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CONTENTS

An Analysis of the "Genealogy of Sulu" 1
Cesar Adib Majul

The De Manila a Dagupan 18
Michael Gonzalez

Towards a Model for Writing Philippine Dictionaries 37
Cesar A. Hidalgo

Unemployment and Underemployment in the Asean Countries 65
Rene E. Mendoza

Three Japanese Villages: A Filipino's Glimpses of Rural Japan 104
Leslie E. Bauzon

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE "GENEALOGY OF SULU"*

CESAR ADIB MAJUL

I

The term *tarsila* comes from the Arabic *silsilah,* which means a chain or link. It is used in the Muslim South as in other parts of the Indonesian and Malay world to refer to written genealogical accounts. One of the primary functions of the *tarsila* was to trace the ancestry of an individual or family to a famous personality in the past who was either an important political figure or religious teacher. This fact immediately suggests that *tarsilas* were not meant to remain purely historical documents or quaint remembrances of things past. On the contrary, they served to bolster the claim of individuals or families to hold political power or to enjoy certain traditional prerogatives, if not some prestige in their respective communities at least. Consequently, all sultans and leading datus had their respective *tarsilas.*

Obviously, if *tarsilas* were to serve their purposes, they had to be kept up to date. When written on perishable materials such as paper, their contents were preserved by copying them on new paper. Thus, the age of the material used is no index to the age or authenticity of the accounts. However, it is commonly accepted that the use of the Malay language, especially in the earlier parts of *tarsilas,* is an index to their ancient character—at least for those parts in Malay. The use of this criterion is quite reasonable. Sulu was actively involved in the trade which covered the Malay peninsula and the Indonesian archipelago as far back as the 13th century, if not earlier. And, as is well-known, the *lingua franca* of the traders was Malay. This language was also extensively used in the Sulu court, just as it was in the courts of Malacca, Brunei, and so on. It was only during the the 17th century, with the coming of the Spaniards to the Philippine archipelago and other Europeans

* Paper prepared for a seminar-workshop on Filipino Muslim History and Culture, conducted by the Department of History, College of Arts and Sciences, University of the East (Manila, October 20, 1977).

to other parts of Southeast Asia, that the Sulus gradually became isolated from other Malay lands. It was then that the use of Malay in the Sulu court began to decline.

The tradition of writing or having *tarsilas* among the Muslims in the Philippines probably derived from the Muslim principalities in the neighboring Indonesian islands which has an earlier history of Islamization. In turn, these principalities used as a model the earliest part of the *Sirat Rasul Allah* (*The Biography of the Messenger of Allah*) as their model. This work was written by Ibn Ishaq (c. 85 A.H. — A.H. — 151 A.H. or c. 704 A.D. — 768 A.D.). Its first paragraph, in the recension of Ibn Hisham, contains the genealogy of the Prophet Muhammad, tracing his descent from Adam—a total of 48 generations. The style here is not much different from the Jewish Bible's genealogies.

It would be a mistake to look at the *tarsilas* of the South as purely genealogical documents. Actually, they may contain descriptions of some of the personages mentioned, place names, and actual data regarding distorical events in the past. Some *tarsilas* even include mythological elements, some of which have now lost their original meaning for us. In brief, *tarsilas* were meant to accomplish a few aims beyond the genealogical function. These aims will be discussed in greater detail later on.

II

We are all greatly indebted to Dr. Najeeb Saleeby for the collection, translation, and publication of many *tarsilas* from Sulu and Mindanao in the first decade of this century. We owe Saleeby even more, considering that many of these documents had been burnt or lost during the last days of the Japanese Occupation in 1945. This especially holds true for the Sulu documents belonging to the Kiram family and Haji to put down in writing the dictation of Faqir Maulana Hamza, in the possession of some of the leading Muslim families in the upper valley of the Pulangi were burned in 1972 as a result of fighting between government troops and secessionists in the area. Nevertheless, there still exist *tarsilas* among some families there—at least this is what we have been assured.

In the past, *tarsilas* were jealously guarded from the prying eyes of the curious, especially those of strangers. It took years

of friendship with the families of the sultans and chief datus for Saleeby, who was an Arab from Lebanon, to succeed in seeing the *tarsilas* and having them published. Yet even Saleeby missed some important ones, possibly because of mistrust. For example, he did not have the chance to see the ones from the Buluan and Tawi-Tawi areas. In any case, the debt of Philippine Muslim scholars to Saleeby remains inestimable.

That the sultans jealously guarded their *tarsilas* does not mean that they did not divulge some of their contents to foreigners. For example, Alexander Dalrymple, who was in Sulu in 1761 and 1764 and who came to know the Sulu Sultan 'Azim ud-Din (Alimudin) in Manila, learned from the Sultan and other leading datus many details of Sulu *tarsilas* which correspond to those published by Saleeby in 1908. Likewise, Thomas Forrest, who was in Maguindanao in 1775, was able to put down in writing the dictation of Faquir Maulana Hamza, a Maguindanao sultan, who was consulting his *tarsilas* on data concerning the history of Maguindanao. Moreover, the Sultan appeared to have known the genealogies of the sultans of Sulu and Brunei, to the extent of claiming that they, together with the sultans of Maguindanao, had a common Arab ancestor somewhere in the dim past. Significantly, some Maguindanao *tarsilas* make it a point to mention dynastic or marriage relations between the royal families of Maguindanao and Sulu. The Brunei *Selesilah,* likewise, makes reference to a marriage between the Brunei and Sulu royal families. John Hunt, who was in Sulu in 1814, appeared to have had indirect information regarding various Brunei and Sulu *tarsilas,* probably from his datu friends. Written from memory, however, his account is a bit unreliable since he often confuses different sultans with each another and unnecessarily telescopes events. But anyone with a knowledge of Dalrymple's works and Spanish sources can easily recognize the misidentifications in the genealogy and historical events reported by Hunt. No less than seven varied sources must have been available to him. If, instead of lumping them together, he had reported them separately according to specified sources, he would have been of greater value to present-day scholars.

What follows is a description and analysis of the Sulu *tarsilas* published by Saleeby.

III

The so-called "Genealogy of Sulu" was published by Saleeby in 1907 in a chapter of his important work *The History of Sulu.*[1] It was supplemented, in the same chapter, by another *tarsila* which he entitled "Sulu Historical Notes." For convenience, Saleeby also entitled various parts of the "Genealogy of Sulu" in accordance with subject matter, successively as follows: "Sulu author's introduction," "Descendants of Asip," "Descendants of Tuan Masha'ika," and "Original and later settlers of Sulu."[2]

The first part deals with the writer of the *tarsilas* while the second part is a *tarsila* of the descendants of Asip, one of the ministers who came to Sulu with Raja Baguinda, a Sumatran prince. (Incidentally, the writer of the *tarsilas* claimed descent from Asip.) The other two *tarsilas,* namely, the "Descendants of Tuan Masha'ika" and the "Original and later settlers of Sulu," as well as the "Sulu Historical Notes" were written in Malay, attesting to their antiquity. It is believed that the "Sulu Historical Notes," which consists of four parts, were originally composed before the "Descendants of Tuan Masha'ika" and the "Original and later settlers of Sulu." All three *tarsilas* have many elements in common, but unlike the "Original and latter settlers of Sulu," the "Sulu Historical Notes" do not deal either with the first sultan or his descendants.

Disregarding some differences (if not actual inconsistencies) between the above three *tarsilas,* and setting aside certain details which are not quite relevant for purposes of this essay, what follows is their summary:

During the time of Raja Sipad the younger, a son or descendant of Raja Sipad the elder, a certain Tuan Masha'ika, arrives in Jolo island, in the area now known as Maimbung. At that time, the inhabitants are not Muslims but worshippers of stones and tombs. On account of his qualities, probably regarding knowledge and skills, he is very much esteemed and respected by the people. In time, he marries a daughter of Raja Sipad. She bears him three children of which two, one male and one female, have Arab names. The name of the female,

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[1] Saleeby, Najeeb M., *The History of Sulu* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, Inc., 1963).

[2] The "Genealogy of Sulu" and the "Sulu Historical Notes" are found in *ibid.,* pp. 30-36.

'Aisha, is a typical Muslim one. One of the sons, Tuan Hakim, in turn, has four sons (Tuan Da'im, Tuan Buda, Tuan Bujang, and Tuan Muku) and a daughter.

Not long after, people from Basilan (called *Tagimahas*) and another group called *Baklayas* settle in Sulu. They are followed by Bajaos supposed to have come from Johore. The Bajaos do not remain in one place but become scattered in various islands.

Some time after the arrival of the Bajaos, a certain Karim ul-makhdum, entitled Sharif Awliya, arrives in Sulu and eventually settles among the Tagimaha nobles in Buansa, who then build a mosque. At this time, the people of Sulu begin to adopt Islam. Ten years later (it is not clear whether after the arrival of Karim ul-makhdum or after the building of the mosque), Raja Baguinda from Menangkabaw, Sumatra, appears with his followers, in Buansa. There is a fight between the Raja and his followers on one hand, and the Tagimaha chiefs of Buansa and their followers on the other. Peace ensues henceforth, especially after it is found out that Raja Baguinda is a Muslim like the Buansa chiefs. Raja Baguinda appears to have become a chief in Buansa as evidenced by the report that five years after his arrival, he receives a gift of elephants from the Raja of Java. In any case, Raja Baguinda settles in Buansa and marries there. It is important to note that one of the *tarsilas* mentions that during the arrival of Raja Baguinda, some of the Sulu chiefs (not from Buansa) were Tuan Buda, Tuan Da'im, and Tuan Bujang. These chiefs, it will be recalled, were grandchildren of Tuan Masha'ika of Maimbung.

Now, according to the "Original and later settlers of Sulu," it is while Raja Baguinda is in Buansa that Sayyid Abu Bakr, after having stayed in or passed through Palembang (in Sumatra) and Brunei, arrives and preaches Islam. The people then become more attached to Islam. Abu Bakr then marries Paramisuli, the daughter of Raja Baguinda, and ends by establishing himself as the first sultan. He lives thirty years in Buansa and upon his death, one of his sons, Kamal ud-Din, succeeds him as sultan.

The enumeration of sultans in the "Genealogy of Sulu" is as follows:[3]

[3] Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 34. The names of the above seventeen (17) sultans are Saleeby's transcriptions from the Arabic Jawi script. Strictly speaking, not all follow the correct Arabic transcriptions of the names the way

1. Abu Bakr (Sultan Sharif)
2. Kamalud Din
3. Maharaja Upo
4. Pangiran Buddiman
5. Sultan Tanga
6. Sultan Bungsu
7. Sultan Nasirud Din
8. Sultan Kamarat
9. Sultan Shahabud Din
10. Sultan Mustafa Shapiud Din
11. Sultan Mohammad Nasarud Din
12. Sultan Alimud Din I
13. Sultan Mohammad Mu'izzid Din
14. Sultan Sra'il
15. Sultan Mohammad Alimud Din II
16. Sultan Mohammad Sarapud Din
17. Sultan Mohammad Alimud Din III

Judging from the last name in this list of sultans, this enumeration of sultans was completed around 1808 since 'Azim ud-Din III (Alimud Din III), seventeenth and last in the list, ruled and died in this same year. He was sultan for only 40 days. The earlier portions of the chapter must have been written much earlier. Some of its contents were even told to Dalrymple in 1761.

The brief summary above suggests various observations and conclusions:

1. The genealogy of Sulu asserts that the earliest inhabitants of Jolo island were centered in the area of Maimbung, in the southern part of the island. Their rulers were called "Raja Sipad," from the Sanskrit Raja Shripaduka, a title of Indian or Hindu origin. The second wave of settlers were the Tagimahas who came from Basilan and who settled in Buansa, in the northern part of the island west of the present Jolo town. The third wave were the Baklayas who settled in the northern part of the island east of Jolo town. They were followed by the Bajaos (and Samals) who settled all over the Sulu archipelago.

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they are spelled classically. For example, the Tausug Sarapud Din is Sharaf-ud-Din in correct Arabic, which a learned man ('alim) in Sulu would normally use.

2. Tuan Masha'ika was one of the first foreign Muslims to come to the Maimbung area and, therefore, to Jolo island. That some of his children and grandchildren had Arabic names supports this view. Moreover, the "Sulu Historical Notes" state that "Masha'ika begot Mawmin." Now, the word "*mu'min*" (pl. *mu'minin*) is an Arabic term for "faithful" or "believer." The phrase, therefore, means that Masha'ika begot Muslims. Furthermore, the word "*masha'ikh*" is one of the Arabic plural forms for "*shaikh*," a title of respect. In South Arabia, the term "*masha'ikh*" is also used for pious men or religious leaders to distinguish them from the "*sayyids*" or "*sharifs*" who are descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. Of common knowledge, too, is the fact that the majority or Arabs who settled in the Indonesian archipelago came from Southern Arabia.
3. The account of the genealogy of Tuan Masha'ika to the effect that he was "born out of a bamboo and was esteemed and respected by all the people," not only reveals that this land of origin was unknown, but also serves to emphasize his greater knowledge *vis-a-vis* the people he came to live with. The other report in the "Sulu Historical Notes" that the parents of Tuan Masha'ika were sent to Sulu by Alexander the Great shows that the writer of the "Sulu Historical Notes" was acquainted, in one way or another, with the traditions of the Malacca sultans who claimed descent from Alexander the Great. Other Sulu traditions state that the rulers of Sulu were descended from Alexander the Great. This is simply a technique to bolster the claim for legitimacy to rule, for the rulers of Sulu were, in this case, claiming kinship with the Malacca sultans.
4. The coming of Karim ul-makhdum suggests the coming of a Muslim to actually preach Islam. This is unlike the coming of Tuan Masha'ika to whom neither the preaching of Islam nor the building of a mosque is attributed. The word "*makhdum*," in Arabic, means "master." In Arab lands, it is used as a converse of "server." However, in India and in the land of the Malays, the word came to be used as a title for Muslim religious teachers or scholars and pious men. That he was called "Sharif Awliya" suggests that people considered him a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad since this is what

"Sharif" connotes. His title of "Awliya," the Arabic plural for *wali* or saint, implies that he was a pious man.

5. The coming of Raja Baguinda from Sumatra and his establishment of a principality in Buansa creates a dramatic link between Sulu and a center of an older empire, that of Srivijaya, which was based in Sumatra. In personal terms, this means that Raja Baguinda was claiming uninterrupted sovereignty. His marriage with a local girl also means that his descendants who became sultans had rights to land in Sulu by virtue of bilateral relations. In brief, the Sulu sultans who were descended from Raja Baguinda could not be criticized as representing a foreign dynasty; after all, their ancestress who married the Raja was of local origin. In effect, the links with Raja Baguinda who was asserted to be a Sumatran prince bolstered the claims of Sulu sultans to reign in Malay lands.
6. Sayyid Abu Bakr, who was entitled Sultan Sharif, is also asserted to have been a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad. The word "sayyid" like "sharf" connotes this. It has been held by some classical Muslim jurists that one of the qualifications for a *khalif* was to belong to the Quraish or family of the Prophet. Clearly, then, the claim of the Sulu sultans to rule over Muslims is based on their reputed desecent from the Prophet, through Sayyid Abu Bakr. But again, in order to strengthen their claims on the land without appearing fully as a foreign dynasty, the Sulu sultans claimed descent from the wife of the first sultan who, in spite of her being a daughter of Raja Baguinda, was considered a local girl. Indeed, her mother was reported to have been a lady from Buansa.
7. In brief, the Sulu *tarsilas,* particularly those owned by the Sulu royal family, are not mere genealogical accounts made for posterity's sake, but represent documentary evidence *par excellence* to support their claim of legitimacy to rule over Muslims as well as their claims to their right to the land. The *tarsilas* are also meant to show kinship and historical links between Sulu and older centers of empire.
8. Of great importance is that the three above-mentioned *tarsilas* try to explain the advent and the spread of Islam in Sulu. As such, they represent an affirmation that

Sulu constituted an important part of the Islamic international community—that of *dar-ul-Islam.*

The problem can now be raised as to the authenticity or historicity of the personalities and accounts found in the *tarsilas* as well as to that of the chronology.

IV

First of all, the elaborate and well-preserved tomb of the Sultan of Sulu, Sultan Sharif, still exists on one of the slopes of Mt. Tumangtangis which faces Buansa. The tomb carries the elaborate titles of the Sultan; but, unfortunately, it carries no date. A stone slab nearby is pointed out as the marker of the grave of Kamal ud-Din, the second sultan.

According to Spanish records, Spanish soldiers in 1638 destroyed one of the most revered tombs near Buansa. This tomb was a center of pilgrimages and was supposed to be that of a Muslim ruler who had come from other lands. Whether or not this tomb was that of Raja Baguinda remains an unsolved problem.

The fourth sultan, Jangiran Buddiman, was known to the Spaniards in 1578. He was a brother-in-law of the Brunei Sultan Seif ur-Rijal and had a home in Brunei.) The fifth sultan, called Pangiran Tengah, was also known to the Spaniards and the Jesuit Francisco Combes narrated a few things about him. This same priest also had various times conversed with Sultan Bongsu. In effect, all the sultans numbered from 4 to 17 in the "Genealogy of Sulu," had dealings with the Spaniards and some of them had even communicated with the Dutch and the English. However, that sultans from 4 to 17 are to be considered as historical figures only because of the existence of cross-references in European sources, is no reason why the first three sultans cannot be regarded as historical figures in their own right. It is just unfortunate for scholars that the first three sultans had no dealings with or were unknown to the Spaniards, who were simply not to be found in the area. But, indeed, there are Spanish references to a Sulu ruler in 1521 who happened to be a father-in-law of the Brunei sultan. This ruler might have been one of the earlier sultans. On the basis of other *tarsilas* or Sulu traditions not reported by Saleeby, it accepted that it was the first sultan who placed the different peoples of Sulu, including those in the mountains in the interior, under

one rule. Thus did Sulu begin to have the semblance of a principality or small state.

Unfortunately, not a single Sulu *tarsila* bears any date. (The same holds true for the Maguindanao *tarsilas.*) The Brunie *Selesilah,* however, contains one single date. Scholars cannot, so far, be absolutely sure about, or conclusively prove, the existence of Tuan Masha'ika or Raja Baguinda. But this does not mean that they did not exist. On the contrary, to assume that they existed can explain a great deal of Sulu history. Actually, by cross references to other sources, historical or archaeological, the probability is that they actually existed. And more than this, they signify persons involved in the dramatic political and religious transformations in the history of Southeast Asia.

Professor Oliver Wolters, in his brilliant book *The Fall of Srivijaya in Malay History,* describes a momentous event in the history of Southeast Asia which took place in 1397, a time coincident with the final dissolution of the Srivijayan empire.[4] His researches revealed that around this year a prince of Palembang, Sumatra, threw off his allegiance to Java, and consequently incurred a brutal invasion. A source says that this prince escaped with a small following to found, after some adventures, a kingdom in Singapore, after which he or his descendants founded Malacca. Another source, however, mentions that the princely evacuation was of such great magnitude that "the sea seemed to be nothing but ships." It says: "So vast was the fleet that there seemed to be no counting. The masts of the ships were like a forest of trees; their pennons and streamers were like driving clouds and the state umbrellas of the Rajas like cirrus."[5] Referring back to this incident at the end of one of his appendices, Professor Wolters concludes that ". . . the years immediately before 1400 were a disturbed time in the western archipelago, and this is another, and perhaps more likely, time when small groups of adventurers migrated to Borneo and elsewhere."[6] One is tempted to ask whether Raja Baguinda was not one of these Sumatran adventurers who came to the Philippines to found a principality. The "Sulu Historical Notes" and the "Original and later

[4] Wolters, Oliver, *The Fall of Srivijaya in Malay History* (London: Asia Major Library, Lund Humphries, 1970).
[5] *Ibid.,* p. 76.
[6] *Ibid.,* p. 190.

Settlers of Sulu" mention that he went to Zamboanga first, whence he sailed to Basilan until he decided to transfer to Buansa where he and his followers first had to fight the Tagimaha chiefs before he could establish a principality. That the *tarsilas* say he came from Menangkabaw instead of Palembang is not of much consequence; for the central power in Sumatra in the few years before 1400 was located in Palembang. It does seem that some of the Palembang adventurers had founded not only the city of Malacca, which was to become the greatest emporium and Islamic center in Southeast Asia in the 15th century, but also a principality in Sulu which had become so important later on as to attract the Sharif Abu Bakr. The Malays who eventually left Palembang for Malacca saw this principality as the heir to, or the continuity of, the empire of Srivijaya—an assertion of Malay maritime supremacy in the area of the western archipelago. When the Sulus aimed to build Sulu as the greatest trading center in their own area in the eastern archipelago, was this not a parallel of the action of Malacca's founders?

There is an indirect evidence to further support the speculation that Raja Baguinda came to Sulu about 1397 A.D. or slightly later. This has to do with the *tarsila* report that, five years after his arrival, Raja Baguinda received a gift of elephants from Raja of Java. This date can be placed at anywhere between, say, 1397 A.D. and 1405. Now, in 1410 A.D., the new ruler of Brunei, in the north of Borneo, formally requested the Chinese Emperor that he should not pay tribute anymore to Java (Majapahit) but instead to the Celestial throne. This request was approved by the Emperor.[7] All this means that before 1410 A.D., Brunei was tributary to Java. Most likely, the ruler who gave a gift of elephants to Raja Baguinda was not *the* ruler of Java (Majapahit) but one of the petty rulers of the numerous principalities that constituted the Javanese Empire. Widely-held traditions in Sulu state that the elephants came from the northeastern part of Borneo, an area where Brunei rulers exercised power. Thus, the gift came from the Brunei ruler, or his successor, who stopped being in 1410 A.D. one of the petty rulers tributary to the empire of Majapahit. Consequently, Raja Baguinda must have received his gift not later than 1410 A.D.

[7] Brown, D. E., *Brunei: The Structure and History of a Bornean Malay Sultanate.* (Brunei: Star Press, 1970), p. 133.

In his work on Sulu, Saleeby calculated that Sayyid Abu Bakr arrived in Sulu around 1450 A.D. This calculation was based on his belief that the Sayyid was the same Abu Bakr who, according to the *Sejarah Melayu,* was in Malacca during the reign of the Malaccan Sultan Mansur Shah. Furthermore, Saleeby calculated that Mansur Shah had began to reign in 1400 A.D. Making allowance for various protracted stops in Palembang and Brunei, he concluded that Abu Bakr must have arrived in Sulu between 1436 A.D. and 1450 A.D. This calculation of Saleeby is not found in his above-mentioned book but in an unpublished essay entitled "The Establishment of the Mohammedan Church in Sulu and Mindanao: The Earliest Mohammedan Missionaries in Mindanao and Sulu."[8] However, after Saleeby had written his book and essay, a more definite and accurate chronology of the Malacca sultan emerged. Mansur Shah, the sixth Malacca sultan, is now known to have ruled from 1458 (or 1459) to 1477 A.D. Thus, the Abu Bakr who was in Malacca during this reign could not have been the Sayyid Abu Bakr who, in Saleeby's conjecture, had come to Sulu around 1450. However, in the above-mentioned unpublished essay, Saleeby calculated, on the basis of the number of generations of succeeding Sulu sultans, that Abu Bakr's reign had begun between 1407 A.D. and 1436 A.D. This calculation fits the well-thought out speculation that his father-in-law, Raja Baguinda, left Sumatra in 1397 A.D. and arrived in Sulu not much later. Incidentally, Alexander Dalrymple, using Isaac Newton's computation for the reign of princes, calculated that the Sulu sultanate under the first sultan was established about 1526 A.D.[9] But if it is considered that Dalrymple's list of sultans misses at least three of the earlier sultans and if 25 years instead of 20 is used for each generation, the sultanate might as well have been established in the first half of the 15th century. Indeed, the date of 1526 A.D. is wrong since Spanish records state that in 1521 there was already a ruler in Sulu who had enough prestige to have become the father-in-law of the Brunei sultan at that time.

Since the coming of Karim ul-makhdum to Sulu is stated by all *tarsilas* to have antedated that of Raja Baguinda by at least ten years, the date given by Saleeby, that is, about 1380

[8] A copy was in the Beyer Collection.

[9] Aleander Dalrymple, "Essay towards an account of Sulu," *The Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia,* Volume III, Singapore, 1849, p. 565.

