to bathe in the river and encounters the south barkada at the river bank they will be polite to him and probably exchange pleasantries, assuming there is no active friction between the two groups. But if other members of the north arrive the two groups will begin to move apart. Likewise, in town, members of both the north and south barrio groups can congregate at the sari-sari store which is the unofficial hang-out of the "southern" students because in this situation what is being shared is the common barrio identity and the role of high school student. At the town level, members of the two Patupat groups are united in the sense that stress is now placed on commonality rather than differences.

The town grouping, which appears to be a sort of informal alliance between youth from different southern zone barrios, serves two primary purposes. First, it provides moral and physical support against the ever-present possibility of harassment and extortion attempts from the town boys, and second it offers a common meeting ground where the barkada groups from the different southern barrios can get to know each other and establish good relations. It is important, for example, for both the Patupat barkadas to be on good terms with the barkadas in the neighboring barrios through which they must pass daily to get to school in town. Patupat students must pass through three other barrios situated along the southern road when they go to town.

Occasionally Patupat barkadas have found it to their advantage to establish more formalized peace or friendship agreements with barkadas in other barrios.³ The procedure for establishing such relations usually involved one group coming and offering to talk with the other group and to buy some gin and pulután (snack type food usually eaten when drinking). If successful, both sides will reach a verbal agreement for everyone in the two groups to be friends. In the past (particularly before Martial Law), such agreements usually called for group A to announce when it intended to visit or to be passing through the territory of group B. By announcing your plans and intentions in advance it was possible to avoid spur of the moment clashes which have in the past erupted into fights involving the use of sticks, knives and guns.

In town the peace is maintained between the barrio and town barkadas by balancing the number of supporters each side can claim. While the town students may feel that the barrio boys are outsiders in

their territory the fact remains that barrio youth comprise the majority of the high school enrollment, and they use this size advantage as a means of self-protection. Any one barrio barkada would be at a considerable disadvantage against a town group if it were not for the fact that the "southern alliance" provides a means for mobilizing members from all the different southern zone barrios in support of any one of "their" barkadas in a conflict with town groups. In a similar manner various town groups can unite in temporary mutual support but they always face the prospect of still being out-numbered if the "southern alliance" unites with the "western" and "northern" alliance groups.

The above patterns of barkada interaction can be analyzed in terms of a basic dichotomy between insiders and outsiders or the "us" groups versus the "them" groups. The "us" group to which an individual belongs is composed of persons with whom he has a high degree of trust and a sense of responsibility. By definition, this includes one's family, close relatives, friends and barkada-mates, as well as those individuals with whom one has specialized ties of social reciprocity such as one's kaaroba and ammuyo partners. In addition, there are some individuals who are situationally incorporated in the "us" group, such as when the two barrio barkadas are merged in the southern zone alliance in town.

As with the "us" group, placement in the opposing "them" category is the function of both real and perceived individual attributes and various situational factors. At its most general level the "them" category includes all individuals who are perceived as a real or potential threat to one's physical, social and/or psychological well being. By definition, strangers, outsiders and all otherwise unknown individuals

are initially lumped into this category until their behavior and/or the situation defines them as non-threatening persons.

All societies and social systems can be defined in terms of "insiders" and "outsiders" or "us" and "them" groups. The distinctive aspect of this dichotomy in lowland Philippine society concerns the cognitive perceptions associated with each category and the effect such perceptions have on individual and group behavior. As mentioned previously, the "them" category comprises all persons perceived as a real or potential threat, which includes almost everyone not incorporated in the "us" group. Few, if any, individuals, whether they be outsiders or barriomates, are considered to be neutral--neither friend nor foe. All the individuals with whom one has or could have contact at any given time are considered to be either as "us" or "them." Whether a person is considered to be with you or potentially against you is a factor of his personal identity and origin, his family and their position within the social system and the situation in which the contact is likely to occur.

Because of the perceived threat, interaction with persons in the "them" category creates a stressful situation with the level of stress varying positively with the relative distance in terms of social status, influence and power between the two individuals.

While the "insider-outsider" dichotomy here appears to be stress producing, there also exist within lowland Philippine society a number of mechanisms for stress control and reduction. Among a number of alternative strategies which bring about a reduction in the level of stress inherent in certain kinds of interaction the following appear to be the dominant modes within Ilocano society.

First, avoidance of "outsiders" ("them" category individuals) wherever possible; keeping interaction to a minimum. When contact is necessary communication is carried out on a very respectful "formal" level with both parties taking care in their selection of vocabulary and style of speech to insure that neither party is publicly offended in any way.

Secondly, where possible an intermediary will be recruited to intercede on behalf of the lesser ranked party. Such go-betweens serve two important functions with respect to stress reduction. First, they soften the blow of possible rejection thus easing tension. Second, they tend to reduce stress by the fact that the intermediary ideally is a person who can relate to both sides as an "insider." Such a situation is graphically demonstrated in Figure 10.

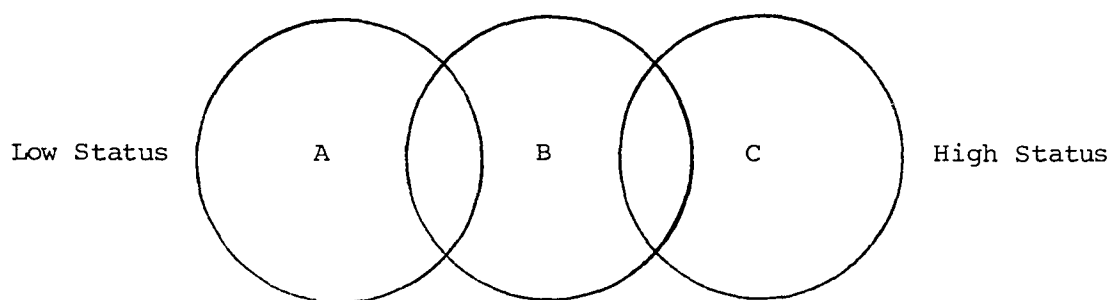


Figure 10. Outsiders, Insiders and Intermediaries

Individuals A and C are both outsiders to each other and any interaction between them would be potentially stressful, particularly for A who is in the lower status position relative to C. In such a

situation A is likely to try and find someone within his in-group who is also perceived as an insider by C to act on his behalf. B, as a dual insider, is in a position to relate to both A and C with a certain degree of trust and sense of mutual responsibility, in effect reducing the degree of uncertainty and threat which A would feel in direct interaction with C.

Thirdly, the level of interactional stress can be reduced by bringing the outsider into one's own group. Where interaction with an outsider has resulted in a positive outcome, i.e., where the outsider has proven himself worthy of one's trust and confidence, he will tend to be looked upon as an insider. He may, in fact, be formally incorporated as a member of one's "us" group through compradrazgo (fictive kin)⁴ and suki (preferred vendor-client)⁵ relationships. In such cases it is an individual's personal characteristics that have shown him to be worthy of insider status. In other instances the situational context of interaction may take precedent over individual qualities as the key factor in determining an individual's or group's insider or outsider status. A case in point is demonstrated by Tables 10 and 11 where we see that the same barkada can be viewed both as an insider and outsider vis-à-vis the other barrio barkada depending on the location and situational context of the interaction between the two groups.

In Tables 10 and 11, outlining the basic modalities of barrio youth interaction, the term "reference group" is used to denote any group of individuals deemed to be significant for interaction in a particular context and about whom an individual holds specific behavioral expectations prior to interaction. Within this framework both "insiders" and "outsiders"

Table 10
Modalities of Barrio Youth Interaction

Location	Referent	Reference Groups		Behavior
		Insiders	Outsiders	
one's own purok	individual	youth from the same purok	youth from other puroks in the same barrio	merger of youth into purok specific barkadas
Barrio (other than own purok)	individual (alone)	his own barkada and other youth from his purok	barkadas and youth from other than own purok	polite but minimal interaction between individuals from different puroks
On the road	individual (alone)	One's barrio-mates and relatives living in other barrios along the road	Any outsiders and/or unknown persons	interaction is limited to barrio-mates, including members of other purok barkadas
In town	individual (alone)	One's barrio school-mates and southern zone youth	town youth and unknown town residents	close interaction with barrio classmates regardless of purok affiliation; identity with southern zone group

Table 11
Modalities of Barrio Barkada Interaction

Location	Referent	Reference Groups		Behavior
		Insiders	Outsiders	
Barrio	barkada	home purok	barkadas from other puroks and the barrio community at large	Respectful avoidance of other purok barkadas
On the road	barkada	barrio-mates	barkadas from other barrios, unknown persons	Polite exchange between barkadas from same barrio, avoidance of all others in absence of special relations
In town	barkada	barrio-mates and	town barkadas and unknown persons	merger of barrio barkadas as part of the southern zone alliance; avoidance of town barkadas

are considered as reference groups because the individual has definite perceptions about what kind of behavior he can expect from members of either group. Within both the "insider" and "outsider" groups there are certain people who can be labeled as "significant others." These are the individuals with whom a person has the greatest degree of intimacy and trust (insiders) as well as those whom he can definitely count on to be against him (outsiders), such as a political opponent or member of a family or barkada that has a history of long-standing hostility with one's own group.

A distinction is made between individual and barkada interaction to emphasize the barkada's influence as a significant situational variable affecting the individual behavior and to demonstrate that because of its cohesiveness the barkada as a group is amenable to analysis as a single behavioral unit as well as a discrete social entity.

In summary, the various modes of interaction in different situations all seem to have one thing in common; they all appear to be mechanisms for maximizing social and physical security while minimizing the risk of violence.⁶

With respect to barkadas and their relationship to other social units within the barrio it is important to know whether one is dealing with a majority or a minority of the eligible adolescents within the community, and whether the behavior patterns associated with barkadas are considered as normative or deviant by the community at large.

In Patupat, if we include Leopoldo as a member of the north gang (based on observed interaction) the core membership comprises 78

percent of the males in the north purok between 16 and 22 years of age. The 13 to 15 year olds were excluded (with the exception of Tomas) because as indicated in the "B" sociogram, they appear to be informally organized as a sub-group attached to the larger barkada. In the south the core membership accounts for 50 percent of the 16 to 22 year old males. However, when an additional four individuals who appear to constitute the core of a smaller, less visible barkada are included the percentage of southern purok youths in barkadas rises to 75 percent.

The figures for both puroks are probably somewhat understated. I suspect that the actual percentage of adolescents with barkada affiliations comes close to 85 to 90 percent, particularly during public events (parties, baptisms, weddings, funerals, etc.) both barkadas have more peripheral members than are indicated on either the "A" or "B" sociograms. These extra individuals are not regular day-to-day participants in the barkada activities, but based on their public affiliation, I suspect their respective allegiance could be counted upon if there was ever a major confrontation between the two main gangs.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. No single commercial enterprise has greater impact on the daily lives of the majority of Filipinos than the ubiquitous sari-sari store. Not only does it provide a storehouse of much needed household goods ranging from foodstuffs to patent medicines and school supplies but its practice of subdividing retail units into smaller parts makes it possible for goods to be purchased in quantities even the poorest can afford (i.e., one cigarette, half a bar of soap, one piece of writing paper, etc.). While the quantity of goods sold and the amount of money exchanged in the average sari-sari store transaction is small, the actual per unit price for each item is high. This is because most items available in a local sari-sari store have been purchased from a larger retail store or supermarket that has also made a profit on the sale of the goods. In spite of the higher per unit price the sari-sari store provides a much needed service to its clients in that goods can be readily purchased (day and night) in the exact amount needed without having to walk very far or incur transportation expenses. Often the sari-sari store serves as a primary focal point of social interaction and the exchange of gossip within the community. In Patupat and Baduya such stores were the favorite meeting places of adolescent barkadas. According to Silverio (1975:2) quoting from 1969 Bureau of the Census statistics, there were about 177,072 sari-sari stores throughout the Philippines.
2. In the Ilocos the English term "long table" refers to a series of small kitchen tables that have been placed in a long row, end-to-end to provide space for guests to dine at special occasions such as baptisms, weddings and funerals. The tables which are usually borrowed from neighbors are covered with a single piece of plastic covering to give the illusion of one very long dining table, perhaps 25 to 30 feet in length. The table setting is unique in the absence of chairs and eating utensils. Because several hundred people must be fed within a short time it is customary for the guests to stand at the table and eat with their fingers (finger bowls and hand towels are provided every four or five feet along the table). After each serving of 50 to 60 guests all the plates and glasses must be collected, washed and the table reset for the next group. At a large party it is not uncommon for the long table to be set four or five times before everyone has been fed. As previously noted, the order by which the guests eat follows a status and age hierarchy, honored visitors first followed by senior men and then the regular adult guests, teenagers and the smaller children. If it is a wedding feast the bride and groom will sit or stand at the head of the table for the first serving.
3. A much more elaborate and formalized use of peace pacts as a means of guaranteeing one's personal safety during interregional travel can be seen today among the Kalinga, a mountain people of Northern

Luzon. For a detailed description and analysis of the peace-pact institution among the Kalinga see Edward Dozier (1966:212-235).

4. Compadrazgo or fictive kinship is a common feature in most societies that have been heavily influenced by Spanish culture and the Catholic Church. It is found throughout Latin America as well as Guam and the christianized areas of the Philippines. The relationship emerges from the Catholic custom of selecting sponsors for persons who are about to be baptized and/or married. Following the actual ceremony the relationship is publicly reinforced by the use of special address terms between the child and his sponsors in the case of a baptism and between the sponsors and the parents of the child. The child addresses his sponsors as godfather and godmother and the parents and the sponsors refer to each other as cofather and comother. From the perspective of church doctrine the relationship is intergenerational with the emphasis being placed on the responsibility of the sponsors to see that the person they sponsor remains in the faith and is guided towards spiritual ideals. In common practice, particularly in the Philippines, the actual behavioral emphasis is on the intragenerational link between the sponsors and the parents (Eggan, 1968 and Fox and Lynch, 1956). One of the outstanding characteristics of compadrazgo (Mintz and Wolf, 1950:347 and Foster, 1953:167) is its adaptiveness to different situations and social needs. For a discussion of how compadrazgo ties are utilized in the Philippines in the achievement of various social, political and economic goals see also Pal (1959), Fox (1956), Hollnsteiner (1963:63-85), Davis (1973:234-239) and M. Szanton (1972:111-115).
5. The suki relationship involves a particular kind of non-corporate bond between a buyer and a seller which, though essentially economic in nature, is also heavily imbued with subjective social content. Most vendors in a Philippine market have both supplier and customer suki. Essential to the relationship is the offering of special favors for one's suki, including the extension of credit, lower prices and a selection of the best merchandise, in return for the customer's regular business. The seller is thus guaranteed a steady market for a certain proportion of his stock and the buyer knows he or she has a dependable supply of the commodity he needs. When the item being traded is in short supply the seller is expected to ration what he has of the scarce commodity so that his suki customer will have first choice of the best merchandise. For a more detailed discussion of the numerous socio-economic implications of the suki relationship see William Davis (1973:216-234) and Maria Cristina Szanton (1972:97-110).
6. While much of the observed interaction between rural barkadas appears to maximize security and minimize aggression there is an apparent paradox in that Ilocanos have been stereotyped as being prone to violence, a claim for which there is some base. Numerous Patupat and Baduya informants reported that before the declaration

of martial law (September, 1972) that it was dangerous to go around after dark without some kind of weapon. Various unsolved murders involving Patupat residents and their relatives in neighboring barrios attest to the seriousness of the situation before the government called in all private firearms. Lewis (1971:6-7) notes that political violence, while not unknown in other parts of the Philippines, has been particularly prevalent in the Ilocos. The paradox is even more profound when the high incidence of adult violence is compared to child rearing practices that strongly punish any outbursts of hostility, quarreling or general aggression (Nydegger & Nydegger, 1966:141; Nurge, 1966:84). Such violence also appears to be in direct conflict with the heavy emphasis Filipinos supposedly placed on social acceptance and getting along with others (Lynch, 1964). Before this paradox can be resolved or at least understood further study is necessary of the particular attributes of violence in Philippine society, isolating the social and physical contexts in which it most often occurs and whether it occurs between members of opposing groups or among persons in the same group. The Philippine case and that of the Ilocanos in particular is directly relevant to a more general set of questions concerning the reason why a high level of violence is present in some societies that appear to stress non-violence in terms of their values and socialization practices.

CHAPTER VI

BADUYA TOWN

THE SOCIO-ECCOLOGICAL CONFIGURATION:

IMPLICATIONS FOR BARKADA BEHAVIOR PATTERNS

In our discussion of the second research site, the town of Baduya, primary emphasis will be placed on the distinguishing socio-ecological characteristics which make life in Baduya significantly different from life in a barrio like Patupat. Comparisons will be drawn between the two communities but little attention will be given to those environmental factors and social patterns that appear to be common to both localities. Little mention will be made, for example, of early socialization within the Baduya family as there is no reason to believe that the practices in town differ in any significant way from what has already been described for the barrio.

As previously mentioned in the introductory section, the town of Baduya sits at the head of a narrow valley about five to six kilometers inland from the coast, at the base of the Ilocos mountains which give way to the rugged and majestic Cordillera Central as one moves eastward from the South China Sea.

Baduya is one of twelve municipalities (out of twenty-two) in the Province of Ilocos Norte which are classed in the 1970 census as completely rural. Administratively, Baduya, which is a fifth class municipality, comprises the town proper plus twenty-three outlying barrios of which Patupat is one.¹ These barrios range from one-half to

sixteen kilometers distant from the center of town. (Refer to Figure 4 in Chapter III.)

With respect to governmental and commercial facilities and services, the road leading into town and the main streets branching off it are paved. The town is electrified but there is as yet no public water or sewage system. Residents are served by a government telegraph office; however, there is no telephone service within the town. Local officials receive government directives and official messages over the provincial radio network. Baduya has its own post office with a postmaster, 2 clerks and 4 letter carriers who make their rounds on recently acquired postal service motorcycles. Mail in town is delivered to individual residences although addresses are never given in terms of street names and house numbers. Letters addressed to persons in the outlying barrios are usually given to a person from that barrio to deliver when he returns home. Often, high school students will check for mail when they walk in from the remote barrios for school each day.

The municipality is protected by a fourteen-man police force. Patrolmen are on regular duty at the police station in town but seldom make official visits to the outlying barrios unless there is a specific problem or complaint which needs to be investigated. There is also one representative of the Philippine Constabulary assigned to Baduya who served as the acting police chief before the recent merging of municipal police departments into the National Integrated Police Force. Minor offenses of both a criminal and civil nature are tried by the municipal court which consists of one judge and his clerk. More serious offenses

and contested municipal court decisions are passed up to the nearest Court of First Instance (the lowest level national court).

Other services provided by the municipal government in Baduya include a day-care center run by the municipality in conjunction with the First Lady's Child-Care and Nutrition Program. The municipality also operates a small public market (a covered area with a cement floor where vendors can rent space to display their wares). Unlike the weekly markets in towns situated along the national highway, the Baduya market does not attract large numbers of outside vendors and shoppers. Many Baduya residents even prefer to travel to the neighboring municipality to do their weekly shopping. They feel the added expense of bus transportation is more than compensated for by the lower prices and better selection of goods available in the larger market.

In addition to the postal and public health service employees, the elementary school teachers and the Philippine Constabulary sergeant, the national government is represented in Baduya by representatives from the Bureau of Internal Revenue (BIR), the Department of Local Government and Community Development (DLGCD), the Department of Agrarian Reform (DAR), the Bureau of Animal Industry (BAI), the Bureau of Plant Industry (BPI) and the Bureau of Agricultural Extension (BAE). In total, 98 persons or slightly more than five percent of the population of Baduya are employed by the municipal (38) and national (60) governments.

The children of Baduya attend the central elementary and intermediate school which is operated by the national government. The school employs 20 teachers and has an enrollment of 582 students in grades one through six. Across the street is a private high school where 609 students drawn

from the town and the outlying barrios receive instruction in grades 7 through 10 by a faculty of 15.

Baduya is served by three bus lines operating small, 15 to 20 passenger mini-buses which provide service between the town and the surrounding municipalities and market centers. Two of the lines also provide service to some of the outlying barrios when road and weather conditions permit. The buses which provide service to the southern barrios during the dry season were purchased with money provided by overseas relatives. The owner of one bus is still in Hawaii and the vehicle is operated by his nephew who resides in one of the outlying barrios. In addition to the local bus service one intra-province carrier also provides a daily "ordinary fare" trip between Baduya and Manila.² In case residents miss this bus, tricycle (a motorcycle with a two-passenger sidecar) service is available between Baduya and the national highway where any north or south bound bus can be flagged down.

Commercially Baduya is served by three motorized rice mills, one metal works shop, producing portable pedal-powered rice threshers, one blacksmith shop, three bakery shops, a general store, an agricultural products store, a tailor shop, an appliance agency, a part-time photo service, a pharmacy, a funeral parlor, and a rural bank. In addition at the time this research was conducted there were eighteen sari-sari stores operating in Baduya selling mostly cigarettes, soft drinks, gin, beer, canned fish, milk and soup. Previously there was an ice cream distributor in town but it has not been active for the last several years. "ice kendi" (coconut juice with added fruit flavor frozen in a thin plastic bag) is available at a few of the sari-sari stores that have refrigerators.

There are two Philippine Independent (Aglipayan) churches, one Catholic, one Protestant (United Church of Christ) and one Seventh Day Adventist chapel in town. In addition, Baduya and its surrounding barrios are frequently visited by a number of Jehovah's Witness missionaries. There are no churches in the outlying barrios.

Aside from a public plaza, an open-air "auditorium" which also serves as a basketball court, and a deteriorating cockpit, the town offers little in the way of recreational facilities. There are no pool halls or public game rooms and no movie houses, restaurants or small snack shops (carinderias). Occasionally a roving motion picture show does visit Baduya, offering one or two ancient 16 mm. films which are shown in an impromptu out-door "theatre".

Except for the few professionals, two doctors in private practice, one pharmacist, the elementary and high school teachers, the government (municipal and national) employees, the few full-time storekeepers, the religious leaders, and the transportation workers (bus drivers and conductors) the major livelihood for town residents is farming.

Land Utilization

The big difference between the situation of the farmers in Baduya and those in the outlying barrios such as Patupat is the location of the land they farm. Many of the town farmers must commute daily distances of several kilometers to tend their fields. Often, if their fields are located at considerable distances from town, these farmers will live for several days at a time in a second house or with relatives in another barrio which is close to their land.

The data in Table 12, which represents the responses of 43 informants who were willing to provide information on their land holdings (out of a random sample of 50) clearly demonstrate the diversified nature of the town land distribution pattern.

Table 12
Town Land Distribution

	Town	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	
Purok 1	3	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	1	1	2	13
Purok 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	2	1	1	1	-	-	1	9
Purok 3	10	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	5	-	-	-	2
Purok 4	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Purok 5	4	-	1	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	6	1	1	-	19
Purok 6	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	9
Total	24	1	1	4	1	2	2	1	1	3	5	2	3	16	2	3	3	74

In the above table the letters A through O represent different outlying barrios located to the east, west, and south of town. The letter P is a composite classification for land situated in other municipalities. The six puroks represent the administrative subdivisions of the town barrio from which the study sample was drawn. The numbers in each of the cells reflect the number of parcels of land reported by the informants in each location. For example, informants residing in Purok 1 reported ownership of 3 farm parcels within the town, 1 in barrio A, 1 in barrio F, 2 in barrio J, 2 in M, etc.

Of the 74 parcels of land on which the informants provided information 50 parcels or 68 percent are located in one or more of the 15 outlying barrios or in a different municipality, while only 24 or 32 percent of the parcels farmed and/or owned by the informants are located within the town boundaries. Although one location, barrio M, accounts for 32 percent of the parcels located outside the town there does not appear to be anything like the purok associated pattern of land utilization observed in Patupat. In short the location of a person's residence in town is not a very good indicator of where his farm lands are located.

With respect to land tenure, available data for 70 parcels owned by town informants are displayed in Table 13.

Table 13
Town Land Tenure and Utilization

	Town	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	
[1]	10	-	-	2	1	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	9	1	-	2	30
[2]	12	1	1	1	-	-	2	1	-	-	2	-	1	5	1	1	1	29
[3]	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	2	-	8
[4]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	3
Total	23	1	1	3	1	2	2	1	1	3	5	1	3	15	2	3	3	70

- [1] = plots that are farmed by their respective owner.
 [2] = plots that the owner allows others for farm for him.
 [3] = a combination where the owner farms some of the land and allows someone else (a tenant) to farm the rest.
 [4] = A triple combination comprising land farmed by the owner, land which the owner allows others to farm and land which the owner tenants for someone else.

The data in Table 13 show that in spite of the distances involved that the town informants farm 30 parcels or 68 percent of their land located outside of town. On the greater part of the remaining 28 percent the town owners act as landlords allowing other persons to farm the land for them.

Unlike the case in Patupat there is little relationship between residential proximity and the location of the fields an individual farms. In Baduya the probability that immediate neighbors or residents of the same purok will farm fields which are adjacent or close to one another is much less than in the various outlying barrios. As indicated by the figures in Table 13, it is very likely that two persons who live next door to each other in town will farm fields that are not even in the same barrio.

This type of land utilization pattern has a number of immediate consequences with respect to activity patterns of town youth. Unlike the situation in the outlying barrios like Patupat, agricultural responsibilities of town youth are in direct conflict with patterns of peer interaction. When town youth help their fathers in the fields they may be away from their barkada-mates for one or more days at a time. Partly as a result of the distances involved, and the conflict with peer activities and school attendance, the level of involvement of town youth in farming activities is considerably lower than that found in the outlying barrios where, as previously noted, the pattern of land utilization tends to reinforce peer-group interaction. It was earlier noted that in Patupat the members of the purok specific barkadas often worked together in carrying out their various farming responsibilities. In the barrio the

youth are frequently observed doing things other than just sitting around smoking and drinking.

This is not to infer that town youth are totally idle. They do help around the house and many of the boys do assist with the planting and harvesting; but because the fields farmed by town residents are so dispersed, much of the adolescent involvement in agricultural tasks goes unobserved by the general populace.

Residents in the more remote barrios, for example, see the town boys as lazy "city slickers" who don't want to help their fathers. They talk of cases where town youth have actually refused to help in the fields. They see the youth in town hanging around the sari-sari stores and the basketball court all the time and draw the conclusion that these boys somehow feel they are above being farmers.

The town youth are more visible in groups during the day than are the adolescents from the more distant barrios and they do spend less time working in the fields, however such factors have not proved to be valid indicators of significant differences in attitudes towards one's life expectations between the two groups. In a survey administered to senior class students at Baduya high school (sample size: barrio males 24; town males 11) only two individuals, both from outlying barrios, indicated they wanted to be farmers. (See Appendix VI, Section B, item 2.) The most commonly mentioned goal of both groups was to become a soldier. In a series of more intensive interviews with members of adolescent barkadas in Patupat and Baduya none of the informants mentioned farming as a career goal or expectation. The fact that nine out of seventeen of the Patupat youth and four out of six of the town youth

said they expected to be living somewhere else within five years I believe can be taken as further indication that farming is not a high priority on anyone's list of life goals. Such statements should not, however, be taken to mean that these youth are not prepared to be farmers. Quite the contrary; while both groups will give ideal answers to interview and survey questions concerning future ambitions, they are all well aware that without definite plans and the financial resources for higher education the chances are very slim that they will be anything but farmers, unless they join the army.

While the dispersed pattern of land utilization in the town has considerable influence on adolescent behavior it has not had an equal effect on individual aspirations or attitudes toward farming. Given the opportunity youth in both the town and the barrio would choose an occupation other than farming.

