

THE PRINCIPLE OF CONTINGENCY IN TAGALOG SOCIETY

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Introduction

This paper is being written in the midst of field work upon which it is partially based. It is, therefore, intended as a preliminary statement and not a complete description and analysis. Present research is part of a long-range study of variations and change in social organization in the Tagalog area of the Philippines.¹ The research will not result in a comprehensive ethnographic coverage of the whole Tagalog area but instead in small-scale, intensive, controlled comparison of three barrios in different agricultural regions. The basic problem involves the relationship between differing economic milieu and pattern of social organization within the same general cultural and linguistic region. To this end, three barrios, one each in the provinces of Bulacan (wet rice), Batangas (upland, dry farming), and Laguna (coconut and terraced rice), have been selected for study with the intention of maintaining as continuous contact and study during the coming decades as is possible. These remarks embody abstract models of the history of social organization in the three barrios. The analysis is founded on the concepts of "social group," "social grouping," and "contingency" in the small portions of Tagalog society under observation.

Social Group And Social Grouping

One of the first problems to be met in dealing with the social organization of a particular area is the nature of the segments in which people are aligned to form components of the total society. Only relatively recently has the interest of anthropology turned to the theory of so-called bilateral or cognative societies in which social groups seem to lack the sort of corporateness to be found in

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the much more intensely studied and analyzed so-called lineal societies.

Tagalog society, so far as our studies have shown to present, has no segments which are strictly lineal in nature. The patrilineal inheritance of surnames seems to be a recent innovation (in some areas possibly as late as the middle-nineteenth century) and is remarkably unrelated to the formation of corporate groups beyond the level of the extended family.

I am using the concept "group" here in the sense imparted by Nadel:

"...a collection of individuals who stand in regular and relatively permanent relationships, that is, who act towards and in respect of each other, or towards and in respect of individuals outside the group, regularly in a specific, predictable, and expected fashion. The relationships making up the group are therefore visible only in the institutionalized modes of co-activity. The latter appear as the *rights and obligations* (Nadel's emphasis) vested in or incumbent upon the individuals in virtue of their group membership, either as modes of action reserved for (or forbidden to) the members of the group, or as modes of action generally valid but typically modified when occurring between group members."²

A social group (as used here) is an institutional unit which maintains its identity through variable periods of time primarily by means of a prescribed system of recruitment. This may give it a "lifetime" extending beyond that of any of its individual members. However, at any one time, the group—to fulfill the present definition—must be composed of individuals who recognize their membership and concomitant rights and obligations. In a lineal society, a lineage, clan, phratry, or other lineally prescribed collectivity would fit this description. Simple social classification—such as, "poor" versus "rich," "old" versus "young," "owner" versus "tenant," "truck driver" versus other occupations, etc.—does not necessarily denote a social group because individuals in each classification may very well feel no identification with one another in a meaningful enough sense to impart corporate responsibility or interest.

In Tagalog society, the family is probably a social group in Nadel's terms. However, precise definition and delimitation of the family is difficult and points immediately to the problem of sorting out social groups from social groupings. The "nuclear" or "elementary" family, consisting of husband and wife and offspring, does constitute a group because its membership is strictly delimit-

²S.F. Nadel, *The Foundations of Social Anthropology*, 1951, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., p. 146.

ed by prescriptions as to legitimacy and blood relationship between the offspring and parents. However, a nuclear family is a relatively short-lived unit since marriage of the offspring brings about decomposition and re-alignment.

Any one nuclear family has, in addition, connections to larger components—extended families composed of two or more nuclear families. In a lineal society, one or the other of these would form a primary group to which the offspring and one parent belong, while the extended family of the other parent would stand in a more secondary relationship. In a bilateral or cognative society, such as Tagalog, neither is so defined on the basis of matrilineal or patrilineal genealogical recruitment. Affiliation of individuals into collectivities based on membership in particular families is rather based upon contingent criteria. Extended families in Tagalog society are in effect, first, a basis of social classification and, secondarily, social groups. The fact that it is possible for individuals and nuclear families to form operational units for cooperation and social action allows us to recognize from time to time familial oriented groupings. Thus, as a “group,” the Tagalog family is a social concept leading to formation of particular social alignments, the direction of which alignment can change from year to year and generation to generation. The specific membership of these social alignments constitute what I wish to designate as social “groupings” rather than social “groups.” The former consists of individuals who through choice and circumstance have aligned themselves, while the latter’s membership is prescribed and delimiting.