A.D., can be accepted for want of better reasons to support another date. Actually, the end of the 14th century and the early part of the 15th century had witnessed various *makhdumin* (pl. of *makhdum*) coming to Java, Malacca, and North Borneo by way of India. That two or three places in the Sulu archipelago presently claim the grave of a *makhdum* is not a contradiction. The difficulty is that all of these places claim that their respective graves are the resting place of Karim ul-makhdum. My researches have shown that at least one other *makhdum* came to Sulu in the first few years of the 15th century and that he was associated with Chinese traders or travellers. He is buried in Bud Agad in the interior of Jolo island, and his name is different from that of Karim ul-makhdum.

As for Tuan Masha'ika, which is actually not a name but a title, not much can be said about the exact time of his coming beyond what is reported by the *tarsilas*. To seek a definite date of his arrival is an exercise in futility. The most that can be said about him is that since his grandchildren were already chiefs in Maimbung when Raja Baguinda came to Buansa about 1397 A.D., he must have come to Sulu by the first half of the 14th century. But if this is so, then he might not have been the first Muslim to have come to Sulu; although it is still entirely possible that he was the first Muslim to have come to Maimbung. The evidence for this is the grave of a foreign Muslim in Bud Dato, close to Jolo town, which bears the date of 710 A.H. (1310 A.D.). The name on the grave is that of Tuhan (Tuan) Maqbalu. However, is it possible that Maqbalu is the proper name of Tuan Masha'ika and that they are one and the same person? If so, then Tuan Masha'ika's grandchildren would have indeed been very aged chiefs of not less than 60 or 70 years when Raja Baguinda arrived. However, a peculiarity of *tarsilas* is that they tend to encompass events or, as some historians put it, to telescope them. Indeed, the *tarsilas* do not say that the Maimbung chiefs who were descended from Tuan Masha'ika, either fought against or greeted Raja Baguinda. The "Original and later settlers of Sulu" state tersely that they were chiefs living at that time, and this could mean at *around* that time. Certainly, they were not in Buansa, and they could have lived much earlier. Indeed, to say that they were chiefs living during the arrival of the Raja is a simple case of telescoping events, and it would be rash

to dismiss the possibility that the Tuan Maqbalu who died in 1310 A.D. is identical to Tuan Masha'ika.

V

Although the *tarsilas* in the "Genealogy of Sulu" are of great importance, there are also other important Sulu *tarsilas*. These can often serve to supplement the former. It is significant to note that some Tawi-Tawi *tarsilas* contain, for the same period of time, the names of other sultans not found in the "Genealogy of Sulu." An example is the name of Badar-ud-Din I. This sultan was known to the Dutch and the Spaniards and had written letters to them. He reigned from about 1718 to 1732 and was the father of the well-known Sultan 'Azim ud-Din I (known to the Spaniards and most Sulus as Alimudin) who was proclaimed sultan of Sulu in 1735. His name should have, therefore, been inserted between Sultan Muhammad Nasarud Din (no. 11) and Sultan Alimud Din I (no. 12) in the "Genealogy of Sulu." Other *tarsilas* insist that Alawadin, a brother of Sultan Kamalud Din (no. 2), succeeded him as sultan—something denied by the "Genealogy of Sulu." As a matter of fact, the elimination of the names of some sultans in a *tarsila* signify dynastic problems or controversies. Some names have been eliminated probably to prevent their descendants from becoming pretenders to the throne. In effect, some *tarsilas* can be quite selective in the enumeration of names. Saleeby was himself quite aware of this fact: in his *History of Sulu* he had to depend on other sources, notably certain *khutbahs,* to have a more correct enumeration or succession of Sulu sultans. Now, a *khutbah* is normally a sermon delivered in Muslim Friday congregational prayers. Some of them, however, were composed specially to serve as prayers for the Prophet Muhammad and the first four so-called "rightly guided" *khalifs* as well as for all persons who had reigned, including the incumbent ruler, as sultans in Sulu. They had become public knowledge by virtue of their repeated recitation in the mosques. Thus, it was not easy to tamper with the names of the sultans enumerated in such formalized *khutbahs*. A peculiarity of such *khutbahs* is that they were written in literary Arabic by relatively learned teachers or religious leaders. Consequently, there was the conscious effort to mention the sultans by their Arabic names, whenever possible.

On the basis of the "Genealogy of Sulu," other Sulu *tarsilas,* a few *khutbahs,* seals of sultans found in their letters

and now found in various archives, coins struck by them, and European historical references, especially Spanish, Dutch, and English, the following succession of sultans is presented. Their Arabic names as stated in the *khutbahs* as well as their common names are specified.

1. Sultan Sharif ul-Hasihim
   (Sayyid Abu Bakr) — c.1450 — c.1480.
2. Sultan Kamal ud-Din.
3. Sultan 'Ala ud-Din.
4. Sultan Amir ul-'Umara
   (Maharaja di Raja) : ruled during the early 1500's.
5. Sultan Mu'izz ul-Mutawadi'in
   (Maharaja Upo).
6. Sultan Nasir ud-Din I
   (Digunung, Habud).
7. Sultan Muhammad ul-Halim
   (Pangiran Buddiman) : was ruling in 1578.
8. Sultan Batara Shah
   (Pangiran Tengah — c.1590 — c.1610.
9. Sultan Muwallil Wasit
   (Raja Bongsu) — c.1610 — 1650.
10. Sultan Nasir ud-Din II
    (Pangiran Sarikula) — c.1645 — c.1648.
11. Sultan Salah ud-Din Bakhtiar
    (Pangiran Bactial) — 1650 — c.1680.
12. Sultan 'Ali Shah.
13. Sultan Nur ul-'Azam — c.1685.
14. Sultan Al Haqunu Ibn Waliyul-Ahad — died c.1690.
15. Sultan Shahab ud-Din — c.1690 — c.1710.
16. Sultan Mustafa Shafi ud-Din — c.1710— c.1718.
17. Sultan Badar ud-Din I — c.1718 — 1732.
18. Sultan Nasr ud-Din
    (Datu Sabdula) — 1732 — 1735.
19. Sultan 'Azim ud-Din I
    (Alimudin I) — 1735 — 1748; 1764 — 1774.
20. Sultan Mu'izz ud-Din
    (Datu Bantilan) — 1748 — 1763.
21. Sultan Muhammad Isra'il — 1774 — 1778.
22. Sultan 'Azim ud-Din II
    (Alimudin II) — 1778 — 1791.
23. Sultan Sharaf ud-Din
    (Datu Salapudin) — 1791 — 1808.

24. Sultan 'Azim ud-Din III
(Alimuddin III) — 1808.
25. Sultan 'Ali ud-Din — 1808 — 1821.
26. Sultan Shakirullah
(Datu Sakilan) — 1821 — 1823.
27. Sultan Jamal ul-Kiram I — 1823 — 1842.
28. Sultan Muhammad Fadl
(Pulalun) — 1842 — 1862.
29. Sultan Jamal ul-'Azam — 1862 — 1881.
30. Sultan Badar ud-Din II — 1881 — 1884.
31. Sultan Harun ar-Rashid — 1886 — 1894.
32. Sultan Jamal ul-Kiram II — 1884 — 1936.

The exact dates for the reigns of at least fifteen of the above 32 sultans are known with certitude. The rest have to be calculated. The most comprehensive attempt at a chronology for the Sulu sultans is found in the work *Muslims in the Philippines*.[10]

VI

As mentioned earlier, some *tarsilas* contain mythological elements as well as incidents considered miraculous or normally impossible. It may be recalled that "Descendants of Tuan Masha'ika" say that he was born out of a bamboo. It also adds that he was not a descendant of Adam. The bamboo motif is quite common in many of the myths and traditions of the Malay peoples. The original meaning of such a myth is probably lost. However, it has certain functions, among which is portray the beginnings of mankind or certain important historical figures whose ancestry are not traceable. Thus, to say that Tuan Masha'ika was born out of a bamboo is to state that his origins were unknown. Here, also, the bamboo motif may be understood as a literary device to indicate the starting point of a story. The allegation that Tuan Masha'ika was not descended from Adam only serves to emphasize that he was an extraordinary man *vis-a-vis* the people he had come to live with, and that he represented a different and superior culture.

The report that Karim ul-makhdum came on an iron pot or vessel might mean that he came on a boat different from those used by the Sulu inhabitants at that time and that it

[10] See Cesar Adib Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines* (U.P. Press, Quezon City, second edition 1973), pp. 14-24 for dates of the reigns of sultans and the bases for their statement.

was probably a boat utilizing metals in its construction. There are other *tarsilas* that narrate how the Makhdum came walking over the water. This is very interesting, for it suggests that the Mukhdum was a member of a mystical (*Sufi*) brotherhood (tariqat) of the Qadiriya order. The reputed founder of this *tariqat* was the famous Muslim mystic and saintly man called 'Abdul Qadir Al-Jilani (470 A.H.-561 A.H. or 1077 A.D.-1166 A.D.) to whom, it is believed, God gave the power to walk on the waters of rivers and seas. Even at present he remains the patron saint of fishermen and sailors in some parts of the Islamic world. Thus to say that Karim ul-makhdum walked on water is simply an allegorical or symbolic manner of stating that he belonged to the Qadiriya *tariqat*. Actually, a study of many of the *makhdumin* who went to Malaya and Indonesia had been Sufis and to them had been attributed extraordinary or magical powers. This is probably one reason why Karim ul-makhdum had been called "Sharif Awliya," for such men had been considered saintly and full of Allah's blessings to the extent that they were supposed to have *barakah*, that is, the power to confer blessings on other people.

To conclude, no history on the Muslims of the Philippines can be written without paying due regard to *tarsilas*. Their existence can also be a source of pride not only for the Muslims but for all Filipinos; for they represent the efforts of the human mind to understand the past within an ordered pattern —that of descent and sequence of events in time and space. Moreover, they have given part of the Filipino people a historical sense, without which their present would be unintelligible and their future blurred.

THE DE MANILA A DAGUPAN

MICHAEL MANUEL GONZALEZ

TRANSPORT history has not attracted too much attention in Philippine historiography, and this is perhaps due not so much to the lack of data (for several bundles of documents in the Philippine National Archives and at the Philippine National Railways Museum have remained untouched and must have their store of incunabula) as to the suspicion that there is possibly no history to write about. The scenario of 19th century Philippine society did not indeed seem to alter on account of changes in the modes of travel during the period. In countries like England, the United States, Mexico, and China, mass transit altered the nature, in some degree or another, of the societies concerned. The changes effected in some instances could be described in nothing less than revolutionary terms. One might ask in any case what the Philippine experience was like and whether it was of a considerable kind, not to say a radical one.

The idea suggested in this paper is that the establishment of the railroad system known as the *Ferro-Carril de Manila a Dagupan* did bring about social change but that this was less of a dramatic sort than what one might expect, judging by the experience of countries that went through their own "Age of the Railroad." This lack of drama, it is further suggested, is not because the change was minimal but because it was part of a larger event—the 1896 Revolution, no less. Through the decade from 1887 to 1897, the *ferro-carril* literally plodded along. Instead of generating change *per se,* in 1896, it took a minimal role as the conflict raged at the southern end of Luzon.

We must hasten to add that while this view is what the present data appear to yield, considerable research—and rewards—lie ahead. The view offered here is largely inferential and derives mainly from official reports. Much data remain to be gathered; information from rural histories, especially con-

cerning towns within the radius of the railway, could be invaluable. This paper is presented by way of merely showing the lay of the land.

1

The need for a transport system that would move goods from rural areas to Manila, where they might be shipped abroad, had been apparent since the country began to move slowly from a subsistence agricultural economy to commercial agriculture. By the 19th century British capital was already impinging on Philippine agriculture; and the structures for its commercial exploitation had been laid. The lackadaisical economic system established by Spain to capture profitable commerce in, say, sugar manufacturing had been penetrated by the British operating from their Asian colonies. Thus, a railroad system in the Philippines would not only be a profitable enterprise in itself to the British, but a vital asset in moving Philippine agricultural products particularly to British markets. Experienced empire-builders, the British had seen how Indo-China and China had succumbed to "railroad imperialism." It was expected that the Philippines, being the Spanish colony that it was, could not hold out for long. But Spain's colonial administrators, although consistent in their manner of meeting the colony's economic problems with incompetence, had an option which they could exercise and which perhaps the British did not count on. This was the colonial administration's bureaucratic arrogance. The Philippine native, the much disparaged *indio* whose brawn both the British and Spanish could depend on, was allowed hardly a pittance in these calculations. For their part, the educated *indios* themselves knew that the alleged indolence ascribed to them was but a response to the unimaginative and corrupt bureaucracy obtaining.

The respected economist Gregorio Sanciano, a prominent figure in the Propaganda Period, described in 1881 the difficulties that farmers of the day faced owing to the lack of transportation facilities. Taxes had been increased, he pointed out; yet nothing was done to channel the money thus raised into public works improvements. The price of rice fluctuated depending on the nature (land or water, for example) of transport used to bring the produce to the market, and on the season (wet or dry) of shipment. This condition was true not only

in the provinces but in Manila as well, and the latter particularly could not even boast of a transport system of any worth.[1]

2

In the 19th century Philippines, and for centuries out of mind, walking was the most favored means of conveying one's person from one place to another. With modest means, one might afford the two-wheeled horse-drawn *carromata*, an improvement on riding on carabao or horseback. If one had ample means, a four-wheeled coach, also horse-drawn, was available. Manila's poorly paved streets and the outlying districts saw much of these vehicles; and a stretch of sunny days meant blinding dust in the streets while the briefest episodes of rain transformed the dust to mud and caused pools of water to form. The hapless pedestrian was under constant threat of being splashed upon by carriages speeding away with some inconsiderate government official or friar aboard.[2] The popular tune lost none of its authenticity in the minds of foreigners who happened to be visiting the Philippines in the middle of the 19th century.[3]

Seis meses de polvo,
Seis meses de lodo,
Seis meses de todo ...

If the traveller in Manila was at least reassured by some apparent urbanity in the city, only an adventurer endowed with a strong physique and driven by an equally strong motivation would dare sally forth into the countryside. If he were a European, he was well advised to provide himself with quantities of quinine, Browne's chlorodyne, and Eno's fruit salt. He must arm himself with a revolver. One travelled light as a rule. With a compass to guide him, a towel to wrap around his neck, and a servant (preferably an Ilokano) to attend to his personal needs, the tourist could set out for the outlying provinces with some confidence. He should, however, start early

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[1] Gregorio Sanciano, *The Progress of the Philippines,* Madrid, 1881, trans. Encarnacion Alzona (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1975), p. 26.

[2] Jose Rizal. *The Social Cancer,* trans. Charles Derbyshire, 2nd ed. (Manila: Philippine Education Co., 1961), p. 61.

[3] John Bowring, *A Visit to the Philippines* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1895), p. 73.

on a morning; at that time of day he would most likely find his native men companions helpfully sober.[4]

The late days of December and on till May was considered the best time for travel, for then the cool dry weather prevailed. Where a steamer could negotiate the numerous navigable rivers on Luzon, the traveller was welcome to the convenience. From a steamer's landing, a *carromata* would deliver him to his next destination. The German ethnologist Feodor Jagor roamed the province of Bulacan in this manner. The *carromata,* "a brightly-painted, shallow, two-wheeled box covered with an awning," took him along roads shaded with fruit trees, coco and areca palms.[5]

The traveller in Luzon had three routes to choose from if he wished to make an overland trip to the provinces. The *noroeste,* a distance of 545 kilometers, would take him to Laoag; the *nordeste,* a distance of 565.5 kilometers, would take him to Aparri; the so-called *sur* promised a journey of 480 kilometers southwards to Albay.[6] The *cabeceras* (provincial capitals) depended on these routes for communication. When the rains came, these roads were impassable owing to mud, swollen rivers, and swept-off bridges. Travel was not only difficult but also singularly dangerous, since towns were distant from each other and generally isolated. A journey could be enhanced by putting draft animals to use.[7] John Bowring, a British diplomat who visited the country in the 1850's, wrote of seeing abandoned carriages along the country roads and travelling in mud that reached up to one's thighs. Cutting through forest growths in order to fray a path was not unusual.[8]

In 1890, John Foreman, an English tourist and observer of Philippine affairs, described the route the future railroad would take. From Manila to Bulacan, Tinajeros was the initial

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[4] John Foreman, *The Philippines* (London: S. Low, Marston, 1890), pp. 260-261. Foreman stayed long enough in the Islands to be truly familiar with the difficulties he described. A popular view of travelling the countryside during this period is in Mary Marshall, "Traveller's Tales," *Archipelago,* III A-27, pp. 9-17. The article is illustrated with cartoons depicting various means of travel, the work of Gustave Tobler whose *Adventuras de Filipinas, Album Humoristico* was privately published over a hundred years ago.

[5] Feodor Jagor, *Travels in the Philippines* (Manila: Filipiana Book Guild, 1965), pp. 43-44.

[6] Jose Algue, *El Archipelago Filipino,* I (Washington: n.p., 1900), p. 321.

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 322.

[8] Bowring, *op. cit.,* p. 73.

stop; this could be reached by either carriage or steamer. One then travelled from Tinajeros to Sibul by *carromata.* Foreman allowed himself three days to cover six towns of Bulacan. Access to Pampanga was easier on account of the navigable rivers in that province. The traveller, for instance, could take a steamer from Manila to Guagua; service was available twice a week, the trip averaging six hours' sailing time. From Guagua, the *carromata* provided the connection all the way to Camiling, Tarlac. If the traveller wished to proceed to Pangasinan, he might use the same means of transport—i.e., the *carromata*—as far as Dagupan. To spare himself all that jolting, not to mention the dust of the road, he might try the twenty-seven-hour voyage[9] down Manila Bay and northwest-wards along the Zambales coast and past Cape Bolinao to Lingayen Gulf and, finally, Dagupan harbor. Clearly, in terms of mode and time consumed, travel in the 19th century was more of an ordeal than a pleasure.

The colonial government did little toward alleviating the problem. It was not until 1875 that rail travel in the country was given some thought—that is to say, nearly three quarters of a century after the era of railroad transportation had begun. Western capitalists were already investing on railroad construction in their respective countries and elsewhere. They now felt that the time was right for expansion into new areas.

American investors themselves could not overlook the temptation offered by Mexico, then a fledging state if already some fifty years separated from Spain. Recognizing the potential of a railroad line between Veracruz and Mexico City, one United States minister commented without hesitation that the investment could pay good dividends even if the costs should come to $200,000 a mile.[10] The line promised an income close to 991,697 pesos annually; the national treasury would be enriched tenfold.[11] In 1873, 420 kilometers of track were in fact laid out between Veracruz and Mexico City. The succeeding years saw in the regions served by the line. Towns along the route were the immediate beneficiaries; spurs soon linked isolated areas to the main stations. New industries appeared,

[9] Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 464-465.
[10] David Fletcher, "The Building of the Mexican Railway," in *Hispanic American Historical Review,* XXX (February 1950), p. 27.
[11] *Ibid.*

and the railway became a valued employer. Veracruz flourished as an *entrepot.* The venture was clearly a success.[12]

Although Mexican financiers were involved in the construction of their country's railroad, the majority of participating entrepreneurs had been British. The latter had probably the advantage over any other group, both in financial resources and in experience. It was they who spread the so-called railroad fever in Asia. With a base in India, the British took the weakening political system in Imperial China as their cue. The Chinese, however, were hardly ready to expose their country to the imminent contamination by barbarian civilization, and opted for a wait-and-see policy.

Understood in the context of British imperialism, the fears of the Chinese were not unfounded. Capital investments and expertise could only mean further incursions by foreigners into their territory. Another problem had to do with Chinese cultural values. It was held that spirits of the earth would turn malevolent once the "belching monsters of speed" appeared on the Chinese countryside. As an imperialist monster, the railroad was not without its ready symbol in the Chinese consciousness.[13]

All this did not faze the British. Entrepreneurs like Jardine, Matheson and Richard Rapier finally convinced the Chinese of the desirability of setting up an experimental line. By 1876, one such became available and it immediately drew opposition from the Chinese quarter. The Chinese government bought it, dismantled it, and scattered the parts in the river and around the countryside. British persistence, however, paid off. By 1889, China had acquired approximately 139 kilometers of track. Eventually, this became the core of the Imperial Railway.[14]

But the system proved unsatisfactory. Writing for Manila's *Revista Catolica Filipina,* a Spanish journalist bewailed the lack of waiting rooms for first class passengers—the British did not believe progress would ever come to China. Indeed, the British viewed as scandalous the Chinese attitude toward the railway. Popular as trains would surely become in the future,

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[12] *Ibid.,* p. 60.

[13] G. C. Allen and A. G. Donnithorne, *Western Enterprise in Far Eastern Economic Development, China and Japan* (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1954, p. 134.

[14] *Ibid.,* p. 135.

the Chinese were bound to regret their regard for it as a malevolent spirit particularly made more dreadful because of its novelty and speed.[15]

The peninsular was undoubtedly unenthusiastic, recalling how in his native Spain a line had been constructed connecting Santander with Cantabria.[16] Like the Chinese, the Spaniards were latecomers to the "Age of the Railroad." No line had been in existence in the Iberian peninsula before 1848; in any case, the government had preferred to leave the work to private enterprise. It was only in 1855 that a distinction was established between lines for general and those for private service and that the system received subsidies from the government. Though the financing was Spanish, the expertise was French and English.[17] The instability of the government and the general lack of interest in technological innovation were two factors responsible for this situation, which was in sharp contrast to that obtaining in other parts of Europe, notably England and France, where 19th century technology had already taken a firm hold. As Spain's Asian colony, the Philippines was to have its taste of this technology only some thirty years after the Iberian peninsula was introduced to it.

4

While by 1864 the clamor for better roads and particularly for a railroad was heard in the Philippines—and from leaders in the commercial community like Nicholas Loney who represented early British traders in the Philippines[18]—the colonial government's answer did not come until nearly a decade later. In 1875, a royal decree was issued on the subject, followed by a prospectus the next year, entitled *Formularios para la reduccion de los anteproyectos de ferrocarriles.*[19] Prepared by the Administracion de Obras Publicas, it set down the conditions to be observed by prospective railway constructors. Details covering the angle of earth embankments, the width of the tracks, and various stipulations concerning land values and

[15] J. T. Meston, *Revista Catolica Filipinas*, 5 de Enero, 1889, p. 8.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[17] Rhea M. Smith, *Spain, A Modern History* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1965), p. 421.
[18] Nicholas Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines* (Quezon City, Ateneo de Manila University, 1971), p. 207. Around 1864, Loney toured Europe on behalf of the Philippine sugar industry.
[19] *Formularios para reducción de los anteproyectos de ferrocarriles* (Manila: M. Perez, 1876).

labor, were spelled out. These construction standards were to remain on paper, understandably, for some time.

The decree of 1875 which laid the basis for regulations covering railways in the Philippines evolved from earlier decrees that governed a system using animal power.[20] These decrees were the precursors of modern railway regulations that even in 1864 already exhibited elaborate features.[21] The resulting prototype of rail travel in the country, the now famous *tranvia,* appeared in Manila's streets by 1885.

The tramway company was an enterprise of Don Jacobo Zobel Zangroniz, who had his eye on Manila's floating population then estimated at over 180,000. He would pile them into horse-drawn rail coaches from five points of the city. Awarded two concessions by the government, one in 1881 and the other in 1884, Zobel's Compania de las Tranvias de Manila began to serve the combined permanent and floating population and opened a lucrative route that connected the then burgeoning manufacturing center of Malabon with the rest of the city.[22] According to Zobel's estimate, wheeled traffic in the streets along Calle Real de Manila, Escolta, Nueva, and Puente de España, averaged a total of 20,750. Five service lines called Lineas de Intramuros, de Malate, de Sampaloc, de Malacañang, and de Tondo were estimated to cost at their initial installation 850,000 pesetas; the daily operation costs would be some 1,080.80 pesetas.[23] Fare would be .04 centavos, second class; and .08 centavos, first class.[24] To capture the merchandise freight produced by industry around Malabon, Zobel brought that area closer to the city by setting up a line estimated to generate 136,592.19 pesetas in traffic.[25]

Considering the expense of hiring private coaches and the general inconvenience of travel during rainy days, the *tranvia* presented a much more preferrable means of transport than anything else conceivable. It was cheap, convenient, and safe. Full operations, however, did not materialize until 1889.

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[20] *Railroad Laws and Regulations in Force in the Philippines, Including Police Law of Railways and other Provisions of a Similar Character* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), p. 25, et seq.

[21] *Ibid.,* pp. 21-24.