Residential Configuration

The residential pattern existing in Baduya is similar to that found in most provincial municipalities in the Philippines. The majority of family dwellings face onto streets or lanes which run parallel and perpendicular to each other. The town proper is basically contained within a large square extending approximately eight blocks, north to south and nine blocks west to east (see Figure 11). The only significant difference between the physical layout of Baduya and that of other municipalities I have seen or those which are described in other ethnographic reports (Hollnsteiner, 1963:13; Nurge, 1965:10, Nydegger & Nydegger, 1966:8; and M. Szanton, 1972:8) concerns the location of the church and the town plaza. In most municipalities the plaza is situated

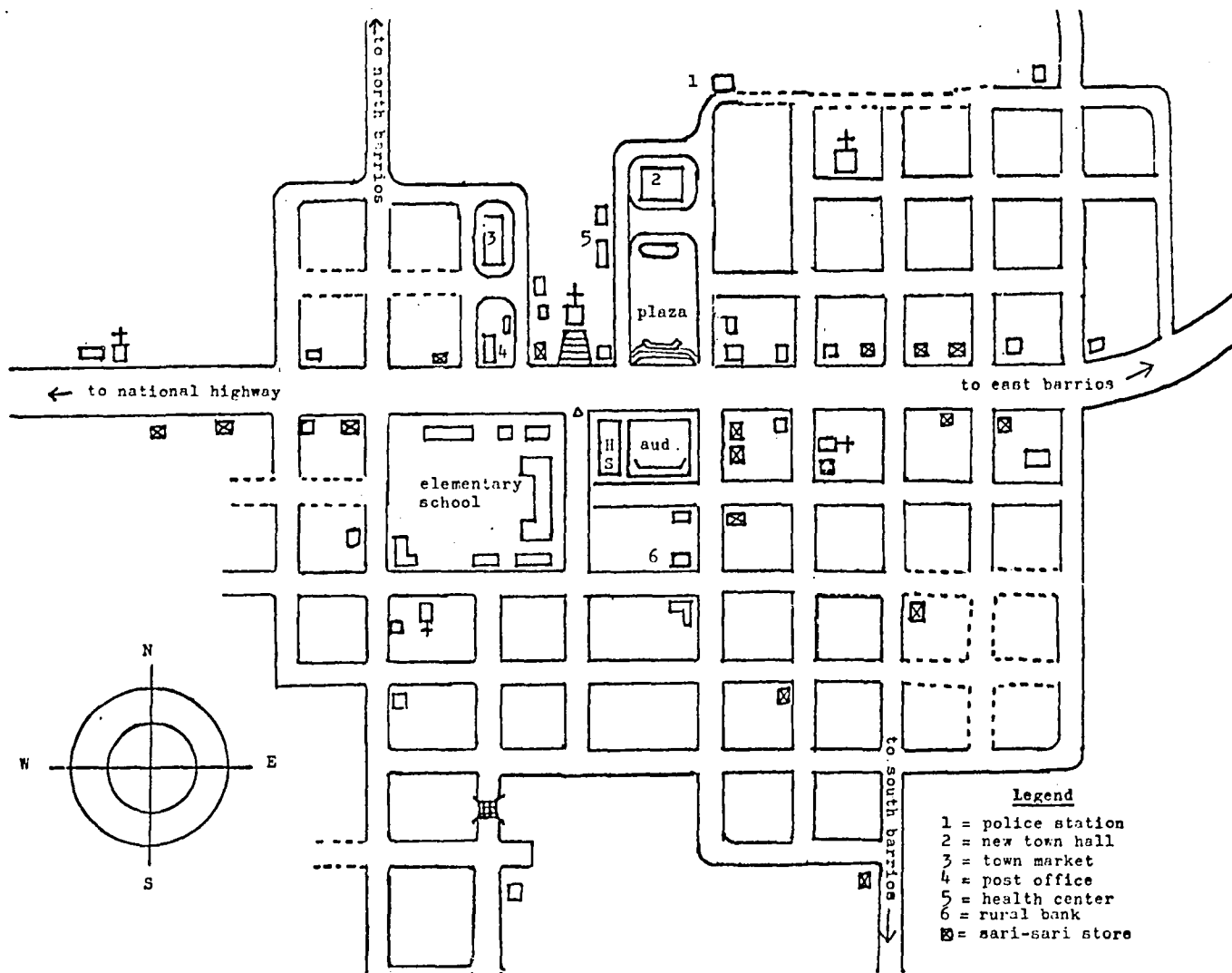


Figure 11. Municipality of Baduya, Ilocos Norte

in the center of town and is commonly faced on one side by the parish church and on the other side by the municipal hall (presidencia). The streets then radiate outward from the plaza. The situation in Baduya is slightly different in that the plaza instead of being a square park is a series of terraced gardens leading up to the town hall which is situated on top of a small hill on the north side of town. The streets in Baduya converge on the main east-west road rather than the plaza.

Both the town and the outlying communities are divided into barrios and puroks for administrative purposes. Baduya itself is divided into two barrios and each barrio is further divided into various puroks. The smaller of the two town barrios, for example, is divided into six puroks.

There are two primary characteristics, however, which distinguish the town and the more remote communities. In the town there are no significant physical barriers to distinguish one barrio or purok from another. The houses on one side of the street belong to one barrio or purok and those on the opposite side to another. In addition to the lack of physical separation between the administrative units in town there is also an absence of structural integrity. Unlike the puroks in Patupat, those in town do not have a definite center of activity. And finally, within the town community there are no semi-isolated housing units within the various puroks. Houses face onto streets running at right angles to each other rather than onto small court yards.

Associated with these physical differences are a number of social attributes which further distinguish the town and outlying communities from each other and have direct influence on adolescent behavior patterns in the two areas. In addition to the lack of physical separation,

administrative units in town do not have the same degree of social identity as do similar units in the outlying barrios. In Patupat, for example, there is a definite feeling of social identity among the residents of each purok which does not appear to exist to the same degree in town. This identity seems to be a factor of both the physical separation of the Patupat puroks and the structural integrity inherent in their physical layout.

Both the puroks and the housing clusters provide a structural base for interaction which is quite different from that found in town. The street environment of the town does not provide the same kind of "bounded" world for infants and small children to grow up in as does the semi-isolated housing cluster in the outlying barrios. Also, the street or block unit is not nearly as homogeneous with respect to the composition of its residents as is the barrio housing cluster. In town one's neighbors, playmates and/or barkada-mates are much less likely to be one's relatives than in the more remote barrios. Consequently, the patterns of interaction that emerge in the two settings are quite different.

This is not to imply that residential proximity and kinship are not important factors with respect to peer relations in town but only that other things being equal, they are not as significant in town as they are in the more remote barrios like Patupat. Admittedly, children from the same area of town do tend to walk to and from school together but unless they are close neighbors chances are they came to know each other after beginning school rather than before.

It was noted previously that in barrios like Patupat the solidarity of housing-cluster play-groups is reinforced throughout the elementary

school years; and that with the onset of adolescence and puberty the males tend to form purok specific peer-groups which because of the particular settlement patterns are also highly kinship focused.

The adolescent barkadas in town appear to be organized along barrio rather than purok lines; and when there is more than one barkada in a single barrio the membership appears to be independent of any residence pattern. The single town barkada that is reported in depth in this thesis is composed of seven youths from different puroks within the smaller of the two town barrios. Additional town informants as well as Patupat high school students who were knowledgeable of the town barkadas claimed that while the groups generally follow barrio lines that "line-crossing," where a boy from one barrio belongs to a barkada in the other barrio, does occur. Although I was unable to document any current case, informants said such line-crossing usually occurs as the result of a kinship relationship or close friendship between two youths residing in different parts of town. In spite of the line-crossing the various teenage barkadas do keep pretty much to their own barrios.

Population Characteristics

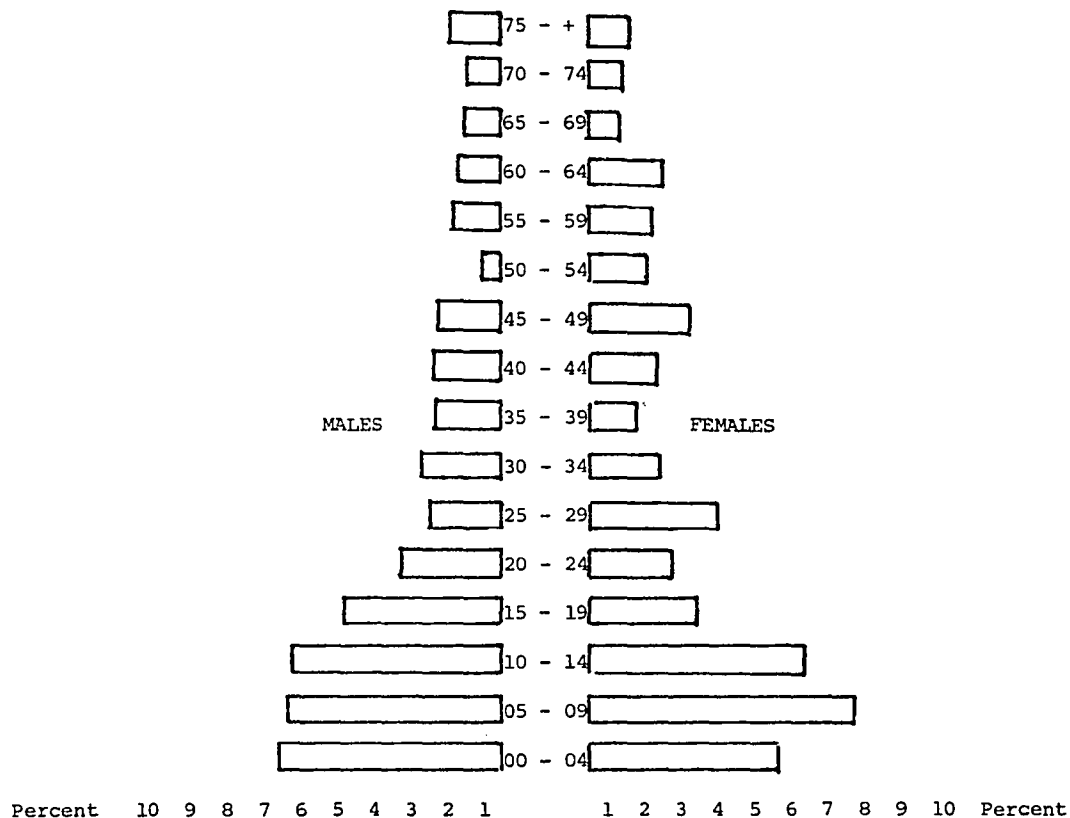
As stated in Chapter III, the total population of Baduya is 12,598, of which 1,805 persons reside within the town. The town is divided into two barrios, both of which have a much larger population and a higher density than do the majority of the outlying communities where the average population is only 469 (ranging in 23 barrios from a low of 230 to a high of 853).

Because of constraints on time and the size of the community it was not possible to conduct a complete census of the town; and since neither

the municipal nor the national census data are broken down by age and sex at the barrio level it is not possible to construct a population pyramid for the town alone. The data presented in Figure 12, based on 1970 census figures, is for the entire municipality including the town and the outlying barrios. A random sample survey of 50 households in the smaller of the two town barrios gave no indication of any significant variation in the distribution pattern of the town population from that for the entire municipality.

The most significant distinctions with respect to population between the town and the more remote barrios are in size and density. Generally speaking the two town barrios have double and in some cases triple the populations of the outlying barrios in a much smaller land area. The smaller of the two town barrios, for example, has a population of 879 in an area approximately four blocks wide by seven blocks long. This is compared to a barrio-like Patupat with a population of 499 in an area extending approximately two kilometers from north to south and probably three to four kilometers from the mountain area in the east to the tay-ak fields on the western side of the feeder road (refer to Figures 5 and 6 in Chapter IV).

The higher population size in town has a number of direct effects on patterns of interaction and social control in general and on adolescent barkada behavior in particular. Unlike the situation in the more remote barrios, where practically everybody knows everyone else's names and where they live, most town residents find it difficult to identify all of their own barrio-mates much less those individuals who live on the other side of town. As the number of persons each individual knows relative to



	<u>Both Sexes</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
	12,211	5,983	6,228
T O T A L	.....100.00%	49.00%	51.00%
Under 05 years	.... 12.12%	6.54%	5.58%
05 - 09 years	.... 14.22%	6.25%	7.97%
10 - 14 years	.... 12.37%	6.02%	6.35%
15 - 19 years	.... 8.31%	4.89%	3.42%
20 - 24 years	.... 5.95%	3.19%	2.76%
25 - 29 years	.... 7.21%	3.23%	3.98%
30 - 34 years	.... 5.14%	2.87%	2.28%
35 - 39 years	.... 4.14%	2.44%	1.70%
40 - 44 years	.... 4.68%	2.49%	2.19%
45 - 49 years	.... 5.49%	2.47%	3.01%
50 - 54 years	.... 3.01%	1.00%	2.01%
55 - 59 years	.... 4.09%	1.84%	2.25%
60 - 64 years	.... 4.35%	1.70%	2.65%
65 - 69 years	.... 2.10%	0.60%	1.50%
70 - 74 years	.... 2.98%	1.42%	1.56%
75 and over	.... 3.83%	2.05%	1.79%

Source: 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Advance Report No. 28 Ilocos Norte, page 3, Table A-3. Republic of the Philippines Department of Commerce and Industry, Bureau of the Census and Statistics, Manila, March, 1971.

Figure 12. Population Pyramid for the Municipality of Baduya

the total population decreases (it is impossible for all 1,805 town residents to know each other personally) the greater is the possibility that the identity and actions of any one individual or group of individuals can remain anonymous to a large segment of the community. And as the level of anonymity increases the greater is the tendency for one's social identity (outside his immediate kinship circle) to be achieved rather than ascribed.

In the small community where everyone knows everybody else there is considerable overlap between one's ascribed (family) identity and his achieved identity. An individual is known both for who he or she is and for what they do. In the barrio, Leticia Borrega is known both as the daughter of Jaime and Maria Ramos and the wife of Jose Borrega. She is the mother of four children and a good weaver. Jose is a farmer like all the other men in the community but he also excels in carpentry on the side. He is considered to be a good provider for his family but tends to drink too much. Where such information (including family history, individual skills and personality traits) is common knowledge to a majority of the population an individual's identity is multifaceted, containing both ascribed and achieved elements.

In the larger community where it is impossible for a single individual to identify all the residents in terms of their family history a person tends to stand out more because of what he does than who he is. The adolescent barkada, to take a group example in this situation, is known more for what it does, i.e., its visible behavior which is considered as either constructive or destructive, than for who its members are.

Both the need for identity and how it is achieved appear to be associated with factors of population size. Barkadas in the smaller outlying barrios do not need group names and emblems to assert their group identity. Everyone in the community already knows who the members are, who their families are and who their friends are. The fact that a particular set of individuals are together regularly is enough to identify them as a group which has both a "corporate" identity and an individual identity in terms of each of its members.

In Baduya, however, the situation is quite different. While the various adolescent barkadas are visible, the size of the population makes it difficult for everyone in town to be able to immediately identify the members by name and residence. In this situation there is a greater need to assert one's group identity than in the smaller barrios.

The town barkadas have made their presence known in a number of different ways that are consistent with the residential and emographic aspects of their environment. The various barkadas in Baduya tend to congregate regularly at particular sari-sari stores thus isolating a specific part of the public domain as "their" place. Such action appears to be a response to both the larger population size which obscures individual identity and the lack of physical boundaries which tends to hide one's territorial identity.

Some groups have identified themselves from time to time with group names. Although none of the groups I observed claimed to have a name, a number of logos had been painted on the fronts of various sari-sari stores around town. According to various adult informants four names in particular, Blacksheep Ltd., Buggs Ltd., Maniacs Ltd., and

Ringlettes Ltd. were associated a few years back with particular groups of town youth, most of whom had been studying in Manila.

When the students returned to Baduya during vacation and semester breaks they attempted to copy the identity patterns of the various Manila gangs which received considerable publicity during the late 1960s because of their criminal activities and violent feuds. During the same time it was very much in vogue for tailoring shops and clothing stores to incorporate the initials "Ltd." into their names and hence this was also copied by the youth groups in Baduya. The informants were quick to add that none of these groups incorporated any of the violent behavior patterns associated with the infamous gangs of Manila. They were just ordinary town kids trying to show off a little. The fact that few individuals can remember much about the groups is an indication that they didn't have a very lasting impact on the community. They apparently dissolved as their members completed their studies and moved elsewhere in search of better career opportunities.

One of the barkadas presently active in Baduya while not professing to have a name did appear to be informally experimenting with a kind of group emblem or logo, which read "sTs". When I asked what it meant my question was initially met with considerable surprise on the part of several of the group's members. After a few shared laughs they told me that they had copied the sign from a Reader's Digest article about homosexuals and that the sTs meant "same sex." The members of this particular group did not appear to be inclined in any way towards homosexuality so my only conclusion was that taken out of its "literary" and social context the symbol lost its previous meaning and became

something of an in-group secret, a particular bit of knowledge that was known only to the members of this group.

Population size also has a direct effect on the mechanisms for social control. In the outlying barrios people are aware of what each of the others is doing most of the time. They know and talk about who has the best harvest and who is most likely to be the top money earner for the year. Housewives who go to market together have a good idea what their neighbors eat and how much money they have. Practically every individual act becomes public knowledge. If a particular couple has a fight it is soon the talk of the barrio as is the price so and so was paid for his garlic or tobacco.

Where nearly all behavior is subject to public scrutiny the entire community functions as an effective agent of social control. Every adult is in effect prosecutor, judge and jury over the actions of his fellow barrio-mates; and the mere threat of public disapproval serves as a major constraint on behavior. In such a situation there is little chance of any transgression of community norms on the part of adolescent males going unnoticed and unreported to their parents.

In Baduya the situation is again considerably different. Where the population is too large for everyone to know each other it is impossible for the residents to have the same degree of social control over the actions of others that exists in the smaller barrios. If a person, for example, does not know a particular boy by name he cannot report the youth's anti-social behavior to his parents or reprimand the youth. Even if he does know the offender's name but is not a close friend of the boy's family he will hesitate to confront the parents directly with the child's transgressions.

In situations where the size of the community does not permit the immediate resolution of minor problems on a personal level the services of an intermediary are required--in this case a police department and local court. When teenage drinking became a problem in Baduya the municipal council passed an ordinance prohibiting the sale of alcoholic beverages between the hours of 4 P.M. and 7 A.M. The police were then charged with enforcing the new regulation. In the end the youth just bought their liquor earlier in the day, right after school, instead of waiting until evening.

When a similar problem occurred in Patupat the solution was both more informal in nature and more effective. When a particular group of adolescents became somewhat of a nuisance after drinking, the proprietor of the sari-sari store where they had purchased the liquor decided to withhold selling the group any alcohol in the future if they did not alter their behavior. The store owner was willing to forego a certain profit rather than risk the disapproval of his peers for contributing to the drunkenness of the barrio youth. No formal meetings were held and no regulations were drafted but the problem was quickly solved.

Social Institutions

The Town Family

Although the town has a larger population than Patupat the data base from which the inferences on family and household structure are drawn is smaller. Since it was not possible to carry out a complete census of Baduya town the following comments are based on a random sample of 49 households.

With respect to household composition the data in Table 14 indicates that at the time of the survey the nuclear family was the dominant household type in Baduya, accounting for 47 percent of the total sample. The nuclear and sub-nuclear categories comprised 51 percent of the sample

Table 14

Baduya Household Composition

	Nuclear		Vertical			Horizontal		Comb.	
	Sub-Nuclear	Nuclear	Patrilineal Extended	Matrilineal Extended	Grandparent-Grandchild	Fraternal Joint	Sororal Joint	Combination Vert.-Horiz. Extended	
Total	2	23	4	5	2	3	4	6	49
Percent	4%	47%	8%	10%	4%	6%	8%	12%	99*

* Percentages do not total 100 because of rounding error

Sub-Nuclear Household -- Limited to the presence of two or more individuals of the same generation without children.

Nuclear Household -- Presence of a woman and/or her spouse and their unmarried children. Also considered as nuclear is a household composed of a childless couple and one or more adopted children.

Patrilineal Extended Household -- Presence of a man and his spouse, with or without his children, living with one or both of his parents.

Matrilineal Extended Household -- Presence of a woman and her children, with or without her spouse, living with one or both of her parents.

Grandparent-Grandchild Household -- Presence of one or more unmarried children living with either their paternal or maternal grandparents.

Fraternal Joint Household -- Presence of two or more married male siblings and their families, or one or more single siblings living with a married brother and his family.

Sororal Joint Household -- Presence of two or more married female siblings and their families or one or more single siblings living with a married sister and her family.

Joint Vertical-Horizontal Extended Household -- Any combination of vertical and horizontal extension present within a single household that does not fit the above categories, i.e., two or more married siblings living with any combination of parents and/or grandparents; a married couple and their children plus one or more nieces or nephews of either spouse.

NOTE: The above classification reflects two criteria of expressed importance to the residents of Baduya and Patupat, namely the presence of women and children in the household. The classification of a married couple without children as sub-nuclear reflects the local feeling that a household without children is incomplete.

with the remaining 49 percent divided among five extended family sub-groups. Within the extended category those households exhibiting both vertical and horizontal extension were the most common.

At first glance the patterns of household composition in Baduya and Patupat appear to be similar. In both communities, for example, the nuclear family emerges as the dominant household type. However, a closer inspection of the actual percentages involved (Table 15) reveals a number of interesting differences.

While the nuclear family is the dominant single household type in both communities there is significant variance in its relative position and importance in the two communities. In the barrio 71 percent of the households were nuclear compared to only 47 percent in the town. Likewise,

Table 15

Comparison of Town and Barrio Household Structure

	Nuclear		Vertical			Horizontal		Comb.
	Sub-Nuclear	Nuclear	Patrilineal Extended	Matrilineal Extended	Grandparent Grandchild	Fraternal Joint	Sororal Joint	Combination Vert.-Horiz. Extended
Town	4%	47%	8%	10%	4%	6%	8%	12%
Barrio	9%	71%	8%	7%	1%	0	3%	0

only 19 percent of the barrio households were extended compared to 49 percent for the town; and within the extended category the combined vertical-horizontal type had the highest incidence, accounting for 12 percent of the total sample, compared to zero percent for the barrio.

These figures appear to lend support to Jocano's (1974:254-255; 1975:26) contention that progressive urbanization results in an increase in average household size rather than the more commonly held notion that

the extended household in the barrio becomes nuclear as the result of migration to urban centers. Related to the extended households in Baduya is a difference in average household size. For the town sample the average household contained 7.1 persons compared to 5.7 for the barrio. This difference is not so much an indication of a preference for larger families among the town residents as it is a response to a particular set of social, material and fiscal resources and needs. House lots are scarce and more expensive in town than they are in the barrio and consequently it may take a longer time before the young married couple is able to set up a new neolocal residence on their own. In addition, many town families take in student boarders during the rainy season when it becomes nearly impossible to commute to school daily from the outlying barrios. In most cases students from the barrios board with relatives in town who would find it difficult to refuse even if they wanted to. On the other hand, while the boarders do increase the household they also provide an additional source of income in their payments for bed-space and meals. Most town residents do not have the space for vegetable gardens and they also lack the ready supply of wild edibles available in the barrios, hence they will sometimes purposely take in boarders to earn an additional cash income as most of their foodstuffs must be purchased in the market on a daily basis.

In terms of socialization within the family there is nothing to indicate that the system is any different than that already described for the barrio. One aspect of town family life that does warrant mention, however, concerns the relationship between the family unit and agriculture. In the barrio the nuclear family was the primary unit of economic production and husband and wife as well as the older children participate in the field work. Depending on how distant the Baduya family's fields are from the town proper field work serves a less

unifying function for the town residents than it does for those who live in the barrios. Often the town farmer is absent from home for two or three days at a time tending his fields and unless the family has a second house or relatives they can live with in one of the outlying barrios, the wife and children who are in school will usually remain behind in town.

The Town School

Aside from size and better facilities the main difference between the municipal school in Baduya and the barrio schools is that the former is supported by the Department of Education while the latter must be maintained by the residents of the communities they serve. In addition to financial support the municipal school also receives priority in the allocation of text books and supplies. After the needs of the town school have been met the remaining supplies will be distributed to the various barrio schools in the district. Teachers in the town school also have more time to devote to teaching as they are relieved of many of the leadership and fund raising activities that fall upon teachers in the barrio schools. Thus, children in town are assured better educational facilities and opportunity than are children in the outlying barrios.

Although both the town and barrio schools have parent-teacher associations, the town school appears to play a less significant social role than does the barrio school. Since the town school can afford to hire its own custodial help, school maintenance does not serve as a uniting force among local town residents as it does in the barrios. While major construction and physical improvements on barrio schools are carried out by adult members of the community, such work at the town school is usually contracted.

On the other hand, relations between teachers and parents in the town school are probably more egalitarian and cordial because the teachers

live in the same community where they teach. They are in fact neighbors as well as teachers, unlike the majority of teachers in the barrio schools who reside in other communities and commute daily to their respective schools.

It was previously noted that the town residential pattern is not as conducive to the formation of play-groups as are the barrio housing clusters. The central school, however, provides the town children the opportunity to meet and associate with many more new faces than do the smaller schools in the outlying areas.

Friendships and cliques formed during the elementary school years are carried over into high school where the town students begin to interact regularly with youth from the outlying barrios. The town high school provides an environment in which the barrio youth are faced for the first time with having to hold their own against a group of outsiders. Barrio youth want to show they are equal and the town students attempt to prove their superiority. The school teachers and administrators are aware of the problem and do what they can to reduce any friction between the two groups. One way in which the school attempts to create an atmosphere of social and economic equality is through the requirement that uniforms be worn daily by the girls and by the boys for their junior ROTC drills.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. As administrative as well as geographic subdivisions, provinces and municipalities in the Philippines are classified in terms of average annual income for the last five years. According to Republic Act 4358 (quoted in Abueva and de Guzman, 1969:439) a first class municipality is one having an average annual income equal to or exceeding P300,000. For a second class rank the figure is P200,000; for third class P100,000; fourth class P50,000; fifth class P30,000; sixth class P15,000 and seventh class less than P15,000.
2. In the Philippines there are three classes of interprovince public bus transportation: deluxe air conditioned (sometimes called "tourist"), first class and ordinary fare. Ordinary fare service which provides bench seats for the passengers and allows the transport of bulky cargo such as bags of rice and fertilizer inside the passenger compartment, is by far the most popular and most economical form of transportation in the country. For a slightly higher fare first class coaches provide airline-type recliner seats. Deluxe service which is used mostly by upper class families, businessmen and foreign visitors provides air conditioning and reserved recliner seats.

CHAPTER VII

THE TOWN BARKADA

There are several teenage barkadas in Baduya as well as a number of adult groups. Within the time constraints of the field research it was possible to study only one of the town groups. After a period of preliminary observation of different groups in town it was decided to focus attention on one particular barkada whose members were drawn from the smaller of the two town barrios.

The group was selected because its members were approximately the same age as the adolescents belonging to the two Patupat barkadas. The mean age for the town group is 18 while that of the two barrio barkadas is 17 and 21. Also, like the two previously discussed groups, the town barkada is made up both of youth who are still in school and those who have already finished or dropped out. A comparison of the town barkada profile, Table 16, with data from the two Patupat groups brings to light a number of additional similarities and differences between barkadas in town and those in the outlying barrios.

In educational attainment the town group on the average was one grade level ahead of the barrio groups. The mean level of educational attainment for the town barkada was grade 8 (2nd year high school) while that of the two Patupat groups was grade 7 (1st year high school) for the north barkada and grade 6 (last year of elementary school) for the south barkada. Given the distance from Patupat to town and the expenses involved in having to board in town during the rainy season it is surprising that the barrio youth are not farther behind the town youth in

Table 16
Town Barkada Profile

Member	Age	Education		Marital Status	Relatives in group	Purok
		Grade	Studying			
Mar	18	4	H.S. yes	S	B1	1
Hector	16	3	H.S. yes	S	B1	1
Jaime	19	2	H.S. no	S	0	2
Arthur	24	4	H.S. no	S	0	3
Raul	17	3	H.S. yes	S	B1	6
Willy	14	2	H.S. yes	S	B1	6
Fidel	19	6	grd. no	S	0	5

(the above are pseudonyms representing actual members)

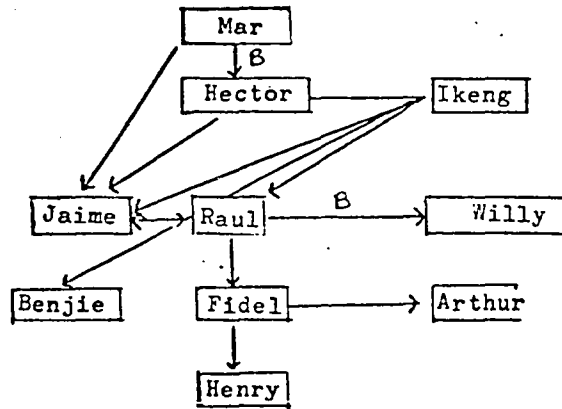
academic achievement. In fact, when one controls for age, including only those individuals between the ages of 14 and 19, the achievement levels for the town and the barrio barkada members are nearly identical.

This is an indication that the location of the barkada, in town or one of the more remote barrios, does not significantly alter the nature of the group's influence on the educational achievement and aspirations of its members. The variable most closely associated with educational achievement is age. The older an individual the less is the average level of educational attainment. Traditionally, town youth clearly out-distanced the barrio youth in education but since the 1950s and the introduction of garlic and tobacco as cash crops more and more students from even the most distant barrios are finishing high school, and the educational gap between the town and the barrios is rapidly closing.

One big difference that is immediately apparent from the profile data is the relative absence of kinship relations among members of the town group. Except for two sets of brothers, none of the other members are related in any way. This contrasts sharply with the two barrio barkadas (see Table 9, Chapter V). Another major distinction is the fact that the town group is not purok specific as were the two Patupat barkadas. In short, the town barkada has neither the degree of kinship nor territorial specificity that seems to be characteristic of barkadas in the outlying barrios. This is not surprising considering the previously discussed differences in the residential pattern and population size of the two communities; the larger population in town coupled with the absence of physical barriers or distance between administrative units and the lack of kinship-focused housing clusters.

With respect to internal organization the town barkada does not differ greatly from the patterns observed within the two barrio groups. Barkada members in both communities claimed that their groups have no designated leader, however, the sociograms for each barkada (Figures 8 and 9 in Chapter V and Figure 13 below) clearly indicate the presence of social hierarchies within each group with a single individual at the top. In Patupat the leaders in both groups were older than the majority of the other members. In the town barkada, on the other hand, age does not seem to play as important a role with respect to power and influence. The sociograms in Figure 13 show that while Mar at 18 is the "leader" of the town group half of the other members are older than he is. There is no way to know, without gathering data on other barkadas in towns of similar size and environmental settings, if this is purely a random

A
(Observed Interaction).



