

Field Notes on the Filipino Values

— in a Women's Organization in an Income Generating Enterprise —

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Introduction

Ang sugat ng itak ay mas mahanay kaysa sa sugat ng masamang pangungusap

(The wound from a knife is more bearable than an offensive word).

-Filipino Proverb

Culture is a way of life of a group of people; it is the cumulative deposit of knowledge experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings hierarchies, religion, notions of time, spatial relations, concepts of universe and material objects and possession acquired by a group of people passed along from one generation to the next. Filipino values system is defined by was of people live their life as an influence to one's culture. The proverb is a reflection of Filipino sensitivity towards dealing with others. They are cautious and careful when they commune with others. To understand the sensitiveness of the Filipino values, it is important to understand their thoughts and needs.

Pakikisama is a social behavior which indicates "to get along with someone", meaning to be concerned about, to be supportive of and to concede to public opinion (Jocano 1999). It can also be described as a fundamental social behavior of the Filipino value of Smooth Interpersonal Relation which is built upon the Filipinos to maintain the harmonious relations (Kikuchi 1999). *Pakikisama* can be considered as one of the most important behavior to get along with the daily lives for the Filipinos.

This essay documents the Filipino values in a women's organization in an incoming generating project in Guinobatan, Province of Albay, Philippines The rope making venture in the women's organization was implemented to generate additional income in the village. There were thirty two (32) members who joined the project when the enterprise was established in 2011. However, in August 2017, there were only three (3) members who are active in producing ropes.

The author has been involved in this income generating enterprise as a project staff of a Japanese NGO. Through the observation and dialogues with the members, there were some Filipino values discovered which could be factors in the declining number of members in the organization. These Filipino values were *Politica, Plastic, Nakikisama, Bahalana Ka, Naakang Alag, Naruum*; these were reflective of Filipino sensitivity. Through the participatory observation in the field work, the findings of these social values observed were rather behaviors which resulted to create a distance or detachment among the members.

Throughout the history of development, the argument of the how the strategies of development has changed is an old story and its failure has been argued by several social scientists. Nishikawa (2004), Kikuchi (2004), Cernea (1992) have criticized the orthodox modernization development theory where the beneficiaries have been ignored, and argued the importance of the inclusion of the beneficiaries such as the concept and the consideration of endogenous development, kinship, culture, participatory development, local community development and the involvement of anthropologist in the developing project.

The criticism of the experiences of the development has demonstrated its limitation that there is no single development program which is applicable to all countries. The recognition of the development beneficiaries, such as human centered, gender development, social development, and empowerment and others has been the trend. There is an attention to the above mentioned aspects of the beneficiaries. Since culture per se, differs from the various region of the country, there is a difficulty in analyzing and defining its distinct features.

As one of the concepts in considering values as the base of behavior and expression in action in the development program, this essays will deliberate on the importance of Filipino values found through the field work and its influence on the process in the women's organization.

This paper is to investigate the value discovered through participatory observation in the income generating project.

1. Development and Culture

Throughout the history of development, the criticism and the limitation of the previous development strategies has been pointed out by several social scientists.

Cernea (1991) quoting from Kottak argued that among the analyzed 57 development projects, those including sociocultural aspects resulted in a better social strategy for economic development. Among the 57 projects, 30 included traditional cultural and local socio economic

elements resulted to have an average rate of return at audit of 18.3 percent. The remaining, 27 projects only had 8.6 percent in return. Moreover, he states that “the average economic rates of return for projects that were socioculturally compatible and were based on an adequate understanding and analysis of social conditions were more than twice as high as those for socially incompatible and poorly analyzed projects.” (p.434, 39). His emphasis is that to ignore the inclusion of cultural and social factors in the developing project at the planning stage is impossible.

Furthermore, Cernea states the use of local and indigenous knowledge cannot be ignored in a development process. He pointed out the importance of culture in the development process. In the research of World Bank conducted project between 1982 to 1983, it was discovered that projects which took concern on culture resulted to achieve higher economic rates of return, compare to projects which took no cultural aspects in the development projects.

UNESCO also refers to the fact of the numbers of failing project. The reasons are analyzed due to the unforeseen consequences of cultural factors, where the local religious beliefs and taboos are not taken into account. As a solution, UNESCO stated a new approach to development, Cultural approach to development. UNESCO considers the importance of cultural approach of development, emphasizing that ‘development’ must become rooted in the existing culture of the world” (p54, 14) There is a need to look into the culture since it varies among different countries.