[22] Adolfo Bayo and Jacobo Zobel, *Compania de las Tranvias de Filipinas, Memorias y Estatutos* (Madrid: Fortunato, 1885), p. 8.

[23] *Ibid.,* p. 12.

[24] Eduardo Lachica, "The Spanish Houses," Part IV, *Saturday Herald Magazine,* September 2, 1961, p. 12.

[25] Bayo and Zobel, *op. cit.,* p. 19.

The tramway company was at once plagued by problems.[26] Felix Roxas, the company's secretary, wrote that the problems were varied and often odd. How were the horses to be identified for proper registration? And which horses pulled the coaches more efficiently—those that were fed on peanuts, or those on corn or *palay?*[27] The tramway, in any case, offered a slow but generally pleasant journey. Concerning its curious source of energy, a foreign visitor wrote:

> One sympathizes with the single pony that does the pulling as he sees thirty people besides the car and his load, and it is no uncommon thing on a slight rise or sharp turn for all hands to get off and help the vehicle over the difficulty. The driver holds the whip by the wrong end and lets the heavy one come down with double force on the terribly tough hide of the motive power.[28]

Once all seats had been taken, the tram went on its way and did not stop—even, it was said, for the Archbishop of Manila! A law made placing stones, or any form of obstacle, along the path of the tram a punishable offense. But not everybody was pleased: the *Guardia Civiles,* for example, confused the tram's whistle for their own signals. Although later on trumpets were resorted to, the befuddlement persisted.[29] It was against this background that 19th century Philippines was introduced to yet another form of transportation.[30]

5

About the same time the tramway was off to a colorful start in Manila, the cornerstone for the first railroad system was laid. It was now 1887, a good ten years and more after the royal decree of 1875 and the initial show of attention with which Obras Publicas engineers favored the project. The planning is credited to Eduardo Navarro, one of the government engineers. But nothing came of his eflorts; it is of record that only in 1885 did the government solicit tenders for the Manila-Dagupan line.

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[26] Felix Roxas, *The World of Felix Roxas* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1970), p. 74.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

[28] Joseph Earle Stevens, "Yesterdays in the Philippines," in *The Philippines Circa 1900* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1968), p. 193.

[29] Lachica, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[30] "Tranvia," according to the folklorist, Isabelo de los Reyes, was the term used for hookers. See *El Folklore Filipino* (Manila, 1889), pt. 2, p. 254.

A terminal at Dagupan would be the only practicable outlet for products from Pangasinan and from land-locked Tarlac province.[31] A line consisting of 120 miles was contemplated, and the government offered a subsidy of $7,650 per mile. After three biddings, an acceptable contract was negotiated, with modifications that stipulated an 8 per cent interest on the maximum capital of £4,964,473.65.[32] Edward Ketts, an Englishman, took the offered concession. A royal decree of 1887 later consigned the offer to a London firm, the Manila Railroad Co., Ltd., which was to be responsible for the construction and operation of the system.[33]

The Manila Railroad Company was required to complete construction within four years from 1887. The line was favored with a gratuity over public lands through which the tracks would pass. The company was also franchised to import construction and maintenance materials. The government demanded, however, that the company follow the plans laid out by Spanish engineers. All the company assets after ninety-nine years would revert to the Spanish government at no cost.[34]

These were none too favorable conditions, but the foresighted British braced up for the enterprise. Several English companies had been engaged already in Luzon-based businesses; their presence was a decided encouragement. Indeed, since these houses were in the agricultural export trade, the railroad would be supportive of British interests in general. As it turned out, the British would count on a 33% control of Philippine foreign trade by 1890, as the railroad was nearing completion.[35] They had also earlier pioneered in other communication and transport systems in the region with marked success. The British Peninsular and Oriental Company, for one, maintained shipping operations between Hong Kong and Manila; and, for another, there was the British Extension Australia and China Telegraphic Company,[36] that in 1880 set up the undersea cable hook-up between Manila and Hong Kong, via Cape Bolinao. Through these efforts the British had forged the link between Manila and world economies. By 1892, they

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[31] Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 305.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 306.
[33] Algue, *op. cit.*, p. 322.
[34] *Ibid.*; also Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 306.
[35] Lachica, "The Last Decade," Part VII, *loc. cit.*, September 30, 1961, p. 12.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

duplicated in the Philippines what they had accomplished in mainland Asia; the brought the country into the so-called "Age of the Railroad."

6

It was a motley crowd that gathered 5:30 in the afternoon, July 31, 1887, at Tutuban, in the *arrabal* of Tondo. Here was laid the cornerstone of the first *ferrocarril,* the attending officialdom led by the engineer Don Carlos de Bertodano and Mr. Edmond Sykes Ketts, of London. The blessing was given by Archbishop Pedro Payo.[37]

As construction work began, curious problems began to appear. The Spanish blueprints required faithful compliance. There were also innumerable difficulties related to labor gangs, dealing with landowners across whose properties the line would pass, and handling customs as well as sensitive municipal functionaries. The biggest obstacle was of course the bureaucracy itself. Very little delight and enthusiasm can be gleaned by the reader today from the correspondence between the railroad builders and the government officials they had to work with.

John Foreman alleged that at one point the company, having already somewhat lost its corporate patience, expressed itself strongly against further greasing an official's palm.[38] Company employees reported constant harassment by the authorities. Neil Mcleod thought that the construction was a bad enough mistake altogether: the tracks were being laid out too low. The blueprints did not always jibe with the terrain; thus, some areas would have a line extending for a mile and at the end of it the construction crew could go no farther. Proper surveys, according to Mcleod, could have avoided this problem and brought down the cost.[39] Horace Higgins, who served as the last engineer-director of the company during the terminal years of Spanish rule in the Philippines, had his own

[37] Philippine National Railways Museum (henceforth PNRM), *Copia de Acta Sobre la Locacion de Primera Piedra del Ferro-Carril de esta Capital a Dagupan a Requirimiento del Señor Carlos Edmundo de Bertodano y Pattison. Por ante Abraham Garcia y Garcia, Notario del Territorio y Archivero General de Protocolos en la Capital de Manila, 31 del Julio de 1887.* MS—4 leaves.

[38] John Foreman, *The Philippines,* 2nd ed. (New York: Scribner's, 1899), p. 301.

[39] Neil Mcleod, "Appendix," in Willis B. Wilcox, *Through Luzon on Highways and Byways* (Philadelphia: Franklin Book Company, 1901), pp. 228-31.

observations. He pointed to unnecessary constructions expenses; to the use, for example, of concrete instead of lime; to stations and sheds set up at locations where they were not needed; to indiscriminate building of all kinds. The government's blueprints demanded those; Higgins felt he had to give in.[40]

In spite of the intransigency of the Spanish bureaucracy, the necessity of importing rolling stock and construction materials from England, even the difficulty of raising capital, the project had its creditable aspects. The flat terrain through which the line must pass was, in Mcleod's words, something to exult over: here was "the finest country for railroads."[41] Labor was cheap; workers were not difficult to obtain locally. The company hired as many as 5,000 laborers for each section of the line, and at an average daily wage 0.32½ cents (Mexican) per person. Imported labor from other provinces received slightly higher wages. On one occasion, an entire crew of Pangasinan workers disappeared after a day's stint; a Tagalog crew was easily brought in, the fresh gang proving just as good at the building of earth embankments as the previous one. The railroad builders apparently knew their workers well. Chinese labor, for example, did not appeal to them although they resorted to it on occasion. According to Higgins, the Chinese did not favor working in water-logged terrain, a condition which his Filipno counterpart did not seem to mind.[42]

7

Thus relying largely on native Filipino labor, the railway builders went full blast after 1888. Seeing the progress being made, some Spaniards became in fact enthusiastic: the *Revista Católica Filipinas* announced that in the coming first days of January 1890 the country would witness a "novelty never before seen in the archipelago." This would be none other than the inauguration of the Dagupan section of the line, for which some grand festivities were now being planned. The town would undertake the preparations "as a symbol of its gratefulness

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[40] Horace Higgins, "Testimony," in *Report of the Philippine Com-* Office, 1900-1901), p. 318.

[41] Mcleod, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

[42] Higgins, *op. cit.*, p. 322. There has been little research so far on colonial labor, particularly the manner in which wages were depressed at the same time that labor was extracted. One impression gathered from available data is that labor was manipulated by setting up one language group against the other—i.e., Pangasinanese against Tagalogs. The Chinese laborer was apparently expensive to hire, preferring piece work to group work at weekly wages.

and (in) recognition of the railroad's benefit (*sic*) to progress." The *Revista* indicated that Mangaldan or thereabouts would see the blessing of "the first stone"[43]—a treat for a busy but gloomy town ("triste y humido" was a friar's description of it). Like others on the line, the place would be transformed in the course of time.[44]

To the enthusiasm generated by the prospect of the railroad's arrival was added the element of exaggeration. Already agricultural production stimulated by British capital had given the provinces of Pangasinan, Tarlac, Pampanga, and Bulacan a certain measure of prosperity. The arable lands in these provinces were now under cultivation for sugar, rice or both. Small industries, hat-making, and others had appeared in the small towns.[45] Poor transport discouraged further growth, however. It was fortunate that Pampanga, Bulacan, and Pangasinan had access to water routes; Tarlac could not count on this advantage, and even when access was possible—as in the case of Mangaldan, Pangasinan—the country routes were impassable for long periods, not only due to heavy *carreton* traffic but owing to the outright neglect of the roads.[46] The promise of better times offered by the railroad seemed indeed worthy of celebration.

On behalf of the railroad company, Don Carlos Bertodano in December 1890 wrote to the Governor General requesting that 43.8 kilometers of track from Manila to Bagbag be opened to public service. This would bring "real benefit to the public and to our concession," he wrote. Perhaps the Governor General could contribute solemnity to the inaugural by honoring the occasion with his presence. The tone of Bertodano's letter underscored the importance of the project to both parties. Wrote Don Carlos:

> . . . the name of his Excellency representing the glorious Spanish nation and its August Royal Family will always be united with the inauguration of the first railroad in the Philippine Islands and,

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[43] *Revista Catolica Filipinas*, 26 de Deciembre, 1889, p. 300.

[44] Rafael Magno, *A Historical Retrospect on the Town of Mangaldan, Pangasinan (1600-1898)* (Manila: n.p., n.d.), p. 40.

[45] A few guidebooks (*memorias*) exist that might yield quantitative data on early cottage industries. For a general view there is F. G. Varea, *Guide for the Americans in the Philippines*, trans. F.C. Fischer (Manila: Chofre y Comp., 1899). Gregorio Flormata, *Memoria Sobre la Provincia de Pangasinan* (Manila: Imprenta la Democracia, 1901) *passim*, has a detailed piece of regional history.

[46] Magno, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

> better still [with] an act that will leave an indelible record in the history of the country.[47]

The dawn of a new era for colonial Philippines had come. Eventually, on March 25, 1891, the first section of the line was opened. Working without serious obstacles, the labor gangs extended the track in eleven months by 86.7 kilometers. This was opened to service on February 19, 1892 and connected Manila with Mabalacat, Pampanga. Four months later, Tarlac was reached with 119.3 kilometers of track. Finally, six months later, on November 24, 1892, the link was made to Dagupan, Pangasinan; the total distance from Manila was now provided with 195.392 kilometers of track.[48]

Whole towns turned out along the route to witness the inauguration of this section line.[49] Streets were festooned with streamers; bands played martial music, competing with exploding firecrackers. An eye-witness, describing the route through which the train passed, used the words "enchanting", "varied", and "picturesque" for the portion of the journey from Manila to Bulacan[50] and farther on, through Pampanga and part of Tarlac, noted that to be seen were

> sun-soaked fields and emerald green of the sugar cane plantations. Towards the northern end of Tarlac was a shadowy forest and beyond were extensive fields of rice, like those of the great plains of Pangasinan. The monotony of the level ricefields was interrupted only by files of coconut trees.[51]

In the meantime, some 5,000 people had gathered around Dagupan Station to welcome the inaugural train. Amidst the blaring of four brass bands, the waving of hats and kerchiefs, shouts of "Viva España", and "Viva Filipinas", rent the air as the *Don Alfonso III,* followed by the *Felipe II,* emerged up the track. The Manila officialdom on board—Governor General Conde de Caspe, the Archibishop of Manila, and an entourage of bureaucrats—attended a *Te Deum* after the ceremonies. At

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[47] PNRM, Expediente de la inauguracion del Ferro-Carril de Manila a Dagupan (letter of Carlos Bertodano to the Governor General) Manila, December 17, 1890, Ms.

[48] Algue, *op. cit.,* p. 322.

[49] Felipe Lagon, "When the First Train Roared into Town," in *Philippine Herald Magazine,* January 14, 1956, pp. 10-11. The newspapers that covered the event according to Lagon, were *Diario de Manila, El Resumen,* and *La Oceana.*

[50] *La Ilustracion,* Ano II, No. 53, 28 de Noviembre, 1892, p. 410.

[51] *Ibid.*

the banquet which followed the mass, a toast was offered to the glory and prestige of Church and State.[52]

8

The jubilation concealed a number of difficulties. Construction had been six months behind. Service had commenced although the Calumpit River bridge had not yet been completed. At substantial cost to the Company, passengers had to be ferried across the river. Another bridge, the one spanning the Rio Grande, was likewise unfinished; it would be put to use only by 1894.[53]

But the railroad, such as it was, was changing the scene in lower and middle northern Luzon. The first nine months of operations provide sufficient indications of this trend. In merchandise alone, some 3,003 tons were moved along various points of the line that year. Some 2,120 tons of rice (approximately 33,920 cavans)[54] constituted the bulk of that freight. This despite the fact that the line was operational only for 43.8 kilometers. With 119.3 kilometers completed, connecting Manila with Bagbag and Mabalacat, the railroad was to haul in 1892 some 31,929 tons, including 12,702 tons (approximately 203,312 cavans) of rice and 7,179 tons of sugar. The Company had anticipated some 70,000 tons; yet the freight output was not all that disappointing and could be logically explained. The railroad was a pioneer mode of transportation and a water transport system was in existence to give it some competition.[55]

The presence of the system became, however, quite manifest. It was once noted that rice mills, often steampowered—like those at Calumpit, Gerona, Moncada, Bayambang and onwards to Dagupan, according to Foreman—appeared along various points on the line. The Calumpit, Bayambang and Gerona mills, by 1893, accounted for processing an average of

[52] Lagon, *op. cit.*, p. 11. An *Apuntes historicos* is in the subsequent issue of *La Ilustracion*, II, No. 54, 14 de Deciembre 1892, p. 426. praising the British for their unique diplomacy, affability, gentlemanliness and persistence—qualities which no doubt came into play in making the railroad a reality.

[53] Foreman (1899 ed), *op. cit.*, p. 303; also, Higgins, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

[54] Weight per cavan varied according to region, with Camerines at 132 pounds and less in other provinces, 126 pounds being the lowest on record. See Robert McMicking, *Recollections of Manila and the Philippines* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1967), p. 174.

[55] *Guia Oficial de las Islas Filipinas Para 1894* (Manila: 1894), p. 458.

from 40 to 50 tons each for the various producers of Pangasinan, Tarlac, and even those from distant Nueva Ecija. Heretofore, milled rice from these parts reached Manila by water; it was now the railroad that served the rice industry.[56]

Sugar production, likewise, became an early beneficiary. Realizing the undeniable advantage in shipping sugar by train instead of by river barge (in the latter case, one risked exposing the sugar to excessive moisture), sugar producers converged their *fardarias* along the rail route.[57] Sugar packers formerly operated in random districts of Manila and Malabon; now they moved closer to the railroad stations and the sources of sugar production. The success of sugar as a cash crop, in the meanwhile, eventually altered the growth of commercial centers in the region. Towns served by river traffic diminished in importance as activity along the rail route increased.[58] Mexico town, which had flourished as a market center on the branch of Rio Grande de Pampanga, now yielded in importance to towns like Angeles and San Fernando, even as the river channel began to silt up. Bacolor gave way in like manner to the more conveniently-situated San Fernando. San Fernando and Angeles by this time had become crucial stops for the train.[59]

It was in passenger traffic that the system effected considerable change—and derived profit. In 1891, the coaches carried 324,957 passengers, mostly third class. In 1892, passenger traffic attained the half-million mark—545,335 to be exact.[60] Passenger behavior was also something of a phenomenon. People loved to travel and had become fond of the train. It was a new experience in convenience and speed. Travel time from Dagupan to Manila had been reduced from 27 hours by steamer to eight by train. This meant that a farmer might set for the city to sell his chickens and baskets of fruit and make enough money for the trip back home within the day. He could, largely out of novelty, repeat the adventure the next morning.[61]

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[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 462-463. Also Foreman (1899 ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 319. In *Filipino Martrys* by Richard Brinsley Sheridan (London: Bodley Head, 1900; Reprinted, Quezon City: Malaya Book, Inc., 1970), p. 70, the author identifies Smith, Bell and Co., as proprietors of rice mills in Bayambang.

[57] *Guia Oficial*, 1894, p. 463.

[58] John Larkin, *The Pampangans* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), pp. 101-102.

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] *Guia Oficial*, 1894, p. 468.

[61] Higgins, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

Some educated Filipinos did not seem too impressed, however. The Filipino paper *La Solidaridad* did not find the inauguration of the railroad worthy of a paragraph.[62] Rizal did try the train in 1892. But his curiosity was understood by undercover agents to be motivated by discovery of some political expedient which rail travel might serve.[63]

The railroad was, in fact, to deal Rizal a personal tragedy. As he wrote his friend Blumentritt in April 1891, "Well, the first blow of the railroad is for me!" For early that year Rizal did receive word that his fiancée of eleven years. Leonor Rivera, had married the Englishman Henry Kipping, an engineer of the Manila Railroad Company.[64]

Between 1892 to 1896, the railroad functioned routinely, earning its keep on an average of $40,000 a year from freight and $192,500 from passenger traffic.[65] Two years later the railroad was to play a role in the Filipino nation's struggle for freedom.

With the construction of the *ferrocarril* culminated British economic presence in the colonial Philippines of the 19th century. The British were to strike a different economic posture in the succeeding period, and with accustomed skill. For even during the course of the Filipino-American War, they managed to keep control of the operations of the railroad, exhibiting here an astuteness that for General Aguinaldo became a source of embarrassment. Aguinaldo, then meeting the threat of American armed successes while moving inexorably toward the proclamation of Filipino independence, was confronted by a railroad workers' strike. The strikers' demand was for higher wages from the railway management, which was held anyhow by the British. It was Aguinaldo's task to make a response to the strikers. He came up with an admonition in his proclamation of September 23, 1898, a document that revealed the nature of his leadership:[66]

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[62] Marcelo Del Pilar, *Escritos de M. H. del Pilar*, I (Manila: Biblioteca National, 1970), p. 204.

[63] Horacio de la Costa, S.J., ed. and Tr., *The Trial of Jose Rizal* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1961), p. 82.

[64] National Heroes Commission, *Rizal and Blumentritt Correspondence*, Vol. II, Part (Manila: 1963), p. 69.

[65] Higgins, *op. cit.*, p. 317. Also, *Guia Oficial 1894*, p. 460.

[66] John R. Taylor, *The Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, III, Exhibit 257 (Pasay City: Eugenio Lopez Foundation, 1971), p. 360.

> Our union [the proclamation read in part] should not concern itself with small matters like what you have done, i.e., refusing to go to work—which discredits you and all of us in the eyes of other nations. . . .

For what Aguinaldo suspected was that enemies had been busy: friars had instigated the strike. Their intention, as always, had been to bring disgrace and misfortune to the Filipino.[67] Aguinaldo instructed the Provincial Chief of Pangasinan to exert zealous efforts to keep the railroad in operation. A breakdown, he warned, would be "bad"; it would affect adversely "our growing culture." He was above all apprehensive of the injury to commerce, trade, and agriculture—whose "existence and progress" he pointed out, were "intimately connected" with the railroad enterprise.[68]

At this point, the records are silent about the strike. It is clear, though, that Aguinaldo had two main concerns: to rid the Philippines of the influence, real or imagined, of the friars; and to maintain a "civilized" posture for the world to see. It was an illusion, as Aguinaldo would soon realize. No world power was willing to recognize his dream.

Aguinaldo's former adviser, Apolinario Mabini, formulated a more realistic appraisal of the strike. Why not dangle a bait?, he suggested to his friend, Fernando Canon. This could come in the form of the grant of a concession. "Let us tell Higgins," Mabini is quoted as saying, "to work on his government so that it would recognize us as a nation and help us. . ."[69] But putting all politesse aside, unlike Aguinaldo, he continued:

> This is the only way to silence those insolent foreigners who, in their excessive pride, treat us like unreasoning and unthinking children.

Mabini, moreover, suspected Higgins to be a spy.[70] This was a possibility. Higgins could indeed be more involved than that; for it is known that by July 1899—Filipino-American hostilities broke out in February, earlier that year—he had become already associated with the Philippine (Schurman) Commission.

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67 *Ibid.*, p. 361.

68 *Ibid.*

69 National Historical Commission, *The Letters of Apolinario Mabini*, (Manila: 1965), pp. 64-65.

70 *Ibid. As* railroad director, Higgins had free access to Filipino-held lines. See also the account by Richard Sheridan, in *The Filipino Martyrs* (London: The Bodley Head, 1900), reprinted by Malaya Books, Inc., Quezon City, 1970.

Epilogue

The documents on the fundamental changes in Philippine society attributable to the coming of the railroad have much to reveal. The image of the train pushing the Philippines of the 19th century toward social change provides an expressive metaphor for the period. The British economic presence, its pioneering effort in the area of transport and communications, brought the Philippines into the worldwide network of the capitalist economic system, British entrepreneurship having provided the wedge that split the Spanish empire in this part of the globe.

The Philippines in the 19th century offered an arena for contending social forces. On one side was the force which evolved out of the politico-religious and racist posture of the Spanish officialdom and friars. On the other was that which grew out of the shift in socio-economic structures as a result of British entrepreneurship in Manila and the provinces.[71] The emergent Filipino, represented by the peasant and the ilustrado, had to contend with these two forces whose objective collaboration, at this point in time, was particularly clear. The peasant and ilustrado could not but forge an alliance. It was an uncertain alliance but nonetheless a potent one.

Under the leadership of the ilustrados and Aguinaldo, the emergent Republic was irresistibly drawn to the appurtenances of a "civilized" nation. Thus the inauguration of the Republic was not without a banquet of French provenance: a Constitution and a Congress. As a further item on the festive board—a railroad.

On September 10, 1898, the first president of the Republic was transported by train to his inaugural at Malolos.

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[71] Nicolas Cushner suggests this broadly in "Colonialism, Modernization and Nationalism in Southeast Asia," *Solidarity*, March 1970, pp. 8-11. Industrial and agricultural modernization led to an emerging class that could provide the core of the reform movement.

TOWARDS A MODEL FOR WRITING PHILIPPINE DICTIONARIES*

CESAR A. HIDALGO

1. *The problem.* The "language question is inseparable from the larger question of nation-building in all its ramifications," President Ferdinand Marcos accurately observes in his 1975 language policy statement.[1] He underscores the New Society's "commitment to national unity through a national language" and specifies that

(1) Pilipino [be] firmly incorporated in all the college entrance examinations and in all the civil service examinations;
(2) Important documents of the State...should be published in two languages—both Pilipino and English; and
(3) Pilipino [be] rapidly established as a medium of instruction together with English in appropriate courses in our institutions of learning.[2]

An important area of response to this triadic language policy is in the production of useful dictionaries of the Philippine national language and other indigenous languages, dictionaries that can bring out the languages' semantic wealth, subtlety and nuances and help preserve the cultural heritage of the Filipino people. This is not possible, however, unless we develop a new theoretical framework that can account for the linguistic features of Philippine languages and that can organize our research and material such that we study carefully domains that will reveal and preserve our culture as a people.

Like technology and its relation to science, Philippine lexicography or lexicography in general, for that matter, has

* This is an updated version of a paper read at the 12th International Congress of Linguists in Vienna, Austria.