B
(Informant Response)

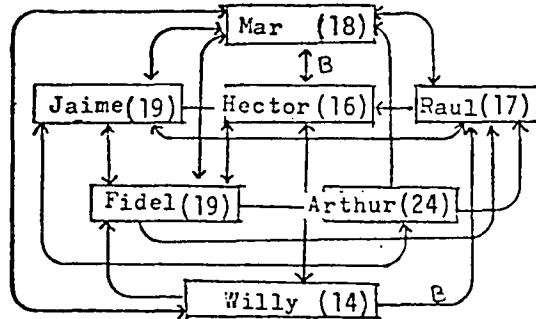


Figure 13. Town Barkada Sociograms

occurrence or whether the town community with its larger population is in fact less age conscious than the smaller, remote barrios. It is certainly plausible that age becomes increasingly less significant in settings where one's identity tends to be achieved rather than ascribed.

The one variable which is probably more important than either age or education with respect to leadership is personality. In terms of personal characteristics and leadership strategies Mar, as leader of the town group, has much in common with Rody in Patupat. Both individuals tend to be somewhat bossy and assertive in their dealings with the other members of their groups. They both appear to test the loyalty of their followers by making frequent demands upon them for such things as cigarettes and contributions for the purchase of a bottle of gin. Although general consensus is the rule in each group, both leaders are quick to make suggestions or voice their preferences which are usually followed by the others.

With reference to Figure 13, sociogram A is based on observed interaction over an extended period of approximately five months. The various arrows linking the different members with one another represent the dominant avenues of influence within the group. The letter "B" on two of the arrows indicates that the linked individuals are brothers. For example, the downward line from Mar to Hector indicates that Hector accepts suggestions, decisions and requests coming from his older brother. Likewise, Jaime also accepts decisions and suggestions from Mar although the two are not related. The double-ended horizontal arrow running between Jaime and Raul shows that in spite of the two-year difference in age the relationship between the two youths is characterized for the most

part by mutual exchange with respect to information flow and decision-making. Discussions between Raul and Jaime are much more of a two-way process than those which take place between Mar and Jaime.

Sociogram B, on the other hand, is based on informant report (who the individuals identified as their closest friends and barkada-mates). The directionality of the arrows here indicates the presence or absence of reciprocal identification. For example, the double-ended arrows linking Mar with Hector shows that each individual named the other person as a member of his group. Likewise, the single arrow linking Willy and Raul shows that although the two youths are brothers that Raul did not indicate Willy as a member of his group. The same situation is present with respect to Arthur and Mar where Arthur named Mar as a member of the group but Mar did not include Arthur in his list of group members.

As was the case with the two Patupat barkadas the individual who was mentioned the greatest number of times by other members of the group is the same person who emerged as the informal leader based on observed behavior (sociogram A). Mar was the only person in the town group who was identified by all the other members as being part of the barkada. He, in turn, listed all but one of these same individuals when asked to name the persons he considered as members of the group.

Again, similar to the situation of the two Patupat barkadas all the members of the town group can and do interact directly with one another, regardless of the informant responses plotted on sociogram B. Consequently, the group receives a 100 percent score for reachability. If anything, the informant reports may indicate degrees of interaction rather than its presence or absence.

With respect to density, a measure of the degree of connectedness between individuals within a given network, there is some difference between each of the three groups reported in this study. Using the number of reciprocal friendships indicated by the barkada members as an indicator of closeness, as was done for the two Patupat groups, we can compute a density score for the town barkada. Again using Barnes (1969: 63-64) measure, $200a/n(n-1)$, where "a" refers to the actual number of reciprocal links and "n" the total number of persons involved, the town barkada receives a score of 52, compared to 60 and 25 respectively for the north and south Patupat groups. Such scores would tend to indicate that density, when measured by independent information acknowledgement of mutual friendships, is not effected in any systematic way by such variables as population size and settlement pattern.

The summary of informant responses (Appendices I and II) shows that two persons in the group named individuals who were not included in sociogram A. Likewise, two individuals (Benjie and Henry) who were included in sociogram A on the basis of observed participation in the group's activities, were not mentioned by any of the other members of the barkada, hence they were not included in sociogram B. A third person, Ikeng, was also dropped from sociogram B because he was mentioned by only one other person as being a member of the group.

The decreased level of agreement between the observational data and the informant reports for the town barkada (70 percent, compared to 100 percent for the two Patupat groups), is associated, at least in part, with factors of population size, the social role of the school and the decreased residential proximity of the town barkada member. It was previously

mentioned that the town settlement pattern is less likely to produce specific play groups along the lines of those observed in the Patupat housing clusters. Consequently, it is the school that provides the primary environment for youth interaction in town.

Among town children relationships established in elementary school may well be carried over into high school. Particular individuals who have become close friends as elementary students may seek to be assigned to the same section in high school thus assuring that they will be classmates for the next four years. Unlike in the barrio where residential based friendships are carried into school, the school-based relationships in town are not always reinforced at the residential level. It is possible in such a situation for an individual to have a set of school friends that is separate from his or her off-campus clique or barkada. Where social interaction at the barrio school reinforces to a large degree residence-based play groups, the friendships developed in the town school may conflict with those focused on residential proximity. One of the town barkada members appears to provide just such a case. Hector's list of close friends and barkada-mates did not totally overlap with the observed membership of his street barkada (see Appendix II). The four other individuals Hector listed as good friends may very well be classmates with whom he has particular interests in common that are not shared by other members of the barkada. Within the group, Hector is known as the "student" because he spends more time than the others on his homework and very seldom cuts class, a practice common among the other members of the barkada.

When the physical setting and population of a community are such that there are various settings involving social interaction with different sets of individuals a person is likely to have more than one group of friends or associates. In the outlying barrios like Patupat, on the other hand, while the setting may differ, i.e., a volleyball game in the school yard, or a group of adolescents bathing their carabaos at the river, the participants are likely to be the same persons.

The degree of overlap in the composition of one's different social networks has definite effects on barkada membership and the pattern of insider-outsider distinctions in the two communities. In the smaller, more remote barrios one's best friends tend also to be one's barkada-mates, work-mates, and purok (residential) mates. In the barrio these different circles overlap each other to such a degree that they are practically indistinguishable from one another. In town, however, the overlap is considerably less and each network circle is more distinct.

The insider-outsider distinctions drawn on the basis of territoriality are more clear-cut in the barrio than in the town. The adolescent barkadas in Patupat are purok specific which means that at one level all youth living in other than one's own purok are by definition outsiders. Any other distinctions which are used as criteria for membership are drawn within the purok. As mentioned earlier, in the barrio one's best friends tend to also be one's purok, if not housing cluster mates.

In the town the barrio unit, rather than the purok, appears to be the line along which the insider-outsider distinction is initially drawn. It has already been noted that except for time spent in the so-called neutral areas, the plaza, the outdoor auditorium and the elementary

school playing field, that the various town barkadas keep pretty much to their respective side of town. However, information supplied by informants (both adolescents and adult) with regard to "line-crossing" leads one to suspect that the barrio line may not be as strong as the purok demarcation in the outlying barrios.

It must also be noted that the two town barrios are large enough to have more than one barkada and that even the barkadas within a particular barrio do not seem to have well defined territories. Consequently, settlement pattern does not provide as effective a base for the drawing of the insider-outsider distinction in town as it does in the more remote barrios. And the situation is further complicated by the fact that a town youth such as Hector (sociogram B) may have more than one set of friends.

The more complex socio-physical environment in town, i.e., the multiplicity of different kinds of groups which do not necessarily overlap in membership and the decreased importance of physical and spatial boundaries, have certain effects not only on group formation and membership but also on the nature of the interaction that takes place between group members. In our discussion of the Patupat barkadas, we discussed four aspects of the interaction process, namely content, directionality, intensity and frequency. With respect to content, we noted that the relationships between barkada members in the barrio are multiplex in nature; that there is a convergence of various types of meaning and purpose associated with each and every one of the relationships, including friendship dyads, kinship obligations, economic assistance, neighborliness, companionship as well as moral and physical support.

In the town, these same needs and obligations may not always be met by or necessarily involve the same set of individuals. Consequently,

there may be less of an overlap of meanings attached to any one particular relationship between individuals within the same barkada. The implication, following Kapferer (1969:213), is that there is a lesser degree of strength in the town barkada relationships compared to those of barkadas located in the more remote barrios where there are fewer strands of meaning contained in a relationship, and individuals are less securely bound together.

It can only be speculated whether or not such a contention does in fact apply to the town barkada. It is very difficult to empirically isolate even the most dominant meanings and functions present within each and every one of the various intra-group relationships present in the group. One thing for sure, however, is the fact that in town, there is a broader base from which an individual can choose his friends and hence, a wider range of options are available. It is possible, as previously noted, for an individual to have more than one set of friends. Consequently, if all a person's physical and social needs are not met within his family and primary barkada group, there are other sources of potential need-gratification to which he can turn, i.e., to other individuals or groups of individuals within the community. The alternatives are there but they are not without their price.

In town, the various kinds of adolescent peer groupings, i.e., including those organized around school programs, athletics or other specialized interests and the more generalized barkadas, are potential contenders for the individual's time and energy. In other words, the town youth's loyalty to one group may compete with his participation in another group. In the outlying barrios, such competition and the

ultimate decisions that must be made with respect to the allocation of one's time, energy and loyalties are greatly reduced because there is only one or possibly two peer groups in his purok and the individual either belongs or he does not.

As was the case with the barrio barkadas, the nature and level of intensity is the most difficult of the interactional qualities to isolate and measure within the town barkada. Intensity, as noted previously, is supposed to be an indication of the willingness of one or more individuals to forgo their own interests to meet the demands, wishes and/or needs of others within the group. Intensity is undoubtedly high in all three groups as evidenced by their preference for consensus rule in reaching decisions. In Patupat, it can be recalled that the most anti-social act of a non-violent nature which an individual can commit against his fellow barkada-mates is not to go along with a group decision. He has as much right as the others to voice his preferences but once the decision has been made he had better be prepared to accept it. To do otherwise is sure to bring immediate sanction, if not outright ostracization, from the other members.

While the general consensus rule is followed within the town barkada there seems at the same time to be a greater willingness on the part of the members to allow individuals to also do their own thing without it being perceived as a threat to the solidarity of the group. A case in point which illustrates the greater degree of tolerance of individual deviance from group activities was when the group decided one week-day afternoon to cut classes and hitch a ride to one of the adjacent barrios where they heard a young lady had just arrived from Manila. The plan was discussed and agreed upon by the group during their lunch break. When

the time came to leave they all hailed a passing truck that was heading in the right direction. Up to this time Hector had made no indication of the fact that he did not want to go, in spite of having told me earlier in the day that he was going to have to study because of the upcoming national college entrance examination that would be given over the weekend. Hector jumped on the running board of the truck along with the others but after the truck had gone only a block or so he quietly jumped off without saying a word and proceeded to walk back to his house while the others continued on. Over the nearly five months that observations were made of the town group I witnessed a number of similar incidents where members of the group would politely decline or simply walk away from a particular activity that other members of the group were engaged in. Such behavior suggests that the intra-group relationships in the town barkada may be less intense than those observed within the Patupat groups, and this in turn may well be a factor of competition between different groups and activities in town. If you do not like what your friends are doing at a particular point in time there is always something else you can do or somewhere else you can go, even in a town as small as Baduya. In the outlying barrios, on the other hand, if one decides not to go along with his group there isn't much else to do but stay at home.

Another factor of importance with respect to the above behavior is the need to maintain a strong and unified public presence. Following a pattern well engrained in the family, the barkada as a unit will try its best to cover up any crack in the "surface" unity of the group brought about by some internal differences of opinion among the members. Unless the differences are of an irreconcilable nature that threaten the whole

group's continued existence they will be hidden to the outsider. In this light, Hector's jumping off the truck can be seen not so much as an act of defiance but rather an attempt to meet his own urgent needs (to study) in a way that did not create friction within the group. My own feeling, having observed both the discussion leading up to the decision and the group's departure, was that the other members were probably aware that Hector would not accompany them for the whole afternoon, consequently his exit went "unnoticed" and did not constitute a break with the norms of consensus and compliance.

While the frequency of interaction is obviously related to other variables, we have seen in the case of the town barkada that regularity of contact does not always imply a high level of intensity. There is no question that the town barkadas are more visible than their counterparts in the outlying barrios. With their greatly decreased role in the economic activities as a result of the very dispersed pattern of land utilization, there is little left for the town adolescent to do but hang around the streets and sari-sari stores when he is not in school or asleep. However, as we have just pointed out, the degree of intensity of the relationships among the town groups may be somewhat lower than that present in the barrio groups.

With respect to durability, the town groups in general may have a shorter life-span than the barkadas in the outlying barrios. Though the evidence is far from conclusive there are a number of indications that the town groups do not last much beyond the late teens. Unlike the Patupat barkadas, particularly the south group, there is only one member in the town barkada over the age of 19. This again can be related to the pattern

of land utilization because married or not, most males who are in their twenties and who are not in college would be expected to become full-time farmers on their fathers' land and this would take them away from their barkada. Likewise, marriage would also tend to draw the town youth away from their peer groups more effectively than in the barrio where it was noted that the adolescent barkada often passes through a transition as the members marry, the meaning and purpose of the relationships changing somewhat while the membership remains largely the same. In addition to the pattern of land use, out-migration also has a considerable effect on town barkadas. While youths from the remote barrios may have nearly caught up with town youths in terms of high school, they still lag far behind in terms of the percentage of students going to college or special vocational schools away from the municipality. The greater number of Baduya's college students come from the town and this, of course, has an immediate effect on the life of the town barkadas. Town informants indicated much more often than did respondents from the outlying barrios that other individuals had once belonged to their group before they went away to school or work. Here, we can recall that after several years only a few people in town remembered anything about the teenage barkadas that had adopted names (Maniacs and Blacksheep, Ltd., etc.) during the late 60s and early 70s before Martial Law.

In summary, the observational and interview data from both communities suggests that the town barkada, in comparison to those from the smaller, more remote barrios, is: (1) less specific with respect to a precise territory or "turf," (2) has more of a need to assert its identity within the community, (3) is more visible as a unit, (4) appears

to place less emphasis on age as a necessary attribute for leadership, (5) may be in competition with other types of peer groups for the limited time and energy of its members, (6) is less multiplex in the content of the relationships among its members, (7) demonstrates a lesser degree of intra-group intensity with respect to an individual's commitment to the interests and demands of the other members and (8) is less enduring in terms of group life span.

On the other hand, with respect to group closeness, the presence of face-to-face interaction, leadership strategies and group size the town barkada and those from the outlying barrios have much in common.

Inter-Group Relations among Town Barkadas

The same general pattern of avoidance which characterizes the interaction between the two Patupat barkadas is also present in Baduya however, the manner in which it is manifested is somewhat different.

The barkadas from different parts of town usually congregate at specific hangouts or meeting places, particularly at sari-sari stores where they can buy cigarettes and refreshments, and most important, where they can sit down to talk, play "dama" (a Philippine game similar to Chinese checkers) or just watch the "world" go by. Although different sari-sari stores can be identified with particular groups of adolescents these establishments do not appear to be invested with the kind of special meaning by their respective barkadas that has been reported to be the case among lower-class juvenile gangs in some major U.S. cities. Werthman and Piliavin (1972:292) suggest that the plots of public land (street corners, storefronts, etc.) used as "hangouts" by urban gang members are perceived by the youths as a sort of "home" or "private"

place. The authors claim that the kinds of behavior which the gang members engaged in at such places would normally be considered appropriate only inside someone's house, i.e., card playing, drinking, serious reading of comic books and newspapers, etc. In Baduya, on the other hand, the activities engaged in by barkada members at the sari-sari stores are precisely those things that would not be considered proper at home such as gambling and drinking. Even when these activities do take place at a private residence they most always occur outside the house.

Although the sari-sari store meeting places are not controlled or defended in the same quasi-military fashion as the urban hangouts observed by Werthman and Piliavin, they nonetheless function as a buffer between different barkadas. Seldom, if ever, will two barkadas, particularly those from different parts of town choose to frequent a particular store at the same time. Unless there is a good reason to provoke an argument or a fight, i.e., in retaliation for a previous insult or transgression, the town barkadas keep pretty much to their own place.

While particular sari-sari stores are the unofficial meeting places of different barkadas, certain areas in town seem to be neutral zones, such as the plaza, the playing field of the elementary school, and the open-air auditorium which is used by the high school for physical education classes and for Civilian Army Training "CAT" (a compulsory men and women's junior ROTC program). During school days and on weekends groups of adolescents from both barrios can be seen playing ball or just relaxing in these areas, however, such activities do not usually involve much, if any, interaction between the different town barkadas. On

various occasions members of different barkadas were observed shooting baskets at opposite ends of the "auditorium" court with no interaction taking place between the groups.

By nightfall the male barkadas are back in their own section of town and the girls are indoors. The town barkadas are protective of the young women who live in their respective sections. Informants have told me that in the past problems sometimes developed when members of a barkada from one side of town attempted to court girls in the other barrio. Presently, however, this situation seems to have improved, possibly as a result of a fairly rigorously enforced curfew. In fact, many of the hostilities between barkadas both in town and in the barrios, frequently alluded to by adults, seem to be a thing of the past. No single incident of violence associated with an adolescent barkada was either observed or brought to the author's attention during the nearly two years of field work.

The same kind of deliberate avoidance is also the norm with respect to interaction between town and barrio barkadas. As previously noted, the barrio barkadas, composed of high school students from the outlying barrios, form loosely organized alliances or "zone" groupings in town whereby youths from the different barrios located in a particular area, say along the south road, congregate together at a particular store during their lunch break and between class periods. The same is also true of the various barkadas from outlying barrios to the east and west of town.

These "zone" groups (referring respectively to the south, east and west zones of the municipality) are formed as a response to perceived threats from the town youth. They are no more than a simple example of

"safety in numbers." As isolated individuals, students from the outlying barrios are subject to harassment, intimidation and petty extortion from different groups of town youth. The threat is real and not imaginary. Though not a frequent occurrence, a number of incidents have taken place to justify a certain degree of caution on the part of the barrio youth. One Patupat informant (a member of the north barkada) told of having been accosted once by three or four town boys who pushed him around and demanded money from him. Another informant explained that once his younger sister was pushed around and teased by a group of town boys and when she told him about it he got his friends together and went after the guys who did it.

The zone alliance groups provide youths from the outlying barrios effective protection against any such advances on the part of town barkada members. The zone groups when mobilized are stronger in number than any of the town barkadas and should town youths unite they would still be outnumbered as the three zone groups would also merge into an even larger group if necessary. Though rarely, if ever, have all the zone alliances merged together in a major confrontation with the town youth, the ever present threat of such a united front is a major force in the maintenance of the status quo--a respectable distance between the barrio and town barkadas.

Organizationally, these alliances are analytically distinct social units. In addition to size which is their most obvious distinguishing characteristic, there are a number of other important differences between the alliances and the barkadas which compose them. Unlike in the individual barkadas, it is very difficult to know just who is and who is

not a member of the alliance. Although it appears to be a recognized entity, the alliance as such, does not meet together as a unit. It also seems to lack any kind of hierarchical structure similar to that present in the barkadas.

The alliances closely approximate what Dunphy (1963, 1969) has referred to as "crowds"---loosely structured associations composed of two or more cliques. Dunphy noted that within a crowd, the cliques, which approximate closely the Philippine barkada, tend to merge together while the crowd boundary remains strong. In Baduya the zone alliances promote interaction between members of the affiliated barkadas while effectively maintaining a boundary between the barrio and town youth. While the clique constitutes a small group of intimate friends, the crowd provides "a reservoir of acceptable associates who can be drawn on to the extent required by an activity" (Dunphy, 1969:60).

The main distinction between Dunphy's crowds and the Baduya alliance groups is that the former were heterosexual social groups which organized numerous parties and outings for their members while the latter are exclusively male groups which do not appear to engage in any kind of planned recreational and social activities. The high school crowds Dunphy observed brought girls and boys of similar socio-economic level and background together while the Baduya alliances maintain both a geographic and sex boundary.

CHAPTER VIII

BARKADAS AND ADOLESCENT SOCIALIZATION

Although there is widespread feeling that peer groups provide an important socializing influence during adolescence, relatively little is known about just how this is accomplished or what it consists of. Indeed, in reviewing the existing literature we find ourselves dealing with very different kinds of groups in varying environments. Furthermore, there is no clear-cut and unanimous consensus as to what constitutes socialization.

Socialization, like the concept of culture, has various meanings for different kinds of people, and how one ultimately defines it is largely a product of his or her basic theoretical training and assumptions. The anthropologist generally thinks of socialization in terms of a mechanism that provides for the intergenerational transmission and preservation of culture. It is the means by which culture is communicated from one group to another.

The sociologist, on the other hand, commonly looks at socialization in terms of role-training necessary for proper social participation in society. In this sense socialization is a process designed to achieve conformity of individuals to social norms and rules. Still a third perspective is provided by the psychologists who, ever since the days of Freud, have seen socialization as a process of impulse control. The problem is one of taming and channeling potentially disruptive human drives into useful forms.

While briefly summarized here as distinct conceptions of socialization, the three positions are not necessarily incompatible with each other. Humans, as they pass through the life cycle, do learn through instruction, observation and imitation, they do have their impulses controlled and channeled and they do receive role training for proper social participation (Levine, 1973:507-510).

One conceptualization which seems to capture the main points of each of the positions is offered by Orville G. Brim (1966:3) who defines socialization as "the process by which individuals acquire the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that enable them to participate as more or less effective members of groups and the society." It is clear that this conceptualization incorporates certain elements from each of the three general perspectives (anthropology, sociology, psychology) in that it involves the cross-generational transmission of knowledge and skills, impulse control in terms of acceptable motivations and dispositions and role-learning with respect to behavior patterns that one must learn to be accepted as a functioning member of society.

Given this general definition we must still ask what are the unique characteristics and attributes of adolescent socialization compared to that which occurs at other stages in the life cycle. For many social scientists adolescent socialization is synonymous with identity formation (Grinder, 1973:4). The foremost proponent of this position is Erik Erikson who sees adolescence as a moratorium stage in human development during which the dominant ego identity is established (1963:306). Adolescent youth are most concerned, according to Erikson, with "who and what they are in the eyes of a wider circle of significant people as

compared with what they themselves have come to feel they are" (1963: 307).

Erikson sees psychological maturation as a series of developmental stages from childhood through adulthood, each with its own particular challenge to personality development. The successful achievement of a positive ego identity hinges on the individual's mastery of previous developmental challenges during early and late childhood and experimentation with a wide range of roles during adolescence.

Brim (1966), a sociologist, sees role learning as one of the central elements in adolescent socialization; however, unlike the psychologists who stress cognitive and motivational processes, he places primary emphasis on social interaction and the influence of reference groups. Brim's basic premise is that "most of what is learned from socialization in childhood and indeed through life, is a series of complex interpersonal relationships" (1966:8). He further suggests that socialization after childhood deals largely with the learning of role behavior appropriate to an individual's social position with little or no attempt to influence fundamental motivations or basic values (1966:27).

Irrespective of one's theoretical orientations, socialization involves a learning process that can be studied empirically from a number of different perspectives. In terms of general systems theory (inherent to our social-ecological framework), socialization can be viewed as part of a feedback process that is both situation-specific (constituting responses that are a reaction to a unique set of circumstances) and cumulative in nature (a representation of all past experience). What is learned through formal training and informal experience is crystalized

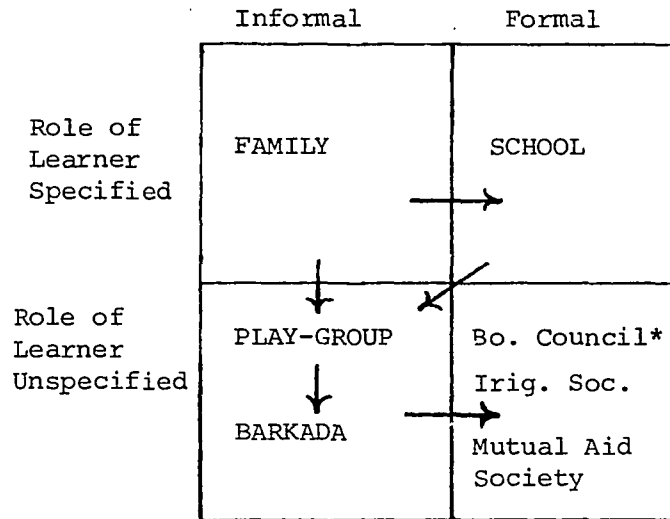
in terms of cognitive orientations and perceptions that guide the individual's interaction with the other elements in his environment, both physical and social.

Following Brim's conceptualization, the actual socialization process can be analyzed in terms of a number of distinct but interrelated attributes including the relationship between the socializer and the socializee, the relative power of the socializer, the nature of the unit being socialized (an individual or a group), and the content of the socialization process (values, knowledge, ability, etc.).

In this study, we are concerned with social groups as collective agents of socialization. The relationship between the group and the individual being socialized will vary from one group to another, depending on whether the group is a formal or informal unit, and whether or not the role of the learner within the group has been clearly defined. A school classroom provides an example of group socialization in which the role of the learner is clearly spelled out. The barkada, on the other hand, is an informal group in which the role of the learner is not specified.

By combining the variables of formality of organization and role definition, socializing groups can be positioned on a two-by-two matrix as demonstrated in Figure 14.

Referring to Figure 14 we see that as a human being moves through childhood, adolescence, and adulthood he is exposed at different stages in the life cycle to particular kinds of groups. Early socialization takes place for the most part in highly defined settings where the role of the learner vis-à-vis the socializer is clearly specified, in the family and the school. In adolescence and adulthood the primary focus in



*The barrio council is the administrative arm of the barrio, consisting of a barrio capitan and six councilors. Prior to Martial Law the Barrio Capitan and the councilors were elected. Presently the Capitan is appointed by the national government.

Figure 14. Group Structure Formality and Role of Learner

socialization changes to groups in which the role of the learner is often unspecified.

The barkadas in both the barrio and the town can be classed as informal groups. This does not mean that they lack organization; only that the body of shared norms and expectations around which the groups are structured is not formalized in terms of specific rules and regulations. Likewise, formal role differentiation is also lacking in these groups. Although lines of patterned interaction and influence can be seen in both the sociometric and the observational data there are no formalized roles or statuses within the groups. There are no designated leaders, followers, teachers or learners.

From the perspective of power and support inherent in the socializer-socializee relationship, various agents of socialization can be placed on a continuum of socializing influence indicating a relatively high or low degree of power and support. Power is the degree to which the socializing agent is dominant or authoritarian in relationship to the person being socialized, as opposed to being democratic, permissive or even submissive. Support, on the other hand, is the degree to which there is a highly effective relationship between the agent and the person being socialized, in contrast to one of low affectivity (Brim, 1966:36). Affectivity in this sense can range the full length of the positive - negative, or love - hate continuum. It is the amount rather than the quality of affect which is crucial.

An environment in which the socializer is powerful and the affective rewards and punishments are great, as in the family, leads to the acquisition by children of basic, deep-rooted values and motives (Straus, 1964:323). A socialization context that is not characterized by a high power relationship may be effective in the modification of overt behavior but it will probably have little impact on basic values. As the nature of the socialization context changes throughout the life cycle, from formal to informal and from specified to unspecified "student" roles, the degree of power and support inherent in the relationship tends to decrease.

On a continuum of socializing power, those groups in which the role of the learner is clearly defined tend to fall on the high side while the more informal units with an undefined learner role are less powerful. The rural Philippine barkada is unique in that it has qualities of both

power and informality and as such it provides a bridge or mediating force between formal high-power child socialization and later life, informal low-power adult socialization.

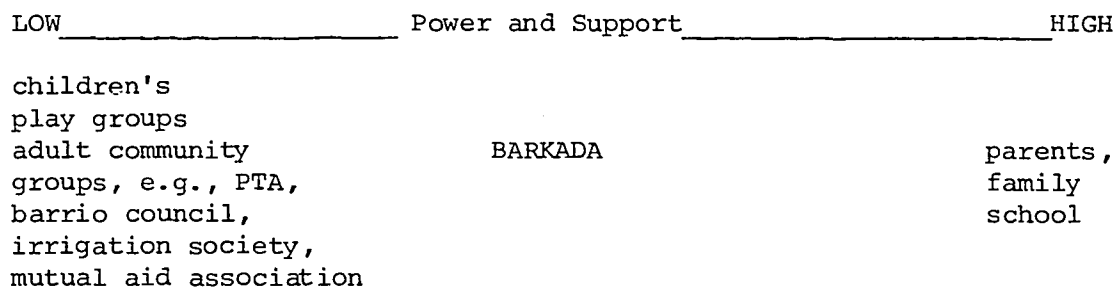


Figure 15. Power of Socializing Agents

The barkadas have no formalized leader-teacher who holds the power of reward and punishment as do parents and teachers. However, the groups as a whole have a certain collective force that constitutes a powerful base of support for each of the members. Should any particular individual stray too far in his behavior from the group's shared norms and expectations, he runs the risk of losing the highly-valued and much-needed support of his colleagues. In extreme cases the collective force of the group can be switched from support to rejection without a word of warning or caution ever being uttered. One example of how the power of the group can be turned against an erring member involved one of the barrio barkadas. The members of the group deliberately gave one of their mates incorrect information about where and when the group was to meet. By following the false information the wayward member found himself alone rather than with his group which had gone somewhere else.