2. Value

2-1 The Definition of value

Value in this paper is defined through using the definition by Graeber (2001, 2005) as well as the sociologist and anthropologist of the Philippines, Lynch (1962, 1973, 2004), Jocano (1985, 1999) and Tomas (1989).

2-2 Value is action

Drawing ideas from Nancy Munn and Terrence Turner, Graeber (2001, 2005) states value is action where he argues that “Value emerges in action; it is the process by which a person’s invisible “potency”- their capacity to act- is transformed into concrete, perceptible forms..... Value, then, is the way people represent the importance of their own actions to themselves-” (p.45).

As for Jocano (1985), he cites from Kouzes and Ponser (1993), that values are “the guiding principles in our lives with respect to the personal and the social end we desire- such as salva-

tion or peace- and with respect to moral conduct and personal competence-such as honesty and imagination” (p.16). He further defines value by quoting from Talcott and Edward that “A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of actions” (p. 17). From the ideas above, Jocano defines, values as “best expressed in the actions we do and understood in the events we experience. We do things the way we do because we accept certain standards or degrees of excellence as valid and legitimate reasons for doing so.” (p.17).

For Thomas (1989), he states that values are the ideas of right and wrong, good and bad, to which we are committed and which influence our everyday behavior and decisions (p.15).

Lynch (1973) definition of value is “a postulate or position, declared or implied, and usually controlling behavior or stimulating activity, which is tacitly approved or openly promoted in a society.” (p.80). In addition, he states that value is “norms or standards for decision and choice” (p.80).

For what has been presented so far, values can be defined as the base of behavior and expressed in action which is done for a reason under a certain standard.

The importance of values can be stated by Jocano (1999) that “Values are products of culture. They are internalized as ideas and feelings in the process of growing up and become intrinsic in our adult personalities. As such, values serve as standards against which actions are organized and experience are interpreted and evaluated” (p.107). And by understanding values results in to understand how people behave.

So, related to the income generating activity project, is it possible to understand the behaviors of the Filipinos?

3. Filipino Value System

Di baling saktan mo ako, huwang mo lng akong hiyain

(I would not mind if you hurt me physically, just do not shame me)

-Filipino Proverb

Kung gumagaling and isang sugat, di kumukupas ang masamang pangungusap

(A wound may heal, but an offensive word never fades away)

-Filipino Proverb

These Filipino proverbs capture the sensitivity of the Filipinos. According to Lynch (1962), Filipino can be said to be very sensitive to personal affront or put the others into to shame. He

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also noted that the core of the Filipino is to retain the SIR (Smooth Interpersonal Relation) which is defined as follows:

A faculty at getting along with others in such a way as to avoid outward signs of conflict: glum or sour looks, harsh words, open disagreement, or physical violence. It connotes the smile, the friendly lift of the eyebrow, the pat on the back, the squeeze of the arm, the word of praise or friendly concern. It means being agreeable, even under difficult circumstances, and of keeping quiet or out of sight when discretion passes the word. It means a sensitivity to what other people feel at any given moment, and willingness and ability to change tack (if not direction) to catch the lightest favoring breeze. (Lynch 1962:89).

Lynch (1962, 1973, 2004) then lists three aims which motivates and controls the Filipino behavior. First is the social acceptance where it is “being taken by one’s fellows for what one is, or believes he is, and being treated in accordance with his status” (p.80). It is to be accepted by others for what he is and be treated as what he deserves to be. Second is the economic security which is “the ability to meet ordinary material needs without borrowing; that is, through one’s own resources or those of his own segment” (p.80). In other words, it is to be economically secure without being in debt from the others. Third is the social mobility which is the “advancement up the social class, to another class, perhaps, or to a higher position within the class of which one is a member” (p.81). This is to move to a higher socioeconomic ladder.

In regards with the abovementioned, Lynch (1962, 1973, 2004) states that SIR is emphasized as the most standard behavior taken under social acceptance. And to retain SIR, Lynch adds that there are three ways such as ① *Pakikisama*; ② Euphemisms; and, ③ Go-between. These are the fundamental Filipinos value which is to reduce the possible conflict with the others where the Filipinos will try as much as possible to avoid to hurt the other peoples’ feeling.

Pakikisama: Whether agreeing or not, it is to go along with someone’s view.

