

## WHERE THE RICH ARE TENANTS

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### I.

The prevalent theory regarding the origin of tenancy holds that tenancy is the consequence of a certain type of social structure characterized by rigid class stratification. Because of class and social stratification, wealth tends to concentrate in the hands of one social class or stratum. Those who are eventually dispossessed of land or wealth in this process of concentration become tenants. To earn their subsistence they have to hire out their labor power, the only wealth they still possess.

The prevalent theory on the origin of tenancy or peonage, therefore, asserts the priority of social structure over the development of the institution of tenancy or peonage. This writer asserts that, in Kalinga society, the reverse is true: class and social stratification are the results of tenancy or peonage. Social and class stratification arose because of the institution of tenancy which enabled some members of society to acquire more wealth than others, thus raising them to a higher position of prestige, and, later, political power and influence. In present-day Kalinga society, class and social stratification are very much correlated with the possession of quantities of rice, a number of gold bracelets and earrings, Chinese jar (*gosi*), Chinese porcelain plates, bowls, and beads, and the possession of animals, such as the carabao, the dog, chickens, cows, etc. In more concrete terms, therefore, this paper contends that class and social stratification in Kalinga society set in with the increased and more intensified cultivation of rice in the area.

There are no precise historical dates as to the time of the introduction of rice in the Kalinga area. But it is certain that it was, together with millet, taro, and sweet potato, first cultivated in mountain swiddens called *uma* and later in the terraced paddy or *payao*. In the absence of an economic history of the area, it can only be conjectured that economic development must have followed the following stages: prior to the use of mountain swiddens, agriculture

centered on the cultivation of rice, millet, taro, sweet potato and vegetables supplemented by hunting and food gathering since the cultivation of rice takes place only once a year, i.e., the dry season, dry-rice cultivation being dependent on sunshine unlike the wet-rice cultivation in terrace paddies, which depends on the availability of rain. Finally, comes the mode of agriculture of today: wet-rice cultivation in terraced paddies, supplemented by mountain swidden-agriculture and hunting, fishing and root-crop gathering.

It should be noted that, with the shift into wet-rice cultivation, the cultivation of millet has totally disappeared, especially in the southern regions of Kalinga, and that the cultivation of taro and sweet potato has likewise become minimal. Hunting and fishing have likewise become very minimal and secondary. During the period of mountain swidden-agriculture, a certain degree of class and social stratification began to emerge. This is because the more industrious people who clear a wider area of mountainside normally save an amount or quantity from their total harvest after their subsistence needs would have been met or satisfied. As such a saving of rice accumulated, it enabled people to engage in some sort or form of barter trade. Thus came the acquisition of precious metals, domestic animals, porcelain plates and bowls, gold earrings, etc. Heirloom-collecting became a part and form of valuable wealth since it is now realized that such property can be bartered for other commodities.

The accumulation of wealth does not introduce social and class differentiation in society; there are also increases in differentiation, and the widening of such differentiation because of the tendency of accumulated and agglutinated wealth and value to multiply and reproduce by itself in accordance with the law of monopolization. The social and class stratification started during the period of swidden-agriculture is intensified and becomes more formalized in the period of wet-rice cultivation in terraced paddies. This is because the building of terraces brought about the institutionalization of private property. In the previous period of mountain swidden-agriculture, the area cultivated with rice did not become permanently attached to the land cultivator because it was only cultivated for a short period of time. After the rice is harvested it is either abandoned or replanted but still consequently abandoned after the second planting.

The mountain swidden-agriculturist is still a nomadic, albeit semi-nomadic, individual. Therefore, he does not lay any claim on the land which he has cultivated as permanently his private property.

The land belongs to him as long as his rice is still unharvested but once his rice is harvested he does not have any more claim on the land. In short, he can only claim the fruits of the land insofar as he has worked it out and planted something on it. In the period of wet rice agriculture, however, the rice paddy constructed for the planting of rice becomes the permanent private property of the individual who builds it unless he decides to sell it to somebody else or gives it to a relative as an inheritance. What is important for present consideration is the fact that as rice began to be grown in rice paddies, as more and more rice paddies were constructed, and as rice became the sole crop and the only source of other forms of wealth, class and social stratification became more and more rigid and distinct, giving rise to a stratified social structure.