Aside from the loss of physical and moral support and the fact that courtship is made difficult without the support of one's barkada-mates, being left alone, particularly after dark, is a psychologically stressful experience for most youth in the barrio and the town. As we have previously noted, Hollnsteiner (1975:444) contends that Filipino children in the rural areas are not actively discouraged by their primary socializers "from fearing or believing that being alone constitutes an undesirable state." In a society where relatively high emphasis is placed on a person's various group identities rather than on his individual ego identity and personality, the mere knowledge that a barkada can abandon a member whose behavior is frequently at odds with the group's expectations provides an effective mechanism for insuring individual conformity.

In contrasting the barkada with the family and school it might be said that while teachers and parents have both de jure and de facto power and control that the barkada has only de facto control over its members. Whereas the child has no choice but to accept the legal and actual authority of the teacher and his parents, the barkada as a collective unit can exercise influence over its members only to the degree that they are willing to relinquish individual freedom to it. The power of the barkada over its members is derived from the members themselves and not from some higher authority. In this sense the barkada is modeled on the lines of various adult organizations such as the mutual aid associations and the irrigation societies where the group as a whole determines the rights and obligations of each member and the penalties which can be invoked for failure to meet one's obligations.

A third important dimension of the socialization process focuses on the nature of the unit being socialized--either a single individual or a group of persons--and whether the unit is one-of-a-kind or one of several passing through the same socializing process in succession. These two distinctions can be combined into a four-fold classification: single-serial, group-serial, single-disjunctive, and group disjunctive (see Figure 16). An individual child passing through family-centered child-rearing along with his or her brothers and sisters is an example of single-serial socialization. If the individual is an only child, there being neither any predecessors nor followers, the socialization process would be single-disjunctive. Likewise, a freshman high school class is an example of group-serial socialization, whereas a group of prisoners or patients in a mental hospital would be group-disjunctive (Becker, 1963: 45-47; Wheeler, 1966:61).

	Single	Group
Serial	child in family	members of play groups, students in school, barkada mates
Disjunctive	only child in family	adolescent barkada

Figure 16. Nature of Unit Being Socialized

From Figure 16 it is evident that socialization in the rural Ilocos is largely group oriented. Even when single socialization does occur in the family, the child is almost always surrounded by a number of older

or younger siblings who are all going through the same process. Much of adolescent socialization is also serial in nature involving processes that will be repeated over and over again with different groups of individuals. Each year a new freshman class enters high school and the seniors graduate; fraternities and sororities initiate a new group of pledges and a certain number of the group's members retire into the status of alumnae. Schools and formal organizations thus constitute enduring socialization settings which provide a similar, if not identical, experience for successive groups of persons.

The barkada, however, is somewhat unique (disjunctive) in that it comprises a setting that did not exist prior to its members, it is in effect generated by the members rather than something they formally move in and out of. As such the barkada either dies a natural death as its members eventually pass into adulthood and go their respective ways or, if the circumstances permit, it may be maintained, undergoing various modifications as the situational demands upon the members change with adulthood. For example, if the members of a particular barkada all marry within a relatively short time span, say two to three years, and if they all continue to live in the same community, there is a good possibility that their barkada will remain intact in terms of membership while the content of the relationships between members change to meet the demands of adult life. The group may become more work oriented or it may remain purely social in nature taking on the form of an adult drinking barkada.

Consequently, what remains behind to provide a degree of continuity to adolescent socialization in the next generation is not the barkada as

a fixed social unit like the school or the fraternity, but a particular environmental setting. As long as the unique socio-ecological configuration of which the community is a part remains fairly stable the barkadas of future generations will be subject to similar limitations and constraints in terms of structural attributes, role models and shared norms and expectations. When changes occur in the social and physical environment of the community, e.g., population growth, increase in cash cropping, improved transportation, opportunities for higher education, etc., the socialization process within the barkada will be adjusted accordingly. For example, twenty years ago the Baduya high school was not part of the immediate environment of the Patupat barkadas. With very few exceptions barrio youth did not go beyond the sixth grade and hence interaction with persons outside the barrio was not a major element in adolescent socialization.

A fourth dimension of the socialization process is concerned with the content of what is being transmitted by the socializing agent at different stages in the total process. Following from the previously discussed conceptualization of socialization in terms of role learning, Brim (1966:25) suggests there are three things a person needs to be able to perform satisfactorily in any role. "He must know what is expected of him (both in behavior and values), must be able to meet the role requirements and must desire to practice the behavior and pursue the appropriate ends." Thus, the goal of socialization can be seen as providing the individual or group of individuals with the knowledge, ability and motivation necessary for proper role performance.

By cross-classifying the above three concepts with two variables, behavior and values, Brim offers a simple paradigm which allows one to distinguish changes in the content of socialization at different stages of the life cycle.

	Behavior	Values
Knowledge	A	B
Ability	C	D
Motivation	E	F

Figure 17. Socialization Content

In Figure 17, cell A indicates that an individual knows what behavior is expected of him and B denotes that he or she also knows what goals should be pursued. Cells C and D indicate respectively that the individual is capable of carrying out a particular role and holding the appropriate values with respect to it. Cells E and F reflect that the individual is motivated to behave in appropriate ways and to pursue designated and approved values (Brim, 1966:25-26).

Brim (1966:26) suggests that as an individual passes from childhood into adolescence and on to adulthood the content of the socialization process moves from a concern with values to behavior and from an emphasis on motivation to ability and knowledge. In Figure 17 cell F represents the primary emphasis in early socialization on transforming infant drives into acceptable desires and motivations leading to the pursuit of specific cultural values. Cell A, on the other hand, is indicative of the concern in adult socialization with the need for knowledge of the

proper behavior for an increasing number of specific roles. It is assumed by Brim that most adults already know the proper values and only need to be taught what to do in specific circumstances.

Although Brim does not discuss it, adolescent socialization in small rural communities in the Ilocos coast area of the Philippines can be characterized within the paradigm as a transitional stage between cells C and A. By the time a barrio or poblacion youth reaches 14 or 15 years of age he has for the most part already internalized the basic values and socially approved motivations of his community and society. And through a process of anticipatory socialization consisting largely of observation and imitative behavior he has become familiar with many adult roles. Vertical socialization within the family, i.e., parents and other adults providing conscious instruction to young children, usually ceases around the ages of 12 or 13 for males. During adolescence such direct and largely informal socialization is replaced by a type of informal and often unconscious learning that takes place horizontally among peers.

Characterizing adolescent peer group socialization as a learning process that involves the acquisition of social skills and competencies through role learning and interpersonal relationships within an expanding social environment of significant others (Brim, 1966; Grinder, 1973) we can now look at the barrio and town barkadas in terms of the kind of socialization experience they provide.

It is important here to keep in mind what Mayer (1970) calls the distinction between "practices" and "processes." By socializing practices he means "the vernacular activities for which socialization (the

inculcation of role-playing skills or attitudes) is explicitly explained by the actors as a deliberate aim (1970:xvi). Socialization practices in this sense would include such cultural attributes as initiation rituals and explicit folk theories regarding the training of young people for adult roles. Socializing processes, on the other hand, refer to "those social experiences that, one supposes, 'actually' advance people in their role-playing skills or attitudes, and the mechanisms whereby these socializing effects are 'actually' brought about" (1970:xviii). In other words, socializing processes constitute the observer's model of what appears to be happening with regard to socialization in a given field.

Mayer suggests that socializing practices are probably easier observed and documented in a highly complex society because of the usually wide variety of institutionalized procedures for training in numerous functionally specific roles. His point is well taken, particularly with reference to the specific field of adolescent socialization. Unlike the complex urban centers where one usually finds a vast array of institutionalized youth training programs (including athletic teams, special interest clubs, and occupational oriented activities such as junior police auxiliary units, and senior scouting), rural Ilocos farming barrios offer little in terms of formalized socialization for adolescents. Outside of school activities for those still in high school and the recently organized, government-sponsored, Kabataang Barangay (barangay youth association) and out-of-school youth association, there are no formalized training programs for youth in the town of Baduya and its outlying barrios.

Since there does not appear to be any concise set of folk or vernacular theory concerning adolescent socialization in either Patupat or Baduya (adults claim that for all intent and purpose youth training ends by around age 12 to 13), the problem, as noted by Mayer (1970:xix-xx) becomes one of how to establish that a particular experience actually contributes or leads to the development of a particular skill or attitude on the part of the individual being socialized. Sometimes it is possible to compare alternative patterns of action over time, between two matched groups or samples. However, more often than not, when comparative and time lapse data are not available the researcher ends up trying to explain connections which he "sees" (feels are there) but cannot prove. Rather than posit some type of psychological "conversion factor" to establish a link between experience and future motivation, the following discussion will attempt only to demonstrate some of the social mechanisms through which role learning takes place as a consequence of participation in barkada activities that are modeled on or are integrated into the adult system.

Socialization in the Barkada

Socialization in the barkada involves informal training that is relevant to future adult roles as well as the more immediate needs of everyday teenage life. The basic problem for most adolescents seems to be not so much what one should do but how it should be done. In the area of courtship and heterosexual behavior, for example, the male adolescent knows that society's expectations are that he should eventually marry and establish his own family. He also knows that there is an

accepted process for achieving this goal which in the beginning stages involves his participation in an approved form of public courtship. If the youth comes from a family with one or two older siblings chances are that he already has some idea of proper courtship behavior. He has either had the opportunity to tag along with an older group of boys when they go visiting young ladies or he has observed the actions of such a group in his own house when they have come to see an older sister.

However, it is during mid- to late adolescence, and within his own barkada that the youth will gain first-hand experience as well as advice and group support with respect to such matters. Consequently, the peer group not only serves as a kind of testing group for experimentation with adult roles but also provides a primary source of social and physical support during adolescence, particularly with regard to courtship activities. By providing both social support and informal role training, the barkada serves as a kind of buffer easing the transition from childhood dependency to full adult responsibility.

Informal training for adolescent role behavior is focused largely around two main activity patterns--recreation with one's barkada-mates and courtship. It is within these two activities that barkada members experiment with and learn various role models that are crucial to their functioning as normal teenagers and future adults. Three important areas of adolescent socialization for which role models are not always encountered in either the school or family setting include (1) consensus decision-making, (2) social reciprocity, and (3) courtship behavior.

Consensus Decision-Making

From the day he is born the child in the rural Philippines is socialized into a protective and authoritarian environment. After

weaning when the child is no longer the center of the mother's attention, he learns that the family members provide for all his needs, companionship, entertainment, sustenance, clothes, protection, etc., but in return he must adjust himself to a particular set of role relationships that are laid down by his parents and elder siblings. These roles are not subject to negotiation except to the extent that their content varies with age and a person within narrow limits can choose to act slightly younger or older than his chronological age.

The main point here is that the child's role is one of learning particular sets of responses that will bring him the most reward and praise. The child is evaluated against a set of standards that he has no part in producing. The youngest child is always on the bottom rung of a social hierarchy within the family. Even as he grows and ultimately gains some control over his younger brothers and sisters there is always someone above who is still largely stipulating how he should behave and what he should and should not be doing.

This same pattern also carries over into elementary school where the teacher is always in command. The teacher decides where the students will sit, what they will study, when they will speak and when they should be listening. About the only means by which the elementary student can gain any control over his "school life" is through his behavior and academic performance. For example, the student who performs well both academically and in terms of desired social behavior will most likely earn the teacher's favor. He then may have a better chance of being selected for such special tasks as leading the morning exercises or running special errands for the teacher.

In the area of formalized recreation again the teacher has the upper hand. She decides what games will be played and in school productions she decides on the assignment of parts to the students. Even the selection of candidates for king and queen of the school's annual program is not in the hands of the students. And here, not even the student's academic performance is taken into consideration. The teachers decide which students from each grade level will be candidates largely on the basis of which families are thought to be able to raise the most money in votes for their son or daughter.¹

At adolescence the child for the first time begins to experience a limited degree of control over one segment of his life, that which he shares with his peers outside the home. For males, the first major decision that is made without any assistance or supervision from the outside is whether or not to be circumcized. This is totally a group decision which usually occurs between the ages of 14 and 17, sometime after the pubescent boys (bumarito) graduate from elementary school. A high school boy who "hasn't finished" yet is often the subject of much teasing from those who have been circumcized. The boys joke that you shouldn't go near a boy who is not yet kugit (circumcized) if he has eaten a lot of damortiz (the white pulpy fruit of a Leguminous tree with spiny branches). The damortiz apparently makes the urine odorous and the non-circumcized boy is said to smell bad because of the urine that remains under the foreskin.

The teenage barkada members were reluctant to discuss the subject of circumcison perhaps out of fear of exposure if they had not yet been under the knife. Considerable case history data, however, were

obtained from older men and from one of the practitioners in the barrio who performs the operation. Usually the process begins within a male play group (pre-barkada peer group) when one of the members begins to jokingly challenge the others to go under the knife. Such dares usually culminate in a kind of "if you will, then I will" decision where even the reluctant ones are obliged to join out of fear of ridicule.

A group of four or five youths, bolstered by their own public bravado and perhaps a few glasses of basi (a local wine made from fermented sugarcane juice) go together to one of the local practitioners to be circumcised. Actually any man can perform the operation, however, in Patupat two men in particular are known to be more proficient at it. The one practitioner I became acquainted with does not charge for his services but it is expected the youths will buy a jug of basi to share with him afterwards if they can afford it.

Though I have no precise data to relate the act of circumcision to barkada formation it does seem reasonable to infer that circumcision performed within such a context would establish a certain bond of solidarity among the group members. Case histories from a number of older men indicate that many youths who were not going with a group or who had to leave their group when they left the barrio to work on the sugar plantations in Hawaii never had themselves circumcized. Some of the returned Hawaiian labor migrants reported that they had it done much later in life, while still in Hawaii. A number of older men claim to have never been circumcized as, aside from the teasing among high school students, there does not appear to be any stigma in adult life attached to not being circumcized. One major exception to the group norm is

provided by the local practitioner himself who is known to have shown his bravery by performing the operation on himself at the age of 24.

The important point here is that circumcision in the rural Ilocos and apparently throughout much of the lowland Philippines (see Jocano, 1969:57; Mendez, 1974:132) is a cultural trait left completely in the hands of adolescents. They make the decision to undergo the operation completely on their own and even after it is performed no mention of it is usually made to one's parents. The family, of course, quickly determines what has happened by the way their son walks but no mention is made of the event. The mother simply sees to it that her son has the necessary materials to properly treat his wound (strips of clean cloth and fresh guava leaves). A more cursory investigation of circumcision in the town community indicates that the only significant deviation from the procedure described for the barrio is that most of the young men have the operation performed by one of the local doctors who then prescribes "modern medicine" to avoid infection.

Depending on when the barkada is actually formed circumcision may well be one of the first socially significant decisions a rural Filipino youth makes totally within the context of his peers without any outside pressure, advice or assistance. As the youth begins to spend more and more time with his barkada he and his mates are faced with having to make more and more decisions for themselves, e.g., how they will organize their activities, what they will do together and when they will do it.

We have already noted that in both the barrio and the town barkadas the internal relationships result in certain patterned lines of influence between the core and peripheral members and that one person emerges as a

de-facto leader. Aside from this hierarchical ordering, most decisions in each of the groups are arrived at through a process of reaching consensus not unlike that which can be observed in a local meeting of the PTA, the mutual aid society (Sociedad Biag ken Dayaw)² or one of the various irrigation societies (tay-ak or sangjeras).

The role of the barkada leader, like that of the adult officers in the various community organizations, is to suggest rather than decide. The primary principle seems to be that everyone should have the opportunity to voice his opinion before a final decision is reached. More often than not the group will unanimously agree to the leader's choice. When such consent is not forthcoming then various procedures must be invoked in an effort to reach consensus.

The above findings based on observational data are consistent with adult responses to three questions dealing with decision making (see Appendix V, items 11, 12 and 13) and with a hypothesis put forward by Villanueva (1960) that in the barrios unilateral decisions are almost completely absent and that group consultations are the dominant means of reaching decisions. While such consultations are the most visible aspect of barrio decision-making the importance of private discussion, which usually precedes the calling of group meetings, should not be underestimated.

What adolescent youth are exposed to when they attend meetings of the various community organizations is the public aspect of the adult decision-making process. They see the leader acting as moderator of a group discussion that ultimately leads to general consensus on the particular issue at hand. What the youths are not aware of, for the most

part, is the significance of private discussion and negotiation that goes on among the adults before their public meetings take place. It is the informal agreements and understandings reached in private that make possible the reaching of public consensus. When such agreement cannot be reached in a formal meeting the issue is usually tabled for further consideration to allow time for more informal discussion and negotiation to take place. The guiding principle in the public aspect of decision making seems to be not to call for a show of hands until one is pretty confident that consensus or near consensus has already been achieved.

The following description of a PTA meeting provides an example of the type of public decision-making process to which the adolescent youth are exposed. A special meeting was called on a Saturday afternoon when normally the teachers are not in the barrio. This in itself was unusual because most such meetings are called at the specific suggestion of the Head Teacher. In this particular instance, however, the PTA president wanted to hold a meeting without the teachers because the issue to be dealt with was precisely the alleged misconduct of one of the teachers. In short, one of the teachers had been accused by several parents of conduct unbecoming a person of such professional status as a teacher. Specifically, the person in question was alleged to have made her students perform certain tasks of a personal and private nature (such as emptying her chamber pot and fetching her drinking water) during class breaks.

The PTA president called for an open discussion of the charges to determine whether or not they were indeed true and if so what should be done about the matter. The issues were discussed with considerable

fervor and emotion for several hours which brought out a number of important points: namely (1) that this apparently was not the first time the teacher had required her students to perform such tasks; (2) that the matter had already been discussed with the Head Teacher on two previous occasions; (3) that there might be certain repercussions if the barrio residents were to take the matter directly to the district supervisor; (4) it would not be good to put the students in a position of having to testify against their teacher; (5) that if the PTA was successful in having the teacher transferred the district supervisor might not see fit to assign someone to take her place; and (6) that the teacher in question and the supervisor were good friends.

Opinion was so divided as to the merit of these issues that it was decided to table the question for one week with the understanding that at the next meeting a definite decision would be reached as to the most appropriate action for the PTA to take in this matter. During the ensuing week the issue was hotly debated in private amongst the various parents with the result that on the following Saturday a decision was reached that the best action would be to formally put both the teacher in question and the Head Teacher on notice that the community was very disturbed about what they considered to be serious indiscretions on the part of the teacher that would not be tolerated in the future. If a marked improvement was not observed in the teacher's behavior over the next month it was further decided that the PTA would then take the matter up with the district supervisor.

Although private discussion and negotiation is an essential element in the adult decision-making model as demonstrated in the above example,

it appears that initially only the observable public aspect of the process is carried over by adolescents into their barkadas with the expected result that consensus is often harder for the teenagers to achieve. The barkada members will first attempt to reach consensus through group discussion as they have observed their parents doing in community meetings but when this fails the ultimate decision is either left to chance (the toss of a coin or the outcome of a basketball game), or the barkada temporarily splits up with the disagreeing factions each going their own way. The use of chance (or luck) in making decisions is demonstrated in the following incident.

The members of the town barkada had gathered at one of the sari-sari stores to drink gin and coke at 8 A.M. The group of six youths was discussing what they would do during the evening. Some of the members wanted the group to go to a particular outlying barrio while the rest of the group preferred to go to a different barrio. After the issue was discussed at some length one member suggested they decide the question with the toss of a coin. The leader's side won the toss so the whole group agreed to follow his preference.

As previously indicated, sometimes consensus is not easily reached in which case the opposing options may be dropped in favor of a third proposal or the barkada may split with each mini-group temporarily going their own way. Mention was made earlier that the minimal social unit for most adolescents is the two, three or four person friendship circle or clique composed of one's best friends and constant companions. The larger barkada is then composed of two or more friendship groups. When there is a difference of opinion that cannot be resolved the division is

usually between friendship groups within the barkada rather than between non-aligned individuals. If such disputes and divisions between the friendship cliques become too frequent the solidarity of the barkada will be challenged. Consequently, it is through experiencing such difficulties in decision making that the barkada members come to realize the importance of forethought and informal planning in reaching public consensus.

On one occasion the south barkada of Patupat had gathered after dinner at their regular meeting place (the waiting shed near the road) to decide what they would do for the rest of the evening. Three members of the group, Rody, Turing and Ricardo, wanted to visit a particular house. Two others, Fred and Julio, were against the idea so after a while Rody and his group left and went their own way. Fred and the others then went to visit in another house.

The next night four of the members (Manuel, Julio, Ricardo and Ninoy) went visiting together while Rosendo and Fred elected to remain by the waiting shed to talk. Manuel tried to talk everyone into going with him to a distant barrio four kilometers up river. Nobody wanted any part of such a long hike at night so Manuel dropped the idea. Nobody would think of venturing that far from his home territory alone at night. Also, if Manuel had decided to leave on his own he would run the risk that his action would be construed by the others as an indication that he was only thinking of himself and not of the group.

As indicated by Manuel's unwillingness to go against the group, the possibility of an individual deciding not to comply with a group decision is an equally, if not more serious challenge to the barkada than the failure to reach consensus. If an individual member of a barkada

fails to abide by the group decision very often he faces sure sanction from his fellow mates. An example of the form such sanction can take has already been described in the case where members of a particular barkada showed their extreme displeasure with one of their mates by deliberately giving him false information about the group's planned activities with the result that when the individual went to the designated meeting place he found himself alone. The rest of the group had purposely gone somewhere else. After this ruse had been played a second time the individual understood that he was no longer considered by the others as a member of the group.

The informant who related the above incident said the action was deemed necessary because the person in question had failed to live up to his obligations as a member of the group. He only wanted to participate in visiting when the group went to his girl friend's house. In effect, he was not being fair or loyal to the other members of the group.

According to the same informant, it is not easy for someone to try and fool his barkada-mates by saying he is sick or has work to do when he really just does not want to go with them. If they think he is sick they will go to his house to keep him company and if he has work to do, like cleaning garlic or tending his pugon (curing barn), they will offer to help. The group will know whether or not one of their members is telling the truth or trying to hide something.

The point here is that learning how to achieve consensus and abiding by group decisions once they have been reached is not only a social skill necessary for proper performance in adult life but it is also crucial for the maintenance of barkada solidarity. If the barkada fails to achieve

consensus too often, group unity might be weakened to the point where the individual friendship cliques would ultimately begin to function as separate barkadas. Were this to occur it would undoubtedly present a challenge to purok solidarity (recall that the Patupat barkadas are purok specific). Two or three barkadas residing in the same small purok would find it extremely difficult to maintain the social and physical distance appropriate to two "outsider" groups.

The high value placed on consensus plus factors of residence pattern and population size thus serve to limit the number of barkadas by indirectly reinforcing solidarity and cohesion within existing groups. Viewed from another perspective, where lines between barkadas mirror social and physical boundaries already present in the community, as in the case with purok specific barkadas in Patupat, an important continuity is given to the adolescent socialization process.

In town the same problem of territoriality and continuity would appear at the barrio level (remember that Baduya Town is divided into two barrios) if say the various cliques which comprise Mar's group each evolved into a separate barkada.

Reciprocity

Much has been written about the role and function of reciprocity or mutual exchange in lowland Philippine culture. In a seminar paper on the subject, Hollnsteiner (1968) noted that while reciprocity as such is a universal principle, how it is manifested and the influence it has over the conduct of social relations will vary from one society to the next. Having defined reciprocity as "that principle of behavior wherein every service received, solicited or not, demands a return, the nature

and proportion of the return determined by the relative statuses of the parties involved and the kind of exchange at issue" (1968:22), Hollnsteiner proceeds to develop a three-fold classification of reciprocity for lowland Philippine society, namely contractual reciprocity, quasi-contractual reciprocity and utang na loob (internal debt of gratitude) reciprocity.

Of the three types of reciprocity adolescent peer-group socialization is most directly concerned with the contractual and the quasi-contractual forms and hence only these two types will be discussed here. The decision to omit utang na loob reciprocity from the discussion emerged not out of any doubt as to the importance of this much debated aspect of lowland Philippine social life (Hollnsteiner, 1968; Lawless, 1966; Kaut, 1961) but solely because it is felt that the primary socialization for it is centered in the family, rather than in the barkada or other social institutions.

Contractual reciprocity following Hollnsteiner's conceptualization involves a "voluntary agreement between two or more people to behave toward one another in a specified way for a specified time in the future" (1968:23). A common example of this type of reciprocity found throughout the lowland Philippines is where a group of farmers agree amongst themselves to take turns helping one another plow their fields or plant seedlings. This kind of arrangement, known as ammuyo in the Ilocos, involves a group of farmers agreeing to work jointly on one person's fields one day and on those of another person the next day and so on. The amount of time and effort expended on each person's field is kept equal and when a full rotation has been completed and all fields are

either plowed or planted, the obligation of the members of the ammuyo is terminated. As Hollnsteiner notes, the contractual nature of this type of assistance is clearly evident since the arrangements for the reciprocal exchange are worked out in advance. "Each participant knows exactly what is expected of him, and what he may expect of the others. . . . The felt obligation is narrow in scope and devoid of strong emotion" (1968:23).

It should be noted that Hollnsteiner's contention that such relationships have little emotional content does not mean that the participants are not close friends. In fact, quite the opposite is true in the Ilocos where most ammuyo participants are friends, purok-mates and/or relatives. The friendship, however, does not mean that a person who shirks his obligations would go unpunished. In Patupat, if any ammuyo participant cannot meet all his work obligations he must send an alternate family member in his stead or pay a fine to each of the others.

The second form of reciprocity, the quasi-contractual, involves "balanced exchanges where the terms of repayment are not explicitly stated before the contract is made; rather the terms are implicit in situations which the culture recognizes and defines as calling for these terms" (1968:24). Here reciprocity comes into being without prior arrangement and "repayment is made in a mechanical, almost non-affective manner. But failure to reciprocate brings censure" (1968:24).

In Patupat there are several institutionalized forms of quasi-contractual reciprocity including the tagnawa (a kind of cooperative work bee) and the arayat (a voluntary contribution made to the family of a deceased friend at the time of the funeral).

In the tagnawa a kind of quasi-contractual obligation is engendered by the organizing of a cooperative work group. When a particular individual needs help in building a new house he gathers all the materials and prepares the site. He then tells his friends and barriomates that on a particular day he wants to have a tagnawa. On the designated day the helpers arrive early and commence with the heavy team-work necessary in raising the corner posts and roof supports. The helpers work all day without pay but the tagnawa-giver is obliged to provide lunch as well as cigarettes, basi (sugarcane wine) and some form of snack for morning and afternoon work breaks.

When the work is finished the tagnawa-giver will thank all those who helped him and they will return home. Although nothing is said, it is understood that the man who has just received assistance is now obligated to provide like aid to those who helped him. Actual repayment may be deferred over a period of several years or more but this in no way erases the obligation to repay in kind when the opportunity to do so arises.

While the tagnawa is a day-long affair usually organized for house raising, there is a modified version of the same procedure called a pinta which requires only a half-day's work, usually in the afternoon. The pinta is organized when someone, often an elderly couple needs help in planting a large field or when a tobacco farmer needs assistance in erecting his pugon (curing barn). The same implicit norms of repayment for tagnawa assistance also apply to the pinta.

While the tagnawa and the pinta involve the exchange of labor, the arayat provides an example of quasi-contractual reciprocity in the

exchange of money. When a good friend or barrio-mate dies in Patupat, it is customary to contribute a sum of money to the family of the deceased when you arrive at the residence to pay your respects to the dead and participate in the wake. A member of the receiving family carefully records in a notebook the amount and the name of the donor of each contribution. Again no mention is made by the bereaved family of the debt but it is expected that each contribution will be repaid under similar circumstances. When there is a death in the family of one of the original donors the recipient family will check its record book to see the amount of the previous contribution and they will in turn give back exactly the same amount.

The barkada's relation to reciprocity is in the preparation of youth for participation in the above kinds of institutions. In the case of the tagnawa and the pinta it is not uncommon for the members of a teenage barkada to volunteer their services along with the adult men in the community. In doing so the adolescent youths gain added knowledge and experience in house building skills as well as the chance to demonstrate to the community their willingness to assume certain adult responsibilities. In return the youths who participated in the tagnawa can expect that the man they helped will come to their aid when it comes time for them to build their first homes. In this sense the adolescent's participation in a tagnawa can be viewed as an investment for the future.

With respect to the arayat, barkada members commonly attend the funeral wakes held in their territory (their purok or barrio). They will usually arrive in a group and stick together during the "celebration." The wake itself appears to be a trying and sad experience for

only the bereaved family and close relatives of the deceased. For all the others in attendance it is a time for socializing, eating and game playing and the more in attendance the better. Except for the fact that in one room of the house members of the immediate family (mostly women) will be going through a stylized mourning ritual the whole affair has more the appearance of a baptism party or wedding reception.