[1] Ferdinand E. Marcos, "National Language and Unity," *Language Policy on Education and Culture in the New Society* (Manila: Surian ng Wikang Pambansa, 1975), p. 28.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

been slow in catching up with its theoretical counterpart—lexicology. This retarded response of the lexicographers has been severely criticized by linguists. Even one of the monumental products of lexicographic research, Webster's *Third International,* has not escaped criticism. Weinreich, reviewing it, finds "disconcerting that a mountain of lexicographic practice such as an an unabridged dictionary of English should yield no more than a paragraph-sized molehill of lexicographic theory."[3] To be sure, of course, the lexicographers have not been without defenders. Zgusta points out, for instance, that the lexicologists' theoretical formulations have not readily found application owing to the practical character of lexicography and to the considerable time required in completing a lexicographic project.[4] Gleason indicates that: "Dictionary making is tedious in the extreme. It is exacting. It is an incredibly large job."[5]

The lack of theoretical development has impeded the production of good dictionaries. The inability of Philippine lexicographers, both Filipinos and foreigners, to comprehend the semantic structure of the lexicon has resulted in the lack of criteriality of definitions leading to misinformation, misconception, and misunderstanding that has resulted in the production of dictionaries that are less than useful. Mary Haas, discussing languages that have caused great difficulties in lexicography, classifies Philippine languages as belonging to the more "intractable type of language(s) . . . [because of their] multiplicity of prefixes and infixes."[6]

To find in a dictionary, for instance, the Tagalog root *–damdam* as "v. to feel", or *"feel,* v. *hipuin; maramdaman; damdamin; pakiramdaman; waring"*[7] or *"maramdamin,* adj. sensitive; readily affected"[8] is simply inadequate. It clearly shows failure to comprehend the structure of *–damdam* and to account

[3] Uriel Weinreich, "Webster's Third: A Critique of its Semantics," *International Journal of American Linguistics,* 30 (1964), p. 408.

[4] Ladislav Zgusta, "Die Lexikographie and die Sprachwissenschafft," in Kaspar L. Riemschnaider, *Probleme der Lexikographie* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1970), pp. 7-22.

[5] H.A. Gleason, Jr. "The Relation of Lexicon and Grammer," in Fred W. Householder and Sol Saporta (eds.), *Problems in Lexicography* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1967), p. 88.

[6] Mary R. Haas, "What Belongs in a Bilingual Dictionary," *Ibid.,* p. 49.

[7] Felix M. Manalili and Reynaldo de Dios, *English-Tagalog Vocabulary* (Quezon City: Pressman Printers and Publishers, 1964), p. 61.

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 116.

systematically meaning modification through affixation involving inflectional and derivational morphology. Consider the various paradigms below:

Verb forms

magdamdam	'be hurt emotionally'
maramdamin	'be overly sensitive'
madamdamin	'be full of overpowering feeling'
pakiramdaman	'gauge someone's position, attitude, feeling, reaction'
damdamin	'feel, as of joy of hurt'
maramdaman	'feel, as of hardship, earthquake'
iparamdam	'make someone sense one's position'
kadamdamin	'be of one & the same feeling, belief persuasion'

Noun forms

damdamin	'feeling'
karamdaman	'sickness, ailment'
pakiramdam	'state or condition of feeling' as in *Ano ang pakiramdam mo ngayon?* 'How do you feel now?'
pagkamaramdamin	'sensitivity'

and the superlative form when *-damdam* is adjectivalized — *pinakamaramdamin* 'most sensitive.'

A further problem, not linguistic but political, has been the confused governmental linguistic policies indicative of the mind-bending effects of imperialistic rule, e.g., the foreign language syndrome. The first Philippine Republic, in its Malolos Constitution (1899), avoided decision on the national language issue but specified that "the use of the languages spoken in the Philippines is optional. For the purpose of these acts shall be used [sic] at present the Castilian language."[9] It failed to consider that the Filipino masses were literate only in their native tongues.[10]

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[9] *The Constitution of the First Philippine Republic (The Malolos Constitution,* VRTTQ, in Gregorio F. Zaide (*Philippine Constitutional History and Constitutions of Modern Nations* (Manila: The Modern Book Company, 1970), p. 189.

[10] See *Census of the Philippine Islands,* 1903. Volume II (Washington: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1905, p. 78.

The second Philippine Constitution (1935) opted for the development of a national language based on one of the Philippine languages (with Tagalog later chosen as the basis), in consonance, unwittingly perhaps, with church language policy of the Spanish colonial state (1565-1898) to make Tagalog the lingua franca, in the same way that the missionaries in Mexico tried to spread Nahuatl among the Indians, Tupi in Brazil, Quicha in Peru and Guarani in Argentina. Surely a nationalistic move, except that Article XIII, Section 10, states that the organic law of the land "shall be officially promulgated in English and Spanish but in case of conflict the English text shall prevail."[11] An incredible provision since the majority of the Filipinos could neither read nor speak, much less write English or Spanish. In 1918, 3,138,634 or 59.2% of the Filipinos ten years of age and over were reported to be "able to read some local dialects" while only 885,854 were literate in English and 879,811 in Spanish.[12] The 1973 Philippine Constitution, however, replaced Tagalog and decreed the "development and formal adoption of a common national language to be known as Filipino." "Filipino" is to be the "result of a comingling of the native languages"[13] which number 180 or so distinct languages.

Nearly a decade after the framing of the new Philippine Constitution, Filipino is still nonexistent. This might be the case for some time, for nobody speaks Filipino. Nobody knows its phonological, morphological, grammatical and semantic structures.

In this context, we can see the significance and the wisdom of the 1975 language policy statements which specifies Pilipino as the language of the land, even as a bilingual policy with English as the other language is adopted.

2. *Philippine dictionaries.* The problems just described are of a linguistic and political nature. If lexicography is an important area of response to the triadic language policy of the country, what has been the Philippine lexicographic tradition? What kind of dictionaries have been written and what has been

[11] *Constitution of the Commonwealth of the Philippines (1935)*, in Zaide, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

[12] *Census of the Philippine Islands, 1918. Volume II* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1921), pp. 53, 62.

[13] Jose M. Aruego and Gloria A. Torres, *The New Philippine Constitution Explained* (Manila: University Book Supply, Inc. 1975), p. 218.

the theoretical basis of these works? What languages have been studied?

Philippine dictionaries[14] have been mainly bilingual, with a few multilingual ones, indicative of imperialistic rule and its effects: during the Spanish regime (1565-1898), under American rule (1898-1946), and Japanese military occupation during Word War II. The foreign languages figuring in these dictionaries have been mainly Spanish, English, Japanese and Russian. There is no monolingual lexicographic tradition.

Theoretically, the dictionaries have either been prescriptive or descriptive. Semantically, the dictionaries are of two types: those that assumed that lexical entries and their "equivalents" in the foreign language(s) are mutually exclusive semantically and those that adopted the meaning multiplicity hypothesis, i.e., these dictionaries attempted to respond to polysemy and to certain aspects of meaning modification through affixation. Of the first type, Antonio Pigafetta, "Cebuano-Spanish word list" (1521), is an example; of the second type, excellent examples are the works of the Jesuits Juan de Noceda and Pedro de San Lucar, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala* (1860); Filipino lexicographer Pedro Serrano Laktaw, *Diccionario Tagalog-Hispano* (1914); Redemptorist Father Leo James English, *English-Tagalog Dictionary* (1965), and Jose Villa Panganiban, *Diksyunaryo-Tesauro Pilipino-English* (1972).

Organizationally, the dictionaries are either topical or alphabetical. Those organized topically, i.e., according to semantic fields, adopted the one-to-one meaning correspondence assumption and are indeed thin in content both in the range of the entries and in the definitions. They deal with common phrases, body parts and the like. A couple of examples of this type are Eligio Fernandez, *Vocabulario Tagalog-Castellano* (1885) and Jaime D. Escobar y Lozano, "Vocabulario Español-Tagalog" in his *El Indicador del Viajero en los Islas Filipinas* (1885). Those organized alphabetically by stem or root entries adopted either one of the two theoretical hypotheses discussed above. Those that adopted the second, while some have been quite exhaustive, suffer in the lack of general guiding principles and a systematized criteria for the study of specific dictionary entries.

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[14] For details, see Hidalgo, *Philippine Lexicography* (forthcoming, U.P. Press).

Of the seven hundred lexicographical works, with date of publication or completion of the manuscript beginning with Pigafetta's 1521 "Cebuano-Spanish word list," the language that emerges with the most dictionaries is Tagalog (close to one-third of the works). The most studied major languages, other than Tagalog, are, expectedly, Cebuano, Ilocano, Hiligaynon, Kapampangan, Pangasinan. The minor languages are: Ibanag, Isinay, Gaddang, Tausog, Ivatan, and various languages of the ethnic minorities of the Mountain Province.

Surely serious lexicographical work has been undertaken. The volume of work alone (see Table below) points to the tremendous interest in the field which continues today, basically from the Summer Institute of Linguistics, the Department of Linguistics of the University of Hawaii and the East-West Center, the Philippine Institute of National Language, some Filipino linguists and various local and foreign lexicographers.

3. *The proposed model.* But even with this volume of work there has been little theoretical advance. Towards this advance, this proposal is made.

Languages, while universally sharing in semantic structures, have also language specific semantic structures. We are not, however, concerned here with universal semantic structures, but with the following: language specific structures, semantic postulates in understanding the semantic structure of specific dictionary entries, the systematization and specification of the criteria for analyzing specific lexical entries in a dictionary, dictionary organization and research strategy.

3.1. *Semantic postulates.* In writing bilingual/multilingual dictionaries, it is assumed that lexical items across languages have shared and unshared features.

3.1.1. The possibility that an entry from language 1 could be more inclusive than a roughly corresponding equivalent in language 2 must be recognized. Boas gives a famous example of this. *Snow* in English is broken up by the Eskimo into four specific lexical items: snow on the ground, falling snow, drifting snow and snowdrift. Or take the French *mouton.* The English speaker specifies it as *mutton,* the meat, and *sheep,* the animal. Or take *rice.* To the Filipino, it could be *palay,* 'unshelled rice,' *bigas,* 'shelled rice,' *kanin,* 'cooked rice.'

LEXICOGRAPHIC RESEARCH
1521-1978
(Estimate)

	Lg., with most no. of dictionaries	*Lgs. with most no. of dictionaries other than Tagalog*	*Some minor lgs. with dictionaries*	*No. of lgs. with dictionaries for the period*	*Total no. of dictionaries for the period*
1521-1662	Tagalog (14)	Bisayan Panayano Pampango Ilocano Cebuano	Ibanag Igoleta	11	28
1662-1764	Aagalog (8)	Bicol Bisaya Isinay Cebuano Ilocano	Isinay Aetas	8	27
1765-1814	Tagalog (9)	Ilocano Maguindanao Pampango Panayano Pangasinan	Gaddang Tausog	10	25
1815-1871	Tagalog (13)	Bisaya Ilocano Pampango Bicol Pangasinan	Ivatan Gaddang	13	43
1872-1897	Tagalog (16)	Bisaya Tiruray Pampango Bagobo Sulu (Tausug) Maguindanao	Ibanag Igorot Manobo Tagbanwa Bontoc Ata Bilaan Samal	26	96
1898-1946	Tagalog (16)	Ilocano Bisaya Ivatan Pangasinan Sulu	Igorot Tagbanwa Mangyan Ibanag Itawa Isinay Hanunuo Subanon	32	164
1947-1971	Tagalog (62)	Ilocano Visayan Maranao Ifugao Cebuano	Yakan Tagbanwa Subanon Dibabaon Agta Tausog Aklanon	38	195
1972-1978	Tagalog (8)	Cebuano Waray Tausug Hiligaynon Bikol	Ivatan Ivatan Manobo Isneg Yakan Bontok	17	25

These lexical items are cultural words that would remain unanalyzed if the lexicographer assumed semantic isomorphism across languages.

Non-cultural entries also pose problems. To find in an English-Tagalog dictionary, for instance, "bachelor n. *binata,*" is to miss a lot. The English entry is polysemous while the Tagalog "equivalent" is not. Where the latter means "man who has never married," the English item, to Katz and Fodor,[15] also includes among its meanings: a young knight serving under the standard of another knight, a person who has the first or lowest academic degree, and a young male fur seal when without a mate during breeding time.

3.1.2. It is also possible that entries from both languages have a shared feature but have different referents with different attributes. Insensitivity to this principle in many of the Philippine dictionaries has caused problems. For instance, P.D. Neilson, *Tagalog-English Dictionary* (1903) simply enters *"Bathala* —God" as if the concept of god of the westerners were the same as that of the early Tagalogs' conception of their deity. Religion for the latter was animistic in character and *Bathala* for them was the supreme head of the spirits dwelling in the land. If Neilson had problems with this, so did some of the best lexicorgraphers of the Spanish period. So, to Noceda and Sanlucar (1860), in their Spanish-Tagalog section, *Dios* is simply *Bathala,* but in their Tagalog-Spanish section this misleading information is corrected: *"Bathala—Dios el mayor de sus anitos."* To preclude problems of this nature (during the Spanish times), the 1584 decree of Philip II ordered that key concepts of the Christian faith be presented to the Filipinos in Spanish and to avoid providing a native word equivalent. Some of these concepts were: God, trinity, Holy Ghost, grace, church, sin, cross, hell, holy.

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[15] Jerrold J. Katz and Jerry A. Fodor, "The Structure of a Semantic Theory," *Language,* Vol. 39 (April-June, 1963), pp. 170-210. Note that the Katz and Fodor semantic theory has since been revised, but represents the first linguistic semantic theory proposal within the framework of transformational grammar. This was followed by the standard theory in Noam Chomsky *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (1965); extended standard theory in the more recent works of Chomsky and R. Jackendoff; and significant breaks from standard theory as proposed by J.S. Gruber and Charles Fillmore and generative semantics as developed by J. McCawley G. Lakoff, J.R. Ross and others. See Janet D. Fodor, *Semantics: Theories of Meaning in Generative Grammar* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1977) for study of these theories.

The insensitivity to specific differences in the early dictionaries is still manifest in the contemporary ones. In Richard E. Elkin's *Manobo-English Dictionary* (1968) we find the following: "*diwata*—god, deity; specifically the supreme being" and the cross-reference "god—*diwata*." The English word *god* is generic while *diwata* is not.

3.1.3. Entries from both languages may differ in marked features. *Siya* in Tagalog and 'he' or 'she' in English are both anaphoric and deictic pronouns but *siya* may be used to refer to either animate or inanimate objects while he or she is used only for animate ones. Moreover, sex difference is lexicalized in English while this distinction is not a property of the Tagalog pronoun.

3.1.4. A lexical entry from language 1 may be subject to meaning modification through affixation which could be syntactically significant, a characteristic absent in the "corresponding" item in language 2.

The morphology of Philippine languages is extremely complex and rich and the semantics of these languages can be better understood by a careful study of the morphology of these languages.

This can be seen in the case of the Tagalog—*damdam* where we found at least eight verb forms, four noun forms and one adjective form. Noceda and Sanlucar, in their attempt to respond to this feature of Philippine languages, presented six entries for the Tagalog stem *abut* "to reach, to seize, to catch" plus two additional entries which account for idiomatic use, while Jose Villa Panganiban, *Diksyunario-Tesauro Pilipino-English* (1972) has seventeen realizations of his two *abot* entries. Pedro Serrano Laktaw, *Diccionario Tagalog-Hispano* (1941) devotes pages 145 to 147 for just his *buhay* "life" entry.

Meaning modification through affixation has continued to baffle Philippine lexicographers. Some simply ignore this complexity, others attempt inadequately to look into it. The result is too general an information or superficial treatment. E. Constantino, *Ilokano Dictionary* (1971), has the following information for one of his entries: "*ababaw*, adj./(NA-)/shallow, not deep; superficial, not profound. *Ababaw dayta waig.* That brook is shallow. v/-UM-/-art. *ADALEM.*" To begin with, our informants say that -UM- cannot be infixed in *ababaw.*

How about *iyababaw, iyababababaw, imbabaw, naababababaw* and the set of four degrees of comparison from *naababaw* 'very shallow,' *naababababaw* 'very, very shallow,' *nakaababaw* 'very, very, very shallow,' and finally *kaababawan* 'shallowest,' to name some forms? Degrees of comparison in Ilocano differ from English.

3.1.5. The basic research strategy, dictionary organization and entry system for Philippine dictionaries affect substantially the sorts of information that a lexical entry may have, including its pedagogical and reference utility, orderly and exhaustive presentation, and cultural information and preservation.

To adopt a research strategy on the basis of conventional lexicography, i.e., to look for printed citations, is inadequate and impossible in most cases in Philippine lexicography. Most of the languages do not have a written literary tradition; one must depend on oral material. To merely pick up an English dictionary or any dictionary, whether attempting to write a monolingual or bilingual/multilingual dictionary and use this as a basis for translating or source is to fall into the trap that has ensnared many a lexicographer, i.e., assuming one-to-one meaning correspondence across languages which has resulted in misinformation, inadequate research and abdication of responsible authorship.

The entry strategy and organization cannot adopt the established lexicographic practice for Indo-European languages, i.e., word entry and strict alphabetical organization. To do so would result in a cumbersome and disorganized entry system and inadequate study of specific entries, particularly cultural items as seen in 3.1.1. All of these affect the usefulness of the dictionary and its role as an agent for the study and preservation of Philippine culture.

3.2. *The framework of the model.*

3.2.1. The postulates presented in 3.1.1, 3.1.2, and 3.1.3 require the lexicographer to undertake careful analytical study of Philippine languages and/or the foreign language(s) involved, before he can attempt to write a dictionary, monolingual or otherwise.

3.2.2. For 3.1.4, response to meaning modification through affixation principle requires a thorough study of the morphology of Philippine languages figuring in the dictionary. To systema-

tize the criteria for analyzing specific lexical entries, it is proposed that case, voice and aspect be studied as they are manifested by affixes and these affixes modify the basic meaning(s) of most lexical entries; and in some instances present new definitions of the entries. The same is true of derivations as in *ka–* + *stem/root* in Ivatan,[16] e.g.,

vahay 'house' ——————→ *kavahay* 'one who shares a house, concubine'

–kuvot 'something carried in the womb, fetus' ——————→ *kakuvot* 'one with whom one fights, opponent'

diman 'kill' ——————→ *Kadiman* one with whom one fights, opponent'

ivan 'accompany' ——————→ *kayvan* 'one who shares one's company, friend'

3.2.1.1. *Case.* How does a case affix effect changes in the basic meaning of a dictionary entry? A case affix in Philippine languages is not limited to indicating the case role of a particular noun phrase. It may also change the syntactico-semantic category of a lexical item resulting in meaning modification or a complete change in the meaning of the entry.

Thus, if a bilingual dictionary on Philippine languages ignored the Ivatan case prefix *om–*,[17] for instance, and entered only *"apoy n.* fire," *omapoy* 'to blaze' would be left out. Similarly, if only *"dasal*-n-prayer" were entered with the locative case affix *–an* ignored, *paydasalan* 'place where prayers are said, church' would be left out. The same happens with *among* 'fish' and the agentive/actor case affix *ma–/N. Mangamong* 'to fish, fisherman' is lost. In these examples, part of the meaning of the root is still carried by the derived word. In other cases, a more dramatic change results. For example, to prefix the case affix *om– to avid* 'beauty' results in a verb 'to

[16] Ivatan, one of the Philippine languages, is used as the test language in this section. See Araceli C. Hidalgo, "Focus in Philippine Languages," *Philippine Journal of Linguistics,* 1, no. 1 (1970), 25-32; Cesar A. Hidalgo and Araceli C. Hidalgo, "Ivatan Morphology: The Predicatives," *Philippine Journal of Linguitics,* 1, no. 2 (1970), 10-54; and their *A. Tagmemic Grammar of Ivatan* (Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines, 1971).

[17] The prefix *om-* is a case affix focusing the logical subject of an intransitive sentence, thereby making it the surface subject or the topic as well. In other words, the verbal case affix identifies the case role of the noun phrases that function as topic of the sentence.

flirt.' To prefix the case affix *ma–* to the same root word results in an adjective—*mavid* 'beautiful.'

In *omapoy,* the *om–* prefix identifies the case role *state* (S), i.e., the condition or state of affairs of the potential noun phrase; in *paydasalan, –an* indicates the referent (R), i.e., the location of an act, also called site; while in *mangamong, ma–* identifies the agentive (A) case, i.e., the agent which is a typically animate doer of an action. Would there be other cases in Ivatan and what would be their affixational manifestations? What would be the constraints in their occurrence?

Consider, then, sentences (1) and (2):

(1) *Rotongan ni Maria o manok.*
'The chicken is what Maria cooks.'

(2) *Kayatan ni Mario o nyoy.*
'The coconut tree is what Mario climbs.'

Manifesting the object (0) case role, where object is the entity towards which an action is directed, are *–an*2 and *–an*2. The affix *–an* may occur with no other affix or only with the abilitive affix *ka–* (e.g. *karotongan* 'can be cooked') and with verb stem 1 (an inherently transitive verb stem which may take the transitive voice affix *–(N–)–* without having to be affixed with a derivational affix that allows prefixation of *–(N)–*),[18] or noun stem 3 (a concrete noun pertaining specifically to meteorological conditions like *chimoy* 'rain,' *chidat* 'lightning').[19] It may also convey the locative as in *Oyogan no ranom o kawayan aya,* 'It is the bamboo where water flows.' When *–an* occurs alone with a stem, it signals the potential occurence of an object in syntactic construction.

In sentences (3) and (4),

(3) *Ipanotong/panotong mo o kayo aya do gagan.*
'The wood outside is what you use for cooking.'

(4) *Iamomo mo so manakaw o voday aya.*
'The snake is what you use to scare the robber.'

the forms *(i)pa–* and *i–* indicate the instrument role, where instrument is ∓ animate object involved in the performance of an act, detracting from the proposed universal definition

[18] Hidalgo and Hidalgo (1971), *op. cit.,* p. 57.
[19] *Ibid.*

"typically inanimate."[20] The prefix *(i)pa–*, which, semantically, is also benefactive and causal, occurs outermost in the morphological construction and either the affix *–n–*or*–v–* may occur after it. It occurs with stems other than verb stem 2 (i.e., an inherently intransitive verb stem).[21] The prefix *i–* signals, along with instrument, the comitative and causal, if it occurs with verb stem 2, noun stem 1 (a concrete noun such as *among* 'fish') or derived noun stem 2.[22]

In (5) *Ipanotong ni Maria si apo so manok,* 'For grandmother Maria cooks chicken,' *(i)pa–*, like the instrument affix, conveys the benefactive (B) role, where the benefactive is a typically animate beneficiary of an act. The identifying features for the instrument affix are identical with the beneficiary affix and can only be disambiguated by examining the features of the noun phrase.

The comitative (C) role, where the comitative is a typically inanimate object with an agent in the performance of an act, in (6) and (7),

(6) *Ikayat ni Mario o lokoy aya do nyoy.*
'Mario climbs the coconut tree with the bolo.'
(7) *Itwaw ni Maria o vayo aya laylay na.*
'Maria appears with her new dress.'

is conveyed by the prefix *i–*1. It has identical constraints with the instrument affix but can be disambiguated by looking into the features of the verb, where the comitative will have for its verb the feature "movement."

In (8), (9), (10) and (11),

(8) *Iparotong ni ina o manok aya ni Maria.*
'Mother is having Maria cook the chicken.'
(9) *Panotongen mo si Maria so manok.*
'Have Maria cook the chicken.'
(10) *Ipakayat mo nyoy ta aya mo Mario.*
'Have someone, Mario, climb our coconut tree.'
(11) *Ichavid na o laylay na aya.*
'Her dress makes her pretty.'

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[20] See Charles J. Fillmore, "The Case for Case," in Emmon Bach and Robert T. Karms (eds.), *Universals in Linguistics Theory* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), p. 24, for problems related to this.

[21] Hidalgo and Hidalgo (1971), *cp. cit.*, p. 57.

[22] A derived stem is a non-simple stem which consists of either a noun root and a derivational affix or a ns1 root in the plural form.

the prefixes *i–*2, *ipa–*1, and *icha–*1 convey the causative role, where the causative (K) is a ∓ animate cause.

In *iparotong,* the causative affix *–pa–* occurs and the prefix *i–* is an object focus affix in this environment. The causative *i–* has features identical with that of the instrument affix but can be disambiguated (e.g. *itanis* 'cry because of—causal'). The causative affix *pa–* indicates the action of causation (but not the cause of a state or an activity in specified environments).[23] With verb stem 1 as predictive stem, the causative indicates the potential occurrence of the indirect object in syntax, making the construction potentially ditransive. With stems other than verb stem 1, it transitivizes, i.e. it signals the potential occurrence of an object. For instance, the object does not occur with the predicative *omoyog* 'flow' in syntax, but it may occur with the predicative in *mapawyog* 'cause to flow.'