The monopoly of the greater number of rice paddies and the supplying of labor power by the most industrious members of society created a society where one segment was considered lower in class and social status because it possessed more wealth in terms of land, heirlooms, work animals, etc. In Kalinga society, this higher segment of society originally was composed of the most industrious members of society who had raised themselves above the others by cultivating and constructing the more number of rice paddies, who therefore produced more rice and made their labor power available for hire once they had finished with their own work. It is therefore the contention of this paper that in Kalinga society the origin of tenancy or peonage or the habit of hiring out one's labor power was not the result of an exploitative or oppressive social structure but rather, it was generous industry which enabled some people to produce more rice and with their accumulated savings were able to buy other things of value. Because of the self-reproduction of wealth, this people came to have more and more control over the possession of land which in this stage of economic development was the sole source of wealth and income. With this ever-increasing control of land and the concentration of wealth was created a class and social stratification which distinguished those who have more from those who had less. At first this distinction did not imply poverty exploitation on the part of those who had less because the population of the society was still small and therefore there was still enough land for everybody and thus everyone was economically well-off. But later, as population increased and as more land was cultivated there was no more land for those who had less to enable them to expand their source of in-

come. It was only at this point that the social structure began to drive those who eventually had no land to become perpetual hired laborers or tenants. Prior to this those who were more industrious and more acquisitive were the ones who hired their labor power for other forms of wealth and values. This paper will document this development in the economic history of the Kalinga with the case of the Lubo tribe of the Tanudan Valley.

## II.

Rice is produced or cultivated, as already indicated, both in the mountain swidden and in the terraced paddies. Although the prevalent theory in so far as the Kalinga area is concerned as to stages of the cultivation of rice is that dry-rice or mountain swidden-agriculture precedes wet or paddy rice cultivation. This theory which is evolutionary in perspective, has not been tested. In the Tanudan Valley, the reverse order of development may have been equally true. There are evidences which seem to indicate that wet-rice agriculture was practiced first before dry-rice agriculture. Apparently what happened was that before the introduction of rice in the Tanpudan era, people had as their main crops for subsistence — millet, sweet potatoes, and taro. These were cultivated or grown in small plots of land on the flat tops of hills and on the valleys. This is certainly mountain swiddening but not the swiddening of rice. When rice was introduced into the area somewhere not too far away in time before the Spanish colonization of the Philippines, it was immediately planted in wet terraced paddies. And because the terracing of rice paddies proved to be more permanent in terms of subsistence sources and in terms of supporting bigger populations, it facilitated the formation of communities which are the merging of two or more kinship groups which are today called *ili* in the entire Kalinga province.

As population kept on increasing through rice production, the terraced paddies became inadequate to supply subsistence needs because the continuous use of the land without fertilizer depleted its productive capacities. Every new year the harvest is less than the preceding year. This seems to be true, especially today. To supplement rice production in the terraced paddies people have resorted to dry rice-swiddening, though it could also be that dry- and wet-rice cultivation have always gone hand in hand, the one acting as supplement to the other, depending on the peculiar conditions of the times. Today, for example, people who can subsist adequately on what they

rice production. Moreover, people who engage in dry-rice production have always been considered as doing it because they do not have enough terraced paddies to give them adequate rice for subsistence. Thus, the people who engage in *uma* building are normally the so-called *lawa* or *kaḡos*, the lower class. But this is not always the case. Today the so-called *babaknang* or *kaḡadangyan* also engage in dry-rice production and build swiddens which are much larger than the *uma* of the so-called *kaḡos* to increase their wealth of rice and to be able to buy other forms of wealth and valuables.