Sometimes the male youths will represent their fathers in the giving of the arayat contribution, participating for the first time in yet another of the institutionalized forms of reciprocity which operate in the adult community. Depending on their closeness to the deceased some of the youths may participate briefly in the ritualized expression of grief and sorrow, however, most adolescents appear to attend such functions because of the opportunity they provide for socializing with members of the opposite sex.

At one funeral in Patupat members of the north barkada were observed playing a kind of parlor game called "truth or consequences" with some of the local teenage girls. The group was sitting in a small circle on a raised veranda which connected the kitchen with the rest of the house. One person would spin a bottle in the center of the circle and everyone would anxiously wait to see who the bottle would be pointing to when it came to a stop. The designated person would then be required to respond with either "T" or "C." A "T" response meant that the person was ready to answer truthfully any question the bottle spinner might wish to ask. The questions usually involved confirming or denying that one had received a secret letter from an admirer or that the person was a good friend of someone of the opposite sex, etc. While the questions varied

from one person to another they almost always dealt with some aspect of the individual's social life.

If a person was afraid the question might be too embarrassing he or she could respond with "C" indicating they preferred to take the consequences or penalty for not answering. Having responded with "C" the designated individual was obliged to carry out whatever instructions were given by the bottle spinner. Most participants seemed to prefer taking the consequences to telling the truth, perhaps because the penalties ranged from shaking hands with someone of the opposite sex to having a boy and girl (preferably two who secretly like each other) simultaneously hold each end of a three or four inch string in their mouths, to the cheering and giggles of all the other on-lookers. Having taken his or her "consequences" the "it" became the one to make the next spin of the bottle. The crowd playing this game ranged in age from 14 to 20 years of age.

The point here is that barkada members learn to perform various adult roles at funeral wakes (reaffirming the reciprocal social obligations of their families) while at the same time availing themselves of a perfect opportunity to develop confidence in heterosexual interaction which is directly pertinent to the third major focus of adolescent socialization, courtship.

Courtship

While courtship is a well-defined aspect of adolescent socialization with specific goals and methods for achieving them, it cannot be understood in isolation from the rest of the adolescent life experience. To be sure, courtship is primarily concerned with socially approved

heterosexual behavior but it is also eminently involved with the learning of proper response patterns with respect to other barkada and community expectations, including in-group solidarity, consensus decision-making and conformity and social reciprocity.

Courtship, like the practice of circumcision, is another example of a set of cultural expectations which are left by rural Ilocano society largely in the hands of adolescents. The main difference, however, is that the learning of acceptable courtship behavior, unlike circumcision, is crucial to the formation of one's adult identity within the community. Circumcision may be an extremely important aspect of male adolescent life but it has little bearing on how a man is evaluated as an adult. Courtship, on the other hand, is crucial since ideally it leads to marriage and a new family of procreation in a society which evaluates a man primarily on his performance as a household head, a family provider and a father.

Although the adult community shares a well-defined set of ideal standards with regard to courtship, this is an area of behavior that is learned exclusively within the adolescent peer-group. The barkada provides both the setting in which knowledge transfer occurs and experimentation and practice take place. The younger members learn by watching their older, slightly more experienced mates and by direct exchange of information between members.

As we mentioned earlier, courtship in the rural Ilocos, in both outlying barrio and town communities, is essentially a group process. The group, i.e., the male friendship clique or larger barkada, serves three important functions in the courtship process. First it provides informal training and experience in heterosexual relations; second, it

provides moral support to each of the members in terms of group solidarity and high affect relations; and third, it gives the courtship setting an aura of public legitimacy in the sense that the group's presence provides assurance that nothing illicit is happening. With the whole group present the parents of the girl are more likely to excuse themselves feeling confident that nothing is going to happen to their daughter with other young men present. In fact, unless the youth is on very good terms with the girl's parents he is not likely to be very welcome if he comes to visit their daughter alone.

The groupness of rural courtship requires that the barkada members agree to behave towards one another in a particular way for a specified time in the future, in effect establishing among themselves a kind of quasi-contractual type of reciprocity similar to that inherent in the ammuyo work group. During the courting season, from June through October (after planting and before harvest of the rice crop) the barkada members in the outlying barrios are expected to accompany each other on their courting visits to the houses of eligible young ladies living in their purok.

Occasionally visits will be made to a house in another part of the barrio, however, this is generally done only when it is known that the lady involved is not actively being courted by another barkada. Only one case of such inter-purok visiting was recorded during our field research in Patupat when the members of the South barkada came to visit a lady in the central purok who was visiting from Manila where she worked in a hospital. It was also known that this lady had a boyfriend in Manila whom she intended to marry so the visit was more out of

curiosity (to hear what was happening in the big city) than any romantic intentions.

In Patupat the members of the two barkadas meet nearly every night (except during the planting and harvesting period) to decide what they will do. If there are eligible young ladies in their purok, between the ages of 14 and 20, the group may discuss the pros and cons of paying a particular lady a visit. Depending on the interests of the various members there may be suggestions to visit more than one lady. When this happens the group will usually proceed to reach a consensus on who should be paid the first visit and then an informal schedule will be drawn up indicating on which nights the group will visit particular houses. Once the agreement has been reached the members are obliged to participate in each visit, even if it is to the house of a girl they do not like or one to whom they are too closely related to have any romantic interest.

If the barkada members are interested in different young ladies then the system works very much like the previously described ammuyo arrangement where each person in turn receives help from the others. In this case the help is given by going along on the visits to assist your buddies in any way you can. Just as a person who shirks his ammuyo responsibilities will be fined, so the youth who fails in his reciprocal visiting duties will also be punished. A case in point is the previously described incident where a youth was ostracized by his barkada-mates by being given false information about their planned activities. He was forced out of the group precisely because he had not fulfilled his reciprocal obligations to the other members.

It is not only attendance that is important as frequently the barkada members will meet together before going to a girl's house to discuss and plan out exactly who will do what. Often the youth most interested in the girl wants to hide his interest and motives by having his friends appear to be the ones really interested in the young lady. He will have them ask her particular questions so he can hear the answers. Another aspect of the plan is to determine who will enter the house first. Informant discussions supported by repeated observations indicate that generally the real suitor prefers to enter the house last or at least after some of his friends have gone in ahead of him. He does this so as not to appear too anxious or forward to the girl and her parents.

On one particular occasion (one of many during the field research) I was invited to join the South barkada on one of their vistis. After the plan of action had been agreed upon the group broke up into smaller groupings of two and three persons as we climbed up a rather steep hill to the house. My field assistant and I brought up the rear and when we were just below the girl's house he held me back so we could watch first from a distance what was happening.

Two members of the group had already gone inside while the other five sat outside on a bench smoking and talking very softly. As we watched, every so often one of the members already inside the house would walk out on the raised porch to throw away a cigarette butt and then return inside without saying a word. Also, from time to time, the girl would come to the window, push up the woven split-bamboo shutter, and look outside as if to see who was there. She never said anything or acknowledged in any way the rest of the group.

After a few more minutes two more members went inside the house to be followed about five minutes later by the barkada leader and then my assistant and myself. The last member entered by himself a few minutes after we did. In all, the entry process consumed nearly half an hour.

Inside the house the young lady set on a raised papag (split bamboo bed) on the opposite side of the room. One of the members who had entered about mid-way in the line-up was already lying on the floor behind a partition listening to a radio drama. Another youth was baiting the girl by asking her why she had not prepared kankanen (sweet rice cakes) for her guests. She said she would have if she had known they were coming. Two others tried from time to time to get her to sing. The atmosphere was light with a lot of joking and laughter but everyone was always aware of the presence of both parents in the room, although they pretended to pay no attention to what was going on. Actually, in a one-room house there was no place for them to go even if they had wanted to. And, of course, there is always the possibility that my presence as an outsider (although a well-known one) may have affected the behavior of all the participants somewhat, particularly the parents.

After such visits the group gets together to exchange comments and ideas about the girl, what she said and did and whom she seemed to favor, particularly if one of the barkada members is genuinely interested in the lady. Sometimes such visits are made with no other intentions than to size up the different girls in the community.

In conjunction with evening visits like the one described here, there is also a certain amount of courtship behavior that takes place at school, between classes and while walking to and from town. During

the first stage in courtship the boy attempts to stay as close to the girl of his intentions as possible. He will try to be at the school canteen or her favorite sari-sari store when she goes for a snack. At the end of the day he will wait at the road to walk home with her, hoping that she isn't with her girlfriends. This hardly ever happens since high school students, and most particularly girls, seldom walk alone. Adolescent girls are cautioned by their mothers to always stay in a group both for physical protection and also to insure that no rumors develop concerning their behavior and character.

In the outlying barrios private dating is extremely rare and if it does occur it is almost always away from the community when the youths have gone to town or one of the larger municipalities to buy clothes or to see a movie. Unchaperoned dating and the possible consequences it can lead to are real concerns of parents when trying to decide whether or not to allow their daughters to go away to college in Laoag, Vigan or Manila. While advanced education is highly valued there is also the ever-present fear that something might happen to the girl away from the protection of her family and barrio. While most barrio girls who go away to school don't end up going steady (tantamount to having illicit sex) behind their parents' backs, the few cases where such has occurred or has been rumored to have happened are enough to make parental fears of it real. Consequently, when young ladies are allowed to leave the barrio to work or continue their education every possible effort is made to find someone, preferably a relative with whom they can live, so the girl will be looked after.

The problem of a single girl's reputation within the barrio is important not only with respect to the shame and embarrassment any illicit transgression would bring to her and her family but also in economic terms. When a girl is even rumored to have been seen in private with a young man, even the one she wants to marry, her "value" is greatly reduced in the sense that her family is no longer in a position to demand a large sab-ong (male dowry) from the boy's parents.

Consequently, measures are taken in the barrio to insure that all contact between adolescent men and women is under the eye of parental, if not public scrutiny. Aside from visiting a girl's house with his barkada-mates or attending funeral wakes the only other opportunity young people have to get together are at dances which may be held in conjunction with baptism, wedding, birthday or farewell (despedida) parties or organized as special events to raise money for community projects such as improvement of the barrio school.

At such affairs the girls always arrive with members of their families or in groups and sit together on one side of the dancing area. The young men, who have also arrived in groups, sit on the opposite side of the courtyard or room. When the music begins (supplied by a battery-operated phonograph) the young men get up and walk over to stand in front of the girls they wish to dance with. If a youth has a special interest in a particular young lady he will try to be the first to ask her to dance. Actually no formal asking takes place. The boy merely walks over and stands silently in front of the girl with his hand out. If she does not immediately stand up the youth continues standing in front of her with his hand outstretched or may even proceed to practically pull her up much

to the delight of her friends. After the dance the boy returns the girl to her seat and then walks back to his own.

There is little, if any, conversation before, during or after the dance between the boy and the girl, but everyone is trying to size each other up--who seemed to like to dance with whom, who was more willing than somebody else, etc. All of this information is later discussed and analyzed by the barkada members and helps in determining whose house they will visit and what strategy may be used.

When a youth begins to court a particular girl he becomes the brunt of much teasing from his barkada. Commonly the youth's intentions will be announced by his friends with the phrase "ararmen ni Jose" (Jose is courting) but this in no way diminishes the support he can expect to receive from his friends in his efforts to woo the young lady. In fact, it is at this stage of the courtship process that he needs their assistance the most in going with him on visits and perhaps in helping to write secret letters.

The next stage in courtship is the decision to go steady which in the barrio is tantamount to being engaged. Therefore, unless a girl really thinks she wants to marry a particular boy she does not want to be seen with him alone for fear people will think they are "steady." Going steady is frowned upon in the barrio and consequently a girl will try very hard to keep her parents from knowing so as not to jeopardize her case when the boy eventually approaches her parents.

Actually the more common and more traditional practice is for the boy to ask his parents to talk with the girl's family once he has decided he wants to get married. Depending on the girl's feelings, it is

possible that either she or her family may turn the boy down at this first meeting known as the umuli. There are cases in Patupat of young men who were turned down one or more times before they eventually got married.

Assuming the girl does want to marry the boy and that both families are agreeable, a second meeting will be held to discuss plans for the wedding and at a third meeting known as the tutlag the question of the amount of the sab-ong (the contribution usually in money, land, and/or livestock that the boy's family agrees to make to get the new couple started) and parawad (a gift usually in money given to the girl's family for having raised her) plus the cost of the bride's wedding dress, shoes, ring and accessories will be settled.

If the couple wants to get married but the girl's parents refuse to give their approval, then it is common practice for the two to elope (agtaray). Couples who choose to elope eventually have to face their parents and they can certainly expect to be punished, particularly the girl, because she has brought shame and embarrassment to her family and has reduced their bargaining power in negotiation for the sab-ong and parawad.

If, however, the boy has been turned down by the girl, if he has failed to convince her to accept his umuli or to agtaray he still has one recourse left. If he fancies a girl who apparently completely detests him he may, when all else fails, call upon his barkada for help. With their assistance he will attempt to kidnap her (to make kinuboy). The barkada will begin to observe the girl's everyday movements at home and in the fields, and when she is alone they will approach her and convince her to come with them, using force if necessary.

The girl will be taken to the boy's house or to the home of one of his relatives or close friends. They will keep her there under guard until she agrees to marry the boy. The girl's parents will be informed of what has happened but there is little or nothing that they can do except wait to see what decision their daughter makes.

The kinuboy is much less common nowadays than the agtaray. The last known case of kinuboy in Patupat occurred in 1971 where a girl was abducted from a nearby community and brought to a house in Patupat where she was kept prisoner at the boy's house. The girl apparently refused to agree to marriage no matter how much the boy's family threatened her. Finally she was forced to sign an agreement to marriage. Knowing their daughter's feelings the girl's parents contacted the police and the court for help and officers were sent to Patupat to investigate. They interviewed both the boy and the girl and after hearing her story ordered her released and returned to her parents. The two did not get married and no charges were brought against the boy, his family or his barkada.

It is in courtship, more than in any other area of social endeavor, that the barkada receives support from the adult community. Although many residents feel that the barkada has various negative influences on male youth--taking them away from their studies and constructive planning for their future, etc.--(see Appendix VI, questions 1, 3, 4, 6, 8 and 11) --they must nevertheless rely on its group structure as an important element in the courtship process.

Parents directly reinforce male barkada solidarity by insisting that the young suitors come to visit their daughters in groups. The girls are likewise cautioned against being seen with or talking to young men

unless they are in a group with other girls. In this same light it is interesting to note that in the case of kinuboy the police ordered the girl released on the strength of her wishes and not because they considered that the boy and his barkada had broken the law. It appears that here both social custom and the law (as applied by the local police officers) tend to reinforce the role of the barkada as a major agent in the courtship process.

In town communities like Baduya the situation regarding barkadas and courtship is slightly different. For one thing the "courting season" is less pronounced in town than in the outlying barrios simply because the day-to-day activity patterns of town youth are less subject to the varying manpower needs of the agricultural cycle. Visiting, therefore, is pretty much a year-round activity in town with perhaps some increase during the school vacation period from April to June.

Another area of difference between the barrio and the town is a feeling on the part of barrio residents that town youth, and particularly adolescent girls, have more freedom than do youths in the remote barrios. Young mothers in Patupat, for example, claimed that some town families "even allow their teenage daughters to go to parties by themselves." Subsequent observations in Baduya did not, however, reveal any significant differences in female behavior patterns except perhaps for a higher level of public interaction with members of the opposite sex.

The increased frequency of interaction between male and female adolescents in town is probably more a result of greater opportunity than any major difference in normative standards between the two communities. Between classes and during lunch breaks it is very easy for groups of

students to "run into each other" at the various sari-sari stores that sell cold soft drinks, cookies, candy, cigarettes, etc. There are also various extra-curricular activities at the high school which provide an additional opportunity and justification for young women to be away from home during daylight hours. And on Sunday, services at the various churches in Baduya provide yet another opportunity for youth to get together.

The opportunities for socializing with members of the opposite sex are greater and more diverse in nature than those existing in the smaller barrios but the principal unit of interaction is still the group. Folk beliefs of the barrio residents aside, town girls appear to be just as group oriented in their activity as do girls from the barrios. Town parents also gave no indication that their views regarding dating and proper female behavior were any different than those held by barrio residents.

With respect to the male adolescents, visiting the homes of young ladies during the evening hours is a major barkada activity in town and is also the primary cause of friction between different peer groups. Adult informants in Baduya were nearly unanimous in stating that prior to Martial Law (which brought a nation-wide curfew and a municipal ordinance prohibiting the sale of alcoholic beverages after 4 P.M.) that drinking and disputes over which group had the right to court a particular girl were the causes of most youth problems and violence.

Such findings provide additional support for the major thesis that has emerged thus far from the comparison of Patupat and Baduya adolescent socialization practices, namely that the socio-ecological configurations

of the two communities are such that they contribute to definite, observable and measurable differences in male and female adolescent behavior patterns without significantly affecting the value system in the area of norms and attitudes governing adolescent behavior.

Courtship in both communities involves the development of various social skills that are important for proper and effective participation in adult society. In addition to training in proper heterosexual behavior, decision making and social reciprocity, barkada courtship activities instill in the members a sense of group unity and solidarity. The overall experience also helps the individuals to develop a degree of self-confidence and public presence.

In summary, the barkada serves as a direct socializer in providing a setting in which its members can experiment with and perfect proper adult role behavior. Conscious, vertical socialization in the family, where the roles of adult teacher and child learner are clearly defined, is slowly replaced by around age 12 or 13 by a more horizontal learning process that is largely unconscious in nature. It is at this stage that barkada members begin to act out role behavior based on their observance of adult models such as the decision-making process in the previously described PTA meeting.

In addition to serving as sort of a testing ground for adult roles which were learned through earlier observations the barkada also provides a buffer or social safety cushion that eases the transition to adulthood. Married youths, for example, are not forced out of the barkada as they begin to take on more and more adult responsibilities. They may become less active in the group but still one's barkada mates are there for

moral support. In fact, it was previously mentioned that in some cases the barkada is carried into adult life by its members.

Continuity and Discontinuity

Having thus far defined adolescent socialization in the context of role learning and having shown how the barkada operates as a socializing agent in three behavioral domains (decision making, reciprocity and courtship) we can look at adolescent socialization in our two communities against a larger framework of social expectations throughout the life cycle. Here we are interested in seeing to what degree the adolescent socialization process is consistent with behavior patterns and values learned during childhood (in the family, at school and in play-groups) and with the roles a person is expected to know and play as an adult.

Ruth Benedict's conceptualization of continuities and discontinuities in cultural conditioning (1938) provides a frame within which one can effectively evaluate a particular adolescent socialization process against previous training and future expectations. A certain amount of discontinuity is present in all societies. Human beings everywhere must pass through a period of total dependency in infancy and childhood before they can assume the opposing role of parent in adulthood. Nowhere are the behavioral expectations for girls and boys the same as those for men and women. Against such a background of basic discontinuity societies differ in the amount of continuity that also exists in their socialization process.

Benedict saw continuity existing where the kinds of things a person must learn to do at one stage of development are not inconsistent with what he or she has previously learned. She cites modesty training in

American society as an example of conditioning that is both highly consistent and continuous throughout the life cycle. The American mother wastes no time in clothing her baby soon after birth. Here the importance attached to proper bodily coverage so early in the socialization process is maintained throughout the life cycle, as compared to some societies where children are allowed to run naked until a certain age at which they are clothed and modesty training formally begins.

Adolescent socialization can be equally analyzed in terms of the continuity and discontinuity dichotomy. Where adolescent behavior patterns have been referred to (particularly in western literature) as part of the so-called "youth subculture" the socialization process is highly discontinuous. In such instances little of what teenagers do is seen to be consistent with adult values and expectations. Here adolescence may constitute a moratorium between childhood freedom and adult responsibility but it does not provide a bridge leading easily from one stage to the other.

The situation will, of course, vary from community to community and from group to group. Thus, the only way to determine to what degree barkada socialization in the barrio and town communities is largely continuous or discontinuous is to look at each type of activity separately and on its own merits in each location. Figure 18 indicates what appear to be the areas of major difference in the socialization process between the Patupat and Baduya barkadas.

Recreation activity is classified in both the barrio and town as continuous because it consists largely of talking, smoking and drinking which closely parallels adult male recreational activities. The only

	Barrio Barkadas		Town Barkadas	
	continuous	discontinuous	continuous	discontinuous
Recreational Activity	X		X	
Social Reciprocity	X			
Membership Pattern	X		X	
Economic Activity	X			X
Decision Making	X		X	
Courtship		X		X

Figure 18. Barkada Socialization

minor difference in the adolescent and adult behavior patterns is that the youth will play basketball when the facilities are available while the adult men prefer to play cards.

Socialization for social reciprocity appears to be more dominant and continuous in the barrio where the barkada members frequently take part in tagnawa work groups along with adults and also participate in the arayat exchange at funerals as a representative of their family. Both the barrio and town barkada members appear to acknowledge an unwritten reciprocal responsibility to each other with respect to participation in visitation activities. In the barrio this early training in reciprocity follows closely the quasi-contractual obligations present in the ammuyo system. Such a model is not as immediately available to youth in the town.

With respect to membership patterns little need be said. Both the barrio and town barkadas conform to existing social and physical boundaries. In outlying barrios such as Patupat the barkadas tend to be purok specific while in town they conform to the division between the two barrios. In both cases the barkadas replicate existing boundaries and social divisions in terms of their membership and patterns of territoriality.

Considerable discussion was devoted earlier to the subject of economic activity within the barkada. It will be recalled that in Patupat the youth are heavily involved in agricultural work as members of the familial unit of production. Those youth still in school work in the fields during the weekends and while on vacation. Often the barkada itself or one or two of the friendship cliques within it participates as

a unit in a pinta (half-day) cooperative labor group to help someone plant their fields.

In addition to direct field work (planting, weeding, harvesting, etc.) barrio youth also are regularly involved with various secondary chores such as cutting grass for their carabaos and seeing that the animals get daily baths in the river. When a whole group is cutting grass or at the river with their carabaos it is really difficult to determine just where the work leaves off and the play begins. Thus, in the barrio, adolescent youth are involved both as individuals and occasionally as a barkada member in agricultural activities which provide additional training and knowledge concerning roles of crucial importance in adult life.

In Baduya, there is considerably less involvement of youth in agricultural activities primarily because much of the land farmed by town families is actually located in other barrios at some distance (one to three kilometers) from the town proper. Not only are the fields far from town but they are also scattered in many different areas making it quite unlikely that neighbors in town would be farming adjacent or nearby fields. Consequently, involvement of town youth in agriculture is considerably less than in the outlying barrios and what little work that is done by adolescents involves the input of single individuals rather than the cooperative effort of a barkada. Town youth will often not move full-time into the role of farmer until after marriage when they must begin providing for their own family in contrast to the outlying barrios where farming is very much a part of every able-bodied youth's activities from about age ten onward.

Little needs to be added here concerning the socialization role of barkadas in both the barrio and the town with respect to decision making. Adolescent groups in both communities experiment with various decision-making strategies which are often patterned after previous and repeatedly observed adult behavior in local meetings. Eventually the groups must learn to reach decisions by consensus in order to maintain the solidarity of their peer group. Such training and experience is most consistent with future adult role demands.

And finally, in both the barrio and the town the single most important activity which links adolescent barkadas to adult society is courtship. In this particular behavior domain the barkada is of major importance to both adults and youth. For parents the barkadas provide a certain degree of protection for their adolescent daughters. The girls are cautioned to go around in groups of two, three or more and not to be seen alone with a boy. Consequently, the single male youth in order not to be outnumbered and overwhelmed by the girls brings along his own group of friends, his barkada and hence the typical heterosexual interaction is between groups of males and females rather than between a single young man and lady. In such situations parents feel there is little chance their daughters will be taken advantage of.

Unlike socialization for decision making and reciprocity, courtship behavior ceases or should cease after marriage and hence at a behavioral level adolescent socialization for courtship is discontinuous. However, it may also be considered as continuous in the sense that such behavior, although terminated at marriage, is consistent with adult attitudes and values concerning sex and marriage and is an essential element in the system out of which such norms were generated.

As suggested here, the degree of continuity in the socialization process in the two communities may also be measured in terms of attitudes and values, as well as behavior. There is an implicit assumption that a high degree of continuity at the behavioral level should correlate with an equally high level of agreement between adolescents and adults in terms of expressed attitudes and values.

To ascertain if such an assumption would hold for Patupatū and Baduya an identical set of questions designed to measure attitudes towards: (1) change orientation, (2) action propensity, (3) conflict resolution, (4) participation, (5) equality, (6) selflessness, (7) migration propensity, and (8) economic development, was administered to a sample of adults and adolescents in both communities (see Appendix III for notes on instrument design, sampling procedures and Appendix IV for response tallies). To this schedule an additional set of questions was added for the adolescent respondents, directed specifically towards peer relations and areas of possible peer-parent cross-pressure (see Appendix V). The adult informants were also asked a series of questions designed to elicit their attitudes towards barkadas in general (see Appendix VI).

Although male and female respondents were included in the sample population, in keeping with our focus on male barkadas, only the male responses will be discussed here. The male sample totals 78, however, when this is broken down into four categories, adults and adolescents in each of the two communities, the individual Ns are too small to permit the use of Chi square tests of significance.

The response patterns, in terms of both frequency and mean response, indicate that there is actually little difference between the barrio and

the town with respect to attitudes expressed by adult and adolescent males. Although the smallness of the sample size precludes any meaningful statistical analysis the survey data are generally consistent with earlier discussed behavior patterns in both communities. With only minor exceptions there are no appreciable transgenerational differences in either the barrio or the town in terms of behavior or expressed attitudes. Such consistency provides further support for our contention that there is a high degree of continuity in the pattern of adolescent socialization in both communities that has inhibited the emergence of a generation gap wide enough to be considered as evidence for the existence of a separate youth culture.

As previously noted, the adolescents in town do differ considerably from the adults in degree of involvement in agricultural activities but this is only a temporary condition as the majority of town males eventually become full-time farmers. Given the small N, it is impossible from the survey responses alone, to say whether there is any greater distance between adult and adolescent attitudes and values in either the barrio or the town. It must also be kept in mind that the variance that does exist in the response patterns may be the result of random selection.

On 13 of 29 questions there was a greater variance between barrio adults and adolescents than between the two groups of town respondents. On 10 other questions, however, the pattern was reversed with the greater transgenerational variance being found among the town sample. On the remaining 6 questions there was no appreciable difference in adolescent-adult response patterns in the town and barrio.

On only seven questions did the responses appear to reflect any substantial differences between adult and adolescent attitudes across both communities. Three of the seven questions concerned change orientation. In these responses, youth in both the barrio and the town were more conservative than the adults concerning the need for change and the desirability of adopting newer ways of doing things (Appendix IV, questions 2 and 3). On the usefulness of planning, nearly 20 percent more adolescents than adults felt there is no use making plans for the future because they often do not come true (question 4). By about the same margin adolescents also felt people should not be forced to contribute to long-term community projects (question 25). Regarding group participation the teenagers agreed more often (by about 24 percent) than did the adults with the statement that "allowing all people to say what they want will not get things done" (question 15). And finally, also by a 20 percent margin, the male youth were less inclined to feel it is necessary to leave one's family to improve one's life (question 21).

It is not surprising that the questions showing the greatest trans-generational variance are those that deal with change, development, and mobility. What is unusual, however, is the conservative nature of the adolescent responses. The common expectation, it would seem, would be for the reverse to occur where a higher level of education on the part of the adolescents is associated with responses indicating a greater willingness to accept change and mobility.

Perhaps some of the adolescent responses reflect in part a lack of previous experience with change. None of the male youth, for example, would have ever experienced plowing with a wooden plow rather than one

made of steel; but the adults can certainly remember how much harder field work was before the introduction of the steel plow after the war. Likewise most adolescents probably cannot remember back to a time when tobacco and garlic were not major cash crops, to mention only two of a number of changes that have profoundly affected rural Ilocos life in the last twenty years. The youth also probably have had very little experience with planning or feel that it is rather useless since most of the decisions that have affected them thus far in life have been made by their parents, e.g., there is no use planning to continue school if your father says the family cannot afford the tuition.

No matter how plausible certain explanations may be, without considerable data concerning such variables as previous experience, individual identity formation and varying levels of internalization of normative standards (areas not addressed in this study) any explanation remains at best only speculation. The data not only raise various issues with respect to individual perceptions and motivations but also bring into question some of the findings of an earlier study of Filipino youth conducted by Patricia Licuanana.

In one of the few studies directly focused on non-deviant Filipino adolescents, Licuanan (1971) attempted to evaluate the effect modernization has had upon adolescent self-concept, reference groups, achievement motivation and aspiration. From her findings (based on interviews and TAT scores from lower middle-class seniors in Manila and three provincial towns) Licuanan concluded that urban (Manila) youth considered their parents as a more important reference group than did the respondents from the provincial towns. This was explained as being the result of a

closer educational, occupational and aspirational affinity between the urban adolescents and their parents. On the other hand, because of a greater disparity in educational attainment and aspirations, a wider generation gap was said to exist in the rural areas where parental norms and values were thought to be in conflict with those the students encounter in school.

Such findings run counter to the Mendez-Jocano (1974) study which suggests that adolescents in the urban setting are much more independent of family and parental supervision, influence and control than are youth in the rural areas. The authors claim that the barkada can serve as a channel of neighborhood collective effort as well as a source of disruption (1974:344). Influence of a disruptive nature was found to be more prominent in the urban rather than in the rural setting.