The Tagalog family is a social group, but only in a highly contingent sense. Within such a social group there are different axes and levels for organization of social groupings. Beginning with a particular individual, one can see that the first level of organization is found in the nuclear family and the three sibling groups it represents—father’s siblings, mother’s siblings, and own siblings. For the individual, we have selected as the starting point the axis of relationship in the blood ties he has to all three. For the grouping, blood ties do not represent an exhaustive axis since the sibling groups of the two parents *may* have no recognizable genealogical connections with one another. The three sibling groups and the basic three nuclear families they represent are brought together on the axis of affinity (spouses and in-laws) producing each and defining status positions within and among them.

As each of the three theoretical sibling groups may contain an indefinite number of married individuals, a network of relationships can tie together a potentially expanding number of nuclear families. The question arises as to whether these ties are established through prescriptive rules in the choice of marriage partners, thus giving some sort of corporateness to the larger "family" embracing the various component nuclear families. In a lineal society, particular nuclear families in the potential extended family would automatically be eliminated or classified as belonging to other groups on the basis of matrilineality or patrilineality. In Tagalog society, there do not seem to be rigidly prescriptive rules of this sort, but rather important criteria based upon economic, political, and social "needs" recognized by individuals pursuing life careers according to the Tagalog ethos for including some and excluding others. These needs can be solved by utilizing available resources through a set of highly contingent but finite rules of social action. The shape and dimensions of a particular grouping is determined not by prescriptive rules of descent, inheritance, and alliance, but by the dynamic process of interaction and the success and failure of individuals operating according to these important rules of communication. Groupings result from what I would term a "contingency" principle underlying Tagalog social organization.

Principle of Contingency

Since this is a preliminary statement, I can present only some of the detailed nature of this principle of contingency. Further research, drawing upon intensive recording of the interaction among particular individuals and groupings over extended periods of time, should make the principle more precisely understood and enable us to analyze it in practical, specific detail.

Briefly stated, the contingency principle in Tagalog society stems from specific definitions of social goals on the one hand and the rules of social interaction on the other which allow individuals to create amongst themselves bonds of obligation, negate these, and define areas in which there is a lack of obligatory responsibility—not necessarily based upon bonds of consanguineal or affinal kinship. The rules are embodied in ideal patterns of interaction giving a specific range of alternative choice in socially meaningful situations. Contingency enters because interaction in most instances is not restricted as to the class of individuals (such as, mother's brothers in certain lineal societies) but will

depend upon estimation of receptivity present among a number of individuals occupying different social status positions. Thus, a cousin instead of a brother may be approached in one situation by an individual, while another individual in the same sort of situation may approach the brother—or an uncle, aunt, ritually determined relative, or possibly someone not related through kinship. Kinship status does not prescribe responsibility or nature of role behavior.

Further, there is contingency in the implementation of the rules of social behavior. An individual's relationships are established by the dynamic interaction between him and others over time. As he behaves "properly" in response to others, he creates and strengthens bonds of alliance. As he purposefully or accidentally behaves "improperly," he destroys or weakens bonds of alliance, does not allow them to develop, or actually creates negative and hostile relationships.³

My belief is that the study of Tagalog social organization must eventually produce a coherent statement of these rules and the kinds of social relationships brought about by their implementation.

In any single instance, there are two sets of factors to be accounted for. First, there are the factors involved in selection by one individual of the mode of social behavior he will use and in his ability to perform it. "Proper" and "improper" modes imply both choice and accident in their selection and "ability" includes both "skillfull" and "inept" handling of the mode. Second, the other side of this interaction lies in the set of factors involved in the reaction of the individual being approached. He also has a series of choices and evaluations to make. He can react "properly" or "improperly" on purpose or accidentally. Much of his reaction will be shaped by the initiating action on the part of the other individual.

Once two individuals have interacted, the outcome as perceived by both becomes a part of the continuing dyadic relationship between them. Past results enable future prediction of reactions on one another's part. The rules allow choice with direction, but it is the actual implementation which gives substance to the ensuing relationship.

³ For a discussion of reciprocal obligations and behavioral expectations among Tagalogs, see Kaut, "*Utang na Loob: A System of Contractual Obligation among Tagalogs*," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Univ. of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1961, Vol. 17, No. 3, pp. 256-272.

To conclude this discussion of contingency, it is my hypothesis that social groupings—not social groups in the sense defined above—are constantly changing their boundaries and dimensions in Tagalog society as successful, unsuccessful, and accidental activation of modes of interaction create, strengthen, or weaken social bonds of obligation. Kinship and descent act mostly as points of departure rather than eliminating strictures.