Rice is usually converted into money and with money they buy heirlooms or work animals which are very much valued by the Kalinga. Again from this standpoint, the hypothesis that the rich are the tenants in Kalinga society seems to be sustained. The rich are apparently the people who are willing to work for profit and gain even to the extent of having their labor power hired. This may be very surprising from the viewpoint of the Christian West where work is despised as the consequence of sin. But among the Kalinga, work is the only source of good and to be industrious is the greatest value because with labor one can acquire anything that he would like to acquire. Labor is, therefore, for the Kalinga the source and creator of all forms of value. It appears also to be the one which gave rise to the different forms of social structure.

Dry rice cultivation covers the months of March through November. It starts with the *torba*: around the end of February or beginning of March people start looking for suitable areas to clear for mountain swiddening. People in groups discuss and choose a particular area. Once the choice is made they set one day aside to hear omens. If the omens are auspicious they continue right away to the chosen place and mark off individual plots. From then on until the end of March, or perhaps the beginning of April, they clear the mountain side. They cut down trees, the underbrush, *layanas* and other things which need to be cut down and cleared. If the omens, however, are not auspicious, they either wait for another try the following day or abandon the site altogether. After the clearing, they let everything dry under the summer sun. By the beginning of May, or roughly after a month, the whole clearing is set afire. After the firing or burning, comes the clearing away of the cinders and other fire debris. Once this is done, the mountain swidden is almost ready for planting. But before it is planted, the whole clearing is fenced to prevent wild animals, once the rice has grown,

from coming in. But this fencing is done simultaneously with the clearing of the cinder and other fire debris. Immediately before planting is the weeding of young weeds which are just trying to sprout at the beginning of the summer rain. This work is called *logam*, the verb being *lomogam*. After the *logam* is done away with, planting occurs.

Planting is done by both men and women. The men bore holes with a wood stick slightly smaller in diameter than the wrist and sharpened at one end. It is called the *gadang*. *Gadang* means a throw. The men bore holes by throwing the sharpened end of this stick to the ground. It is relatively easy to bore holes on the ground because it is wet. Planting happens in the month of June, the start of the rainy season in the Tanudan Valley. The men bore the holes starting from the foot of the mountain side, called by the Kalinga the *sornad* of the *uma*. They go on climbing up the top of the mountain side up to where the boundary of the *uma* is, the *so'on*. Women follow with the unhusked rice grains, *elick*, throwing from four to six grains into each hole. This is commonly how the swidden is planted. However, some men or women may decide to do the planting alone. the same manner of planting is done except that the planting is done by one man. He bores the holes with the *gadang* with his right hand and fills the holes with *elick* which he carries on the left hand. Usually in this case the stick used for *gadang* is the *beniyan*. The *beniyan* is actually a bamboo tube about four to five feet long. It is indeed a *gadang* except that the sharp end is made of carabao or cow horn. Since the horn-points are very strong there is no need to sharpen the *beniyan*.

The rice grains planted in the *uma* are well selected. They are selected from the previous harvest specifically for this purpose. Therefore they are stored in the safest place of the rice granary. This is either the middle part or base of the *ponpon*. In storing the rice, bundled rice the size of the wrist are grouped in bunches of six called *iting*. The *itings* are piled on top of one another, either in rectangular or round shapes. This kind of piling arrangement is called the *ponpon*. The base and middle of the *ponpon* are the least susceptible to attacks by rats. The *palay* or rice grains set aside for the purpose of planting rice seedlings are placed in these parts of the *ponpon*. These rice grains used as *uma* seedlings are removed from the rice stalks by trampling on them with the two feet. This manner of dislodging the grains from the stalks is called *elick*, the

verb being *manelick*. This is why the grain which is planted in the *uma* is called *elick*. After planting, work in the mountain swidden temporarily stops until about the middle of August. By the middle of August, the people begin weeding. By the time people are through with this weeding, the rice grains are almost ready for harvest. They have ripened and matured. Harvesting the ripe grains occupies the people for almost a month and by the beginning of November, harvesting, hauling of the harvest, and storing them in the granary are all over. Thus, dry-rice cultivation takes about five months.