Lynch (1962) states as “giving in”, “following the lead or suggestion of another”, or concession. As for Jocano (1985) and Kikuchi (1985, 1991) they state that it is a willingness to subordinate one’s own interest in favor of others, in the spirit of harmony, friendship, cooperation, and deference to majority decision so that group goals can be easily achieved. Jocano (1985) further states “It means to be concerned about, to be supportive of, and to be helpful at all times” (p65).

In the field in Guinobatan, this *pakikisama* is heard and practiced in many different ways. To help in the house course, contribute some money to the family, to get along or help your

neighbor, friends, and colleagues when anyone faces a difficulty and etc. As for the author was always told by the local NGO colleague to show *pakikisama* during the work in the project. This involved the attitude of the superior (the author) to show concern towards the colleagues (project members) through sharing and caring. Never to look down to the colleagues, but to treat them equally with respect as well. For this reason, the author became attentive in action when food or snacks were shared and in some cases, financially support members in case of difficulties.

As for the local people in Guinobatan, their *pakikisama* also differs in many ways. For instance, during the local festival Fiesta where the Patron saints are honored, huge amount of food is prepared in every houses to celebrate the extravagant festival and welcome anyone into their homes. Villagers will be visiting houses to houses to eat and for those who prepared food will be hosting the guests from day until night for a week. This provision of food is also considered a way to show *pakikisama* to their neighbor where the one who has provides to the ones who do not have as much.

Euphemisms: Lynch (1962, 1983, 2004) defines it as the stating of an unpleasant truth, opinion, or request as pleasantly as possible. As much as no one would be pleased by a correction or complaint, according to the quotes mentioned by Lynch (1962, 1983, 2004) states that the Filipinos would prefer a beating to a scolding or insults. Furthermore, altercation is considered to be caused by speaking in harsh tones which the Filipinos interprets as an ill-feeling of the person. In order to avoid any quarrels which involves request, correction or complaint, Lynch (1962, 1983, 2004) noted a pattern through an analysis of natural Tagalong dialogue which he conducted with his colleagues in the Institute of Philippine Culture that conversation will be opened with a concern of the others wellbeing before the correction or complaint is mentioned.

In the author's experience, this is seen when the local colleagues would not directly speak up their opinion during the meetings of the project. Such as at the end of a capacity building workshop, the opinion of the participants are tried to be gathered by the local NGO colleague, however, most participants would just say "it's OK" and would not try to speak their mind nor share their opinion and avoid criticizing and complaining about anything.

Go-between: This is an involvement of a third party to preventively avoid shame when asking a favor or request. As Lynch (1962, 1983, 2004) states, go-between "is used preventively in a number of common situations: embarrassing request, complaint, or decision is often communi-

cated through a middle-man, to avoid the shame (hiya) of a face-to-face encounter” (p.94).

As in Guinobatan, favors are never asked directly, but through a third person so that when the favor is rejected, both the person who asked the favor and the person who rejected the favor can avoid being shamed. Also the go-between is used to make a complaint indirectly as well. The author once experienced hearing an indirect complaint from the project members through the local NGO staff. It was a time, when the author had to explain a credit project to the women’s organization at a meeting, emphasizing the importance of returning the credit on time. Since the author could not speak the local language, from the author’s point of view, it was polite to explain all guidelines slowly and clearly with a loud voice since most members were elders. However, the author stressing the repayment of the money gave an impression as a debt collector which frightened the members. There was also an elderly who told to the local NGO colleague that the attitude of the author reminded her of the Japanese soldiers whom invaded during the Second World War. The members being startled by the author’s loud voice did not only show how sensitive the Filipinos are, but also showed how complaints are passed through a middle person. And this has continued until now even the author has been involved in the project for more than 4 years.

Overall, the definition of value can be summarized as that it is a standard which appears in action and as for the Philippines, the smooth interpersonal relations is most considered. With the definition stated above, this paper will summarize the behaviors gathered through participatory observation in Guinobatan which is the field work of the author and evaluate how these behaviors have influenced the income generating project.

Filipino values are indicated a general views on Filipino values, as the author immerse as a project staff in an income generating project spearheaded by a Japanese NGO, the author identified specific values prevalent to the members of the Women’s organization which the income generating project was implemented.

4. Overview of the location

4-1 Philippines

The setting of the field is the Philippines, Albay Province, in the Barangay (the smallest governmental unit in the Philippines) in Guinobatan. Philippine is an island country in the Southeast Asia with an area of 299,404 square kilometer and consists of 7,109 island . According to the Philippine Statistic Authority, the population is 100,981,437 (as of August 2015) with a

population growth of 1.7% per year (from 2010 to 2015).