However, the principles upon which interaction is based stem directly from the application of kinship values learned first in the family to a wider social field. Thus, two individuals cannot begin a socially meaningful relationship unless there is first of all some sort of “kinship” established, and they cannot continue it unless they act *as though* they were relatives.

In studying a particular community in the Tagalog area, it seems that social groupings can be understood only after the history of social interaction has been uncovered. This is because kinship is practically a “universal,” while people utilize the practical yardstick of dependability in recognizing and forming their social partnerships.

Three Barrios: A Comparison

The areas of social interaction from which these remarks have been abstracted consist of three relatively widely separated barrios and the municipalities of which they are constituent parts. The groupings I discuss have ultimately derived from the contingency principle in operation among individuals. The future record of interaction in these barrios should eventually provide a basis for meaningful analysis and generalization.

Kapitangan

The barrio of *Kapitangan* is located forty kilometers northwest of Manila in the municipality of Paombong, Bulacan. The basic subsistence resource is the production of wet rice in paddies dependent mostly on captured rainfall since the irrigation system is no longer operational. This barrio is about four kilometers from the administrative center of the town and at times of flood reachable only by water. The provincial capital of Malolos and its important market is in some ways more accessible than the town center. By road, it is an additional three or four kilometers but Malolos also can be reached by a short walk across the rice fields.

Historically, sociologically, and economically, Malolos is the focus of Kapitangan life.

Most of the families recognize various barrios in Malolos as points of origin from which their ancestors emigrated (beginning about 1880) to form the new barrio.⁴ The owners of the land worked by the farmers are largely concentrated in Malolos. While most of the population is strongly oriented toward Malolos, a significant minority is oriented toward the nearby towns of Hagonoy and Calumpit (both within about eight kilometers).

The city of Manila is about two hours away by jeepney and bus and is presently an exceptionally important source of income for the barrio. A large proportion of the young people—both male and female—commute to jobs there, returning on weekends, holidays, and in times of life crises. Their work is mainly semi-skilled factory labor, carpentry, and unskilled construction. They live in households permanently established there by older persons, originally from Kapitangan, with reliable jobs. The cramped quarters they utilize are similar in function to the field houses near rice holdings in the barrio; they are not thought of as permanent but only a place to sleep and keep in out of the rain while exploiting a resource. A rough estimate (still to be confirmed by a new census) would place about one-half of the barrio population's young adults in the Greater Manila labor force. This is a change from 1957 when I first studied Kapitangan. Then only a small proportion regularly worked in Manila. Two factors have caused this change: first, the development of more job opportunities in Manila (coupled with easy access); and secondly, improved rice yields due to minimal introduction of mechanization (one tractor and two gasoline motor pumps which allow preparation of the paddy before the onset of the rainy season). In 1957, many of the young people moved to Nueva Ecija (Cabanatuan City) during harvest seasons there in order that the basic rice requirements of each household could be met.

The barrio of Kapitangan is an area composed of approximately one-square mile of rice paddy along the edges of which are located the 260 houses of the basic population (2000). Only about half of this number is included in the social unit specifi-

⁴A brief history of settlement and social organization in Kapitangan is to be found in Kaut, "Process and Social Structure in a Lowland Philippine Settlement," in *Studies in Asia*: 1960, Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1960.

cally known locally as Kapitangan. Five sitios on the western edge are known as *Tabing Ilog* or *Pinalagdan* and form a social area distinct from the three eastern sitios known collectively as Kapitangan (from the name of the sitio within which the chapel is located). It is these three latter sitios—*Kapitangan*, *Kalisay*, and *Pukiyot*—I am using as the basis for this analysis. Here, there are 160 houses in a lineal alignment along a section of barrio road that leads to the *poblacion* in Paombong in one direction, and to the national highway and Calumpit in the other.

In previous years there were twenty or thirty (maximum) houses located out in the rice fields. In 1957, there were some sixteen and in 1964 there are only six. Thus, most of the population has become concentrated along the road (locally referred to as *sa loob*: inside) and those engaged in agriculture walk to their fields (*sa labas*: outside). The houses in the fields now are used only when it is necessary to guard the paddy or regulate the flow of water when irrigation is (infrequently) possible.