The cultivation of wet-rice or paddy rice, in contrast with the cultivation of dry-rice, occurs twice a year because of its dependence on rain rather than on sunshine. Like the rest of the country, Mountain Province and the Tanudan Valley in particular has two seasons, the wet and the dry. The first cultivation of rice in the paddy fields occurs during the dry season. It starts with the ploughing of the paddy fields with the use of carabaos which are pulled around and around the paddy to trample the rice stalks and other kinds of weeds to the base of the rice paddy. These trodden stalks and weeds become the fertilizer for the newly planted rice. Once the ploughing is over, the paddy dikes, the *banong* and the *ngasngas* are weeded and cleaned. With this finished, the *baybay* comes next. In the *baybay*, men and women, either alone or in groups, cover once again the paddy field in the same way that it has been ploughed by the carabaos. They trample underfoot the fine dirt which are still visible on the surface of the paddy field. Sometimes they may have to remove sand which may have intruded into the paddy field either by washed out dikes or overflowing of the irrigation system. Once the *baybay* is over, then planting may start. Planting is started by the so-called *mantotomong*, the medium who is designated by the community to start the planting. There are a number of *mantotomong* in any given Kalinga community but usually the one who by experience has always started the planting with the most bountiful harvest is naturally always designated to start the planting as long as he or she is alive.

Ploughing, cleaning, repairing of irrigation dikes, etc. for the dry season rice in the paddy fields take place on the months of December and January. By the beginning of January, the *tampik* of the moon — the time when at dawn the moon is right above the Tanudan river — the rice grains which will give the seedlings for

the coming planting are planted in an enclosed portion of one of every family's rice paddies. By the beginning of February, the seedlings, called *panar*, have grown about four to five inches long. They are sufficiently mature and strong to be transplanted in the paddy fields. Planting then occurs the whole month of February and perhaps the first week of March. After planting, work in the rice paddy temporarily stops until about the month of April and the beginning of May when women go and weed the fields. Weeding is called *sagamsam*. By the time the *sagamsam* is over, the rice grains are just about ready for the harvest. The whole month of June is spent by the Kalinga in the harvesting, hauling, drying and storing of his rice. Thus, the first cycle of rice cultivation in the terraced paddies is over. This cycle covers approximately six months. The rice planted for this season of the year is called *oyac*. This variety of rice has proved to be the most suited to the season. This period is sometimes referred to by the Kalinga as the season of the *oyac*.

The second planting in the rice paddies occurs by the middle of August. The ploughing, cleaning of dikes and over-all preparatory work which is the same as the previous cycle are all done in July and the earlier part of August. The rice seedlings used for planting are grown not in the rice paddy but in a small plot of land cleared in the nearby hillsides. Weeding of the new rice occurs in the month of October. November is usually harvest time. By December, all work in the rice paddies for the rainy season is over; the people rest for a while before starting the work for the *oyac* rice once more. The rice variety planted during the rainy season is called *onoy*. This part of the year is sometimes called the *onoy* season. This is in summary the yearly cycle for the production of rice.

### III.

In dry-rice agriculture the instruments of production are fairly simple. Only a few simple tools are needed; the axe, bolo, digger (*saro'an*), the *landok*, and perhaps some hardwood. These are the instruments for the clearing and cleaning of the mountain side. Fire is of course the most important tool for clearing. After the burning, the most crucial instruments are the bolo, *landok*, the digger and some hard wooden sticks. These instruments are for the clearing of roots obstructing the fertile surface of the soil, weeds and other undergrowth. For the planting of the *uma* rice, the important instruments are the *gadang*, the *beniyan*, and the baskets and bowls where



the *elick* is carried. For harvesting the instruments used are the *gi-pan* or the *lokom* (knives) and the baskets for hauling the harvest. For men this basket is called the *gimata*, though there is also a *gimata* without the baskets, just the balancing pole. The basket women use for transporting the harvested grains is called the *batawil*, if it is very big, or the *damos* if of ordinary size. In all forms of harvesting, the *danog*, the tying string used to keep the *botok* together, is used. The *danog* is made from the wild bamboo, called *a-nos*.