4-2 Guinobatan

Guinobatan is located 800 km away from the economic capital city, Manila. It is situated in the Albay province which is in the southern part of the Bicol region V of the Philippines Island. Table 1 indicates the poverty incidence among the population in the Philippines. Excluding Region XI, the Mindanao island group (Region IX, X, XI, XII, Caraga, ARMM) rates more than 35 percent in the poverty incidence showing high poverty rate. The Bicol region V also rates high among the Philippine island region with a poverty incidence of 36.0 percent. The number is significant compare to 3.9 percent in the NCR (National Capital Region), showing Bicol region as one of the poorest province in the Philippines.

Table 1 Poverty Incidence among Population (%) (source: Philippine Statistic Authority, Rearranged by the author)

Region/Province	1991	2006	2009	2012	2015
PHILIPPINES	34.4	26.6	26.3	25.2	21.6
NCR	7.1	4.7	3.6	3.9	3.9
CAR	42.7	26.0	25.1	22.8	19.7
Region I	36.6	25.9	22.0	18.5	13.1
Region II	42.8	26.8	25.5	22.1	15.8
Region III	21.1	13.1	13.7	12.9	11.2
Region IV-A	22.7	10.3	11.9	10.9	9.1
Region IV-B	44.4	40.6	34.5	31.0	24.4
Region V	54.5	44.2	44.2	41.1	36.0
Region VI	39.6	29.1	30.8	29.1	22.4
Region VII	43.6	35.9	31.0	30.2	27.6
Region VIII	50.0	41.5	42.6	45.2	38.7
Region IX	40.3	45.0	45.8	40.1	33.9
Region X	46.6	39.0	40.1	39.5	36.6
Region XI	39.6	30.6	31.4	30.7	22.0
Region XII	53.3	37.9	38.3	44.7	37.3
Caraga	54.3	49.2	54.4	40.3	39.1
ARMM	30.5	47.1	47.4	55.8	53.7

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Albay province has 3 main cities and 15 municipals composed with 720 barangay. Guinobatan consists of 44 barangays (the smallest unit of village in the Philippines) with the population of 75,967 (<http://guinobatan.gov.ph/>).

According to the DSWD (Department of Social Welfare and Development, a government agency heading social welfare) staff in Guinobatan, the regional economic main agricultural product is coconut and 70% of the farmers are small scale farmers with a land less than 2ha. In addition, while monthly of the poverty line in the Philippines is stated as 6,000 pesos (13,800yen), the monthly poverty line is 2,000 pesos (4,600 yen) which shows that most of the farmers are living below the poverty line of the national level. In addition, thousands of farmers became evacuees of a Typhoon in 2006. The government and international aid organization has supported housings for the evacuees though the people are been oppressed by the medication, education and food expenses due to the difficulty in gaining stable employment. Furthermore, Albay is the passage of the Typhoon, resulting in the damage of the crops every year during the Typhoon season which is critical for an area engaging in agriculture. Apart from farming, employment is difficult that most people are involved in daily jobs such as construction which is hard enough to support the family.

Apart from the economic difference with the capital city, the author noticed that Guinobatan practices more of the Filipino values, such as the blessing or the honoring-gesture where the youth shows respect toward the elders by taking the hand of their elders and place it to their forehead.

As Jocano (1998) states, changes of the behavior takes place more rapidly in the urban compare to the rural. In the urban, the changes will occur before it can be stabilized and used. On the other hand, the rural will try to keep the tradition that the traditional institutions, values and sentiments are maintained.

Furthermore, it can be one of the characteristic in the outskirts where all the villagers knows everyone and this can be seen in Guinobatan as well. Working in Guinobatan, it was interesting to know how much the people knows each other. By knowing the family name, people will express how they are connected; a far relative, co-workers' relative, neighbor, class mates etc.

4-3 Resettlement A

Resettlement A is a relocation site for displaced evacuees brought about by typhoon Reming (Durian) in 2006. Most of the residents were from the 11 barangays evacuated of the

municipality. There are 599 households in resettlement A. These houses were endowment from the Philippine and Italian government. However, the evacuees were supplied with materials to build their homes with daily honorarium to support their living, though no pieces of land in the area were provided. For this reason, all houses seen in the resettlement area are built with a similar structure. (Here, the subject of the resettlement village will be stated as resettlement A).