The data in this study tend to support the Mendez-Jocano findings over those reported by Licuanan. There may well be a closer educational and aspirational affinity between parents and youth in the urban areas but it is also possible that any significant effect of such closeness may be largely canceled by a decreased level of parental influence and control. Such appears to be the case for Baduya and Patupat. There was a closer educational affinity between youth and adults in the town than in the barrio yet there was no appreciable difference in adult and adolescent responses to the majority of items on the attitudinal survey. If, as Licuanan predicts, a greater generation gap is to be found in the rural areas then there should have been an appreciably greater distance between adult and adolescent responses in the barrio than in the town.

Other findings of the Licuanan study, however, are generally consistent with data from Patupat and Baduya. With reference to peer-parent cross-pressure, for example, Licuanan's subjects considered peers more important in recreational situations (parties, sports events, etc.). Peers were also selected over parents or other adults in emotional situations such as quarrels with friends, or confiding about one's boyfriend or girlfriend. Parents, on the other hand, were chosen over peers when advice was sought regarding one's present or future career. In both the barrio and the town on questions concerning areas of general agreement with parents (Appendix V, Section D) the most frequently cited item was "future plans." There was much less agreement on other subjects such as how one should spend his money and the proper age for marriage. Under the heading of disagreement with parents the most frequently cited item was solutions to girlfriend-boyfriend problems.

To provide a further idea of how barrio and town adolescents perceive themselves in relation to their parents and the family the respondents were asked to indicate whether they thought their parents generally think the same as or different than they do. Town males were unanimous in feeling that their parents think differently from them while the barrio youth were nearly evenly divided on the question.

In terms of how they perceived themselves and their parents in relation to a four-increment scale of modernity (very modern, modern, old fashion, very old fashion), only two respondents, both barrio males, considered their parents to be very modern. One respondent, a town youth, thought his parents to be very old fashion. By far the greatest number of barrio respondents (46 percent) felt their parents to be modern

compared to 70 percent of the town subjects who thought their parents were old fashion. In terms of self-perceptions the majority of respondents in both communities felt themselves to be modern. No one considered himself as old fashion, however, three youths perceived themselves as very modern.

Although this type of self-anchoring scale does not tell us how each person defined the two extremes (very modern and very old fashion) it is interesting that the respondents' perceived distance between themselves and members of their parents' generation appears to be greater than the actual attitudinal differences between them as measured by the "agree-disagree" questions (Appendix IV). In short, the survey responses suggest there is a higher degree of attitudinal continuity between the adolescent and adult generations in both communities than is actually perceived by the youths.

Likewise, a high degree of consistency was found among adults in both communities with respect to their attitudes and perceptions of barkadas. Of the eleven questions in Appendix VI, only seven had response frequencies amenable to the use of a Chi square test of significance. Of these seven items none registered a significant difference between the town and barrio sample populations. The question of statistical significance aside, a comparison of the raw frequencies and percentages indicate certain minor variance between the town and barrio informants in their attitudes towards adolescent barkadas.

On one item, for example, the informants were asked to state whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement, "a boy learns a lot about life from his barkada." In the barrio 47 percent of the informants

agreed and 53 percent disagreed. In the town, on the other hand, only 38 percent agreed while 62 percent disagreed. This pattern, which suggests that barrio adults may hold a more positive attitude towards adolescent barkadas than their town counterparts, would appear to be consistent with our previous contention that the barkada is more highly integrated into the barrio community than it is in the town. The very fact that adolescents have more of an economic role in the barrio than they do in town may also be related to the above response patterns.

Another area where there was considerable variance was on the question of how much time youth should spend with their peer group. In response to the statement, "children should be allowed to spend as much time with their barkada as they like," 100 percent of the barrio adult sample disagreed while in town 11 informants or 22 percent of the sample felt it was all right for a child to spend as much time as he wants with his barkada.

A third area of disagreement between the two sample groups concerned whether it is essential for a boy to have a barkada to be a "real man." On this point 86 percent of the barrio informants felt barkada membership was not necessary for a person to be considered a real man compared to only 70 percent for the town sample. Although the percentage differences are not that great it may be possible to suggest that perceived masculinity and barkada membership are more highly associated as one moves from the barrio to the denser populated urban areas. Such a contention, if supported by further evidence, would be consistent with Jocano's (1973:94) findings that teenage males in urban Manila slums are considered as effeminate or bakla if they spend too

much time at home. Consequently they are to be found most often in the company of their "street corner" barkada.

With respect to the amount of control parents perceive they have over their teenage children, 47 percent of the barrio informants felt that even if they disliked their son or daughter's barkada there is nothing they could do about it. Among the town sample 60 percent of the respondents felt nothing could be done.

To the degree that the response patterns to the eleven barkada questions are valid and reliable indicators of adult attitudes it is possible to suggest as a tentative hypothesis that in comparison to town adults, barrio parents feel they have more control over their children's behavior.

Aside from such minor differences town and barrio parents seem to share many of the same feelings and perhaps even misgivings about teenage barkadas in their communities.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1. In rural Ilocos communities king and queen contests are a popular means of raising money for community and/or school improvement projects. Each year the Municipality of Baduya has such a contest in conjunction with the town fiesta. People vote for the candidate of their choice by contributing money (votes) in his or her name. The male and female candidates with the largest amount of contributions are declared the winners and crowned king and queen. The proceeds of the contest are then set aside for the annual beautification project. In Barrio Patupat the same procedure is utilized by the teachers to raise money for school improvements. Here the teachers select the candidates on the basis of which families are likely to be able to raise the most money on behalf of their son or daughter. A child from a poor family is not likely to ever be selected as a candidate (even if he or she is a straight A student), while the children of a pensionado or a family that has overseas relatives are often chosen as candidates every year.
2. The "sociedad" or as it is formally known in Patupat, the Saranay Biag ken Dayaw (association for the assistance and protection of life and honor) is a voluntary organization whose members agree to help each other in preparing large feasts for weddings and funerals. Membership in the association is by family and can be inherited from one's parents. The organization has a written constitution and a set of elected officers. Annual dues are assessed from each member family and fines are levied for failure to send a representative to the group's meetings and/or to participate in a group service function. The money raised from the member dues and fines is used to purchase and maintain the organization's equipment which includes a number of large cooking vats, plates and glasses to serve 400 and rolls of brightly decorated oil cloth for the long table. All of this equipment is made available to members when they call upon the association to help them with a large wedding or funeral feast. When a member of the association gives a special feast all the other members come to help prepare the food, serve and wash up. In most cases this is a full-day affair, however, in the case of funerals it may go on for several days. A person who is not a member of the association may avail himself of its services by paying an agreed upon rent for the equipment and donation for the labor of the members.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Given the dearth of literature dealing directly with adolescents in small rural communities and the inconclusive, and sometimes, conflicting findings concerning the nature and role of peer groups in socialization, this exploratory study set out to look at the organization and role of male adolescent peer groups in two rural Philippine farming communities: a remote barrio and a town. The primary objective was not to confirm or refute any existing theory but rather to carry out a systematic comparative investigation that would lead to the generation of a set of preliminary hypotheses concerning: (1) the role of male adolescent barkadas in rural Philippine society; and (2) the general structure and activity patterns of peer groups in differing environmental settings.

To this end, a theoretical framework was developed that placed the barkada within an environment composed of numerous interacting physical, as well as social, elements. Primary emphasis was focused on the influence of three factors--(1) land utilization, (2) residential configuration, and (3) population characteristics--considered to be key elements in the socio-ecological configuration unique to each of the communities rather than attempting to account for all possible links between the barkada and the various environmental factors.

Behavior patterns of the barrio and town barkadas were found to be associated in large part with differences in the patterning of the three factors across the two communities. In the barrio, a relatively compact and contiguous pattern of land utilization tended to reinforce peer

group interaction. A much more diverse pattern of land distribution in town detracted from such peer interaction.

Associated with the barrio land use pattern was a much higher level of adolescent involvement in farming activities than was found among youth residing in town. In addition to planting and harvesting, such tasks as cutting grass and bathing carabaos at the river provided opportunities for socializing and face-to-face interaction. In the town community, the adult men carried out most of the farming activities with only marginal assistance from their sons. Because of the relatively dispersed pattern of land holdings, when a town youth helped his father with the field work, he was isolated from the other members of his peer group.

The manner in which group identity was manifested among male barkada members was found to be associated with factors of population size and housing configuration in each of the communities. In the barrio, where the smallness of the population allowed everyone to know everyone else by face, house and nickname, there was no need for any particular symbol of adolescent group identity such as a barkada name or insignia to distinguish its members from the rest of the community. The fact that an individual lived in a particular part of the barrio and tended to associate regularly with certain individuals from that area was enough to set him and his friends off as a visible group.

In town, the presence of a much larger population appears to be one of the primary factors associated with a different configuration of interpersonal relationships and identity among barkada members. While most town residents were able to name their immediate neighbors, they

could not identify all of their town-mates. As a result of the greater anonymity, town youth needed to search for or contrive some artificial focus of identity in order to set themselves apart from the rest of the community. Copying patterns from their counterparts in the more urban areas, the town boys, from time-to-time utilized special clothing, emblems, and particular names as a means of manifesting their group identity.

Another factor also apparently related to differing environmental conditions between the two communities was barkada continuity or duration after marriage. Given the more compact pattern of land distribution, the presence in the barrio of semi-isolated housing clusters and physically separated puroks, one can suggest the following as a hypothesis for further testing: if adolescent barkada members remain in the same barrio and purok after marriage, their former group will continue to function, with changes occurring not in the membership but rather in the content of the links between the members. Conversely, one would expect that the teenage barkadas in town would either dissolve or undergo considerable change in membership as their members marry and are drawn into full-time farming on widely dispersed plots.

A number of differences in membership and structure between the town and barrio barkadas were also found to be associated with the varying socio-ecological conditions in the two communities. In the barrio the two barkadas were purok specific and highly kinship-oriented in their membership. Members of the town barkada, on the other hand, came from several different puroks and, except for two sets of brothers, were not related to each other. Such differences possibly are a reflection of the absence of housing clusters and the presence of a more heterogeneous population in town.

On the other hand, with respect to size, patterns of interaction within the group and leadership strategies, the town and barrio barkadas had much in common. Barkadas in both the town and barrio communities were found to be small in size (ranging from around seven to not more than twelve members) permitting a high level of face-to-face interaction. In terms of structure, the members in each group denied the existence of any kind of leadership; however, observational and sociometric data indicated the presence of hierarchical ordering with one individual at the top or in the center of each of the groups. Here, our findings concerning structure were consistent with Sherif's contention that in small groups "the status differentiation of the members constitutes the organization of the group and embodies the power aspects of relations within the group" (1961:176). One interesting aspect of the sociometric ordering of individuals within the peer groups was the emergence of small clusters of individuals within the barkada. Such findings suggest that these two- and three-man "best friend" cliques constitute the minimal adolescent social unit in the Philippines rather than the larger barkada of which they are a part.

Role relations were undefined and largely a matter of situational context, except for the rather general distinction between those who tended to initiate action and those who followed. The linkages between members were found to be multiplex in nature, involving friendship, kinship obligations, economic assistance, moral and physical support, neighborliness and companionship.

Inter-group relations among different barkadas in both the town and barrio appeared to stress a deliberate strategy of cautious avoidance.

The crucial factor here seemed not so much who somebody was but how he was defined in a given situation. Within the barrio, members of one barkada considered the members of the other group as outsiders and behaved accordingly, especially in situations where both groups were brought together at barrio-wide functions. However, in town the same two groups usually merged together as part of a so-called "alliance" of barrio barkadas as a means of protection against possible harassment from the town boys.

In this situation all the barrio residents considered each other as "insiders" and defined the town youth as the "outsiders." Such behavior on the part of the adolescent barkada members is related largely to various situational variables and cultural norms, and possibly to some set of general cognitive perceptions associated with the insider-outsider dichotomy throughout lowland Philippine society. It is suggested that in lowland Philippine society, the problem of how a person is defined as either an "insider" or "outsider" involves both the social implications of a wide range of situational variables and the operation of some type of culturally-based assumption that few, if any, individuals can ever be completely neutral (neither friend nor foe).

The socialization function of adolescent peer groups, i.e., the informal training received through participation in barkada activities, was largely consistent with the norms, roles and general expectations of adult society. Barkada courtship activities not only conformed with adult attitudes and values concerning sex and marriage but were also an essential element in the cultural system out of which such norms were generated. Two other areas in which role training within the barkada was

also found to be highly consistent with adult values concerned conflict resolution and the norms of social reciprocity.

With respect to peer-parent cross-pressure, the findings indicate that rather than emerging as conflicting social units competing for the attention and loyalty of the youth, the rural family and barkada appear to be mutually compatible and complementary units having separate though related spheres of influence over the adolescent population in the two communities. In short, the barkada can be seen as an extension of, rather than a substitute for, one's immediate family. Consistent with this position is our finding that certain areas of development and training, such as circumcision and courtship, appear to be informally delegated to the adolescent barkada by members of the parental generation. These are areas over which the parents of male adolescents generally do not attempt to exert any direct influence.

Such findings, if borne out by further study in other rural communities, would tend to question the general assumption that peer groups most often emerge as significant socializing agents under conditions of rapid social change where the more traditional institutions such as family and church are no longer capable of providing adequate training for all aspects of adult life (Thrasher, 1927; Eisenstadt, 1956). The fact that in urban areas the increased influence of adolescent peer groups has often been associated with a decline in the importance of the family and school as socializing agents does not necessarily mean that in the rural areas, where the family remains dominant, peer group influence is substantially reduced.

Analysis of survey response patterns from both communities suggest that there is no appreciable difference in the basic attitudes and values held by adolescents and adults in either the town or barrio. Such findings question the contention by Licuanan (1971) that in the Philippines a larger generation gap will be found in the rural areas owing to a greater disparity between parents and children in terms of educational background and professional aspirations. If this were the case we would expect a wider gap in the barrio than in the town where there is a closer educational affinity between youth and adults.

In addition to the enumeration of specific findings concerning non-deviant male barkadas in two rural Ilocos communities, the study has made a small but hopefully significant contribution to the existing body of knowledge of adolescent peer groups in general and most particularly those in non-western, non-tribal farming communities. With respect to adolescence research in general the results of this study have direct relevance to the application and utility of a number of analytical constructs that have been employed in much of the research dealing with adolescent development socialization.

As demonstrated in the thesis, one of the primary problems in using the terms, peer group, gang, clique, crowd and even barkada, as conceptual categories is that they assume a degree of uniformity that is not often found in the real world. As commonly employed, they do not reflect the considerable range of variability present in adolescent groups within a single culture, much less across several cultures.

Such categories must be specifically defined in terms of some set of contextual and/or structural attributes before they can serve as units of

cross-cultural and cross-situational comparison. Following along the lines of Yablonsky (1962) and Boissevain (1968) an attempt was made to distinguish between near, or quasi-groups, and fully developed social groups. Within each of these categories subsequent distinctions were drawn in terms of formal vs. informal organization, rural vs. urban location, and between socially approved vs. violent, criminal and/or deviant behavior. While such distinctions are a step in the right direction, more work needs to be done towards developing a precise set of conceptual categories that are capable of handling the actual diversity one encounters in the adolescent world.

The same problem of variability also brings into question the utility of one of the most pervasive themes in adolescent literature-- marginality. A substantial number of studies on adolescents in both developed and developing nations present adolescents as socially marginal, alienated and/or deprived. By itself the concept has little meaning since the manner in which it is measured may vary from situation-to-situation and from culture-to-culture. For example, from our conclusion that barkadas in Patupat and Baduya are integrated into their respective communities both economically and socially, one could assume that rural Ilocos adolescents do not suffer much from marginality. However, if one focuses on leadership and community decision making not only adolescents but even young married adults are found to be in a marginal position in terms of power and influence. Again, it is not enough to classify societies in terms of the degree of adolescent marginality; rather one must define its exact nature and evaluate it in relation to those areas in which youth are not alienated.

At a more general level the comparative data from both communities are relevant to a number of issues surrounding the larger problem of culture change. The finding that differences in the socio-ecological configuration and adolescent behavior patterns in the barrio and town were not associated with any significant difference in basic attitudes and values suggests that (1) a wide range of behavior may be compatible under certain circumstances with the same set of values; and (2) that changes in environment and behavior do not necessarily result in major alteration in attitudes and values. Such propositions, if validated by further study in similar communities, would tend to question the merit of directed change programs that are based on the assumption that over time a change in behavior will bring about a desired modification in certain values.

And finally, perhaps the most significant contribution of this study has been its demonstration of the relevance and usefulness of the socio-ecological approach in the study of human development in general and most particularly adolescent socialization. This approach not only makes possible the study of youth in the context of their everyday activities and situations but also permits a two-level systems analysis of the total socialization process along the lines suggested by Bronfenbrenner (1976a). At the first level, one is concerned with the interaction between the adolescent and the various elements in his environment including home, school, peer group, work place and the various physical elements within his immediate neighborhood and larger community. At the second level, emphasis is placed on the interrelation between these different elements and how they articulate with one another to create a unique set of location-specific environmental configurations that are a part of the larger socio-ecology of a given area.

In addition to isolating particular man-environment relationships that have facilitating and inhibiting influences on barkada organization and activity patterns, the socio-ecological approach has considerable potential as a conceptual framework capable of integrating the various methodologies and constructs associated with the three basic themes in socialization literature: transgenerational continuity, impulse control and role learning.

Because this approach does not focus on any one learning theory or time period in the life cycle to the exclusion of all others, it is possible to view the various learning processes as interrelated rather than mutually exclusive, thus achieving a more realistic picture of the total socialization process that does involve both formal and informal as well as conscious and unconscious learning, observation and imitative behavior, role training and the control and channeling of individual impulse. In short, it is the recognition that all of these processes are occurring simultaneously and across time, in an environment that includes physical and social elements both within and external to the community, that makes the socio-ecological framework a unique and particularly useful approach to the study of socialization.

APPENDIX I

BARRIO BARKADA MEMBERSHIP BY INFORMANT RESPONSE

NORTH BARKADA

Individuals Included by Respondent in his Group

Respondent	Name	Age	Educational Background		Marital status	Relationship to respondent	Housing Cluster	House Number
			last year completed	still studying				
Romulo	Basilio	17	1st. H.S.	No	S	Friend	1	2
	Tomas	13	6th. Grd.	Yes	S	Friend	3	14
	Ponching	17	4th. H.S.	No	S	1st Cousin	2	7
	* Carling	17	2nd. H.S.	Yes	S	1st Cousin	2	11
Carling	* Tomas	13	6th. Grd.	Yes	S	Nephew	3	14
	Ponching	17	4th. H.S.	No	S	1st Cousin	2	7
	Romulo	19	3rd. H.S.	Yes	S	1st Cousin	4	17
	Celso	16	5th. Grd.	Yes	S	1st Cousin	4	17
	Basilio	17	1st. H.S.	No	S	Friend	1	2
Basilio	* Ponching	17	4th. H.S.	No	S	Friend	2	7
	Romulo	19	3rd. H.S.	Yes	S	Friend	4	17
	Celso	16	5th. Grd.	Yes	S	Friend	4	17

(* = individual/s respondent considered to be his best friend/s)

Individuals Included by Respondent in his Group

Respondent	Name	Age	Educational Background		Marital status	Relationship to respondent	Housing Cluster	House Number
			last year completed	still studying				
Tomas	* Doro	16	3rd. H.S.	Yes	S	3rd Cousin	7	27
	* Norberto	14	2nd. H.S.	Yes	S	Nephew	8	35
	Romulo	19	3rd. H.S.	Yes	S	Friend	4	17
	Celso	16	5th. Grd.	Yes	S	Friend	4	17
	Basilio	17	1st. H.S.	Yes	S	Friend	1	2
Celso	* Romulo	19	3rd. H.S.	Yes	S	Brother	4	17
	Basilio	17	1st. H.S.	Yes	S	Friend	1	2
	Ponching	17	4th. H.S.	No	S	1st Cousin	2	7
	Carling	17	2nd. H.S.	Yes	S	1st Cousin	2	11
Ponching	* Basilio	17	1st. H.S.	Yes	S	Friend	1	2
	Romulo	19	3rd. H.S.	Yes	S	1st Cousin	2	7
	Celso	16	5th. Grd.	Yes	S	1st Cousin	4	17
	Carling	17	2nd. H.S.	Yes	S	1st Cousin	2	11
	Tomas	13	6th. Grd.	Yes	S	Friend	3	14
Doro	* Celso	16	5th. Grd.	Yes	S	Friend	4	17
	Norberto	14	2nd. H.S.	Yes	S	Nephew	8	35
	Badong	20	4th. H.S.	No	S	Friend	10	48
	Ben	16	3rd. H.S.	Yes	S	Friend	10	48
	Celso	16	6th. Grd.	Yes	S	Friend	4	17
Ben	* Badong	20	4th. H.S.	No	S	Brother	10	48
	Norberto	14	2nd. H.S.	Yes	S	Nephew	8	35
	Sencio	13	6th. Grd.	Yes	S	5th Cousin	7	27

SOUTH BARKADA

Individuals Included by Respondent in his Group

Respondent	Name	Age	Educational Background		Marital status	Relationship to respondent	Housing Cluster	House Number
			last year completed	still studying				
Rody	* Turing	20	6th. Grd.	No	S	Friend	17	65
	Ricardo	19	3rd. H.S.	No	S	3rd Cousin	13	56
	Julio	20	2nd. H.S.	Yes	S	1st Cousin	19	75
Jon	* Rody	22	6th. Grd.	No	S	Brother	13	57
	Ricardo	19	3rd. H.S.	No	S	3rd Cousin	13	56
	Julio	20	2nd. H.S.	Yes	S	1st Cousin	19	75
	Manuel	16	4th. H.S.	No	S	2nd Cousin	12	52
	Fred	20	5th. Grd.	No	M	Friend	19	76
	Ninoy	22	2nd. H.S.	No	S	Friend	20	84
	Pepe	17	6th. Grd.	No	S	Friend	13	59
Manuel	* Julio	20	3rd. H.S.	Yes	S	2nd Cousin	12	52
	Fred	20	5th. Grd.	No	M	Nephew	19	76
	Ninoy	22	2nd. H.S.	No	S	Friend	19	84
	Ricardo	19	3rd. H.S.	No	S	2nd Cousin	13	56
Turing	Rody	22	6th. Grd.	No	S	Friend	13	57
	Lito	18	6th. Grd.	No	S	Friend	17	64
	Jon	18	6th. Grd.	No	S	Friend	13	57
	Manuel	16	4th. H.S.	No	S	Friend	12	52
	Ricardo	19	3rd. H.S.	No	S	Friend	13	56

Individuals Included by Respondent in his Group

Respondent	Name	Age	Educational Background		Marital status	Relationship to respondent	Housing Cluster	House Number
			last year completed	still studying				
Ricardo	* Fred	20	5th. Grd.	No	M	Uncle	19	76
	Manuel	16	4th. H.S.	No	S	2nd Cousin	12	52
	Rody	22	6th. Grd.	No	S	3rd Cousin	13	57
	Ninoy	22	2nd. H.S.	No	S	Friend	20	84
	Jon	18	6th. Grd.	No	S	3rd Cousin	13	57
	Felino	26	5th. Grd.	No	M	3rd Cousin	19	78
Julio	* Manuel	16	4th. H.S.	No	S	2nd Cousin	12	52
	Jon	18	6th. Grd.	No	S	1st Cousin	13	57
	Ninoy	22	2nd. H.S.	No	S	Friend	20	84
	Ricardo	19	3rd. H.S.	No	S	3rd Cousin	13	56
Ninoy	* Pepe	17	6th. Grd.	No	S	Brother	13	59
	Fred	20	5th. Grd.	No	M	Uncle	19	76
	Rody	22	6th. Grd.	No	S	Friend	13	57
	Jon	18	6th. Grd.	No	S	Friend	13	57
	Ricardo	19	3rd. H.S.	No	S	Friend	13	56
Fred	Rosendo	31	6th. Grd.	No	M	Co-parent (tanod)	15	69
	Edong	25	6th. Grd.	No	M	Nephew	20	89
	Rody	22	6th. Grd.	No	S	Friend	13	57
	Nanding	22	4th. H.S.	No	S	Nephew	13	58
	Turing	20	6th. Grd.	No	S	Friend	17	65
	Ricardo	19	3rd. H.S.	No	S	Nephew	13	56
	Julio	20	3rd. H.S.	No	S	Nephew	19	75
	Lito	19	6th. Grd.	No	S	Nephew	17	64
	Al	21	6th. Grd.	No	S	Compadre	15	66

APPENDIX II

TOWN BARKADA MEMBERSHIP BY INFORMANT RESPONSE

Individuals Included by Respondent in his Group

Respondent	Name	Age	Educational Background		Marital status	Relationship to respondent	Purok
			last year completed	still studying			
Mar	* Jaime	19	2nd. H.S.	No	S	Friend	2
	Hector	16	3rd. H.S.	Yes	S	Brother	1
	Raul	17	2nd. H.S.	Yes	S	Friend	6
	Willy	14	1st. H.S.	Yes	S	Friend	6
	Fidel	19	6th. Grd.	No	S	Friend	5
	Oscar	24	4th. H.S.	No	S	Friend	4
Hector	* Mar	18	2nd. H.S.	Yes	S	Brother	1
	Oscar	24	4th. H.S.	No	S	Friend	4
	Willy	14	1st. H.S.	Yes	S	Friend	6
	Raul	17	2nd. H.S.	Yes	S	Friend	6
	Benjie	(personal friend of Hector who was seldom observed in the group)					
	Lareto	(personal friend of Hector who was never observed in the group)					
	Oscar	(personal friend of Hector who was never observed in the group)					
	Luis	(personal friend of Hector who was never observed in the group)					

(* = individual/s respondent considered to be his best friend/s)

Individuals Included by Respondent in his Group

Respondent	Name	Age	Educational Background		Marital status	Relationship to respondent	Purok
			last year completed	still studying			
Jaime	* Mar	18	2nd. H.S.	Yes	S	Friend	1
	Hector	16	3rd. H.S.	Yes	S	Friend	1
	Raul	17	2nd. H.S.	Yes	S	Friend	6
	Fidel	19	6th. Grd.	No	S	Friend	5
	Arthur	24	4th. H.S.	No	S	Friend	3
Willy	* Raul	17	2nd. H.S.	Yes	S	Brother	6
	Arthur	24	4th. H.S.	No	S	Friend	3
	Mar	18	2nd. H.S.	Yes	S	Friend	1
	Hector	16	3rd. H.S.	Yes	S	Friend	1
	Fidel	19	6th. Grd.	No	S	Friend	5
Raul	* Jaime	19	2nd. H.S.	No	S	Friend	2
	Arthur	24	4th. H.S.	No	S	Friend	3
	Hector	16	3rd. H.S.	Yes	S	Friend	1
	Mar	18	2nd. H.S.	Yes	S	Friend	1
	Ikeng	(personal friend of Raul who was seldom observed in the group)					
Fidel	* Jaime	19	2nd. H.S.	No	S	Friend	2
	* Arthur	24	4th. H.S.	No	S	Friend	3
	Hector	16	3rd. H.S.	Yes	S	Friend	1
	Mar	18	2nd. H.S.	Yes	S	Friend	1
	Raul	17	2nd. H.S.	Yes	S	Friend	6
Arthur	* Jaime	19	2nd. H.S.	No	S	Friend	2
	Mar	18	2nd. H.S.	Yes	S	Friend	1
	Hector	16	3rd. H.S.	Yes	S	Friend	1
	Raul	17	2nd. H.S.	Yes	S	Friend	6
	Victor	(personal friend of Arthur who was never observed in the group)					

APPENDIX III

NOTES ON SURVEY METHODOLOGY

During the field work in Patupat it became apparent that the adults and the adolescent barkada members manifested striking similarity along certain behavioral domains. Towards the end of the field research period I began to wonder whether similar congruity would appear between the attitudes held by adults and youth on other aspects of community life and if the barrio and town communities would manifest any differences along the same dimensions.

This question itself could well have been the subject for a completely independent study. However, such a project was prohibited by limited time and financial resources. The next best alternative was to make use of a body of data my wife was collecting as part of her own dissertation research (R. A. McArthur, forthcoming) on local level leadership in two farming barrios (one of which was Patupat). She had already conducted two lengthy attitudinal surveys among a randomly selected sample of adults in Patupat which included a number of items that I felt could be incorporated in my interviews with adults in Baduya and also could be administered to a sample of adolescents in both communities with minimal additional expenditure of time and funds.

The original barrio questionnaire was patterned after and contained many items from the survey instruments developed by members of The International Studies of Values in Politics in their cross-national study of the influence of local leadership (Values and the Active Community, 1971). Some of the questionnaire items were modified to fit the cultural

context and then the whole questionnaire was translated into Ilocano by two field assistants and then independently back-translated by one of the local teachers who had the best command of English among the barrio residents. The trial instrument was then pre-tested on ten adult informants stratified to include variation in both age and sex. Based on the pre-test, minor revisions were made in the wording and format before the questionnaire was administered by my wife and her field assistant.