In constructing a rice paddy, the builder first calculates the width of the terrace. Once this is more or less calculated, on gradient ground, he starts digging at the point of the gradient which would stand at midpoint of the calculated width. The reason for this is a very simple geometrical principle. The dug-up soil would be enough to fill in the empty space between the proposed *banong* and the midpoint or half of the gradient. Once the *buka* is all dug up, the next problem is to see to it that the floor of the paddy is level in all parts. Water is sent to the newly finished paddy until the whole field is filled up. The water level will indicate the places which are deep and the places which are high. These places are accordingly measured with a stick by taking note of the water level. The high places are leveled off and the soil taken off used to fill in the pockets of deep holes or lower places. After the water shows that the floor of the paddy is more or less level, then the top block soil is spread out all over the field, the field is ploughed with the use of carabaos which trample on the soil to soften and ready it for the first planting. The floor of the field must be even to facilitate the flow and distribution of water coming from the irrigation duct. This is especially important to note in consideration of the pattern of terracing: the fields are built on top of one another following the inclination of the hill or mountain gradient. This means that, since the irrigation stops at the first paddy field on top, the rice fields in between the topmost and the lowest in the *dapat* serve as the conduit for the water. If the rice paddies are not level, it would be very difficult for the water to flow over the *dapat*.

The unfinished terraced paddy or one that is in the process of construction is called a *buka*. A *buka* is located in a place where an irrigation canal can easily be constructed or where there is already one in existence. It is always built where there is sufficient water supply since water is the essential requirement for paddy building. Moreover, the *buka* must be built on a flat ground or on a moun-

tain or hill side whose slope is not too steep. In almost all cases, however, in the Tanudan Valley, the rice paddies have been built on the sides of the mountains along the banks of the Tanudan River or along the sides of its big tributaries. On flat ground it is relatively easy to build a rice terrace because all one has to do is to set the boundary dikes, called *banong*, and dig up the soil to about six feet deep. Before digging up, however, the black soil on the surface is first collected and put aside in some places. This is later on returned and spread out equally all over the surface of the terraced paddy.

This fertile surface soil forms the soft mud on which the rice seedlings are planted. It forms, so to speak, the fertile incubator which nurses the rice planted on the rice fields. If the rice paddy is built on a hillside gradient, it is always assumed that the irrigation water comes from above. In the building of the rice paddies, the rice paddy on top of the gradient is the first one which is built. The reasons for this are, first, it is easy to dispose of the dug-up earth on the lower gradient, and second, it is much easier to calculate the size of the next paddy. This is important since the boundary separating the lower and the upper paddy must be of a height which would not give way in case of water overflow or earthquake. The pressure from the one on top should not cause it to collapse. The expansion of the width of the rice paddy is determined by how much space the dug-up earth can fill up.

The instruments used for the building or construction of a terraced paddy are the following: a string for measuring the length, width and height; spade; digger (*saroan*), *balita* to lever and root out big stones and rocks; *balloko* (a square-shaped basket made of either bamboo or rattan strips about a foot in diameter) to haul the dug-up earth to the edge of the terraced paddy; *arorod* (a wheeled cart) used to haul the dug-up earth or stones to the paddy; *parok*, sharp wooden markers to mark off the paddy field; *pasok* (used to crack or support cracked stones); and blasting caps (*bongbong*).

## VI.

Group work and cooperation have always been the rules in Kalunga society. This is no less true in the Tanudan Valley. Based on contemporary evidence, hunting and food-gathering, as well as fishing, have always been group activities. This is perhaps more true in the earlier economic history of the people in the area. For exam-

ple, in hunting there is what they call the *anop*. In the *anop*, an individual or a group sets out for the forest to hunt with dogs. The dogs are used to run after the wild boar or the deer. Hence, there is not only cooperation between men but also cooperation between man and his domestic animals. The dogs try to fight the deer or boar or they simply chase it. Once the wild animal is cornered by the dogs the hunters kill or catch it. The meat of the animal is then divided equally among the hunters with the head going to the one who led the hunting party or the member who will need it for giving a *pango*. If only one man went to hunt, he divides one-half of the animal among the dogs, which actually means that the meat is the share of the owners of the dogs.