Table 2 Origin of the villages of the members

Origin of the Village	Total (%)
Minto	3 (9.4%)
Basud San Rafael	15 (46.9%)
Travesia	2 (6.3%)
Masbate	1 (3.1%)
Quitago	4 (12.5%)
Iraya	1 (3.1%)
Banad	1 (3.1%)
No Answer	6 (18.8%)

(Source: Interview in 2011, Created by the Author in 2017)



Fig. 1 Houses in Resettlement A
(Photo taken by author on August 2013)

5. Income Generating Project in the Resettlement A : Rope Making Project

5-1 Project Description

The project was implemented with an objective to provide and achieve stable income for the project participants of the resettlement A, especially for the housewives who had difficulties leaving the house as they had to take care of their small children. Since the activity was familiar in the region, it was easily adopted. The rope making is simple where it needs at least two people; one who manages the twining machine and another who makes the rope. After two ropes were made, it is combined to make a bundle. The rope making can be done any time anywhere, with not much of technique as long as there is twelve (12) m of space for enough length of the rope.

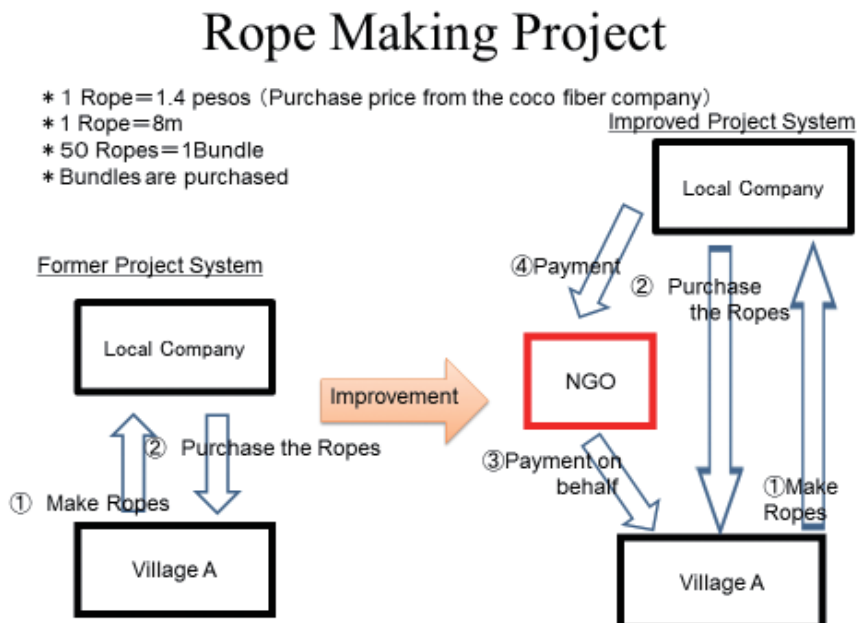
The issues in the rope making production was the payment system, especially the payment of the wages to the villagers. The local company was not able to pay the wages as soon as the pickup was made. Therefore, complaints were made of the delay in the payments which

was late for more than 2 to 3 months. In the village, there is always a need of immediate cash for daily use. As can be seen from the Project Diagram 1, improvements of the former system of the rope making project was done by the intervention of an Japanese NGO, where the organization paid on behalf of the local company as soon as the pickup of the rope was made. Later, the covered payment is collected directly by the NGO from the local company.



Fig. 2 Rope making training in Guinobatan: Picture taken by the author, 2014

Diagram 1. Project Diagram



(Source: Created by the Author, 2013)

5-2 Project Flow

1. The coconut fiber is delivered to the restoration place in the Barangay.
2. The member collect certain amount to twine the ropes
3. The bundles of ropes are then gathered at the restoration place where every family record their number of bundles they made.
4. The Local Company will pick up the bundles made in the village (Project diagram 1. Improved Project system ①)
5. NGO pays the income to village A on behalf of the local company (Improved Project System ③)
6. Covered payment of the bundles will be paid later by the local company to the NGO (Improved Project system ④)