For the purpose of comparing the adults and adolescents across the barrio and town communities I selected 29 items from the leadership questionnaire which were designed to measure attitudes towards (1) economic development, (2) conflict resolution-avoidance, (3) participation, (4) local-national orientation, (5) action propensity, (6) change orientation, and (7) equality. To these were added (8) migration propensity, and (9) primary obligation, along with a series of items for the adolescent schedule directed specifically at peer relations and areas of possible peer-parent cross-pressure (see Appendix IV). The questionnaire was then administered to a randomly selected sample of 36 adults in the barrio (18 men and 18 women). In the town a similar sample of 50 persons (26 males and 24 females)--representing approximately one-third of the total number of household heads in the study area--was selected by use of a table of random numbers. Each household in the community was given a number and a preliminary sample of households was drawn. The names of the family heads of each of the households were entered on a list. Starting from the top of the list it was decided by the toss of a coin whether the informant would be the male household head

or his wife. After the first determination the sex of the informant was alternated down the list (male-female, male-female, etc.). Every effort was made to adhere to the original sample. Before any randomly selected alternates were substituted for a name on the original sample list, a minimum of five attempts were made to reach the informant at his or her home at different times during the day and evening.

The adolescent sample was selected in a slightly different manner. Since there were not enough adolescents in the barrio to provide a statistically significant "N" and because of the difficulties of enumerating a sample population of town youth without a complete house-to-house census, it was decided, with permission from the principal, to administer the questionnaire to the entire senior class at the local high school consisting of students from both the town proper and the surrounding barrios. A total of 88 students (town girls 20, town boys 10, barrio girls 34, barrio boys 24) completed the questionnaire.

The survey questions were administered to the adults as part of an intensive oral interview which was conducted in Ilokano with the responses recorded by the interviewer. Because of time constraints and our wish not to disrupt the school's daily regime any more than absolutely necessary, the survey items were administered to the students in the form of a three-page questionnaire printed in both Ilokano and English with space provided for written answers. Initially I wanted to control for language of presentation by using only Ilokano but the principal recommended that the English translations also be provided because the students were not accustomed to reading in their native dialect since the medium of secondary education is English.

The use of two different data collection procedures (oral interview and a paper and pencil exercise) created certain variances in the response patterns between the adult and adolescent samples that must be recognized in any comparative analysis of the findings. First, the adults had the opportunity to ask for a repetition or clarification of the questions before answering. While the students were also told they could ask for assistance if there was something on the questionnaire they did not understand few did so. A second factor to be considered is that the adults had no outside assistance other than what was provided by the interview team (myself and one field assistant). In the classroom the students were instructed to complete the questionnaire independently and not to talk to their classmates until after everyone had finished. Unfortunately a number of students did discuss some of the questions in an effort to arrive at the most desired answer. Every effort was made to control for this behavior but the lack of variance in some answers across certain individuals suggests that some of the data was contaminated by joint answers. Thirdly, the adults were told they should answer either "agree" or "disagree" to the questions. However, a few refused to be swayed from a "depends" or an "I don't know" answer and these variances were recorded. The students, not given this option, either checked "agree" or "disagree" or left the question blank. In light of the above limitations and the smallness of the total sample, the reader is cautioned against attaching any unwarranted statistical significance to the response patterns reported in Appendices IV, V, and VI. Rather, as will be the tone of the following discussion, the findings should be considered as only suggestive of possible patterns for which additional evidence must be sought from other data sources.

Before the data were coded and processed for a preliminary item-by-item comparative analysis, one interesting pattern was discernible in the adult responses. The town informants gave, on the average, more than twice as many "it depends" or "I don't know" answers across all questions than did the barrio informants. Although the frequencies and percentages are small, such a pattern nevertheless suggests a possible inverse relationship between level of education (which was higher among town informants) and the number of "grey area" conditioned answers to a series of normative statements. The barrio adults, with a considerably lower mean education level, appeared more willing to give absolute answers indicating that a particular action or idea was categorically good or bad. There may also be some kind of association between population size and individual propensity to view the world in a more relativistic manner rather than in terms of a series of dichotomous absolutes.

In order to provide a single data base amenable to a four-way comparison (between town and barrio adults, between town and barrio youth and between the adult and youth samples in each community), it was necessary to collapse the small number of adult "depends" and "don't know" answers into the "disagree" category since the youth were allowed only two possible answers when they responded by checking the appropriate box. The justification for this procedure was based on the assumption that a "depends" or a "don't know" answer indicated something less than full agreement with the questions/statement. Unanswered questions were coded as missing across all four samples in the subsequent analysis.

APPENDIX IV

ADULT-YOUTH ATTITUDINAL SURVEY

CHANGE ORIENTATION

[1] The barangay should not accept programs which upset the settled ways of doing things.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	32 (89.9%)	4 (11.1%)	Barrio youth (total)	41 (71.9%)	16 (28.1%)
Barrio adults (male)	13 (75.6%)	4 (23.5%)	Barrio youth (males)	15 (62.5%)	9 (37.5%)
Barrio adults (female)	19 (100.0%)		Barrio youth (females)	26 (78.8%)	7 (21.2%)
Town adults (total)	46 (92.0%)	4 (8.0%)	Town youth (total)	19 (59.4%)	13 (40.6%)
Town adults (male)	24 (92.3%)	2 (7.7%)	Town youth (male)	7 (63.6%)	4 (36.4%)
Town adults (female)	22 (91.7%)	2 (8.3%)	Town youth (female)	12 (57.1%)	9 (42.9%)

[2] Even if newer ways conflict with the way things were done in the past they are needed to improve one's life.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	33 (91.7%)	3 (8.3%)	Barrio youth (total)	34 (59.6%)	23 (40.4%)
Barrio adults (male)	14 (82.4%)	3 (17.6%)	Barrio youth (male)	12 (50.0%)	12 (50.0%)
Barrio adults (female)	19 (100.0%)		Barrio youth (female)	22 (66.7%)	11 (33.3%)
Town adults (total)	38 (76.0%)	*10 (20.0%)	Town youth (total)	19 (59.4%)	* 12 (37.5%)
Town adults (male)	22 (84.6%)	* 3 (11.5%)	Town youth (male)	7 (63.6%)	4 (36.4%)
Town adults (female)	16 (66.7%)	* 7 (29.2%)	Town youth (female)	12 (57.1%)	* 8 (38.1%)

* = less than total sample responding

[3] While changes are desirable, they should never be implemented if we have to give up our values and traditions.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	27 (75.0%)	9 (25.0%)	Barrio youth (total)	30 (59.6%)	* 20 (35.1%)
Barrio adults (male)	14 (82.4%)	3 (17.6%)	Barrio youth (male)	15 (62.5%)	* 8 (35.1%)
Barrio adults (female)	13 (68.4%)	6 (31.6%)	Barrio youth (female)	19 (57.6%)	* 12 (36.4%)
Town adults (total)	41 (82.0%)	9 (18.0%)	Town youth (total)	22 (68.8%)	10 (31.2%)
Town adults (male)	22 (84.6%)	4 (15.4%)	Town youth (male)	9 (81.8%)	2 (18.2%)
Town adults (female)	19 (79.2%)	5 (20.8%)	Town youth (female)	13 (61.9%)	8 (38.1%)

[4] There is no use making plans for the future because they often do not come true to do not happen.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	18 (50.0%)	18 (50.0%)	Barrio youth (total)	39 (68.4%)	18 (31.6%)
Barrio adults (male)	6 (35.3%)	11 (64.7%)	Barrio youth (male)	15 (62.5%)	9 (37.5%)
Barrio adults (female)	12 (63.2%)	7 (36.8%)	Barrio youth (female)	24 (72.2%)	9 (27.3%)
Town adults (total)	24 (48.0%)	26 (52.0%)	Town youth (total)	18 (56.3%)	14 (43.8%)
Town adults (male)	12 (46.2%)	14 (53.8%)	Town youth (male)	7 (63.6%)	4 (36.4%)
Town adults (female)	12 (50.0%)	12 (50.0%)	Town youth (female)	11 (52.4%)	10 (47.6%)

[5] The people of this community (barrio/barangay) must search for new solutions to problems rather than be satisfied with what they have.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	29 (80.6%)	7 (19.4%)	Barrio youth (total)	50 (87.7%)	7 (12.3%)
Barrio adults (male)	15 (88.2%)	2 (11.8%)	Barrio youth (male)	21 (87.5%)	3 (12.5%)
Barrio adults (female)	14 (73.7%)	5 (26.3%)	Barrio youth (female)	29 (87.9%)	4 (12.1%)

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Town adults (total)	49 (98.0%)	1 (2.0%)	Town youth (total)	31 (96.9%)	1 (3.1%)
Town adults (male)	25 (96.2%)	1 (3.8%)	Town youth (male)	11 (100.0%)	
Town adults (female)	24 (100.0%)		Town youth female)	20 (95.2%)	1 (4.8%)

ACTION PROPENSITY

[6] It is better not to act at all than to try unproved ways of doing things.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	18 (50.0%)	18 (50.0%)	Barrio youth (total)	39 (68.4%)	18 (31.6%)
Barrio adults (male)	10 (58.8%)	7 (41.2%)	Barrio youth (male)	18 (75.0%)	6 (25.0%)
Barrio adults (female)	8 (42.1%)	11 (57.9%)	Barrio youth (female)	21 (63.6%)	12 (36.4%)
Town adults (total)	28 (56.0%)	22 (44.0%)	Town youth (total)	22 (68.8%)	10 (31.1%)
Town adults (male)	14 (53.8%)	12 (46.2%)	Town youth (male)	7 (63.6%)	4 (36.4%)
Town adults (female)	14 (58.3%)	10 (41.7%)	Town youth (female)	15 (71.4%)	6 (28.6%)

[7] The secret of happiness is not expecting too much out of life and being content with what comes your way.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	26 (72.2%)	10 (27.8%)	Barrio youth (total)	45 (78.9%)	12 (21.1%)
Barrio adults (male)	12 (70.6%)	5 (29.4%)	Barrio youth (male)	20 (83.3%)	4 (16.7%)
Barrio adults (female)	14 (73.7%)	5 (26.3%)	Barrio youth (female)	25 (75.8%)	8 (24.2%)
Town adults (total)	46 (92.0%)	4 (8.0%)	Town youth (total)	23 (71.9%)	9 (28.1%)
Town adults (male)	23 (88.5%)	3 (11.5%)	Town youth (male)	7 (63.6%)	4 (36.4%)
Town adults (female)	23 (95.8%)	1 (4.2%)	Town youth (female)	16 (76.2%)	5 (23.8%)

[8] It is important to make plans for one's life and not to accept just what comes.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	35 (97.2%)	1 (2.8%)	Barrio youth (total)	50 (87.7%)	7 (12.3%)
Barrio adults (male)	17 (100.0%)		Barrio youth (male)	19 (79.2%)	5 (20.8%)
Barrio adults (female)	18 (94.7%)	1 (5.1%)	Barrio youth (female)	31 (93.9%)	2 (6.1%)
Town adults (total)	47 (94.0%)	3 (6.0%)	Town youth (total)	26 (81.3%)	6 (18.8%)
Town adults (male)	24 (92.3%)	2 (7.7%)	Town youth (male)	11 (100.0%)	
Town adults (female)	23 (95.8%)	1 (4.3%)	Town youth (female)	15 (71.4%)	6 (28.6%)

[9] There is no progress without risk.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	36 (100.0%)		Barrio youth (total)	55 (96.5%)	2 (3.5%)
Barrio adults (male)	17 (100.0%)		Barrio youth (male)	22 (91.7%)	2 (8.3%)
Barrio adults (female)	19 (100.0%)		Barrio youth (female)	33 (100.0%)	
Town adults (total)	48 (96.0%)	2 (4.0%)	Town youth (total)	30 (93.8%)	2 (6.2%)
Town adults (male)	24 (92.3%)	2 (7.7%)	Town youth (male)	11 (100.0%)	
Town adults (female)	24 (100.0%)		Town youth (female)	19 (90.5%)	2 (9.5%)

[10] Any change requires some amount of gamble.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	36 (100.0%)		Barrio youth (total)	50 (87.7%)	7 (12.3%)
Barrio adults (male)	17 (100.0%)		Barrio youth (male)	22 (91.7%)	2 (8.3%)
Barrio adults (female)	19 (100.0%)		Barrio youth (female)	28 (84.8%)	5 (15.2%)
Town adults (total)	50 (100.0%)		Town youth (total)	29 (90.6%)	3 (9.4%)
Town adults (male)	26 (100.0%)		Town youth (male)	10 (90.9%)	1 (9.1%)
Town adults (female)	24 (100.0%)		Town youth (female)	19 (90.5%)	2 (9.5%)

CONFLICT RESOLUTION-AVOIDANCE

[11] Decisions on important matters affecting the whole barrio should be made only after they have been discussed by the whole barrio.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	31 (89.1%)	5 (13.9%)	Barrio youth (total)	47 (82.5%)	10 (17.5%)
Barrio adults (male)	15 (88.2%)	2 (11.8%)	Barrio youth (male)	22 (91.7%)	2 (8.3%)
Barrio adults (female)	16 (84.2%)	3 (15.8%)	Barrio youth (female)	25 (75.8%)	8 (24.2%)
Town adults (total)	49 (98.0%)	1 (2.0%)	Town youth (total)	24 (75.0%)	* 6 (18.8%)
Town adults (male)	25 (96.2%)	1 (3.8%)	Town youth (male)	9 (81.8%)	* 1 (9.1%)
Town adults (female)	24 (100.0%)		Town youth (female)	15 (71.4%)	* 5 (23.8%)

[12] Public decisions should be made with unanimous consent.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	35 (97.2%)	1 (2.8%)	Barrio youth (total)	53 (93.0%)	4 (7.0%)
Barrio adults (male)	17 (100.0%)		Barrio youth (male)	22 (91.7%)	2 (8.3%)
Barrio adults (female)	18 (94.7%)	1 (5.3%)	Barrio youth (female)	31 (93.9%)	2 (6.1%)
Town adults (total)	49 (98.0%)	1 (2.0%)	Town youth (total)	31 (96.9%)	1 (3.1%)
Town adults (male)	26 (100.0%)		Town youth (male)	11 (100.0%)	
Town adults (female)	23 (95.8%)	1 (4.2%)	Town youth (female)	20 (95.2%)	1 (1.8%)

[13] A decision should not be made until all disagreements have been fully resolved.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	33 (91.7%)	3 (8.3%)	Barrio youth (total)	42 (73.7%)	*13 (22.8%)
Barrio adults (male)	15 (88.2%)	2 (11.8%)	Barrio youth (male)	19 (79.2%)	* 4 (16.7%)
Barrio adults (female)	18 (94.7%)	1 (5.3%)	Barrio youth (female)	23 (69.7%)	* 9 (27.3%)

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Town adults (total)	47 (94.0%)	3 (6.0%)	Town youth (total)	24 (75.0%)	8 (25.0%)
Town adults (male)	24 (92.3%)	2 (7.7%)	Town youth (male)	10 (90.9%)	1 (9.1%)
Town adults (female)	23 (95.8%)	1 (4.2%)	Town youth (female)	14 (66.7%)	7 (33.3%)

PARTICIPATION

[14] Allowing all people to say what they want will not get things done.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	22 (61.1%)	14 (38.9%)	Barrio youth (total)	33 (57.9%)	24 (42.1%)
Barrio adults (male)	12 (70.6%)	5 (29.4%)	Barrio youth (male)	13 (54.2%)	11 (45.7%)
Barrio adults (female)	10 (52.6%)	9 (47.4%)	Barrio youth (female)	20 (60.6%)	13 (39.4%)
Town adults (total)	42 (84.0%) *	7 (14.0%)	Town youth (total)	18 (56.3%)	14 (43.8%)
Town adults (male)	23 (88.5%)	3 (11.5%)	Town youth (male)	7 (63.6%)	4 (36.4%)
Town adults (female)	19 (79.2%) *	4 (16.7%)	Town youth (female)	11 (52.4%)	10 (47.6%)

[15] Even if it takes longer to make a decision, it is very important that everyone has his way.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	35 (97.2%)	1 (2.8%)	Barrio youth (total)	53 (93.0%)	4 (7.0%)
Barrio adults (male)	17 (100.0%)		Barrio youth (male)	22 (91.7%)	2 (6.1%)
Barrio adults (female)	18 (94.7%)	1 (5.3%)	Barrio youth (female)	31 (93.9%)	2 (6.1%)
Town adults (total)	47 (94.0%)	3 (6.0%)	Town youth (total)	28 (87.5%)	4 (12.5%)
Town adults (male)	23 (88.5%)	3 (11.5%)	Town youth (male)	9 (81.8%)	2 (18.5%)
Town adults (female)	24 (100.0%)		Town youth (female)	19 (90.5%)	2 (9.5%)

EQUALITY

[16] Rich people should contribute more for community (barangay/barrio) projects than the poor people.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	30 (88.9%)	4 (11.1%)	Barrio youth (total)	49 (86.0%)*	7 (12.3%)
Barrio adults (male)	15 (88.2%)	2 (11.8%)	Barrio youth (male)	19 (79.2%)	5 (20.8%)
Barrio adults (female)	17 (89.5%)	2 (10.5%)	Barrio youth (female)	30 (90.9%)*	2 (6.3%)
Town adults (total)	43 (86.0%) * 6 (12.0%)		Town youth (total)	30 (93.8%)	2 (6.3%)
Town adults (male)	26 (100.0%)		Town youth (male)	10 (90.9%)	1 (9.1%)
Town adults (female)	20 (83.3%) * 3 (12.5%)		Town youth (female)	20 (95.2%)	1 (4.8%)

[17] Rich people should not have more privileges than the poor people.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	28 (80.6%)	6 (19.4%)	Barrio youth (total)	36 (63.2%)*	20 (35.1%)
Barrio adults (male)	14 (82.4%)	3 (17.6%)	Barrio youth (male)	16 (66.7%)	7 (29.2%)
Barrio adults (female)	15 (78.9%)	4 (21.1%)	Barrio youth (female)	20 (60.6%)	13 (39.4%)
Town adults (total)	43 (86.0%)	7 (14.0%)	Town youth (total)	20 (62.5%)	12 (37.5%)
Town adults (male)	21 (80.8%)	5 (19.2%)	Town youth (male)	7 (63.6%)	4 (36.4%)
Town adults (female)	22 (91.7%)	2 (8.3%)	Town youth (female)	13 (61.9%)	8 (38.1%)

SELFLESSNESS

[18] Everybody should look after his own interest first.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	36 (100.0%)		Barrio youth (total)	54 (94.7%)	3 (5.3%)
Barrio adults (male)	17 (100.0%)		Barrio youth (male)	21 (87.5%)	3 (12.5%)
Barrio adults (female)	19 (100.0%)		Barrio youth (female)	33 (100.0%)	

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Town adults (total)	49 (98.0%)	1 (2.0%)	Town youth (total)	31 (96.9%)	1 (3.1%)
Town adults (male)	25 (96.2%)	1 (3.8%)	Town youth (male)	11 (100.0%)	
Town adults (female)	24 (100.0%)		Town youth (female)	20 (95.2%)	1 (4.8%)

[19] A man's primary obligation should be to his family.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	36 (100.0%)		Barrio youth (total)	55 (96.5%)	2 (3.5%)
Barrio adults (male)	17 (100.0%)		Barrio youth (male)	24 (100.0%)	
Barrio adults (female)	19 (100.0%)		Barrio youth (female)	31 (93.9%)	2 (6.1%)
Town adults (total)	48 (96.0%)	2 (4.0%)	Town youth (total)	30 (93.8%)	2 (6.2%)
Town adults (male)	25 (96.2%)	1 (3.8%)	Town youth (male)	10 (90.9%)	1 (9.1%)
Town adults (female)	23 (95.8%)	1 (4.25%)	Town youth (female)	20 (95.2%)	1 (4.8%)

[20] When your family's interests conflict with your own plans, one should follow the wishes of his family.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	31 (86.1%)	5 (13.9%)	Barrio youth (total)	37 (64.9%)*	19 (33.3%)
Barrio adults (male)	15 (88.2%)	2 (11.8%)	Barrio youth (male)	16 (66.7%)	8 (33.3%)
Barrio adults (female)	16 (84.2%)	3 (15.8%)	Barrio youth (female)	21 (63.6%)*	11 (33.3%)
Town adults (total)	45 (90.0%)	5 (10.0%)	Town youth (total)	19 (59.4%)	13 (40.6%)
Town adults (male)	22 (84.6%)	4 (15.4%)	Town youth (male)	9 (81.8%)	2 (18.2%)
Town adults (female)	23 (95.8%)	1 (4.2%)	Town youth (female)	10 (47.6%)	11 (52.4%)

MIGRATION PROPENSITY

[21] Sometimes it is necessary to leave one's family to improve one's life.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	35 (97.2%)	1 (2.8%)	Barrio youth (total)	43 (75.4%)	14 (24.6%)
Barrio adults (male)	16 (94.1%)	1 (5.9%)	Barrio youth (male)	18 (75.0%)	6 (25.0%)
Barrio adults (female)	19 (100.0%)		Barrio youth (female)	25 (75.8%)	8 (24.2%)
Town adults (total)	44 (88.0%)	6 (12.0%)	Town youth (total)	20 (62.5%)	12 (37.5%)
Town adults (male)	23 (88.5%)	3 (11.5%)	Town youth (male)	7 (63.6%)	4 (36.4%)
Town adults (female)	21 (87.5%)	3 (12.5%)	Town youth (female)	13 (61.9%)	8 (38.1%)

[22] Most of the people who leave this community (barrio/barangay) will have a better life.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	26 (72.2%)	10 (27.8%)	Barrio youth (total)	27 (47.4%)	*28 (49.1%)
Barrio adults (male)	12 (70.6%)	5 (29.4%)	Barrio youth (male)	11 (45.8%)	*12 (50.0%)
Barrio adults (female)	14 (73.7%)	5 (26.3%)	Barrio youth (female)	16 (48.5%)	*16 (48.5%)
Town adults (total)	27 (54.0%)	23 (46.0%)	Town youth (total)	19 (59.4%)	*11 (34.4%)
Town adults (male)	12 (46.2%)	14 (53.8%)	Town youth (male)	6 (54.4%)	* 4 (36.4%)
Town adults (female)	15 (62.5%)	9 (37.5%)	Town youth (female)	13 (61.9%)	* 7 (33.3%)

[23] A man does not have to go outside of his barrio/barangay to find opportunities for a better and happier life.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	14 (38.9%)	22 (61.1%)	Barrio youth (total)	26 (45.6%)	31 (54.4%)
Barrio adults (male)	7 (41.2%)	10 (58.8%)	Barrio youth (male)	7 (29.2%)	17 (70.8%)
Barrio adults (female)	7 (36.8%)	12 (63.2%)	Barrio youth (female)	19 (57.6%)	14 (42.4%)

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Town adults (total)	23 (46.0%)	27 (54.0%)	Town youth (total)	16 (50.0%) *	15 (46.9%)
Town adults (male)	10 (38.5%)	16 (61.5%)	Town youth (male)	6 (54.5%) *	4 (36.4%)
Town adults (female)	13 (54.2%)	11 (45.8%)	Town youth (female)	10 (47.6%)	11 (52.4%)

[24] Those who worked overseas and then returned have a better life than those who stayed behind in the barrio.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	27 (75.0%)	9 (25.0%)	Barrio youth (total)	51 (89.5%)	6 (10.5%)
Barrio adults (male)	12 (70.6%)	5 (29.4%)	Barrio youth (male)	21 (87.5%)	3 (12.5%)
Barrio adults (female)	15 (78.9%)	4 (21.1%)	Barrio youth (female)	30 (90.9%)	3 (9.1%)
Town adults (total)	39 (78.0%)	11 (22.0%)	Town youth (total)	24 (75.0%)	8 (25.0%)
Town adults (male)	19 (73.1%)	7 (26.9%)	Town youth (male)	9 (81.8%)	2 (18.2%)
Town adults (female)	20 (83.3%)	4 (16.7%)	Town youth (female)	15 (71.4%)	6 (28.6%)

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT--LOCAL-NATIONAL ORIENTATION

[25] The people should not be forced to contribute to long-term barrio projects.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	21 (58.3%)	15 (41.7%)	Barrio youth (total)	30 (52.6%)	27 (47.4%)
Barrio adults (male)	9 (52.9%)	8 (41.7%)	Barrio youth (male)	8 (33.3%)	16 (66.7%)
Barrio adults (female)	12 (63.2%)	7 (36.8%)	Barrio youth (female)	22 (66.7%)	11 (33.3%)
Town adults (total)	40 (80.0%)	10 (20.0%)	Town youth (total)	14 (43.8%)	18 (56.2%)
Town adults (male)	20 (76.9%)	6 (23.1%)	Town youth (male)	4 (36.4%)	7 (63.6%)
Town adults (female)	20 (83.3%)	4 (16.7%)	Town youth (female)	10 (47.6%)	11 (52.4%)

[26] A quiet, peaceful life should not be exchanged for a few material goods.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	34 (94.4%) *	1 (2.8%)	Barrio youth (total)	52 (91.2%)	5 (8.8%)
Barrio adults (male)	16 (94.1%) *		Barrio youth (male)	22 (91.7%)	2 (8.3%)
Barrio adults (female)	18 (94.7%)	1 (5.3%)	Barrio youth (female)	30 (90.9%)	3 (9.1%)
Town adults (total)	48 (96.0%)	2 (4.0%)	Town youth (total)	28 (87.5%) *	3 (9.4%)
Town adults (male)	25 (96.2%)	1 (3.8%)	Town youth (male)	11 (100.0%)	
Town adults (female)	23 (95.8%)	1 (4.2%)	Town youth (female)	17 (81.0%) *	3 (14.3%)

[27] National development programs should not be pursued if it means hardships for the people.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	28 (77.8%)	8 (22.2%)	Barrio youth (total)	44 (77.2%)	*12 (21.1%)
Barrio adults (male)	12 (70.6%)	5 (29.4%)	Barrio youth (male)	22 (91.7%)	2 (8.3%)
Barrio adults (female)	16 (84.2%)	3 (15.8%)	Barrio youth (female)	22 (66.7%)	*10 (30.3%)
Town adults (total)	46 (92.0%)	4 (8.0%)	Town youth (total)	26 (81.2%)	6 (18.8%)
Town adults (male)	23 (88.5%)	3 (11.5%)	Town youth (male)	10 (90.1%)	1 (9.1%)
Town adults (female)	23 (95.8%)	1 (4.2%)	Town youth (female)	16 (76.2%)	5 (23.8%)

[28] National programs should not be obtained at great sacrifice to the barrios.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	19 (52.8%)	17 (47.2%)	Barrio youth (total)	34 (59.6%)	*22 (38.6%)
Barrio adults (male)	9 (52.9%)	8 (47.1%)	Barrio youth (male)	16 (66.7%)	8 (33.3%)
Barrio adults (female)	10 (52.6%)	9 (47.4%)	Barrio youth (female)	18 (54.5%)	*14 (42.4%)
Town adults (total)	32 (64.0%)	18 (36.0%)	Town youth (total)	20 (62.5%)	*11 (34.4%)
Town adults (male)	16 (61.5%)	8 (33.3%)	Town youth (male)	7 (63.6%)	4 (36.4%)
Town adults (female)	16 (66.7%)	8 (33.3%)	Town youth (female)	13 (61.9%)	* 7 (33.3%)

[29] The development of the barrio is the responsibility of the people who live in it.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>		<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	36 (100.0%)		Barrio youth (total)	51 (87.5%)	5 (8.8%)
Barrio adults (male)	17 (100.0%)		Barrio youth (male)	21 (87.5%)	3 (12.5%)
Barrio adults (female)	19 (100.0%)		Barrio youth (female)	30 (90.9%)	2 (6.1%)
Town adults (total)	50 (100.0%)		Town youth (total)	30 (93.8%)	2 (6.2%)
Town adults (male)	26 (100.0%)		Town youth (male)	11 (100.0%)	
Town adults (female)	24 (100.0%)		Town youth (female)	19 (90.5%)	2 (9.5%)

APPENDIX V

YOUTH SURVEY

A. GENERAL INFORMATION

	<u>BARRIO MALES</u>	<u>TOWN MALES</u>	<u>BARRIO FEMALES</u>	<u>TOWN FEMALES</u>
[1] Sample size	24	10	34	20
[2] Age: (15 yrs.)	0	01 (10.0%)	04 (11.8%)	0
(16 yrs.)	12 (50.0%)	03 (30.0%)	16 (47.1%)	14 (70.0%)
(17 yrs.)	05 (20.8%)	04 (40.0%)	10 (29.4%)	05 (25.0%)
(18 yrs.)	06 (25.0%)	01 (10.0%)	03 (08.8%)	0
(19 yrs.)	0	0	01 (02.9%)	0
(20+yrs.)	01 (04.2%)	01 (10.0%)	0	01 (05.0%)
[3] Length of residence				
(less than 10 yrs.)	01 (04.2%)	01 (10.0%)	01 (02.9%)	03 (15.0%)
(more than 10 yrs.)	23 (95.8%)	09 (90.0%)	33 (97.1%)	17 (85.0%)
[4] Father's occupation				
(farmer)	22 (91.7%)	06 (60.0%)	32 (94.1%)	14 (70.0%)
(businessman)	0	0	0	0
(teacher)	01 (04.2%)	0	0	0
(professional)	0	02 (20.0%)	0	0
(other)	0	01 (10.0%)	02 (05.9%)	06 (30.0%)
(no report)	01 (04.2%)	01 (10.0%)	0	0