The prefix *ipa–,* as in *ipakayat* 'cause to climb' and *ma-paypavid* 'cause to become more beautiful' is causal. In the latter example, it occurs with noun stem 2 (abstract nouns pertaining to the emotion such as *adaw* 'love'), 3 and 4 (abstract nouns pertaining to a quality such as *avid* 'beauty') and participates in the morphological construction along with the idea of increase in the intensity or volume of a state or activity.

For *icha–,* the prefix occurs with no other affixes, so that it is outermost in the morphological construction, e.g., *ichavid* 'cause beauty,' *ichadaw* 'cause to be in love,' *icharakoh* 'cause to be big.'

In (12), (13) and (14),

(12) *Mamana sa so among do Valogan.*
'They spear fish in Valogan.'
'Mangamomo sa so kametdehan do kanayan.
'They scare children on the beach.'
Manita sa so baka do payaman.
'They search for cattle in the pastureland.'
Manweswes sa so falowa do idaod.
'They are turning the big boat at sea.'

(13) *Mayarek sa o dadwa aya aka kametdehan.*
'The two children kiss each other.'

(14) *Tayto mayramon o tao aya.*
'The person is washing his face.'

[23] For the constraints, see Hidalgo and Hidalgo (1971), *op. cit.,* pp. 68-69.

various realizations of the directional role (D), (i.e. ∓ animate object to which the act of an agent is directed which could be undirectional, reciprocal and reflexive) are presented. (*N*), undirectional, is signaled in various environments as /ñ-ng-m-n/. Syntactically, the occurrence of (*y*) signals the non-occurrence of the object.

In (15) *Manganit sa o mangalkem aya*: 'The old people are sick,' *ma–* plus certain features of the verb indicate the experiencer role. The transitivizer (N) does not occur. (E) indicates this role and is the entity affected by a condition or activity.

The cases identified are as follows:

Agent (A)	Directional (D)
Object (O)	Unidirectional: *un*
Instrument (I)	Reciprocal: *rec*
Benefactive (B)	Reflexive: *ref*
Causative (K)	Experiencer (E)
Comitative (C)	State (S)
Locative (L)	

3.2.2.2. *Voice.* Another cause of meaning modification through affixation is voice. Meaning modification of the basic meaning of a lexical entry takes place when voice affixes modify case roles, e.g. the agent role in *manotong* 'to cook' where the syntactic structure is V–NP (Agent) –NP (Object) is affected when *–chi–*, a participative affix, occurs as in *machipanotong* 'to participate in the activity of cooking' where the syntactic structure is V–NP (those that participate) –NP (those with whom one participates). Participation (Pa) is the sharing of an activity or something.

In sentences (16) and (17),

(16) *Makavid ka.*
'Be beautiful (try to possess beauty).'

(17) *Makadadwa ka so hapen a laylay.*
'Bring two shirts with you.'

makavid 'to enhance, possess beauty' and *makadadwa* 'to have two,' *–ka–* conveys the notion of possession, i.e., possession (Po) conveys acquiring or owning a feature. It occurs with noun stem 4 or with a numeral stem and is affixed immediately before the root. Its occurrence signals that an object can potentially occur in syntax, e.g., *Makavid ka* can be transformed to *Makavid ka so laylay* 'You wear a pretty dress.'

In (18) *Mayaaamong o tataya aya* 'The rowboat smells like a fish,' *–ya–* manifests the notion of similitude (Si), i.e., indicates a likeness or resemblance. It occurs next to an outermost affix and is limited to a derived 1a noun stem 1, e.g., *–aamong, –kakadin* as in *mayakakadin* 'smells like a goat.' It indicates that something is similar to the olfactory feature possessed by the referent of the predicative stem.

The notion of impression (Im), i.e., thinking or feeling that an entity has a certain quality, in (19) *Machimavid sa ji Maria* 'They think Maria to be beautiful,' is conveyed by *–chi–*1. The infix occurs with adjective stems or with noun stem 4. The infix is homophonous with the participative affix, although the participative affix occurs with stems other than the adjective stem.

In (20) and (21).

(20) *Mavyavid o lyak na ao.*
'Her voice is better.'

(21) *Machimochimoy sichawan kano kaminsawan.*
'It is more rainy this year than last year.'

partial reduplication indicates comparison (Co) while in (22) *No mavvid ao so lyak o rákkoh ao so kapakapamarim* 'The one with the sweetest voice is the most powerful,' it is a stress suprafix accompanied by consonant gemination that conveys the superlative (Su).

In (23) *Maypavid do kapayapakarang na aya* 'She is becoming prettier as she grows taller,' it is *ipa–*2 that gives the idea of augmentative (Au), i.e., increasing in intensity of a quality or state, while in (24) *Tya sa maychatatada o kametdehan aya* 'The children are dancing (the children are dancing but with the action of each considered separately)' it is *icha–*2 that conveys the action of distribution (Di), i.e., the act performed by several or act done to several objects is performed individually. Constraints involving *icha–* (it is homophonous with the causative affix) are discussed elsewhere.[24]

Sentences (25) and (26),

(25) *Chinarotongan na ava o among ao ta arava o rikado.*
'He was unable to prepare the fish dish because there are no fish condiments.'

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

(26) *Karotongan mo inolokan ta aya?*
'Can you cook the beef we purchased?'

ch–a and *ka–2* indicate abilitive (Ab), i.e., capability of an entity while in (27) *Naypidwa da mavoya o rakoh ao a among* 'They saw the big fish twice,' *–pi–* gives the frequentative idea, i.e, number of occurrences of an event. This is limited to numeral stems. The idea of repetitiveness (Re) is conveyed by reduplication as in (28) *Tayto so monotonotong* 'They are cooking (involving repetitious acts related to cooking).'

Voice, a feature of the predicative manifested by affixes conveying verbal notions as process or action, does modify the basic meaning of a lexical entry. We have identified the following:

Possession (Po)	Augmentative (Au)
Similitude (Si)	Distributive (Di)
Impression (Im)	Abilitive (Ab)
Participative (Pa)	Frequentative (Fr)
Comparison (Co)	Repetitive (Re)
Superlative (Su)	

3.2.3.3. *Aspect.* Still another source of meaning modification is aspect. Time aspect is considered here (elsewhere, action aspect was discussed under this section).[25] Both time and action aspects, however, modify the sense of a verb in the way that an adverb does. Time aspect is descriptive of an act or state in terms of time: inceptive, habitual, punctiliar, continuative and durative.

In (29) *mangaviren* 'generally beautiful,' *machachimoyen* 'generally rainy,' (31) *matatanisen* 'usually cries,' *–en*[3] conveys the act or state as habitual, i.e., repetitive occurrence of an event under specified environments.[26] In (32) *maychavíren* 'at its prettiest' and (33) *maychakarángen* 'at its tallest,' primary stress on the penultimate syllable and *–en*4 indicate punctiliar aspect, a state or quality at its crest or ebb.

In (34) *maychamavekhasan* 'all morning' and (35) *maychamahpan* 'all night,' *–an*3 indicates duration.

For sentences (36) and (37),

(36) *Kapanótong da pa.*
'They just started cooking.'

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[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 55 ff.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

(37) *Kapanotóng da.*
'They kept on cooking.'

the stress suprafix on the penultimate syllable conveys inceptive, i.e., the beginning of an event or state, while the length suprafix on the final syllable indicates continuative, i.e., a state or event goes on and on.

Case, voice and aspect clearly modify the meaning of a stem or root. Constraints on the participation of a specific affix in word formation abound. The analysis automatically leads to stem classification. This provides information on the affixational potential of a stem, the affixation possible for the stem as far as case, voice and aspect are concerned, and grammatical information such as transformation potential and complement expansion. To indicate, then, what types of case, voice and aspect affixes can occur with a stem or root will help greatly in any attempt to define what a lexical entry is and is not.

3.2.3 To respond to 3.1.6, it is proposed that the research strategy be based on semantic domains. Broad semantic domains are to be identified and subcategorized, e.g., politics (ethnic political systems, imposed political systems, organization, leadership), religion (millenial movements, imposed religions, organization, leadership) commerce and trade, education, farming, fishing and medicine.

Some major semantic groupings suggested by Swanson[27] are: food and drink, food preparations, tools and weapons, natural phenomena, topography and geography, body parts, kinship, social status and occupation, metals and natural substances, excretions, time (and its parts), furnishings and furniture, folklore and folk literature, manufacturers and products, political and administrative terms, ailments, cures and physical conditions, military and naval terms, fishing and the sea, farm and farming. Semantic categories proposed by Worth[28] include motion, space (three, two-or one-dimensional space), time, degree (various kinds of intensity markers and qualifiers), sensory perception (taste, touch, hearing, etc.).

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[27] Donald C. Swanson, "The Selection of Entries for a Bilingual Dictionary," in Householder and Saporta, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[28] Dean Stoddard Worth, "Comments," in Householder and Saporta, *ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

A careful study of semantic category listings like this should result in a refined listing and subcategorization and arrangement through associative clusters. The various sets of semantic domains become the basis of exhaustive research for indigenous material for the dictionary. A study like this reveals, among other things, the *weltanschauung* of a people. Other disciplines have something to contribute here.[29]

It is further proposed that the dictionary be organized along general and specified semantic domains. This aids the user in seeing organization, in considering sets as not just an imposed alphabetical ordering.

Within each specified topic, however, the dictionary entries are arranged alphabetically. To aid further the user of the dictionary, a cross-reference section arranged alphabetically must be included where all dictionary entries are indicated with their corresponding page location. Because of the morphological complexity of the Philippine languages, it is not practical to enter the complete inflected forms of each lexicon. This has to be systematized as proposed in 3.2.2. Necessarily, then, stem entry has to be used. To aid the user, a simple discussion of the various features of the dictionary with illustrations must be included in the introduction of the dictionary. To enrich further cultural research and preservation, collocations, besides the study of cultural items, must also reveal the cultural thinking or practices of the people.

[29] Anthropology and its ethnographic categories and research, e.g., F. Landa Jocano's *Ethnographic Handbook* (forthcoming) presents seven broad areas: setting, material culture, economic life, social organization, life cycle, belief system and value orientation.

3.2.4. *The model summarized.*

PROPOSED MODEL

I. Theoretical Basis

A. Generative grammar

B. Dictionary as part of a grammar (lexical rules within grammar)[30]

II. Semantic Postulates

A. A lexical entry from L1 could be more inclusive than a roughly corresponding equivalent in L2. An entry from L1 could be polysemous while in L2 it is not.

B. Entries from L1 and L2 have a shared feature but have different referents with different attributes.

C. Entries from L1 and L2 may differ in marked features.

D. A lexical entry from L1 may be subject to meaning modification through affixation.

E. The basic research strategy, dictionary organization, entry system for Philippine dictionaries affect substantially the sorts of information that a lexical entry may have.

III. Research Strategy

A. Semantic fields identified

B. Semantic domains subcategorized to determine lexical sets

C. Lexical items in a lexical set analyzed:

1. Orthographically
2. Phonemically
3. Morphologically
4. Semantically
5. Culturally
6. Conventionally (e.g., etymology, dialect, stylistics)

[30] See John Lyons, *Semantics* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1977), Chapter 13, "Lexical entries," for the discussion of the relation of grammar and dictionary.

D. Lexical entries selected based on
   1. Objective(s) of the dictionary
   2. Cultural information
   3. Frequency count
   4. Usefulness in the educative process

E. Lexical entry strategy—stem/root entry

IV. Dictionary Organization

A. Preliminaries
   1. Scope and objectives
   2. Grammatical survey
   3. Guide to the use of the dictionary

B. Dictionary proper
   1. Semantic field headings, alphabetically arranged, e.g., education, farming, fishing, medicine, politics, religion
   2. Subcategorized semantic domains, alphabetically arranged, e.g.,
      Religion
         Indigenous religions
         Millenial movements (e.g., Rizalistas)
         Imposed religious sects (e.g., Protestant, Baptist, Catholic, Roman Catholic)
         Revised religious sects (Iglesia ni Cristo, Aglipayan)
   3. Specific lexical items within a lexical set, alphabetically arranged, e.g., from Ivatan
      Kapayhakahakao—Farming
      Paysirbyen do kapayhahahakao—Farm implement
      Abdiit n. brace of basket[31]
      Alat ni. basket, generic term
   4. Lexical entry information strategy
      a. Lexical entry—stem or root orthographically closed to the language's phonemic system
      b. Form class

[31] Note that the English glosses for *abdiit* and *alat* are not the equivalents as proposed in a dictionary using this model. See Section 4 for *abdiit*.

c. Basic, general logical sense with collocational illustration providing cultural information plus secondary senses

Conventional implicature, if any

d. Additional senses derived from meaning modification through affixation—inflectional and morphology[32]

1. Case ..... [(A) (O) (B) (C) (K) (R) (D-un, rec, ref) (P) (S)]
2. Voice ..... [(Po) (Si) (Im) (Pa) (Co) (Su) (Au) (Di) (Ab) (Fr) (Re)]
3. Aspect ..... [(Ha) (Pu) (Du) (In) (Co)]
4. Other word formation devices, e.g., partial root gemination of *tao* 'person' as in *tatao* 'paper cutting of persons, scarecrow,' *vahay* 'house' as in *vavahay* 'playhouse, toyhouse', *ka–* Noun stem *–an* where *ka– –an* is 'location', e.g., *kavahayan* 'where houses are, barrio, town, any cluster of houses,' *kamongan* 'where fish abound, the abode of fish'

e. Syntactic constraints

f. Dialect and usage level

g. Synonyms, antonyms

h. Etymology

C. Cross reference

1. Entire lexical entries arranged alphabetically, Philippine language entries first plus page location
2. Entire entries arranged alphabetically, L2 first plus page location

[32] The distinction between inflection and derivation has always been controversial. Lyons (1977: 521-522) offers the following distinction: "inflection produces from the stem (or stems) of a given lexeme all the word forms of that lexeme which occurs in syntactically determined environments: derivation, on the other hand, results in the formation of what is traditionally considered to be a different lexeme."

V. Lexical Entry Information
- A. Phological information
  1. Segmentals
     a. Vowel system
     b. Consonant system
  2. Suprasegmentals
     a. Stress and length
     b. Terminal contours
  3. Phonotactics
  4. Syllable system
- B. Morphological information
  1. Stem or root
  2. Word formation devices—affixation (inflection and derivation)—causing meaning modification[33]
     a. Case
     b. Voice
     c. Aspect
     d. Other word formation devices
- C. Syntactic information
  1. Form
  2. Syntactic constraints, e.g., word order, transformation
- D. Semantic information
  1. Logical meaning basic and secondary senses plus collocational illustration[34]
  2. Conversational implicature[35]
  3. Synonyms (and antonyms)
- E. Cultural information
  1. Cultural items studied in semantic fields, e.g., kinship
  2. Use of cultural information for collocational illustrations

[33] Cf. above for details.

[34] Voltaire, writing to Charles Duclos in 1760, says that 'a dictionary without quotations is a skeleton,' (see Francis Noel Chaney, *Fundamental Reference Sources* (Chicago: American Library Associations, 1971), p. 107.

[35] Recent theoretical developments include, for instance, proposals for the consideration of implications (see James D. McCawley, "Logic and the Lexicon," in *Parasession on the Lexicon, Chicago Linguistic Society Conference,* Chicago, 1978).

F. Orthographic information
   1. Writing system consistent with the Philippine language's phonemic system
   2. Revisions for Philippine languages with writing system established during the Spanish period

G. Other information
   1. Etymology
   2. Dialect (local, regional) and stylistic informamation (formal, colloquial, slang, technical, religious, archaic)

Taken collectively, VA-G defines a lexical entry.

In defining the lexical entry, a couple of interesting proposals must be summed up here. Bendix (1966) proposes his "minimal definition" principle,[36] i.e., the requirement that the semantic description of each vocabulary item in a language should consist of exactly those features which will distinguish it from every other vocabulary item in the language and no more.[37] Weinreich suggests that the meaning of a term is "the set of conditions which must be fulfilled if the term is to denote"[38] formalized as follows:

x denotes if c_1 and c_2 and... c_n;
for example, d_1 or d_2 or ... d_n.
x^1 denotes if c'_1 and c'_2 or... c'_n.
for example, d'_1 or d'_2 or... d'_n.

term — description part — ostensive part

definition[39]

[36] Edward E. Bendix, Componential Analysis of General Vocabulary: *The Semantic Structure of a Set of Verbs in English, Hindi and Japanese* (Indiana University Press, 1966).

[37] See Charles J. Fillmore, "On the Organization of Semantic Information in the Lexicon," *Parasession o nthe Lexicon, Chicago Linguistic Society Conference*, Chicago, 1978.

[38] Uriel Weinreich, "Lexifographic Definition in Descriptive Semantics", in Fred W. Householder and Sol Saporta (eds.), *Problems in Lexicography* (The Hague—Mouton and Co., 1967), pp. 29, 31.

[39] The Weinreich definition has been criticized for being "imprecise" and "might well have been explained in more detail or perhhaps illustrated by more actual words and fewer algebraic symbols" (see Dean Stoddard Worth, "Comments," *ibid.*, p. 82).

4. *Sample entry.* If the proposed framework were used, how would a dictionary entry look like? Below is an entry from the first dictionary[40] using this model.

Kapayhakahakao—Farming
Paysirbyen do kapayhakahakao—Farm Implement
Alat—Basket

Alat
abdiit n. 1. brace, as that of a basket. *Pakahyin mo o abdiit no alat aya no baka.* Repair the brace of the basket for cows (i.e., baskets used for carrying farm produce hung on saddles).

v. (OR—A:*ma*-1 O:*an*-1 I:*ipa*-1
B:*ipa*-2 K:*ipa*-3 D:-*m*- S:*ma*-3)

2. To cause to have something braced or strengthened.
To ipabdiit ni ina o alat aya tapian maparin a sedseren no wakay. Mother is having the basket braced so that it can be loaded fully with sweet potato.

(VO—Pa:*chi*-2 Ab:-*ka*-2)

3. to be included in what is braced.
Nachiabdiit o viao ao do alat aya.
The reed was included when the basket was braced.

(AS—*In*:' ko:-)

4. to keep on putting the braces of something.
Kapamdit da so alatsee aran mahep dana.
They keep on bracing the baskets even when it is already dark.

What would this entry reveal? First, the entry belongs to the broad semantic domain *farming,* specified and clustered with *farm implement* and *basket.* Second, the entry is a free form presented phonemically; third, since there is no indication of etymology, it is a native word; fourth, number 1 meaning is the basic meaning of the entry and a collocation illustration is presented; fifth, this noun entry can be verbalized; sixth, it allows case roles, namely, *agent, object, instru-*

[40] Cesar A. Hidalgo, *Ivatan-English Dictionary.* Research project with the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

ment, benefactive, causative, direction and *state;* seventh, the causative meaning is arbitrarily picked up as meaning number 2 and a collocational example is given; eighth, the entry allows voice features, namely *participation* and *abilitive*; ninth, the participative meaning is arbitrarily picked up as number 3 meaning and a collocational example is presented; tenth, it participates in aspectual features *inceptive* and *continuative*; eleventh, the continuative meaning is arbitrarily picked up as number 4 meaning and a collocational example is given; twelfth, since no idiomatic expression is presented, it is not available; thirteenth, since no synonym is given, it is not available; and fourteenth, since no dialect information is presented, the word is the only word used for this concept in the entire Ivatan-speaking community.

Furthermore, the information that we derive from case, voice and aspect (CVA) features present further criterial definition for the entry. The claims made at the end of section 3.2.3.3 are verified, i.e., stem classification, information on the affixation potential of the stem, and grammatical information on transformational potential and complement expansion.

We suggest that given this model for writing Philippine dictionaries, we will be able to produce dictionaries of the type defined in this paper and to respond to the triad language goals of the nation.

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UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT IN THE ASEAN COUNTRIES*

(With Special Emphasis on Women and Youth in Rural Areas of the ASEAN Region)

RENE E. MENDOZA

Introduction

Where solutions in attacking common development problems may require coordinated actions of governments in specially contiguous territories, the ASEAN or any regrouping of small countries could be recognized as a scaled-down version of the interlocking system of cross-national coordination of development thrusts. Such emerging groupings or alignments can be dedicated to reestablishing functions of employment opportunities creation and manpower development; and incidentally, with population and mobility control. It might, of course, be a tacit admission of a developing country's government of its inability to cope singly with the imperatives of both domestic and international economic pressures that impede or hamper development, economic or otherwise.

Development programs are thus often seen not only as a package of various projects that are either similar or complementary, but also as expressions of desires for national development and self-sufficiency, in a world of growing anxieties over insufficiencies and interlocking dependency configurations. Interestingly, anxiety over what may happen keeps communication lines open among the ASEAN countries. The convergence of their interests in development, and in facing common problems of critical import to their development efforts, enable a ready willingness to share in the discussion of these similar problems, solutions that appear possible or which some of them may already have tried—whether they failed or succeeded.

* Adapted from a paper prepared for the ESCAP Committee on Social Development meeting in Bangkok, December 8-15, 197.

Since their establishment, ASEAN countries appear to be spending more resources on human resources development programs than on any other resource development. Their objective is obviously one of guaranteeing their national development by strengthening the most crucial factor that can both contribute to, as well as create the demand for, development. By helping their native population build up their capabilities to share in the national development effort, the less becomes the need for the government to embark solely on more expensive wide-scale and broad-based development programs. The increasing calls for greater participation of the target beneficiaries of employment-creation and manpower development programs indicate the growing trends toward the individual or group-centered development strategies, such as the "Basic Needs" strategy currently being promoted by the International Labor Organization (ILO), or the "Redistribution of Wealth and/or Income" strategy, or the "Redistribution with Growth" strategy.

A systems view of development, however, dictates that it be a complex process of dynamic interaction between various elements, and that a phasing of activities and programs of action is needed between the different components of the developmental process, viz: human resources, capital, science and technology, and management. Development involves *progressive* changes following *conscious, coordinated action* for the attainment of *desired goals* of achieving the potentials for economic growth, social justice, environmental integrity, cultural advancement, moral upliftment and political maturity on a self-sufficient and self-sustaining basis. While national development is total, and not just economic, development, it certainly includes both qualitative as well as quantitative improvements or advances in the equalization of opportunity, full employment, equitable distribution of income, and increased access to the generally available social services based on felt rather than forced or imposed needs, and actively supported and participated in by people concerned, rather than a purely government activity.

Moreover, in the ASEAN region, where the scarcity of capital is matched by an abundance of labor, human resources development becomes an imperative strategy for national development. Indeed, pursuing a correct human resources development program for any country supports the accepted economic principle that a country should develop the resources it has in

abundance. Human resources development is not only an essential precondition but a critical factor in sustaining and accelerating growth. It entails not merely the creation of wealth but the creation of the "capacity to create wealth."

The ultimate success of a program for economic and social development will depend, in large measure, on the availability of the correct amount of manpower possessing specific levels of skills and training at the right place, and at the right time. The dearth of trained manpower has often been, and continues to be, a deterrent to the expansion of industry and social services. The mis-matches of the skills/training levels, places and times are often measured by the usual problem indices of unployment on the supply side.

The following manpower situation may be summarized for developing countries like those in the ASEAN region, and very clearly, the need for a comprehensive manpower development program can be underscored by these factors:

1. More people educated for the legal profession and in the liberal arts than can be taken care of by the demand in the labor market, which definitely indicates lack of adequacy in vocational guidance and career counselling, even in school settings:
2. A shortage of clerical occupations holders including skilled office machine operators, complicated by increasing numbers of untrained people seeking work in the less-skilled, white collar jobs who are unable to find work;
3. A shortage of persons adequately educated in certain professional and technical occupations, particularly those required in the social service sector, such as health services personnel, etc., which is even aggravated by the "brain drain" to the developed countries;
4. A shortage of subprofessional workers willing to serve as technicians, similarly lured by external employment in the same manner as the professionals and technicians;
5. A shortage of craftsmen and skilled workers required by industrialization in service activities that support or follow industrialization;
6. A shortage of appropriately trained administrative, executive and managerial personnel, aggravated by the policies of multinationals of bringing in or hiring

nationals from developed countries rather than native professionals; and

7. A great number of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, creating widespread unemployment and underemployment in the cities and widespread underemployment in rural areas, affecting particularly agricultural laborers and owners of small farms. The former conditions are caused by migration and by the intense competition for both work and training opportunities while the latter are caused mainly by the smallness of most farms and by seasonal fluctuations of the agricultural production activity.