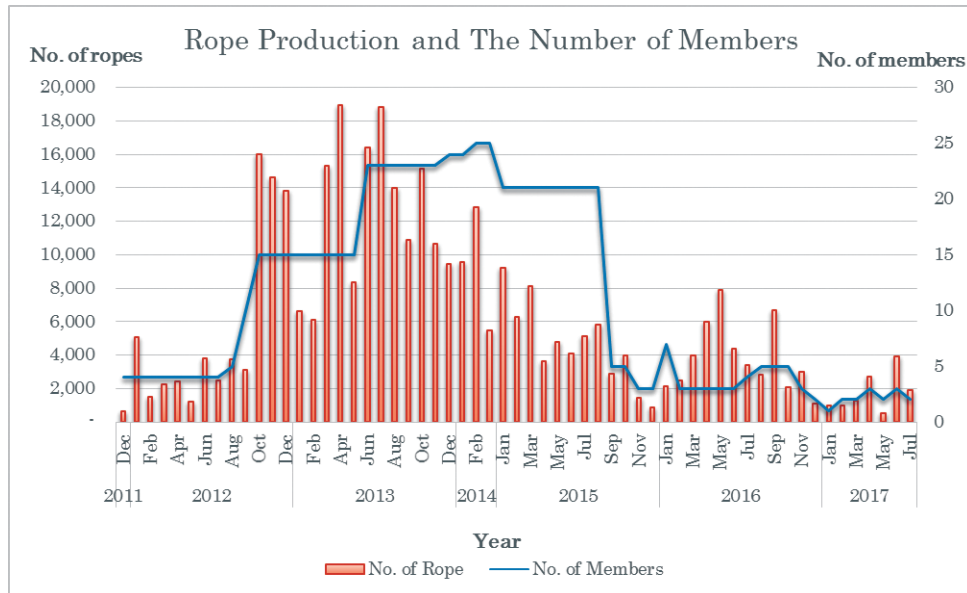
5-3 Issues in the Women's organization.

The rope making project started with three (3) members in 2011. As can be seen in Diagram 2, the number of the member increased along with the number of produced rope. With the project promotion of the NGO, the members gradually grew from three (3) in December 2011 to six teen (16) in October 2012, twenty three (23) in June 2013 and by November 2014, there were twenty-four (24) members.

Fluctuation can be seen in the number of rope produced because it is influenced by the weather as the Bicol region is considered as the path of the typhoon during the raining season from June to October. The dry season is from November to February, where the weather is cool and from March to May is the dry season where it is the hottest month of the year (Philippine Atmospheric Geophysical and Astronomical Services Administration). Since the rope production is done outdoors, the weather is critical for the rope production. In addition, social events is another factor that influence rope production in Guinobatan. People would prepare for the Fiesta (A festival to honor a patron saint). Huge amount of homemade meal is prepared to welcome the neighbors and relatives. Before August-the month of the fiesta, villagers would search for another additional income for the preparation. This was the time when the number of members would increase for additional income. The same situation can be seen during the Christmas season starting from September.

Despite of the increased participants, the production of rope has seen a slow but sure decrease where there were members not making any ropes.

Diagram 2. Rope Production and the Number of Members



(Source: Created by the author, 2014)

5-4 Reasons of Leaving the Rope Making Project.

The Japanese NGO holds meetings from time to time to follow up the activities of the women’s organization and during meetings with the members, the members were asked for their reason for not making any ropes. The response were mostly due to the environments such as the weather of several typhoons and rainy days, some members were able to find a temporary or permanent job, another would say because of difficulties in finding a partner to make rope. These reasons were understandable as the rope making could not be a main income source due to its dependency on the weather as well as the low purchase price of a bundle. Another factor is the easy access to the *centro* (the town proper where the municipal offices are located) where it takes only ten (10) mins ride of tricycle and the fare costs 10 pesos (25 yen). The members were able to find part time jobs in other town as a house helper, canteen worker or moved to another town. The easiness of access to another job opportunity could be an influential factor of decline.

Table 2. states the reasons of the members leaving the project since the activity was established. As of now, there are three (3) active members who are still making ropes (as of 2017, August). However, the table did not explain the reality in the resettlement A. When the author surveyed the resettlement, there were members who just would not work. Surprisingly,

Table 2 Reason of leaving the project

Reason of Leaving the Project	Total
Deceased	3
Return to the origin village	3
To take care of the Family	7
Transfer to another village	6
Employed	4
No Partner	2
Active	3
Member but not active	3
Others	1

(Source: Created by the Author, 2017)

in a meeting, a member said, “Cleaning the eye mucus is much better than making rope”. As reflected in Table 1. There are various reasons for members to leave the project. Based on observation, there were some values that could have led to the deterioration of the rope making project.

According to the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) worker in Guinobatan, the poverty line is 3,000 pesos per month with four (4) members of the family. The average of the members who started to participate in the project is described in Table 2, where most members were house wives with no personal income.