In fishing, there is what is called the *sopnak*. In the *sopnak* a big group composed of old men, young men and small boys together go down the river and fish. The *asar*, a kind of basket, is strategically placed in a portion of the river where the water and the stones limit the passage of the fishes. Then it is bounded on both sides by green leaves, usually the leaves of the coconut or the banana tree, or any other tree whose leaves are very green. These leaves are used to block the spaces where the fish can escape. Once all the possible exits are blocked, all the members of the *sopnak* party start driving the fish towards the *asar*. The *sopnak* usually takes place in the afternoon, but it can also be done in the morning, during summer when the tide is very low. The catch is divided equally among those who participated in the *sopnak*. The older men take turns in placing the *asar* but if there is one who is reputed as a good *man-toto'on* he does the work of *to'on*. The young men and small boys take care of carrying the leaves which are used to block the path of the fish. Everybody helps in driving the fish towards the *asar*. This driving of the fish is called *abor*. The leaves used for blocking the fish exits are called *saboy*. There are other types or forms of fishing which are done by an individual and the catch becomes the individual's alone. But the Kalinga is a very generous person. He may share his catch with women, especially old women whom he may encounter on the way. He is especially generous if he has a good catch.

The priority of cooperative spirit over the spirit of individualism follows logically from the fact that the Kalinga group was originally a kinship system. The first hunting and food-gathering groups were therefore very closely related individuals. At this stage in the eco-

conomic development of the Kalinga, it would be difficult to think of individuals coalescing together especially in the situation of the jungle where people tend to be more suspicious of their neighbors.

During the period of the introduction of dry-rice agriculture, when the production of rice had become more intensified, more formal structures of cooperative work groups must have started to develop. Originally, each family, or, in the wider context of social organization, the kinship system or clan, must have cooperated and worked together to hasten and facilitate work in the swidden. At this point, each member in the cooperative work group, since everyone belonged to the same family or clan, did not receive any remuneration for his or her work. The labor of each member must have been considered his or her contribution for the subsistence and upkeep of the family or clan. All help rendered to the group must have been free and voluntary and done in the name of brotherly love. Moreover, since the land cultivated and the population were still very small and the blood ties still close, there could not have been any reason for giving extra compensation. These factors would not have allowed the development of wage or hired labor. Wages developed only in the period of wet rice agriculture or cultivation when wage or hired labor began to be practiced. Population multiplied not only through the growth of the number of the original inhabitants but also through the influx of migrant populations. The bond of kinship has also weakened, inasmuch as some individuals have become far distant in the vertical genealogical line. The quantity of land being cultivated has also increased tremendously. Therefore, the principle of brothers and sisters helping one another could not be operative between those who are already considered outside the family or kinship group, although it is still true that they all belong to the same territorial boundary. At the same time the increased number of rice paddies and the more intensified concentration of land ownership to a limited few required the hiring of labor power. Those who have much land to cultivate and who could not do all the work had to look for wage laborers to fill in the labor gap which they needed very much to maintain their level of production as *babaknan*.

While those who had land had a labor shortage problem, those who had less land had the problem of having too much time in their hands. On the other hand, because of the multiplied population, a scarcity of subsistence resources set in. To make up for these inadequacies on their part, they had to sell their labor power. Thus, an

incipient tenancy system, though of seasonal or temporary duration started to emerge. Tenancy as known among the lowland populations of the Philippines never developed in the Kalinga area because the basic subsistence nature of the economy has never changed.

The sources of extra-power are primarily the kinship group and the different forms of cooperative work groups and a form of slavery or peonage, i.e., the *poyong* system. As already indicated above, the family or the kinship group used to be a close knit work group in the period of mountain-swidden agriculture. This closeness is carried over to the period of wet-rice cultivation. And the kinship group constituted basically the first *pango* work group. The *pango* work group is an aggrupation of individuals, often close kins, though it may be composed of individuals coming from different families or even different barrios who come to help in the finishing of a harvest, planting, roofing, etc. of a relative or neighbor who is in need of help or who is behind in his work. This group which helps is not compensated but are fed by the person who needs help. The *pango* at the maximum lasts for a day because of the nature of the work to be done. It occurs usually in the final phase in the case of planting and harvesting, and requires only half or a whole day's work in the case, for example, of the hauling of lumber from the mountain forests, or the roofing of a house or granary.