Thus the key problems to be dealt with are three-fold:

1. provision of high-level manpower for the critically important administrative, technical, educational and training work of development and nation-building, together with intermediate-level supporting occupations;
2. provision of skilled workers, artisans, craftsmen and operatives required for industrial development; and
3. utilization of the massive reserves of underemployed and unemployed workers who constitute the greatest potential resource of the nation, whether found in the cities or rural areas, in particular, the young and the females—who seem to represent special problems of employment.

Employment-Related Problems

Even if "materials output maximization" indicated by "full production" is more easily grasped, measured and accepted as an indicator of economic development, "human resources development" indicated by "full employment" is not as readily grasped nowadays. At less than full productive capacity, an economy can be shown to have some unutilized or underutilized resources, including human resources. When a facility or equipment is not being utilized at all or to its fullest, there is not too much official worry about its unemployment or underemployment as such; the only major loss considered is the loss of the output units it could have been producing. However, when it is human resources that are not being utilized at all or where they are being underutilized, there are other social and psychological losses, different from the mere loss of output

units to which their unemployment or underemployment contributes.

The critical employment-related problems found in most developing nations, as in the ASEAN region, have a wide range of causes which include:

1. shortage of opportunities for gainful employment or inadequacy of demand;
2. deficiencies of supply in terms of the *wrong* skills levels, at the *wrong* place, and at the *wrong* time;
3. the underutilization of labor or its inadequate recompense, even where gainful employment is available;
4. inadequate institutions for education, training, placement and employment;
5. labor market distortions;
6. lack of adequate, reliable, or up-to-date information about the labor market; and
7. abilities, values, aspirations, attitudes and job expectations, particularly among the educated and the young, that are in contrast to the available employment opportunities or with the high priority jobs for accelerating the tasks of nation-building and national development.

By any measure of the above causes, the ratio in any of the ASEAN countries' labor force severely affected by employment-related problems, greatly exceeds the proportion of its openly unemployed.

Although Table 1 is hardly indicative of these problems, it at least can suggest the magnitude of some of the dimensions of the employment- related problems. The absence of Indonesian data on employment and related statistics is also fatal for a complete ASEAN comparison. Also, due to the desire for cross-country comparability, trends cannot be reflected in the same table. What the Asian Development Bank admits in its data is that their projections are even "partly or entirely inconsistent with those published in *UN Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, July 1975." The International Labour Office (ILO)'s *Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1977*, provides trend data in Table 2 for unemployment, yet is not even directly correlatable with Table 1. Note for instance the Philippine data series, where 1974 is given as 4.0 rather than 4.8 in the ADB data set. However, the ILO data has 4.8 for 1973, and actually part of a downward progression from a high of 6.3 in the seventies, when

Table 1

SELECTED EMPLOYMENT AND RELATED DATA FOR ASEAN COUNTRIES, 1974

Country	Population*	Labor Force**	Unemployed**	Ratio to Labor Force	Employed	Unemployed (%) Ratio to Employed	Employment/Population Ratio Agriculture	Employment/Population Ratio Manufacturing	Employment by Sector** Agriculture	Employment by Sector** Percent Employed	Employment by Sector** Manufacturing	GDP/NDP Industrial Origins by Sector Percent Employed	GDP/NDP Industrial Origins by Sector Agriculture	GDP/NDP Industrial Origins by Sector Manufacturing
Indonesia	129.12	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	42.9[a]	10.+[b]
Malaysia	11.65	4,127	242	5.9	3,885	6.2	15.8	3.7	1840.70	47.38	431.05	11.10	31.7[a]	16.1
Philippines	41.46	15,204	725	4.8	14,479.8	5.0	19.9	3.6	8250.54	56.98	1492.56	10.31	29.2[a]	20.9
Singapore	2.22	***	32.5	***	824.3	3.9	***	***	***	***	***	***	1.7[c]	21.0
Thailand	41.02	13,755	110	0.80	13,645	0.81	17.2	16.1	7055.44	51.71	6604.22	48.40	27.9[a]	18.3

* In Millions
** In Thousands
*** Data not available

[a] Includes Fishing and Forestry.

[b] No data actually available for 1974; 1972 and 1973 data sets combine mining and quarrying (which was 5.5 in 1971) and electricity and water supply (which was 0.5 in 1971) with manufacturing (which was 9.3 in 1971) at 15.1 respectively. This is author's "guess-timate" only.

[c] Includes Fishing.

SOURCE: Asian Development Bank, *Key Indicators of Developing Member Countries of ADB*, October 1975, "Country Tables," 92-98, 111-118, 136-150, 170-176.

Table 2

GENERAL LEVELS OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE ASEAN COUNTRIES, 1967-1977
(in thousands)

Country	*Code*	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Indonesia	II	30.5	36.2	38.0	30.7	37.1	90.5	84.3	89.1	115.1	157.0	**
Malaysia (Peninsular)	II	117.0	127.6	140.4	169.3	157.1	160.7	154.7	134.5	125.1	110.6	122.0
Philippines	I	999.0	977.0	812.0[b]	**	666.0	867.0	690.0	584.0	581.0[c]	**	**
(%)		(8.0)	(7.8)	(6.7)	**	(5.2)	(6.3)	(4.8)	(4.0)	(3.9)	**	**
Singapore	I[a]	**	**	**	**	**	**	37.8	34.0	39.5	40.5	—
	II	77.0	65.4	59.2	50.5	37.8	36.2	35.7	32.5	41.6	34.9	32.1
Thailand	I	**	**	**	**	31.9	83.1	71.8	92.1	66.7	129.8[d]	—

* Codes
I = Labor Force Sample Survey.
II = Employment Office Statistics.
** = Data not available.

a June
b May
c February and August
d January-March

SOURCE: International Labor Office (ILO) *Year Book of Labour Statistics*, 1977, p. 462.

martial law was declared in 1972. Furthermore, the collection and use of different types of unemployment statistics make meaningful comparisons difficult. Thus, the trend data, for proper comparison, must also keep in mind the source and data gathering procedures used, as indicated by codes (See footnote in Table 2) and explanatory notes in the ILO *Yearbook*, pp. 451-52. Only the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand utilize labor force sample surveys, while Indonesia and Malaysia utilize only employment office statistics. Malaysia, moreover, has data only for Peninsular Malaysia rather than for the whole Federation.

Unemployment and Underemployment

It is psychologically and socially dysfunctional when an individual who is able and willing to work, cannot find a job (unemployment) or, even if he has one, it does not fully satisfy his personal and social motivations for working (underemployment). Unemployment or underemployment therefore denies the individual the income stream that he and his family needs in a society that keeps on increasing the necessities of, or a dependence on, a steady and adequate income flow so that he can attain a certain level or standard of living. In the "monetized" economy in urban or urbanizing areas that increasingly rely on cash transactions, for purchase of goods and services rather than the traditional non-monetized exchanges, "income adequacy" becomes the relevant principle involved in defining the employment-related problems.

Unemployment

Obviously, unemployment (E_u) will mean "zero-income" for individuals and is thus undesirable, at one end of the employment-income scale in distributive terms. At the other end of this same scale, "full employment" would suggest at least more than an adequate income for the needs and desires of the individual and his family. Within this continuum, underemployment (E_d) can be operationally defined in terms of intermediate levels of inadequate income. This concept is, however, too strongly subjective and may merely represent an individual-oriented scale which has meaning only in a "distributive" rather than "aggregative" sense.

In aggregative terms, however, underemployment can be defined in terms of the number of workers, who even with a

given standard number of hours of work, still suffer from inadequacy of incomes.

Symbolically:

$$E_u = S - D$$

only for: $(1\text{-}p)S > D$

where: E_u = unemployment
S = labor force (supply)
D = jobs available (demand)

and: p = "tolerable" rate of unemployment (also sometimes known as "frictional unemployment")

and: $E_d = S - D - K$ (2)
$k = f\ (Y_{rd} - Y_a)$
$Y_{rd} > Y_a$

where: Ed = underemployment
S = labor force (supply)
D = jobs available (demand)
K = deflator factor representing "under-income" jobs
Y_{rd} = required or desired income
Y_a = actual income

Also, on an aggregate scale, "full employment" is ordinarily and officially not taken to mean that all are employed, and the degree of unemployment will represent the amount or proportion of those who are unemployed beyond that "tolerable" amount or rate that is not really expected to be employed.

Symbolically,

$$FE = E + p \quad (3)$$

where: FE = the "full employment" level
and: E = employment
p = frictional unemployment

Unemployment cannot therefore be reduced totally, so that efforts at classifying the different types of unemployment have been directed at identifying the kinds that can be avoided or minimized and those about which nothing can be done, because it is inevitable or invariably a state or condition preceding employment. Both unemployment and underemployment can thus be treated as examples of the "lags and lacks" in the

matching of supply (the labor force) and the demand (jobs available) in the employment market.

No one talks about "reduction" of unemployment or underemployment any more, except in perhaps relative or ratio terms. "Minimization" is therefore often used perhaps as indicative of the realization that the growing problems of unemployment and underemployment are aggravated by growing populations, with some specific segments even growing at alarming rates, or at least at rates greater than that of the total population..

Maximum Employment

"Maximum employment" ($E_{max}a$) in the aggregative sense, shall be taken to mean the utilization of the greatest numbers of employable members of the labor force. Employability (E) is a function of location (L), and training (T) or experience (X).

Symbolically:

$$E = f(L \cdot T \vee X) \qquad (4)$$

This definition takes the form of a "body count" approach, and will not obviously be satisfactory in handling the problem of underemployment. Defining employment in "manhours" or "man-days of work" terms, or in terms of some other standard or standardized units, approaches the problem of underemployment more realistically, but requires the ticklish decision on what will be a meaningful unit or standard of employment. For instance, will it be a seven- or eight- or ten-hour work day? a three-, or five- or six-day work week? or a work week defined in terms of 25 hours, 30 hours or 40 hours? There is unfortunately no common international standard that will render cross-national comparisons meaningful or significant. In fact, in some countries, there can even be found differences between these definitions not only between organizations, but between the public and private sector employment conditions. For example, in the Philippines, although the government maintains an official eight-hour work day or a five-day work week (or a 40-hour work week) norm, the private sector firms usually have an official six-day work-week.*

* Usually, seven hours for the week-days and five-hours on Saturday. Often business firms stagger their hours of work for individuals, or their workers may also arrive and depart in shifts, rather than uniformly as in most of the government sector, with premium pay beyond the 40-hour work week.

Table 3

HOURS OF WORK IN NON-AGRICULTURAL SECTORS FOR SELECTED ASEAN COUNTRIES, 1967-1976

Country	*Code**	*1967*	*1968*	*1969*	*1970*	*1971*	*1972*	*1973*	*1974*	*1975*	*1976*
Philippines[a,b]	(A)	50.2	49.4	48.1	**	45.9	44.9	46.1	46.1	46.6[g]	**
Singapore[c,d]	(A)	47.6	47.1	48.0	47.	48.4	48.6	48.4	47.5	47.8[h]	47.8[h]
Thailand[ef]	(B)	47.6	45.8	47.7	47.9	46.4	**	**	**	**	**

Table 4

HOURS OF WORK IN MANUFACTURING, ALL INDUSTRIES FOR SELECTED ASEAN COUNTRIES, 1967-1976

Country	*Code**	*1967*	*1968*	*1969*	*1970*	*1971*	*1972*	*1973*	*1974*	*1975*	*1976*
Philippines[a,b]	(A)	46.7	42.1	42.0	**	44.2	41.7	43.6	44.4	44.9[g]	**
Singapore[c]	(A)	47.4	48.3	49.2	48.7	49.4	49.5	48.8	47.9	48.4[h]	48.4[h]
Thailand[a,f]	(A)	51.3	47.6	47.5	47.7	48.1	**	**	**	**	**

*** Codes:**

(A) hours actually worked
(B) hours paid for
** Data not available

[a] Includes salaried employees
[b] Prior to 1971: May of each year
[c] Includes agriculture
[d] July of each year. Beginning 1969: Adult only
[e] Excluding mining and quarrying
[f] September of each year, except for 1967: July and 1969: October
[g] February and August
[h] August

SOURCE: ILO, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1977*, p. 520

Tables 3 and 4 present data on hours of work in the non-agricultural and manufacturing sectors (for all industries), for the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand. There are no data available for Indonesia and Malaysia, so that complete comparisons for ASEAN are not possible. Also, the differences in data collected, indicated by the codes, and the incomplete data for some years even render comparison among the three rather questionable, too.

"Maximum employment" ($E_{max}d$) in the distributive sense, on the other hand, shall be taken to mean the securing, for each member of the labor force, the greatest increase in the returns to his investment of labor. This definition indicates a qualitative aspect to employment that may be presented by the income flow which enables the worker to purchase the goods and services he and his family require and desire. This definition can also help resolve the issue of underemployment raised by the use of a "body count" approach as opposed to a "standard work day/week" approach. The distributive aspect of the "maximum employment" goal is to enable the working man to improve his or his family's living standard or level.

Table 5 gives selected indicators of social development for the ASEAN countries, which again, while not strictly comparable due to different dates of collection, at least provide some insights into magnitudes of these dimensions. The first seven (7) columns represent conditions that might be considered as constraints or indicators of requirements, while the next seven (7) columns represent standards enjoyed. Tables 6 and 7 provide supplementary indicators for the ASEAN countries. Table 6 lists the minimum calorie and protein requirements, and only Singapore and Peninsular (Western) Malaysia appear to consistently exceed both of them, although all the ASEAN countries appear to exceed the minimum protein requirements. Table 7 presents the per capital GNP at factor cost from 1964 to 1969, and at market prices from 1970 to 1973. Singapore is, as may be expected, consistently the highest, and Indonesia, the lowest. This seems to illustrate the expected inverse relation between population size and per capita GNP.

Although actual income distribution data is not readily available for cross-national comparisons, we may approximate the magnitude by some gross measures such as the Gross Domestic Product per capita, GDP by expenditure, Gross National

Table 5

SELECTED INDICATORS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT FOR THE ASEAN COUNTRIES (LATEST YEARS)

Country	Percent of Economically Active Population to Total Population	Percent of Eco. Active Pop. in Agriculture to Total Eco. Active Pop.	Urban Pop. (%)	Agriculture Land per Capita (ha.)	Life Expectancy (Years)	Infant Mortality Per 1000 Live Birth	Persons per Hospital Bed	Persons per Physician	Primary Students as % of 5-14 Age Group	Secondary Students as % of 15-19 Age Group	Literacy Rate	Daily Newspaper (Copies per 1000 Persons)	TV Receivers (Sets Per 1000 Persons)	Ratio Between Age 0-14 and 15 and Over (%)
Indonesia	34.6	62.2	18	.11	47.5	125	1452	25847	71	12	60	7	.8	80.3
	(1971)	(1971)	(1973)	(1973/74)	(1960)	(1962)	(1971)	(1971)	(1970)	(1970)	(1971)	(1965)	(1971)	(1971)
Malaysia	34.5[a]	50.0	27	.33	63.4(M)[a]	38[a]	344	4573	94	39	61	158	25	76.4
	(1974)	(1970)	(1970)	(1971)	68.0(F)[a]	(1972)	(1973)	(1973)	(1974)	(1974)	(1970)	(1971)	(1972)	(1972)
Philippines	36.7	54.2	.32	.32	60.0	68	785	1157	109[b]	39	83	21	11	75.8
	(1974)	(1974)	(1970)	(1971)	(1970-75)	(1972)	(1973)	(1972)	(1965)	(1965)	(1970)	(1971)	(1971)	(1970)
Singapore	37.1	2.5	100	.0004	65.1(M)	17	282	1400	69	62	76	208	114	52.1
	(1974)	(1974)	(1974)	(1974)	70.0(F)	(1974)	(1974)	(1974)	(1974)	(1974)	(1974)	(1973)	(1974)	(1974)
					(1970)									
Thailand	33.5	51.3	15	.28	57.6(M)	27	1345	8522	80	12	82	24	7	83.1
	(1974)	(1974)	(1970)	(1971)	61.0(F)	(1972)	(1973)	(1973)	(1965)	(1965)	(1970)	(1970)	(1971)	(1970)
					(1969-71)									

a Peninsular Malaysia only.

b Excess over 100% due to enrolment of older age group in primary schools.

SOURCE: Asian Development Bank, *Key Indicators of Developing Countries of ADB*, October 1975, pp. 4-5.

Table 6

MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS, CONSUMPTION AND SUPPLY OF CALORIE OR PROTEIN PER CAPITA PER DAY FOR THE ASEAN COUNTRIES, 1961, 1965, 1969-1971 and 1972 (Calorie-Cal: Protein-Gram)

Country	*Minimum Requirement*		*Actual Consumption* 1961		1965		1969-1971		1972		*Supply*	1970
Indonesia	2160	36.1	1930	42.5	1920	42.3	1790	38.3	1770	40.9	1920	43
Malaysia (Peninsular)	2240	34.0	2270	50.7	2310	52.0	2460	53.7	2530	55.5	2400	52
Philippines	2260	33.3	1880	43.8	1890	43.8	1940	46.6	*	*	1920	45
Singapore	2300	34.9	*	*	2430	62.8	2840	71.4	*	*	*	*
Thailand	2200	34.4	2120	46.9	2190	48.5	2560	56.1	*	*	2330	52

Table 7

PER CAPITA GNP AND AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH RATES FOR THE ASEAN COUNTRIES AS ESTIMATED BY IBRD: 1964-1973

Country	*Per Capita GNP at Factor Cost*						*Per Capita GNP at Market Prices*				*Annual Growth Rate of Per Capita GNP (%)*	
	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	'60-'72	'65-'72
Indonesia	70	85	100	100	100	100	80	80	90	100	2.1	4.3
Malaysia	260	260	280	290	330	340	380	400	430	480	3.1	2.9
Philippines	140	150	160	180	180	210	210	240	220	250	2.2	2.4
Singapore	460	450	570	600	700	800	920	1200	1300	1490	7.1	10.3
Thailand	110	120	130	130	150	160	200	210	220	240	4.6	4.2

* Data not available

SOURCE: ADB, *Key Indicators of Developing Member Countries of ADB*, October 1975, pp. 6-7.

Table 8

SELECTED GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT (GDP) AND RELATED STATISTICS FOR THE ASEAN COUNTRIES, 1965-1974

Country	*Unit or Base*	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Indonesia											
GDP/capita MP*	Rp	225	2935	7712	18660	23659	28433	31586	36940	52383	—
GDP/capita, 1960 MP	Rp	4079	4106	4074	4422	4622	4862	5085	5312	5607	—
GDP 1960 MP by											
Expenditure:	100%										
Private Consumption	%	82.8	79.2	85.2	83.8	83.1	79.5	77.7	77.5	73.6	—
GDCF***	%	8.4	9.3	7.4	8.2	9.8	12.2	13.7	15.3	16.5	—
Malaysia											
GDP/capita MP	M$	—	—	—	—	—	1138	1134	1190	1491	1734
GDP/capita, 1970 MP	M$	—	—	—	—	—	1138	1173	1207	1330	1373
GDP 1970 MP by											
Expenditure:	100%										
Private Consumption	%	—	—	—	—	—	60.5	56.4	54.7	54.2	55.6
GDFCF**	%	—	—	—	—	—	15.9	16.1	16.9	15.9	17.5
GNS***	M$	162	162	163	178	222	213	195	187	312	323
Philippines											
GDP/capita, MP	₱	691	744	809	873	945	1119	1312	1455	1767	2393
GDP/capita, 1967 MP	₱	771	785	809	829	848	873	893	944	963	960
GDP 1967 MP by											
Expenditure:	100%										
Private Consumption	%	78.9	79.1	78.0	76.9	76.4	74.2	73.6	72.9	71.1	71.8
GDFCF**	%	19.0	18.3	21.1	20.6	19.6	17.5	17.5	16.9	17.2	20.0
GDS**	₱	148	173	182	162	166	226	269	291	435	549

GDS/GDP, MP ratio	%	21.4	23.2	22.6	18.5	17.5	20.2	20.5	20.0	24.6	22.9
GDS/GCF ratio	%	101.1	112.2	97.8	84.5	86.0	96.9	99.3	99.5	121.0	92.1
Singapore											
GDP/capita, MP	S$	1564	1726	1892	2147	2461	2804	3234	3793	4743	5823
GDP/capita, 1968 MP	S$	1613	1755	1914	2147	2405	2695	2975	3312	3622	3795
GDP, 1968 MP by											
Expenditure:	100%										
Private Consumption	%	81.2	78.2	76.3	73.7	70.1	69.4	70.1	67.6	65.9	65.9
GDFCF**	%	21.0	19.5	19.8	23.1	26.2	30.7	33.5	33.9	33.0	34.7
GDS/capita***	S$	154	236	260	394	444	514	597	899	1277	1519
GDS/GDP, MP ratio	%	9.8	13.7	13.7	18.4	18.0	18.3	18.5	23.7	26.9	26.1
GDS/GCF ratio	%	—	—	—	73.6	63.0	47.5	45.9	57.6	69.9	56.6
Thailand											
GDP/capita MP	Baht	2717	3168	3279	3428	3660	3753	3888	4151	4717	5936
GDP/capita 1962 MP	Baht	2562	2787	2911	3062	3204	3333	3417	3412	3597	3621
GDP 1962 MP by											
Expenditure	100%										
Private Consumption	%	71.6	69.4	69.5	68.3	67.0	67.1	66.3	68.2	65.9	65.9
GFCF**	%	20.2	22.0	25.0	25.1	26.2	24.5	22.6	21.7	21.0	19.3
GDS/capita**	Baht	558	735	809	950	1083	1077	1050	983	1069	—
GDS/GDP MP ratio	%	20.6	23.0	24.7	27.7	29.6	28.7	27.0	23.7	22.7	—
GDS/GCF ratio	%	101.9	97.4	104.0	109.9	112.2	115.4	110.6	105.6	102.1	—

* Gross Domestic Product per capita, market price
** Gross (Domestic (Fixed)) Capital Formation
*** Gross Domestic ["National" for Malaysia only] Savings

SOURCE: ADB, *Key Indicators of Developing Member Countries of ADB*, October 1975, "Country tables," pp. 92-98, 111-118, 136-150, 170-176.

Savings per capita and other related ratios, as in Table 8. Note that using a standardized year market price series, even if it varies from country to country, makes possible an insight into the slower rates of increases in real incomes as compared with money incomes which appear to increase at a faster rate. Moreover, such apparent increases are mainly due to inflation and similar trends in incomes would have been noted, had income data rather than these gross aggegative data been available. Even the proportions of gross domestic product by expenditure only indicate very roughly how the national wealth could be spent for private consumption or for creating wealth, and supporting government.

Tables 9 and 10 represent the more elaborate and more complete data regarding Gross Domestic Product (GDP) than is presented in Table 8. Table 9 shows the shares of the major sectors in GDP for 1965, 1970 and 1974 not even available in Table 8. Table 10 shows the expenditure shares of GDP for the same years.

Table 9
SHARES OF MAJOR SECTORS IN GDP*: 1965, 1970 & 1974, FOR THE ASEAN COUNTRIES
(In Percentage)

Country	*Agriculture*			*Manufacturing*[a]			*Others*		
	1965	*1970*	*1974*	*1965*	*1970*	*1974*	*1965*	*1970*	*1974*
Indonesia	52.4	47.4	42.9	8.3	9.0	**	39.3	43.6	**
Philippines	33.2	32.5	29.2	17.5	19.4	20.9	49.3	48.1	49.9
Singapore	3.3	2.5	1.7	15.3	19.3	21.0	81.4	78.2	78.3
Thailand	34.0	30.0	27.9	15.5	17.1	18.3	50.5	52.9	53.8

The total amount of involuntary unemployment (U_i) is easily the most reliable indicator, albeit a negative one, of an economy's performance from the standpoint of its "full employment" goal. See Table 11 for total unemployment and selected sectoral unemployment data for the ASEAN countries. Again, as before, the lack of adequately comparable statistics due to different definitions, timing of collection, etc., limit interpretations to only proportions within years, rather than across years, or across countries. The involuntarily unemployed is essentially the difference between actual employment (E) and potential employment indicated by the labor force (L).