Table 3 Income and Family of the Member

Income	Personal Income	Family Income
Average	₱2,028.59	₱11,123.18

(Source: Created by the author, 2011)

Table 4 Occupation of the Member and Personal Income

Occupation	No. of members	Average income
House Wife	14	₱0.00
Sarisari store	3	₱5,150.00
Vender	1	₱6,000.00
Others	5	₱2,200.00

(Source: Created by the author, 2011)

With the average of ten (10) family members, the personal income of the members can be considered as the poverty line. However, with the family average income, the living would just be good enough for living. From the table above, most of the members were not in urgent for an additional income though, the reason to join the project was to earn further more for the family. Through the observation of the women's organization, the author noted the Filipino social values are motives leading to leave the rope making project.

6. Observed behaviors derived from the Women's Organization

Throughout the project, the author noted detachment among the members. These behaviors were prevalent when the author noticed how one member behaved with the others, especially when one members dislikes the other; but still showed a friendly attitude. Apart from it, further values were observed in the women's organization. Through the field work, as the author got to know the members, the relation among the members became clear. Through the dialogues and observation of the members, it was interesting to realize how sensitivities of the Filipinos are as reflected in the proverb. When observing the members, it can be said that they are really concerned not make any troubles or conflict with the others. These behaviors that were discovered can be considered as one of SIR, referring to the "not to have any conflict with someone".

① POLITICA: It can be described as a behavior of not showing any hate or dislike feeling towards a certain person. Even one dislikes a certain person; they try to behave nice in front of everybody by putting on a smile and welcome the person.

This behavior was noted when one of the member dislikes the other and is not in a good relation but when they both meet up in front of many people, they will pretend as nothing happened between them and greet each other with a smile.

② PLASTIC: Similar to POLITICA, it is a behavior described as, insincere to oneself attitude to the others. In other words, it is to show friendliness in front of a person, but once that person is absent on the scene, people will be talking (bad or gossip) behind of that person.

Gossip is another way to gather information about the members; one will always gossip about the absence of the others.

③ NAKIKISAMA: It is a behavior to adjust yourself to the others against your will. In other

words, the individual will try to adapt themselves to the surrounding situation even they do not like it.

During the meetings with the NGO and the members of the women's organization, not much opinion could be heard. The opinion from the members would be "OK", which shows agreement, or "Up to you", which shows to compromise or get along with the members.

④ BAHALANA KANA: In direct translation, it means, "up to you". It is one of a common reply heard among the Filipinos when their opinion is asked. It can be considered as a reply with no responsibility as the decision is relied to the others. However, it is also a behavior to show respect to follow the other person's decision. This can be also be seen during the meetings. It is hard to get direct information from the members as speaking up is unlikely.

⑤ NAALANG ALANG: This is the feeling of hesitation or uncertainty. A worker hesitating to ask permission to take a holiday from the boss thinking that the boss might reject the inquiry. It is similar that of a student hesitating to answer the teachers question due to the anxiety that the answer may be wrong, and the like. Here, the hesitation found in the field was on how to call a person's name title. Filipinos differentiate calling titles of their acquaintances by respect depending how the person is older or younger, relatives or not, close or distanced relation. By calling the title, this shows how close the people are among each other. Such calling title are "Sir"/"Ma'am"/"Madam" will be the highest title to call. Next is in age order that the title of relatives such as "Lolo"/"Lola" (Grandpa/Grandma) or "Kuya"/"Ate" (Elder Brother/ Sister). Even if the person is not related to each other, Filipinos will be calling by these family "titles" showing the closeness of the relation. However, when the Filipinos are introduced by the first time, they seem confused what to call the others. Unlike in Japan, it is common and unified to call a person by placing "San" after the surname either male or female. For a Filipino, when they are introduced for the first time, they do not call the tile until they get to know the person, so when they are confused or not sure what title to call the other, they will try to catch an eye or attention of that person to start the conversation. Through the observation in the women's organization, calling the members by name among each other was hardly heard.

⑥ NARUUM: This is a behavior of a borrower who does not show any willingness to pay back the debt, especially seen in the involvement of money matters. This is related and opposite to *utang-na-loob*, when a person asks for a financial support but do not reciprocate the favor. Fili-

pino feel “*utang-na-loob*” or debt of gratitude themselves when they borrow money from the others. Whenever the borrower meets the lender, the debt will always be reminded mentally that the borrower may repay by helping the lender in house work or anything that will compromise the debt. As *utang-na-loob* can be considered as a mental debt and a trust built between the people which connects the borrower and the lender, this relation can be cut off by the behavior of NARUUM. NARUUM can be observed in *sari-sari* stores (a Filipino type of a grocery store selling in small portion for an affordable price). “*utang*” or debt are made when buying groceries as a credit purchase in the *sari-sari* store. The amount of the debt will be recorded by the vendor and the payment will be made fully whenever the buyer has available cash or little installment are made. However, there are some people who will take the advantage of borrowing money and will not pay back, where this behavior is called NARUUM.