The cooperative spirit working in this kind of cooperation is actually the normal *bayanihan* common all over the Philippines and in the countries of Southeast Asia. The benefits of the help rendered in the *pango* are enjoyed by all the members of the community or *ili*. Anybody who has some work to be done can always expect that people will come to help if he so desires. In this sense the *pango* is a reciprocal process although the members of the *pango* may not benefit immediately from the help which they render to another. In the case of a *pango*, the one who is being helped may decide to butcher a pig for those who came to help him or at least a couple of chickens. This is normally the case, or it may be that he had gone to hunt for wild pigs or deer before he undertook his work precisely to call a *pango*, especially if the work involved is quite a big job as in the case of putting up the foundations of a house or transferring a granary to another place. In the olden days people usually requested the rich people to *pango* their work just so the poor people could have a chance to taste coconut which was very new at the time. The coconut is cooked mixed with chicken. This recipe is called *binaranao*. If many people

come to help usually the person who is being helped is forced by his own conscience to butcher a pig for the people who come to help him in his work. He has to butcher one out of *bi'in*, they say. The fact that many people come to help out of their own volition is an indication of their respect and goodwill towards one's person. This is the reason for the feeling of *bi'in* on the part of the person who is being helped. *Bi'in* translated into English is roughly, the word self-respect.

The other forms of cooperative work are the *ab'ab'boyog* and the *kil'lo'ong* or *Kil'kil'lo'ong*. Both are forms of reciprocal help. The difference between them is that the *kil'lo'ong* is always a group of at least more than two members who have agreed to form such a group. The *kil-lo'ong* group becomes operative during the seasons of harvest and planting. They rotate helping each member of the *kil'lo'ong* until the last of the group is helped, then the next rotation starts. It goes on and on until the harvest is finished. The *ab'ab'boyog* in a sense is more personal. All that one does is to go and help in the planting or harvest of another and then when he harvests his help will be equally reciprocated. The *ab'ab'bolog* is again more common during the harvesting and planting seasons. This is especially true for the planting of the *uma*. The *uma* needs to be planted for one whole day. It cannot be done in two or several days. So, if a person has a wide *uma*, before he contemplates planting, he and the other members of his family go and help in the planting of others or *umaboyo*. When he finally plants, the people whom they helped will now come to reciprocate the help. So, his planters or harvesters will consist of his *ab'boyog* and those who came to *umaboyog*.

The other source of extra or additional labor power are the *poyong*. The *poyong* are of two kinds. There are the *poyong* who have no property of their own. They are totally dependent on their master. Because of their total dependence on their master, the master exercises all kinds of domination over them. As a matter of fact they are indeed part of his property. He can do whatever he likes with them. He could even sell them or kill them as Gobyaoon did with his *poyong* Agguin and her family. How did these people come to be *poyong*? The rich people forced them into slavery by confiscating their property and intimidating them. Most of those who became *poyong* came from the poorer classes. Because they were not powerful enough to defend their rights and their persons, they were forced into slavery by the more powerful because these were in need

of additional labor power. Other *poyong* were people captured from enemy tribes. Because they were captives the conquerors subjected them to slavery. This happened when heterogenous populations came into contact with one another looking for land. The more numerous tended to dominate the less numerous. The other kind of *poyong* is the *poyong wey tagabi*. The *poyong wey tagabi* are not totally dependent. They own property but they join another family as *poyong* for purposes of protection. They cannot afford to defend themselves from their enemies. So that they can work and live in peace, they offer themselves as *poyong* to a family or kinship group which is strong for protection. Security appears to be the sole reason why they accept to become *poyong* of another family or kinship group. To a certain extent therefore their becoming *poyong* is voluntary. They render services to the family or clan which accept them as *poyong* in return for the protection which they receive from that family. They may live in the same house or more usually they live near the house of the master. They can marry freely except that the new families join the master in his locus of residence. Their children inherit whatever property their parents possess. Their property does not go to the descendants of the master. But if they decide to remain the *poyong* of the descendants of the original master they also help in the work of the descendants of the original master. They cease to be *poyong* when they extricate themselves from the protection of the family to whom they have submitted themselves for security. The classical example of this type of peonage in the barrio of Lubo are the people from Bawak who submitted themselves to Wanawan, one of the more prominent *baknang* of Lubo as *poyong* or ward. Every planting and harvesting time, Wanawan would go and get them from their village so that they can help him in his work in the rice paddies. They later became the *podon* of Wanawan when they no longer needed the protection of Wanawan's family.