Symbolically:

$$U_i = (LF - E). \qquad (5)$$

Table 10

EXPENDITIVE SHARES OF GDP*: 1965, 1970 & 1974 FOR THE ASEAN COUNTRIES
(In Percentage)

Country	*Private Consumption*			*Gov't Consumption*			*Cross Capital Formation*			*Net Exports & Statistical Discrepancy*		
	1965	*1970*	*1974*	*1965*	*1970*	*1974*	*1965*	*1970*	*1974*	*1965*	*1970*	*1974*
Indonesia	82.8	79.5	73.6 (1973)	6.7	8.6	10.0 (1973)	8.4	12.2	16.5 (1973)	2.1	–0.3	–0.1 (1973)
Malaysia	**	60.5	56.6	**	17.4	18.7	**	17.4	18.9	**	4.7	6.8
Philippines	78.9	74.2	71.8	9.9	8.3	8.7	21.2	19.9	22.6	–10.0	–2.4	–3.1
Singapore	81.2	69.4	65.9	10.2	12.0	11.3	21.8	36.7	39.3	–13.2	–18.1	–16.5
Thailand	71.6	67.1	65.9	10.1	10.1	10.1	21.6	27.6	21.8	–3.3	–5.8	2.2

* For different bases, see Table 8.
** Data not available
a Includes cottage industry.

SOURCE: ADB, *Key Indicators of Developing Member Countries of ADB*, October 1975, pp. 9-10.

Table II

SELECTED UNEMPLOYMENT AND RELATED STATISTICS FOR ASEAN COUNTRIES, 1967-1976

Country	*1967*	*1968*	*1969*	*1970*	*1971*	*1972*	*1973*	*1974*	*1975*	*1976*
Indonesia										
Total Unemployed	30333	45837	44247	13252	64116	90832				
Farmers, Fishermen & Related Workers**	2690	2428	2925	11	868	1146	—	—	—	—
Clerical Workers	1422	3057	6249	664	3409	5063	—	—	—	—
Sales Workers	49	112	74	27	352	323	—	—	—	—
Service Workers	156	239	190	47	458	556	—	—	—	—
Persons Seeking Work for the first Time	23680	35280	30899	11230	49936	72083	—	—	—	—
Malaysia*										
Total Unemployed	—	—	—	157705	155902	162420	140157	128637	108242	104617
Agric. & Related Workers**	—	—	—	6470	6862	7728	7436	6550	5061	4772
Clerical & Related Workers	—	—	—	37721	3422	32656	27947	25350	25307	26913
Sales Workers	—	—	—	866	633	683	481	521	446	336
Service Workers	—	—	—	17932	14810	16718	12428	9784	7978	7355
Philippines										
Total Unemployed	—	—	—	—	666000	867000	690000	584000	644000**	—
Agric. & Related Workers**	—	—	—	—	92000	121000	89000	99000	90000**	—
Clerical & Related Workers	—	—	—	—	17000	24000	29000	80000	27000**	—
Sales Workers	—	—	—	—	41000	45000	41000	34000	27000**	—
Service Workers	—	—	—	—	42000	48000	43000	39000	37000	—

Country	*1967*	*1968*	*1969*	*1970*	*1971*	*1972*	*1973*	*1974*	*1975*	*1976*
Persons Seeking Work for the first Time	—	—	—	—	343000	465000	323000	284000	309000***	
Singapore										
Total Unemployed	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	34044	39452	40487
Agric. & Related Workers**	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	340	162	371
Clerical & Related Workers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9373	8713	10135
Sales Workers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2477	4871	3502
Service Workers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2817	4005	3290
Thailand										
Total Uemployed	—	—	—	—	—	83100	71820	92110	66670	129720
Agric. & Related Workers**	—	—	—	—	—	10320	4410	6160	2970	22650
Clerical Workers	—	—	—	—	—	3050	3610	2550	1210	1840
Sales Workers	—	—	—	—	—	3240	3670	1180	1310	2920
Persons Seeking Work for the First Time	—	—	—	—	—	41340	36890	64050	54560	83290
Service Workers	—	—	—	—	—	2340	1030	2240	560	1720

* Only Peninsular (Western) Malaysia.

** Agricultural, Animal Husbandry and Forestry Workers, Fishermen and Hunters.*** Actually data culled in August 1974. The Category of "persons seeking work for the first time" was combined with "workers not classifiable occupation" and was listed as 310,000. The proportion for the combination for the previous years were: 99.6% for thhe 1974, 99.4% for 1973, 98.5% for 1972, and 97.7% for 1971. The value 99.7% was used for the author's "Guess-timate" and the result rounded off.

SOURCE: ILO, *Year Book of Labour Statistics, 1977*, pp. 484, 489, 490-492.

However, only rough approximations of the labor force can be estimated, since a genuine measure of the labor force must include all of the involuntarily unemployed but at the same time excluding those who are unemployed by choice (U_c).

Thus:

$$LF = E + U_i - U_c \qquad (6)$$

This category (U_c) does not necessarily mean idleness, although such a category might be included in it. A greater part of the unemployed may also include those who are not even looking for employment, but are involved in other time-consuming activities such as studying, or in non-income-producing family-enterprises, or as unpaid family workers. It is also possible that some are not looking for employment because of incapacity, ill-health or some other cause of inability to work, regardless of desire or willingness to seek employment. These kinds of data are unfortunately not always available for cross-national comparisons.

Underemployment

Underemployment is often distinguished between the "visibly underemployed" and the "invisibly underemployed." The "visibly underemployed" are often confused with those with only "part-time employment," being usually defined as those with any amount less than the usual, official or normal period of time defined as "full-time employment." As a consequence, cross-national comparisons in underemployment are obviously complicated by the official definition of the work-week. For instance, to the Philippines' 40 hours definition, Thailand has 35 hours, while Malaysia has 25 hours, within which underemployment is defined.

The "invisibly underemployed" could consist of those individuals who, inspite of their "full-time employment" status are still looking for another or a secondary job. This is because of some mismatch in their capabilities and their present job, or more likely because their income does not match their or their family's requirements and desires. Actually, it is probably more likely that the latter condition is prevalent in urban monetized economies, for people do not really go out looking for other or secondary jobs if their incomes are sufficient. In fact, so long as income is sufficient, even part-time employment becomes sufficient—unless a culture is imbued with

a cult of "busy-ness," where work is pursued for its own sake, or where the value of work is in the work itself.

In this light, the employment of women or of other members of the family as secondary income-earners becomes a function of the inability of the primary income-earner to secure the family's required or desired level or standard of living. In patriarchal societies, therefore, where the father is expected to be the primary income-earner, the employment of the women and the youth are often only in secondary (part-time, or relatively low-income earning occupations) employment. Except in single-parent or both-parent-missing families or among newly-married couples in urban areas leaving apart from their parents or other relatives, the women and youth so employed *are* the principal or primary income-earners, although their employment is still usually in the same types of occupations. In effect this only means that their families will have to do with less, since incomes are not directly related to whether it is earned by a sole or primary income-earner or by someone else who is a secondary income-earner. Incomes are determined more by the occupations rather than the circumstances surrounding the income earner. Thus, the women and the youth are often victimized by built-in biases that occur as a consequence of the multiple standards obtaining whether with regards to location, or to sex, or to age, in such matters as employment-income differentials, or the cultural definitions or expectations as to who should be the principal income-earners. These differentials, like socio-economic class differentials, can result in wide divergences of not only aspirations, but also of opportunities due to internalized or accepted cultural definitions of what are "right and proper."

Employment-Related Problems for Special Groups

Those in the rural areas, the women and the young appear to be discriminated against, almost as if they were suffering from certain "disabilities" which impair their employment opportunities: their location, which have already traditionally limited their participation in any of the nation's significant activities and personal development opportunities; their sex, which implies special added roles and problems even when employed; and their age, which for their tenderness and innocence require additional training outlays, which are more often

than not perceived as merely expenditures rather than "investments."

The concern for unemployment and underemployment among the ruralities, the women and the young, has increased, perhaps as a reflection of both their absolute sizes, and proportions in the total labor force, coupled with an increase in their unemployment and underemployment rates compared with that of men, or of older workers, of those in the urban areas.

In terms of the economic structure, certain weaknesses affect rural and urban areas differently. Structural distortions in the domestic or world economy, or in relations between the two are more likely to affect urban unemployment more directly, although disguised unemployment in the rural areas is often the bleak prospect of export-oriented agricultural production in most developing countries. Gross inequalities in land ownership further intensify this problem of disguised unemployment where many families have insufficient land or even unsteady tenure, to provide adequate work or income. This is once more a rural area phenomenon, where large landholdings are often underutilized.

Population-Related Problems

Historically, the demographic transition in the experience of the Western world from high to low fertility has been interfaced with the processes of development, encouraging migration by a gradual attraction through "pull" factors of the urban centers. The processes have involved changes in the demographic composition and distribution; improved levels of literacy and education; radical transformation of the occupational structure; and enhanced social mobility vertically through the social class/status structure, or horizontally through the occupational structures, and territorially as well. Simple repetition of the demographic adjustments of the Western world are unlikely in the ASEAN countries whether at present or in the future. New programs that are imperative for the 1980's have no appropriate models or useful precedents in the developed countries. Their populations are relatively more substantial with rates of increase too high to permit the style of development that countries of the Western world went through.

In Thailand for instance, the urban population increases five (5) percent annually, requiring more intensive and extensive development efforts to prevent further erosion in the

current levels or standard of living, let alone improve or raise these standards of living. At the same time the rural population, as the greatest source of much of the urban growth pressures, grows at a rate of three (3) percent annually, as a consequence of very high levels of fertility. It is thus no surprise that family planning ranks high in the priority development programs of the ASEAN countries. At the same time, the growing demand in the ASEAN for education and new manpower requirements to be met through education further add impetus to escalating expectations and aspirations.

Since social mobility and social status are associated with education, there appear to be inflexibilities in the utilization of those who are educated. There are major investments and fixed procedures in training for professionals like engineers, doctors and nurses. There are also the difficulties of standardizing and guaranteeing the quality of the secondary level graduates. The numbers of students graduating from the secondary level and aiming at tertiary education create special problems attendant to more immediate institutional expansion and the bleak prospects of unemployment and underemployment at professional levels later.

Rapid population growth, ever-growing larger cities whose inhabitants are not yet fully urbanized, and the ever-increasing numbers in rural areas, contribute serious obstacles to social and economic development and political stability in the ASEAN countries. Population grows in the developing countries today at much bigger rates than those experienced in any country of the world. There are not much chances for emigration of any significant magnitude to take place, so natural increase or growth creates problems for development in both urban and rural areas.

But ideals of a small family size and the effective practice of contraceptive techniques are associated with social structures and transformations that would affect educational aspirations, create new economic opportunities, advance the status of the youth and of women; and with actual increases in real income.

Other Problems

In addition, the poor access to capital by the ruralites, the women and the young, similarly affect the differential unemployment rates that are larger for these groups than for the urbanites, the males and their elders.

The lack of knowledge of current techniques and skills also compound the "employment disabilities" of the ruralites, the women and the young. This is often due to differential levels and quality of education which exert their toll on the ruralites, the women and the young. In general, the urbanites, the males and older individuals enjoy higher educational attainment, better formal educational attainment, better education and more up-to-date training than their counterpart "opposites." Unemployment rates generally decline with increasing amounts of education or training. Moreover, with greater education, an employee is likely to earn more. Since education and training affect (even if they do not guarantee) opportunities and also affect, if not determine, the income generated by it, the bias against ruralites, the women and the young are often held, even affect their incomes, since their wage of salary rates, even for the same positions are often lower than those for urbanites, men, and older workers. These often relate to values and bias, for and against the different locality–, sex– and age–groups.

In the rural areas, where the monetized economy is still not completely felt, the exploitation of women and youth is even further intensified. For one thing, the lack of a "proper" valuation of the worth of their labor very often results in the underestimation or under-valuing of their contribution to employment, let alone to production. Because of this, there is a growing dissatisfaction with such highly aggregative and gross indicators of economic growth such as the GNP or its components or derivatives, because of their failure to properly account for the value of all individuals' investment of labor in the productive enterprises or processes in society.

The provision of goods and services required or desired by the individual and/or family through means other than that provided by a steady income flow also complicates the picture, and adds to the problems of underestimation or under-valuing. This may be done through direct appropriation and the non-monetized exchanges of goods and services, which are not usual in urban-type contractual relations but common in traditional obligations or norms of contribution, offering or sharing of resources required for daily living, as well as for the periodic or episodic communal or institutional ritualistic or ceremonial functions.

Among the women and the young, there is a definite association between education or skills attained and employment.

Unemployment decreases at the higher education and skills levels, yet even among people with the same age, educational attainment or skills levels, the unemployment rates for women tend to be higher than those for men. Analogously, for people of the same sex, educational attainment or skills levels, the unemployment rates for the young tend to be higher than those for the older groups.

Special Problems of Women

The relatively greater mobility into and out of the labor force, sometimes also called "inter-labor force mobility," contributes to the higher rates of unemployment for women than for men. It can often be traced to the culturally-defined roles of women in the household support scheme in relation to the men. For the traditional family which is typical not only in the ASEAN countries, the women are often perceived as only secondary income-earners, either to merely add to or to supplement the income being provided for by the males. Thus, the women often embark only on part-time careers or jobs, or even when taking full-time occupations, often receive less income for the same activities and responsibilities than their male counterparts.

It is not sufficient that training schemes are available or that there are unrestricted job opportunities, since it does not necessarily follow that women will automatically be able to take advantage of these "opportunities." There are intervening variables, which, curiously enough are the values, attitudes and beliefs of women themselves about their own abilities and "proper place in the scheme of things." The way these are reinforced and enforced by witting or unwitting males—as employers, as husbands, as fathers, brothers, uncles, cousins or other male relatives, as sexual partners—merely strengthen the cultural "chains" that hold women back to this inequitable position.

In addition, when a woman seeks employment, she is not really only embarking on one job or replacing one with another. It is even said that a women's household job is really a formidable bunch of component jobs, as sexual partner or as wife, as housekeeper, as cook, as buyer, as all-around general factotum and flunkey, etc. Such work is obviously not only time-consuming and demanding, but also rarely acknowledged to be productive labor. It very obviously does not enter into the national

accounts system, whether through the national income accounts or through consumer expenditure outlays, since such services are not "monetized." In this light, women are clearly underemployed to begin with, even before they enter the employment market, since their home activities are not generally recognized or rendered as income-producing. Furthermore, since the "second" job that she takes, whether part-time or full-time often does not provide an adequate income as she requires or desires for herself and her family, she once more contributes to underemployment.

Very clearly, these sources of underemployment are likely to be underestimated, even if at all counted or even if taken cognizance of. Moreover, by operation of the common definitions used in the gathering and recording of unemployment statistics, women are likely to be reflected in unemployment rates more, due to this *inter-labor force mobility,* since persons not already employed while looking for a position are automatically counted as "unemployed." This situation is often more obtained for women than for men, since men, because of their *intra-labor force mobility,* would not be so readily counted as "unemployed." Since it is possible to search for new jobs even while one is still employed, this situation which is more common among men than among women, leads to some statistical bias due to employment data-gathering and recording definitions and practices.

One last remark on the statistical data-gathering and –recording: women appear to have a higher proportion of unemployment as a result of leaving their jobs, and a lower proportion as a result of losing their jobs, Another difference that is reflected in the visible underemployment rates: *i.e.,* more women than men are seeking part-time work, yet more jobless women are looking for full-time work.

Inequities Among Special Groups

Inequities also exist even within these special groups. In several instances, due to availability (or non-availability) of transportation routes, or means, distance from an urban center, etc., certain rural areas are even more favored (or held at a disadvantage). By sex, the preference for single women to married women, appears to add marital status as a "disability" factor contributing to higher unemployment rates of the married females. Curiously, for some types of positions, younger women appear to be preferred to older women—which might

suggest to the careless reader that the age factor is "reversed" when combined with sex. What is really hidden here is a more serious and devious bias—the limitation on the types of occupations in which a woman may be accepted to enter. For the older, married females, these apparent "disabilities" are merely additive factors rather than genuine "rehearsals." This is further aggravated by the cultural norms which dictate that she has really no independent choice in the matter of employment—whether to take employment or not; whether full-time or part-time; or the place or in which position, to be employed in.

For the males, moreover, the additive factors may appear to include a preference for the married to the unmarried—but these are mostly for the steady and less mobile occupations. There is also preference for the more mature (but not the definitely old-age males, who suffer just as much from this "disability" as any other group) to the young—but once more, only for the higher, and more responsible positions. The preference for younger unmarried males merely emphasizes similarly the importance of the "definition of the situation" which limits entry to occupations based on given characteristics, which obviously are expressive of rather strong culture-bound value-preferences.

Similarly, both unemployment and underemployment among the young is higher than among their elders, even holding sex constant. The female youth are thus doubly penalized, so that their unemployment and underemployment rates are higher among adults, even for female adults, and obviously higher than that of the males, even at the same age levels. Curiously though, the duration of unemployment by age runs opposite to the rates of unemployment with duration generally increasing with age. Unfortunately, no data on employment, unemployment and underemployment are readily available to provide any meaningful cross-national comparisons.

The ASEAN data is not really even better, in view of all these systemic, cultural, data-gathering and recording biases. Whatever indications or trends they may seem to show should be interpreted with care, in the light of the foregoing observation on the nature, extent and consequences of these biases. For instance, Tables 1 to 5 are the ASEAN country tables that depict the structure of the economically active population by industry or branch of economic activity. The differences

between male and female absolute values of employment, their proportions and ratios are displayed and can be readily observed and analyzed. On the other hand, Tables 6 and 10 are the ASEAN country tables that depict the structure of the economically active population by occupational group. Although there are some parallels and overlaps, they are sufficiently different as to render it impossible to convert one set into the other. The differences between male and female absolute values, their proportions and ratios are similarly presented for ready reference and analysis.

As indicated in the tables, most countries have supplied data on the basis of the nomenclature of the International Standard Industrial Classification (ISIC) of all economic activities and the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO). Classification by branch of economic activity or industry puts together people in the same establishment regardless of their specific occupation. Classification by occupational group, however, puts together individuals working in similar occupations, regardless of the industries or branches of economic activity with which they are connected.

Special manpower development and employment creation programs with revolutionary, or at least creatively innovative approaches to value re-orientation and/or behavioral modification, would seem to be the best prescription to these multi-standards problem-situations. But jerry-built, scattered and piece-meal stop-gap programs will not do. Only a total, comprehensive, integrated and coordinated approach can spell the difference between success and failure.

Table 1

STRUCTURE OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION
BY INDUSTRY OR
ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, INDONESIA, 1971

Industry (Branch of Economic Activity)	*TOTAL*				*RATIOS*			
	Males	*%*	*Females*	*%*	*Total*	*%*	*Male*	*Female*
1. Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	17,978,477	65.20	8,495,000	62.07	26,473,477	64.2	67.91	32.09
2. Mining and quarrying	79,700	.29	6,128	.05	85,828	0.2	92.86	7.14
3. Manufacturing	1,538,506	5.58	1,143,446	8.36	2,681,952	6.5	57.36	42.64
4. Electricity, gas and water	**35,877**	**.13**	**1,482**	**.01**	**37,359**	0.1	96.03	3.97
5. Construction	665,963	2.42	12,509	.09	678,472	1.6	98.16	1.84
6. Wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels	2,403,845	8.72	1,857,716	13.57	4,261,561	10.3	56.41	43.59
7. Transport, storage and communication	935,689	3.39	15,665	.12	951,354	2.3	98.35	1.65
8. Financing, insurance, real estate, and business services	**81,163**	.29	12,229	.09	93,462	0.2	86.84	13.16
9. Community, social and personal services	2,992,928	10.85	1,126,624	8.23	4,119,552	10.0	72.65	27.35
10. Activities not adequately described Persons seeking work for the first time	862,949	3.13	1,015,250	7.40	1,878,199	4.6	45.95	54.05
TOTAL	27,575,097	100.00	13,686,119	100.00	41,261,216	100.00	66.83	33.17

SOURCE: International Labor Office, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, 1977, pp. 102-103.

Table 2

STRUCTURE OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION
BY INDUSTRY OR
ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, MALAYSIA, 1970

Industry (Branch of Economic Activity)	*TOTAL*					*RATIOS*		
	Males	*%*	*Females*	*%*	*Total*	*%*	*Male*	*Female*
1. Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing	994.459	42.68	603,454	53.63	1,597,913	46.24	62.24	37.76
2. Mining and quarrying	50,092	2.15	7,185	.64	57,277	1.66	87.46	12.54
3. Manufacturing	199,531	8.56	77,805	6.91	277,336	8.03	71.95	28.05
4. Electricity, gas, water and sanitary services	21,391	.90	1,211	.11	22.602	.65	94.64	5.36
5. Construction	66,823	2.87	4,856	.43	71,679	2.07	93.22	6.75
6. Commerce	248,973	10.69	55,426	4.93	304,399	8.81	81.79	18.21
7. Transport, storage and communication	106,671	4.58	4,845	.43	111,516	3.23	95.66	4.34
8. Services	387,574	16.63	157,380	13.99	544,954	15.77	71.12	28.88
9. Activities not adequately described	169,609	7.28	155,884	13.85	325,493	9.42	52.11	47.89
10. Persons seeking work for the first time	84,912	3.64	57,237	5.09	142,149	4.11	59.73	40.27
TOTAL	2,330,035	100.00	1,125,283	100.00	3,455,318	100.00	67.43	32.57

SOURCE: International Labor Office, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, 1977, pp. 112-113.

Table 3

STRUCTURE OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION
BY INDUSTRY OR
ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, PHILIPPINES, 1975

Industry (Branch of Economic Activity)	*T O T A L*					*R A T I O S*		
	Males	*%*	*Females*	*%*	*Total*	*%*	*Male*	*Female*
1. Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing	6,156,000	61.60	1,726,000	33.39	7,882,000	52.0	78.10	21.90
2. Mining and quarrying	54,000	.54	3,000	.06	57,000	0.4	94.74	5.26
3. Manufacturing	914,000	9.15	806,000	15.59	1,720,000	11.3	53.14	46.86
4. Electricity, gas, water and sanitary services	43,000	.43	6,000	.12	49,000	0.3	87.76	12.24
5. Construction	496,000	4.96	7,000	.14	503,000	3.3	98.61	1.39
6. Commerce	704,000	7.04	956,000	18.50	1,660,000	10.9	42.41	57.59
7. Transport, storage and communication	490,000	4.90	25,000	.48	515,000	3.4	95.16	4.85
8. Services	961,000	9.62	1,506,000	29.14	2,467,000	16.3	38.95	61.05
9. Activities not adequately described	25,000	.25	15,000	.29	40,000	0.3	62.50	37.50
10. Persons seeking work for the first time	150,000	1.50	119,000	2.30	269,000	1.8	55.76	44.24
T O T A L	9,993,000	100.00	5,169,000	100.00	15,162,000	100.00	65.91	34.09

SOURCE: International Labor Office, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, 1977, pp. 116-117.

Table 4

STRUCTURE OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION
BY INDUSTRY OR
ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, SINGAPORE, 1976

Industry (Branch of Economic Activity)	TOTAL				RATIOS			
	Males	*%*	*Females*	*%*	*Total*	*%*	*Male*	*Female*
1. Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	14,964	2.40	4,723	1.65	19,686	2.2	76.01	23.99
2. Mining and quarrying	1,380	.22	478	.17	1,857	0.2	74.31	25.74
3. Manufacturing	139,343	22.31	94,611	33.03	233,954	25.6	59.56	40.44
4. Electricity, gas, and water	38,125	6.11	3,874	1.35	11,249	1.2	93.40	6.60
5. Construction	10,506	1.68	743	.26	42,026	4.6	90.78	9.22
6. Wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels	140,033	22.42	60,969	21.29	201,002	22.1	69.67	30.33
7. Transport, storage and communication	86,492	13.85	15,123	5.28	101,615	11.2	85.12	14.88
8. Financing, insuracne, real estate and business services	35,924	5.75	20,588	7.19	56,512	6.2	63.57	36.43
9. Community, social and personal services	132,020	21.14	68,610	23.95	200,630	22.0	65.80	34.20
10. Activities not adequately described	1,539	.25	371	.13	1,910	0.2	80.58	19.42
11. Persons seeking work for the first time	5,519	.88	8,915	3.11	14,433	1.6	38.24	61.77
12. Unemployed	18,625	2.98	7,429	2.59	26,054	2.9	71.49	28.51
TOTAL	624,496	100.00	286,433	100.00	910,931	100.0	68.56	31.44

SOURCE: International Labor Office, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, 1977, pp. 116-117.