The number of families is only slightly larger than the number of houses as the preferred pattern is one couple and children to one house. However, there are a few instances of two families living together—usually an older couple (parents of one of the younger couple) who have raised their children and are now sharing with one of them. Many of the houses have “shadow” inhabitants who live there on weekends and special occasions; these are both married couples relatively permanently established in Manila and unmarried young people who work there during the week. At fiesta time, there may be several nuclear families sleeping in any one of the houses. Further, children of couples living in Manila spend considerable time in Kapitangan and children from Kapitangan frequently stay in Manila—going to school or acting as housekeepers and babysitters for their older siblings, cousins, aunts, and uncles.

In general, then, the social network of Kapitangan is focused on the households and rice holdings of the home base but extends to specific households in Manila and in scattered barrios of nearby municipalities where marriages have occurred. Internally, there is one generalized field of association drawn from common residence and participation in the religious activities surrounding the chapel which is considered exceptionally important both by the people of Kapitangan and outsiders. Holy Week brings flagellantes to the barrio from distant municipalities, and

throughout the year pilgrimages are made by individuals to seek, or give thanks for, cures granted by the Patron Cristo. The school (six grades) also forms an axis for barrio-wide interest and association. Otherwise, the barrio is divided into fluid segments on several bases.

First, the barrio of Kapitangan is divided into two halves demographically by the rice fields and politically in that each half elects a separate Barrio Kapitan. There is a religious division also because while Kapitangan Proper is almost one-hundred per cent Roman Catholic, *Tabing Ilog* has a significant Aglipayan congregation with its own church. The Catholics of *Tabing Ilog* erected their own small chapel in 1957 but continue to cross the fields to Kapitangan for major ceremonial purposes.

Secondly, within Kapitangan Proper, there are divisions of association which are in some instances relatively stable and in others subject to fluctuation. There seems to be a basic division based on genealogical ties stemming from three differing geographical and genealogical origins. There are two core kin groupings descended from the people who originally founded the sitios of *Kapitangan* and *Kalisay*; these came from two separate areas in Malolos. It should be emphasized that these two groupings are socially and demographically fairly well integrated but are recognized as major bases for determining permissible marriages. Certain family names are frequently mentioned as belonging to one or the other—although not quite in those terms. Most of these people do not think of themselves as belonging to a "group" but use the genealogical ties as orienting factors in marriage and management of inheritable resources. The two original groupings are set somewhat into relief by the existence of the third. This is made up of those people who have come into the barrio through marriage over the years and at the several points in time that Kapitangan was abandoned and returned to during the Second World War and the ensuing *Hukbalahap* period. Spouses were brought back from the outside and their connections to areas not formerly a part of the social network of Kapitangan form the basis of a developing differentiation of interest.

Genealogical relationships extending more than three generations beyond a particular set of spouses have much less importance than in the past. (Around the turn of the twentieth century, second cousins were preferred marriage partners and extended families were important economic and social units.) The three

groupings I have just mentioned probably do not presently exist *except in the minds of the older generation*. The third grouping of non-Kapitangan affiliation is recognized mostly in a negative fashion. These are people who, if they feel any closeness, do so because of their common outside origin.

Thirdly, Kapitangan's complexity of grouping extends to the family. Neighborhoods are recognized along the kilometer-and-half of road. Within each of these neighborhoods, the households are oriented around one or two sets of siblings. Usually, the neighborhood is composed of four-to-eight households, the heads of which are related in a chainlike fashion. Two or three siblings and their spouses, cousins of the siblings, siblings and cousins of the spouses, and more distant relatives on all sides form the composition of the neighborhood. Relationships are strengthened between both consanguineal and affinal relatives through ritual sponsorship of one another's children at baptism, confirmation, and marriage. Each generation, these arrangements can shift as children move to another neighborhood to live with or near the family of their spouses and start new chains of relationship.

The older generation's associations were formed during their youth in similar neighborhood situations, but over the years the nature of "neighborhood" has changed and with the changes in potential interaction have come changes in the composition of the groupings and realignments from generation to generation in the genealogical structure of extended families as groups.