An individual or individuals may also become *poyong* because of debt or laziness. There are individuals for example in the village of Lubo who were formerly rich people but because they gambled they lost their property — land and heirlooms. Because they became *lawa* or poor, they decided to sell their labor power for basic subsistence. Some became pure and simple slaves, especially those who lost all their property and others who had little left became *poyong wey tagabi* because they just added whatever little remained of

their property to the wealth of a rich family and therefore joined the richer family for more stable subsistence. Although they do not need protection, they became *poyong wey tagabi* because they exchanged their labor power for the additional subsistence provided for them by the richer family. Others who were simply lazy to work in their own fields became *poyong wey tagabi* just so their field could be worked properly. They could have become landowners hiring labor to work their fields but what happened is that because of their laziness, they sold all their property or most of their property and thereby became economically deprived. Whatever is left, they offered to more industrious families or families willing to work their property for them. In return for the acquisition of such additional property the family who accepts them as wards or *poyong* promise to give them basic sustenance provided that they give them the lease of their property and that they help in the working of such properties especially in the rice paddies. There are numerous examples of this type of *poyong* in the village of Lubo.

## V.

Thus, because of these processes of economic ascendancy and deprivation, class and social stratification came to exist in the village society of Lubo and the other Kalinga villages. Population came to be stratified into two main divisions: the *baknang* class and the *lawa* classes. The *baknang* class, the possessor of real estate wealth, heirlooms, work animals and the key social values accepted by society, is substratified into three categories: first, the *kammaranan* who are described by the Kalingas as possessing everything. These people really do not possess everything as they allege. What they mean really is that the person possess one or more of the following items of wealth — *tapak* (celadon plates), *gosi* (porcelain jars), *gangsá* (brass gongs or silver and gold admixture gongs), *binaraddan* (gold bracelet), *payao* (rice fields), carabaos (water buffalos) and other minor items of wealth like pigs, chickens, etc. Before cattle was non-existent. Now cows may also be counted among the wealth of a *baknang*. A rich person is a *kammaranan* because he possesses a *binaraddan*, the highest valuable item of heirloom which a Kalinga can afford to buy. He is *kammaranan* precisely because he has other items of wealth to buy with it. It is an index of his economic potential. This type of *baknang* is also called an *angammarot*. The next category of *baknang* is the *kadangyan*. The *kadangyan* pos-



sesses the other items mentioned previously except that he does not own a *binaraddan*. The last category of *baknang* is the *alla'atan*. The *alla'atan* possesses *tapak*, *bongor* (chinese beads), *gangsa*, *payao*, *lowang*, and the other items which make for a *baknang* but they possess no *gosi* and *binaraddan*. In short the *alla'atan* is somebody or family which is just starting to rise.

The "lower" class is composed of those individuals who possess a meager number of ricefields, say two to three *banong* of rice paddies. They are self-sufficient insofar as basic subsistence and existence is concerned. They are not starved. They do not possess heirlooms and if they do, it is very little in quantity and the items are not really of much value. These mass of people are called *lawa*. Below the mass of common or poorer people in a Kalinga village are those who possess no property whatsoever. This class is composed of the slaves, serfs or the *poyong* as mentioned above. This segment of the village population is called the *kotlanga*. They work in other people's fields especially the rich for their subsistence and their existence. They are indeed the poorest of the poor, the downtrodden of the society.