Table 5

STRUCTURE OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION
BY INDUSTRY OR
ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, THAILAND, 1976

Industry (Branch of Economic Activity)	*T O T A L*				*R A T I O S*			
	Males	*%*	*Females*	*%*	*Total*	*%*	*Male*	*Female*
1. Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing	5,461,090	63.61	3,182,760	59.37	8,643,850	61.9	63.18	36.82
2. Mining and quarrying	39,260	.46	10,690	.20	49,950	0.4	78.60	21.40
3. Manufacturing	754,220	8.79	759,830	14.18	1,514,050	10.9	49.81	50.19
4. Construction	319,110	3.72	39,760	.74	358,870	2.6	88.92	11.08
5. Electricity, gas, water and sanitary services	44,810	.52	3,820	.07	48,630	0.3	92.14	7.86
6. Commerce	663,270	7.73	719,950	13.43	1,383,220	9.9	47.95	52.05
7. Transport, storage and communication	338,600	3.94	17,860	.33	356,460	2.6	94.99	5.01
8. Services	876,540	10.21	583,740	10.89	1,460,280	10.5	60.02	39.98
9. Activities not adequately described	210	.002	—	—	210	—	100.00	0.00
10. Persons seeking work for the first time	61,540	.72	21,750	.41	83,290	0.6	73.89	26.11
11. Unemployed	26,100	.30	20,380	.38	46,480	0.3	56.15	43.85
T O T A L	8,584,750	100.00	5,360,540	100.00	13,945,190	100.0	61.56	38.44

SOURCE: International Labor Office, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, pp. 120-121.

Table 6

STRUCTURE OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION
BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP, INDONESIA, 1971

Occupational Group	*T O T A L*					*R A T I O S*		
	Males	*%*	*Females*	*%*	*Total*	*%*	*Male*	*Female*
1. Professional, technical and related workers	599,432	2.17	284,105	2.08	883,537	2.1	67.84	32.16
2. Administrative and managerial workers	178,008	.65	11,459	.08	189,467	0.5	93.95	6.05
3. Clerical and related workers	1,141,886	4.14	128,667	.94	1,270,553	3.1	89.87	10.13
4. Sales workers	2,347,349	8.51	1,840,466	13.45	4,187,815	10.1	56.05	43.95
5. Services workers	892,071	3.24	680,898	4.98	1,572,969	3.8	56.71	43.29
6. Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters	17,195,818	62.36	7,947,639	58.07	25,143,459	60.9	68.39	31.61
7. Production and related workers, transport equipment, operators and laborers	3,386,529	12.28	1,258,477	9.20	4,645,006	11.3	72.91	27.09
8. Workers not classifiable by occupation	1,834,004	6.65	1,534,408	11.21	3,368,412	8.2	54.45	45.55
9. Persons seeking work for the first time								
T O T A L	27,575,097	100.00	13,686,119	100.00	41,261,216	100.0	66.83	33.17

SOURCE: ILO, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, 1977, pp. 224-225.

Table 7

STRUCTURE OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION
BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP, MALAYSIA, 1970

Occupational Group	*TOTAL*					*RATIOS*		
	Males	*%*	*Females*	*%*	*Total*	*%*	*Male*	*Female*
1. Professional, technical and related workers	99,222	4.26	51,836	4.61	151,058	4.37	65.68	34.32
2. Administrative and managerial workers	23,086	.99	746	.07	23,832	.69	96.87	3.13
3. Clerical and related workers	115,950	4.98	39,172	3.48	155,122	4.49	74.75	25.25
4. Sales workers	211,638	9.08	47,101	4.19	258,739	7.49	81.80	18.20
5. Services workers	175,263	7.52	81,745	7.26	257,008	7.44	68.19	31.81
6. Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters	1,039,754	44.62	648,898	57.66	1,688,652	48.87	61.57	38.43
7. Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and laborers	508,243	21.81	100,568	8.94	608,811	17.62	83.48	16.52
8. Workers not classifiable by occupation	71,967	3.09	98,980	8.80	170,947	4.95	42.10	57.90
9. Persons seeking work for the first time	84,912	3.64	57,237	5.09	142,139	4.11	59.74	40.26
TOTAL	2,330,035	100.00	1,125,283	100.00	3,455,318	100.00	67.43	32.57

SOURCE: ILO, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, 1977, pp. 236-239.

Table 8

STRUCTURE OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION
BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP, PHILIPPINES, 1975

Occupational Group	*TOTAL*				*RATIOS*			
	Males	*%*	*Females*	*%*	*Total*	*%*	*Male*	*Female*
1. Professional, technical and related workers	336,000	3.36	476,000	9.21	811,000	5.3	41.38	58.62
2. Administrative, executive and managerial workers	119,000	1.19	29,000	.56	148,000	1.0	80.40	19.60
3. Clerical workers	307,000	3.07	284,000	5.49	591,000	3.9	51.95	48.05
4. Sales workers	558,000	5.58	888,000	17.18	1,446,000	9.5	38.59	61.41
5. Farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers and related workers	6,102,000	61.08	1,724,000	33.35	7,826,000	51.6	77.97	22.03
6. Miners, quarrymen and related workers	29,000	.29	1,000	.01	30,000	0.2	96.67	3.33
7. Workers in transport and communication occupations	501,000	5.01	12,000	.23	513,000	3.4	97.66	2.34
8. Craftsmen, production-process workers and laborers not elsewhere classified	1,441,000	14.42	753,000	14.57	2,195,000	14.5	65.68	34.32
9. Service, sport and recreation workers	432,000	4.32	869,000	16.81	1,301,000	8.6	33.20	66.80
10. Workers not classifiable by occupation	16,000	.16	14,000	.27	30,000	0.2	53.33	46.67
11. Persons sekeing work for the first time	150,000	1.50	119,000	2.30	269,000	1.8	55.76	44.24
TOTAL	9,993,000	100.00	5,168,000	100.00	15,161,000	100.0	65.90	34.10

SOURCE: ILO, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, 1977, pp. 242-243.

Table 9

STRUCTURE OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION
BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP, SINGAPORE, 1976

Occupational Group	*T O T A L*				*R A T I O S*			
	Males	*%*	*Females*	*%*	*Total*	*%*	*Male*	*Female*
1. Professional, technical and related workers	53,912	8.63	32,952	11.50	86,864	9.5	62.06	37.94
2. Administrative and managerial workers	25,789	4.13	1,910	.67	27,699	3.0	93.10	6.90
3. Clerical and related workers	64,365	10.31	73,014	25.49	137,380	15.2	46.85	53.15
4. Sales workers	103,579	16.59	32,581	11.37	136,159	14.9	76.07	23.93
5. Service workers	50,781	8.13	41,920	14.64	92,701	10.2	54.78	45.22
6. Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters	18,890	3.02	5,094	1.78	23,984	2.6	78.76	21.24
7. Production and related workers, transport equipment, operators and laborers	229,178	36.69	81,823	28.57	311,001	34.2	73.69	26.31
8. Workers not classifiable by occupation	53,859	8.62	796	.28	54,655	6.0	98.54	1.46
9. Unemployed	24,144	3.87	16,343	5.71	40,487	4.4	59.63	40.37
T O T A L	624,497	100.00	286,433	100.00	910,929	100.0	68.56	31.44

SOURCE: ILO, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, 1977, pp. 244-245.

Table 10

STRUCTURE OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION
BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP, THAILAND, 1976

Occupational Group	*TOTAL*					*RATIOS*		
	Males	*%*	*Females*	*%*	*Total*	*%*	*Male*	*Female*
1. Professional, technical and related workers	203,390	2.37	159,630	2.98	363,020	2.6	56.03	43.97
2. Administrative and managerial workers	136,780	1.59	19,460	.36	156,240	1.1	87.54	12.46
3. Clerical and related workers	141,630	1.65	83,210	1.55	224,840	1.6	62.99	37.01
4. Sales workers	638,700	7.44	815,670	15.22	1,454,370	10.4	43.92	56.08
5. Service workers	216,600	2.52	186,260	3.48	402,860	2.9	53.77	46.23
6. Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters	5,448,700	63.47	3,197,740	59.65	8,646,440	62.1	63.02	36.98
7. Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and laborers	1,737,440	20.24	876,320	16.35	2,613,760	18.7	66.47	33.53
8. Workers not classifiable by occupation	—	—	500	.01	500	—	0.00	100.00
9. Persons seeking work for the first time	61,540	.72	21,750	.40	83,290	0.6	73.89	26.11
TOTAL	8,584,780	100.00	5,360,540	100.00	13,945,320	100.7	61.56	38.44

SOURCE: ILO, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1977*, pp. 250-251.

THREE JAPANESE VILLAGES: A FILIPINO'S GLIMPSES OF RURAL JAPAN

LESLIE E. BAUZON

At the outset, I would like to emphasize that this report is highly impressionistic. The observations made here are merely based on what I have seen in the course of nearly three months of stay in Japan in 1977 for purposes of participating in a pioneering research project involving Southeast Asian and Japanese scholars, and making use of the interdisciplinary mode of analysis. The remarks I will be making below are of an impressionistic character, and are therefore subject to validation upon further study and deeper analysis of the empirical data gathered through informal and formal interviews in all the places surveyed. However, in Masuo Kuchiba and Leslie E. Buazon (eds.), *A Comparative Study of Paddy-Growing Communities in Southeast Asia and Japan* (Kyoto, Ryukoku University, 1979), some of the results of the fieldwork are presented. The general fieldwork data given in the following paragraphs are to a large extent reinforced by impressions as well as observations I have made during my year-long term at Kyoto University in 1979-1980, during which time I had the occasion to visit other rural areas in the country.

Sonai Village. Geographically, the village of Sonai with a little over fifty households is located in a paradise-like island called Iriomote belonging to the archipelagic Okinawa Prefecture. Its flora and fauna, as well as its topographical features, are quite similar to those in Southeast Asia. The climate is humid and subtropical, and is typhoon-prone. (In fact, while we were there, a powerful typhoon with 260-kilometer per hour winds hit the village.)

The main occupation is rice farming, with some vegetables like eggplants and tomatoes grown principally for home consumption. Non-commercial fishing is also engaged in by some of the villagers. There is in fact only one full-time fisherman. A few other people are engaged in non-agricultural occupations, like teaching, governmental work and small-shop ownership.

There is only one doctor. The village has a primary school and a junior high school, as well as a post office. For higher education, the villagers send their children to Ishigaki City in Ishigaki Island or Naha in mainland Okinawa, and in mainland Japan itself. It has adequate running water, electricity, and telecommunication facilities. There is a regular bus service from Sonai to other parts of Iriomote Island, and villagers can go to Ishigaki Island either by motorboat or by hovercraft, although the ports for these sea vessels are not situated in Sonai itself but elsewhere in the island. From Ishigaki City, regular passenger boat and plane services are available for mainland Okinawa, for other places in Japan and elsewhere.

Economically, the people in Sonai are certainly better off than Southeast Asian villagers. Aside from the conveniences already mentioned above, or maybe because of these conveniences, they are able to have color television, although for good or ill they are a captive audience of *Nippon Hoso Kyokai* (NHK), whose programs are the only ones received by Sonai. In addition to color television sets, the villagers own refrigerators, washing machines, telephones, and other electrical appliances. A few own pick-up trucks; most own motorcycles, and of course, bicycles. Some of the farmers have started employing machines for agricultural purposes. These machines increase their farming efficiency and productivity.

However, in relation to mainland Japanese villages, Sonai is economically underprivileged. This is mainly due to Sonai's location in an island which is relatively isolated and remote. Iriomote is nearer Formosa and the Philippines than to the Japanese mainland. Iriomote's paradisiac character has made the Japanese government adopt a policy of natural conservation, thus slowing down its economic development. The inhabitants of the island, Sonai villagers included, of course resent the fact that the preservation of wild cats seem to be more important to the government than the enhancement of the human welfare of the islanders. If the government continues its policy of natural conservation, the Sonai villagers will forever be in a position of being unable to readily obtain sufficient cash income for the improvement of their living standards. In this case, many might be compelled by economic necessity to abandon their homes and fields, as a sizeable number have already done, in favor of greener pastures in Ishigaki City, Naha, or elsewhere in Japan.

On the other hand, if the government decides to undertake the infrastructural development of Iriomote Island in order to provide the basis for implementing stimulatory measures designed to promote economic growth in the island, the government's policy of natural conservation will definitely be compromised. At any rate, the Japanese government, together with the people of Iriomote Island, should undertake mutual consultations in order to find a way out of this difficult predicament. The crucial issue, it seems to me, is whether wild cats should be given priority over human beings or not. The possible short-run and long-run consequences should be weighed carefully before any decision is reached and enforced.

For the moment, I am impressed by the high percentage of owner-cultivatorship among the farmers in Sonai, which is nearly 100%. There is no tradition of landlordism or tenancy. Land reform in the immediate postwar era was superfluous in so far as Sonai was concerned. Moreover, the village has no record of landlord-tenant conflicts. Even today, there are no big landlords. Actually, considering the limited area of flat land in Iriomote, no big landed estates could have emerged, nor will any emerge today or in the future. Tenancy was and is virtually non-existent. Land is available; in fact, as alluded to already, many fields and even houses and the compounds where they are situated are being abandoned. If land is being rented in or rented out today, no fees are paid to, or paid by, the people concerned. Tenancy "contracts" are wholly verbal in nature, and owners of land are in fact happy when someone else is available to till their fields because this will prevent the deterioration of their fields as well as their under-utilization and idleness.

In terms of religion, my strong impression is that the Sonai villagers are animistic. They believe in spirits which they say inhabit every nook and cranny of the village, especially in the hill areas. Their animism, though, may not be regarded as the reason for their backwardness in relation to Japanese mainland villagers, because they have been receptive and are quite receptive to modern innovations, especially in farming. Besides, their animism is not really unusual because the Shinto religion is itself animistic to the extent that its followers across Japan believe in the existence of spirits in such places as under rocks and in trees, and elsewhere and everywhere.

Politically, the village is a part of an administrative unit composed of Sonai and Hoshidate, another village nearby. This administrative unit is headed by a man referred to as a *kucho*, whose power and influence though are surpassed by the real headman of Sonai, the *kominkancho*. Two members of the Taketomi town council are residents of the village. Together with the *kucho* and the *kominkancho*, they are able to exert some political influence which may result in concrete benefits for Sonai and its inhabitants.

The group consciousness of the Sonai villagers is very strong; their own personal views are subordinated to collective interests, for village harmony must not be disrupted. They also practice labor exchange and reciprocal help, which again serve as a positive factor for enhancing unity and solidarity. This unity and solidarity are not based on kinship alone. In fact, neighbors, who are not necessarily relatives, often play a greater role in mutual assistance situations because the relatives are frequently away and therefore not immediately accessible for help.

Fujie Village. The village is located in the town of Adogawa, Takashima county, Shiga Prefecture. It has about 105 households, and is situated in a typical fan-type agricultural area. Geographically, Fujie's location is obviously more favorable than Sonai, not only because it is in the mainland but also because it is only one hour away by train and about two hours by car from Kyoto, Japan's spiritual capital today, and the country's political capital for over a thousand years before the Meiji Restoration in 1868. Fujie village is likewise near Shiga's prefectural capital city of Ohtsu.

While Fujie is located in a relatively large agricultural plain between Lake Biwa and the mountains of western Shiga, farming may not be considered as the main occupation of the Fujie villagers. As a matter of fact, instead of agriculture being the villagers' main occupation, agriculture has become the main *side job* of the people of Fujie. Their principal occupation is the operation of cottage industries like the manufacture of crepes, and threads which are used in tire manufacturing. Therefore, their cash income is many times higher than that of the Sonai villagers. It seems to me that if the villagers have become highly mechanized in their agricultural endeavours, it is not so much for purposes of productive effi-

ciency and scientific farming, as for saving labor and time which they can devote to their enormously profitable cottage industry enterprises. This is a manifestation, to my mind, of their profit-orientedness. Thus, they have bigger and newer houses than the Sonai villagers. They also have more cars and other vehicles, and certainly more appliances like color television sets (for good or ill, they are not a captive audience of NHK), refrigerators, washing machines, drying machines, stereo sets, radios, and air-conditioners. In Fujie, the village are definitely enjoying modern benefits on a large scale. These benefits are yet to a great extent to be enjoyed by Southeast Asian villagers, who are historically the most impoverished and oppressed elements in the national communities of Southeast Asia. Because of the affluence of Fujie villagers, they are not only able to enjoy modern conveniences at home but they are also able to afford better medical, educational, and cultural facilities for the improvement of their human welfare. However, they seem to be spending less time for leisure, now that they have labor-saving machines for farming. Instead, they use the time and energy they save in order to work harder for an even higher cash income for themselves and their families. Even as I admire their hardworking nature, I believe that it is necessary to educate them in relaxation.

The farmers of Fujie are well supported by the government of Japan in terms of greater infrastructural systems like farm-to-market roads and irrigation facilities, although Fujie has had no water problem historically, unlike the other villagers in Adogawa town, especially those at mid-stream areas along the Ado River. Thus it has been spared from the debilitating conflicts over irrigation water that divided other villages in previous decades and even generations.

Like Sonai, despite the relatively large agricultural fan-type plain in which it is situated, Fujie has not had any unfortunate experiences normally associated with big landlordism and tenancy. It is true that there used to be a few "big" landlords in the Adogawa area in general, but these landlords owned no more than ten hectares or so each, and by Southeast Asian standards, they cannot be considered big landlords. (In the Philippines at least, twenty hectares constitute the floor for big landlordism.) The rate of owner-cultivatorship in Fujie was high during the prewar period, and today it is nearly 100%, as in Sonai. If one or two persons do not own land,

it is because they are engaged in non-agricultural occupations which they find more lucrative than farming. Land rent in Fujie today is higher than in Sonai, where the land rent is virtually zero, but the 2.5 *hyo* per *tan* land rent in the former is reasonable. As in Sonai, despite the limited economic opportunities available there, the benefits of owner-cultivatorship are clearly manifested in Fujie. The status of an owner-cultivator in Fujie and Sonai is a source of personal pride and dignity, in stark contrast to the degradation and humiliation of landless tenant farmers in Southeast Asian countries, especially in the Philippines and Thailand. The callousness in the past of Southeast Asian governments toward the problems of the peasantry has aggravated the minority status of the farmers in terms of the articulation of their interests despite their majority status in terms of number.

The group consciousness of Fujie villagers is relatively strong, although some informants in the village stated that on occasions in previous decades, it was difficult to achieve village consensus on the construction of some access roads to the village. However, because of the growing heterogeneity of the Fujie population, it is possible that consensus will become even more difficult to achieve in the future. A clash of interest is bound to occur between those engaged in agriculture and those engaged in non-agricultural occupations ranging from industrial work to professional endeavours. For the moment, though, intra-village groups like the youth club, the housewives' association (*fujin-kai*), and of course the farmers' cooperative, help ensure cooperation. This is not to mention the neighbourhood groupings (*goningumi*). There seems to be some indication, however, that when it comes to conflicts of personal interest, village solidarity easily breaks down. Historically, this breakdown has been demonstrated in individual clashes over water control during drought years.

In terms of village administration, the *kucho* serves as the leader, with the assistance of a vice-*kucho* and some other officials. And as far as religion is concerned, most of the people practice the teachings of Buddhism, even as the influence of Shintoism is strong. In fact the people tend to believe in both Buddhism and Shintoism, giving substance to the statement that in Japan, 80% of the people are Shinto believers and 70% are followers of Buddhism!

It seems to me that the major problem in Fujie is not how to promote economic growth and material advancement, but how to make the people enjoy a better quality life of affluence and prosperity.

Shirone-go. This place in particular and the prefecture of Niigata in northern Japan in general are in a sense similar to Southeast Asian villages, considering the prevalence today of landlessness and big landed estates in Southeast Asia. This statement is based on my strong impression that there was big landlordism in this area before the war. By landlordism, I mean the ownership of vast tracts of land, either in the form of scattered holdings or in the form of contiguous, *hacienda*-type landed estates consisting of at least twenty hectares, and in a number of cases, the hectarage reaching 1000 hectares or more. These vast tracts of land in Niigata were called *senchobu-jinushi* before the war, and were held by a few rich individuals who acquired their lands either by purchase or by taking over the lands used as collateral in mortgage arrangements (e.g., the moneylenders acquired ownership of the lands involved after their original owners failed to redeem their properties). Thus there was concentration, rather than dissipation of ownership through an equitable distribution of land.

Tenant farmers cultivated these vast tracts of land. Some statistical data show that there were owner-cultivators, as well as owner-tenants in the prewar period in Niigata. But the data indicate that there was also a sizeable percentage of landless tenants who paid 50% of the amount of *hyo* of rice they harvested, as rental for the cultivation of one *tan* of the landlord's land. The high land rent-rate, plus other manipulations by the landlords, resulted in conflicts between the two groups. The conflicts actually took the form of legal cases, in most instances, with the tenants generally getting some measure of justice due to their ventilation of their grievances against the landlords.

What I wish to impart here is that if there was any place in Japan after the war which needed land reform the most, it was the Niigata area. Land reform resulted in the break-up of the great landholdings, and the former tenant farmers, who were landless, became owner-cultivators. This land redistribution program was accompanied by infrastructural support: better farm roads, irrigation canals, drainage systems, and

vital support systems like cooperatives to facilitate the marketing and distribution of farm produce. There cooperatives also provided low-interest loans to farmers, thus eliminating usurious mortgage arrangements.

Today, the farmers are enjoying unprecedented prosperity. Of course they deserve to be prosperous, considering the hardships they had to suffer before the war. However, they seem to be too pampered by the Japanese government today, and I can sense that they actually hold power and wealth not commensurate with their size as a group. I am referring to the mainland farmers, and Niigata farmers specifically, who are getting all sorts of governmental subsidy for the construction of barrages along the Nakano-kuchi River which are one too many, or for the construction of an expensive underground pipe irrigation system which is sophisticated but which actually may be superflous because irrigation water can be obtained through less expensive ways like the present surface canals. The huge outlays for these projects which in the long run may prove unnecessary can perhaps be channeled profitably today to less fortunate farmers in economically deprived and culturally underprivileged areas like Sonai, Hoshidate and Funauki in Iriomote Island, Okinawa, so that they too may reach a level of economic development comparable to the present condition of Niigata farmers.

Of course I am not blaming the Niigata farmers for seemingly monopolizing all the huge expenditures poured by the government into agricultural development. To some extent, the politicians are also to be blamed because they are interested in assuring their own political survival. They need the support of the voters, and the best way to get the votes is to pamper the farmers, who constitute a sizeable and influential voting bloc, receiving subsidies and assistance far out of proportion to their number. I get the impression therefore that some of the improvements being accomplished in Niigata today are politically motivated; it is true that benefits accrue to the people here, but that in the process of improvement, other sections of the country as in Okinawa are neglected. There is therefore a need to achieve a more equitable distribution of government assistance and protection than before to all farmers, especially those in remote areas. Considering the wealth of Japan at the moment, it is hard to believe that some farmers especially

in Okinawa are still suffering from economic deprivation, according to Japanese standards.

The flood control system of Niigata meanwhile has been very successful. Coming from an area in the Philippines where the situation is abnormal if it does not flood during the rainy season, I can deeply appreciate the efforts spent in preventing costly inundations which in the prewar period caused untold human hardships for the people of Niigata. I believe that the Niigata system, although somewhat expensive, can serve as a model for Southeast Asian countries with perennial floods to follow, even if on a lesser scale.

Farmers in Niigata, as well as in many other parts of Japan, are generally enjoying the benefits of modernization now, while farmers in Southeast Asian countries are still the *objects* of modernization. However, even as they have all the modern conveniences, the Niigata farmers seem to be working themselves to death. I therefore believe that some kind of an educational campaign should be launched in order to make the farmers realize that they should also have some leisure activities in order to prolong their stay on earth, instead of hastening their departure through sheer drudgery.

Conclusion. It is clear that Japanese villages are generally better off than Southeast Asian villages in material terms, although within Japan, Sonai village is deprived. At any rate, whether one speaks of economically-deprived Sonai or of the economically affluent Shirone-go villages, the fact that stands out is the high rate of owner-cultivatorship among the farmers. This has played a crucial role in enabling the farmers to develop self-dignity, self-respect, and a considerable degree of economic independence. Compared to a country like the Philippines where peasant landlessness is prevalent even today, this high rate of owner-cultivatorship in Japanese villages is impressive, and it shows the importance of land reform in its widest sense in increasing the farmers' real income and their purchasing power. A sincere and successful implementation of agrarian reform in Southeast Asia, particularly in the Philippines, can pave the way for greater industrialization. This will avoid the costly dislocations usually associated with violent social upheavals. The sooner the national development planners and the landed gentry of Southeast Asia realize this, the better for their respective national communities.

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