	<u>BARRIO MALES</u>	<u>TOWN MALES</u>	<u>BARRIO FEMALES</u>	<u>TOWN FEMALES</u>
[5] Mother's occupation				
(housewife)	24 (100.%)	09 (90.0%)	31 (91.2%)	17 (85.0%)
(storekeeper)	0	0	0	0
(teacher)	0	01 (10.0%)	0	0
(businesswoman)	0	0	0	0
(professional)	0	0	0	0
(other)	0	0	02 (05.9%)	02 (15.0%)
(no report)	0	0	01 (02.9%)	0
[6] Family business				
(garlic & tobacco)	16 (66.7%)	02 (20.0%)	18 (52.9%)	10 (50.0%)
(sari-sari store)	0	01 (10.0%)	01 (02.9%)	02 (10.0%)
(other)	0	01 (10.0%)	02 (05.9%)	01 (05.0%)
[7] Father's education				
(none)	01 (04.2%)	0	0	0
(1st-3rd grade)	02 (08.3%)	0	01 (02.9%)	0
(4th grade)	04 (16.7%)	0	05 (14.7%)	01 (05.0%)
(5th-7th grade)	13 (54.2%)	05 (50.0%)	22 (64.7%)	11 (55.0%)
(1st-2nd yr. H.S.)	01 (04.2%)	0	01 (02.9%)	01 (05.0%)
(3rd yr. H.S.)	0	0	02 (05.9%)	03 (15.0%)
(H.S. grad.)	0	02 (20.0%)	02 (05.9%)	02 (10.0%)
(1st-2nd yr. college)	0	0	01 (02.9%)	0
(3rd yr. college)	0	0	0	01 (05.0%)
(college grad.)	02 (08.3%)	03 (30.0%)	0	01 (05.0%)
(no report)	01 (04.2%)	0	0	0

	<u>BARRIO MALES</u>		<u>TOWN MALES</u>		<u>BARRIO FEMALES</u>		<u>TOWN FEMALES</u>	
[8] Mother's education								
(none)	02	(08.3%)	0		01	(02.9%)	0	
(1st-3rd grade)	01	(04.2%)	01	(10.0%)	02	(05.9%)	01	(05.0%)
(4th grade)	03	(12.5%)	01	(10.0%)	02	(05.9%)	01	(05.0%)
(5th-7th grade)	13	(54.2%)	03	(30.0%)	25	(73.5%)	09	(45.0%)
(1st-2nd yr. H.S.)	01	(04.2%)	01	(10.0%)	01	(02.9%)	02	(10.0%)
(3rd yr. H.S.)	0		0		01	(02.9%)	02	(10.0%)
(H.S. grad.)	01	(04.2%)	01	(10.0%)	01	(02.9%)	04	(20.0%)
(1st-2nd yr. college)	01	(04.2%)	0		0		01	(05.0%)
(3rd yr. college)	0		01	(10.0%)	0		0	
(college grad.)	01	(04.2%)	02	(20.0%)	0		0	
(no report)	02	(08.3%)	0		01	(02.9%)	0	
[9] Number of siblings								
(1 only)	02	(08.3%)	0		02	(05.8%)	01	(05.0%)
(2)	02	(08.3%)	0		0		02	(10.0%)
(3)	02	(08.3%)	01	(10.0%)	06	(17.6%)	0	
(4)	04	(16.7%)	0		07	(20.6%)	03	(15.0%)
(5)	05	(20.8%)	04	(40.0%)	05	(14.7%)	04	(20.0%)
(6)	04	(16.7%)	01	(10.0%)	05	(14.7%)	02	(10.0%)
(7)	03	(12.5%)	0		06	(17.6%)	04	(20.0%)
(8)	01	(04.2%)	01	(10.0%)	01	(02.9%)	02	(10.0%)
(9)	0		01	(10.0%)	01	(02.9%)	0	
(10)	01	(04.2%)	0		0		0	
Number of brothers								
(1 only)	08	(33.3%)	01	(10.0%)	09	(26.5%)	03	(15.0%)
(2)	04	(16.7%)	03	(30.0%)	07	(20.6%)	06	(30.0%)
(3)	07	(29.2%)	02	(20.0%)	05	(14.7%)	06	(30.0%)
(4)	01	(04.5%)	01	(10.0%)	06	(17.6%)	03	(15.0%)
(5)	0		01	(10.0%)	03	(08.8%)	0	
(6)	03	(12.5%)	0		01	(02.9%)	01	(05.0%)
Total	23	(95.9%)	08	(80.0%)	31	(91.1%)	19	(95.0%)

	<u>BARRIO MALES</u>	<u>TOWN MALES</u>	<u>BARRIO FEMALES</u>	<u>TOWN FEMALES</u>
[9] Number of sisters				
(1 only)	05 (20.8%)	02 (20.0%)	03 (08.8%)	02 (10.0%)
(2)	05 (20.8%)	03 (30.0%)	06 (17.6%)	03 (15.0%)
(3)	07 (29.2%)	02 (20.0%)	06 (17.6%)	05 (25.0%)
(4)	03 (12.5%)	02 (20.0%)	03 (08.8%)	03 (15.0%)
(5)	01 (04.2%)	0	0	01 (05.0%)
(6)	0	0	0	0
Total	21 (87.5%)	09 (90.0%)	18 (52.8%)	14 (70.0%)
[10] Number of Siblings in school				
High school				
male	09 (37.5%)	05 (50.0%)	08 (23.5%)	08 (40.0%)
female	06 (24.0%)	03 (10.0%)	03 (08.8%)	06 (30.0%)
College				
male	08 (33.3%)	05 (50.0%)	02 (05.9%)	02 (10.0%)
female	03 (12.5%)	05 (50.0%)	05 (14.7%)	08 (40.0%)
Vocational				
male	01 (04.2%)	01 (10.0%)	01 (02.9%)	0
female	01 (04.2%)	02 (20.0%)	01 (02.9%)	0
[12] Relatives Abroad				
Hawaii	15 (62.5%)	07 (70.0%)	17 (50.0%)	10 (50.0%)
Mainland U.S.	02 (08.3%)	03 (30.0%)	08 (23.5%)	07 (35.0%)
Other	03 (12.5%)	01 (10.0%)	06 (17.6%)	06 (30.0%)

(the above percentages reflect multiple answers indicating the presence of relatives in more than one overseas location)

	<u>BARRIO MALES</u>	<u>TOWN MALES</u>	<u>BARRIO FEMALES</u>	<u>TOWN FEMALES</u>
[13] Has any member of your family ever worked overseas?				
YES	04 (16.7%)	01 (10.0%)	01 (02.9%)	06 (30.0%)
NO	19 (79.2%)	09 (90.0%)	27 (79.4%)	11 (55.0%)
No response	01 (04.2%)	0	06 (17.6%)	03 (15.0%)
[14] Is anyone in your house receiving a pension?				
Military	0	0	01 (02.9%)	01 (05.0%)
Phil. Govt.	0	0	0	01 (05.0%)
U.S. Govt.	02 (08.3%)	0	05 (14.7%)	04 (20.0%)

B. QUESTIONS ABOUT YOURSELF

[1] What course would you like to take up after high school?				
medicine	02 (8.3%)	0	0	0
med. technician	0	0	01 (02.9%)	0
nursing	0	0	06 (17.6%)	04 (20.0%)
midwifery	0	0	01 (02.9%)	02 (10.0%)
medical secretary	0	0	02 (05.9%)	0
agriculture	03 (12.5%)	01 (10.0%)	01 (02.9%)	01 (05.0%)
engineering	05 (20.8%)	04 (40.0%)	01 (02.9%)	0
marine (seamanship)	0	03 (30.0%)	0	0
vocational	06 (25.0%)	01 (10.0%)	07 (20.6%)	05 (25.0%)
commerce	0	0	01 (02.9%)	01 (05.0%)
pharmacy	0	0	01 (02.9%)	0
stewardess training	0	0	0	01 (05.0%)
Women's Army Corps.	0	0	0	01 (05.0%)
Don't Know	04 (16.7%)	0	07 (20.6%)	03 (15.0%)
No response	04 (16.7%)	01 (10.0%)	06 (17.6%)	02 (10.0%)

(The above response categories were provided by the informants)

	<u>BARRIO MALES</u>	<u>TOWN MALES</u>	<u>BARRIO FEMALES</u>	<u>TOWN FEMALES</u>
[2] What is your ambition in life?				
to be a soldier	10 (41.7%)	03 (30.0%)	0	0
to be a good farmer	02 (08.3%)	0	0	0
to be an engineer	01 (04.2%)	0	0	0
to be a good father	01 (04.2%)	0	0	0
to be a popular man	01 (04.2%)	01 (10.0%)	0	0
to be a good gentleman	02 (08.3%)	01 (10.0%)	0	0
to be a good boy always	0	01 (10.0%)	0	0
to be a good leader	0	01 (10.0%)	0	0
to have a better condition in life	0	01 (10.0%)	0	0
to have a permanent job	0	0	03 (08.8%)	02 (10.0%)
to go abroad	01 (04.2%)	01 (10.0%)	07 (20.6%)	04 (20.0%)
to be a professional	01 (04.2%)	0	0	01 (05.0%)
to finish studying	03 (12.5%)	0	05 (14.7%)	01 (05.0%)
to repay my parents' hardships	01 (04.2%)	0	02 (05.9%)	01 (05.0%)
to be a dressmaker	0	0	01 (02.9%)	0
to be a successful woman	0	0	02 (05.9%)	02 (10.0%)
to be a good girl always	0	0	04 (11.8%)	01 (05.0%)
to be a degree holder	0	0	01 (02.9%)	0
to be an agricultural technician	0	0	01 (02.9%)	0
to be a nurse	0	0	01 (02.9%)	01 (05.0%)
to be a midwife	0	0	0	02 (10.0%)
to join the Women's Army Corps.	0	0	0	01 (05.0%)
to be a nun	0	0	0	01 (05.0%)
to be a stewardess	0	0	0	01 (05.0%)
not yet decided	0	0	01 (02.9%)	01 (05.0%)
none	0	0	02 (05.9%)	0
no report	01 (04.2%)	01 (10.0%)	04 (11.8%)	01 (05.0%)

(the above response categories were provided by the informants)

	<u>BARRIO MALES</u>	<u>TOWN MALES</u>	<u>BARRIO FEMALES</u>	<u>TOWN FEMALES</u>
[3] Where would you like to live five years from now?				
in your present barrio	0	0	01 (02.9%)	0
in Baduya Town	03 (12.5%)	0	02 (05.9%)	03 (15.0%)
in Laoag City	0	0	0	0
in Manila	06 (25.0%)	0	11 (32.4%)	07 (35.0%)
other area in R.P.	04 (16.7%)	0	0	0
abroad	06 (25.0%)	04 (40.0%)	11 (32.4%)	08 (40.0%)
no response	05 (20.0%)	06 (60.0%)	09 (26.5%)	02 (10.0%)

C. QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR FRIENDS

[1] How many friends do you have?				
(1)	05 (20.8%)	0	04 (11.8%)	02 (10.0%)
(2)	05 (20.8%)	02 (20.0%)	02 (05.9%)	03 (15.0%)
(3)	05 (20.8%)	0	09 (26.5%)	06 (30.0%)
(4)	03 (12.5%)	01 (10.0%)	05 (14.7%)	01 (05.0%)
(5)	03 (12.5%)	02 (20.0%)	05 (14.7%)	02 (10.0%)
(6)	01 (04.2%)	0	02 (05.9%)	0
(7 plus)	01 (04.5%)	05 (50.0%)	04 (11.8%)	01 (05.0%)
no response	01 (04.2%)	0	03 (08.8%)	05 (25.0%)
[2] Do you have a barkada?				
Yes	21 (87.5%)	10 (100.%)	30 (88.2%)	15 (75.0%)
No	03 (12.5%)	0	04 (11.8%)	05 (25.0%)

	<u>BARRIO MALES</u>	<u>TOWN MALES</u>	<u>BARRIO FEMALES</u>	<u>TOWN FEMALES</u>
[3] How many persons are in your barkada?				
(1)	0	0	0	0
(2)	0	0	02 (05.9%)	01 (05.0%)
(3)	02 (08.3%)	01 (10.0%)	07 (20.6%)	04 (20.0%)
(4)	02 (08.3%)	01 (10.0%)	11 (32.4%)	05 (25.0%)
(5)	08 (33.3%)	0	03 (08.8%)	03 (15.0%)
(6)	03 (12.5%)	01 (10.0%)	05 (14.7%)	03 (15.0%)
(7)	03 (12.5%)	02 (20.0%)	02 (05.9%)	0
(8)	02 (08.3%)	04 (40.0%)	0	0
(9)	0	01 (10.0%)	0	0
(10)	01 (04.2%)	0	0	0
no response	03 (12.5%)	0	04 (11.8%)	04 (20.0%)
[4] How often are you with your friends?				
most of the time	03 (12.5%)	03 (30.0%)	14 (41.2%)	07 (35.0%)
some of the time	11 (45.8%)	04 (40.0%)	09 (26.5%)	07 (35.0%)
only a little time	10 (41.7%)	0	07 (20.6%)	03 (15.0%)
no response	0	03 (30.0%)	04 (11.8%)	03 (15.0%)
[5] Are most of your friends				
younger than you	10 (41.7%)	02 (20.0%)	06 (17.6%)	03 (15.0%)
about your age	16 (70.8%)	04 (40.0%)	15 (44.1%)	13 (65.0%)
older than you	02 (08.3%)	06 (60.0%)	10 (29.4%)	03 (15.0%)
(percentages reflect the presence of 17 multiple answers and one no response)				
[5] What are the things you usually discuss with your friends?				
your future plans	09 (37.5%)	08 (80.0%)	26 (76.5%)	17 (85.0%)
your school work	06 (25.0%)	03 (30.0%)	19 (55.9%)	15 (75.0%)
personal problems	15 (62.5%)	06 (60.0%)	18 (52.9%)	10 (50.0%)
girlfriend-boyfriend problems	10 (41.7%)	01 (10.0%)	10 (29.4%)	01 (05.0%)

	<u>BARRIO MALES</u>	<u>TOWN MALES</u>	<u>BARRIO FEMALES</u>	<u>TOWN FEMALES</u>
boys and girls in				
general	03 (12.5%)	01 (10.0%)	09 (26.5%)	05 (25.0%)
sex	06 (25.0%)	01 (10.0%)	03 (08.8%)	03 (15.0%)
clothes fashion	05 (20.8%)	0	13 (38.2%)	07 (35.0%)
music	06 (25.0%)	03 (30.0%)	12 (35.3%)	09 (45.0%)
free time	05 (20.8%)	03 (30.0%)	14 (41.2%)	14 (70.0%)
family problems	06 (25.0%)	01 (10.0%)	10 (29.4%)	11 (55.0%)

(percentages reflect the presence of multiple responses)

D. RELATIONS WITH YOUR PARENTS

[1] How do your parents think?

same as you	12 (50.0%)	0	16 (47.1%)	09 (45.0%)
different from you	11 (45.8%)	10 (100.%)	17 (50.0%)	10 (50.0%)
no response	01 (04.2%)	0	01 (02.9%)	01 (05.0%)

[2] Are your parents:

very modern	02 (08.3%)	0	0	0
modern	11 (45.8%)	02 (20.0%)	15 (44.1%)	12 (60.0%)
old fashion	09 (37.5%)	07 (70.0%)	17 (50.0%)	06 (30.0%)
very old fashion	0	01 (10.0%)	0	0
no response	02 (08.3%)	0	02 (05.9%)	02 (10.0%)

[3] Are you:

very modern	03 (12.5%)	0	06 (17.6%)	02 (10.0%)
modern	15 (62.5%)	09 (90.0%)	26 (76.5%)	15 (75.0%)
old fashion	04 (16.7%)	01 (10.0%)	01 (02.9%)	02 (10.0%)
very old fashion	0	0	0	0
no response	02 (08.3%)	0	01 (02.9%)	01 (05.0%)

	<u>BARRIO MALES</u>	<u>TOWN MALES</u>	<u>BARRIO FEMALES</u>	<u>TOWN FEMALES</u>
[4] What things do you usually discuss with your parents?				
your future plans	14 (58.3%)	09 (90.0%)	23 (67.6%)	17 (85.0%)
school work	11 (45.8%)	01 (10.0%)	23 (67.6%)	17 (85.0%)
personal problems	11 (45.8%)	03 (30.0%)	18 (52.9%)	11 (55.0%)
family problems	10 (41.7%)	01 (10.0%)	12 (35.3%)	15 (75.0%)
girlfriend-boyfriend problems	04 (16.7%)	0	04 (11.8%)	01 (05.0%)
boys-girls in general	01 (04.2%)	01 (10.0%)	06 (17.6%)	01 (05.0%)
sex	05 (20.8%)	0	04 (11.8%)	03 (15.0%)
clothes fashion	08 (33.3%)	0	17 (50.0%)	10 (50.0%)
music	04 (16.7%)	03 (30.0%)	10 (29.4%)	07 (35.0%)
free time	04 (16.7%)	03 (30.0%)	12 (35.3%)	13 (65.0%)
[5] Who makes the following decisions in your family?				
Whether you will continue school				
parents	03 (12.5%)	0	08 (23.5%)	02 (10.0%)
myself	03 (12.5%)	02 (20.0%)	01 (02.9%)	0
both	13 (54.6%)	08 (80.0%)	22 (64.7%)	14 (70.0%)
no response	05 (20.8%)	0	03 (08.8%)	04 (20.0%)
What course you will take up				
parents	0	01 (10.0%)	04 (11.8%)	01 (05.0%)
myself	09 (37.5%)	06 (60.0%)	15 (44.1%)	10 (50.0%)
both	07 (29.2%)	0	05 (14.7%)	05 (25.0%)
no response	08 (33.3%)	03 (30.0%)	10 (29.4%)	04 (20.0%)
How much time you spend on your homework				
parents	0	02 (20.0%)	02 (05.9%)	0
myself	13 (54.2%)	05 (50.0%)	17 (50.0%)	11 (55.0%)
both	0	0	03 (08.8%)	0
no response	11 (45.8%)	03 (30.0%)	12 (35.3%)	09 (45.0%)

	<u>BARRIO MALES</u>	<u>TOWN MALES</u>	<u>BARRIO FEMALES</u>	<u>TOWN FEMALES</u>
[5] Who makes the following decisions (continued):				
Who your friends should be				
parents	02 (08.3%)	02 (20.0%)	02 (05.9%)	0
myself	09 (37.5%)	04 (40.0%)	17 (50.0%)	10 (50.0%)
both	04 (16.7%)	01 (10.0%)	03 (08.8%)	02 (10.0%)
no response	09 (37.5%)	03 (30.0%)	12 (35.3%)	08 (40.0%)
What responsibilities you have at home				
parents	08 (33.3%)	02 (20.0%)	09 (26.5%)	02 (10.0%)
myself	03 (12.5%)	0	10 (29.4%)	06 (30.0%)
both	02 (08.3%)	05 (50.0%)	05 (14.7%)	05 (25.0%)
no response	11 (45.8%)	03 (30.0%)	10 (29.4%)	09 (45.0%)
What clothes you will wear				
parents	0	0	0	0
myself	11 (45.8%)	04 (40.0%)	19 (55.9%)	10 (50.0%)
both	03 (12.5%)	02 (20.0%)	03 (08.8%)	02 (10.0%)
no response	10 (41.7%)	04 (40.0%)	12 (35.3%)	08 (40.0%)
What radio programs the family listens to				
parents	0	0	0	01 (05.0%)
myself	06 (25.0%)	01 (10.0%)	05 (14.7%)	01 (05.0%)
both	09 (37.5%)	03 (30.0%)	16 (47.1%)	10 (50.0%)
no response	09 (37.5%)	06 (60.0%)	13 (38.2%)	08 (40.0%)
How you will spend your money				
parents	04 (16.7%)	01 (10.0%)	04 (11.8%)	03 (15.0%)
myself	04 (16.7%)	02 (20.0%)	10 (29.4%)	05 (25.0%)
both	06 (25.0%)	01 (10.0%)	11 (32.4%)	04 (20.0%)
no response	10 (41.7%)	06 (60.0%)	09 (26.5%)	08 (40.0%)

	<u>BARRIO MALES</u>	<u>TOWN MALES</u>	<u>BARRIO FEMALES</u>	<u>TOWN FEMALES</u>
[5] Who makes the following decisions (continued):				
how you will spend your free time				
parents	03 (12.5%)	0	04 (11.8%)	0
myself	08 (33.3%)	01 (10.0%)	13 (38.2%)	07 (35.0%)
both	04 (16.7%)	03 (30.0%)	04 (11.8%)	06 (30.0%)
no response	09 (37.5%)	06 (60.0%)	13 (38.2%)	07 (35.0%)
How much time you will spend with your friends				
parents	0	0	0	0
myself	14 (58.3%)	04 (40.0%)	17 (50.0%)	08 (40.0%)
both	01 (04.2%)	0	03 (08.8%)	03 (15.0%)
no response	09 (37.5%)	06 (60.0%)	14 (41.2%)	09 (45.0%)
[6] On which items do you generally agree with your parents?				
your future plans	12 (50.0%)	08 (80.0%)	25 (73.5%)	20 (100.%)
solutions to family problems	14 (58.3%)	04 (40.0%)	13 (38.2%)	10 (50.0%)
solutions to personal problems	14 (58.3%)	02 (20.0%)	11 (32.4%)	13 (65.0%)
your future course	11 (45.8%)	08 (80.0%)	27 (79.4%)	14 (70.0%)
girlfriend-boy friend problems	06 (25.0%)	01 (10.0%)	01 (02.9%)	0
clothes fashions	05 (20.8%)	01 (10.0%)	21 (61.8%)	07 (35.0%)
music	03 (12.5%)	04 (40.0%)	11 (32.4%)	08 (40.0%)
free time activities	07 (29.2%)	05 (50.0%)	10 (29.4%)	11 (55.0%)
how you spend your money	14 (58.3%)	03 (30.0%)	18 (52.9%)	16 (80.0%)
age for marriage	08 (33.3%)	04 (40.0%)	19 (55.9%)	12 (60.0%)
time you spend with your friends	05 (20.8%)	05 (50.0%)	11 (32.4%)	09 (40.0%)
your choice of friends	07 (29.2%)	05 (50.0%)	21 (61.8%)	12 (60.0%)

	<u>BARRIO MALES</u>	<u>TOWN MALES</u>	<u>BARRIO FEMALES</u>	<u>TOWN FEMALES</u>
[7] On which items do you generally disagree with your parents?				
your future plans	09 (37.5%)	01 (10.0%)	04 (14.7%)	05 (25.0%)
solutions to family problems	04 (16.7%)	01 (10.6%)	11 (32.4%)	06 (30.0%)
solutions to personal problems	06 (25.0%)	02 (20.0%)	14 (41.2%)	05 (25.0%)
your future course	07 (29.2%)	01 (10.0%)	10 (29.4%)	06 (30.0%)
girlfriend-boy friend problems	09 (37.5%)	05 (50.0%)	20 (58.8%)	11 (55.0%)
clothes fashions	10 (41.7%)	05 (50.0%)	09 (26.5%)	07 (35.0%)
music	05 (20.8%)	02 (20.0%)	07 (20.6%)	05 (25.0%)
free time activities	10 (41.7%)	01 (10.0%)	06 (17.6%)	05 (25.0%)
how you spend your money	09 (37.5%)	04 (40.0%)	07 (20.6%)	02 (10.0%)
age for marriage	09 (37.5%)	02 (20.0%)	10 (29.4%)	05 (25.0%)
time you spend with your friends	06 (25.0%)	01 (10.0%)	06 (17.6%)	06 (30.0%)
your choice of friends	11 (45.8%)	02 (20.0%)	04 (11.8%)	03 (15.0%)
[8] Would you say you get your way with your parents (get what you want):				
most of the time	02 (08.3%)	01 (10.0%)	06 (17.6%)	04 (20.0%)
some of the time	03 (12.5%)	01 (10.0%)	14 (41.2%)	05 (25.0%)
not very often	08 (33.3%)	05 (50.0%)	05 (14.7%)	08 (40.0%)
no response	11 (45.8%)	03 (30.0%)	09 (26.5%)	03 (15.0%)

APPENDIX VI

ADULT PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES REGARDING BARKADAS

[1] Barkadas usually have a good influence on their members.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	12 (33.3%)	24 (66.7%)
Barrio adults (male)	7 (41.2%)	10 (58.8%)
Barrio adults (female)	5 (26.3%)	14 (73.7%)
Town adults (total)	13 (26.0%)	37 (74.0%)
Town adults (male)	6 (23.1%)	20 (76.9%)
Town adults (female)	7 (29.2%)	17 (70.8%)

[2] A man does not have to have a barkada in order to be considered a real man.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	31 (86.1%)	5 (13.9%)
Barrio adults (male)	13 (76.5%)	4 (23.5%)
Barrio adults (female)	18 (94.7%)	1 (5.3%)
Town adults (total)	35 (70.0%)	15 (30.0%)
Town adults (male)	18 (69.2%)	8 (30.8%)
Town adults (female)	17 (70.8%)	7 (29.2%)

[3] When a youth spends too much time with his barkada he tends to forget his family responsibilities.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	29 (80.6%)	7 (19.4%)
Barrio adults (male)	14 (82.4%)	3 (17.6%)
Barrio adults (female)	15 (78.9%)	4 (21.1%)
Town adults (total)	46 (92.0%)	4 (8.0%)
Town adults (male)	23 (88.5%)	3 (11.5%)
Town adults (female)	23 (95.8%)	1 (4.2%)

[4] Barkadas are helpful in training young people to become proper grown-ups.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	11 (30.6%)	25 (69.4%)
Barrio adults (male)	2 (11.8%)	15 (88.2%)
Barrio adults (female)	9 (47.4%)	10 (52.6%)

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Town adults (total)	15 (30.0%)	35 (70.0%)
Town adults (male)	5 (19.2%)	21 (80.8%)
Town adults (female)	10 (41.7%)	14 (58.3%)

[5] A boy is not considered to be a man unless he has a barkada.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	10 (27.8%)	26 (72.2%)
Barrio adults (male)	5 (29.4%)	12 (70.6%)
Barrio adults (female)	5 (26.3%)	14 (73.7%)
Town adults (total)	19 (38.0%)	31 (62.0%)
Town adults (male)	9 (34.6%)	17 (65.4%)
Town adults (female)	10 (41.7%)	14 (58.3%)

[6] A student who spends too much time with his barkada usually neglects his studies.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	31 (86.1%)	5 (13.9%)
Barrio adults (male)	14 (82.4%)	3 (17.6%)
Barrio adults (female)	17 (89.5%)	2 (10.5%)
Town adults (total)	47 (94.0%)	3 (6.0%)
Town adults (male)	23 (88.5%)	3 (11.5%)
Town adults (female)	24 (100.%)	

[7] Children should be allowed to spend as much time with their barkada as they like.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)		36 (100.%)
Barrio adults (male)		17 (100.%)
Barrio adults (female)		19 (100.%)
Town adults (total)	11 (22.0%)	39 (78.0%)
Town adults (male)	5 (19.2%)	21 (80.8%)
Town adults (female)	6 (25.0%)	18 (75.0%)

[8] It is natural and can be expected that children, especially boys, will have a barkada.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	22 (61.1%)	14 (38.9%)
Barrio adults (male)	11 (64.7%)	6 (35.3%)
Barrio adults (female)	11 (57.9%)	8 (42.1%)

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Town adults (total)	27 (54.0%)	23 (46.0%)
Town adults (male)	12 (46.2%)	14 (53.8%)
Town adults (female)	15 (62.5%)	9 (37.5%)

- [9] Even if you do not like your son or daughter's barkada there is nothing you can do about it.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	17 (47.2%)	19 (52.8%)
Barrio adults (male)	7 (41.2%)	10 (58.8%)
Barrio adults (female)	10 (52.6%)	9 (47.4%)
Town adults (total)	30 (60.0%)	20 (40.0%)
Town adults (male)	14 (53.8%)	12 (46.2%)
Town adults (female)	16 (66.7%)	8 (33.3%)

- [10] It is better that a child stays at home than spend a lot of time with his barkada.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	35 (97.2%)	1 (2.8%)
Barrio adults (male)	16 (94.1%)	1 (5.9%)
Barrio adults (female)	19 (100.%)	
Town adults (total)	47 (94.0%)	3 (6.0%)
Town adults (male)	24 (92.3%)	2 (7.7%)
Town adults (female)	23 (95.8%)	1 (4.2%)

- [11] A boy learns a lot about life from his barkada.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Barrio adults (total)	17 (47.2%)	19 (52.8%)
Barrio adults (male)	6 (35.3%)	11 (64.7%)
Barrio adults (female)	11 (57.9%)	8 (42.1%)
Town adults (total)	19 *38.0%	31 (62.0%)
Town adults (male)	10 (38.5%)	16 (61.5%)
Town adults (female)	9 (37.5%)	15 (62.5%)

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