In the early years of Kapitangan's history (1880-1926), the people were distributed in two spatially distinct and internally close-knit clusters of houses containing several bilaterally extended families. The land use was predominantly sugar cane—each extended family holding, as tenants, a basic plot with a small rice paddy area associated. The component nuclear families cooperated in tending the parental holding—marriages were arranged preferably between second cousins within the house cluster and in the communities in Malolos from which the first settlers came. At this time, the *angkan* or kindred was fairly stable and approached both a social group and grouping; an individual's personal kindred closely paralleled those of his cousins and spouse or potential spouse. In 1926, an irrigation system was constructed and land use changed from sugar cane to wet rice. Smaller but more profitable holdings changed the demographic situation in that the two clusters of houses disappeared and houses were scattered throughout the new riceholdings. Newly-formed nuclear families

took up residence near the rice paddies allotted them rather than in the household of one of the spouses' parents. Further, the original two clusters were not only dispersed but became interdigitated and children descended from them began to grow up in close association. Propinquity and a new, larger resources situation changed marriage arrangements causing a series of important links between the two formerly distinct kindreds. The war and *Hukbalahap* periods disrupted the development possible in such a situation but presently the picture is probably diagnostically similar to what would have been the case without the disruption. Developing economic opportunities have submerged the extended family as a group and grouping, giving precedence to the contingencies of residence and individual economic pursuit.

Apacay and San Roque

The other two barrios in my study have not yet been studied as intensively as Kapitangan so that the following is even more preliminary and tentative than the foregoing.

Apacay is an upland barrio about 180 kilometers southwest of Manila in the province of Batangas. It is located in the municipality of Taal at the halfway point of the Pansipit river between Lake Taal and Balayan Bay. It is approximately one-square mile in area and has no irrigated land. The inhabitants own their parcels of land. Like Kapitangan, it was formed some time in the 1880s by people from another municipality (Lemery across the river). In 1958, there were approximately 640 inhabitants living in 88 households within the central half-square mile of the total area. The houses were usually fifty to one-hundred feet apart with little or no secondary clustering. Here also each nuclear family usually lived in its own house; only infrequently, for special reasons, would two families live together. Genealogically, the entire barrio was one large kin group with most individuals considering themselves related to all others. Marriage was approximately 85 per cent endogamous to the barrio (with a significant number of marriages between first cousins) and most of the remaining 15 per cent between the *taga-Apacay* (born in Apacay) and individuals from three specific outside barrios (one, the barrio from which the original settlers came and two, barrios into which people from Apacay have recently moved).

There is a school at Apacay for the first four grades to which all the children go. The teachers in 1958 came from the *poblacion* each day and had little interaction with the barrio people.

There is no central religious center as in Kapitangan. Further, there is no patron saint nor fiesta. The people attend the fiestas of the barrios to which they consider themselves related and that of the town proper. The major ceremonial occasions are the various rites of passage for individuals and these are attended by representatives (at least) of each household. On occasions such as Holy Week, ceremonials are decentralized with prayers being said in various households.

Presently, the economic pattern is bringing about an overt change in social grouping. In the early years, agriculture and a small population held the barrio together in a manner similar to the early period in Kapitangan. However, as the land became less usable due to lack of water and the population increased, the importance of peddling (possibly an old pattern) increased. Today, the major source of income is the peddling activity of a large proportion of adult males. Farming occupies a secondary position in importance. From strictly subsistence agriculture, the barrio has changed in character to entrepreneurship. This latter pattern, as manifested in Apacay, emphasizes the extended family as a cooperating and capital-accumulating grouping. There has been considerable segmentation which I believe is the result of an ever-expanding set of resources (they have expanded their peddling activities to the whole of the island of Luzon) enabling nuclear families to bud off and begin new extended families. If, within a presently constituted extended family there are two brothers (or brothers-in-law) who are exceptionally capable traders, each may become head of a separate extended family. Actually, the consequences of this are bilateral—successful traders may cause splits but unsuccessful or mediocre traders will join or remain attached to successful men.

The trading pattern requires the accumulation of capital—either cash or goods for exchange. The latter is most often the embroidery work of the women. (In other communities, it may be mosquito nets, various manufactured items, pottery, etc.) The trader of the household periodically takes cash or goods to Manila or one of the larger trade centers where he buys or trades for clothing at wholesale. Then he proceeds to his territory which consists mostly of isolated barrios far from market centers. (Over the years, contacts have been established by individuals and these are passed along from father to son, brother to brother, father to son-in-law, uncle to nephew, etc.) By going into remote places, he is able to obtain a relatively high margin of profit—sometimes

100 per cent. A large proportion of his profit is used in buying the daily essentials but some is set aside for reinvestment in the next expedition. I am tempted to think of Apacay as a fishing village and in many ways it is similar.

The total social organizational picture of Apacay will, in the long run, include a very large, widespread network of interrelationships stemming from the accumulated results of interaction of several generations both internally and externally (non-genealogical contacts). Presently, they are still dependent upon home production (some rice and corn as well as the embroidery work) but eventually this may disappear as capital accumulates in the form of cash. However, constant segmentation of extended families could prevent such an accumulation of capital from occurring.