Among the Women’s Organization, the leader (actually the leader’s daughter is the one who manages the store) runs a *sari-sari* store and tells stories who comes and buys in her store. There are members who asks for “*utang*”. Since the members’ family backgrounds were well understood, the leader allows “*utang*” and keeps a record of those who has debt and note when repayment is done. Most of the members’ debt is for daily food, especially rice and longanisa (Filipino sausage). There are no members who are NARUUM. To those who are not familiar to the leader, she will avoid “*utang*” by saying that the product is sold out. In the Filipino value it is not polite to reject when asked for financial help. Filipinos must try to show the support to the other by providing whatever is available. One way to reject the financial request is by telling honestly that the money is needed for your own family. This will avoid the embarrassment of the borrower being rejected of financial help.

7. Conclusion

While Jocano (1985), Kikuchi (1985, 1991) and Lynch (1962, 1973, 2004) have stated that Filipino value concerns the smooth interpersonal relations such as getting along and being agreeable with others, the behaviors observed in resettlement A seems to be showing distance or detachment between the members. This is due to their social background, especially the project members come from different barangays. As Kikuchi (1999) explains, *Barangays* in the Philippines is the smallest and a grass root level of the local administration which is originally an indigenous social unit structured of five to one hundred members of kins people. On the other hand, resettlement A is composed of people from eleven different barangays. This may

be one of the reasons the members could not build any solidarity among each other which resulted to create the distance and detachment behaviors.

In resettlement A, detachment and the isolated behaviors in the festival such as fiesta and the work force in the project were observed. For example, the value such as pakikisama of helping neighbors nor the integration of the residents such as inviting neighbors for fiesta is not as active compare to the surrounding traditional barangays. For instance, during a chat with the project members, the author asked whether the members would prepare for the fiesta and most members answered that fiesta is not celebrated in resettlement A. While the author had been invited to other barangays for the lavish festival, the residents in resettlement A would rather return to their relative's house to celebrate the fiesta. This discloses that there is less integration among the residents in resettlement A. Similar to the fiesta, isolation among the members could be seen within the project. Whereas more than two people is needed to make ropes, most of the project members made it with their family members. For those who lack in man powers in the family members, the project advised the members to cope with the other members as partners. Most will agree in partnering at first but would not act as they hesitate to approach to the other members due to the less integration.

Although, the reasons of the decline in the project members is explained in Table 2 such as family reasons and moving to another village, from the preceding description of the discovered behaviors, there is an unavoidable complexity among the members beyond the collected data. Apart from what Table 2 determined, the project members complained about the low price of rope and the lack of work force as the reason for leaving the project. However, these reasons were not reflected in Table 2, that there is a necessity to read beyond the data which is the detached and isolated behaviors observed in resettlement A. Aside from the observed behaviors in resettlement A, pakikisama can be an influential factor to create the bond among the members which are seen in the traditional barangays. This can be explained by the behavior of the leader of the women's organization saying that she established the sari-sari store not only for business but to build pakikisama which creates attachments with the project members in resettlement A. Because sari-sari store is hub in the barangays where residents meet to integrate. People gathered around the store chatting is a common scenery spotted in the barangays.

In resettlement A, there may still be values which may further explain in the women's organization why such distance among the members were created leading to the decline of the

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members in the income generating project. Furthermore, there may be more Filipino values which leads to the creation of solidarity or attachment in the organization. As already described of Filipinos values that they do not openly express their opinion, it is really hard to grasp their thoughts and feelings. However, to know and understand their basic values will help to assess and realize their needs in a development project.

Over all the behaviors discovered throughout the field work mentioned above provides the basis for reaching a conclusion that due to the social background in resettlement A, detachment and isolation behavior observed in the project may have been the factors resulting in the decline of the member in the project because of the lack of the Filipino values of smooth interpersonal relations such as pakikisama which creates attachment among the people. And the incorporation of value is necessary to be considered in a community development.

The author hopes to observe further more on values to discover what Filipino values can form or rebuild to co-exist with people from different villages and further analyze how values influences the process in the development strategies.

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