San Roque is a barrio 120 kilometers southeast of Manila on the slopes of Mount Banahao in the municipality of Majayjay, province of Laguna. Its presently usable land lies at an elevation between 350 and 800 meters and is devoted to three main types of agricultural pursuit. Most extensive is coconut; most spectacular is irrigated, terraced rice; and least important at present is the dry-farming land at higher elevations devoted to various vegetable crops. The barrio of San Roque is about five kilometers long and one-half kilometer wide. It consists basically of one of the lower ridges of the mountain with deep ravines on either side. Today, the barrio is not primarily a habitation site; it is basically an economic resource exploited by families who live in the centrally located *poblacion* some three kilometers distant. In the past, these families and their ancestors lived more permanently in the barrio. The war and the *Hukbalahap* period changed this bringing about a concentration of the municipality's population in the town proper.

In contrast to the other two barrios under consideration, San Roque has a much longer history. It is recorded (as a sitio, not barrio) in a census from 1792-94 taken by the local Catholic Church. At that time, there were less than ten families living there. Presently, there are about twenty-five with a total number of individuals approaching 260 who claim membership in the barrio but do not live there permanently.

The present economic pattern has as its focal point the rice terraces which are mainly owner-operated. One crop a year is planted and harvested (December-April) which provides the basic subsistence for all families. Copra production is a year-round

cash enterprise; trees are harvested every forty-five days to three months. Both coconut and rice are mainly male occupations. An especially intriguing contrast between the rice production here and in Kapitangan lies in the division of labor; women seldom plant or harvest (especially the former) in San Roque, while in Kapitangan and nearby in the lowlands of Laguna women are the main planters and harvesters.

Another year-round economic activity is the pandanus industry—the weaving of mats and bags. Although men sometimes do the weaving, this is mostly done by women and children. Thus, the yearly round is one of almost constant coconut activity, periodic attention to rice for men and daily manufacture of pandanus articles for women. The few families who work the higher dry-farming areas represent a different cycle about which I can say little as yet.

The people almost all live in the central *poblacion* and walk daily to their holdings. Except during the rice-planting, growing, and harvesting seasons, they sleep in the *poblacion*. These households, whose members consider themselves *taga* (native of) San Roque, seem to be concentrated in one section of town.

San Roque is the patron saint but there is no religious center in the barrio. The annual barrio fiesta is celebrated in the town church and *poblacion*. The children go to school either in a neighboring barrio (Bukal) where there are four grades or in the *poblacion*. There is much more attachment to the town as a whole in San Roque than in either Kapitangan or Apacay.

Since work has only been underway for six months, I cannot delimit more than a few levels of social grouping in San Roque. Nuclear family and sibling groups are primary. Extended family is important because of inheritance of land and cooperative enterprises related to it. Each week, all families holding land in the barrio send a representative to participate in labor on barrio facilities like paths and bridges. If no representative is sent they pay a three-peso fine. (This communal labor is called *atag*; in Kapitangan it is called *palusong*.)

Associational ties in the form of peer groupings and clubs for both males and females are important. These associations, known as *kasamahan*, come into existence in the *poblacion* among children from the various barrios and continue on into adulthood when there is a fantastic proliferation. The main activities of these are

drinking parties (women have their own), dances, and cooperation in ritual activities. Kapitangan has its share of *kasamahan* but there they are much shorter-lived.

Presently, I would characterize San Roque as being a territorial and genealogically-oriented segment of a larger social grouping which is scattered throughout the entire town of Majayjay. It is similar to both Kapitangan and Apacay in this respect (being only a segment in a larger network) but is different in that the larger network to which it belongs is more spatially restricted. Kapitangan's network immediately crosses town and provincial boundaries as does Apacay's. San Roque has ties outside the town but these are not so frequent nor significant.

Conclusion

My working hypothesis for pursuing research into the social organization of these three localities is that all three have similar principles of organization (from the individual's point of view—principles of anticipation, manipulation, and expectation) but that through time and in differing ecological and demographical situations, the principle of contingency allows several forms of social grouping to occur. The problem is to enumerate and describe the range within which those forms fall. Can that range encompass all possible types of human groupings, or is it prescribed? I believe it is prescribed, but in what ways I do not yet know. Future changes in social, ecological, demographic, and political organization could profoundly alter the range—especially since "contingency" seems such an important principle in itself. This important aspect of Tagalog social structure implies that just as marriage and demographic patterns can change in response to circumstance, so can values or socially-determined alternatives for interaction.